Expressing Indian Cultural Aspects in Indian Writing in English: a Study of the Use and Comprehension of Related Vocabulary

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1. Preface

English literature is an established genre in India with about a 150 years' history, and recently, along with the global migration of Indian people as the result of the economic liberalization, we see not only the domestic writers but also a great many NRI (Non-Resident Indian) writers publishing their work in their countries of residence. Their works are very useful in promoting the interest in and the understanding of Indian culture by English-speaking countries.

One of the features of Indian writing in English is the use of the roman alphabetized expressions (mainly vocabulary, but also include phrases and sentences) of the various Indian languages (hereafter referred as Expression) in the English context. They are used when there is no equivalent in English, when

certain Expressions have become familiar among the L1 English speakers, mainly through the long period of British rule, when they are naturally woven into the English spoken in Indian daily life as if they were loan words, and when the authors attempt to give a local flavor to their works, especially in order to satisfy the demand for exoticism by Western readers. However, the excessive use of such Expressions may damage the intelligibility of the literary works, which is an adverse result. In order to identify the role and effect of Expressions in the context of cross-cultural communication, the following issues are analyzed in this paper:

1. Total number of tokens, total number of Expressions, the Expressions appearing in more than two works and the number of works, and the number of those appearing in only one work.

2. Their semantic cultural categories and the number of Expressions in each category.

3. The readers' means for comprehension.

2. Basic Data Material

Forty works by 40 authors (as listed in Appendix 1) were selected as basic data material for this study with the following criteria:

1. Availability: An attempt was made to include as many local/domestic publications as possible, besides those obtained through the Internet from the Western countries. Twenty-one of the works are published in India, while the rest are published either in the U.S. or UK.

2. Authors' sex: All are women.

3. Year of publication: An attempt was also made to cover as a long period as possible, but due to the extremely short life of a publication in India, most of the works obtained from India are from recent years. The oldest work is *Nectar*

in a Sieve by Kamala Markandaya in 1954 and the latest one is *Interpreter of Maladies* by Jhumpa Lahiri in 1999. In fact, 80 % of the works are written in 1990s. The recent drastic increase of Indian writings in English is well reflected in this large proportion of works in the basic material.

4. Geographic condition: There are many excellent works by NRIs on the life in their respective countries of residence. However, since the focus of the analysis here is the expression of Indian culture, the precondition for selection is that at least a part of its story takes place in India.

3. Extraction of Expressions

3.1 Method and Issues

About half of the works were put into computer files by OCR software and the Expressions were extracted by using the spelling check function of Microsoft Word. For the other half, which could not be put into computer files due to the inferior quality of printing and/or binding, the Expressions were extracted manually in so far as possible. The same Expressions repeated several times in one work were counted as one Expression.

Another issue is how to deal with the Indian Expressions Anglicized through the long period of British rule. Some of them, such as *bungalow* and *verandah*, have even been brought into Japanese via English with their meanings distorted considerably; and others, such as *sari*, are directly connected to the items they refer to and widely understood. Since the degree of Anglicization varies from Expression to Expression, it is quite difficult to set a criterion for their exclusion. Therefore, as many of these Expressions as can be found are included in the analysis.

3.2 Result of Extraction

The total number of token expressions is 3326. The average is 83.15 tokens per work, though actually it varies from 16 to 291 tokens in a work. This figure doesn't include the repetition of the same Expression within a work. No tendency is found in terms of the year or the place of publication, or the distinction between novels and short stories. The usage of Indian Expressions is strictly a matter of the authors' styles, at least in the 1990s, the period to which 80% of the works in the data belongs.

4. Number of Expressions

4.1 Method

These Expressions are originally written in their respective written characters, such as Devanagari, and there is a large variety of pronunciation among the different languages. Therefore, in many cases, an Expression has various spellings in the Roman alphabet. Such varieties are counted as one Expression, disregarding the difference of spelling, plural form, and any affixes.

