

Interdependency of Language and Social Views:
A Study of Women's Social Position in a Bangla Speech Community



Department of English and Humanities (ENH)

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A Thesis Submitted in Fulfillment of the Requirements for Degree of
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Table of Content

	Page
Abstract	1
Chapter One: Introduction	
1.1 Rationale of Study	2
1.2 Limitations of Study	3
1.3 Methodology	3
Chapter Two: Literature Review	4
Chapter Three: Analysis	
3.1 Morphology and Semantics	13
3.1.1 Naming	13
3.1.2 Semantic Derogation	18
3.2 Oral Culture of Women	20
3.2.1 Conversation Analysis	20
3.3 Analysis of Survey	22
Chapter Four: Discussion	
4.1 Society Influencing Language	29
4.2 Language Influencing Society	30
Chapter Five: Conclusion	33
References	34

Abstract

Works of many feminists, linguists and sociologists have suggested the notion that all languages are man-made and man-driven to carry out the male agenda, and it plays a role in creating and maintaining a certain social hierarchy and the position of women in the society. This can, to some extent explain the widely practiced treatment of women as secondary members of the society and family. This paper presents a first-hand study of the Bangla language from a feminist point of view. In the process, it aims to draw attention to the derogatory view of women upheld by a particular construction of language, shows how the language affects the view of the society and vice versa, and attempts to come up with a way of creating a unisex language. It also aims to show that the ideas regarding the pattern in the use of language by women and men are not based on facts and in most cases, untrue.

Chapter One: Introduction

Language is a powerful weapon that is influenced and controlled by the dominant force, and when controlled, language itself aids in maintaining their position of authority. It is true in case of nations, races, political parties and the battle of sexes. If the distribution of weapons is balanced, then both sides can hold a fair competition and maintain a balance in the whole picture. Similarly, if we can bring a balance of male and female dominance over the language we use everyday, it can also bring a balance in the power struggle between the two sexes. But as it is an indistinctive part of our everyday life, we do not realize that we, the people in the society, are being influenced and controlled by our own speech. For the same reason there have been a much smaller number of feminist movements on the matter of language than any other issues of discrimination and dehumanization. So, clearly, the process of understanding language as a weapon and bringing the balance of power must be a conscious one. And research such as this one, or the ones referenced in this study, are not only helpful, but necessary, to bring any substantial change in the position of women in all the societies.

1.1 Rationale of Study

Though there have been a good number of feminist analyses done of languages, most of them are from the English speaking world, and barely any from Bangladesh or on the Bangla language. This research is done as a step towards filling a gap that has been created in the field of research on Bangla language for lack of consciousness regarding the feminist issue in the use and evolution of language. The researcher here assumes that the social structure of Bangladesh influences the widely used language to be sexist – i.e. to foster stereotypes of social roles based on sex and be prejudiced against one sex (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, <http://www.merriam->

webster.com/) – and at the same time the language is also affecting the growth and development of the society, and through this paper attempts to prove this point.

1.2 Limitations of Study

Very little work has been done on Bangla in this field. So the literature review for this research mostly contains works of western authors and researchers done on English language. To overcome this limitation, much empirical work had to be done by this researcher. And even then finding a sound sample of data was very difficult because of time and budget constraints. The survey was of small scale and could only include the people living in the capital city, who have received a certain amount of education and belongs to only a limited sphere of the society. But the researcher tried to include people from as many ages and professions as possible to get a diverse enough point of view.

1.3 Methodology

The research for this thesis was done in two parts – literature review and empirical analysis of discourse.

The literature review consists of theories on the areas on which this research was done, and the findings of previous researches on those fields. An effort was made to cover all the points that have been argued in the Analysis and Discussion sections. The theories include linguistics, psychology, sociology and politics (feminism).

For empirical analysis, a small-scale survey was done on a random group of participants with the use of a questionnaire. The results were compiled in a table, by representing the calculations in percentage. A conversation analysis was also presented for which a random authentic mixed-sex conversation was recorded and analyzed in relation to participation and topics.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

A feminist view on language is rather necessary, but the society rarely understands its importance or even its possible implications. To establish a relation of language with feminism, we first need to know what feminism is. According to Cameron (1992), "At a political level, feminism is a movement for the full humanity of women" (p. 4). She deliberately excluded 'equality' from the definition of feminism as the word implies 'equality by the standard of men'. The different kinds of relations between men and women in our society are 'constructed, rather than natural.' The aim of feminism is mainly to figure out *how* these are constructed, and how we can, by understanding their construction, take steps to bring change in the picture. This process works about women's condition through two interrelated methods – *describing* and *theorizing*, or explaining. Language is concerned with the representation of women, as "[l]anguage too is a medium of representation," and linguistics comes together with feminism to describe and theorize the 'image of women' that we find in the current ways of representation.

The psychological theory of behaviourism, founded by J.B. Watson, can, to a great extent, explain how language aids in maintaining a certain image of women that has been created, and become internalized in members of the society without them realizing. Behaviourism can be called a "mental activity (including language use) [that] can be explained in terms of habits, or patterns of stimulus and response, built up through conditioning" (Malmkjaer, 2002, p. 59). B.F. Skinner was a well-known behaviourist who proposed and supported a type of conditioning, termed 'operant conditioning.' His experiment involved rats and pigeons who were given 'positive reinforcement' (food) when displaying expected behaviour and 'negative reinforcement' (punishment) when they behaved otherwise, and eventually succeeded in eliciting the exact behaviour he wanted. "Skinner argued that desirable behaviour can be shaped by his

operant conditioning techniques as undesirable behaviour is ignored and desirable behaviour is reinforced” (Curtis and O’Hagan, 2003, p. 35). Skinner claimed that “it is possible to tackle linguistic meaning without recourse to the internal structure and life histories of speakers” (Malmkjaer, 2002, p. 60). According to traditional behaviourists, when children start learning a language mostly by imitating what they observe in the surrounding environment, they learn the standard form of used language by receiving positive reinforcement for the correct use of language. “This [positive reinforcement] could take the form of praise or just successful communication” (Lightbown and Spada, 2006, p. 10). In the same way, we are conditioned to imitate and adapt to various forms of sexist linguistic behaviour, as otherwise we fail to communicate successfully.

Semiotics or Semiology is the study of signs and symbols, and their signification or meaning. One of the ways of looking at semiotics is ‘structuralism’, which includes the study of how meanings are constructed and understood. Ferdinand de Saussure had the most important role in the foundation of both semiology and structuralism. Structuralists believe that “language should be studied as a self-contained system defined by the internal relations of its parts” (Cameron, 1992, p. 23) and not in relation to external factors such as history, society, philosophy or pedagogy. At the centre of a first-order semiological system is the *sign*, which is the fusion of the *signifier* and the *signified*. The signifier is an object, or the meaning itself, which points to a concept, that is the signified. The relation between these two is defined with the sign, which can be a name or a symbol. In the figure below we can see the *meaning triangle* from Ogden and Richards (as cited in Sowa, 2000, sec. 2). On the lower left is an icon that resembles a cat named Yojo (signifier). The cloud on the top gives an impression of the neural response (concept) induced at the sight of Yojo. On the right is a printed symbol (sign) that represents his name.

That neural response, called a *concept*, is the *mediator* that relates the symbol to its object. “Signs separate reality from its representation” as the association of sign to both the object and the concept, i.e. the naming, is completely arbitrary.

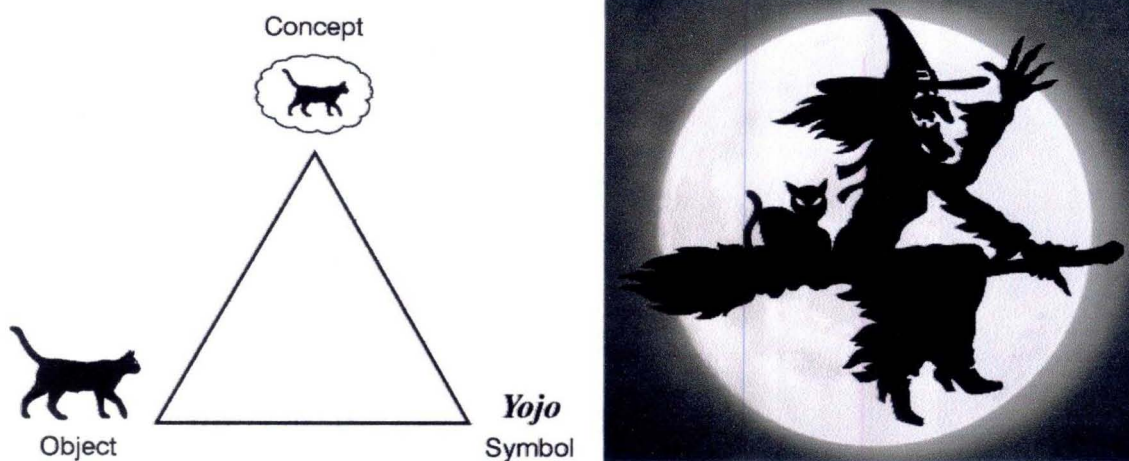


Figure 1 & 2: Ogden and Richards' *meaning triangle* and the myth of the black cat

When external factors, as mentioned before, come into play, a second-order semiological system is born. This second-order system, *Myth*, is defined by Roland Barthes as “nothing but this ceaseless, untiring solicitation, this insidious and inflexible demand that all men recognize themselves in this image, eternal yet bearing a date, which was built of them one day as if for all time” (Barthes, 1984, p. 156). In this case, the sign (or the name) itself from the first-order becomes the signifier and signifies a new concept. Because the original meaning and the concept both were arbitrary, there is no system which might prevent the concept to be replaced by a new one. And thus, the black cat Yojo, can eventually be associated with witches and be considered unlucky, as a new signifier is associated with its sign. In the same process, words and phrases having one meaning can come to mean something entirely different with passing of time, when influenced by a certain community of language users and their beliefs.

The change in a name or its meaning happens through a conscious process, and so “[n]ew names [...] have their origins in the perspective of those doing the naming rather than in the object or event that is being named” (Spender, 1985, p. 164). But thereon the object or events are known and understood by those given names, so “those who have the power to name the world are in a position to influence reality” (p. 165). For example, when the pronoun ‘*he*’ is used for God, a certain kind of authoritative position over the whole humanity is created for males.

