ISSN 2454-5694

Volume 7 Number 2 December 2021

JOURNAL OF KOLKATA SOCIETY FOR ASIAN STUDIES

An International Bilingual Journal of
Social Science (UGC CARE)

SPECIAL ISSUE - WOMEN'S DIALECT

KSAS

Kolkata Society for Asian Studies

JOURNAL OF
KOLKATA SOCIETY FOR ASIAN STUDIES
Office: 3/25/1, R.K. Chatterjee Road, Kolkata-700042
Phone:+9432490361
Email: ksasianstudies@gmail.com
kspublication1@gmail.com

EDITORS
Ranjana Ray
Sarmistha De Basu

EDITORIAL BOARD MEMBERS

Ranjana Banerjee
Mahidas Bhattacharya
Sanjukta Dasgupta
Mita Banerjee
Sarit Kumar Chaudhuri
Tridib Chakraborti
Sharmistha Banerjee
Swati Sen Mandi
Krishna Bhattacharya
Krunoslav Mikulan
Satyabrata Chakrabarti
President, KSAS (Ex-Officio)

John Adamson
Shyam Sundar Bhattacharya
Pratiti Ghosh
Debi Chatterjee
Mina Dan
Ishita Mukhopadhyay
Sudipa Ray Bandyopadhyay
Mesbah Kamal
Suniti Pathak
Durga Basu
Arpita Basu
Treasurer, KSAS (Ex-Officio)

General Information

Journal of Kolkata Society for Asian Studies is a double blind peer reviewed publication. It is an International Journal dedicated to the development of all branches of Social Sciences with special reference to Asian Studies. The Journal accepts theoretical and empirical papers on interdisciplinary studies. The Journal occasionally publishes special issues which mediate on a single topic. It also publishes research notes, reports, book reviews, etc.

JKSAS is a half-yearly (June and December) and bilingual (English and Bengali) journal. Only original unpublished papers are accepted. Papers submitted for consideration must not be under consideration elsewhere. The copyright of the accepted papers will lie with Kolkata Society for Asian Studies. Decisions of the Editorial Board are final.

Subscription and Business Affairs

	Annual Subscription	
Countries	**Institutional Subcribers**	**Individual**
India	**INR 1200.00**	**INR 1000.00**
Foreign Countries	**US $ 100.00**	**US $ 90.00**

All correspondences relating to subscription, advertisements and other business matters should be addressed to the SECRETARY, Kolkata Society for Asian Studies. Remittance should be payable to KOLKATA SOCIETY FOR ASIAN STUDIES

Copyright@Kolkata Society For Asian Studies.

Editorial

Men and women belong to the same species *Homo sapiens*. Although biological dimorphism is a natural phenomenon, society and culture play a major role in fixing the gender concept. Women are assigned to different social existence in relation to men. Communication played a major part in the evolution of human beings. Articulated speech is the vehicle for communication through which not only knowledge is passed from one group of mankind to other group and even to other generation but socialization also takes place. In a society role, relationship and socialization of every individual takes a major part in formulation of dialect. Sexual duality in language and specifically in dialect is apparent in many societies.

Present issue of the journal is on the proceeding of the seminar on 'Women's Dialect', held on January 9, 2021, Organized by the Kolkata Society for Asian Studies. Concept set forth for the seminar was not only for women's dialect but also on the change that has taken place through time in women's dialect. This is considered as a very important aspect of research for understanding society with a view to gender perspective. Subthemes suggested for precise discussion were: Social relationship and language, the gender equation and hegemony of language, women's empowerment vs. women's dialect, and the effects of women's dialect to global technology and business strategy. In this special edition of the Journal of Kolkata Society for Asian Studies nine articles are published in addition to key note and valedictory addresses.

Professor Mina Dan, of the Linguistics department of Calcutta University gave the key note address. She concluded that dialect/ language and gender are to be studied through multidisciplinary methodology involving linguistics, sociolinguistics, feminism, gender studies, power dynamics, linguistic activism and feminist movement and activism. Such study will enrich understanding of the phenomenon of women's dialect and also the gender studies as such.

Professor Udaya Kumar Chakraborty addressed the valedictory session. First of all he had summed up the proceeding of the sessions of the webinar. He discussed the sociolinguistic aspect of dialects and had used the term Sociolect

for it. He had discussed about the dynamicity of language and had pointed out some cases starting from ancient Egyptian bisexual dialects.

Rupanjana Sinha and Asmita Bhattacharya deliberated on the topic entitled, 'Gender and Work: Reconsidering Women Legal Professional's Identity and Space'. Interview method is followed for the research. The authors discussed the nature of the legal profession and have shown how women lawyers have to struggle for proper footing in the profession in the gender discrimination riffed domain.

Sampa Biswas in her paper 'Gender Discrimination in Marxian Context' has discussed the gender discrimination in the light of Marxian theory of class differentiation. She covered the time from Vedic period to present day. She illustrated her contention on the basis of social evolution from the hunting gathering stage to the civilization. She surmised that with the yield of surplus and capitalism gender discrimination emerged.

Safi Ullah from Sheikh Hasina University, Netrokona, Bangladesh, has discussed hegemony of dialect from the view point of Ukil Munshi's *Baul Song*. The article has given examples from Ukil Munshi's baul songs to show how the passivity and powerlessness of women folk emerged as a result of male dominance.

The article, "Politics of Women's Dialect: A deeper look into Bengali idioms and proverbs" by Ritaja Mukherjee shows how the idioms and proverbs are loaded with patriarchal system of controlling women. She had made analysis of some idioms to show the fact.

The paper written jointly by Shreyashi Chaudhuri and Kuntal Narayan Chaudhuri is on the role of women in conserving agrobiodiversity. Although women are kept in the background in agricultural sphere and are given monotonous and arduous roles in agricultural activities but women play the major role in maintaining and developing agriculture and food security for people. At present women even take part in legal aspects related with agriculture.

Debtusi Misra Chowdhury in her paper "Women's dialect: a social phenomena" pointed out the socio-linguistic phenomena for deciding gender inequality.

Woman's sexuality, biological characters, social status, education etc are responsible for giving rise to difference in woman's dialect.

Paper written jointly by Sayantani Mallick, M. Alankara Masillamania and Sayan Das is entitled, "Bengali Dialect with Advanced Technology: Empowering Women Artists in *Kumartuli*, Kolkata". Kumartuli is a place in Kolkata, West Bengal, famous for the craft of clay made idols. The paper is focused on women, dialect and technology. Women take part in the craft equally with men but lack of expertis in languages other than mother tongue creates inequality for women due to globalization, development of modern technology and subsequently in the process of pan Indian and international marketing.

Dishari Sarkar in her article, "Women and hegemony of language: A case study of 21st century Bollywood action films promoting rape culture" had delved deep into andocentric use of languages by male members in a society leaving women out of it. She had taken example from the current Hindi films to establish her feministic critique.

Women's dialect is not only considered from the view point of Bengali language but also from international sectors. In the present case Japan is chosen for understanding, women, dialect and society in that country. In Japanese society language is gender specific. The paper "Gender, Dialect and Society in Japan", written by Purabi Gangopadhyay, shows the gender specific feminist language, its change and development in the historical perspective.

The above mentioned papers enriched the knowledge about women's dialect from multidimensional points of view and also threw light on gender discrimination and hegemony through linguistic studies, especially through dialects used by women in different societies and in different occasions The editors are grateful to the authors for their erudite contribution in the webinar and submitting full papers for the journal.

Ranajana Ray
Sarmistha De Basu

Contents

Page

Understanding Women's Dialect
- *Mina Dan* …1

Women's Dialect:
- *Uday Kumar Chakraborty* …18

Women's Dialect: A Social Phenomena
- *Debtusi Misra Chowdhury* …26

Gender and Work: Reconsidering Women Legal Professional's Identity and Space
- *Rupanjana Sinha & Asmita Bhattacharya* …36

Gender Discrimination in Marxian Context
- *Sampa Biswas* …52

Passivity of Expression and Patriarchal Portrait of Female: A Study on Ukil Munshi's Selected *Baul* Songs
- *Safi Ullah* …62

Politics of Women's Dialect: A deeper look into Bengali Idioms and Proverbs
- *Ritaja Mukherjee* …76

Silenced Voices: Articulating the Role of 'Invisible' Women Farmers in the Conservation of Agrobiodiversity in Rural and Tribal India
- *Shreyashi Chaudhuri and Kuntal Narayan Chaudhuri* …83

Bengali Dialect with Advanced Technology: Empowering Women Artists in *Kumartuli*, Kolkata
- *Sayantani Mallick, M. Alankara Masillamania and Sayan Das* …97

Women and hegemony of language: A case study of 21st century Bollywood action films promoting rape culture
- *Dishari Sarkar* …108

Gender, Dialect and Society in Japan
- *Purabi Gangopadhyay* …120

Notes for Contributors …129

Understanding Women's Dialect*

Mina Dan

Abstract

In the domain of linguistics one of the earliest writings as well as the most influential study on women's dialect is Jesperson (1922). Since then numerous studies in this domain are meticulously unveiling various aspects of women's dialect and in turn enriching the field of knowledge. The present paper, on the one hand, provides a glimpse of a few major issues and arguments of this domain in its three parts, viz. variation between men's and women's speech, understanding sex and gender and dialects vs. variation. On the other, it points to the differences between three categories of studies dealing with women's dialect, viz. those dealing with (i) unsubstantiated stereotypes, (ii) observed trends in language and (iii) encoded traits in language, along with examples and justifications, chiefly based on the existing literature of linguistics and gender studies.

Keywords: *woman's dialect, sexist language, gender based variation, folklinguistics, feminism, linguistic activism, sex, gender, norm, marginal.*

Introduction

Women's dialect in its various types, aspects and designations is an area of growth in the domain of knowledge. The literature on it has become and is

becoming rich day by day with many studies, observations, data, stereotypes, controversies, debates, theory framing and so on, and they range from intuition-based observation to empirical evidence, from thin description to thick explanation, from quantitative study to qualitative analysis – to mention a few. The painstaking researches in this area continuously offered a better understanding of various aspects of the subject and contributed positively to its journey from 'sexist language/ dialect' to 'gender-based variation of language'. Moreover, currently the subject matter 'language and gender' has crossed the disciplinary boundaries and has become a topic of interest in the domains of linguistic anthropology, conversation analysis, gender studies, feminist psychology, culture studies, studies on feminism and so on besides linguistics and sociolinguistics. However, the present deliberation intends to look at the matter chiefly from a linguistic point of view. The section 1 will focus on variation and report a few studies that capture variation between men's and women's speech, section 2 will underscore the difference between sex and gender and discuss the connection between language-gender, folklinguistics and feminism, while section 3 will provide a brief discussion on linguistic variation, which will be followed by a conclusion.

Variation between men's and women's speech

Women's dialect, the designated topic of the seminar, naturally indicates to the difference between women's and men's speech. In the domain of linguistics one of the earliest writings as well as the most influential study is Jesperson (1922). In his book *Language: Its Nature, Development and Origin* in chapter 13, The Woman, Jesperson (ibid.: 237-254) deals with differences between men's and women's speech. The chapter duly drew attention of the feminist linguists and the reviews of it ranges from highly negative criticisms to constructive ones via mentioned-without-comment type of neutral ones – as is evident in Thomas (2013: 387-388). Thomas (ibid.) offers a positive re-interpretation of the chapter, The Woman, with sufficient justification. She also draws our attention to the fact that references to Jespersen (1922) almost invariably appear in the first few pages or in the first chapter of an article or a book dealing with language and gender and states, "This fact materializes how Jespersen's chapter has been recruited to represent the starting point away from which modern analysis of language and

gender has moved" (Thomas 2013: 391-392). Thus, it is nearly a century now that scholars noticed and took interest in studying the differences between women's and men's speech. The present section will elaborate on some such differences reported in a few leading studies in the field.

Taking into consideration the content of studies based on the idea that men and women speak differently Ghosh (2018) proposes the following three typological classifications.

1. Unsubstantiated stereotypes which are either reinforced or challenged by linguistic behaviours/ folklinguistics

2. Observed trends in language

3. Encoded or fixed in language

The studies belonging to the third type are more empirical in nature than the others and they report comprehensible differences meticulously. The second type includes studies that mainly focus on trends while the first type includes the ones that report chiefly stereotypes, hence least linguistic. In order to give a clear idea of speech difference the present section will report studies belonging to the third and second type while the next section will aptly touch upon the first type.

1.1 Differences encoded in languages

This sub-section will report speech variation of the third type from some seven languages.

1.1.1 Carib Indians

One of the most celebrated examples of gender differentiation in speech, first reported by Dominican Breton in his *Dictionnaire Caraibe-fran Qais* (1664), as mentioned in Jespersen (1922: 237), is found in the Lesser Antilles of the West Indies among the Carib Indians, where men and women are reported to speak two different languages. The story says - this was resulted from an ancient conquest in which a group of invading Carib speaking men killed the local Arawak speaking men and met with the Arawak-speaking women. In the next generation, it was

reported that the boys spoke Carib, which they learnt from their fathers while the girls spoke Arawak, which they learnt from their mothers.

However, the claim of the two separate languages was rebutted by Jespersen (1922: 238). After a careful examination of the glossary offered in the book *Histoirenaturelle et morale des lies Antilles* by Rochefort (1965) Jespersen concluded that they actually speak one language with remarkable gender-based characteristics. For example, in the domain of kinship terms for 'my father' men say *youmáan* while women say *noukóuchili*, though both in addressing him use the same word *bába.*

Jespersen in the chapter, The Woman, suspiciously examined a few indications about linguistic differences between men's and women's speech in the earlier works and claimed that the differences are not directly correlated to sex. For example, in some linguistic groups, the wife is not allowed to utter her husband's name because of a verbal taboo rather than of sex difference (1922: 239). In Sanskrit dramas the women talk in Prakrit, a worn out stage of Sanskrit, while men have the privilege of talking in Sanskrit. Jespersen relates this disparity not with sex, rather with social ranking of women (ibid.: 242).

1.1.2 Koasati

A very significant example of difference in men's and women's speech was reported in Koasati, a Muskogean language of southwest Louisiana, as noted in Haas (1944). Hass provided a few phonological rules of gender-based language variation in the verbal forms of Koasati.

i & ii) Men and women use same form if the form ends in a vowel or in č.

iii) If the woman's form ends in a nasalized vowel then the corresponding men's form has a non-nasalized vowel followed by s.

iv) If the women's form has a vowel with falling tone followed by n, then the corresponding men's form replaces the n by s.

v) If the women's form has a vowel with falling tone followed by l, then the corresponding men's form replaces the falling tone by a rising one and the l by s.

vi) If the women's form ends in one or two vowels followed by one or two consonants, then the corresponding men's form adds an s after the same structure.

Following examples explain the above rules.

	Women	Men	Gloss
i) v# = v#	[iskó]	[iskó]	'he drank'
ii) č# = č#	[híč]	[híč]	'he is looking at it'
iii) ṽ = vs	[lakawwã]	[lakawwas]	'he will lift it'
iv) v̀n =v̀s	[tačilwàn]	[tačilwàs]	'don't sing!'
v) v̀l = v́s	[molhìl]	[molhís]	'we are peeling it'
vi) v(v)c(c) = v(v)c(c)s	[lakáw]	[lakáws]	'he is lifting it'

1.1.3 Gros Ventre

Wardhaugh (2010: 336) reports phonological differences in the speech of men and women in Gros Ventre, an Amerindian language of the northeast United States. In this language, women utter palatalized velar stop [kjasta] 'bread' while men utter palatalized dental stop [djasta]. In addition, when a man quotes a woman

he attributes male pronunciation to her and when a woman quotes a man she attributes female pronunciation to him.

1.1.4 Japanese & Thai

Japanese presents gender differences at the morpho-syntactic as well as word levels (Wardhaugh 2010: 339). In Japanese, women add a sentence-final particle, either [ne] or [wa], which result in a difference between male & female speech. For example, a female speaker says - [watasi kaeru wa] 'I'll go back'.

This is comparable to Hindi, in which a female speaker adds an ending [-ii] after a verb, e.g. [kərungii] while a male speaker adds [-aa], [kərungaa] meaning 'I'll do'.

At the word level a Japanese male speaker refers to himself as [boku] or [ore], while a female speaker refers to herself as [watasi] or [atasi]. For example, a man says [boku kaeru], while a woman says [watasi kaeru wa] 'I'll go back' in plain informal speech. This distinction is learnt by the children at a very early age. However, a study (Reynolds 1998: 306) indicates that the use of [boku] by junior high school girls has become very common currently. Girls were interviewed in a TV programme to know the reason behind this and they explained that – they cannot compete with boys in classes, in games or in fights with the word [watasi]. [watasi] is not sufficiently powerful, while [boku] is directly linked to power. In fact, the use of [boku] and other male forms are increasing currently in female speech.

In Thai also in polite conversation a female speaker refers to herself as [dichan], while a male as [phom]. Again women emphasize a repeated action through verbal reduplication, while men put a descriptive verb [mak] after the verb (Wardhaugh 2010: 339).

1.1.5 Kurukh

The Kurukh language of the Dravidian family presents speech difference based on sex of both the speaker and addressee (Fasold 1990 as mentioned in Ghosh 2018).

In Kurukh, if the addressee is a male then both male and female speakers use [barday] 'you come' and [barckay] 'you came'.

If both the speaker and addressee are female then the forms are [bardin] 'you come' and [barckin] 'you came'.

If the speaker is male and the addressee is a female then the forms are [bardi] 'you come' and [arcki] 'you came'.

1.2 Observed trends in languages

Both the studies reported in this part are on Bengali and they belong to the 2nd type, viz. observed trends in language.

1.2.1 Sukumar Sen (1928)

In the publication titled *Women's Dialect in Bengali* by Sukumar Sen, (1st published in 1928) the author identifies trends of differences between women's and men's speech in the areas of noun/verb/adjective and other grammatical categories, relationship words/phrases, taboos and euphemisms, proverbs and personal names. A few examples are as follows. Substantives like /ɔnaʧʧʰiʃʈi/ 'bizarre', /adikkʰeta/ 'fuss', /eo/ 'married woman', adjectives like /alladi/ 'cute', /doʃʃi/ 'restless', /naʧuni/ 'over enthusiastic', relationship terms like /dæor/ 'brother-in law', /nɔnod/ 'sister-in-law', /bʰagni/ 'niece', /bʰatar/ 'husband', and proverbs like /age ʤamai kãʈʰal kʰan na, ʃeʃe ʤamai bʰutio pan na/ 'at first the son-in-law does not show interest in jackfruit, in the end he doesn't even get the waste part of it' and so on are typically used by women.

Sen's conclusions include – in language use women are more conservative, they avoid neologism; their speech is marked with the use of emphatic particles, intensive words, euphemism and limited vocabulary. In his opinion, women are "Exceedingly fond of pejorative terms and expressions … masters in the exchange of saucy ridicule." Sen also states, "In modern days less civilized people have preserved some kind of sex dialects…though languages of modern civilized people have no sex dialect proper, yet almost all of them preserve some characteristic idioms which entirely, or almost entirely, confined to the womenfolk."

1.2.2 Sharmila Basu Dutta (2000)

Basu Dutta also notes various traits of women's speech, viz. differences at phonetic level; use of elaborate kinship term; elaborate colour terms; figure of speech; baby talk items; incomplete sentence; pejorative terms; specific suffixes; exclamatory terms; name substitution and some syntactic traits like tag question, request, story-telling style, indirect speech, casual style and so on. She provides ample examples of each category. However, most of her examples are from literature. She presents a rich collection of proverbs, including a good number of proverbs about women.

The authors of the above studies chiefly concentrate on the areas of speech differences identified in earlier works in other languages and present plentiful corresponding data from Bangla.

Understanding sex and gender

Earlier researchers studied women's language in relation to sex, i.e. sex was taken as a variable. However, our understanding became clearer based on researches in the domain of gender studies that meticulously underscore the difference between sex and gender. These researches are often naturally linked to the various phases of modern Women's Movement that began in the late 1960s, prompted by the Civil Rights Movement in the USA and spread across the western countries. Some of the pertinent arguments employed in these researches are as follows.

i) Sex is a biological category that marks humans and other animals as either male or female, while Gender is a social category that refers to cultural traits and behaviours deemed appropriate for men or women by a particular society.

ii) Sex is something we are born with, but "Gender is not something we are born with, and not something we *have*, but something we *do* (West & Zimmerman 1987), something we *perform* (Butler 1990)" (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 10).

iii) Being a natural, hence innate category, sex is hardly a fluid concept, whereas gender, being a social construct, allows ample fluidity.

iv) As regards gender the expected behaviour of women or men changes from one generation to the next, from one place to another, from one social class to another, but this is not so with sex. For example, some hundred years back in India girls were not allowed to receive institutionalized education, while it was not so in the western societies.

v) There is no biological reason why females have red toes and men white; females dance and men play percussion; females become nurse and male security guards; pilots are male and females are airhostess. These are just the outcome of the gender-dependent expectations and cultural beliefs of the society and they vary.

vi) Sex and gender ideally do not share any inherent feature, which is why there are exceptions like females with white toes, female pilots and male cabin crews.

vii) "Sex is a biological categorization based primarily on reproductive potential, whereas gender is the social elaboration of biological sex. Gender builds on biological sex, it exaggerates biological difference, and indeed, carries biological difference into domains in which it is completely irrelevant" (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 10).

As regards gender as a social construct one is invariably reminded of the celebrated slogan "One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman" by Simon de Beauvoir in her seminal book *The Second Sex* (1949), which first articulated the distinction between sex and gender and is often regarded the feminist bible.

The process of 'becoming' is a continuous one and a human baby becomes a part of it as soon as it is born. Naming boys and girls differently, selecting outfits of different design and colour for them, the doll and ball treatment while giving them toys, forming same-sex play groups and the like are instrumental in creating gender distinction since the beginning. As a result gender becomes such an indispensible part of our identity that it becomes impossible to live a non-gendered life. This gendered life, in addition, is full of inequalities as here men

occupy the role of subject while women are treated as object, the second sex compared to men, the primary as well as the ideal category. The oppressed condition of women is reflected in their linguistic behaviour also. According to Lakoff (1973: 45) "Woman's language has as foundation the attitude that women are marginal to the serious concerns of life, which are pre-empted by men." Researches in this line fortify the connection between language and gender.

The rest of the present section will throw light on the connection between language and gender, folklinguistics and feminism.

2.1 Folklinguistics

Though systematic inquiries about the relationship between language and gender began as an outcome of the feminist movement of the 1970s, mainly in the fields of linguistics and feminist theory, unsubstantiated remarks and comments on women's dialect are available since yore and also across the globe. Such unsubstantiated stereotypes, which are either reinforced or challenged by linguistic behaviours are termed folklinguistics, as has already been mentioned in section1. Here we shall give examples of stereotypes along with examples of systematic observations to show that "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: 45).

2.2 Two sets of data

We shall present two sets of data - the first contains myths and proverbs, i.e. stereotypes, in different languages and represents folklinguistics, while the second consists of "one set of facts" the majority of which "will hold for the majority of speakers of English" (Lakoff 1973: 47) and represents systematic study.