4.2 Results

The number of Expressions, after collating the varieties in spelling as one Expression, is 1546. The average is 38.6 Expressions in a work. Out of 1546 Expressions, 1114 Expressions appear only in one work (hereafter referred as one-work Expression). The Expression which appears most frequently, is *sari (clothing/head & footwear)* used in 38 works. (Please refer 5.1 and Appendix 2 for the Semantic Cultural Categories.) Then follow 12 Expressions; *sahib (address terms)* used in 27 works, *verandah (houses/buildings)* in 25, *pajama (clothing/head & footwear)* in 24, *memsahib (address terms)* and *dhoti (clothing/head & footwear)* in 22, *rickshaw (transportation)* in 21, *ama (kinship terms)*, *chapati (food/drink/smoke)*, *Dewali (religion/mythology)*, *paan (food/drink/smoke)*, *pooja(religion/mythology)*, and *salwaar (clothing/head &*

footwear) in 20. The number of those used in more than 15 works is 13, in more than 10 works is 31, in more than 5 works is 94, in more than 2 works is 282.

The large variety of Expressions and the high ratio of one-work Expressions (more than 70%) were unexpected results. Given the large number of official languages in India, the variety of Expressions to a considerable extent had been expected. But also expected had been some kind of basic Expressions used commonly in many works. However, those used in more than 5 works were 151 in all, less than 10%. This fact shows that a large number of Expressions has no equivalent or close meaning Expression in English for replacing them, or are better not replaced by authors' judgment. In other words, the large number of native Expressions has become Anglicized, and/or naturally mixed into the English usage in India, which shows English and native Indian languages coexist and blend in the daily life of Indian people with a certain level of education.

5. Analysis of Semantic Categories

5.1 Method

The Expressions are sorted out into 32 semantic categories based upon their descriptive meanings, not functional ones. These categories are established based on Bharatiya Vyavahar Kos (Glossary of Indian languages) published in 1961 in Bombay to be used for the comparative study of vocabulary of various Indian languages, with modification necessary to suit the present needs.

5.2 Results and their Implications

The top 10 categories are: *religion/mythology* (237), *food/drink/smoke* (199), *amusement/art/literature* (94), *kinship terms* (80), *occupation/status* (79), *phrases/sentences* (76), *flowers/trees/plants* (75), *rituals/customs* (63),

clothing/head & footwear (61), and *household articles* (56).

5.2.1 The top two categories have an exceedingly large number of Expressions. Both are extremely culture-bound, with hardly any equivalents, and difficult to be replaced by English. Included in the former of the two are mostly the Expressions related to Hinduism, the dominant religion in India, and then to Islam, whose Expressions have, in many cases, an Arabic origin. Hinduism is an ethnic religion rather than an universal one like Islam, and their gods, rituals, and creeds are not well known outside India, making it even more difficult to be expressed in English. Since the religion in India is much more tightly integrated into the daily life than those of the highly industrialized nations such as Western countries and Japan can imagine, it is quite reasonable that it accounts for more than 15% of the total Expressions. The number of tokens of this category is 511 out of 3326, also comprising 15.3% of the total. They include such Expressions as *puja (prayer service), bhajan (hymn), Shiva (god's name), Veda (religious script), sannyasi (disciple)*, etc.

5.2.2 The latter of the top two consists of the most conservative and unchangeable element of the basic human needs, namely food, clothing, and housing. The great climatic and topographic diversity in India has created a rich variety in food of which the local people are very proud. Furthermore, eating is not only a matter of individual taste or nutrition, but has a strong connection with the various aspects of social life, like who can share a meal with whom, who can cook for whom, etc., which makes people highly conscious of eating. So the percentage of this category, 12.8%, is not too surprising. In terms of tokens, the percentage of 15.9% even exceeds religion/mythology and amounts to 529 tokens. The examples are *bidi (cheap cigarette), biryani (a kind of pilaf),*

chai (tea), chapatti (thin pan cake), dahl (beans dish), halva (a kind of sweet), etc.