The field of sex and sexuality, among others, is one monopolized by men with terms that assert male dominance, which creates a by-default weak and passive position for women. Not only the “names” of objects, but those assigned to ‘events and activities’ as well

often encode a male perspective. Cameron 1985 discusses terms such as penetration, fuck, screw, and lay, all of which turn heterosexual sex into something men do to women. (Penetration from a female perspective would be more appropriately encoded as enclosure, surrounding, or engulfing.) What becomes clear from such terms is the extent to which language serves as an ideological filter on the world: language shapes or constructs our notions of reality, rather than labeling that reality in any transparent and straightforward way (Ehrlich and King, 1994, p. 60).

The first person to have worked on the issue of feminist linguistics is Lakoff (1973). She wrote, “The marginality and powerlessness of women is reflected in both the ways women are expected to speak, and the ways in which women are spoken of” (Lakoff, 1973, p. 45). She observed that women are expected to act and talk in a certain way, which is different from men, and it is imposed or practiced since a person’s childhood. A girl has to be a ‘little lady’ before she grows up. They cannot use any form of profanity or even harmless slang-words (e.g. ‘fudge’ in “Oh fudge, my hair is on fire.”) that little boys use. They are made accustomed to use phrases

like 'dear me' while expressing surprise or anxiety. Not only is women's speech restricted (at least up to a certain period in social history, or within certain places) with expectations from the world, but the way they are spoken of is constructed very carefully as to keep defining them as secondary beings incapable of any seriousness or individuality.

Women have a different position in language just as in society. Throughout history words denoting men and women have gone through very different treatment. "The term used to denote a semantic change whereby a word acquires debased or obscene reference is *pejoration*, and its opposite is *amelioration*" (Schulz, 1990, p. 135). Every female-denoting word in English from 'Madam' to 'mother' has gone through some kind of pejoration at one point of time or another, almost always having negative sexual connotations, most often meaning 'a prostitute'. Any word expressing older age or physical unattractiveness of a woman is always a disrespectful word, e.g. 'warhorse', 'crone', 'drab', 'slut' etc. Words describing old women are much more insulting in use than words describing old men. For example – 'geezer' ("an eccentric, queer old man") and 'codger' ("a mildly derogatory, affectionate term for an old man") as opposed to 'hag' ('an ugly, slatternly, or evil-looking old woman') and 'beldam' ('an old woman, particularly an ugly one'). Many feminine words express a less respectful, and sometimes even disrespectful, meaning when compared to their male counterparts. For example – 'governor' ('one that exercises authority especially over an area or group') as opposed to 'governess' ('a woman who cares for and supervises a child especially in a private household'), 'master' ('one having authority over another') as opposed to 'mistress' ('a woman other than his wife with whom a married man has a continuing sexual relationship') etc.

Bergmann (1986) wrote about jokes that display and promote sexism in the name of innocent humor. Unlike men's claims, jokes about women or feminists are not just witty puns

and humorous criticism of their actions that deserve criticism; women are blatantly laughed at in these jokes for several different reasons created by men. Bergmann mentioned three – because of false stereotypes of stupidity and irrationality about women; for not fitting into those stereotypes, i.e. being intelligent or rational; and thirdly, for just being a woman or doing anything as a woman, the term for which is ‘syllogism’.

Thus, consciousness-raising turns out to be a fancy name for women's gossip and babble; a feminist is a frustrated woman who couldn't catch her fellow; and we are assured that there is indeed a generic use of the word "man" that applies to females, as well as to males, on the strength of the formula "Man embraces woman." Here the fun is in deflating specific feminist views and practices, as if they did not merit serious consideration in their own right (Bergmann, 1986, p. 64-65).

Not only ‘words about women’, but also ‘words of women’ is labeled with ample negativity. Women are widely believed, even by many women, to be talkative and loud. Jones (1990) wrote on this topic in an organized manner, based on a framework by Ervin-Tripp (as cited in Jones, 1990, p. 244) to study women’s ‘verbal behaviour.’ Setting, participants, topic, formal features and functions are noted as the elements of gossip (Jones, 1990, p. 244). Women’s gossip is usually set in the private and personal domain and is often interrupted by their household or familial responsibilities. The participants of gossip are women, as “Gossip is essentially talk between women in our common role *as women*” (p. 244). Here, it is also pointed out that gossip is one of women’s strengths, and attacking it is a male viewpoint that has been internalized. The topic of gossip is always personal, regarding the speakers’ or others’ lives. The features of women’s gossip include questions asked about the significance of the shared information. Paralinguistic responses are also a characteristic of gossip. The functional

categories of gossip, as discussed by Jones, are – house-talk (“the exchange of information and resources connected with the female role as an occupation.”), scandal (“judging of the behaviour of others, and women in particular” based on ‘domestic morality’ developed from “sexist moral codes which women enforce but do not create.”), bitching (“overt expression of women’s anger at their restricted role and inferior status.”) and chatting (according to Chesler (as cited in Jones, 1990, p. 248), acquiring ‘emotional resolution or comfort’ through sharing feelings and analyzing each others experiences in a ‘sensitive matching process’).

In *The Myth of Mars and Venus*, Cameron (2007) defined myth in two ways – “a widespread but false belief”, and “a story people tell” to explain their identity origin or behaviour, which may or may not be historically true but “have consequences in the real world”. She went on to prove that the myth that men and women speak very differently, and so have communication problems on a regular basis, is in fact not true, and that everybody knows and accepts this clarification is important because this false notion is creating injustice for both women and men, and sometimes even a greater chance of danger for women. The misconception is being used to defend men in cases of sexual assault against women, saying that the man “genuinely, and through no fault of his own, have understood a woman to be consenting to sex when by her own account she was doing no such thing.” (Cameron, 2007, p. 4) If pop-psychologists keep fueling this myth and no one does anything to stop them, many more people will have to go through difficult and painful situations like the one mentioned.

In “Man Made Language” Spender (1985) compiled records of conscious decisions to use male-centered language, taken by male linguists and state leaders at a time when girls were denied access to the opportunity of formal education. As a result of those decisions, we can see numerous instances in the use of English that supports the idea of males as more ‘natural’ beings

than females. The very words 'male' and 'fe-male' is an example of that. She phrased the idea as 'man embraces woman', in the sense that words like 'man' and 'he' are accepted as a reference to both males and females, creating ambiguity in case of females only, but "any speaker who refers to males as *she/woman* is mentally disturbed," (Spender, 1985, p. 159) leaving ample scope to exclude women from a big portion of language. She quoted Rowbotham (as cited in Spender, 1985, p. 158), who wrote, "Now *she* represents a woman but *he* is mankind, [and i]f *she* enters mankind *she* loses herself in *he*." (p. 158) It also creates a need to make derivations of masculine words to specify females, such as 'woman' or 'heiress', while no base word for any creature or person is considered feminine and thus we find no masculine word that is an derivation of its feminine counterpart for a change.

Ehrlich and King (1994) argued that even if we come up with unisex terms in order to reform the language in use, it may or may not have success in reality, depending on the speaker(s) and the socio-linguistic background they are in. "Because linguistic meanings are, to a large extent, socially constructed and constituted, terms initially introduced to be nonsexist and neutral may lose their neutrality in the mouths of a sexist speech community and/or culture." (Ehrlich and King, 1994, p. 59) However, there can be extensive approaches to resist this attitude and establish a politicized language that defies the subtle sexism present in the current form of language use. They quoted Gal who stated that there are two ways of resisting "dominant representations" – "(a) they can replace forms (sexist) that already exist in a language, or (b) they can encode phenomena that have previously gone unnamed" (as cited in Ehrlich and King, 1994, p. 61). For example, replacing the 'masculine generic' *he* with the 'neutral generic' *they*, and coming up with 'feminist linguistic innovations' such as terms like *sexism* and *sexual harassment*.

In the chapter called "Theory of Sexual Politics" in her book, Millett (2000) explained how patriarchy infiltrates all sectors of our life including ideological, biological, sociological, class, economic and educational, force, anthropological and psychological ones, by dissecting the society and looking at each of these spheres separately. She quoted the *American Heritage Dictionary* with the definition of 'politics' as "methods or tactics involved in managing a state or government" (as cited in Millett, 2000, p. 23). Sexual divide fits into the idea of politics when we look at the social institution as a 'patriarchal government.' As "patriarchy as an institution is a social constant so deeply entrenched as to run through all other political, social, or economic forms," (Millett, 2000, p. 25) she asserted that we cannot dispose of discrimination against women in any way while we are sticking to the current system; we must take apart the whole institution and construct a new society altogether where women have the position of control that they now lack.

Chapter Three: Analysis

3.1 Morphology and Semantics

3.1.1 Naming

The Bangla word for 'man/human' is 'মানুষ', which is not a masculine word like one of its English alternatives, but this word derived from the word 'মনু' [> মনুষ্য > মানুষ], who was the first created man, the Hindu mythology counterpart of Adam. Another word meaning 'human' that has its use in Bangla 'আদমি' has derived from Arabic and its origin is the name 'Adam'. Both these words acknowledge only the original Father of the human race and the Mother's reference is completely lost.

If we take the masculine versus the feminine column of the Bangla words, we will see that in most of the cases the base word is masculine, and the feminine form is some sort of alteration or inflection of it. Some examples are as follows:

Masculine	Feminine
নর	নারী
পতি	পত্নী
লেখক	লেখিকা
দুঃখী	দুঃখিনী

Table 1: Feminine words derived from masculine

If the same word is appropriate for both the feminine and masculine forms, 'মহিলা' or 'নারী' is added before it without exception when referring to a female. For example:

Masculine	Feminine
কবি	মহিলা কবি
প্রমিক	নারী প্রমিক

Table 2: Adding feminine prefix to masculine

This norm is followed everywhere from day to day conversations to newspaper articles.