2.2.1 Myths and Proverbs (Gebeyehu 2019, Kochman-Haładyj 2012)

Myths

- Women in general are ascribed negative qualities like stupidity, inferiority, changeability, weakness, ill-nature, talkativeness etc.

- Women in specific roles or situations are thought of as mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law, wives, widows, prostitutes etc.
- Women's speech is gossip-laden, corrupt, illogical, euphemistic, idle and deficient.
- Women talk more than men.

Proverbs

- A man is as old as he feels, a woman as old as she looks. (English)
- A house well-furnished makes a woman wise. (English)
- There is not a wise woman and a donkey with a horn.(Awngi)
- A home without a woman is like a barn without cattle. (Ethiopean)
- A silent woman is a gift from God. (French)
- Beauty is the wisdom of women. Wisdom is the beauty of men. (Chinese)
- There was never a conflict without a woman. (English)
- It is easier to guard a bushel of fleas than a woman (German)
- Cats, flies and women are ever at their toilets. (French)
- He that marries a widow and four children marries four thieves. (Danish)
- A woman has a shape of an angel, the heart of a snake, and the brain of an ass. (German)
- Long hair, little brain. (Turkish)

2.2.2 A set of facts (Lakoff 1973)

Lakoff (1973, 1975) are considered the pioneer researches in the field of language and gender. With regard to English Lakoff explores and analyses both the "language restricted in use to women and language descriptive of women alone" (1973: 48) and offers "diagnostic evidence from language use for one type of

inequity that has been claimed to exist in our society: that between the roles of men and women" (ibid.: 46).

Lakoff (1973) shows that women's speech can be distinguished from that of men in a number of ways, some of which are as follows.

In the choice of lexical items women

i) make far more accurate discrimination in naming colours than men do, e.g. mauve, beige, lavender, aquamarine etc. words are part of their active vocabulary;

ii) use "weaker" expletives bereft of semantic load compared to the meaningful "stronger" ones used by men, e.g. 'oh dear', 'goodness', 'oh fudge', 'dear me' etc are used by women while 'shit', 'damn', 'hell' etc. by men;

iii) Use empty adjectives like 'adorable', 'divine', 'charming', lovely' etc. that are not found in men's speech.

In the area of syntax women's speech is marked with frequent use of tag-questions (e.g. John is here, isn't it?), hedges (e.g. phrases like 'it seems like', 'sort of'), super-polite forms (e.g. 'would you mind…', 'is it okay…'), apologetic forms (e.g. 'I'm sorry, but I think that…') etc.

As regards language descriptive of women alone Lakoff analyzes the disparity in the use of word pairs – lady : woman, master : mistress, widow : widower and Mr. : Mrs., Miss. For example,

(Lakoff ibid.: 63, cf. example 19)

i) *Harry declined to be my master, and so returned to his wife.

ii) Rhonda declined to be my mistress, and so returned to her husband.

(i) Cannot be said in English.

Such word pairs are not restricted to English only. Let us give an example from Bangla, /ʃɔt/ 'honest': /ʃoti/ 'chaste and faithful woman'. /ʃoti/ is derived by adding the feminine suffix /-i/ to /ʃɔt/. However, in terms of meaning they are far apart from being members of a pair.

Lakoff (ibid.: 67) comments on the concluding part of the traditional marriage service, viz. "I now pronounce you man and wife" – in which "the man's position in the world, and in relation to other people including the bride, has not being changed by the act of marriage. …. But the bride went into the ceremony a 'woman', not defined by any other person, at least linguistically: she leaves it a 'wife', defined in terms of the 'man', her husband."

According to Lakoff (ibid.: 62) "if women are there for the use and enjoyment of men, they are not fully human beings in their own rights" and "a man is defined in the serious world by what he does, a woman by her sexuality, that is, in terms of one particular aspect of her relationship to men" (ibid.: 65). She elaborates on the process of objectification of women and the power politics involved in the process.

Researches in this line linked language, gender and power and exposed the oppressed status of women in terms of linguistic codes.

2.3 Folklinguistics and Linguistic Feminism

The unsubstantiated stereotypes, proverbs and myths, under the type folklinguistics were severely challenged by the feminist linguists. Meticulous studies by them revealed linguistic facts, analyzed them, documented sexist language practices, demanded for a non-sexist language reform, chose alternative terms and ensured their implementation. The words of Simon de Beauvoir, "All oppression creates a state of war. And this is no exception" took shape in their studies. Thus linguistics accelerated and fortified feminist movement and activism. In the words of Pauwels (2003: 551) "It was the linguistic activism associated with the women's movement starting in the 1970s that posed the first major female challenge to male dominance in language regulation and planning. Women of all walks of life started to expose the biased portrayal of the sexes in language use and demonstrated that this portrayal was particularly discriminatory and damaging to women. Furthermore, their activities targeted the uncovering of the gendered nature of many linguistic rules and norms."

In fact, feminism is a complex concept, which has different interpretations and perspectives for people belonging to different generations, social classes, ethnic

identities, nationalities and even sexual orientations. The first wave of feminism occurred during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries while the second wave during the 1960's and 1990's, which was followed by a third wave. The linguistic activism strengthened the second wave of feminism. The feminist linguists worked on different languages and in different corners of the world - Robin Lakoff (English, USA), Dale Spender (English, Australia), Rolv Blacker (Norwegian, Norway), Maria Yaguello (French, France), Senta Troemel-Ploetz (German, Germany), Meseguer Gracia (Spanish, Spain) – to name a few. The outcomes of linguistic activism gained importance institutionally in the 1970s and 1980s, influenced heavily the sector of corpus planning and got documented in 'codes of practice'. For example, non-sexist terms like 'chair', 'firefighter', 'supervisor', 'workers', 'spokesperson' gained supremacy over sexist terms like 'chairman', 'fireman', 'foreman', 'workmen', 'spokesman' respectively; use of singular 'they' in place of 's/he' in English (as in the sentence 'Everyone should bring *their* lunch') and so on.

Dialect Vs. Variation

The phrase Women's Dialect implies the existence of a standard variety to which this variety is not equal in prestige and that standard variety or the norm is the Men's variety. This status-inequality between men's language and women's language was countered by Peter Trudgill (1972), William Labov (2001) and many others in sociolinguistics as well as in the domain of language and gender study. Hence, the term variation rather than dialect suits more for the purpose.

Moreover, sociolinguistics classifies three types of language variation as follows.

- Dialect: Geographical/ areal variation – any speaker naturally possesses and performs in one dialect.
- Sociolect/ social dialect: Social variation (e.g. class & caste variation etc.) - any speaker naturally possesses and performs in one sociolect.
- Situational variation (e.g. formal & Informal variation etc.) - any speaker naturally possesses and performs in many varieties.

However, the micro division of gender based variation in language does not neatly fit into any of the above macro groups. This suggests that the gender

based variation naturally occupies a position on the list of various types of linguistic variation in its own right.

Conclusion

The domain of women's dialect, or language and gender is an interdisciplinary area of study. The domain has been developed and enriched with the contributions from different fields, viz. linguistics, sociolinguistics, feminism, gender studies, power dynamics, linguistic activism and feminist movement and activism. Hence an understanding of the given topic involves an overall understanding of these aspects.

References

Basu Dutta, S. 2000. *Banglae Meyeder Bhasha* (Women's Language in Bangla). Kolkata : Prama Prakashani.

Butler, J. 1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversive of Identity.* London : Routledge.

de Beauvoir, S. 1949. *Le deuxième sexe* (1, 2) (The Second Sex). Paris : Gallimard.

Eckert, P. and S. McConnell-Ginet. 2003. *Language and Gender*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.

Gebeyehu, T. A. 2019. 'The Negative Representation of Women in the Language of Awngi Proverbs', *IJRAR*, 6 (2). http://ijrar.com/upload_issue/ijrar_issue_20543771.pdf (Retrieved on 3/4/21)

Ghosh, A. 2018. 'Language and Gender'. A presentation for Lectures as a Resource Person on 'Gender and Language' delivered at the Faculty Development programme at the Bhawanipur Education Society College October - November 2018.

Haas, M. 1944. 'Men's and Women's Speech in Koasati'. *Language,* 20 : 142-149.

Jespersen, O. 1922. *Language: Its Nature, Development and Origin*. London : Allen and Unwin.
https://pure.mpg.de/rest/items/item_2350913_3/component/file_2350912/content (Retrieved on 15/3/21)

Kochman-Haładyj, B. 2012. (Negative) perception of women in proverbs across cultures of the changing world. In *Language, Literature and Culture in the Changing Trnsatlantic World II*.
https://www.academia.edu/16119432/_Negative_perception_of_women_in_proverbs_across_cultures_of_the_changing_world (Retrieved on 3/4/21)

Labov, W. 2001. *Principles of Linguistic Change, II: Social Factors*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Lakoff, R. 1973. 'Language and Woman's Place'. *Language in Society*, 2 (1) : 45-80.
https://web.stanford.edu/class/linguist156/Lakoff_1973.pdf (Retrieved on 1/4/21)

Lakoff, R. 1975. *Language and Woman's Place*. New York : Harper & Row.

Pauwels, A. 2003. Linguistic sexism and feminist linguistic activism. In J. Holmes and M. Meyerhoff (eds.), *The Handbook of Language and Gender*. pp. 550-570. Oxford : Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
http://www.blackwellpublishing.com/content/bpl_images/Content_Store/WWW_Content/9780631225027/024.pdf (Retrieved on 15/4/21)

Reynolds, K.A. 1998. Female Speakers of Japanese in Transition. In S. Ide and N. McGloin (eds.), *Aspects of Japanese Women's Language*. pp. 129-146. Tokyo : Kuroshio Shuppan.

Sen, S. 1979/1928. *Women's Dialect in Bengali*. Calcutta : Jignasa.

Thomas, M. 2013. 'Otto Jespersen and "The Woman", then and now'. *Historiographia Linguistica,* 40 (3) : 377-408.
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/262965825_Otto_Jespersen_and_The_Woman_then_and_now (Retrieved on 31/3/21)

Trudgill, P. 1972. 'Sex, Covert Prestige and Linguistic Change in the Urban British English of Norwich'. *Language in Society*, 1 (1) : 79-95.

Wardhaugh, R. 2010. *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. USA : Wiley-Blackwell.

West, C. and D. H. Zimmerman. 2009. 'Accounting for Doing Gender'. *Gender and Society*, 23 (1) : 112-122.

Proverbs about Women
https://www.nosweatshakespeare.com/quotes/literature/proverbs-about-women/
(Retrieved on 2/1/21)

* An earlier version of the paper was delivered as the keynote address in the Webinar 'Women's Dialect' organized by Kolkata Society for Asian Studies on 9th January 2021 @ 3.00 PM.

Bio-Profile of the Author:
Professor, Department of Linguistics
University of Calcutta, Kolkata, India.
Email: mdling@caluniv.ac.in

Women's Dialect: Some Observations*

Udaya Kumar Chakraborty

I

First of all, let me express my emotion for organizing such Webinar on 'Women's Dialect'. I thank the Kolkata Society for Asian Studies for inviting me in this Valedictory Session. I thank to all the respected guests and participants.

Dr. Sarmistha De Basu, Secretary, KSAS, and Dr. Debtusi Misra Chowdhury, Assistant Secretary, KSAS, addressed the guests and participants. Dr. Debtusi Misra Chowdhury highlighted the main features women's language like storytelling, code language, forbidden sounds etc.

Guest of Honour Mr. Aminur Rahman Sultan, Deputy Director at Bangla Academy, Dhaka, Bangladesh, Dr Satyabrata Chakraborti, President, General Secretary of the Asian Society, Kolkata; Mina Dan, Professor & HOD, Department of Linguistics, University of Calcutta attended the inaugural session and delivered their valuable speeches.

Professor Mina Dan presented her valuable keynote address. She covered all the aspects related to her discussion entitled "Understanding Women's Dialect". Prof. Dan expressed her views on gender depended expectations of the society.
Mr. Aminur Rahman Sultan discussed on regional and folk dialect in Baul song. Mr. Rahman Sultan gave some examples of devotional words used in the Baul

songs composed by Kanghalini Sufia. He noticed that Kanghalini Sufia rarely used women's dialect.

Dr. Sravasti Roy, Associate Professor, Dept. of Bengali (UG & PG), Convenor, Women's Cell, Egra SSB College, Egra chaired the first Academic Session on 'Social Relationship and Language'.

Saptarsha Seal, Student, UG-II, Scottish Church College, Department of History presented his paper on "Proverbs in Bengali Language: How it reflects the social relationship and the position of wives and mothers in household". Actually speaking of man is bold. He thinks himself superior than woman. On the other side, hesitations of the female speakers indicate inferior position in society. It is common. But in my opinion, we find sometimes some male speakers in their adolescence period become shy particularly before woman. Sometimes it becomes a psychological problem. We should keep it in our mind that Saptarsha is a student of History and he nicely analysed historical aspects of the proverbs.

Debopama Misra, H.M.M College for Women, Dakshineswar (sact) Presenter of Mahila Mahal, Akashvani, Kolkata presented a paper on "Social Relationship: a Dialect from Heart". It is true, that, the voice of women deals with heart. She highlighted emotions of the women, which they express in their speech. Her paper is interesting. But it is a reality that, there are many social strata and all of them do not possess the same psychological role.

Prof. Mahidas Bhattacharya, Former Director, School of Languages and Linguistics, Jadavpur University, chaired the Second Academic Session on "The Gender equation and Hegemony of Language". Prof. Bhattacharya expressed his realization that, man will not properly feel the pain of a woman.

Sampa Biswas, Assistant Professor in Philosophy, Brahmananda Keshab Chandra College, Bonhoogly, Kolkata presented her paper on "Gender Discrimination in Marxian Context". Gender discrimination and exploiting character of the society is a fact. More women labourers are working in the brickfields. At present, in some petrol pumping station women are working. At the time of working women are adopting the terminology and also some lexical corpus normally used by man.

Dr. Purabi Gangopadhyay, Japanese language Faculty, School of Languages and Culture, Rabindra Bharati University, Kolkata discussed on "Gender, Dialect and Society in Japan". It is a good observation indeed. In Japan society is changing from matriarchal to patriarchal. Change of language in Japan is influenced by these changing characteristics of the society. Politeness is the main characteristics of the language of modern Japan.

Ritaja Mukherjee, Completed Master's in Comparative Literature from the Jadavpur University, presently Blog writer for an international company spoke on "Politics of Women's Dialect: A deeper look into Bengali idioms and proverbs". Her paper is interesting. Particular proverbs characterized woman's fault by the male dominating society.

Dr. Siuli Mukherjee, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Shri Shikshayatan College presented her paper on "(women) leaders and empowerment in South Asia; a study of their Statements and Speeches". This paper is also interesting. Actually education is one of the factors for the woman empowerment.

Prof. Ranjana Ray, Professor Emeritus, Department of Anthropology, University of Calcutta chaired the Third Academic Session on "Women's Empowerment vs. Women's Dialect".

Sayantani Mallick and Dr. M. Alankara Masillamania, Department of Palli Charcha Kendra, Visva-Bharati University, West Bengal and Sayan Das, Department of Computer Science, Ananda Mohan College, Calcutta University presented a paper on "Bengali Dialect and Advance Technology: Obstacle empowerment of woman Artisan's Kumartuli, Kolkata". This paper is based on sociolect used by the artisan of Kumartuly. They discussed on code mixing also.

Safi Ullah, Lecturer, Department of English, Sheikh Hasina University, Netrakona-2400, Bangladesh spoke on "Passivity of Expression and Patriarchal Portrait of Female A Study on Ukil Munshi's Baul Song". In Ukil Munshi's Baul song female diction is used.

Paramita Das Sharma, Associate Professor, Gobardanga Hindu College, North 24 Parganas, West Bengal presented her paper on"নাট্যকার মনোজ মিত্রের নাটকে নারী

চরিত্রের ভাষা". She explained the dialogue used by the female characters. This paper is interesting.

Shreyashi Chaudhuri, Faculty, Department of History, Calcutta Girls College and Kuntal Narayan Chaudhuri, Assistant Professor, Department of Botany, Vivekananda College spoke on "Silenced Voices: Articulating the Role of 'Invisible' Women Farmers in the Conservation of Agro-biodiversity in Rural and Tribal India". It is an excellent paper. This paper observed the terminology used by the women farmers.

Dr. Aditi Ghosh, Associate Professor, Dept. of Linguistics, C.U. chaired the Fourth Academic Session on "The Effects of Women's Dialect to Global Technology & Business Strategy".

Konthoujam Firoza Devi, Lieutenant Commander, Eastern Naval Command presented a paper on "Mapping the labryth of absence – hegemony of language". This paper is based on gynocriticism.

Rupanjana Sinha, Research Scholar at the Department of Sociology, Vidyasagar University & Asmita Bhattacharyya, Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, Vidyasagar University, Midnapore discussed on "Gender and Work: Reconsidering Women Legal Professional's Identity and Space". This paper deals with a special outlook.

Dishari Sarkar, M.A., Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Calcutta presented her paper on "Women and hegemony of language: A case study of 21st century Bollywood action films promoting rape culture". This paper is also deals with a different outlook.

The chairpersons of these sessions suggested their valuable opinions and also stimulated the young participants who presented their papers today.

II

In this electronic media dependent age, when we are thinking that we are mechanically using this world, when we are thinking that our attitude towards

our neighbours and relatives are gradually becoming artificial, today's discussion again reveals a human face of our attitude.

From a long time we have been discussing women's language as a separate language. According to sociolinguistics, woman's language is a sociolect. It is different from the language of male speakers. There are several social features behind such psychological thinking.

Physiologically, there are some basic difference between woman and man. These physical features take part in using supra-segmental features.

Language is changing gradually. The prominent characteristics of women's dialect are becoming neutral day by day. In Bengal, normally women like to use passive expression. Such as,

> 'শুধু শুধু এতক্ষণ বসে থাকা হলো', 'তা এখন থাকা হবে কদ্দিন'?, 'আর তো দেখা পাওয়া যায় না '

instead of 'শুধু শুধু এতক্ষণ বসে থাকলাম', 'তা এখন কদ্দিন থাকবে/ থাকবেন', আর তো (তমাকে/ আপনাকে) দেখতে পাই না etc.

Sometimes women speak mixing some codes.

> 'for nothing এতক্ষণ time waste করতে হলো!'
>
> 'for nothing এতক্ষণ সময় waste করলাম 'etc.

We should find out the corpuses used by women of different social classes for our minute analysis. Ronald Wardwaugh raised a question;

> "Do the men and women who speak a particular language use it in different ways?"

He also remarked on this,

> "If they do, do these differences arise from the structure of that language." [Wardwaugh, Ronald. 1986. An Introduction to Sociolinguistics. Basil Blackwell Inc. New York. P. 302]

Actually he wanted to find out the reasons behind a women's dialect. Why is the dialect of the women separate from the man? We may raise many questions regarding this.

First of all, is there any structural difference between the spoken language of a man and a woman? Secondly, do any difference is that exist simply reflect the ways in which they choose to deal with each other in that society. We may say, all different way depends on structure of that language. Fourthly, the way of speaking, may it be possible to describe a particular language as sexiest or should we reserve such a description for those who use the language. The society already determined that, women's dialect is different from that of men. Without any knowledge of linguistics even without any formal education, a woman knows better that her way of speaking is different from any man. In reality, it is difficult to change such psychological observation of the society. Linguist Sukumar Sen remarked that,

> "Traces of sex dialect in Oldest Indo-Aryan (Vedic) are exceedingly scarce, owing, no doubt, to the sacred and religious character of its literature." [Sen, Sukumar, 1979. Women's Dialect in Bengali. Jijnasa. Kolkata. P. 3]

There are many historical evidences of sex dialect in many ancient societies. At present we know what sex dialect is. Apart from our India, in Egypt we found many word lists written in hieroglyphic script. We noticed two different stages of the Egyptian language and three different Egyptian scripts. We come to know that the use of feminine and masculine form of words was in practice. Such as,

> 'wḏ͗ȝ͗' = you are well ('you' feminine)
>
> 'ḥnḵ' = you ordered ('you' masculine)
>
> [Lepschy, Giulio; ed. 1994. History of Linguistics. Volume-1. Longman, Londan and New York. P. 64-65].

Jesperson observed that, in India, the social position of woman is inferior to man. Even the culture of the women in our society is considered as lower culture. On the other side the culture of the men is higher. Sukumar Sen opposed Jesperson's opinion.

But Jesperson noticed important language behaviour in bilingual society. He noticed that, there is a difference between the dialects used by men and women and they are struggling for their own mother tongue. He wrote,

> "A difference between the language spoken by men and that spoken by women is seen in many countries where two languages are struggling for supremacy in a peaceful way – thus without any question of one nation exterminating the other or the male part of it." [Jespersen, Otto. 1922. Language Its nature Development and Origin. New York, Henry Holt & Company. P.241]

The women of the German and Scandinavian immigrants in America remain within doors. Therefore, they are preserving their own tongue. But the men are mixing with English speaking people and they are learning English.

When we try to follow the language of higher society, we think ourselves superior than those who are still speaking our native tongue. Such motive is called as the prestige motive. In the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century Bengali literature we found that husbands feel themselves superior to their wives when they utter some English words. Naturally the vocabulary of the women was limited within her mother tongue. Education and mixing with the people of other language community enriched the vocabulary of the men.

If we follow the language of elder women in a particular endangered language family, we shall find the actual and older form of that language. We know women are preserving the language more than men, as they are normally communicating within their community. Men have to go outside their community and compelled to acquire other tongue. Thus dominant language families are killing minor languages slowly. But women are best preserver of their own tongue.

But at present our social condition is better than before. The role of education is important factor. It is neutralizing the difference between the language of men and women day by day. The media like TV, movie, mobile, internet etc are playing good role in spreading social consciousness. Both men and women are taking same part of work in the society. Both men and women are speaking the same language using same vocabulary and syntactic structures.

Still there are some basic features which are particular in sex dialect. There are some particular phrases used by men or women. The way of utterance of word is

not the same. There are particular suprasegmental features which are common for women and are not common for men. Men posses separate suprasegmental features of their own.

In our society men have their own expression. Women can follow that, but they rarely use such expression. Women also have their own expression and men never follow that. The differences of expression of men and women are realized by the common people.

The knowledge of such sex language exists in our mind. If we follow the terminology of generative linguistics, it is our language competence and our communicative competence. We do posses such inherent knowledge. Actually, the sex language is expressed through our behavioural attitude in a social context. Finally, let us assume that conception of sex language is related with our language cognition.

*An earlier version of the paper was delivered as the valedictory address in the webinar 'Women's Dialect' organised by Kolkata Society for Asian Studies on 9th January 2021.

Bio-Profile of the Author:
PhD, Retired Professor, Bengali Department, Jadavpur University
Former Co-ordinator, Bhasacharya Suniti Kumar Chatterji Center for Language Studies, Bengali Department, Jadavpur University

Women's Dialect: A Social Phenomena

Debtusi Misra Chowdhury

Abstract
An attempt has been made here to study women's dialect in sociolinguistic aspect. Language is the tool to express our thought. People use language for communicate with each other. Here comes the difference between male and female. Language differs in phonological, grammatical or in vocabulary, conversational topics and style when we judge it by gender. A deep social impact is behind this. Here women`s dialect is discussed through social context.