5.2.3 The third, *amusement/art/literature* (94) includes the titles of literary, musical, and artistic works, and the name of their dramatis personae, but no names of their actual authors, such as Kalidasa and Rabindranath Tagore, since they are considered as historical persons. It also includes the names of games, dances and musical instruments, all of which are quite difficult to find an English equivalent for. One feature of this category is the high ratio of one-work Expression (86.3%), which is the highest in the top 10 categories, and the second highest after *personal attributes* (36, 87.8%), if the statistically non-significant categories such as *number*, *time* and *onomatopoeia*, and other particular categories such as *phrases/sentences* and *miscellaneous* are excluded. The large number of Expressions and the high ratio of one-work Expressions show the richness of this category and the wide range the authors' preference. *Bhangra (a kind of dance), ghazal (a kind of song), sitar (musical instrument),* etc. belong to this category.

5.2.4 The fourth, fifth, seventh, eighth, and ninth categories, which are *kinship terms* (80), *occupation/status* (79), *flowers/trees/plants* (75), *rituals/customs* (63), and *clothing/head & footwear* (61), are also strongly culture bound. Especially the category *kinship terms* is the one for which an English equivalent can be found relatively easily, such as *amma, mamiji, ammachi* (all refer to mother), *chacha, kaka, tau, phupha* (all mean uncle of various relations), *betha* (son), *bethi* (daughter), *didi* (elder sister), etc., but the authors chose to express them in native Expressions. This shows the high possibility of native kinship terms spontaneously mixed into English context in the everyday life, especially

when used as address terms. It is very common in Asian and Latin American countries to use kinship terms such as “grampa”, “aunt”, “elder brother”, “elder sister” to address the unrelated persons, which seems to be limited to some special cases in the English-speaking countries. This is the reflection of the difference in social structure, group structure, and family consciousness. Even when they are used as address terms in the data, they are classified as kinship terms based upon their original meanings.

There are also the English equivalents for many Expressions in the category *occupation/status*, especially domestic workers such as *aya* (nanny, maid), *chowkidar* (gatekeeper, janitor), and *mali* (gardener). However, the work of those workers and their relationship with the employers are quite different from those of the L1 English-speaking countries, and if the assumed readers include the peoples of U.S., Canada, Australia, etc. where the social mobility is quite high, the authors may be likely to use those native Expressions intentionally. And of course, there are occupations and statuses specific to Indian society, the nuance of which is difficult to express in English. The examples of status include *maharaj* (feudal lord), *rani* (queen), and *zamindar* (land-lord).

The other three categories are also closely linked with culture. Especially *flowers/trees/plants* are climate-bound and written with the original names in most cases of ordinary translation. Therefore, 164 tokens and 73 Expressions are quite reasonable. They include *neem*, *banyan* (both trees) *champa*, *kewra* (flowers), and *tulsi* (plant).

In India where the life itself is deeply rooted in religion, it is difficult to divide religion/mythology and rituals/customs. Those belonging to the latter have less religious nuance, though they may have their roots in religion, such as *mu dikhai* (first appearance of the bride in a wedding ceremony), *maaja* (first day of marriage), *Ayurveda* (traditional medicine and therapy), *bakhsheesh* (tip,

bribe).

The examples of *clothing/head & footwear* are *dhoti* (cloth to cover men's lower body), *salwaar* (women's loose trouser), *ghungat* (veil), *kurta* (collarless shirt), and *chappals* (sandals).

5.2.5 *Phrases/sentences* (76) is the sixth largest category. This is not a semantic category but a formal category. Since phrases and sentences are hardly possible to categorize by their meanings, this category is set up to include any phrase or sentence which does not obviously belong to other categories, such as orations, prayers or religious cries which belong to religion/mythology, and fixed forms of greetings. More than one third of Expressions (27) in this category are found in one work (No.34) and the rest (49) are distributed among 19 works. This means the use of phrases/sentences is strictly the matter of authors' styles, and the number is largely dependent on the selection of the base material. In the work No.34, many wordplays and poems, short dialogues and slogans create the vivid description of the situation such as follows:

(1) "Inquilab Zindabad!