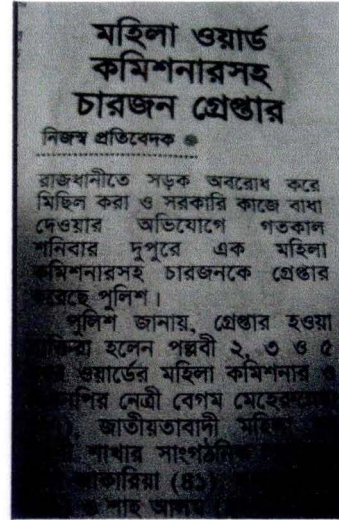
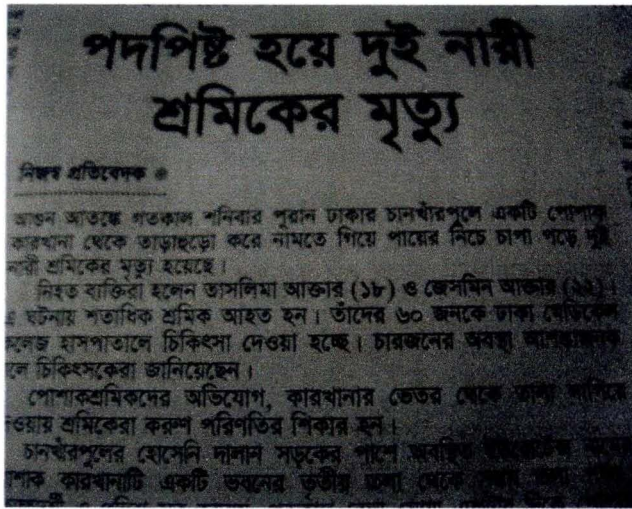


Figure 3 & 4: Newspaper articles containing profession names with feminine prefix

There are two words in Bangla – ছেলমানুষ and মেয়েমানুষ, which, though similar in looks, have very different meanings for the masculine-looking and the feminine-looking words. The word মানুষ, with the addition of ছেলে (boy), expresses the new meaning of 'young, immature or inexperienced' person (both male or female); while the word মানুষ, added with মেয়ে (girl), retains its meaning. It denotes the fact that just like many other neutral nouns in Bangla (কবি, শ্রমিক, পুলিশ etc.), the word মানুষ also requires the addition of মেয়ে in front of it to have the effect of its meaning as female. Similarly the word মেয়েছেলে (girl) treats the word 'ছেলে' as an equivalent to 'মানুষ', giving the complete word a very different meaning from 'ছেলেমেয়ে' (boy and girl).

In the family sphere, the words denoting 'husband' and 'wife' do not show an equal share of authority. Two synonyms of 'husband' are 'স্বামী' and 'পতি'. স্বামী literally means 'owner', e.g. in ভূস্বামী, গৃহস্বামী, 'বিচার দিলের স্বামী' etc. পতি means 'protector' or 'ruler' or 'master', as in রাষ্ট্রপতি, কোর্টপতি, বিশ্বপতি etc. Sometimes, the word 'কর্তা' is used to mean 'husband', which means 'the owner or head of an institution'.

There are also some words in Bangla that only have a feminine form. Such as – সতীন, ডাইনী, ললনা etc. If we take a look at their meanings, we will see why they do not have masculine forms. The words ললনা, রূপসী and অঙ্গনা all mean something similar to ‘a beautiful or physically attractive woman’, and these are commonly used in sexually suggestive meanings. As men are not spoken or written about in this way, or rather women are expected not to speak with sexually suggestive words, there is no masculine form for these words. The words সতীন (co-wives), ডাইনী (wicked witch) and বিমাতা (step mother) all have very negative connotations in Bengali culture. The word ‘witch’ in English language can mean both a good or bad woman with magical abilities, and therefore has a masculine counterpart, ‘wizard’. But as in Bangla it specifically means ‘an evil woman, with or without magical powers, but usually old’ (equivalent to the English word ‘hag’), it does not have a masculine form. It is believed, as expressed in many proverbs and folk tales that two wives of a man can never have a civil relationship, and all step mothers are evil and cruel to their step children. The words সতীন, বিমাতা and ধর্মপত্নী (first wife) not having masculine forms implies the men’s right to polygamy and women’s lack of right to it. The words বিশ্ববা and সম্ববা have masculine as বিশ্বকীক and সম্বকীক, but they were included in the feminine-only section (আলম ও অধিকারী, ২০০৭, p.), probably because as these feminines are not derived from their masculine counterparts, they are assumed to be distinct words.

The word ‘স্ত্রী’ means ‘(of the) female (sex)’, and is used in pair with the masculine words ‘পুং’ (male), ‘পুরুষ’ (man) and ‘স্বামী’ (husband). While the masculines denote different meanings (the sex, the gender and the role in a family respectively), the feminine is the one simply denoting the sex.

On the other hand, the word পুরুষ has three feminine counterparts in use – নারী, স্ত্রী and মহিলা – whose use is completely arbitrary. It leaves us with a question of what to call a woman. নারী is

derived from নর, the masculine; স্ত্রী is a word denoting a creature's sex; and মহিলা is a word whose root is in the word মহল(house, or part of a house), meaning 'those who stay within the confines of a house' (শরীফ, ১৯৯৬, p. 457), and is considered a less sophisticated word than নারী. There's another word for woman in the Bangla dictionary, আওরত/আউরত, which came from Arabic and has its root in the word 'awrah' meaning 'nakedness', and sometimes 'defectiveness', 'imperfection', 'blemish' or 'weakness' (Cowan, 1993, p. 131). In Bangla, it is most often used in a derogatory sense, e.g. বেপর্দা আওরত (ইসহাক, ১৯৯৩, p. 95).

The honorific terms for women (মাননীয়া, মহোদয়া, মহাশয়া etc.) in Bangla are also derived from the masculine. But a term originated from Arabic is জনাব, which in spite of being a word for both men and women (শরীফ, ১৯৯৬, p. 217), is used for men only. It has no proper feminine term. The two words that are used as feminine counterparts of জনাব are বেগম and জনাবা, which actually mean 'wife' and 'sexual impurity' (Islamic Dictionary, <http://www.islamic-dictionary.com/>) respectively, thus are not honorific terms at all.

As the tradition of the whole world requires carrying a family name through generations, every person has a surname. And in a patriarchal language like Bangla, this name can only be passed on by the males of the family. Whether a child is female or male, they must take the surname of their father, and when a girl is married, she must take the surname of her husband. Even if a girl can choose not to take her husband's name, they still must carry another man's (her father) name with her own, as it is not an option to take her mother's surname or no surname at all.

Women are often given titles based on honours that their husbands have received, e.g. a Lord's wife is called a Lady. But when a woman earns such a title, their husbands do not accept or are not given an automatic title. The society expects that a man will earn their own title and

his wife will be known by her husband's achievement. A British woman who has inherited the throne is called the Queen and her husband is called a Prince, but a woman becomes Queen by getting married to a King through bloodline. In a somewhat similar way, there is a Bengali custom of calling a person's wife by his profession or achievement, or even his name, e.g. 'DC ভাৰী' (a District Commissioner's wife), 'আশরাফ ভাৰী' etc.

A sports event, if named independently, denotes only the men's sector. For example – বিশ্বকাপ ক্রিকেট (Cricket World Cup) means the men's event, but if one wants to express the name of the women's event, they must add the word 'প্রমিলা' or 'মহিলা' in front of it.

3.1.2 Semantic Derogation

Many words in Bangla indicating females have gone through negative evolutions and ultimately came to mean something derogatory, much like most of the feminine words in English. Though the number of such words in Bangla is much less than those of English, most of the insults in this language involves insulting a woman (especially the attacked person's female relative) in the process.

The original meaning of the word 'মাগী/মাগি' is 'adult woman' (শরীফ, 458), but with time came to be a derogatory term, meaning 'prostitute' or 'slut'.

The word 'বেটি' etymologically means 'daughter'. It eventually acquired the meaning of 'woman', but in a very belittling sense.

Numerous insults in the Bangla language contains the word 'মা' or 'mother', and involves sexual slurs regarding the mother of the person being attacked. Similarly there are insults involving the attacked person's sister. A widely known and used insult is 'শালা/শালী', literally meaning 'brother/sister-in-law' (wife's younger brother/sister). It is used to verbally attack a person implying that the speaker has sexual relation with the said person's sister.

Women are also continuously objectified through language. One derogatory word is ‘মাল’, which literally means ‘goods’ or ‘product’, but is used to identify ‘an attractive female’.

Like in English, calling a man ‘মেয়ে’ in Bangla is also considered to be an insult. It is a custom for sports coaches or army trainers to call their apprentices ‘girls’ or ‘ladies’ to get them fired up and working harder.

All over the world, the two worst insults for a girl is believed to be ‘fat’ and ‘old’. It is no different in Bangla. In a random sampling of facebook conversations it was observed that the most used insult among guys are ‘retard’, ‘gay’ and ‘fokira’, and most used insult among girls are ‘slut’, ‘bitch’ and ‘moti’. It shows that boys consider their intelligence, heterosexuality (often considered same as manliness) and financial independence to be required factors to be worthy of respect. And a girl’s most treasured possession is supposed to be her chastity and physical fitness, or rather attractiveness. The worst thing a girl can do is sexual promiscuity, thus the wide use of ‘slut’ as an insult, while on the other hand, ‘playboy’ is considered to be a compliment among guys.

In wedding rituals, there is a Bengali custom of কন্যা সম্প্রদান (bestowing the daughter) very similar to that of ‘giving away the bride’ in western cultures. After the wedding, when the girl goes to live in the in-laws’ house, it is said to be ‘তুলে দেয়া/উঠিয়ে নেয়া’ (sending/receiving) of the girl. In both the instances, the terms treat the girl as an object to be given away, sent and received.

In Bengali culture, acquaintances are not called by name (unless they are very close), but given the title of a relative to show respect. Acquaintances of approximately the same age group are considered as siblings. So male acquaintances are called ভাই, and in that relation their wives are called ভাৰী (brother’s wife). There is a practice of calling female acquaintances ভাৰী even when

they are not acquainted through the husband. This reflects and exercises a dependency of women's identity on their male counterparts.

3.2 Oral Culture of Women

In the field of oral culture, i.e. the speech patterns as commonly practiced and perceived, women are assumed to be talkative, loud and in the matter of topics, very limited, in both all-women and mixed-sex conversations. The term 'gossip' is widely used to define women's talk, which supposedly involves conversations about other people and their personal business, often unverified rumours, with comments on their character and behaviour. The conversations among a group of women are believed to be useless, only a way to idle away their leisure time.

The following analysis of a mixed-sex conversation among three university students show the comparison of a male and a female person's participation in a conversation in terms of maxim of quantity, turn taking and course of topic change.

3.2.1 Conversation Analysis

The recorded conversation is mainly between 3 people (2 boys – O and R, and 1 girl – P) – they were told that they would be recorded, but not told the purpose – and 1 other person (B) providing three random dialogues from outside of the conversation. The Setting is the interior of a running car. The Addressor, Addressee and the Audience are all the participants of the conversation. The Channel is mostly speech and occasionally signs. The Code being used here is informal Bangla and it is in the Message-form of chatting in the Event of a conversation among friends. We can notice several Discourse Topics – *fasting for the month of Ramadan, the food of a fast food chain, a recently deceased author, a beggar (self-initiated), the location and direction of a house, the volume of people's voices, people crossing roads dangerously, a billboard advertisement, the air-conditioner of the car and some girl's appearance and attitude (g), and*

three sub-topics – *the previously mentioned author's personal life* (g), *a different author* and *the first author's first marriage and family* (g). Among these topics, those that can be classified as topics for 'gossip' have been marked with a 'g' in parenthesis next to the topic.