Keyword: *socio-linguistics, physiology, phonology, repetition, storytelling, metaphor, onomatopoeia, symbolism, code language.*

Introduction
We are here to discuss on Women's Dialect. But why are we choosing this topic? In this context we may remember that on 23rd September, 2011, UN women executive director Michelle Bachelet at the 39th Annual Commencement in 2011 at Laguardia Community college said that, the 21st century will be the century of girls and women. This is however a social economic and political revolution that can't happen without men and boys. Gender equality and women's empowerment are only part of a larger journey for social justice and democracy.

A journey for which our generation is better equipped than any generation before is the social and political revolution of 19th century.

Since middle Ages, only from 19th century, women saw the light of freedom. We can say that 20th century was the age of women's rights' movement. Even now in the 21st century inequality and discrimination is not completely abolished but women take an important role in every sphere of life.
The history of women's position in society left a deep impact in their language because society is the woven through social relationship and language is the tool for expressing the thought. The dominant approach argues that women have an inferior social position in society and the men dominate women. These social conditions are reflected in the use of male and female languages. Men dominate women linguistically and women are linguistically powerless. The preempted thinking of patriarchal society towards women is that women are marginal to the serious concerns of life. This is reflected both in the ways women are expected to speak and the ways in which women are spoken of. Women were deprived from the power of knowledge too. We can remember the essay "*Stree Sikhsha*" by Rabindranath Thakur.

Tagore wrote -

'মানুষ জানিতে চায়,সেটা তার ধর্ম; এইজন্য জগতের আবশ্যক অনাবশ্যক সকল তত্ত্বই তার কাছে বিদ্যা হইয়া উঠিয়াছে। সেই তার জানিতে চাওয়াকে যদি খোরাক না জোগাই কিংবা তাকে কুপথ্য দিয়া ভুলাইয়া রাখি তবে তার মানব প্রকৃতিকে দুর্বল করি, একথা বলাই বাহুল্য।'
কিন্তু, মানুষকে পুরা পরিমাণে মানুষ করিব আমাদের সকলের অন্তরের কথা নয়। যখন সর্ব সাধারণকে শিক্ষা দেওয়ার প্রস্তাব হয় তখন একদল শিক্ষিত লোক বলিয়া থাকেন, তাহা হইলে আমরা চাকর পাইব কোথা হইতে? বোধহয় শীঘ্রই এসম্বন্ধে রসিক লোকে প্রহসন লিখিবেন যাহাতে দেখা যাইবে - বাবুর চাকর কবিতা লিখিতেছে কিংবা নক্ষত্রলোকের নাড়িনক্ষত্র গণনা করিবার জন্য বড়োবড়ো অঙ্ক ফাঁদিয়া বসিয়াছে, বাবু তাহাকে ধুতি কোঁচাইবার জন্য ডাকিতে সাহস করিতেছেন না পাছে তার ধ্যানের ব্যাঘাত হয়। মেয়েদের সম্বন্ধেও সেই এককথা যে, তারা যদি লেখাপড়া শেখে তবে যে ঝাঁটাবঁটি ও শিলনোড়া বাবুদের ভাগে পড়ে।

অথচ ইহাদের তর্কের যুক্তিটা এইযে, মেয়েদের প্রকৃতি স্বতন্ত্র। কিন্তু তাই যদি হয় তবে তাহাদের ভয়টা কিসের? পৃথিবীকে আমরা চ্যাপটা ভাবি কিন্তু তাহা গোল, একথা জানিলে পুরুষের পৌরুষ কমেনা। তেমনি, বাসুকির মাথার উপর পৃথিবী নাই এখবরটা পাইলে মেয়েদের মেয়েলি ভাব নষ্ট হইবে একথা যদি বলি তবে বুঝিতে হইবে, মেয়েরা মেয়েই নয়, আমরা তাহাদিগকে অজ্ঞানের ছাঁচে ঢালিয়া মেয়ে করিয়া গড়িয়া তুলিয়াছি।' **(Tagore 1417)**

(mānush jānite chae tā tār dharma; eijonya jagater āboshyak anābashyak sakal tattwai tār kāche bidyā hoiyā uthiyāche. Sei tār jānite chaowāke Jodi khorāk nā jogāi kiṅbā tāke kupothya diyā bhulāiyā rākhi tabe tār mānab prakritike durbal kori, ekathā balāi bāhulya. kintu, mānushke purā porimāne mānush koribo āmāder sakaler antarer kathā noy. Jakhan sarba sādhāranke shikshā deoyār prostāb hoy takhan ekdal shikshita lok baliya thāken, tāhā haile āmarā cākar pāibo kothā haite? bodh hay sighrai e sambandhe rasikloke prahasan likhiben jāhāte dekhā jāibe – bābur cākar kabitā likhiteche kiṅbā naksatraloker nāṛinaksatra gananā koribār janya baṛobaṛo aṅka ph~ādiyā bosiyāche, bābu tāhāke dhuti k~ocāibār janya dākite sāhas karitechen na pache tār dhyāner byāghāt hay. Meyeder sambandheo sei ek kathā je, tārā Jodi lekhāpaṛā shekhe tabe je jh~ātāb~ati o shilnoṛā babuder bhāge paṛe. – athaca ihāder tarker juktitā ei je, meyeder prokriti swatantra. Kintu tāi Jodi hay tabe tāhāder bhaytā kiser? Prithibike amrā chāptā bhābi kintu tāhā gol, ekathā jānile purusher pourush kame nā. temoni, bāsukir māthār upor prithibi nāi e khabartā pāile meyeder meyeli bhāb nashta haibe e kathā jadi bali tabe bujhite haibe, meyerā meyei noy, āmrā tāhādigake agn~āner ch~āce dhāliyā meye koriyā goṛiya tuliyāchi. - **(Roman Transliteration)**

The crux of the matter in English is: "Human being has thirst for knowledge. For this reason both necessary and unnecessary information becomes knowledge to mankind. Needless to say, that if we do not pay heed to the urge for knowledge or coax him with rubbish, then we make mankind weak. But it is not desired by every person that mankind should be knowledgeable. When it comes to educating common people, a group of educated people would say that if everyone is

educated, where we shall get the servants. Soon the servants would sit to write poem or would be deep in studies of stars and planets and the *Babu"* will not dare to call the servant to crease his *dhoti*. Same thing applies for the women. If they are educated then the broom stick, kitchen knife and mortar and pestle will have to be taken up by the men. Logic for men is that women's nature is different. If that is so, why are we afraid? We think that the earth is flat but actually it is round. A man does not lose his manhood by knowing this. Similarly if women come to know that earth is not carried by the great serpent *Basuki*, will they lose their womanhood? Men had made them women by moulding them in the crucible of ignorance".

The vast field of research on social functions and significations of speech is now designated as socio-linguistics. There is a sharp difference in the social levels. The dialect of women also differs from the men. Women use questions, such as, instead of saying the weather is nice/fine; they often would say "How nice weather *na!"* Instead of saying she looks pretty, women often says, "How pretty she looks *na*! Directive approach changes into the form of question or request in women's dialect. Such as instead of saying 'do this', women often say 'can you do this'/ 'please do this'. These deviations exist because there are some social reasons. Fishman (1972) gave a survey report that points that women ask questions nearly three times as often as men. But all the linguists do not agree in this context. We can see that in women's dialect, they speak indirectly than directly due to their lower confidence level. There is story telling aspect in women's dialect such as 'you know when I was in school…. "etc. Women use code language to express physiological term with each other. Substitution is also a part of their language. Once in Indian and African society women could not utter the name or any letter present in the name of their husband, father-in-law, brother-in-law, mother-in-law etc. or of many gods/goddesses because the names are also given to the above mentioned kin groups. They would refer to those people by some other symbolic expressions. This is also a proof of verbal taboo in women's dialect. In African Zulu women have to substitute the forbidden sound Z. Instead of saying amanzi.., which means water, often would say Amandabi. Bengalee women named *Kattyani* cannot take her own name if her father-in- law is named as *Kartik Chandra*. Both the names have same sound,

so that was forbidden. Therefore when someone ask about her name, she would say 'ধর্ম মাসের নামে নাম'[2] [(dharma māser nāme nām: Roman Transliteration) meaning the name of the month of DHARMA i.e KARTIK). Another example came from field study is that as father-in-law's name is *Parikshit,* the daughter in law of that very man cannot utter the word '*Pariksha*' (examination). Through the phonological substitution, she says 'Tariksha' (the P substituted by the word T) and in this way she would maintained the social rule – not to take father-in-laws name[3]. Not only father-in-law in Jhargram district of West Bengal, elder sister-in-law's name also is prohibited to be taken directly by her junior sister-in-law in order to show respect. That is why a lady named *Sandhya* cannot be address her by her name by her junior sisters-in-law. Those Bengalee women cannot say evening time because evening is *Sandhya* in Bengali4. They speak about evening time by its Bengali synonym *sanjh*. Although it is very odd but that is the real. This gives us an idea about the custom of a society. Women's dialect projects more attention to social and family contexts.

The relationship within the family and also in the society is reflected in women's dialect. In Bengali we find terms like *Nonod* (sister-in- law), *Nondai* or *Nonas* (husband of sister-In-law), *Debor* (younger brother of the husband), *Bhasur* (elder brother of the husband), *Ja* (wife of the husband's brother), *Bhaj* (brother's wife) etc. are some of the words used to indicate conjugal relations in women's dialect only (Dutta 2011)5.

Euphemism, Metonymy, Metaphor, use of hints, exquisite colourful analysis, evaluative adjectives, use of modals and symbolism are some of the important features of women's dialect. The source of women's language or gesture or secret language is often in the field of physiology. This is not a typical womanly characteristic; but we can see it frequently in women's dialect. Lexical substitution and metaphor is used to make the dialect non communicative to those who are not desired to understand their communication. Girls do not stop by mentioning some objects colour, that is, just green or blue etc. They elaborate the colour by saying 'as green as banana leaf' or as 'green as mosses or such expression as sky blue, sea green, onion colour etc. Girls use inclusive plural pronouns, such as, we, us and our. Boys use exclusive, namely, I, we and me.

Onomatopoiea, that is, repeated use of same sound, as for example, in a Bengali poem, `ও পাড়ে লঙ্কাগাছটি রাঙা টুক্টুক্ করে'[6](Dutta Basu 2006) (o pāṛe lankā gāchti rān.ātuktukkare : roman transliteration), meaning on the other side the chilli plant is red in colour. Here '*the repetition of the Bengali words 'tuk' 'tuk' enhances the red colour*. In another Bengali poem, মা কাঁদেন মা কাঁদেন ধুলায় লুটায়ে[7] (mā k~āden mā kā~dendhulāylutāye: roman transliteration), meaning mother cries lying in the dirt. The words mother cries, that is 'ma Kanden' is repeated to express the profound grief of the mother.

Idiomatic use such as

'এ মাসটা থাক দিদি কেঁদে কঁকিয়ে
ও মাসেতে নিয়ে যাব পালকি সাজিয়ে
হাড় হল ভাজাভাজা মাস হল দড়ি
আয়রে আয় নদীর জলে ঝাঁপ দিয়ে পড়ি'[8],
(e māstā thāk didi k~ede k~kiye
o māsete niye jābo pālki sājiye
hāṛ hala bhājā bhājā mās hala daṛi
āyre āye nodir jale jh~āp diye por.i
- Roman Transliteration).

The poem means please sister spend the month with difficulty (crying profusely). I shall take you on a decorated palanquin next month. My bones are burnt out and my flesh is like a rope, let me die jumping into the river.

Use of riddles: women speak in riddles about the fakir's nature of begging

'দিলি ফাঁক করে
না দিলি রাগ করে'
(dili ph~āk kare
nā dili rāg kare : Roman Transliteration)

It indicates opening of fakir's bag at the time of receiving the alms.

Use of proverbs: a prostitute uses the proverb as given below.

'রূপ যৌবন যতদিন

পরের ভাতার ততদিন'[10]

(rup jouban jatadin

Parer bhātār tatadin: Roman Transliteration).

The proverb means that 'as long as there is youth and beauty, one can have company of someone else's husband'. There are some other features of women's dialect. There are some phonological and morphological differences too.

According to Haas, lower and middle class boys use possessives more frequently than do their female counter parts. On a survey during 1983, linguist Pamela Fishman said that women do much more work in keeping conversations going. They ask questions as if they were asking permission to speak, in between a conversation they were supporting men with their speech where men often maintained control over conversations. Eakins Burbara Waistbrook and Eakins R Gene in their book named '*Sex Difference in Human Communications*' focused on the softness of vocal cord and voice of women compared to men. According to them that is the reason for women's voice became much sweet and polite than those of men and some difference took place. Use of words loaded with emotion or interjections, very often create a great difference in women's dialect. There is always an era of soft-thinking related to women. We can think about 'Prometheus Unbound' (Shelly 1898)) in this context:

> "And women, too, frank, beautiful, and kind
> As the free heaven which rains fresh light and dew
> On the wide earth; gentle radiant forms,
> From custom's evil taint exempt and pure;
> Speaking the wisdom once they could not think,
> Looking emotions once they feared to feel,
> And changed to all which once they dared not be,
> Yet being now, made earth like heaven.'' [11]

Of course we see exclamatory words like, 'Oh God!', 'Oh!', 'Oh no!', Oh yes!', 'Aww' etc,. or prolonged tone of a sound of a certain word, such as – 'Soooo

sweet', 'Toooo cute', 'Veeeeery handsome' etc. There is more of the separate era of women's dialect. We can discuss about the change of women's dialect too. Now a days Bengali women says frequently, *sarbat* but once they throw away the word as this *iskhottai* bad. They use the word *pana, meaning sarbat,* such as, *belerpana*, *chinirpana* etc (Dutta 2012). The best friend is now referred as *bestiii* but once it was expressed by saying *soi in Bengali*, and the husband of *bestii* was *soya*. The children of *bestii* are called other *soi maa*[13] (Misra Chowdhury 2019). Earlier as well as now also middle aged women address or call someone in Bengali as *kila, ha la, la, kiga ,ha ga* etc. In Brahma cult the husbands were called as swami *bhrata*. Though the other were making joke on it. In the famous Tagore family women do not use the word cutting of vegetables. They do not say *tarkari kata,* kata means to cut down, and that is very cruel. They instead said, *tarkari kota (Deb 1397)*[14].

Auto Yesperson, Edward Sapir, M. Han, J. L. Fischer, J. A. Fishman, Merry Has, F. Ekka, Robin Lakoff, M. R. Key, Sukumar Sen, Geniffer Coats and many other linguists add many important facts to this matter. We cannot judge women's dialect from one sided gender angle. It also plays a vital role in Ethno linguistics; sociological, psychological and Anthropological linguistics. We can notice the change of women's dialect now a day, especially in the indifference of educated women's dialect with yhose of men's dialect. The society changes a lot. Globalization has left a deep impact on this real as well. But the women's approach is not the same as those of men. Not only the approach but also their accent, vocabulary; which contains very large number of intensive words and empathic particles differ. Physiologically a woman's voice is sharp compared to a man's voice in general. Therefore we can say that the difference occurred in women's dialect due to several factors, such as, women's separate body structure, the history of evolution of women's freedom, education and the womanly characteristics.

Acknowledgements:

The author express her gratitude to Professor Dr. Bikas Kanti Middya under whose supervision she completed her PhD on 'উনিশ বিশ শতকের কলকাতার মেয়েদের ভাষা' (`The Womens` Dialect of Kolkata : 19th and 20th century`).

Notes:

1. Tagore, Rabindranath. Pous 1417. 'Strishiksha' in Rabindrarachanaboli, volume-16. Visvabharati. p-286
2. Misra Chowdhury, Debtusi. April 2019. Kolkatar Meyeder Vasa: Unish Bish Shatak, Kolkata: Sahityasangee. p-83
3. Ibid, p-8
4. Ibid, p- 83
5. Ibid, p-84
6. Dutta Basu, Sharmila. April 2006. Banglay Meyeder Bhasa: A Critical Book In Bengali. Kolkata: Proma Prokashani. p-220
7. Ibid, p-222
8. Ibid, p-223
9. Misra Chowdhury, Debtusi. April 2019. Kolkatar Meyeder Vasa: Unish Bish Shatak. Kolkata: Sahityasangee. p-117
10. Ibid, p- 110
11. Shelly, P.B. 1898. Prometheus Unbound, London: Aldine House. p-98
12. Dutta, Kalyani. 2011. Thorh Borhi Kharha. Kolkata: Thima. p-123
13. Ibid, p- 92-9414. Deb, Chitra. 25 Baishakh 1397. Thakurbarhir Andarmahal, Kolkata: Ananda Pulishers. p- 235

Reference:

1. Chatterjee, Suniti Kumar. 1926. *Origin and Development of Bengali Language*. Kolkata: Calcutta University Press.
3. Coates, Jennifer. 1996. *Women Talk*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
4. Deb, Chitra. 25 Baishakh 1397. *Thakur barhir Andarmahal*. Kolkata: Ananda Publishers.
5. Dutta Basu, Sharmila. April 2006. Banglay Meyeder Bhasa: A Critical Book in Bengali. Kolkata: Proma Prokashani.
6. Dutta, Kalyani. 2011. *Thorh Borhi Kharha*, Kolkata: Thima.
7. Fisher, J. L. 1958. *Social Influences on the choice of a Linguistic Variant*, word 14.
8. Fishman, J. A. First published: April 1967, Reprinted in 1972. 'Bilingualism with and without Diglossia: Diglossia with and without Bilingualism', *Journal of Social Issues,* Volume XXIII, Number 2, 1967.

9. Hymes, D.H. 1972. On Communicative Competence. In: J.B. Pride and J. Holmes (eds) *Sociolinguistics: Selected Readings*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, pp. 269-293 (part I)
10. Hymes, D. 1968. The Ethnography of Speaking. In, Joshua A. Fishman (ed.), *Reading in the Sociology of Language*, January 1978. De Gruyter Mouton
11. Misra Chowdhury, Debtusi. April 2019. *Kolkatar Meyeder Vasa: Unish Bish Shatak.* Kolkata: Sahityasangee. p-83
12. Tagore, Rabindranath. Pous 1417. 'Strishiksha' In: *Rabindrarachanaboli*, volume-16, Visvabharati .

Bio-Profile of the Author
PhD. Assistant Professor
Department of Bengali
Sarojini Naidu College For Women
Email ID: debtusimisra@gmail.com

Gender and Work: Reconsidering Women Legal Professional's Identity and Space

Rupanjana Sinha[1] & Asmita Bhattacharya[2]

Abstract

This study problematizes existentialism of Indian women legal professionals. Prior empirical works suggest that women lawyers face myriad challenges in creating and sustaining their own legal identities within their own professional ambit which, so far, has remained men's strong hold, since its inception. Within this profession different social associations are to be maintained in order to progress. These associations are conjoined to the male lawyers, excluding the female lawyers and keeping them away from the internal culture of the profession, thus also showcasing the unacceptability of women within the profession. Women are already at the back foot when it comes to acquiring these associations, the achievement of which requires after work hours socialization to which women may not always engage. Within the workplace female legal professionals are often less recognized as lawyers and more as 'home managers'. Thus different terminologies are associated with women which further hinder their path of progress. The internship under the senior lawyer becomes

challenging as they are often not accepted within these chambers on the basis of their expected incompetency. Even if accepted the female lawyers are bestowed with mundane work. The professional interaction that takes place within the workspace involving the stakeholders often project the women under a discriminatory light, focusing on their care giving and nurturing roles more than their professional expertise. As a result women legal professionals are marginalized within the profession. The situation is further aggravated due to covid-19 pandemic, due to which face to face interaction has reduced and virtual courts and the work-from home are the 'new normal'. The present study delves into the dilemma faced by women legal professionals as they strive to survive within the profession whose interaction and association patterns tries to eliminate them.

Keywords: *Legal profession, Women legal professionals, interaction patterns, professional associations, work space, covid-19*

Introduction

According to a report by Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation Government of India (dated 31st March, 2020), 22 percent of women in urban areas were engaged in different categories of paid employment in 2019[i]. With paid work being dominated by men, the women are already marginalized. As legal professionals women are yet to make a strong presence within the profession. With legal profession being dominated by men the representativeness of women is limited. With maximum lawyers being self employed, the nature of the profession requires intense challenges to be met in order to move up the ladder and become successful. For the women the challenges are numerous, the apparent professional challenges are extended further when they are exposed to the idea of creating a space within the legal profession. This becomes further difficult as they struggle with the idea of gender based encounters within their professional ambit. Their professional interactions are often seen through gendered lens, making it appear in a negative light. Under the present situation created by the pandemic they encounter further challenges like maintaining their space within the legal profession and their identity as legal professionals. This article discusses the challenges confronted by the women legal professionals regarding their professional life and identity.

About the legal profession in India

Code of conduct for the legal profession, in India has been set by the Bar Council of India. For lawyers in India, the usual custom is to practice in one court, occasionally practicing in more than one court (Ganguli 2020).[ii] In India the Judiciary is a single integrated system, with the Supreme Court at its apex. There is one High Court in every state, below which there are the District and Sessions Court. On completion of their LLB, lawyers enroll with the State Bar Council, after which they have the freedom to practice in any court within the domain of the Country. In India the legal profession carries autonomy as majority of the lawyers represent clients in the courts themselves (Sharma 1982a: 542-543).[iii] The Legal Profession involves the study of law, a period of apprenticeship under an established senior lawyer, maintaining relationship with others in the court, finding a clientele and working with autonomy as well as observing the rules set by the authority (Sharma 1982b: 557).[iv] Earlier in India the legal profession was meant only for the male. Women entered the legal profession only after the Legal Practitioners (women) Act, 1923 came into existence. The Government of India passed a Bill on 21st March 1923, which became a law in the same year 2nd April. With the Legal Practitioner's (Women) Act it was affirmed that "no woman shall, by reason only of her sex, be disqualified from being admitted or enrolled as a legal practitioner or from practicing as such" (Mishra 2015: 84-85).[v]A complete lockdown was declared in India by the government since 24th March, 2020, owing to the current Covid-19 crisis. The lockdown also shut the Legal System, imposing alternative ways to run the system. In order to avoid the physical hearing of the cases the legal system has been operating through virtual courts (Modak and Gokhale 2020).[vi]

Review of Literature

In India the availability of literature on the legal profession is not substantial, due to the shortage of survey. Nevertheless, the focus of early research in the field was regarding the autonomy and challenges that the profession carries. According to an early study on women legal professionals in India, the 1980's saw a surge in the number of women who entered the legal profession. However there was noted difference between the female and male lawyers in

terms of their professional achievements, as a result of the male lawyer's dominance in the profession is viewed as structural constraint and the attachment of domestic roles associated with women viewed as the cultural constraint (Sethi 1987: 36-46).[vii] The globalization era saw the increase in the law firms, women in these law firms may have achieved professional up gradation, though it cannot be said that they enjoy workplace autonomy (Ballakrishnen 2013: 1261-1286).[viii]

Studies regarding women in the legal profession conducted in different countries have reported on different patterns of discrimination. A study conducted in Ontario, Canada reported on the struggle for survival of the women legal professionals in the male dominated paradigm, which demands undisturbed devotion to work on full-time basis. Women faced internal struggles pursuing these paradigms thus unable to make successful careers while balancing the demands of motherhood (Leiper 2006: 79-101).[ix] Another study conducted in law firms reported on women not being considered for leadership position neither credit for their work. As women are not given networking opportunities they are unable to garner new cliental (Hayes 2011:1-2).[x] In India legal firms, were not ready to invest into women's talent, as highlighted by a study conducted in certain cities of India (Makhija and Raha 2012: 89).[xi]

For women in India maintaining work-life balance has always been a challenge, not only in the legal profession but other professions as well. The work-life balance stresses the societal role expectations of women in India and the self identities that the women themselves associate with their profession. It is observed that women's choices related to their career are dominated by the familial expectations.