Thozhilali Ekta Zindabad"

"Long live the Revolution!" they shouted. "Workers of the World Unite!" (Work 34)

(2) He turned to her with an affectionate, naughty smile. *"Allay edi, Kalyani?"* (Work 34)

Some of the Expressions in this category may seem to be words, not phrases or sentences when written in native languages, due to the different grammatical structures. However, when they are translated into English, they become phrases or sentences such as follows:

(3) *"Orkunnilley?"* (Work 34)

(4) *"..... aapu?"* (Work 18)

In case (1), the English equivalent is placed right after the Expression, but in case (2), which means, "Isn't that right, Kalyani?", no explanation is given. Neither is case (3), which means, "Do you remember?". In case (4), the meaning, "Shall I give you ....?", is given in the glossary. Thus, it may be said that the category *phrases/sentences*, by its nature, tends to cause more intelligibility problems than other categories, though it is effective to describe the local atmosphere more vividly.

5**.2.6** The tenth is *household articles* (56). In this category, many of the Expressions have English equivalents and therefore there is no necessity for their use as seen among the culture-bound items without English equivalents. An example of the former is *monbatti* (candle stick in Malayalam), and those of the latter are *charpoi* (string bed used in India and Middle East), *deepa* (lamp for festival) and *thali* (large metal dish for an assortment of meals).

The rest are the categories which are either limited in the number of Expressions, such as ornaments, address terms, houses/buildings, and transportation, or little culture-bound, such as time, nature, and number, or the items that don't frequently appear in the novels and short stories, such as *grain/cereal/vegetable/fruit/spice* (*g.c.v.f.s.* for short*), measurement/money unit*, and *weapon* except in those of battles.

6. Analysis of Means for Comprehension

6.1 Method

All the tokens, not the Expressions, are classified into nine groups in terms of the means by which the readers can understand them. The readers here are assumed to have no special knowledge or cultural heritage or interest in

India. These groups are:

DCC	Distant Context to understand the Category	61(tokens)
DCI	Distant Context to understand the Item	58
DWI	Distant Word to understand the Item	24
G	Glossary or Footnote	235
ICC	Immediate Context to understand the Category	1513
ICI	Immediate Context to understand the Item	78
IWC	Immediate Word to understand the Category	145
IWI	Immediate Word to understand the Item	276
NC	No Clue (totally dependent on the particular knowledge of readers)	936

6.2 Results and their Implications

Appendix 3 shows the ratio of means for comprehension described above.

6.2.1 Obvious is the fact that the readers mostly understand them by Immediate Context. Putting ICC and ICI together accounts for nearly half (47.8%) of the tokens. The reasons for this high ratio are as follows:

(i) Even though the authors are not aware of the need of explanation, the natural flow of context results in ICC or ICI.

(ii) As a technique, it is useful when the authors are aware that the explanation of an Expression is required for the readers outside the Indian world and the Indian readers not familiar with the particular language, but may be annoying for those familiar with the language.

6.2.2 There are seven works with glossary which contain from 10 to 187

Expressions. Five of them were published overseas and two of them are originally local publications having a glossary only for the overseas version. They obviously assume that the readers are outside Indian world.

6.2.3 No Clue means the readers' understanding depends on their knowledge of the Indian world. This accounts for 28.1% (936 tokens), the second largest percentage of the total tokens. This group of tokens implies that:

(i) An Expression is judged as commonsense within Indian and/or English-speaking worlds.

(ii) It is the reflection of the mixture of native Expressions in the everyday usage of English among certain classes in India, as reverse loan words.

(iii) The authors use the native Expressions without placing importance on their meaning, simply trying to create a rich local flavor and atmosphere.

6.2.4 In case of IWI and IWC, the authors are obviously aware of the need of some kind of explanation for the native Expression, since English words are placed in the immediate sentences, while in the case of DWI, it may be accidental that the equivalent words are found in the not-so-near sentences.

7. Relationship between Semantic Categories and Means for Comprehension

Appendix 4 shows the relationship between semantic categories and means for the readers' comprehension, and Appendices 5-1, 5-2, and 5-3 show the same relationship in simplified graphs for the upper half semantic categories in terms of tokens, which accounts for 87.4% of all tokens, each having more than 50 tokens.