The following calculations were made from the conversation transcript:

Quantity:

O : 86

R : 74

P : 89

B : 3

Topic Initiation:

[the digits in the parenthesis denote sub-topics]

O : 5 (+1) > gossip: 2

R : 3 (+1) > gossip: 1

P : 1 (+1)

Longest Dialogue:

O : 8

R : 2

P : 4

Most Interruption :

O : 8

R : 11

P : 1

In the question of quantity, it can be seen that the most number of dialogues and the most number of interruptions comes from the female participant, which adheres to the popular belief that women talk more than men. But we must also notice that she is closely followed in number by one of the male participants, O, in dialogues, and another, R, in interruptions. On the other hand, most of the longest (minimum 25 words) dialogues were spoken by O, one of the males, higher in number by far than others.

In the question of topics, most initiations were done by O, a male. Of the sub-topics, each of the participants initiated one. An interesting point to note here is that, contrary to popular belief, all of the topics of gossip were initiated by the male participants, 1 by R and 2 by O. All of the 3 gossips were participated by all of the participants with more or less equal contribution.

3.3 Analysis of Survey

50 participants, 32 female and 18 male, from random ages, professions and educational backgrounds took part in the survey by filling out a questionnaire set by the researcher. Some questions from the questionnaire tested the linguistic belief of the participants and the others tested their social views. They were mixed up rather than categorized, so that the participants' responses stayed as uninfluenced as possible by the aim of the thesis. The medium of the questions was Bangla to make sure that a wide range of people can have intellectual access to it. The results of the survey was calculated and compiled in a table, by dividing the participants according to sex, age group, educational level and domain of major activity (household/workplace). Some of the participants did not give answers to some questions, and some questions left an opening to select more than one

options; so the percentage was counted out of the number of responses and not the number of participants.

From the results it was found that both ‘আপা’ (sister) and ‘ভাবী’ (brother’s wife) are used to call women, as opposed to ‘ভাই’ (brother) for men in almost all the cases (82%). But the use of ‘ভাবী’ is noticeably more frequent among housewives (83.33%) than working/studying women (15.38%).

For a newspaper headline most people chose “দুর্ঘটনায় শিশুসহ ২৫ জন নিহত” (36%) and nearly same chose “দুর্ঘটনায় নারী ও শিশুসহ ২৫ জন নিহত” (34%), which is the current norm. As a reason most said that it appeals to the reader more. It is probably safe to assume that they are counting women as the weaker beings than men, in the same group as children. It is noticeable that not a single participant chose “দুর্ঘটনায় পুরুষ ও শিশুসহ ২৫ জন নিহত”, presumably because it is obvious that ‘people’ means ‘men’.

There were two simple questions to see which sex people think of when a generic noun or pronoun is given. Interestingly, when asked to imagine a ‘মানুষ’ (human/person), most women thought of a girl (53.13%) and most men thought of a boy (88.88%). But while a considerable number of women (46.88%) also thought of a boy, only 2 men (11.11%) thought of a girl. In the translation of a sentence a number of people translated ‘ঐ’ (generic Bangla pronoun) as ‘he/she’, but many people wrote only ‘he’ which led to a total of 40 translations into ‘he’ and only 19 into ‘she’. A reason for this is, while learning English as a second language, students are always taught ‘he’ as a natural translation of ‘ঐ’, which gets instilled in their minds and leads to the omission of ‘she’ in most cases.

Another question was given in the form of a riddle, the answer to which demanded the inference that the pilot spoken of in the question was female. But most of them (78%) got

the answer wrong, even those who know very well that there are many female pilots in reality. As the Bangla speech community is used to seeing a feminine prefix to denote females in a profession, they were led to think that the pilot was a man.

Among the list of professions given in Question no. 20, most people thought that দমকলকর্মী, ডাইভার, সস্ত্রাসী, দারোয়ান and বাবুঁচি are should be all-male professions, and নার্স, রাঁধুনী and গৃহিনী should be all-female. Some (4%) said that except for গৃহিনী (housewife) all of the rest can be under both males and females. 6% said that even গৃহিনী can be male as well. Interestingly, a neuter word ‘আলোকচিত্রী’ (photographer) earned several votes for the all-female category. We can notice here that the word ends in ‘ঈ’ postfix, which usually denotes transformation from masculine to feminine in Bangla grammar. So the structure of the world led people to believe that it is in fact a feminine word.

The names of some products were given in Question no. 16, and asked which product should be modeled for by which sex. Many seemed to think that ‘motor cycle’ (reason: men have more courage and skill), ‘tea’ (reason: men need more stamina), ‘energy drink’ (reason: mostly men like this product) and ‘car’ (reason: men drive) should have male models, and ‘soap’ (reason: it is a product that promotes beauty), ‘spices/curry powder’ (reason: women cook) and ‘detergent’ (reason: women wash clothes) should have female models. A few chose female models for cars because car commercials need to be attractive. A large number of people thought that all of the products can have either women or men as models. An interesting thing here is that those who picked only ‘he’ as a generic pronoun are mostly the ones who categorized most in Questions 16 and 20. It shows that our choice in language, influences (as always using ‘he’ excludes women from our mental images up to a great extent, thus leads to the thought that males are more natural and superior beings) and reflects

(as we think of women as weaker and secondary beings, we tend to exclude them consciously) our thoughts regarding the society.

In the question of taking up husband's surname as one's own, the researcher was surprised to find that 90.63% women and 61.11% men voted negative. This shows that while a good number of men wish to hide women under the title of 'Mrs. X', most women have realized that taking away their name is just another form of subjugation. 43.75% women and 38.88% men also said that for girls, the custom of having any surname at all should be done away with. 34.38% women and 33.33% men said that this should be the case for boys as well. Some of the women (12.5%) suggested that everyone use their mothers' surname instead of fathers', but none of the men agreed to this for themselves. For women, however, one man agreed that the use of mother's surname as well as father's can be practiced.

Among the responses from women, 18.37% said that after her marriage a girl should be considered part of her parents' family, 38.78% chose in-laws' family, and 42.86% opted for hew own new family with her husband. From men, the responses for the above options were 10.71%, 42.86% and 46.43% respectively. It shows that while many women want to keep their old sense of belonging with her parents, not many men wants to support them in that. Most young men and women chose to have a new family. Older males mostly chose in-laws' family.

While commenting on girls having jobs, 54.35% of the responses from women said that all women should have jobs. 44.44% men think women should work, and 44.44% (separately calculated) think they should work only if they are permitted by their families or husbands. A number of both men and women think that all jobs are not suitable for women. Only two people said that women should not work, and surprisingly both of them were

working women. It probably means that they face many problems because of their jobs. Similarly, only one person said all women should work until they get married, and she was a housewife with a bachelor's degree. A remarkable thing is, except 3 men (who chose "all jobs are not for girls") all men who wrote 'he' as the generic pronoun and chose a man for 'মানুষ', said that girls should take permission before they get jobs. The same can be said the other way around (that all who said girls should take permission, wrote 'he' and chose a man), except for one man who wrote 'he/she'. This shows the interrelation between language and social beliefs in the matter of thinking of women as secondary beings.

In a situation where language is the weapon in attacking, the guilty party often gets away with their crime, because verbal behaviour can be interpreted and defended in many ways. As reasons behind eve-teasing, both men and women voted highest for "inadequacy in law enforcement" and lowest for "family teachings of girls". Among other reasons, "attitudes of boys" was chosen by 50% women and 55.56% men, "attitudes of girls" were chosen by 31.25% women and 55.56% men, and "family teachings of boys" was chosen by 56.25% women and 44.44% men. Men seem to think that girls are just as guilty in the scenario where they are the ones being harassed and emotionally tortured by the boys, and that what values boys learn from home play no role in their behaviour.

Acceptance of the 'male before female' as the natural order of things is reflected in the answers to Question no. 17. None of the men had any problem with 'ছেলে-মেয়ে' and 'ভাইবোন' while 88.88% thought that their opposite orders were wrong. On the other hand 84.38% women had problem with 'বোনভাই' but only 71.88% thought that 'মেয়ে-ছেলে' was wrong. A reason could be that they took the word in the phonetic sense ('মেয়েছেলে') which means 'girl' and thus made perfect sense. The votes split randomly between 'বাবা-মা' and 'মা-বাবা' as both of

them in fact are used in Bangla arbitrarily. Though both of them got negative votes, the objections against ‘মা-বাবা’ (34.38% women and 44.44% men) was much greater in number than those against ‘বাবা-মা’ (31.25% women and 22.22% men). Objections, though very small in number (only from women), against generally accepted ‘ছেলে-মেয়ে’ and ‘ভাইবোন’ show that some women are expecting an overthrow in the present hierarchy in language use.

87.5% women and 88.88% men said that girls are more talkative; 25% women and 11.11% men (some chose both options so the percentages overlap) said that boys are. The term ‘গ্যানগ্যানানি’ (used to denote extremely annoying and incessant talking) was assigned to boys by 21.88% women and 5.56% men, while its association to girls was supported by 90.63% women and 100% men.

The common conversation topics that came up in the participants’ opinion were – for girls: Miscellaneous (25% women, 27.78% men), Fashion/clothes/accessories (59.38% women, 33.33% men), Family/children/domestic (53.13% women, 55.56% men), Studies/career/future (15.63% women, 5.56% men), Boys (6.25% women), Love/marriage/partner (3.13% women, 5.56% men), Movies/serials (25% women, 5.56% men), Personal (6.25% women, 16.67% men), Politics (5.56% men), Day-to-day necessities and problems (11.11% men), Gossip/criticism (15.63% women, 11.11% men), Cooking (5.56% men), Husband’s wealth (5.56% men), Health (11.11% men), and for boys: Miscellaneous (15.63% women, 44.44% men), Fashion (3.13% women, 5.56% men), Family/domestic (9.38% women), Studies/career/future (50% women, 33.33% men), Girls (21.88% women, 5.56% men), Sex (3.13% women, 5.56% men), Entertainment/technology/rides (12.5% women, 11.11% men), Personal (12.5% women, 16.67% men), Politics (25% women, 22.22% men), Day-to-day necessities and problems

(9.38% women, 11.11% men), Constructive (3.13% women, 5.56% men), Food (3.13% women), Outside world (12.5% women, 22.22% men), Sports (28.13% women, 16.67% men), Money (3.13% women, 5.56% men). Noticeable here is that “Gossip/criticism” has only been mentioned for girls.