Research Methods

This paper is a part of the larger research project which is being undertaken at present. Hundred female lawyers who practice within the premises of the Calcutta High Court had been interviewed in 2019. To collect the data from the samples the snow-ball sampling method had been used. Thus semi-structured interviews were conducted through personal acquaintances. As the pandemic

spread in India forty-five of these hundred women lawyers were contacted. Depending on their willingness to participate and their accessibility, they participated in this present study and thus were interviewed between June to July 2020, for the second time. The second phase of the interviews was mainly telephonic conversation owing to the lockdown declared by the government to control the spread of novel corona virus.

After transcribing the interviews manually different codes were developed. Significant themes were recognized from these codes. This is an exploratory study and thus inductive method was followed in order to recognize different themes, patterns and categories. For the coding process grounded theory was utilized. The grounded theory method aided in formulating a comparative analysis, which were in accordance to the themes that were prepared. As the study of covid-19 and its impact is a recently developed area to explore, grounded theory was preferred. The names of the respondents have been changed keeping in mind that their anonymity had to be maintained. Also it was assured that the valuable information shared by the respondents would be used for the purpose of research and its related publication.

Analysis

According to Galenter (1968) Indian legal professionals majorly practice in courts and thus have freedom and autonomy. The image of a lawyer associates the person with the practice in the court.[xii] The legal practice necessitates professional socialization which requires internship under a senior, relation between junior and senior lawyer, relationship with judges, cognitive process and working customs furthermore the professional orientation and conduct (Sharma 1982a: 557).[xiii] Thus the profession becomes challenging.

The idea of gender does not comply with the idea of knowledge and skill required in the legal profession. The women lawyers, who were interviewed mostly did not believe that as a professional, gender can stop them from achieving their goals. For most respondents the profession requires understanding and comprehension, which is not related to gender and the women lawyers perceive themselves to be only legal professionals. Nonetheless experiences differ on this subject. Twenty-

seven- year-old, Natasha, who practices in various fields of law, remembers her experiences during the initial years in the court,

> "A lot of times I have experienced a negative impact, because I am a woman. In my initial years of practice I have faced situations like not being given briefs, not respected, and even looked upon as an object."

Such experience had been reported by many women lawyers. Sangeeta, a thirty-seven-year-old criminal lawyer faced similar circumstances. In her own words,

> "When I had started my career there was a general vibe that I may not be competent because I am a girl. I could feel it in the manner that my senior treated me. Today I have gained almost 12 years of experience in the field, just by showing my sincerity to the profession."

There were many women lawyers who have had difficulties in being accepted within the senior's chamber. Respondents' ideas of gender are associated with negativity and also attach the male lawyers with superiority. They find male lawyers to get more options and choices within the profession and thus later progressing faster in their careers. Manvi, a twenty-nine- year-old criminal lawyer, had the same feelings,

> "At times I cannot help but feel that male lawyers are lucky. They have received more opportunities and encouragement. They can plan their career. Here, I have been fighting with my family to continue with my profession but not getting married."

In India, women's choices depend a lot on parental outlook. They are socialized in a way that makes them believe in giving priorities to others' want and desire and make compromises for the family. Women's ideas are shaped according to the experiences that they gather. In this context Dorothy Smith's proposal of standpoint theory can throw some light. She emphasizes on the idea that certain standpoints can facilitate in assessing the power structures within institutions

that form women's daily activities. Smith uses the term 'bifurcation of consciousness to show that a separation exists between the world that is actually experienced and the dominant view of the world to which one has to adapt (in this case masculine point of view). Subordinate groups are conditioned to view the world from the dominant group's perspectives, which is entrenched in every institutions and practices.[xiv]

> "There is negative atmosphere that prevails with us. First we have to balance family and also the profession, this proves very difficult for us. I also feel that men get more exposure and thus they are more experienced. The clients prefer male lawyers; they may not want to come to us thinking probably that we are better home managers than lawyers."

Bacik and Drew (2006) share the opinion that the legal profession attaches the idea of professional progress with such factors that favor the progress of men and on the other hand hinders the path for women, since it becomes difficult to maintain a proper balance between family and professional life.[xv]

Sunderesan (2014) is critical to the problem of work hours since it is not limited.[xvi] Extended work hours are the requirement in the legal profession, which includes more than the court hours to incorporate chamber time or meeting with seniors. Since the profession is vastly dependent on cognition, it entails a process of discussions, readings and referring. Maintaining this work schedule is difficult for women due to their commitments at home. Thus the work hours act as hindrance for many. Sweta, a thirty-seven -year -old civil lawyer, says

> "The profession demands that you spend long hours working. In the beginning of my career it was fine. But once I had my daughter things started changing, I have to pay attention to her, the elongated work hours hinder my responsibilities to her."

Giving full attention to the profession can be challenging especially for those who have to look after their children. The extension of working hours is not only a cause of worry for the women.

Keeping up with the social distancing norms the Calcutta High Court has not been physically functioning. Its virtual operation results in the disposal of minimum number of cases. Not every lawyer has a case that they are attending to, thus limiting their finances. Women at present are facing the burnt as their time is spent in doing the domestic work. Many respondents opine that this is a greater cause of worry. They feel a loss of space and identity. In this regard, thirty-six-year-old criminal lawyer, Raima exclaims,

> "So I am doing everything in the house except cooking. Household work takes away most of my time. Right now I am more of a house maid than an advocate. Before spread of the corona virus I was lawyer who had sufficient number of cases in hand and the will and ability to sustain myself. But now I feel that I am a total housemaid. So if I am going to be housemaid, then what was the point in getting a degree and building my career over the past nine years! For nine years the hard work, the savings-everything is getting drained out."

The workspace in the modern working culture matters for every professional. The workplace and the workspace is a part of their identity. The idea of creating a workspace within the home has been in existence for a lengthy period of time. The inspiration of work within the home can be traced from the concepts of chambers and study that were kept in the home as a space for male professionals. So the spaces within the home are gendered and at times women are left to look for a space for themselves (Patton 2020).[xvii] Due to the spread of the covid-19 as work from home becomes the trend, professionals are seen as creating a space for themselves within the home to carry on with their work. For the lawyers it is important that they have a separate space for themselves which they can use for attending the virtual court. Not every women lawyer had a chamber for themselves. New entrants especially work with their seniors within their

chambers. Thus it becomes difficult to obtain a proper workspace within the domains of the household. In this context Aprajita, a thirty-eight-year-old criminal lawyer claims,

> "It is difficult to manage a virtual court from home. I feel myself getting distracted at times, due to the presence of my child. I do not have a separate room for myself. The privacy required is not available thus the times I attended the virtual court I had to concentrate hard, but the feel of being in your place of work is missing."

The present situation has also made it mandatory to compromise on the number of cases that a lawyer now handles. Anxiety is associated with the inability to predict the circumstances. According to most of the women lawyers they feel that the non handling of cases today might have serious consequences for them in future. Shreya, a twenty-nine-year- old lawyer, practicing civil and criminal laws, states that,

> "My finances have been brought down greatly due to the less number of cases disposed during the pandemic. I feel that I have lost control of my future and my profession. I am very concerned about this uncertainty."

As earning depends on the lawyers' portfolio, there is wide disparity that develops in the income range of the lawyers. It is not that the disparity did not exist earlier; the Covid-19 situation has however exposed the vulnerabilities of many.

Women lawyers associate their profession with their self-identity. Their profession gives them the much needed independence and also gives them the chance to exhibit their rational side. Many respondents believed that their profession shows that they are capable of much more than managing the home. Valk and Srinivasan's (2011) projected the association of self-identity and profession. They said that when women work outside the home it opens new world, broadens their horizon and social associations and enriches their

experience.[xviii] It is without doubt when the same earned identity is threatened and all the enriching experience are jeopardized, then the individual feels at a loss, much like the women lawyers.

Discussion and Conclusion

The challenges associated with the legal profession have been discussed in numerous studies. M. Galanter (1968) and K. L. Sharma (1982) as well as A. Kharel[xix] (2013) have talked about the autonomous nature linked to the profession. There is a lot of rational thinking involved in the profession; also the difficulties faced during the early phase of the profession shows that the nature and manner of work is demanding. Many of the respondents faced greater challenges when they were not accepted in a senior's chamber, showcasing the unacceptability of women within the profession. Social capital which is compared to social association is conjoined to the male lawyers more than the female lawyers as they score high on this issue. This excludes the female lawyers, keeping them away from the internal culture of the profession.[xx] Similar exclusions are referred to by the respondents that were interviewed. Within the workplace they are often less recognized as lawyers and more as 'home managers'. Thus they are associated with such terminology which further attaches them to the household even when they are in their professional space. Maintaining a certain level of workplace socialization requires longer hours to be spent on work. This builds a conflict between the work and the family.

The acceptance in a senior's chamber is challenging, even if that is fulfilled women lawyers undergo discriminating behavior, including mundane work that they are made to do and being associated with incompetency which is often related with the gender. Gendered socialization and gendered role, stress the fact that women should take over the care giving role. Butler had discussed in her Gender Performativity theory that the gender comes into existence through performance. Performativity comes through repetition, like the repetitions of norms or behavior. Performance is not a single act but a ritualized production leading to an assessment of specific gender. People follow these performances due to the norms of constraints.[xxi]

Women in India are still seen as the primary providers at home making, their career secondary. Women perform dual role, their identity is created along their professional life but they are highly inclined to perform within their family life as they are influenced to do so. The spread of corona virus has put many of these women lawyers out of work, which increases their financial dependence on other family members. So the factors on which gender equality was achieved to a great extent now have the apprehension of trailing. There are increased demands that women lawyers should be considered as part of the legal fraternity. Women too require a workspace which they are unable to locate within their own household, thus making them compromise with their professional life. As per the present context it becomes important that some policies should be considered for the women who are moving out of paid labor. Further research work needs to be carried out in this area. New dimensions can be explored regarding Covid-19 and the condition of female lawyers. These steps and considerations can help in retaining the young female talent within the legal profession.

Endnotes:

[i] 'Women & Men in India- A statistical compilation of Gender related Indicators in India 2019'. 2020. Social Statistics Division, Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Government of India, 21st Issue: 1-158. http://www.mospi.gov.in/sites/default/files/publication_reports/Women_and_Men_31_%20Mar_2020.pdf , (retrieved on 15 July 2020)

[ii]Ganguli, A. K. 2020. 'Overview of the Legal Profession in India', *International Association of Lawyers*. https://www.uianet.org/en/actions/overview-legal-profession-india, (retrieved on 17 July 2020)

[iii] Sharma, K. L. 1982a. 'Sociology of Law and Legal Profession: A Crosscultural Theoretical Perspective', *Journal of the Indian Law Institute,* 24 (2/3): 542-543. http://www.jstor.com/stable/43952220, (retrieved on 20 July 2020)

[iv] Sharma, S. L. 1982b. 'Status of Research on Legal Profession in India', *Journal of the Indian Law Institute,* 24 (2/3): 557. http://www.jstor.com/stable/43952221, (retrieved on 21 July 2020)

[v] Mishra, S. K. 2015. 'Women in Indian Courts of Law: A Study of Women Legal Professionals in the District Court of Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh, India', *e-cadernos CES*, 24: 84- 85. https://doi.org/10.4000/eces.1976, (retrieved on 18 August 2020)

[vi] Modak, S. and O. Gokhale, 2020, June 8. 'Maharashtra courts to resume work but challenges remain: Access to virtual hearing & lack of infrastructure', *The Indian Express*. https://indianexpress.com/article/cities/mumbai/maharashtra-courts-to-resume-work-but-challenges-remain-access-to-virtual-hearing-lack-of-infrastructure/, (retrieved on 22 July 2020)

[vii] Sethi, R. M. 1987. 'Women Lawyers: A Study in Professionalisation', *Journal of the Indian Law Institute*, 29 (1): 36-46.

[viii] Ballakrishnen, S. 2013. '"Why is Gender a Form of Diversity?": Rising Advantages for Women in Global Indian Law Firms', *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*, 20 (2/23): 1261-1286. https://www.repository.law.indiana.edu/ijgls/vol20/iss2/23, (retrieved on 22 July 2020)

[ix] Leiper, J. M. 2006. *Bar Codes: Women in the Legal Profession*. Toronto: UBC Press.

[x] Hayes, H. 2011. 'Women Trapped Under the Same Glass Ceiling-Compensation Report Highlights Increasing Disparity', *Perspectives*, 19 (3): 1-2. https://www.americanbar.org/content/dam/aba/publishing/perspectives_magazine/2011winter_women_trapped_glass_ceiling.pdf, (retrieved on 11 August 2020)

[xi]Makhija, S. and S. Raha. 2012. *Challenges Faced by Indian Women Legal Professionals: A Report Based on the Study Conducted in Delhi, Mumbai, and Bangalore among Working Mothers in the Legal Profession*. New Delhi: RainmakerIndia.

[xii] Galanter, M. 1968. 'Introduction: The Study of the Indian Legal Profession', *Law & Society Review*, 3 (2/3): 207-208. http://www.jstor.com/stable/3052998, (retrieved on 18 July, 2020)

[xiii] Sharma, S. L. 1982. op.cit., : 557

[xiv] Appelrouth, S. A. and L. D. Edles. 2008. *Classical and Contemporary Sociological Theory: Text and Readings*. pp. 585-587. California: Pine Forge Press.

[xv] Bacik, I. and E. Drew. 2006. 'Struggling With Juggling: Gender and Work/Life Balance in the Legal Professions', *Womens Studies International Forum*. 29 (2): 138. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2006.03.006, (retrieved on 22 March 2020)

[xvi] Sundaresan, S. 2014, October 4. 'Work-Life Balance – Implications for Working Women', *SSRN* (Electronic Journal): 93-101. https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2505439, (retrieved on 13 January, 2020)

[xvii] Patton, E. 2020, August 23. 'Work-from-home has started a new battle. And women are losing this too', *The Print*. https://theprint.in/features/work-from-home-has-started-a-new-battle-and-women-are-losing-this-too/487321/, (retrieved on 23 August 2020)

[xviii] Valk, R. and V. Srinivasan. 2011. 'Work-Family Balance of Indian Women Software Professionals: A Qualitative Study', *IIMB Management Review*, 23: 44.

[xix] Kharel, A. 2018, February 3. 'The Concept of Legal Profession', *SSRN* : 1-8. https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3117339, (retrieved on 1 June, 2020)

[xx] Bacik, I. and E. Drew. 2006. op.cit.,: 145

[xxi] Salih, S. 2007. On Judith Butler and Performativity. In: K. E. Lovaas and M. M. Jenkins (eds.), *Sexualities and Communication in Everyday Life: A Reader*. pp. 55-56. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

List of works consulted

Appelrouth, S. A. and L. D. Edles. 2008. *Classical and Contemporary Sociological Theory: Text and Readings*. California: Pine Forge Press

Bacik, I. and E. Drew. 2006. 'Struggling With Juggling: Gender and Work/Life Balance in the Legal Professions', *Womens Studies International Forum*. 29 (2): 136-148. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2006.03.006, (retrieved on 22 March 2020)

Ballakrishnen, S. 2013. '"Why is Gender a Form of Diversity?": Rising Advantages for Women in Global Indian Law Firms', *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*, 20 (2/23): 1261-1286. https://www.repository.law.indiana.edu/ijgls/vol20/iss2/23, (retrieved on 22 July 2020)

Chhibber, M. 2020, May 4. 'How lockdown has hit judiciary, in numbers — April cases fall to 82k from 14 lakh avg in 2019', *The Print*. https://theprint.in/judiciary/how-lockdown-has-hit-judiciary-in-numbers-april-cases-fall-to-82k-from-14-lakh-avg-in-2019/413666, (retrieved on 26 July 2020)

Cohen, M. A. 2020, July 21. 'What Recent Axiom, Deloitte, And UnitedLex Announcements Reveal About Law's Future', *Forbes*. https://www.forbes.com/sites/markcohen1/2020/07/21/what-recent-axiom-deloitte-and-unitedlex-announcements-reveal-about-laws-future/#4d569eb76f2d, (retrieved on 25 July, 2020)

'COVID-19: West Bengal Bar Council writes to law minister'. 2020, March 30. *Business Standard*. https://www.business-standard.com/article/pti-stories/covid-19-west-bengal-bar-council-writes-to-law-minister-120033001008_1.html, (retrieved on 25 July 2020)

Craig, L. and B. Churchill. 2020, June 25. 'Dual-earner parent couples' work and care during COVID-19', *ResearchGate*. https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12497, (retrieved on 25 July 2020)

Galanter, M. 1968. 'Introduction: The Study of the Indian Legal Profession', *Law & Society Review*, 3 (2/3): 207-208. http://www.jstor.com/stable/3052998, (retrieved on 18 July, 2020)

Ganguli, A. K. 2020. 'Overview of the Legal Profession in India', *International Association of Lawyers*. https://www.uianet.org/en/actions/overview-legal-profession-india, (retrieved on 17 July 2020)

Hayes, H. 2011. 'Women Trapped Under the Same Glass Ceiling-Compensation Report Highlights Increasing Disparity', *Perspectives*, 19 (3): 1-2.

Kharel, A. 2018, February 3. 'The Concept of Legal Profession', *SSRN* : 1-8. https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3117339, (retrieved on 1 June, 2020)

Krishnan, M. 2020, May 9. '79 per cent high court lawyers say junior advocates earn less than Rs 10,000: Survey', *Hindustan Times*. https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/50-per-cent-high-court-lawyers-say-junior-advocates-earn-less-than-rs-10-000-survey/story-DV8iGsnOtuNI84KrFCXIlJ.html, (retrieved on 25 July 2020)

Leiper, J. M. 2006. *Bar Codes: Women in the Legal Profession*. Toronto: UBC Press.

Makhija, S. and S. Raha. 2012. *Challenges Faced by Indian Women Legal Professionals: A Report Based on the Study Conducted in Delhi, Mumbai, and Bangalore among Working Mothers in the Legal Profession*. New Delhi: RainmakerIndia.

Malik, S. and K. Naeem. 2020. 'Impact of COVID-19 Pandemic on Women: Health, livlihoods & domestic violence', *Sustainable Development Policy Institute*: 1-10. https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep24350, (retrieved on 23 July 2020)

Mishra, S. K. 2015. 'Women in Indian Courts of Law: A Study of Women Legal Professionals in the District Court of Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh, India', *e-cadernos CES*, 24: 84- 85. https://doi.org/10.4000/eces.1976, (retrieved on 18 August 2020)

Miyamoto, I. 2020. 'Covid-19 Healthcare Workers: 70% are Women', *Security Nexus - Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies*: 1-3. https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep24863, (retrieved on 26 July 2020)

Modak, S. and O. Gokhale. 2020, June 8. 'Maharashtra courts to resume work but challenges remain: Access to virtual hearing & lack of infrastructure', *The Indian Express*. https://indianexpress.com/article/cities/mumbai/maharashtra-courts-to-resume-work-but-challenges-remain-access-to-virtual-hearing-lack-of-infrastructure/, (retrieved on 22 July 2020)

Patton, E. 2020, August 23. 'Work-from-home has started a new battle. And women are losing this too', *The Print*. https://theprint.in/features/work-from-home-has-started-a-new-battle-and-women-are-losing-this-too/487321/, (retrieved on 23 August 2020)

'Policy Brief: The Impact of COVID-19 on Women'. 2020, April 9. *United Nation*: 1-21. https://asiapacific.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2020/04/policy-brief-the-impact-of-covid-19-on-women, (retrieved on 25 July 2020)

Salih, S. 2007. On Judith Butler and Performativity. In: K. E. Lovaas and M. M. Jenkins (eds.), *Sexualities and Communication in Everyday Life: A Reader*. pp. 55-56. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Sethi, R. M. 1987. 'Women Lawyers: A Study in Professionalisation', *Journal of the Indian Law Institute*, 29 (1): 36-46.

Sharma, K. L. 1982. 'Sociology of Law and Legal Profession: A Crosscultural Theoretical Perspective', *Journal of the Indian Law Institute,* 24 (2/3): 542-543. http://www.jstor.com/stable/43952220, (retrieved on 20 July 2020)

Sharma, S. L. 1982. 'Status of Research on Legal Profession in India', *Journal of the Indian Law Institute,* 24 (2/3): 557. http://www.jstor.com/stable/43952221, (retrieved on 21 July 2020)

Sundaresan, S. 2014, October 4. 'Work-Life Balance – Implications for Working Women', *SSRN* (Electronic Journal): 93-101. https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2505439, (retrieved on 13 January, 2020)

Thomas, L. S. 2020, July 24. 'Virtual Hearings to continue even after July 27, only fresh urgent matters may be filed: Calcutta HC', *Bar and Bench*. https://www.barandbench.com/news/virtual-hearings-even-after-jul-27-only-fresh-urgent-matters-to-be-filed-calcutta-hc, (retrieved on 26 July 2020)

Valk, R. and V. Srinivasan. 2011. 'Work-Family Balance of Indian Women Software Professionals: A Qualitative Study', *IIMB Management Review*, 23: 44.

'Women & Men in India- A statistical compilation of Gender related Indicators in India 2019'. 2020. Social Statistics Division, Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Government of India, 21st Issue: 1-158. http://www.mospi.gov.in/sites/default/files/publication_reports/Women_and_Men_31_%20Mar_2020.pdf , (retrieved on 15 July 2020)

Bio-Profile of the Authors:

[1]Doctoral Researcher,
Department of Sociology,
Vidyasagar University,
West Midnapore- 721102, West Bengal, India
Email: sinha.rupnjana@gmail.com

[2] PhD., Assistant Professor,
Department of Sociology,
Vidyasagar University,
West Midnapore- 721102, West Bengal, India
Email: asmita.bhattacharyya@mail.vidyasagar.ac.in

Passivity of Expression and Patriarchal Portrait of Female: A Study on Ukil Munshi's Selected *Baul* Songs

Safi Ullah

Abstract

Male dominance over women is very common in Bangladeshi society. Dominance exposed through expression is considered as hegemony of language. In patriarchal society, females are portrayed by males and therefore they meet the demand of male. Women from their birth learn to think themselves as weak, passive and dominatable. They express physical and intellectual passiveness through language. In folk literature of Bangladesh, *baul* songs occupy a very strong position. *A Baul song is* an oral form of folk literature, though collected and written in later times. This type of songs exposes women's real subordinate position in the society and therefore describes hegemony of language and inequality of gender. Subordination expressed in female language exposes intellectual passivity of women which is accurately depicted in *baul* songs of Ukil Munshi. He sang many of his songs from female point of view where almost all female characters are controlled by male both directly and indirectly. It can be said that these women are described and depicted from patriarchal perspectives.