7.1 In the majority of the upper half categories, ICC and NC account for the highest and second highest percentages, the natural consequence of the great number of ICC and NC in the total tokens. This implies that the readers

understand the native Expressions mostly by contextualization, though the authors may not be very keen on positively explaining their meaning. Even though these categories are very culture-bound, these Expressions are quite common in the Indian world, forming the integral part of Indian English usage, and the authors may use them unconsciously. This is an interesting phenomenon of code mixing, worth studying in detail for those interested in the language contact situation, but in the viewpoint of cross-cultural communication, the high ratio of NC may pose a difficult issue of understanding.

7.2 The exceptions are: *flowers/trees/plants* (6th) and *grain/cereal/ vegetable/fruit/spice* (16th), whose second highest ratio is IWC after the extremely high ICC ratio, which means that for the Expressions in these categories, some explanatory words can be easily attached, such as tree, leaf, flower, powder, and fruits; *phrases/sentences* (13th), for which IWI (highest), G and DWI combined account for 49.3%, and NC accounts for 30.1%, implying that the authors want to have the readers understand the exact meaning of those phrases and sentences in many cases, rather than just adding the local flavor.

7.3 The ratio of NC for *religion/mythology* (511) is 36.8%, for *kinship terms* (231), 28.1%, for *occupation/status* (222), 44.1%, for *address terms* (119), 51.39%, for *rituals/customs* (86), 36.0%, and *community/groups* (72), 44.4%. These may be challenges for the readers outside the Indian world, since they, especially religion/mythology and rituals/custom, are used due to the lack of English equivalents, not just for the local flavor. In addition, these Expressions may be familiar and commonly known to the Indians of different mother tongues, as they mostly refer to the very base of the common structure of Indian societies, i.e. tradition and human relations. In other words, they are an indispensable part of their English language, and to know them or not makes a

great difference in not only understanding the people with Indian heritage whom we may come across in daily transactions, but also in enjoying the rich and profound world of their English literature.

Conclusion

We have been faced with an unprecedented globalization of economy and human movement for the past few decades. We are getting more likely to live side by side with the people with different languages and cultural heritages. Under such conditions, literature written in English by non-native speakers of English is very helpful in understanding our neighbours from various countries. Especially, the role of native vocabulary, referred to as Expression in this paper, is significant, because they are the unmistakable markers of a particular culture and much more easily recognized and acknowledged than the use of a non-standard variety of English, which may be mistaken as error. Through the analysis of a large number of Expressions used in Indian Writings in English, their use proved to be quite effective in conveying the Indian cultural elements without too much danger of damaging the intelligibility.

We have seen that the more culture-bound the semantic categories are the larger the number of Expressions and tokens are found. It is shown also that the readers without particular knowledge of Indian culture understand them mostly from the contextualization intentionally or unintentionally employed by the authors. They, except those who assume their readers to be outside the Indian world to start with, are not very eager to explain their meaning at the cost of endangering the natural flow of the composition, and/or they are not really aware of the fact that they are mixing native Expressions into the English context, since such code-mixing is so spontaneous in their daily use of the English language.

However, when they juxtapose English equivalents to Expressions, that is IWI, they do realize the need to explain their meanings, even to the Indian readers since 116 tokens out of 283 (41%) are found in the 21 works published within India. This reflects the singularity of India as a nation. Though divided by religions and castes and other social groups, the people of India share many cultural traditions, values and customs. The problem is the diversity of their languages. It is quite common that the readers with the same religion and tradition as the authors may have a different mother tongue, and the authors are well aware of that. This is an interesting case of cross-cultural communication within a country, not among the different countries for which this term usually refers to. Similar cases may be seen in other countries with several different languages, but not in such a large scale as in India, providing an interesting field of research for cross-cultural communication specialists.