87.5% women and 83.33% men said that they answered the questions regarding conversation topics and talkativity from experience. 15.63% women and 22.22% men said that they were influenced by common assumptions.

Chapter Four: Discussion

4.1 Society Influencing Language

We see many instances around us that show how the society influences the language into changing form and meaning. The following observations were made by the researcher that can aid in understanding some of the analyses done before.

On the webpage of a group named “Bangladesh” on the social networking site facebook, news was published on February 11, 2012, which included the phrase “সাংবাদিক দম্পতি সাগর সরওয়ার ও তার স্ত্রী মেহেরুন রুনি” about a journalist couple who were killed. Now, the word ‘দম্পতি’ means ‘married couple’ or ‘husband and wife’ in which both the people termed within it have equal weight. But being used in a society which tends to place women in a secondary position, two levels are created within this word. So the man’s name comes independently, and the woman appears as ‘তার স্ত্রী’ (his wife), when included in the word referring to both.

The eldest man or the husband/father in a family is always considered to be the ‘head of the household’. In our country, when a couple or a family is invited to a wedding, the invitation is always sent to the man, i.e. “Mr. and Mrs. X” or “Mr. X and family”. This is just another instance where the dependency of the woman on her male counterpart is exercised. By always being under the umbrella of men’s name, the women in our society have been losing the sense of their own identity. This is the reason why we see most women – especially those without much of a social life out of their households or without their husbands – calling one another ‘ভবী’ even when they are directly acquainted.

As girls in our society have to stay within a lot of restrictions, they are not allowed to exercise free will in a lot of matters. They are also expected to be passive compared to boys.

As a result many similar terms associated with men and women have opposite connotations on some level. For example: the terms ‘বিয়ে করা’ for a boy versus the term ‘বিয়ে বসানো/হওয়া’ for a girl.

Again, when a marriage is being arranged, or someone has been married, people usually ask three questions right away to learn about the potential candidate or new bride/groom. The question for the girl candidate is – ‘কী পাস?’ (‘What is her highest educational level?’); the question for the bride is – ‘দেখতে কেমন?’ (‘What does she look like?’); and the question for the boy candidate or groom is – ‘কী করে?’ (‘What is his job?’) If these are the expectations of the society, it is only natural that the topic of conversation for girls will be mostly clothing/accessories, studies and family, and boys will talk mostly about their future in career.

In this way, if we keep the old discriminatory norms alive in practice, then they will keep influencing the language and even change the meanings of the words purposefully created from a feminist perspective to bring women back into the sociopolitical power play.

4.2 Language Influencing Society

In turn, the anti-feminized language will keep influencing the society into keeping the patriarchy going strong. Language influences society mostly through conditioning of the mind into the patriarchal system. Some examples are discussed here.

The fairytales that we read or hear in our childhood stay with us for a long time and play a big part in shaping our world. The ones that we mostly find in this country begin with the sentence “এক দেশে ছিল এক রাজা, তার ছিল এক রানী।” or something very similar. If we take a look at this apparently innocent sentence, we will notice that the ‘রানী’ (queen) is introduced as a belonging of the ‘রাজা’ (king). When this gets etched in a child’s memory, the structure of the

society gets intertwined in the image in their mind, that is, a woman is a possession of her male counterpart.

In Bangladesh, especially in the urban areas, people often hire household helpers and they are usually called 'বুয়া' (originally: sister). One such বুয়া was observed having a conversation where her employer asks her name as they do not want to keep calling her by a generic name. Her first reply was that she does not have a name and she is fine with being called 'বুয়া'. When requested again she asks the employer to call her with her child's name, i.e. "অম্বুর মা" (X's mother). This is the name she has been called ever since she had her first child, and before that she was called "Y's wife". This is how women's identity in our society is smuggled away from them so that they have to depend on others' for an identity and stay in a subordinate position forever. This picture has been portrayed very thoroughly in the novel "Subarnalata" by Ashapurna Devi.

In a similar way, women in a higher economic level in the society are subjugated to be under the shadow of her husband. Just the way it has been explained in the previous section that the society's views regarding 'heads-of-the-house' influences the naming of married women, we can also see how that naming influences the society and brings it full circle. Taking husband's surname officially makes a woman part of her in-laws' family and detaches her from her roots. This way she not only attaches her identity to her husband and his family, her own achievements and contributions to the society gets overshadowed by her husband's name. The Executive Director of an institution was seen talking to her subordinates (mostly women) about why they should respect one another and uphold one another's honor, when as a reason she said, "You all are from respectable families, wives of respectable men." The mere words here are invalidating the women's positions and works.

Another observation finds a girl doing her Ph.D., who is very conscious about the errors in the structure of the society and actively takes part in student politics, gladly subjected herself to the custom of ‘কন্যা সম্প্রদান’ in her wedding, because the society has had this custom since as far back as history recalls. As long as this term is in use, women will be treated as an object in social and family level. No matter how educated or conscious a person is, they overlook it because of the traditional regularity of the term. Just like the conversion of a sign into a myth makes the myth natural for us and we “just know” that the black cat means bad luck, we don’t need to think about what the term means before we accept the custom as something that is to be done if one is to get married.

Because of the same conditioning many people chose the headline “দুর্ঘটনায় নারী ও শিশুসহ ২৫ জন নিহত” in the survey but failed to show any substantial reason. We think it is right just because that is what we have always seen in practice.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

This research shows us that the relation between language and social views works both ways. Though language might be a stronger tool than is supposed, we can see that it is very difficult to restructure a society by introducing some elements of a unisex language. Neither is it plausible that we will break down the whole social constitution and build a new society from scratch, like Millett suggests. Therefore we need to infiltrate all of the social, psychological and political institutions with the idea of mutual dominance between women and men, keeping an emphasis on language as it is the most subtle, the most internalized, and thus the most powerful weapon of all in the battle of power. In order to bring an overall change in the society in the field of practiced 'humanity' of women, there must at first be some concrete social changes that can lead us to deal more effectively with the more subtle areas of division, such as language. Then the reformation and use of the linguistic elements in the reformed way can lead to a complete improvement of the condition, position and treatment of women in the society.

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ইসহাক, আ. (সম্পা.)। (১৯৯৩)। *সমকালীন বাংলা ভাষার অভিধান* (স্বরবর্ণ অংশ)। ঢাকা: বাংলা একাডেমী।

শরীফ আ. (সম্পা.)। (১৯৯৬)। *সংক্ষিপ্ত বাংলা অভিধান* (দ্বিতীয় সং.)। ঢাকা: বাংলা একাডেমী।

APPENDIX A

Conversation Transcript

O: ai ami na ajke kan jani bhabsilam 5 tar shomoy ajke iftar. Pore mone hoilo, naaaa it's at seven! Ah *unclear*-

R: age *unclear* 5tay iftar hoto.

O: ha, exactly.

R: *inaudible*

O: Huh?

R: *inaudible* ghum bhenge jay shokal 8ta 9tar shomoy – sharata din jege thakte thake –

P: ha, ekhane to ghuman jay.

O: barite problem mane?

R: *inaudible*

P: desher barite

R: gram –

P: gramer barite. Gram e taratari ghum bhange na?

O: hm, hm ,hm

R: (showing a KFC billboard) *unclear* amar sherokom lage.

P: off, oshojjho.

O: what?

R: KFC

O: i hate KFC. I think it's – *unclear*-

R: shedin ye ta – burger tar...

O: ha?

R: shedin oi je oi KFC'r burger tar kotha boltesilam. Oitar – ye – bun ta bhalo lagsilo amar. Karon usually je bun gula dey brac e tak e ekhane tekhane jegula khaisi –

O: na oita bas content olpo –

R: eto shokto!

O: kintu –

R: na...

O: chicken ta to toto bhalo na, that's what's supposed to be good!

R: chicken ta to bhalo na, but still bun ta ektu bhalo lagse onno gular tulongay. Ar american burger must khais na karon –

P: ekhon bun khawar jonno KFC te chole jawa is not worth it!

O: ha, exactly!

R: bun khwar jonno jabo na, sheta *unclear* khawaisilo dekhe boltesi.

P: ha, exactly, keu khawaite –

R: ami ar kokhono KFC'r burger try kori nai, oidin e first.

O: na ami age try korsi, amar je jinishta naki shobche baje lage – dekhte eto baje lage – mone hoy bas, kono mote bas – they just put something together. Somehow. I mean, ekta khabar je ektu presentable hobe. Like oi –

R: cheese dey na, lettuce dey na, kichchhu dey na.

O: ar plus oder sauce tao kemon jani.

P: ar jodi bhalo hoito tahole poisha dite kono apotti thakto na. Poishao nibe tader khabar o pocha dibe.

R: sauce ta ki actually mustard chhilo naki ami bujhi nai.

O: aa-p –

R: *inaudible*

O: purapuri mustard na, karon mustard e arektu k- aretk- arektu beshi jhaajh thake.

R: haa...

O: oita toto jhaajh chhilo na.

R: hm.

O: oh ar okhane drinks gula onek baje.

P: kothay?

O: mone hoy drink er moddhe onek gula pani diye rakhe.

P: kothay?

O: ha, ha. oi je KFC te.

R: exactly.

O: Eto painsha. *inaudible* doesn't it sound bad? *unclear* emne bollam.

P: *inaudible*

O: ha? Shundor sr-shuddho bhashay panshaaa –

P: srutimodhur kore, panshe? Pansha na, panshe.

O: oh. Achchha ai...

R: aeh?

O: achchha na tora shobai to je humayun ahmed er – ha?

P: Painsha kotha ta – achchha ha, humayun ahmed er ki?

O: tora shobai to humayun – ak – tora shobai to as in humayun ahmed er boi toi porte porte boro hoisish, right?

P: uh, not really.

O: really?

R: eh, me neither.

P: well, amader generation, ha. Ami por nai.

R: amader to –

P: ami muhammed zafar iqbal pors. Well humayun ahmed er ekdom ye te – chhoto belay jegula pors – agee – ekdom prothom diker gula, khub bhalo – *inaudible* - ekhon pora - *inaudible* -

R: or ager gula bhalo chhilo, tobe ekhoner gula iss.

P: or...science fiction ta, prothom science fiction tao amar khub priyo.

R: kuhok?

P: tomader jonno bhalobasha. Oita hochchhe Bangladesher prothom science fiction.