In Munshi's *baul* songs, the pitiful longing of women's heart is described such as, women staring at boats for the arrival of lovers and best friend, crying for no return of lover, dying of youth and beauty as well as begging for love. Even women, in Munshi's songs, wait for someone coming from parents' house to take them to their parental houses. This sense of passivity and powerlessness and experience of limited self-esteem and self-confidence contribute to subordination of women. These women, portrayed from patriarchal perspectives which are quite true in case of Bangladesh, represent passivity in their thinking and expression. This paper examines selected *baul* songs of Ukil Munshi to discuss hegemony of language in terms of gender role; passivity of female's expression and women's depiction in patriarchal society by patriarchy.

Keywords: *baul, hegemony, patriarchy, feminism, passivity and gender*

I

Bangladesh is a heaven for folk literature. *Baul* songs are the most significant of them. Ukil Munshi (1885-1978) is an eminent *Baul* devotee who was born and grew up in Netrokona of Bangladesh. He wrote and sang many *baul* songs. He wrote songs in the format of *bhatialy*, a form of folk music and a river song, sung by boatmen. *Bhatialy* format in the surface level but if readers dive in the depth of thinking, they find a wonderful touch of spirituality which is the prime target of *Baul* devotees like Ukil Munshi. Baul songs, like other forms of folk literature, describe vividly human's individual and social life. Bauls portray the local language and expression used by people.

It is known that society attributes some characteristics for men, some quite opposite only for women. This social attribution identifies gender. Women's expression is almost passive, as it is womanly and this is how patriarchy portrays them. Women behave in womanly manner where men manly format. Passivity, dependence, weakness, crying, urging and lack of self-esteem and self-confidence are womanish characteristics. Even when a man behaves like them, they are called womanish or unmanly. This inequal social categorization is exposed through language, which reveals male dominance over women and it is termed as hegemony of language. Where there are dominance and superiority, the inferior entity is womanliness. Though Ukil Munshi has used female voice in his

songs as a ladder to reach the supreme entity, which represents God in broader sense, the voice also embodies an inferior entity. Munshi deals with a patriarchal society and hence to convince the highest being, he uses womanly language. In short, this research examines selected *baul* songs of Ukil Munshi in the light of hegemony and focuses on women's social status as well as how they are treated in the society dominated by men. This paper questions the stereotype portrait of women and womanly attributes that are imposed on them by patriarchy.

II

Terms, such as, *baul*, patriarchy and hegemony of language, which are used in the paper, demand prior explanation at the beginning. First comes the term *baul*, which refers to a syncretic religious sect and a musical tradition. Miah (2018:350) writes in 'Status of women in Baul *Sadhana*: A Social Aspect' that bauls seem to be known as floating people who led their lives by singing here and there as street-singers, homeless renouncer but at present many of them have their families and other social involvements. Another researcher comments about the role of bauls that "A baul worships man. He praises the Individual Soul and the Infinite power inside him. This inherent Infinite power is none but the Supreme Soul. The ultimate goal of a Baul in his spiritual journey is to find out and to unite with this Supreme Soul" (Sengupta 2018:647). So, bauls worship souls and their medium is mainly nature and human body.

There are two streams of bauls in Bangladesh. Sarker writes (2018:48) that if bauls of Kushtia, Nadia, Jashore and nearby areas are compared with those of Netrokona, or East Mymensingh region, a difference will be found there. Bauls like Lalon and Siraj were leading the life of wanders. By denouncing the family or taking *sadhan-sangi*, companion for austere perseverance, they were dedicated to *baul* disciline. "Women were indispensable companions in their sadhana" (Miah 2018: 353). But no bauls of Netrokona or of this region left their family (Akbar 2017: 104). Many of them married more than one woman and had children. One more thing is that *bauls* like Lalon received *guru* or spiritual teacher for their *baul* practice. In contrast, *bauls* of Netrokona did not receive any spiritual teacher like them, but followed Pir or Fakir or a religious master. They were directly influenced by Pir or Fakir (Sarker 2018: 48-9). Greatest bauls of the latter

region are Hason Raja, Radharomon Dutta, Pagla Kanai, Kangal Harinath, Gagan Harkara, Duddu Shah, Shanal Fakir, Alefchan Dewan, Mohin Shah, Shitlong Shah, Monomohon Dutta, Panjushah, Ukil Munshi, Rashid Uddin, Syed Shahnoor, Jalal Khan, Shah Abdul Karim and many others (Kabir 2017 9). Ukil Munshi wrote more than thousand songs. This paper concentrates on a few songs of his. Mahbub Kabir has compiled two hundred and one songs and published a book titled *Ukil Munshir Gan*, Songs of Ukil Munshi in English in 2018.

Another term is patriarchy which refers to father or the male who dominate and control the family and all of its decision. *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* defines patriarchy as "a social system in which men have all the power" (Longman 2009:1277). Sultana (2911:3) cites Lerner as such: patriarchy is "the manifestation and institutionalization of male dominance over women and children in the family and the extension of male dominance over women in society in general. It implies that men hold power in all the important institutions of society and that women are deprived of access to such power". So, patriarchy is nothing but the power-play and dominance of the male over women specifically and in general, over the less powerful of the society.

Finally comes the term hegemony referring to social domination. This term was coined by Italian philosopher Antonio Gramsci (2004, 2010), (whose life span was 1891-1937). The term was used by him to describe the operation of ideology in modern capitalist society (Brooker 2003: 119). Ideology primarily is used to establish power and secondarily, there are some people who do not keep faith in their ideology and at this time, violence and state force are used to make them abide by the rules (Gramsci 2004: 673). Gramsci (2010), in his writing "Hegemony of Language" found an interesting link between language and hegemony. Language is immensely used to dominate other social groups. He wrote, "Language is linked with issues of power and politics". Therefore, language is an important means of power-play and domination which ensures the presence of hegemony in the society. There are hegemonic masculinity and femininity in every language. Hegemonic masculinity is defined as a practice that legitimizes men's dominant position in society and justifies the subordination of the common male population and women. So, this term ensures the control of

patriarchy over women and the less powerful population of the society. In contrast, as Schippers (2007:88) cites from Pyke and Johnson, "hegemonic femininity is confined to power relations among women". So, ideal and absolute womanhood are ensured in hegemonic femininity.

Then a question is raised about hegemony of language which refers to the dominance of one language upon another. People can exercise and practice power with the help of language. There are some feminine qualities quite opposite to masculine ones. A man and a woman do not express their feeling in the same way. The language used by women is much more passive which expresses subordination or dependence. Gilbert and Gubar (2004: 812) commented that in patriarchy, women are categorized in two classes: angelic and devilish or monster. If a woman behaves in womanly manner, she is angelic but her manly behavior will make her devilish. Even when a man behaves in a subordinating and dominatable way, he is called womanish, which is quite passive. This passivity is expressed through hegemony of language of woman.

III

Ukil Munshi has used female voice in many of his songs, where he transcends the living soul and moves towards the pursuit of supreme spirit, but this female voice also represents the subordination of female and basically womanliness. In Munshi's songs, female characters stare at the floating boats in search of their lovers. Some of them ask about their lovers or sometimes request the boatman to inform their parents to take them to their parental houses. These urges for love or going to parental houses or this waiting for lovers indicate precise scenery of wet-land of Bangladesh. To convince the supreme authority, the God or even the religious teacher, Ukil Munshi uses female voice and behaves womanly as womanliness represents inferiority and subordination. His songs indicate a regret denoting separation from spiritual *guru* or Pir, in the broad sense, from the absolute lord. As requesting, crying and urging are characteristics of women, Munshi behaves in womanly manner to embody his inferiority and powerlessness. Here is an example:

"Brother boatman from a distant land
Steered a colorful boat,

Will you take me boatman?
I want to go to my father's house.

Going to eat, no rice I get
No cloth on my body.
How many days will I stay, boatman
In the house of dumb husband?

Wet land, broken residence
No mosquito nets above
Four bearers will take me
In three-hand house.
Ukil says, if I go to father's house,
I'll never return here." (Ullah 2021: 13)

In the above-mentioned song, Ukil, in the voice of a woman, requests a boatman to carry her to her father's house. She leads a very depressed and impoverished life at her husband's house. If she can go there once, she will never return. This is the surface meaning of the song. But connotated meaning is that Ukil Munshi longs for someone who can take him to the highest lord. He has a very distressed life. Here Ukil, despite being a man, talks, rather urges in the form of a woman. Father figure is obviously God who is superior. In the society, men's behavior must be men-like. Strength, power, dominance, control including every masculine quality are the characteristics of men. Crying, urging, requesting, adoring all these are feminine qualities. As Ukil Munshi urges to God, he requests in the voice of a woman. Thus, womanliness is present in Munshi's songs. Some more songs can be described in the same way.

"Southern wind cannot be seen in eyes
It touches my body and burns my heart
O southern wind
O wind
My friend's house is in the southern part
He has never returned to me for what fault of this unfortunate?
Many people from this and that land come and go

At whose arbor, he forgets me and does not want to come
O wind
His heart is heartless and hard as stone
He didn't take my news for a single day
How much irritating the black cuckoo is
It always keeps chirping koo-kooo.
O wind-
Southern wind blows up the sail of the boat
Holding the oar of the boat, he keeps singing jari song.
Seeing sails, I stare at with hopes-
Whether he anchors his boat at the ghat of Ukil." (Ullah 2021: 13)

In this song, apparently Ukil Munshi urges to a boatman to take him to the southern country. This urging is again feminine. But from the biography of Ukil Munshi, it is known that he was a follower of Pir Mojaffar Ahmad of Richi village of Habigonj district (Kabir 2018:17, 21; Rahman 2018 69-70; Sarkar 2918: 63-64). If it is measured from the house of Ukil Munshi, the house of Pir Mojaffar Ahmad will be at the southern part. Ukil Munshi followed Sufism. He was influenced by ideas of Pir Mojaffar Ahmad. His direct relevance with religion, especially with God and Islamic prophet is noticed in his songs. For example, he writes,

"Ya Rafiqul Al, Ya Habibulla
Ya Shofiul Muj Nobin
Which name embodies God?
You will be Alamin.
Your glory, your value
Will be known to Allah Subahan." (Rahman2018: 82)

"Kalma La-ilaha Illaha Mohammad Rasul
Hey mind, always chant the name, never forget." (Rahman 2018: 87)

In another song, Ukil Munshi addresses the prophet of Islam as such:

"You are the king of the world, the guarantor of the Ummah
Khatemun Nabin." (Rahman 2018: 82)

Thus, religion is reflected in his songs. His religious master, Pir Mojaffar Ahmad suggested him not to sing on the stage with musical instruments. He also

suggested singing only in domestic programs organized within households. He followed his instruction, but not everything. He did not use musical instruments in his songs but he kept performing on stages. This made Pir upset (Sarker 3018: 63-4). For this reason, Munshi wrote and sang the song where he regrets for the separation from his *guru* or master. The song has a direct relation with spirituality. Using the metaphor of love and separation, Ukil indicates the unbearable pain and distress of spiritual separation from his Pir. Even in this song, he, in melancholic mood, takes the disguise of a woman. To show his womanliness and subordination upon someone greater or superior, Ukil uses female voice. One more example can be given,

> "Boatman of tide, you're going by boat in the full river
>
> Anchor your boat and kindly tell me if you know anything of my friend." (Rahman 2018: 75)

All these examples from different songs of Ukil Munshi are with the messages from a woman crying for any sort of news from her beloved or father's house. Though connotatively these songs bear a very spiritual connotation, apparent narration indicates women's dependence upon men and their submissiveness. The female voice wants relief from the distress of life and therefore is requesting the boatman, as a messenger, that she needs to be rescued.

This womanliness epitomizes hegemony of language in terms of gender as the society establishes some specific attributions. Ukil Munshi uses the thing that to convince a superior authority or the lord, the male and even the dominator, language must be obedient which traces femaleness.

IV

Passivity of women, another concern of this paper, is also found in the surface level of selected *baul* songs written and sung by Ukil Munshi. Almost no woman of Bangladesh can go anywhere alone. Even if she wants to go to her father's house, she is to wait for someone coming from father's house. Ukil Munshi writes, "Seeing sails, I stare at with hopes" (Ullah 2021:13). Whenever the woman sees any sail in the river, she stares at it with the hope if someone is coming to take her as she alone is not allowed or is unable to go. In another song, Munshi

writes, "My life is spent on floating, tell me what is Ukil means" (Rahman 2018:76). Here Ukil, presents with his own name but with the female voice, says that her life is not stable, rather it keeps on floating on the water of a river and she does not get any means for escape and this is why she needs help of someone superior. In another song, Munshi writes,

> "Dear confidante
> When *Krishna* plays the flute
> I sit to cook
> O friend, I cry in the occasion of smoke
> I give salt, instead of turmeric." (Rahman 2018: 89)

The love relation of Radha and Krishna is very popular in this region. People give examples of common things to visualize the essence of that thing. In religious books, when heaven and hell are described, examples are given from real life just so that people can visualize the abstract thing. When it is said that in hell there are fires and the faulty people will be burnt forever, example of fire is given but it is also mentioned that that fire will be much deadlier and more unbearable. When heaven is described, many tasty and delicious fruits and food are mentioned and it is also said that that food and fruit will be much tastier in heaven. Common examples are given so that people can get the meaning easily. To epitomize the essence of love, Munshi uses the example of Radha and Krishna's love and indicates the depth of their love. If the incident of the song is taken as an example, a female character is not even able to cry publicly for her friend and hence she is to pretend to cook for the sake of crying. Hence, the song describes female's passivity in a well-articulated manner.

In Munshi's songs, female characters are so obedient and passive that they cannot even move without man's support. Munshi writes,

> "Hey boatman, anchor your boat at the *ghat*
> Kindly visit me, who is unfortunate and unhappy forever-
> I was married at a distant land, leading a life of exile
> If you meet my father, ask him
> Please, do, dear boatman. Otherwise I'll be undone

> If boats are not sent, my caste and family will be questioned." (Rahman 2018: 83)

The female voice of this song lives a life in exile and therefore she wants to escape from this life. She is incapable of getting rid of this life, and therefore requesting the boatman that her father needs to send a boat for her so that she can go home. This journey is obviously a voyage from the earth to the eternal life but the passivity of the voyager is expressed through a female character. In another song, Ukil Munshi's female voice says, "I was sent in exile as Sita" (Rahman2018: 74). Sita is a Hindu mythological character who was banished in a jungle. The language used by female voice explicitly expresses its subordinating tone. Marriage seems to be similar to living in an exile from where she needs to be rescued but she cannot get it alone due to her submissiveness. In another song, Munshi states, "Seeing sails, I stare at it with hopes" (Ullah 2021: 13). Whenever she sees any sail, she thinks, probably someone comes from her parents' house and thence she becomes hopeful. This dependence also shows passivity of women.

Thus, whenever Ukil Munshi himself expresses his own spiritual passivity, he uses the voice of women. As passivity, urging for forgiveness, dependence-whether physical or spiritual, are qualities of female, this voice is used largely.

V

Finally, this paper aims at investigating how patriarchy depicts female and their voice in literature. Patriarchy presents female in such a way what they desire or how they look at women. In songs of Ukil Munshi, supreme lord is the representative of patriarchy. Very cordial and loyal language of women is used to convince the lord. So, consciously or unconsciously the lord is practicing power and authoritativeness.

In addition, there are some specific songs of Ukil Munshi where it can be clearly examined how women are described by men and in men dominated society. Munshi writes,

> "I travel in countries in the dress of madness
> No one loves me when I am seen

My beauty is gone, not I am faulty
Neighbors call me bad when they see me
I have made their reproaches fragrant flowers
I have worn their disgrace in my neck as a jewelry." (Rahman 2018: 78)

Literally, a woman wanders from country to country but she is not loved as she is in the dress of a mad person. As she loves someone, neighbors call her in bad names and she made all these disgraces as her fragrance and jewelry. Now raises a question what her fault is and why she is called in bad names by neighbors. The answer is very easy. She loves someone explicitly. This explicit expression of love is not authorized by patriarchal society and moreover she does not behave in womanly manner. As she does not act womanly, she is not angelic, rather devilish. Gilbert and Gubar (2004: 812) discuss in 'The Madwoman in the Attic' that women are of two types namely angelic and monster. If a woman behaves unwomanly, she will be considered as a monster, and even as mad. In Ukil Munshi's above-mentioned song, the woman is exhibited as mad. She wanders around wearing the dress of a mad person. She is insane, as she expresses her love openly which is quite unwomanly. Another point to be mentioned is that the woman loses that her beauty and hence no one loves her. This idea of beauty is also controlled by male dominated society. Only for the loss of physical beauty, the woman does not get any social respect. Though connotatively, Ukil Munshi tries to convey the separation from the supreme lord and lacking of spirituality in this song, but to portray the thing, he is using a woman's character, not a male one. Unmanly things must be projected with those who are not men.

Another song can be examined in the light of patriarchal portrait of female.

"Being a beggar of love, I go from door to door
Leaving my house, in the forest and jungle
For whom my mind always cries
Will that friend fondle me?
Dear confidante, please go. Captor of Radha's heart
Will he take my life, his female servant?" (Rahman 2018: 79)

Hence, the speaker of the song is addressed as a beggar for love. A beggar is inferior to one who gives away or donates alms. Though the giver is the lord himself, even it might be the Pir whom Ukil Munshi followed, he practices power and dominance. The point is that a woman is comparable to a beggar in terms of gender; they have no social respect and no controlling power as authorized by patriarchy.

> Another song of Ukil Munshi is as follows:
> "Brother boatman from a distant land
> Steered a colorful boat,
> Will you take me boatman?
> I want to go to my father's house." (Ullah 2021: 13)

> Here, a woman appeals to a boatman to take her to her parental house. To urge is an unmanly act and females are used here to show that unmanliness. Though at the end of this song, it is clear that this journey is not from husband's house to father's house, rather from the earthly life to the divine life. The last stanza is as follows:

> "Four bearers will take me
> In three-hand house.
> Ukil says, if I go to father's house,
> I'll never return here." (Ullah 2021: 13)

In Muslim society, when one dies, he is carried on a bier or *Khatli* which is carried by four bearers. The house of three feet indicates the grave and the size refers to the grave size of the Muslim. Munshi's direct name is present in the song, but he is speaking in the voice of a woman. This depiction is quite common in Bangladeshi society. When a man cries, he is compared to a woman as crying is only possible by women. This is a kind of womanly thing. So, when Ukil Munshi himself is begging to the ultimate lord, he is playing the role of a woman and this is how female are portrayed by men in a male dominated society.

VI

In conclusion, baul songs of Ukil Munshi pictures Bengali society vividly where the real condition of female and their passive subordinate expression are presented. This paper also showed how women are explicitly and implicitly controlled intellectually and physically by patriarchy. Ukil Munshi uses popular incidents of relationship to describe the love and separation from guru, spiritual teacher; and in a broad sense, from the ultimate lord. To do so, he portrays the common life accurately which unconsciously represent the patriarchal sensation and thinking.

Though women occupy a respectable position in baul society, they are not out of the grip of patriarchy. When passivity, inaction, dependence and submissiveness are described, women are attached as if passivity and dependence were the identity of the women. Women's expression is discussed as an example of passiveness in baul songs of Ukil Munshi. These attributions are imposed upon by patriarchy.

Works Cited

Akbar, Muhammad. "Ukil Munshir Prasongikota". *Ukil Munshi: Pramannya Pather Sondhane*. Edited by Muhammad Akbar. Arwa Book Corner, 2017. p. 104.

Brooker, Peter. *A Glossary of Cultural Theory*. Arnold, 2003. p. 119.

Gilbert, Sandra and Gubar, Susan, "The Madwoman in the Attic". *Literary Theory: An Anthology*. Edited by Julie Rivkin and Michael Ryan. 2nd ed. Blackwell Publishing, 2004. pp. 812-825.

Gramsci, Antonio. "Hegemony". *Literary Theory: An Anthology*. Edited by Julie Rivkin and Michael Ryan. 2nd ed. Blackwell Publishing, 2004. p. 673.

"Hegemony of Language". *The Dawn*. 10 May 2010. Retrieved from: https://www.dawn.com/news/843866/hegemony-of-language

Kabir, Mahbub. *Ukil Munshir Gan*. Oitijjhya, 2018. pp. 9, 17, 21.

Longman, Pearson. *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*. 5th ed. Pearson, 2009.

Miah, Hanif. "Status of Women in Baul Sadhana: A Social Aspect". *Bangabidya: International Journal of Bengal Studies*. vol 10. 2018. pp. 349-357.

Rahman, Hamidur. *Netrakonar Baul Kabi*. Ayan Prakashan, 2018. pp. 69-70, 74, 75, 76, 78, 79, 82, 83, 87, 89.

Sarker, Sanjoy. *Netrakoner Lokosahitya O Sangstriki*. Abishkar, 2018. pp. 48, 63-64.

Sengupta, Sutapa. "The Mystic Bauls: A Journey from Archaic to Modernity". *Bangabidya: International Journal of Bengal Studies*. vol. 10. 2018. pp. 647-668.

Schippers, M. *Recovering the Feminine Other: Masculinity, Femininity, and Gender Hegemony*. Theory and Society, vol. 36, no.1, 2007. pp. 85-102. Retrieved from: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/227187516_Recovering_the_Feminine_Other_Masculinity_Femininity_and_Gender_Hegemony

Sultana, Abeda. "Patriarchy and Women's Subordination: A Theoretical Analysis". *The Arts Faculty Journal*. vol. July 2010-June 2011. University of Dhaka, 2011.

Ullah, Safi. "Three Baul Songs by Ukil Munshi". *The Daily Observer*. 17 April 2021. p. 13. Retrieved from: https://epaper.observerbd.com/2021/04/17/

Bio Profile of the author

PhD. Lecturer of English at Sheikh Hasina University, Netrokona, Bangladesh. He graduated and post-graduated from the Department of English, University of Dhaka in English Literature. He is a fiction writer, essayist and translator. He has authored three books of fiction including a novel. Two of his papers have been published in *Erothanatos*, a peer-reviewed journal published from India. His interests include gender studies, postmodernism and folk literature. He can be contacted at +8801768980728 and safi.ullah@shu.edu.bd .