When we try to communicate our cultural elements to those who have no particular knowledge of them, we may at first attach explanations to them in some way or other. Then the audience outside our culture will gradually get used to such culture-bound words and phrases, until finally they become widely known, and, in some cases, they become a part of the lexicon of other languages. The famous examples in Japanese which have become known to the outside world are *kimono (clothing/head & footwear)*, *sushi (food/drink/smoke)*, *tatami (housing/building)*, *samurai (occupation/status)*, *karaoke (amusement/ art/literature)*, etc.

The great many Indian native Expressions found in the data are in various degrees of such permeation. Some of them are very popular in fashion or cooking with an ethnic touch, such as *sari, kurta, chapatti, chutney*, etc., and in some cases, they have even acquired different and/or wider meaning compared to their original meanings in the context of other languages, such as *pajama* and

bungalow. But most others are known only to those who have special interest in India. Naturally, the Expressions which appear in multiple works are either in more advanced degree of permeation, or will become as such in a relatively short time. Only time will tell how many of them will become known commonly in all the corners of the world. In any case, such permeation is a potential criterion to measure how much a particular culture is understood and accepted outside its original sphere. In that sense, this research may serve as a starting point for one area of cross-cultural communication studies.

Indian Writings in English with such a great number of Expressions not only gives us an insight into their use of English and their native languages in terms of domestic communication, but also do and will play an important role in promoting the understanding of different peoples of the world.

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1987 *Report from the Slums of India* Akashi Shoten, Tokyo

Kamei, Takashi; Kono, Rokuro; Chino, Eiichi (ed.)

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1980 *World History of People's Life 5: India* Kawadeshobo Shinsha, Tokyo

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1996 *History of Untouchables and Caste* Akashi Shoten, Tokyo

Sha, Shurei

1990 *Do not burn the bride! - Issues of Dowry Murder in India* Akashi Shoten, Tokyo

Torii, Chiyoka

1996 *Introduction to Women's Studies in India* Shinsuisha, Tokyo

Verghese, Jamila (trans. by Torii, Chiyoka)

1984 *Her Gold and Her Body* Sanichi Shobo, Tokyo

Yamashita, Akiko

1986 *Untouchable Women of India* Akashi Shoten, Tokyo

Appendix 1: List of Works for the Base Material

No.	Author & Note	Title	Publisher	Year
1.	Appachana, Anjana I,G	*Incantations*	Rutgers Univ. Press	1992
2.	Aikath-Gyaltsen, Indrani I, UP	*Daughters of the House*	Ballantine	1991
3.	Aravind, Nirmala L	*A Video, a Fridge and a Bride*	Rupa PB	1995
4.	Bhatia Ritu	*Guru & Other Stoires*	Har-Anand	1996 S, L
5.	Butalia, Urvashi (ed.) S, L	*In Other Words*	Kali for Women	1992
6.	Chabria, Priya 1995 Sarukkai L	*The Other Garden*	Rupa PB	
7.	da Cunha, Nisha S, L	*Set My Heart in Aspic*	Harper Collins	1997
8.	Das, Kamala I, T	*My Story*	Sterling Publishers	1988
9.	Desai, Anita I	*Fire on the Mountain*	Penguin	1984
10.	Desai, Kiran	*Hullabaloo in the*	Atlantic Monthly	1998

I	*Guava Orchard*		
11. Deshpande, Shashi L	*A Matter of Time*	Penguin Original	1996
12. Futehally, Shama L	*Tara Lane*	Ravi Dayal	1993
13. Ganesan, Indira T, I	*Inheritance*	A.A. Knopf	1998
14. Gupta, Ruby S, L	*The Fulfillment*	Har-Anand	1996
15. Jhabvala, Ruth Prawar I	*The Householder*	W.W.Norton	1960
16. Hariharan, Githa S, L	*The Art of Dying*	Penguin Original	1993
17. Jung, Anees L	*Unveiling India*	Penguin	1987
18. Kamani, Ginu S, I, G	*Junglee Girl*	aunt lute books	1995
19. Kapur, Manju I, (G)	*Difficult Daughters*	Faber & Faber	1998
20. Kirchner, Bharti I	*Shiva Dancing*	Dutton	1998
21. Kottary, Gajra S, L	*Fragile Victories*	Har-Anand	1996
22. Lahiri, Jhumpa I, T	*Interpreter of Maladies*	Harper Collins	1999
23. Mahindra, Indra	*The End Play*	Interlink	1995