R: ami *unclear* humayun ahmed er first boi pors kuhok. Shob amar khalur theke niye.

inaudible

P: kuhok ta ektu weird chhilo na?

R: are prothom boi pors, ami *unclear* eto ki – eshob hoite pare? Ami to chinta kore tokhon pagol hoye gesi, *unclear* -

P: kuhok ki chhilo jani?

R: oi je, there is this guy nishanath babu...

P: ha, ha, ha...

R: x-ray korte giye mathar moddhe x-ray...

P: ha, ha, ha...

R: ...onek beshi chole jay. Tarpore –

P: o ki kauke dekhe o naki-

R: are na, na –

P: kichhu shune?

R: he can get into people- others' mind.

P: oh, ha, ha...

R: ye te...professor x er moto ar ki.

O: oh, wow! Interesting to!

R: *inaudible*

P: na, or science fiction gula khub bhalo.

R: prothom moja lagto...

P: kintu, pore ja korse...na, amar...ki bolbo – ekjon shahittik hishebe tar proti sroddha thakar jonno to kichhu mane – she nijer talent ta ke noshto korse. falay rakhse.

R: eitai ami bolte chaisi...

O: tai?

R: shesher dike eshe, shesher dike eshe.

P: she- she dekhse ami kisu ekta kolom ghoshe dilei ami poisha kamai korte partesi, tar ar kono dorkar nai. Prothom dike tar life ta koshter chhilo tai koshto kore kamai korte hoise, creativity diye likhse, porisrom korse...

O: na, ami bolte chaite silam je-

R: *unclear* bhalo chhilo.

O: ami bolte chaite silam je – or lekha ja- mane, because of his personal life- personal life er karone tar proti amar jototuku respect thakto, oita onektuku chole gese.

P: hm.

O: i mean, shudhu bhalo writer hoile to hobe na, ekjon bhalo manusher to at least kichhu ekta howa uchit.

P: ha... but it's possible to like a person's work, without liking him. or her.

O: tao thik.

R: eidik theke i like muhammed zafar iqbal.

P: ha?

R: eidik theke boltesi i like muhammed zafar iqbal.

O: ha, ha, ha.

P: ami shunte pai nai.

O: na, bolse je he likes muhammed zafar iqbal.

R: ha.

O: which i agree. Ha, onake- ha-

P: for his work or for his personality?

O: both.

P: achchha.

R: both.

O: i like him both. As in- like you know – daily star award er shomoy uni jokhon
eshchhilo unake dekhlei bojha jay je uni koto ekta kind ar humble manush.

R: moja lage amar eta chinta kore je – tin bhai, tin bhai e sheirokom.

P: ha.

O: third bhai ki kore?

R: ahsan habib.

P: ahsan habib. Unmad, cartoonist...

O: oh, ha!

P: romyo golpo lekhok...

R: i met him. *unclear*

P: ai ye – nuhash brac e pore na?

R: jani na to.

P: ha. Nuhash brac e pore.

O: nuhash ke?

P: *unclear* ha.

O: nuhash ke?

R and P: humayun ahmed er chhele.

P: the only one who- ager familyr the only one jar shathe jogajog rakhse.

R: or 1973 te na 83 mone hoy biye korse. 73 na 83.

O: *unclear* how many *unclear*

P: 83 na, 73 te. Because or meye amar sh- amar boner shathe porto.

R: shetai...

P: ar- arek meye amar boner theke boro, so 73 te biye korse.

R: shobche boro je ye chhilo, oi je - oi meyetar nam ki?

P: nova.

R: nova na, nova na. Arekta natok korto je...

P: sheila second.

R: sheila, sheila.

P: sheilai amar boner shathe porto.

R: *unclear*-

O: ami bhabsilam sheila second holo ekjoner nam.

P: oh, sheila second!

inaudible

P: i think i have *inaudible* right?

O: ha?

P: dibo?

O: what?

inaudible

O: yeah, but that old lady is coming and i'd rather give it to her. *unclear* i give it to him, you give it to the old lady.

P: oh, okay.

O: oh, this is gonna be *unclear*

inaudible

P: *unclear*

O: she needs-

P: yeah... *unclear* two of them-

O: *unclear*

P: okay, awesome.

O: na, na.

P: shobshomoy hoy.

O: she came back.

P: oh, okay. Dhor to.

B: oh khalamma...

P: dhor to.

B: oh baba...

P: *unclear* awesome. Ami khalamma ar tui baba.

B: amma...

P: always. *unclear* aeh?

O: she even gave us bye bye.

R: *inaudible*

P: oh! Amar basha? Shaat number sector.

O: i think shaat number er bhiton diye choddo te jaite hobe.

P: ha.

O: bas oi-

R: *unclear*

O: ka- kar bashar kachhe?

P: rafay.

O: Oh rafay.

R: *unclear* shaat nombor sector *unclear*

O: achchha-

P: tui eto aste kotha boltesish keno, ami emni e shunte paitesi na, record e ki ashbe?

O: karon o to ulta dike, o ulta dike

P: ha, ta thik.

R: ami chhoto belar theke- ami mone hoitese ami chillay fatay feltesi –

O: *inaudible*

R: what the...

P: ha?

R: amar mone hoy je ami chillay fatay feltesi, amar *unclear*

P: oh.

R: even ami-

P: amar majhe majhe erokom hoy. Jokhon ami class e onek jore kotha-

O: *inaudible* ami apnake ditam-

P: ha? Ha, na, ami jokhon class e kotha boltesi, ha? Onnoder shathe? Jokhon amar aste kotha bola lagbe, tokhon amar kotha onek jore hoy bujhchhish? Jokhon manush jon shunte paitese na tokhon amar gola diye *unclear* i don't like pushy people.

R: *inaudible*

O: what?

P: i don't like pushy people.

O: exactly, they annoy me.

R: shedin kake jani dak dichchhiam, oachchha, asad bhai er shathe- shathe ye chhilo, rokon bhaiya chhilo, rokon bhai re dak dichchhi, *unclear* rokon bhai shune na, pore asad bhai amar hoye dak dilo. *inaudible* ami giye gola fatay dichchhi chillay-

O: manush- manush ebhabe murgir moto rasta cross kore kan? Seriously!

P: why did the chicken cross the road?

O: na, oita na. As in, ke jani khub shundor kore bolsilo amake je murgi na- ek- ekbare sho- shamne dour dile ar pichhon dike cholta pare na.

P: ha, sheta-

O: ar murgi shobshomoy jemon naki chokh bondho kore dour dey- ye Bangladesher manush o shobshomoy dekhi chokh bondho kore dour dey. *unclear* bas chokh bondho kore dour dile gari ta okhane nai. *unclear* eta kemon dhoroner chinta?

R: *unclear* ei kaporer ad ditese bujhlam – *unclear*

O: ha, ha? Ki, ki?

P: haaa, weird!

R: *unclear* panir bhitore *unclear*

P: ebong it looks weird.

O: ha?

R: ohh, eta bhalo rong bujhaite.

P: tai?

R: paka rong.

O: *inaudible*

R: lona paniteo kichchhu hobe na.

O: ki hoise, ki hoise *inaudible*

P: are ekta ad. Shari niye she shomudrer majhkhane ordhek dube ase.

O: oh.

P: otar ortho ki amra bojhar cheshta kortesi.

O: is the ac *unclear* on?

P: aeh?

O: the ac. On?

P: ac on. Ha. *unclear*

O: *unclear* can we have the fresh air instead?

P: achchha ektu dekh kemon lage.

O: shouldn't he have told us that the ac is on?

P: ha. He usually doesn't. *unclear* achchha dekhi. *pause* amra ki ye te jachchhi?

O: i was thinking je tora je boltesili- achchha, tora je emne chetai T about being a namaji meye?

P: ha.

O: i mean-

P: amra chetaitam? Tui bolsili T namaji meye.

O: ha, exactly, ami bolsilam. ha.

P: *unclear*-

O: kintuk, sheikale maybe. Kintuk ekhon to ar na, like – Ekhon – a- i find it like- chinta korte kemon jani lage – it's like duita is like contradictory to the point of – infinity.

R: err...

O: i mean the way she dresses and-

R: who?

O: T.

P: T.

R: are dhut.

P: ki? O-tube.

O: oh, ha. That was-

R: THs find her- finds her really pretty, ami boli uhh dude *unclear*

P: aah, so did O – at one point of time.

O: na, na, na – ei i didn't.

P: na?

O: naa, i di- i didn't find her pretty, i- i found her – i liked her because of her- like you know – the fact that she was a good girl, she seemed to be a good girl. At that time! Before!

P: oh, achchha.

R: owh my...

P: okay that's even more twisted.

O: ha, ha, i know, i know. But ekhon na, ekhon na...

R: *inaudible*-

O: because i- i always make like – really bad – analyses.

R: *unclear*

P: analyses na, analyses.

O: yeah, ana-ly-ses.

APPENDIX B

Survey Questionnaire

জরিপ

বয়স :

মহিলা : _____ পুরুষ : _____ (টিক চিহ্ন দিন)

পেশা :

শিক্ষাগত যোগ্যতা :

১। আপনার নারী পরিচিতদের (প্রতিবেশী, কলিগ, সন্তানের বন্ধুর মা ইত্যাদি) কী বলে ডাকেন?

ক) নাম ধরে

খ) আপা

গ) ভাবী

ঘ) অন্যান্য _____

২। আপনার পুরুষ পরিচিতদের কী বলে ডাকেন?

ক) নাম ধরে

খ) ভাই

গ) দুলাভাই

ঘ) অন্যান্য _____

৩। একটি দুর্ঘটনায় ২৫ জন মানুষ মারা গেলেন, যাদের মধ্যে নারী-পুরুষ-শিশু সব ধরনের মানুষই আছেন। এই ঘটনা নিয়ে কোন সংবাদ শিরোনামটি সবচেয়ে উপযুক্ত মনে হয়?

ক) দুর্ঘটনায় শিশুসহ ২৫ জন নিহত

খ) দুর্ঘটনায় নারী ও শিশুসহ ২৫ জন নিহত

গ) দুর্ঘটনায় পুরুষ ও শিশুসহ ২৫ জন নিহত

ঘ) দুর্ঘটনায় ২৫ জন নিহত

কেন এটিকে উপযুক্ত বলে মনে হয়?