Silenced Voices: Articulating the Role of 'Invisible' Women Farmers in the Conservation of Agrobiodiversity in Rural and Tribal India

Shreyashi Chaudhuri[1] and Kuntal Narayan Chaudhuri[2]

Abstract

Agrobiodiversity that ensures our food security is increasingly threatened by rapid globalization of modern agriculture. This has led to the realization of the need for conserving local genetic resources of domesticated organisms and their wild relatives. In the developing world, indigenous agriculture involves sustainably using, managing and conserving the biodiversity of local agroecosystems. Intangible cultural heritage is considered as an integral part of this biodiversity since it is nurtured and protected by human activities in relation to traditional agricultural practices. Across the globe women, who are more affected by poverty, hunger and malnutrition compared to men, are key stakeholders in a range of agricultural activities that provide them food, nutrition and even additional income. Although they constitute, often as unpaid workers in subsistence farming, the majority of the agrarian labour force, their voices remain mostly unheard in farming-related decision making and their vital contribution to agricultural production remain largely 'invisible' in the

academic literature and official statistics. Women are also the best custodians of oral traditions, cultural practices and traditional knowledge. Women in traditional farming, using their inherent prudence as diligent homemakers, are the unsung heroes of agro biodiversity conservation. Their gender dialect includes names with which they can narrate this complex variety and variability growing in their fields, gardens or homesteads, as well as ideas of taboos, totems and magic that are vital elements of this conservation effort. This paper provides an overview of the often overlooked contributions by rural and tribal women farmers of India in the *in situ* conservation of the genetic resources of crops and livestock, and discusses the significance of this in the context of household food and nutritional security.

Keywords: *Agrobiodiversity Conservation, Gender Dialect, Genetic Resources, India, Women*

Introduction

Agrobiodiversity[i]whose foundation is natural biodiversity[ii]results from the interactionbetween the environment, genetic resources[iii] and management practicesassociated with agroecosystems[iv]ofcrops, livestock, fisheries and forestry(Altieri, 1999: 20).This biodiversity bestows stability, adaptability and resilience to these human-modified habitats at whose core lies the agricultural activity of producing food, fodder, fibres, fuel, and many more useful products.Managed by farmers, herders, pastoralists, hunters, gatherers, fisher folk and forest dwellers, this diversity of genes, species and habitats is central to the sustainability of traditional food production systems, diets and livelihoods.

Traditional agrobiodiverse systemsof farming are genetically diverse and characterized by a wide range of cultivated species, most of which are local varieties of domesticated plantsand animals, often tolerating or encouraging other valuable wild species within the fields, along their margins, and in the adjoining natural habitats (Harlan, 1975: 188). The customary use of these diverse cultivated and wild local food resources ensures food security, nutrition security and healthy living for rural and tribal communities across the globe (Heywood, 2013: 42). This inherent agrobiodiversityexisting in indigenous

agricultural systems is closely linked with local intangible cultural heritage in the form of oral traditions, belief systems and knowledge systems of the locals whose stewardship has protected and enriched this tangible natural heritage (Howard, 2011: 164).However, the globalization of industrial agriculture has resulted in undesirable genetic uniformity and ecosystem simplification in the farmlands where the polycultures of traditional farmers' varieties are being replaced by monocultures of high-yielding modern cultivars (Fowler and Mooney, 1990: 278). The resulting genetic erosion[v]occurring across the globe and its long-term effects has led to the realization for conserving local genetic resources of domesticated organisms and their wild relatives in and around traditional agroecosystems (Brush, 1986: 151). Mostly limited to the developing world, often among indigenous communities of extreme or remote locations, traditional farmers play key roles in the on-farm nurture and protection of this endangered biocultural heritage that can contribute to the improvement of health and livelihoods of socio-economically marginalized indigenous communities (Altieri and Merrick, 1987: 90). Furthermore, the relationship between gender and biodiversity is also an emerging field of research (Khadka and Verma, 2012: 9). This paper presents a brief overview of the often overlooked contributions by rural and tribal women farmers of India in the *in situ* management and conservation of the genetic resources of crops and livestock, and discusses the significance of this gender dimension in agrobiodiversity conservation on household food and nutrition security and family health.

The 'Invisible' Woman Farmer

Throughout history and across the globe, women's daily work requires a greater understanding of their local plant resources. Therefore, it is women who play predominant roles as plant gatherers, gardeners, herbalists, seed custodians, plant breeders and farmers. Women are the backbone of world agriculture (*Amali*, *1989: 52*).In India, women make up nearly half (47percent)of the self-employed agriculturists and about a third (33percent)of the agricultural workforce (Rao, 2006: 107). These rural and tribal women often pursuing multiple livelihood strategies, silently performed alongside their domestic

chores the most tedious agricultural tasks. However, this hard work is largely underpaid, even unpaid in subsistence farming (Kundu and Das, 2019: 126). Furthermore, they lack land entitlements, they have little control over other productive resources, and their voices remain unheard in private and public decision-making related to farming (Singh and Vinay, 2013: 157). Their vital contribution to agricultural productivity remains 'invisible' in academic and official spheres as well. In India, agriculture continues to engage more than 80percentof the rural female workforce (Rao, 2006: 107), and yet, less than only 13 percent of these women own any land (Agarwal, 2002: 10). Notably, this situation is assuming a complex dimension with the growing feminization of Indian farming on account of the increasing migration of rural men for better job opportunities (Pattnaik *et al*., 2018: 138). However, there are some encouraging exceptions from Peninsular and Northeast India. Women farmers of subsistence societies of the Kolli Hills, Tamil Nadu, by virtue of being in charge of the cultivation of the minor millets that have little or no commercial value, take all the decisions regarding the cultivation and use of this minor cereal crop (Rengalakshmi *et al*., 2002: 6). In the Jeypore Tract, Odisha, women farmers take the prime responsibility of mixed cropping in small landholdings (Mishra *et al*., 2013: 6). Women farmers of the matrilineal societies of the Khasi Hills, Meghalaya, are the custodians of clan-owned lands, they control the decision-making process and are also recognized as the food produced within their families and the larger tribal community[vi].

Keepers of Agrobiodiversity

In the developing world, women's work devoted to agriculture as farmers, labourers and entrepreneurs largely drives the local rural economy. Women who are more affected by poverty, hunger and malnutrition in comparison with men, are key stakeholders in a range of agricultural activities that provide food, nutrition and even additional income, which is important to their own health and that of their families. In rural and tribal communities where most of the world's hungry people live, women produce and provide most of the locally consumed food, and are involved in every step of the food production process from the farm to the table. Therefore, the sustainable utilization and

management of the biodiversity present in and around local agroecosystems as cheap, nutritious and reliable food resource, provides diverse and healthy diets for women and their children. Women farmers as the sentinels of local agrobiodiversity, traditionally practice biodiverse farming to serve the utilitarian purpose of managing and conserving their local food resources. Women as diligent homemakers and farmers use their inherent prudence and practical experience in the field and kitchen to use, manage and conserve the local genetic resources for sustaining their health and livelihoods. Away from the limelight, these silent roles played by underprivileged women farmers of marginalized communities in conserving their rich agrobiodiversity are beginning to be documented in India, and her neighbourhood such as in Bangladesh (Talukdar, 2012: 22) and in Nepal (Karki and Gurung, 2012: 38) and across the world (Urdanivia, 2014: 35). In the Eastern Ghats, the Malayali tribe of Kolli Hills, Tamil Nadu, practice subsistence farming, and this region is best known for the genetic diversity of several minor millets species whose highly heterogeneous populations harbour enormous intra-specific phenotypic variability (Rengalakshmi *et al*., 2002: 3). The subsistence lifestyle, local food habits and rain-fed farming techniques of these indigenous community have led them to cultivate and conserve seeds of several underutilized minor cereals such as the foxtail millet or *thenai* (*Setaria italica)*, little millet or *samai* (*Panicum sumatrense*) and kodo millet or *varagu* (*Paspalum scrobiculatum*), to name a few, for the practical purpose of year-round consumption and sowing in the next farming season (Anburaja and Nandagopalan, 2013: 35).

Lessons from the Field

In the biodiversity-rich tropical regions of the globe, it is the woman who manage most of the local plant resources in homesteads, farms, gardens, pastures, plantations, forests, and marketplaces. They are also the traditional knowledge holders of the variety and variability of local food and medicinal plants, and are also responsible for their management and *in situ* conservation. Gender is socially constructed. The gender-based rigid division of labour in tribal and rural social systems traditionally allot women most of the household jobs along with the monotonous, time-consuming drudgery tasks of agriculture. Although men

plough the fields, women do most of the work including farm activities such as sowing, transplanting, weeding, fertilizing, weeding, harvesting, and even post-harvest operations such as threshing and winnowing, as well as livestock management. Spending long hours in the field, regular partaking and close observation give them a comprehensive knowledge of the farming systems and its resources. Thus, involved in most of the steps in raising, harvesting and processing them, they have a first hand knowledge of the growing conditions, nutritional requirements, and morphological and agronomic traits of the diverse local farmers' varieties of cultivated plants. This vital pool of experience helps them to acquire critical knowledge of plant taxonomy and crop breeding based on the practical motive of managing their local food resources. This process of knowledge acquisition is dynamic and continuous in response to the changes and adaptations in the crop in response to long-term changes in both the natural and cultural environment. Women's specialized knowledge of the value and diverse use of domesticated crop species and varieties extends to wild plants that are occasionally used as food in times of need such as famines and floods, and also as medicines to treat illnesses and maintain healthy lifestyle. Through the empirical experience of innovations and experimentations, sustainable use and management practices have developed to protect natural resources such as soil, water, vegetation and biological diversity. This has important implications for the conservation of plant genetic resources. In the Eastern Himalayas, the Apatanis of the Ziro Valley, Arunachal Pradesh, practice their unique integrated rice-fish cultivation. Their traditional farmers' groups rice are led and predominated by women. The remarkable local agroecosystem managed by women farmers harbour numerous landraces of the japonica rice or*pyapin* (*Oryza sativa* var. *japonica*) (Dollo *et al*., 2009: 48) and finger millet or *sarse* (*Eleusine coracana*) (Dollo *et al*., 2009: 49) with unique agronomic features. Due to the gender dynamics in traditional farming, women and men are associated with different oral traditions, cultural practices and traditional knowledge related to agrobiodiversity. Through their different activities, men and women have often developed different knowledge about the local environment, its biodiversity and their uses. These gender-differentiated local knowledge systems play a decisive role in the *in situ* conservation, management and improvement of crop genetic

resources for food. The decision about what to conserve depends on the perception of what is most useful to the household and the wider community. The Malayalis women of the Eastern Ghats are largely responsible for most of the farming and post-harvest activities. Even for land preparation on the steep slopes which is traditionally done by men, the women in these hills take part in it if there are not enough hands (Rengalakshmi *et al*., 2002: 6). From this hands-on experience they know more about the minor millet crops than the men. Furthermore, based on these expertises, women farmers, in comparison to their male counterparts, also have different priorities regarding the crops species they can choose to cultivate and divergent opinions regarding the value of the crop varieties they can choose to select for storing seeds. According to existing social norms, women are responsible for the food, nutrition and health of the family. Women farmers, unlike their male counterparts, prefer to cultivate neglected minor food crops that are nutritionally superior but are commercially unattractive. They also prefer to cultivate those varieties of food crops that have superior culinary traits. In the Kolli Hills, women cultivate take care of household food and nutrition security, and prefer growing the minor millets as they have more subsistence value. In selecting the little millet, the men prefer the early maturing varieties such as the *malliasamai* for its superior agronomic trait, but, in sharp contrast, the women farmers prefer *vellaperumsamai* and *karumperumsamai* for their superior taste and consistency (Rengalakshmi *et al*., 2002: 7).Similarly, in the Jeypore Tract, Odisha, tribal women choose rice seeds based on their cooking quality, cooking time, digestion time, suitability for producing minor rice products, and straw quality (Mishra *et al*., 2013: 7). Women, as the holders of this local traditional knowledge of food and farming, hand it down the generations during their daily conversations in the gender dialect preserve from mothers to daughters, older siblings to younger ones and elders to the youth. Their intricate vocabulary is sophisticated enough to effectively narrate the complex variety and variability growing in their fields, gardens or homesteads whose utility is meticulously explored in the kitchen, with the use of distinctive names of the native plant varieties and plant lore and rituals that are often linked to their agronomic features, culinary uses or nutritive properties. The taboos, totems and magic associated with their sowing,

harvesting or the habitats of wild edibles are vital elements of their on-farm conservation effort of this diversity and help in sustainably using and managing these key food resources. These vital survival skills entrenched in the female dialects finds practical meaning and emotional expression in singing and performing of folk songs, field rituals and food offerings. In the Ramanagara district, Karnataka, based on such time-honored beliefs and practices, the women possess fine skills in handling seeds, cultivating crops and cooking food, particularly in relation to the finger millet or *ragi* (*Eleusine coracana*) as the local staple (Hazareesingh, 2020: 955).

Saving Seeds for Future

Landraces[vii] are rich gene repositories in *traditional* agricultural landscapes. These dynamic populations of locally developed, morphologically distinct and genetically diverse crop varieties are well-adapted to local environments, and linked with local crop management and seed saving practices. Seed saving[viii]is the most important method of maintaining and conserving local crop genetic resources to ensure diversity of food on our tables, and sustain scientific crop breeding programmes for global food and nutrition security. In India, two-thirds of farmers, and mostly women, produce seeds from their own harvest (Sahai, 2000: 35). These seed-saving women farmers are the custodians of crop genetic diversity that directly affects their household dietary patterns throughout the year. Their traditional seed management practicesis key to sustainably using, conserving and enhancing the local plant genetic resources.

Seed Selection

This, mainly aimed at obtaining healthier seeds, can be used to maintain and improve quality of crop variety. In a crop field, there are differences between plants, and some have characteristics that are more suitable than the others. Women farmers play the vital role of seed selectors. They have developed various selection strategies to select seed from crops based on phenotypic characters at pre- or post-harvest stages. They apply criteria such as seed density in panicle in pre-harvest selection, and well-filled seeds in post-harvest selection. In the Jeypore Tract, women ritually tie turmeric-smeared threads to

select the healthy rice plants (Mishra *et al*., 2013: 9).In the Kolli Hills, elite, vigorous, disease-free millet plants are identified in the field, harvested and threshed (Rengalakshmi *et al*., 2002: 6). After harvesting,l oose and drooping panicles on the threshing floor before the first threshing are collected to ensures good, well-filled, heavier seeds. During threshed and winnowing, off-colour, undersized and chaffy grains are rejected. In case of vegetables, fruits of plants during the third or fourth harvest cycle, are selected.

Seed Storage

This involves preserving good quality seeds of selected landraces to keep them viable for a few years until they are needed for the next planting. Seeds from healthy plants are stored in requisite quantity as seed material for the following season, and again dried before sowing. The ability of seed to tolerate moisture loss allows the seed to maintain the viability in dry state. They are also vulnerable to insects. Women farmers also perform the vital role of seed preservers. They have developed simple methods of protecting seeds from desiccation and pests during their storage. In the Kolli Hills, the selected panicles of millets are tied together and sundried on the rooftops (Rengalakshmi *et al*., 2002: 6). Seeds are stored in an air-tight traditional storage structure called *thombai*, built with mud, straw and wood. In case of vegetables, the fruits are left on the plant to ripen, and then the seeds are mixed with ash and sundried. In the Jeypore Tract, rice seeds are dried on a cow dung smeared floor (Mishra *et al*., 2013: 10), mixed with dried powder of *neem* (*Azadirachta indica*) and *karanja* (*Pongamia pinnata*) leaves to (Rengalakshmi *et al*., 2002: 18) and stored in air-tight traditional storage structures called *dhoosi*and *khaniki*, in the form of straw rope and bamboo baskets, both plastered with cow dung (Mishra *et al*., 2013: 10).

Seed Enhancement

This involves mixed cropping along with microclimatic variations in the agricultural plots, is a common strategies by women farmers against the risk of crop failure due to biotc and abiotic factors. This is also an innovative means to enrichlocal crop genetic resources. As a traditional crop breeding strategy, seeds of different crops are selected and growing them together in a common plot.

Inadvertently, this allows introgression hybridization[ix] of the crop, which may produce valuable novel genotypes and widen the crop's genetic base. In the Kolli Hills, women farmers enrich the genetic richness of millet crops by the innovative practice of mixed cropping (Rengalakshmi *et al*., 2002: 7). They deliberate mix various millet landraces, with different quantitative characters in a common plot along with microclimatic variations due to altitude. The diversity of millets in the fields across these hills constitutes a dynamic and resilient mosaic system. Likewise, in the Jeypore Tract, mixed cropping is done with landraces of multiple crops such as rice, millets, pulses and oil seeds, all in different proportions(Mishra *et al*., 2013: 6).

Seed Exchange

This is prevalent among small and marginal farmers who are self sufficient in seeds of preferred cultivars and resort to exchanging them with their neighbours, especially after drought or other emergencies. This kinship-based cultural practice, institutionalized through community-managed seed banks by pooling, maintaining and distributing seeds, ensures the availability of planting material at the appropriate time for the local food production system.This is also a key tool to ensure diffusion across the community of knowhow associated with their use and conservation of local genetic resources. In the Kolli hills and Jeypore Tract, women play a key role in seed supply or exchange (Rengalakshmi *et al*., 2002: 12). They sometimes reserve grain from local or more distant farmers who are known for obtaining good harvests. The women also perform the critical function of periodic checking to monitor the quality of seed. In the Khasi Hills, women are conservers of seeds and know when each grain has to be sown[x]. They exchange seeds and are singularly responsible for the conservation of local genetic resources which are hardy and can resist the vagaries of climate change.

Conclusion

Research into the many possible relationships, intersections and tensions between language and gender is diverse. It transcends disciplinary boundaries. Thus this paper sets out to investigate the silent contributions of the 'invisible'

women farmers of rural and tribal India in the crucial area of the conservation of agrobiodiversity, which not only ensures our long-term food and nutrition security, but also gives these women their identity in dialect contact that can leadthem towards the horizon of empowerment. The brief overview of selected case studies centred on patterns found within the tribal and rural culture of India, amply portray the dexterity and versatility of indigenous women farmers in performing the vital role of seed selector and preserver by using their own experience in the farm and kitchen, as well as traditional wisdom acquired from elders, mothers, and older siblings. This endeavour to highlight the efforts of the neglected women farmers provides insights not just into the idiom of agrobiodiversity, but also into universal issues of human language and identity. Together with this attempt to give voice to the women's farming experience, this examination of their dialect can also be effective in listening to and articulations of the hurdles faced by them with respect to their family, farm and markets, in reaching their goals for improving food and nutrition security for women and children in the South Asia, and stabilizing their livelihood. Women farmers are autonomous and resilient and should be trusted to understand their social and physical environment better than anyone else. In the recent times, the number of women speaking for better legislative support for farmers and farm labourers has soared. While women still constitute a small percentage of protesters, these movements have helped articulate their silenced voices as women transitioned from a wavering audience to firm participants. Like their culturally-acquired skills used to in fields and homes to conserve and enrich the genetic base of their local food production systems, they have also started to educate themselves on their legal rights and speak their minds on the public platforms. These voices need to be heard not only in homes, fields and markets, but also by people making and implementing public policy that affects their lives and livelihoods if we are to realize the dream of a progressive India.

Acknowledgement

The authors are grateful to the Director, National Library, Kolkata, the Library-in-Charge of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Kolkata, and the Chief Librarian, National Museum Library, Colombo, for all the facilities extended.

Bibliography

Agarwal, B. 2002. 'Are we not Peasants too? Land Rights and Women's Claims in India'. *Seeds*, 21 (1): 2–30.

Altieri, M.A. 1999. 'The Ecological Role of Biodiversity in Agroecosystems'. *Agriculture, Ecosystems and Environment*, 74 (1-3): 19–31.

Altieri, M.A. and L.C. Merrick. 1987. '*In Situ* Conservation of Crop Genetic Resources through Maintenance of Traditional Farming Systems'. *Economic Botany*, 41 (1): 86–96.

Amali, E. *1989*. 'The Role of Women in Agricultural Development Process'. *Development Studies Review*, 3 (1-2): *52–60*.

Anburaja, V. and V. Nandagopalan. 2013. 'Agricultural Activities of the Malayali Tribal for Subsistence and Economic Needs in the Mid Elevation Forest of Pachamalai Hills, Eastern Ghats, Tamil Nadu, India'. *International Journal of Agricultural Research, Innovation and Technology*, 2 (1): 32–36.

Dollo, M., P.K. Samal, R.C. Sundriyal and K. Kumar. 2009. 'Environmentally Sustainable Traditional Natural Resource Management and Conservation in Ziro Valley, Arunachal Himalayas, India'. *Journal of American Science*, 5 (5): 41–52.

Fowler, C. and P. Mooney. 1990. *Shattering: Food, Politics and the Loss of Genetic Diversity*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Harlan, J.R. 1975. *Crops and Man*. Madison: American Society of Agronomy and Crop Science Society of America.

Hazareesingh, S. 2020. 'Our Grandmother Used to Sing Whilst Weeding: Oral Histories, Millet Food Culture and Farming Rituals among Women Smallholders in Ramanagara District, Karnataka'. *Modern Asian Studies*, 55 (3): 938-372.

Heywood, V.H. 2013. Overview of Agricultural Biodiversity and its Contribution to Nutrition and Health. In: J. Fanzo, D. Hunter, T. Borelli and F. Mattei (eds.) *Diversifying Food and Diet: Using Agricultural Bioidiversity to Improve Nutrition and Health*. pp. 35–67. London: Earthscan Books.

Howard, P.L. 2011. Culture and Agrobiodiversity: Understanding the Links. In: S. Pilgrim and J. Pretty (eds.) *Nature and Culture: Rebuilding Lost Connections*. pp. 163–184. London: Earthscan Books.

Karki, S. and M. Gurung. 2012. Women's Leadership in Community Forestry in the Middle Hills of Nepal. In: M. Khadka and R. Verma (eds.) *Gender and Biodiversity Management in the Greater Himalayas: Towards Equitable Mountain Development*. pp. 37–40. Kathmandu: International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development.

Khadka, M and R. Verma. 2012. Gender and Biodiversity: Overview of an Emerging Field of Research. In: M. Khadka and R. Verma (eds.) *Gender and Biodiversity Management*

in the Greater Himalayas: Towards Equitable Mountain Development. pp. 8–13. Kathmandu: International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development.

Kundu, A. and S. Das. 2019. 'Gender Wage Gap in the Agricultural Labour Market of India: An Empirical Analysis'. *Journal of Economics and Political Economy*, 6 (2): 122-140.

Mishra, S., S.S. Chaudhury and V.A. Nambi. 2013. 'Agrobiodiversity Conservation and Tribal Women of Koraput, Odisha'. *Tribal Tribune*, 5 (2) 1–13.

Pattnaik, I., K. Lahiri Dutta, S. Locki and B. Prittchard. 2018. 'The Feminization of Agriculture or the Feminisation of Agrarian Distress? Tracking the Trajectory of Women in Agriculture in India'. *Journal of the Asia-Pacific Economy*, 23 (1): 138-155.

Rao, E.K. 2006. 'Role of Women in Agriculture: A Micro-Level Study'. *Journal of Global Economy*, 2 (2): 107–118

Rengalakshmi, R., G. Alagukhanna and N.A. Kumar. 2002. *Rural and Tribal Women in Agrobiodiversity Conservation: An Indian Case Study*. Rome: FAO.

Sahai, S. 2000. 'Farmers' Rights and Food Security'. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 35 (11): 878–880.

Singh, D. and D. Vinay. 2013. 'Gender Participation in Indian agriculture: An Ergonomic Evaluation of Occupational Hazard of Farm and Allied Activities'. *International Journal of Agriculture, Environment & Biotechnology*, 6 (1): 157-168.