I, G

24. Markandaya, Kamala — *Nectar in a Sieve* — Signet Classic — 1954 — I, G

25. Meer, Ameena — *Bombay Talkie* — High Risk Books — 1994 — I

26. Mehta, Gita — *A River Sutra* — Penguin — 1993 — T, I

27. Mistry, Ursula — *The Nanta Devi Miracle* — JAICO Books — 1997 — L

28. Mukundan, Dist. — *Indian Short Stories II* — UBS Pubishers' — 1994 — Monisha (ed.) — S, L

29. NambisaLn, Kavery — *The Scent of Pepper* — Penguin — Original 1996 — L

30. Narang, Saloni — *The Coloured Bangles* — Three Continents — 1983 — S, I

31. Nilekani, Rohini — *Stillborn* — Penguin — 1998 — L

32. Perera, Padma — *Dr. Salaam and Other Stories* — Capra Press — 1978 — S, I

33. Ramakrishnan, Prema — *The Homemaker & Other Stories* — Harper Collins — 1994 — S, L

34. Roy, Arundhati — *The God of Small Things* — IndiaInk — 1997 — T. I

35. Sahgal, Nayantara — *Rich Like Us* — SCEOTRE Books — 1983

	I, G		
36. Saran, Sathya	*Night Train*	Har-Anand	1996
	S, L		
37. Sawhney, Kusum	*Wych Stories*	Har-Anand	1996
	S, L		
38. Shah, Deepa	*The Solitude of Surabhi*	Penguin Original	1997
	L		
39. Sharma, Bulbul	*The Perfect Woman*	UBS Publishers	1994
	S, L		
40. Singh, Mina	*A Partial Woman*	Kali for Women	1997
	L		

<Abbreviation in Note>

I: international publication

L: local publication

S: short stories

G: with glossary, (G) glossary only for overseas versions

T: translated into Japanese

UP: uncorrected proof

Appendix 2: Semantic Cultural Categories

Categories	Description
abstract	abstract nouns
activities/organizations/ movements	public/private activities, social organizations & movements

address terms	social terms to address the people
amusement/art/literature	any kind of amusement, games, plays, entertainment, art, and literature, and their related names, styles, materials and instruments
animals/birds/fish/insects	any living creature except plant
clothing/head & footwear	clothes, shoes, sandals, hats, veils, shawls, etc.
community/groups	castes, ethnic groups, social groups
flowers/trees/plants	flowers, trees, plants either living or used as ornaments, etc., but not as food
food/drink/smoke	cooked food, drink, and smoke, not raw material
grain/cereal/vegetable/fruit/spices	raw material of food, including those for flavors
greetings	words and/or phrases of greetings in fixed form
houses/buildings	including a part of a house and/or a building
household articles	including furniture
institutions	public institutions such as police, schools, etc.
interjections	including interjectional phrases
kinship terms	terms to indicate family relationship
measurement/money units	units for length, area, weight, and currency
nature	nature and natural phenomena
numbers	both cardinal and ordinal
occupation/status	terms to indicate job and/or social status
onomatopoeia	bang, bang! shoo-shoo, etc.
personal attributes	terms to indicate a personal character or state,
phrases/sentences	phrases and sentences regardless of the meaning
places	places associated with human activities, such as street, park, market, etc.

religion/mythology	name of gods/goddesses, faith, creeds, ceremonies, legends, names associated with mythology and holy scripts, but not historical person in any religion
rituals/customs	except religious rituals and customs
state/nature of things	mainly adjectives
time	time, days, and seasons
transportation	vehicles on land and sea
weapons	guns, knives, etc.
miscellaneous	expressions which do not belong to any of above, and/or ones whose meaning is not clear