৪। কল্পনা করুন একজন মানুষ রাস্তা দিয়ে হেঁটে যাচ্ছে। তার একটি নাম দিন এবং তার একটি সংক্ষিপ্ত বর্ণনা দিন।

৫। মনে করুন, আপনার পরিচিত একজন পাইলটের সাথে আপনার বহুদিন পর দেখা হল। সেই পাইলট তার বিয়ের খবর দিয়ে তার সাথে একটি ছোট মেয়ের সাথে পরিচয় করিয়ে দিয়ে বললেন, “এটি আমার মেয়ে।” আপনি বললেন, “বাহ। মেয়ের সাথে চেহারার অনেক মিল আছে।” আপনি কী করে এই মিলের কথা জানলেন?

৬। আপনি কি মনে করেন যে বিয়ের পর মেয়েদের পদবী পরিবর্তন করা উচিত?

ক) হ্যাঁ

খ) না

৭। সাধারণত কারা বেশি কথা বলে?

ক) মেয়েরা

খ) ছেলেরা

৮। মেয়েদের কথার বিষয়বস্তু সাধারণত কী কী?

৯। ছেলেদের কথার বিষয়বস্তু সাধারণত কী কী?

১০। ৭, ৮ ও ৯ নম্বর প্রশ্নের উত্তর দেয়ার জন্য আপনি কিসের উপর নির্ভর করেছেন?

ক) অভিজ্ঞতা

খ) প্রচলিত ধারণা

১১। ইংরেজীতে অনুবাদ করুন – ‘সে ভাত খাচ্ছে।’

১২। “তোমার প্যানপ্যানানি বন্ধ কর!” – কথাটি কাকে বলা হচ্ছে?

ক) একটি ছেলেকে

খ) একটি মেয়েকে

১৩। বিয়ের পর একটি মেয়ের কোন পরিবারের সদস্য হিসেবে পরিচিত হওয়া উচিত? (একটির বেশি টিক দিলে সমস্যা নেই)

ক) তার বাবা-মায়ের পরিবার

খ) তার স্বশুর-শশুরির পরিবার

গ) স্বামীর সাথে নিজের পরিবার

১৪। ছেলেদের নামের শেষের পদবী কোনটি হওয়া উচিত?

ক) বাবার পদবী

খ) মায়ের পদবী

গ) পিত্রীয় পদবী

ঘ) নামের শেষে পদবী থাকা উচিত নয়

১৫। মেয়েদের নামের শেষের পদবী কোনটি হওয়া উচিত?

- ক) বাবার পদবী
খ) মায়ের পদবী
গ) স্বামীর পদবী
ঘ) নামের শেষে পদবী থাকা উচিত নয়

১৬। নিচের কোন বিজ্ঞাপনের প্রধান মডেল হিসেবে কোনটি (ছেলে/মেয়ে/উভয়) বেশি প্রযোজ্য এবং কেন তা লিখুন।

পণ্য	মডেল (ছেলে/মেয়ে/উভয়)	কারণ
মোটর সাইকেল		
চা		
সাবান		
ফার্নিচার		
মোবাইল ফোন		
মশলা		
স্বাস্থ্যকর পানীয় (হেলথ ড্রিঙ্ক)		
শক্তিবর্ধক পানীয় (এনার্জি ড্রিঙ্ক)		
গুঁড়ো সাবান (ডিটারজেন্ট)		
গাড়ি		

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১৭। নিচের যে বাক্যগুলি ভুল সেসব বাক্যের সামনে X চিহ্ন দিন।

- ক) আমার বাবা-মা রাজশাহী থাকেন
- খ) আমার মা-বাবা রাজশাহী থাকেন
- গ) ছেলে-মেয়েরা স্কুলমাঠে খেলছে
- ঘ) মেয়ে-ছেলেরা স্কুলমাঠে খেলছে
- ঙ) আমরা পাঁচ বোনভাই
- চ) আমরা পাঁচ ভাইবোন

১৮। মেয়েদের চাকরি করাকে কী চোখে দেখেন? (একটির বেশি টিক দিলে সমস্যা নেই)

- ক) খুব ভাল, সব মেয়েদের চাকরি করা উচিত
- খ) মেয়েদের চাকরি করা উচিত নয়
- গ) বিয়ের আগে করতে পারে, বিয়ের পরে নয়
- ঘ) পরিবার/স্বামীর অনুমতি নিয়ে করা উচিত
- ঙ) সব চাকরি মেয়েদের জন্য ভাল নয়, কোন কোন চাকরি করতে পারে
- চ) অন্যান্য

১৯। রাস্তাঘাটে মেয়েদের উত্থাপ্ত করা (ইভটিজিং)-এর জন্য কারা বেশি দায়ী? (একটির বেশি টিক দিলে সমস্যা নেই)

- ক) মেয়েদের স্বভাব চরিত্র
- খ) ছেলেদের স্বভাব চরিত্র
- গ) মেয়েদের পারিবারিক শিক্ষা
- ঘ) ছেলেদের পারিবারিক শিক্ষা
- ঙ) আইন-শৃঙ্খলা ও নিরাপত্তার অভাব

২০। শব্দগুলি কোন কলামে বসে উচিত?

- (১) দমকলকর্মী, (২) নার্স, (৩) কর্মজীবী, (৪) ড্রাইভার, (৫) রাঁধুনী, (৬) গৃহিণী, (৭) আলোকচিত্রী,
- (৮) গৃহকর্মী, (৯) গার্মেন্টসকর্মী, (১০) কবি, (১১) বস (boss), (১২) সস্তাসী, (১৩) চোর, (১৪) পুলিশ,
- (১৫) দারোয়ান, (১৬) চাকরিজীবী, (১৭) উকিল, (১৮) বিচারপতি, (১৯) ক্রেতা, (২০) বিক্রেতা,
- (২১) প্রধানমন্ত্রী, (২২) রাষ্ট্রপতি, (২৩) কমিশনার, (২৪) নৃত্যশিল্পী, (২৫) বাবুটি

পুরুষ	নারী	উভয়

APPENDIX C

Table 3: Results of survey

Questionnaire items	Response options	F 20-39 high school or lower, job/study		F 20-39 higher degree, housewife		F 20-39 higher degree, job/study		F 40-59 high school or lower, housewife		F 40-59 high school or lower, job/study		F 40-59 higher degree, job/study		F 60-79 high school or lower, housewife		M 20-39 high school or lower, job/study		M 20-39 higher degree, job/study		M 40-59 higher degree, job/study		M 60-79 higher degree, job/study	
		N = 1		N = 4		N = 16		N = 1		N = 1		N = 8		N = 1		N = 1		N = 5		N = 9		N = 3	
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. Term to call female acquaintances	নাম ধরে	0	0	0	0	4	17.39	0	0	0	0	2	18.18	0	0	1	50	3	27.27	4	21.05	1	16.67
	আপা	1	100	0	0	12	52.17	0	0	1	100	6	54.54	1	50	1	50	3	27.27	8	42.11	3	50
	ভাবী	0	0	3	75	2	8.69	1	100	0	0	2	18.18	1	50	0	0	1	9.09	5	26.32	1	16.67
	অন্যান্য	0	0	1	25	5	21.74	0	0	0	0	1	9.09	0	0	0	0	4	36.36	2	10.52	1	16.67
2. Term to call male acquaintances	নাম ধরে	0	0	0	0	4	19.04	0	0	0	0	2	22.22	0	0	1	50	3	27.27	6	33.33	1	16.67
	ভাই	1	100	3	75	12	57.14	1	100	1	100	6	66.67	1	100	1	50	3	27.27	9	50	3	50
	দুলাভাই	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	9.09	1	5.55	1	16.67
	অন্যান্য	0	0	1	25	5	23.8	0	0	0	0	1	11.11	0	0	0	0	4	36.36	2	11.11	1	16.67
3. Newspaper headline	শিশুসহ ২৫ জন	0	0	2	50	7	43.75	1	100	1	100	3	37.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	25	2	66.67
	নারী ও শিশুসহ ২৫ জন	0	0	1	25	5	31.25	0	0	0	0	4	50	0	0	0	0	3	60	3	37.5	1	33.33
	পুরুষ ও শিশুসহ ২৫ জন	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	২৫ জন	1	100	1	25	4	25	0	0	0	0	1	12.5	1	100	1	100	2	40	3	37.5	0	0
4. মানুষ	Female	0	0	1	25	12	75	0	0	0	0	4	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	22.2	0	0

(assump tion)																				2			
	Male	1	100	3	75	4	25	1	100	1	100	4	50	1	100	1	100	5	100	7	77.78	3	100
5. Pilot (assump tion)	Female	0	0	0	0	5	31.25	0	0	0	0	1	12.5	0	0	0	0	4	80	1	11.11	0	0
	Male	1	100	4	100	11	68.75	1	100	1	100	7	87.5	1	100	1	100	1	20	8	88.89	3	100
6. If a girl should take husband 's surname	Yes	1	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	25	0	0	1	100	1	20	3	33.33	2	66.67
	No	0	0	4	100	16	100	1	100	1	100	6	75	1	100	0	0	4	80	6	66.67	1	33.33
7. More talkative	Girls	1	100	4	100	13	72.22	0	0	1	100	8	80	1	100	1	100	5	100	8	88.89	2	66.67
	Boys	0	0	0	0	5	31.25	1	100	0	0	2	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	11.11	1	33.33
8. Commo n conversa tion topic for girls	Miscellaneo us	0	0	1	14.28	4	10.26	0	0	0	0	3	18.75	0	0	0	0	1	12.5	3	14.28	1	20
	Fashion/clot hes/accessor ies	1	100	2	28.57	12	30.77	1	100	1	50	2	12.5	0	0	0	0	1	12.5	4	19.05	1	20
	Family/chil dren/domest ic	0	0	3	42.85	8	20.51	0	0	0	0	6	37.5	0	0	1	33.33	2	25	6	28.57	2	40
	Studies/care er/future	0	0	0	0	4	10.26	0	0	0	0	1	6.25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	20
	Boys	0	0	0	0	2	5.13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Love/marria ge/partner	0	0	0	0	1	2.56	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12.5	0	0	0	0
	Movies/seri als	0	0	1	14.28	5	12.82	0	0	0	0	2	12.5	0	0	0	0	1	12.5	0	0	0	0