Talukdar, T. 2012. Women as Key Managers of Biodiversity in Shifting Cultivation in Bangladesh. In: M. Khadka and R. Verma (eds.) *Gender and Biodiversity Management in the Greater Himalayas: Towards Equitable Mountain Development*. pp. 21–24. Kathmandu: International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development.

Urdanivia, C. 2014. 'Andean Quinoa: Local farmers in a Global Market'. *Anthropology Now*, 6 (2): 35–43.

Endnotes

i The variety and variability of harvested and non-harvested microbes, plants and animals at the genetic, species and habitat levels that existin and around agricultural systems.

ii The variety and variability of life on earth, at the three levels as above, as well as at a local, regional or global scale.

iii The genetic variability within a domesticated biological species in the form of crop varieties and livestock breeds, as well as their wild relatives from which they have been artificially modified through domestication, selection and hybridization.

iv The ecosystem modified by the human activity of agriculture.

v The loss of genetic variability from populations of domesticated plants and animals.

vi Chitnis, R. In photos: The seed-saving farmers in India who pass down land to their daughters. YES! Magazine (January 13, 2016). https://www.pri.org/stories/2016-01-13/photos-seed-saving-farmers-india-who-pass-down-land-their-daughters.

vi The local plant cultivars or animal breeds improved by traditional agricultural methods.

vii The practice of saving seeds or vegetative propagules of crop plants for future use.

ix The transfer of genetic information from one species or variety to another as a result of hybridization between them and repeated backcrossing.

x Chitnis, R. *Ibid*.

Bio-Profile of the Authors:

[1]State-Aided College Teacher, Department of History, Calcutta Girls' College, 3 Goal Tuli Lane, Kolkata 700013

[2]Assistant Professor, Department of Botany, Vivekananda College, 269 Diamond Harbour Road, Kolkata 700063

Bengali Dialect with Advanced Technology: Empowering Women Artists in *Kumartuli*, Kolkata

Sayantani Mallick^, Dr. M. Alankara Masillamania^, Sayan Das*+

Abstract

Empowerment, particularly in controlling one's life and claiming one's rights, is described as becoming stronger, more confident which depends on the backgrounds, situations, aspirations, dreams and has several distinct meanings for different people. For women, self-esteem, and also for communities, empowerment is necessary. Women can be entitled to equal involvement in education, culture, economy, and politics to choose their faith, language, job and many other things to participate in society. But language, especially local dialect can hinder women's empowerment. A language is typically written as well as spoken, while a dialect is only spoken before it is usually promoted for political purposes to elite status. The term dialect refers to a variety of languages that are typical of a specific community of speakers of the language.

In the paper, we mainly focus on how the language and dialect hinder the work of artisans (mainly woman artisans) of *Kumartuli*, a famous potter's quarter in

Kolkata. Since the place of potters is patriarchal, there are many problems for female artists, one of which is language. The potters of *Kumartuli* have their own language of communication, which is described in the paper. The paper also highlights the difficulties women artisans face in running the business as they do not have any traditional education in this profession, no one is highly educated or came to this business due to the dire needs of the family. There are many problems in selling their idols especially for not knowing any language other than Bengali. Thus, when someone from another state or abroad is coming/requisition to buy idols, they face problems selling and promoting the product, which affects globalization and the marketization of this industry. Advance technology (e-commerce, cloud computing) helps promote products worldwide, but most artisans are not familiar with modern technology or require inter mediators that increase business costs.

Keywords: Empowerment; Bengali dialect; *Kumartuli* woman artisan; Advance technology; Globalization.

Introduction

Empowerment is a structure shared by many fields and arenas, including community growth, psychology, education, economics, and social movement and organizational studies. The significance of the term empowerment is often assumed rather than explained or defined in recent empowerment literature. Rappaport (1984) noted that empowerment by its absence is easy to define but difficult to define in action as it takes on different forms in different individuals and contexts (Rappaport 1984, 3, 1–7). Zimmerman (1984) has claimed that attempts to accomplish it formulaic or prescription-like may be made by asserting a single meaning of empowerment, contradicting the very idea of empowerment (Zimmerman 1984). Interpretation of empowerment specifically within projects and services depends on individual people and context involved, according to Bailey (1992). However, as of general concept, empowerment is a multi-dimensional social mechanism that helps people gain control over their own lives. It is a mechanism that fosters power (i.e. the capacity to implement) in individuals, by acting on issues that define as

essential, for use in their own lives, societies (Bailey 1992).

The process of empowering women is women's empowerment. Women's empowerment means embracing and inviting individuals (women) who are outside of the decision-making process into it. For the overall development of a nation, women's empowerment is the most critical point to be noted. It is a long-term and revolutionary protest against sex and gender-based discrimination. Empowering women refers to educating women and helping them to establish their own identities. Women are forced to mold themselves in our patriarchal society. They are not permitted to have an individual opinion or an independent identity. Empowering women means empowering them to be autonomous financially, culturally, and socially (Evans 1989). A woman must have the right to do what she loves and grow into a fully functional person. It is important to nurture and recognize her uniqueness. The empowerment of women has led millions of women around the world to follow their dreams. With strong determination, respect, and confidence, they are continuously moving forward in life.

However, we must remember that despite the efforts being made to uplift women, most of them still struggle under patriarchy and suppression. In countries like India, domestic violence is extremely common. Society has always attempted to limit woman's independence because it is afraid of strong and independent women (Kreisberg 1992). We need to identify and strive to eradicate the inherent sexism in our culture. For instance, we need to teach both girls and boys to value each other. Women fall victim to atrocities because men believe they have the birthright to claim their power and authority over women (Griscom 1992).

Language is one of the primary sources of a person's ethnic identity. For now, the Indian constitution accepts 22 official Indian languages. But, almost every one of these 22 languages has various dialects or language variants. Most of the primary Indian languages have various dialects and variants, often very different from each other. There are over ten variants in Hindi. The Hindi spoken in Rajasthan differs from the Hindi spoken in Himachal Pradesh or Bihar. Sometimes with their literature, the distinct variants of a language are known as separate languages. *Maithali* is one of the dialects of Hindi spoken in

eastern India and many speakers of *Maithali* consider their language as a separate language from Hindi. *Rajasthani* is also often considered a separate language from Rajasthan and not Hindi. But, in truth, *Rajasthani* is just not one language, but numerous tribal languages spoken by the people of Rajasthan, and they all call their languages after their region's name. *Konkani*, spoken in Goa, and called as such because of the Konkan coast, is another language named after its location. The central government officially recognizes 18 languages, but various mother tongues are included in each language. There are over 200 different mother tongues reported in the Indian census (Aharon 1999). Despite the numerous languages and dialects, most speakers of official languages have formed a language-speaking pattern that has become the accepted style of speech for that language.

The language, the dialect, is an obstacle to the work of the artisans (mainly female artisans) of *Kumartuli*, the famous potter's community in Kolkata. Since the place of potters is patriarchal, there are several challenges for women artists, one of which is the problem of language. Modern technology helps women artisans to sell goods around the world, but new technology is not common to most artisans.

The organization of the rest of article is structured as follows: objectives are described in Section II. Section III described methodology where as the conclusion appeared in section IV.

Objective

The objective of the paper is summarized below:

- In the paper, we focus primarily on how the language dialect, hampers the work of *Kumartuli* artisans. There are many problems for women artists, one of which is the problem of language. The potters of *Kumartuli* have their own language of interaction, which the paper explains.

- The paper also highlights the problems women artisans face in running the business because they do not have any traditional education for this industry, no one is highly educated or they come to this business because of the dire needs of

the family. There are many challenges selling the artifacts, especially because of not understanding any language other than Bengali.

- Woman artisans face the challenge of selling, promoting the product that affects globalization, and marketing of business.
- The paper also focuses on how advanced technology allows worldwide to promote products, but most artisans are unaware of modern technology.

The next section discusses the details of methodology.

Methodology

In this section, we have discussed the area of study and different observations in detail.

1. *Area of study*

In the paper, we mainly focus on artisans (mainly woman artisans) of *Kumartuli*, a place of famous potter's quarter in northern Kolkata. The city is renowned for its sculpting prowess, which creates clay idols for different festivals and exports them regularly. The workshops of *Kumartuli* are clustered around Banamali Sarkar Street and run by families for generations who have been in idol making and pottery for last few decades. They recruit extra hands from across Bengal during the *Puja* season because it is a grand affair to make the idols of Goddess *Durga*. This industry, which is also spread in various parts of the city and the state of West Bengal, continues to be an area almost entirely dominated by men.

2. Observations and Discussion

In the entire period of our fieldwork, we saw on average, about two-three visitors in a week, roaming about in the lanes of Kumartuli, some Indians and mostly people of foreign origin who are either interviewing or capturing the area through the lenses of the camera. In this section we will discuss the following aspect briefly:

(i) How dialect creates empowerment problems for Kumartuli's woman artisans.

(ii) How potters of Kumartuli communicate in their own language when they are engaged in their work.

(iii) How women artesian works despite a lot of difficulties.

(iv) How advanced technology help to promote business worldwide.

- ***Bengali language dialect***: *Bangali* is a Bengali language dialect cluster that is spoken in parts of Bangladesh and includes most of the varieties in the country's eastern subgroup of Bengali-Assamese languages spoken by Bengalis classified by Sukumar Sen (Sukumar Sen 1993). It was further divided into "*Vanga* Dialects" and "Western and S. W. *Vanga*". Suniti Kumar Chatterji identifying the cluster as "Eastern and S.E. Vanga". *Sylheti* and *Chittagonian* dialects (some considered independent languages) are part of the *Vanga* group, while the Western and S. W. *Vanga*are in Bangladesh and the Indian state of Tripura. S.W. *Vanga* community is spoken throughout the Mymensingh, Dhaka, Comilla, Barisal and Khulna Divisions (excluding the Satkhira district) (Suniti Kumar Chatterji 1926).

- ***Women artisans and empowerment:*** Women, born or married into potters/artisans' families, are not encouraged to enter the trade. In some families, girls and young women are discouraged from becoming idol makers only because they are women. So, at most, dozen women in *Kumartuli* who have broken all the obstacles to become idol makers and through bravery, conviction, and dedication have also flourished in the business. Three or four of these, fewer than a dozen women artisans, have gained popularity through the media, while the majority remains invisible to the rest of the world. The media highlight has only started since 2011, but some of them have been crafting beautiful idols of the Mother Goddess and her kin for about two decades. The male artisans employ additional hands from across Bengal during the *Puja* season, since making the idols of Goddess *Durga* is a great affair. The three women to have broken the male monopoly among *Kumartuli* idol makers may be considered to be Mala Pal, China Pal and Kakoli Pal. Among the few colleagues they have, they are the most influential. They had to be more hard-working than their male peers

and it took them within their fold a lot of time for their male colleagues to recognize them.

- ***Artisan's dialect***: The artists of *Kumartuli* have some languages of their own. In the month of *Poush* (পৌষ মাস) (winter season), artisans start "*banabadha*" (ব্যানা বাঁধা) in the light and darkness of the narrow road factory of *Kumartuli*. In the paper, we introduced the artist's handwork and Bengali oral language of artisans. The followings are Bengali dialect in *Kumartuli*:

- The factories (workshop) of *Kumatuli* are called *karkhana* (কারখানা), some are called studios (স্টুডিয়ো) and some are called *Atur* (আঁতুড়).
- The idol is called *Thakur* (ঠাকুর) and those whose idols are made with *Durga*, *Ganesha*, *Lakshmi*, *Saraswati*, *Kartik* etc. are called site dolls (সাইট পুতুল). Again some *patua* (artisan) says *panchputul* (পাঁচ পুতুল).
- Side has been the site (সাইট).*Thakur* (idol) has become a doll (পুতুল). The combined form of bamboo wood straw is the structure and artists call them *katham* (কাঠাম).
- The initial formation of straw is called *flood barrier* (ব্যানা বাঁধা). The name of the straw is *bichali* (বিচালি) and the tied rope is (সুতলি) and stick made of bamboo, called a *charaie* (চেয়ারই) (Agnihotri, 2001). The name of the raw soil on which the stain is cut is *kaim soil* (কায়িম মাটি).

- ***Women artisans engagement:*** When the women artisan are busy to make the sculpture in the workshop we found some bengali dialect such as:

- The hand drill machine (হাত ড্রিল মেশিন) is called *agar* (আগর).
- The wooden frame in *Kumartuli's* artist's language is *takchar* (টাকচার). There is no counting how many English words have merged with Bengali in the language of the artist such as "*Oh, craftsmen, there will be leaks in the texture,*

give me the drill machine" ("ওহে কারিকর, টাকচার ফুটো হবে , আঁকর (আগর) টা দাঁও তো").

- *Karikor* (কারিকর), this word comes from craftsman.
- The work of muddying the soil is called Mati Channa (মাটি ছানা). The soil is also called by various names, *etel*soil is called *chit* soil (চিট মাটি), sand soil is called *bele* soil (বেলে মাটি), and a mixture of two soils is called *doash*soil (দোআঁশ মাটি). Kachan soil (কাচান মাটি) is a mixture of sand and chit soil.
- The mold (ছাঁচ) in the language of these *Kumartuli* artists is mold (ছাঁচ) or dice (ডাইস).
- Plaster of Paris (প্লাস্টার অফ প্যারিস) has become Paris plaster (প্যারিস প্লাসটা).This change in the artist's facial language is due to mixing with different people, or so to speak, with different people. This is how hybrid words mixed with English and Bengali are emerging. That is why the crown (মুকুট) of the idol is called Motuk (মটুক).Shining satin *sari* is called *shatting* (শাতিং).
- The hair of idol *Kartik* is called *crepe* hair (ক্রেপ চুল বা ঢেউ খেলানো), lion's hair is called *facho* hair or jute hair (ফেঁসো চুল বা পাট চুল).
- The evolution of the idol in various forms has been going on for the last fifty years and its various names have become popular, as a result of which the Durga of Ajanta Art (অজন্তা আর্ট), *Bangla Durga* (বাংলা দুর্গা), or Nataraja Durga (নটরাজ দুর্গা) has been mentioned. Bengali *Durga* (বাংলা দুর্গা) is of form as *ekchala* (একচালা), big drawn eyes (বড়ো টানা চোখ), *patalchera* eyes (পটল চেরা চোখ) in the language of the artist.
- Some other dialects are *chalchitra* (চালচিত্র) changes as a *chali* (চালি),*aath-Bangla* (আট বাংলা), *dakgoyna* (ডাকের গয়না), *bulen jewelry* (বুলেন গয়না).

Oral language changes over time, English words merge with Bengali language to form new words in *Kumartuli* area.

- ***Effect of Globalization:*** The Information and Communication Technology Revolution has reached in *Kumartuli* where some artisans have their own websites where they can display their works and conveniently get online orders. The success of their works plays a major role in social networking sites and media and they quickly hit the world stage that attracts lots of international tourists. Lots of foreign tourists came to get the look of *Kumartuli* almost every day and buy small clay works occasionally, and it is becoming part of the tourism industry. Thus *Kumartuli's* artists are a very small part of the global economic market (Sudeshna Banerjee 2006). The livelihood of artists is not of interest to the younger generation, and instead they are heading to different kinds of other smart jobs where they can earn more. Since raw materials are very expensive with the opening up of economy and for big tax reforms such as GST and others. But under the pressure of globalization, artisans are still their traditional sector. In order to export further exploration of this sector to the international market, the government and NGO should take big initiatives. The performers can earn more from them, or they can get some international work.

- ***Advanced technology and business promotion***: Nowadays, e-selling of idols is doing business via the worldwide network. Earlier, businesses of artisans are performing personally or contact through relatives or intermediaries. But through the website now, artisans easily market their goods to customers settled abroad by just logging into the website, seeing the catalogue posted there, and via e-mail. The deliveries of items are placed of buyer's choice. Thus the middleman is replaced when customers directly approach them. This makes artisans more autonomous and provides them with a stronger margin. With the Bengali community residing in various parts of the world, including the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and South-East Asia, local craftsmen leave no stone unturned on the Internet for cash. The cyber world has been helping to develop new markets for them.

- Ecommerce offers business a whole range of opportunities, from marketing opportunities to increasing products ranges to generating more sales and

with an optimized and well developed website. Artisans can achieve goals through convenient service; provide customers with user-friendly tools that will enliven the shopping experience, operate 24/7, expand global reach, keep more profits and finally maximize the marketing.

- Businesses using cloud computing to access information anywhere with any compatible device. Rather than storing information on computer or server, cloud computing stores data on the internet.

Conclusion

The Bengali dialect of *Kumatuli* artisans is discussed in the article, highlighting the problems women artisans face during business due to the Bengali dialect, the difficulties face due to globalization, and the effects of new technologies technology on artisans' e-business. Finally, we concluded on the basis of the survey and study that there is a scarcity of supporting services, government policies and development/renewal programs carried out for the *Kumartuli* artisans.

References:

Agnihotri, Anita. 2001. *Kolikatar Protima Silpira*. Kolkata: Ananda Publishers Pvt. Ltd.

Aharon, Daniel. 1999. "Languages and Dialects of India." Languages and Dialects of India. 1999. https://adaniel.tripod.com › Languages1.

Bailey, Darlyne. 1992. "Using Participatory Research in Community Consortia Development and Evaluation: Lessons from the Beginning of a Story." *The American Sociologist* 23 (4): 71–82. https://doi.org/10.1007/bf02691932.

Evans, Estella Norwood. 1989. "Book Reviews: Women and the Politics of Empowerment. Edited By Ann Bookman and Sandra Morgan. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988, 321 Pp., $14.95, Paperback." *Affilia* 4 (3): 109–11. https://doi.org/10.1177/088610998900400324.

Griscom, Joan L. 1992. "Women, Men, and Power." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 16 (3): 369–71. https://doi.org/10.1177/036168439201600302.

Kreisberg, Seth. 1992. *Transforming Power: Domination, Empowerment, and Education*. Albany (Ny): State University of New York Press.

Rappaport, J. 1984. *Studies in Empowerment: Introduction to the Issue. Prevention in Human Services*.

Sudeshna Banerjee. 2006. *Durga Puja: Celebrating the Goddess, Then and Now*. New Delhi: Rupa & Co.

Sukumar Sen. 1993. *Bhāshāŕa Itibr̥tta*. Kalakāt̄ā: Ānanda Pāb̄aliśārsa.

Suniti Kumar Chatterji. 1926. *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language.* Calcutta.

Zimmerman, Marc A. 1990. "Taking Aim on Empowerment Research: On the Distinction between Individual and Psychological Conceptions." *American Journal of Community Psychology* 18 (1): 169–77. https://doi.org/10.1007/bf00922695.

Bio Profile of the Authors:

***^**Research scholar of Department Palli Charcha Kendra, Visva-Bharati University, West Bengal, Bolpur, Santiniketan, India. She passed out Master of Philosophy (MPHIL) from University of Calcutta, West Bengal and M.A (Political Science) from Rabindra Bharti University, West Bengal, India on 2007 and 2010 respectively. She is associated as a lecturer in Vidyasagar college, University of Calcutta from 2009. Her research interest in Women Empowerment, Public Administration, Livelihood of Kumartuli Artisans

^PhD. Department of Palli Charcha Kendra, Visva-Bharati University, West Bengal, Bolpur, Santiniketan

[+]Department of Computer Science, Ananda Mohan College, University of Calcutta, West Bengal

Email: sayantanimallick1984@gmail.com

Women and hegemony of language: A case study of 21st century Bollywood action films promoting rape culture

Dishari Sarkar

Abstract

Language as a system and has the power to produce discursive knowledge leading to the formation of cultural identity of human beings. Systemic oppression of women and male domination in different fields has been the core subject to the critical thinking of feminist studies. Understanding the social structure of gender calls for thorough analysis of how a woman perceives her sexuality from within a socio-cultural establishment. Language is the primary and dominant medium of interaction in the communicative process of human beings in a society. Sexuation of discourse within patriarchal structure tends to eliminate women and their accounts as the source of empirical knowledge. Thus, it is felt that the signification of language system should be taken under the purview of feminist critique. Language being predominantly male centric, encodes the patriarchal notions of the society and culture and reproduces it through its use sup lifting only male perspectives. The linguistic representation

of women in a framework of sexist discourse should be held accountable for projecting women sexuality through the male gaze, eliminating and making the first-hand experiences of women invisible as the source. This can be identified as the hegemonic role of language which appears to be universally valid even after speaking from and for one dimension.

In order to understand the power dynamics and dialectics of gender through language, proper analysis of the popular culture being produced and created by Bollywood films can be really effective to have a clear perspective to challenge the basic foundation of the androcentric language. Bollywood action movies are famous for the heroic portrayal of the leading male actors. The communicative factor of the films as a popular culture often promotes rape culture leaving a significant audience affected among the viewers. The linguistic discrimination and the normalization of slut shaming, women objectification including different myths related to women sexuality are often perpetrated by the contents of the films. A study of those films and analysis of the linguistic representation would provide the insight of a woman's place in the linguistic hegemony that contributes to rape culture.

Keywords: *Sexist discourse, Interaction, communicative process, empirical knowledge, signification of language system, and rocentric language, hegemony, gender dialectics, popular culture, linguistic representation, rape culture.*

Introduction

Language as a socio-cultural structure produces meaning that leads to the idealization and formation of concept with intentions and extensions contributing to the fundamental construction of truth. What if the reality of the truth or the concept of the reality is exclusive for the voice of the subaltern and is one dimensional and sexed? The rise of second wave feminism started questioning the discursive praxis of linguistic system. Language as a system does represent power structure. Feminists argue that linguistic discourse has become the domain for the partial sexed historical norms and certain forms of powers silencing the voice of women by dehumanizing them. Thus, hammering the very systemic linguistic discrimination by questioning and analyzing the

sexist nature of it will broaden the path of feminist discourse of liberation. The feminist critique of language not only examines the dominant conditions of it, but also analyses the theoretical and structural formation of it. The inclusion of the feminist perspective shall unearth the sexist, oppressive, and discriminatory nature of language as a sub system of culture also. The politics of language as a male dominated system eliminates women from their own experiences affecting their identities and social status.

The hegemony of linguistic domination after the introduction of mass media has posed critical and different challenges in understanding and locating the subtle forms of oppressions and discriminations. The communication technology is not only pervasive but has become a potential tool for hegemonic domination. The Gramscian theory of hegemony helps describe how ideological hegemony works. It is not only about producing social power but also maintaining it. Working through the organic intellectuals it manufactures consent through persuasion. With the help of mass media, it has become very easy to introduce patriarchal elements to individual conscience and consciousness and establishing patriarchal values as norm even normalizing rape culture. The capitalist hijacking of cinema as a commercial money-making medium, called movie instead of being a tool of resistance has resulted in producing patriarchal, oppressive ideas in the name of entertainment even promoting rape culture. The 21st century actions movies such as Rowdy Rathore, R. Rajkumar, Dabang are few to name that are the highest grossing films in India. The language used in these films as dialogues and lyrics for the subsequent item songs are to be considered as the ideal example of sexist language, sexist metaphors and objectification. The paper aims to examine how (the male dominated linguistic hegemony) language as a male dominant system dehumanizes women destroying their identity with the help of ideological reproduction through popular culture.