	Personal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6.25	1	100	0	0	1	12.5	2	9.52	0
	Politics	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4.76	0
	Day-to-day necessities and problems	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	9.52	0
	Gossip/criticism	0	0	0	0	3	7.69	0	0	1	50	1	6.25	0	0	0	0	1	12.5	1	4.76	0
	Cooking	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	33.33	0	0	0	0	0
	Husband's wealth	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	33.33	0	0	0	0	0
	Health	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	9.52	0
9. Common conversation topic for boys	Miscellaneous	0	0	0	0	3	8.11	0	0	0	0	2	13.33	0	0	0	0	3	30	5	26.32	0
	Fashion	0	0	0	0	1	2.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5.26	0
	Family/domestic	0	0	1	10	1	2.7	1	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Studies/career/future	0	0	2	20	9	24.32	1	50	0	0	3	20	1	100	1	50	1	10	2	10.53	2
	Girls	0	0	1	10	6	16.22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	0	0	0
	Sex	0	0	0	0	1	2.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5.26	0
	Entertainment/technology/rides	0	0	0	0	4	10.81	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	1	5.26	0
	Personal	0	0	0	0	4	10.81	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	1	5.26	1
	Politics	0	0	3	30	0	0	0	0	1	50	4	26.67	0	0	0	0	1	10	3	15.79	0
	Day-to-day necessities and	0	0	1	10	0	0	0	0	1	50	1	6.67	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	10.53	0

	problems																					
	Constructive	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6.67	0	0	0	0	1	10	0	0	1
	Food	0	0	0	0	1	2.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Outside world	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	26.67	0	0	0	0	1	10	2	10.53	1
	Sports	1	100	2	20	6	16.22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	15.79	0
	Money	0	0	0	0	1	2.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	50	0	0	0	0	0
10. Factor in answering nos. 7, 8 & 9	Experience	1	100	3	75	14	87.5	1	100	1	100	8	88.89	0	0	1	100	5	100	6	66.67	3
	Common assumption	0	0	1	25	2	12.5	0	0	0	0	1	11.11	1	100	0	0	0	0	3	33.33	1
11. লে (assumption)	Female	0	0	1	25	9	45	0	0	0	0	4	44.44	0	0	0	0	4	44.44	3	27.27	1
	Male	1	100	3	75	11	55	1	100	1	100	5	55.56	1	100	1	100	5	55.56	8	72.72	3
12. Speech defined as 'পালপালানি'	Boy's speech	0	0	0	0	3	17.65	0	0	0	0	3	30	1	100	0	0	0	0	1	10	0
	Girl's speech	1	100	4	100	14	82.35	1	100	1	100	7	70	1	100	1	100	5	100	9	90	3
13. After marriage, the family a girl should belong to	Parents' family	0	0	0	0	6	23.08	0	0	0	0	3	21.43	0	0	0	0	1	12.5	2	14.28	0
	In-laws' family	0	0	2	50	9	34.62	0	0	1	50	7	50	0	0	1	100	2	25	6	42.85	3
	Own family with husband	1	100	2	50	11	42.31	1	100	1	50	4	28.57	1	100	0	0	5	62.5	6	42.85	2

14. Surname appropriate for boys	Father's surname	1	100	3	75	7	43.7 5	1	100	1	100	5	55.5 6	0	0	1	100	1	20	7	77.7 8	3
	Mother's surname	0	0	0	0	2	12.5	0	0	0	0	2	22.2 2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Wife's surname	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	No one should have surname	0	0	1	25	7	43.7 5	0	0	0	0	2	22.2 2	1	100	0	0	4	80	2	22.2 2	0
15. surname appropriate for girls	Father's surname	0	0	2	50	7	43.7 5	1	100	0	0	3	30	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	40	2
	Mother's surname	0	0	0	0	2	12.5	0	0	0	0	2	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	0
	Husband's surname	1	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	20	0	0	1	100	1	20	2	20	2
	No one should have surname	0	0	2	50	7	43.7 5	0	0	1	100	3	30	1	100	0	0	4	80	3	30	0
16. Appropriate model for product	Motor cycle (M)	1	100	2	50	4	25	1	100	1	100	3	37.5	1	100	1	100	3	60	5	55.5 6	2
	Motor cycle (F)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	20	0	0	0
	Motor cycle (both)	0	0	2	50	12	75	0	0	0	0	5	62.5	0	0	0	0	1	20	4	44.4 4	1
	Tea (M)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12.5	0	0	1	100	1	20	1	11.1 1	2
	Tea (F)	1	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12.5	0	0	0	0	1	20	0	0	0
	Tea (both)	0	0	4	100	16	100	1	100	1	100	6	75	1	100	0	0	3	60	8	88.8 9	1
	Soap (M)	0	0	0	0	3	18.7 5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Soap (F)	1	100	1	25	13	81.2 5	0	0	1	100	2	25	0	0	0	0	4	80	2	22.2 2	2

Soap (both)	0	0	3	75	0	0	1	100	0	0	6	75	0	0	1	100	1	20	7	77.7 8	0
Furniture (M)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Furniture (F)	1	100	2	50	0	0	1	100	0	0	1	12.5	0	0	1	100	0	0	2	22.2 2	0
Furniture (both)	0	0	2	50	16	100	0	0	0	0	7	87.5	1	100	0	0	5	100	7	77.7 8	2
Mobile phone (M)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mobile phone (F)	0	0	0	0	1	6.25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mobile phone (both)	1	100	4	100	15	93.7 5	1	100	1	100	7	87.5	1	100	1	100	5	100	9	100	3
Spices/Curry powder (M)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	20	0	0	0
Spices/Curry powder (F)	1	100	3	75	6	37.5	1	100	1	100	4	50	0	0	1	100	3	60	8	88.8 9	3
Spices/Curry powder (both)	0	0	1	25	10	62.5	0	0	0	0	4	50	1	100	0	0	1	20	1	11.1 1	0
Health drink (M)	0	0	1	25	1	6.25	0	0	0	0	2	25	0	0	0	0	1	20	1	11.1 1	1
Health drink (F)	0	0	2	50	1	6.25	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	100	0	0	1	20	0	0	0
Health drink (both)	1	100	1	25	14	87.5	1	100	1	100	6	75	0	0	1	100	3	60	8	88.8 9	2
Energy drink (M)	1	100	4	100	6	37.5	1	100	1	100	2	25	1	100	1	100	4	80	3	33.3 3	0

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

গার্মেন্টসকর্মী (F)	0	0	0	0	1	6.25	1	100	0	0	1	12.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	22.2	1
গার্মেন্টসকর্মী (both)	1	100	4	100	15	93.75	0	0	1	100	7	87.5	1	100	1	100	5	100	7	77.78	2
কবি (M)	0	0	0	0	1	6.25	0	0	0	0	2	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	33.33	2
কবি (F)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
কবি (both)	1	100	4	100	15	93.75	1	100	1	100	6	75	1	100	1	100	5	100	6	66.67	1
বস (M)	0	0	1	25	1	6.25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	33.33	2
বস (F)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
বস (both)	1	100	3	75	15	93.75	1	100	1	100	8	100	1	100	1	100	5	100	6	66.67	1
সস্ত্রাসী (M)	1	100	4	100	8	50	1	100	1	100	4	50	1	100	1	100	1	20	6	66.67	3
সস্ত্রাসী (F)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
সস্ত্রাসী (both)	0	0	0	0	8	50	0	0	0	0	4	50	0	0	0	0	4	80	3	33.33	0
ডোর (M)	1	100	1	25	4	25	0	0	0	0	4	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	33.33	3
ডোর (F)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ডোর (both)	0	0	3	75	12	75	1	100	1	100	4	50	1	100	1	100	5	100	6	66.67	0
পুলিশ (M)	0	0	1	25	4	25	0	0	0	0	3	37.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	33.33	1
পুলিশ (F)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
পুলিশ (both)	1	100	3	75	12	75	1	100	1	100	5	62.5	1	100	1	100	5	100	6	66.67	2
দারোয়ান (M)	1	100	4	100	10	62.5	1	100	1	100	7	87.5	1	100	1	100	3	60	6	66.67	3
দারোয়ান (F)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
দারোয়ান (both)	0	0	0	0	6	37.5	0	0	0	0	1	12.5	0	0	0	0	2	40	3	33.33	0
চাকরিজীবী (M)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	11.11	1

চাকরিজীবী (F)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
চাকরিজীবী (both)	1	100	4	100	16	100	1	100	1	100	8	100	1	100	1	100	5	100	8	88.8 9	2
উকিল (M)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
উকিল (F)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
উকিল (both)	1	100	4	100	16	100	1	100	1	100	6	75	1	100	1	100	5	100	9	100	2
বিচারপতি (M)	0	0	1	25	1	6.25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
বিচারপতি (F)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
বিচারপতি (both)	1	100	3	75	15	93.7 5	1	100	1	100	8	100	1	100	1	100	5	100	9	100	2
ফ্রেতা (M)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
ফ্রেতা (F)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ফ্রেতা (both)	1	100	4	100	16	100	1	100	1	100	8	100	1	100	1	100	5	100	9	100	1
বিক্রেতা (M)	0	0	0	0	1	6.25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
বিক্রেতা (F)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
বিক্রেতা (both)	1	100	4	100	15	93.7 5	1	100	1	100	8	100	1	100	1	100	5	100	9	100	1
প্রধানমন্ত্রী (M)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
প্রধানমন্ত্রী (F)	0	0	1	25	1	6.25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
প্রধানমন্ত্রী (both)	1	100	3	75	15	93.7 5	1	100	1	100	8	100	1	100	1	100	5	100	9	100	2
রাষ্ট্রপতি (M)	0	0	1	25	3	18.7 5	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	0	1	100	0	0	3	33.3 3	2
রাষ্ট্রপতি (F)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
রাষ্ট্রপতি (both)	1	100	3	75	13	81.2 5	1	100	0	0	8	100	1	100	0	0	5	100	6	66.6 7	1
কমিশনার (M)	0	0	0	0	1	6.25	0	0	0	0	1	12.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
কমিশনার (F)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	11.1 1	0
কমিশনার (both)	1	100	4	100	15	93.7 5	1	100	1	100	7	87.5	1	100	1	100	5	100	8	88.8 9	1
নৃত্যশিল্পী (M)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

	নৃত্যশিল্পী (F)	0	0	1	25	4	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	20	3	33.3 3	2	66.67
	নৃত্যশিল্পী (both)	1	100	3	75	12	75	1	100	1	100	7	87.5	1	100	1	100	4	80	6	66.6 7	1	33.33
	বাবুটি (M)	1	100	3	75	6	37.5	1	100	1	100	2	25	0	0	0	0	1	20	2	22.2 2	2	66.67
	বাবুটি (F)	0	0	1	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	11.1 1	0	0
	বাবুটি (both)	0	0	0	0	10	62.5	0	0	0	0	6	75	1	100	1	100	4	80	6	66.6 7	1	33.33