Understanding the system of language: Feminist perspective on linguistic theory

Language as a system of signification controls the communicative order and process in the societal plane. According to Roland Barthes, it can be stated that

language is a social institution as well as a system of values. It is dominated by the sets of values; values that stem from the collective empirical knowledge. The structuralist approach to define the system of language has started its journey with the theoretical formulation of Ferdinand de Saussure. Linguistics can be defined as the scientific study of language and semiology as a part can be described as the science of signs and signification. The study of language has shown that language is indeed related to psychology as being part of mind and a human culture shaper as it comes from the socio-cultural structure. Thus, it carries the elements of culture and social norms in it. The structural linguistic analysis of language deals with different elements such as langue and parole.

Langue: The linguistic dichotomist distinction by Ferdinand de Saussure gave the birth of two elements, these are langue and parole. According to Deborah Cameron, "*Langue* is the abstract system of relations which make individual behaviour possible. It is a 'social contract' rather than the property of any one speaker and it is the linguist's primary object of interest."
Langue is the basic understanding of what language is as a collective contract of understanding or knowledge. It is the basic construction that includes the syntax, grammar etc.
Parole: Parole or Speech is very much individual. It might be understood as an actualization of an individual concept of a speech. The langue and speech dialectics work comprehensively complementing each other in a reciprocal way.
Both Saussure and sociologist Emile Durkheim described language as a social process. Also language as a part of communication construct meanings. Saussure as a father of structuralism viewed language as tool of mind, society, culture and pedagogy. However, beyond that Saussure related language to the sign system of semiology to understand the socio-psychological aspect of it.
The system of sign: sign is something that has the power to construct meaning. The scientific analysis of the system of signs is called semiology. It is semiology that first analyzed the anatomical structure of a sign bearing a meaning. Sign consists of two elements that are **signifier** and **signified** (Barthes, 1967)**.**

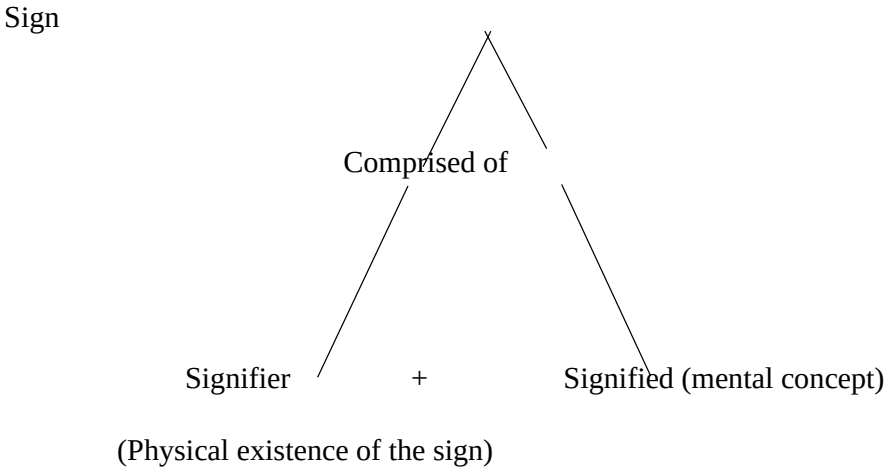


Fig 1: Saussure's model of meaning

(Source: Chattopadhyay, A. 2010)

Signifier is the material form of what sign suggests and signified is the mental concept of it. For instance, when we say 'bird', in our mind a two-winged creature that can fly comes to our mind because the two-winged object is named or identified as bird in English to distinguish it from different flying objects. The instance signifies that the sign refers to the object that is linguistically interpreted in our mind.

When signs bear or carry meaning they also carry inherently attached social value or principle or stigma attached to it because of its nature being historically discursive from a one perspective. Lacanian psychoanalysis theory of language puts a special emphasis on the object and sign relationship and how unconsciously the sign system works. Without the system of sign and language the object remains unidentified. Here comes the problem of identification of femininity in the social structure of patriarchy where meaning is constructed with preconceived notions. A child develops his identity or develops its conscious with language. Thus, the role of language in performativity and subjectivity of woman calls for reintroduction of feminist critical theory of reproduction of meaning and sign system. For instance, the portrayal of half-

naked woman body as a secondary object to male desire in some deodorant or perfume advertisement, automatically signifies the women as a sex object to men degrading her dignity and status as a human being. That is why feminist revisiting of the linguistic and language theories showcases the sex differences and how sexism derives inevitably from sexist form of signification process of language (Cixous, Cohen and Cohen, 1976).

Language, male dominance, and the idea of linguistic Hegemony

It is crystal clear that the discursive knowledge production through different subjects like literature, religious scripts, history etc. is highly affected by the prevalent male domination over these genres. The political economy behind the hold of power also to be taken under consideration of the class studies by feminist discourse. From different content analysis and theorization of different case studies, the establishment of the fact that male dominance does prevail has been done. However there still lies a question of how the male dominance does prevail? In order to find the answer of how or understand how the whole system of dominance work, the ideological inclusion of the idea of 'hegemony' can do the justice. Italian Marxist theorist Antonio Gramsci coined the term 'hegemony' to analyze the inclusion of materialist theory to the very realm of ideology by hijacking the idea-producing social institutions during the rise of fascist government in Italy. The Marxist base and super structure formulation helped to understand the power structure of the then Italy's political regime.

Hegemony is an ideological tool not only to understand the nation state matter or the social pattern of power structure but also how one particular in authority or position gains and maintains it (Lull, 2003). Hegemony works through persuasion, consent and moral leadership. Patriarchy as male dominant gender and class gains and maintains power through producing and reproducing the ideas of patriarchy as moral and standard norm. The proliferation of media industry and mass society has added a new arena of hegemony that is definitive towards the production and reproduction of culture and shaping public opinion in an electoral space. The domination of cultural agents and representatives of patriarchal ideology should be viewed as a hegemonic domination of a particular gender class over another gender that is women. Language plays a

significant role in mediation of patriarchal values as the political economy of the media industry is controlled by male domination where the silencing process of the voice of woman is being done prominently.

Language is a tool or medium through which human interaction takes place. In human society the communication process consists of message as one of its elements among the others. The message actually carries a meaning in it encoded by the sender. Now the whole signification process takes place without taking women's account in it as a truth. The language of the mediated contents of the media or culture industry is sexist and cause signification of false consciousness among public. The mythification of sexuality and identities has been the matter of subjugation of the patriarchal dominant paradigm. For instance, the sexual objectification and dehumanization of women in television advertisements, is violation of sexual consent culture demolishing women conscience. Promoting stereotype gender roles through glorification of women as mother, daughter, sister and mother of nation confines identity of women in the limit of being inferior to men. The signification process of signs and codes encoded in languages and linguistics enables the linguistic hegemony and male dominance in culture and society.

Language, Culture, and Sexuality

It is apparent from the above discussion on hegemonic systemic operation of language as a sexist male dominant system, that representational linguistic codes should be examined. Calling it sexist showcases its tendency to promote one and only sex as a norm and powerful. The media industry and the mass culture work as an agent of the systemic oppression. Cultural aspect of defining sexuality is an important domain that needs to be analyzed. Language as a cultural system for constructing sexuality and cultural identity of women is equally problematic in the given configuration of language-culture relationship and socio-political structure (Cameron, 1992).

Defining culture: towards the relationship of language and culture: The word culture is very complex to be defined. Many cultural theorists have tried to understand what culture is or what defines culture? One subsequent solution to understand culture is to go by its structural pattern of development. According

to Abir Chattopadhyay (2010), "culture is a psychological figuration or pattern that involves tradition [comprising of some overriding proclaimed texts coverting plenty of common narrative], social beliefs [an empowered fall out of ethno-religious and political grand narratives], individual identity, and own territorial feeling [often merged into ethno-religiocity]." As observed by Raymond Williams culture is defined as an inner process of development including social norms, transformations, and human psychology. However, it is to be noted that in the context of political and social frames grand narrative or dominant narrative can be perceived as culture. The binary distinctions of culture divide it between popular culture and mass culture. It is not to be misunderstood that the domination of popular culture over others often overlooks the class struggle and identity crisis.

The formation of ideas happens through language in human beings. They can think and practice intra-personal communication. It is language through which culture is perceived. Sociolinguist theorists believe that culture and language are related inherently as language bears the cultural norms that forms the very idea of culture. It presumed as thinking where the social beliefs, imagination, social values and culture exist. Thinking is related to language as the meaning is coded in language. Theorists believe that there are two definitive theories that prominently establish the relationship between culture and language. The first one is coordinative relation where it is believed that language is a part of cultural system. The other theory is of subordinate relations, which explains that cultural change leads to change in language.

1. In order to understand the inter-relationship of culture, language and sexuality, the understanding of sexuality is important. The definition of sex and gender and sexuality differ from each other as sex is biological, gender is social construct, and sexuality is sexual preference and behaviour also a socio-cultural construct. Clearly the use of language in popular culture does have a part in creating sexuality, and sexual behaviour as language has the power to produce semiotically encoded meanings that can culturally influence or construct certain meaningful behaviour. Language represents sex and sexuality (Lakoff, 1973). Women sexuality is always restricted by socio-cultural norms, mass-media portrayals and religious influences. For instance, with the lack of sex education,

India still has no place for women orgasm. Discourses are not based on firsthand experiences. Male assumptions have always been engaged when it comes to acquire what women sexuality is, since women are not even allowed to talk about it. The subjectivity of women agency is very much lost in case of women sexuality. Linguistic formation or subject-verb-object order of grammar in language has been dominated by male narrative. For instance, man proposes to woman, man fucks a woman, man thinks NO means yes etc. the sentences show different domination and violation of women sexuality that are being communicated through language. These are the specific instances of popular language use in popular culture and society contextualizing the need of feminist critique of grammatical use in language. Gender role and sexual roles are being determined by the linguistic patterns also determining women sexuality. The widespread ignorance of female physiology, sexuality, and desire has put women sexuality in crisis. Different communities with different socio-cultural conditions including myths, stigmas related to women sexuality have long violated the rights of women over pleasure, sexual health, and sexual equality. These conditions will be fulfilled if a woman can enjoy her right to experience and identify her own sexuality outside these linguistic oppressions.

Beyond rape: 21st century Bollywood action films as popular culture and linguistic discrimination of women causing the rise of rape culture

The rise of Bollywood as a culture industry producing popular culture has been very prominent and successful in India as it is now competing with the growth of Hollywood. With the beginning of twentieth century Frankfurt school scholars Theodore Adorno and Max Horkheimer came up with the idea addressing the capitalist mode of production of culture (Adorno and Horkheimer 2007). They emphasized on the mass production by the profit making, technologically advanced western capitalists camouflaging the ethics of a culture and jeopardizing the very idea of good and bad. They commercialize stereotypical cultural representation of normative ideologies. Indian Hindi films have always been a feel-good factor to the dominant class. Bollywood as a culture industry producing popular culture had been doing damage to the commitment of eradication of oppression. Popular culture signifies mainstream

dominant ideas as normative and establishes it with culture production. Needless to mention that minorities, with other different identities are the worst sufferer as this capitalist dominance goes on.

Linguistic discrimination in popular culture gives birth to the systemic oppression often known as rape culture. This is done by using certain metaphors, rhetoric, symbols and sentence constructions that bear the derogatory meaning toward women. In this case 21st century Bollywood action films can be taken into account. The rise of the celebrity driven heroic culture is a real example of toxic masculinity. Bollywood famous action films such as *R…Rajkumar*, *Rowdy Rathore*, *Daabang*, have dialogues and songs that project rape culture and misogyny at its best. For instance, in the film *R…Rajkumar* there is a song containing the lines that say: "*biri peeke nukkad pe wait tera kia re, khali peeli athara cup chai bhi to piyare…. Abcd parli bohut…. Ab karunga tere sath gaandi baat*" (I have smoked enough *bidi*, waited for long, have had 18 cups tea, now it is enough, I will do the dirty thing with you). The hero here is tired of waiting for a woman to say yes that he just can't wait to apply his force on her. The above-mentioned sentence nowhere shows the respect for consent of women. The film is one of the highest grossing films in India. It needs no mention that mass media or popular culture influences sexual behaviour. In the film Daabang, the song suggests, " *Munni badnaam hui darling tere liye, munni keg aal gulabi nyaain sharabi, chaal nawabi re, le jhandu bum hui darling tere liye*" which means "Munni has become a slut for you. Munni has soft cheeks, naughty eyes,… Munni's turn into a *jhandu bum* (painkiller) for you." Sadly, it had been the most famous song of its time. This is what the rape culture looks like. The male gaze, objectification of women body, the idea of 'she's asking for it' have been idealized and normalized via popular culture. This culture negates sexual consent communication between men and women. It has been observed that women are always on the part of bearing the meaning that is created by men. According to Laura Mulvey, "The cinema satisfies a primordial wish for pleasurable looking, but it also goes further, developing scopophilia in its narcissistic aspect. The conventions of mainstream film focus attention on the human form" (Mulvey 1989). Linguistic discrimination and rape culture are the significant result of the domination of popular culture where equality is being

destroyed and a form of social structure is developing where subjugation of women is the only result.

Rape culture is something that stems out from the micro-aggression shown in films and the complete ignorance of consent in the film dialogues. These kinds of movies sexually objectify women and women sexuality. The signs of pleasure are linguistically represented through male perspective. Women have to reclaim the system of language and its codification to liberate themselves.

Conclusion

The feminist reading of language in popular culture is way more than important as feminism can only make a resistance. The support to rise of the politics of resistance would help to resist and somehow change the order. Women should be given the agency to speak, to narrate. Reclaiming language is reclaiming the power over the social production and reproduction of meaning construction. Sexuality is a term that denotes the sexual behaviour that has different colour. Molding it into one frame of analysis or discourse is discriminatory. The politics of female body and sexuality, and the communicative process of language have the signification of sign in common. The feminist analysis of uncovering sexist linguistic forms producing socio-cultural meaning will be fruitful in the field of language and sexuality research. Language that confines identity and sexual subjectivity should be reconsidered in discourses.

Strong arguments should be developed against the cinematic repression of women through discriminatory languages. Linguistic reform through introduction of non-sexist grammar, nouns, and pronouns and employment of better linguistic construction addressing sexes and sexualities will resist the hegemony of male dominated language creating a place for women.

References

Adorno, T., & Horkheimer, M. 2007. The culture industry: Enlightenment as mass deception. *Stardom and celebrity: A reader*, *34*.

Barthes, R. 1967. Elements of semiology (A. Lavers & C. Smith, Trans.). *New York: Hill and Wang*.

Cameron, D. 1992. *Feminism and linguistic theory*. Springer.

Cameron, D. (Ed.). 1998. *The feminist critique of language: A reader*. London: Routledge.

Cameron, D., & Kulick, D. 2003. *Language and sexuality*. Cambridge University Press.

Chattopadhyay, A. 2010. *Communication media and Cultural Studies: Beyond Development.*

Cixous, H., Cohen, K., & Cohen, P. 1976. The laugh of the Medusa. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, *1*(4), 875-893.

Hall, S. 2016. *Cultural studies 1983: A theoretical history*. Duke University Press.

Irigaray, L., & Carlston, E. G. 1989. The language of man. *Cultural Critique*, (13), 191-202.

Lakoff, R. 1973. Language and woman's place. *Language in society*, *2*(1), 45-79.

Lull, J. 2003. Hegemony. *Gender, race and class in media: A text reader*, 61-66.

Mulvey, L. 1989. Visual pleasure and narrative cinema. In *Visual and other pleasures*. Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Suarez, D. 2002. The paradox of linguistic hegemony and the maintenance of Spanish as a heritage language in the United States. *Journal of Multilingual and multicultural Development*.

Bio-Profile of the Author:

M.A., Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Calcutta.
Email: disharisarkar20@gmail.com

Gender, Dialect and Society in Japan

Purabi Gangopadhyay

Abstract

In this paper I attempt to discuss about various linguistic pattern that are gender specified for the speaker among the Japanese nationals. -This gender specified language pattern in Japanese Society have had their variations in different historical periods and also in the system of social hirerarchy. -The gender specified language in Japanese society might start on and from the Heian Period (C. 794 to 1185 A.D.).- During the Kamakura Period (C.1185-1333 A.D.), along with the classification of different social castes, based on social ranks, women's social roles were also ascertained by gender specified pattern.-"Court Ladies Language" was introduced during the Muromachi period (C. 1333- 1573 A.D.) and it made women's speech distinctive from the men's language and henceforth started a new dimension of women dialect in Japan.- A radical change of Japanese Society after the Meiji Restoration and then after World War II, the pattern of women dialect also took a new dimension. -In modern times there is little difference between men's and women's speech in the work situation and public speaking. -In personal conversation, however, there are some differences. In polite conversation, women, especially older women tend to speak more politely and use some feminine sentence endings.

Keywords: *Language and society, Gender specified linguistic pattern in Japan, Women's status in Japanese society, Present scenario in Japan and women's dialect.*

Introduction

Language plays a vital role in our life as a powerful weapon to express human feelings. Language is not just the vocabularies. But it controls the reciprocal relations and social customs too. The usage of language varies from country to country depending on cultural hierarchy. Study of language and linguistic pattern gives an idea about the social perspective of a country and also of that community.

In this paper I attempt to discuss about various linguistic pattern that are gender specified of the speaker among the Japanese nationals.

Women and Japanese Society

At the outset, I try to give an overall impression about traditional women's status in Japanese Society. Though Japan was predominantly a male dominated society, but Japanese history provides remarkable changes in the status of women. The changes occurred according to the varied socio-economic and political trends of the country from era to era.

Ancient Japanese Literature, the *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki* mentioned *Amaterasu Omikami* or the Sun Goddess as the head of the divine imperial lineage that continues till today. Since late *Nara* or *Tempyo* period, i.e. 8th century A.D. to 11th century A.D. the women-centred marriage pattern known as *MUKOIRIKON* contributed commendable position for the women in the society, politics and religion. In this system the groom was known as *MUKOYOSHI* or an adopted son-in-law who moves to his wife's family and assumes the surname of father-in-law's family. This system was prevalent among the court aristocrats as well as in the other levels of the society. It continued for a long time. Later, the upper class, especially the warriors adopted the system of sending the bride to join her husband's family. But this system of adopting son-in-law is still popular mainly among framers' family where there is no male offspring and among a few communities of traditional labourers, such as fishermen.

In the 7th - 8th Centuries AD Japanese women also held prominent position in the politics. It was acceptable for a woman to rule the country as '*TENNO'*, i.e. the

emperor and there were at least six powerful and prominent women *Tenno.* But surprisingly, after the shifting of the Imperial Capital to *Heiankyo* (modern *Kyoto*) from *Nara* in 794 i.e. in the *Heian* period, women *TENNO* (emperor/empress) did not appear in the political history of Japan.

Besides playing important role in the Society & Politics women also enjoyed a prominent role in the religious field especially in the SHAMANISTIC practices. Like many other countries of the world, in Japan also women's procreative power was regarded as sacred and the women held a very important position in the agricultural rites especially in rice planting. The importance of Japanese women in the religion is also manifested in the designation of *AMATERASU OOMIKAMI* (sun-goddess) who "is thought to have evolved from the concept of a shamaness mediating between humanity and supernatural beings." Therefore ancient literature of Japan bears testimony to the fact that, ancient Japanese Society was matrilineal. However, with the passage of time, the position of women changed and a rigid patriarchy seeped into the society till beginning of the Meiji era.

But why and how the position of women had changed so much? Different views are there regarding the change of Japanese Society from women-centred one to the patriarchal form. One of the most popular views is that, like any other ancient civilization of the world the introduction of agriculture might be the sole reason. But in Japan agriculture introduced in the Yayoi period (i.e. from 300 B.C. to 300 A.D.) with the development of wet-rice cultivation culture. After that also the women held significant position till the 7th - 8th century A.D. Most acceptable view is that, in 6th-7th Century A.D. Japan accepted the Buddhism and Confucianism. The acceptance of Confucian and Buddhist views on women's' inferiority considered to be the pivotal for the change into a patriarchal form of the Society in Japan. The introduction of the system of political marriage and sending hostages to the Imperial Court by the local chieftains for maintaining cordial relation with the Emperor after 794 A.D., affected the lives of many women of the royal and high-ranking families of Japan.

Moreover, the land distribution system by the Japanese Government after Taika Reform in 794 A.D. deprived women to own the equal limit of land holdings like their male counterpart. After the Taika Reform women used to enjoy half quantity of land than that of her male counterpart. But the situation became more difficult from 12th century onwards when the system was changed a lot

and the women lost all rights of land holding. Naturally, women had to depend on their male relatives for their livelihood.

But in spite of all these social degradation many women especially court-ladies and women of upper class of the society were often highly literate and enjoyed social and political power. *MURASAKI NO SHIKIBU,* a noble lady wrote first novel of Japanese literature in around 1010 A.D. Later also many ladies devoted their times in the literary works and many of them were very famous litterateur of Japanese Literature.

Again during the Edo period (1603 to 1867 A.D.) the position of women in Japan had remarkable changes. In the Edo period the strictures, considered to be proper for women were outlined. It stressed on the women's obedience on parents before marriage and to her husband & sons in later days. It also stated that a woman could be easily divorced for any of her misconduct or disobedience. Women adultery was punished by death. But the novel or other literary works said that the day-to-day reality of women's domestic lives might not usually have been that much harsh, as prescribed by the strictures.

After the Meiji Civil Code was promulgated in 1898 the traditional family law and ideology was established. In this Code, the idea of *RYOSAI KEMBO* , i.e. the ladies should 'only be the good wives and wise mothers' became very prominent in the Society. Even when the government introduced the institutional education for women through *TERAKOYA* schools based its education policy on the principal that the girls should be educated as homemakers. That principal continued for a long time. In 1899 the Higher Girls' School Order or the *KOTO JOGAKKOO REI* stipulated that there should be at least one high-school for girls in each prefecture (an administrative division in Japan, which may be compared with our District) where the girls should taught only the literature and domestic science. But at the same time, some liberal ideas from the west were also campaigned and became popular.

Later the industrial revolution played significant role in the economic development of the country. During the early phase of this industrialization the trend of employing young unmarried women in the lowest-paid position on temporary or part-time basis and excluding them from management level position was started. This tradition has continued, making it difficult for the

women even in 19th-20th Centuries to take the responsibility of any management job. But article 14 of the Constitution, promulgated in 1946 states "All of the people are equal under the law and there shall be no distinction in political, economic and social relations because of race, creed, sex, social status or family origin."

Thus by and large, Japanese women have achieved legal equality with men, but the belief that men should work and women stay at home still holds sway in Japanese society. The voices for freedom of women were stronger in the late Meiji and Taisho period (1912 – 1926). From that time women no longer could take oppression and broke all obstacles and demanded freedom. It was basically the result of sentiments that had long been imbibed inside their mind.

Women Dialect in Japan

This varied social structure of Japan influenced the dialect of the common people especially of the women. Like all other language Japanese Language also has formal, polite or informal expressions, which actually varies from situation to situation or from person to person. But in Japanese Language use of *Keigo* or polite form of speech plays a significant role in the social behaviour The modernization of the country and the exchange of cultural views with the foreigners has changed the rigid pattern of polite form of expression in modern Japanese. But some aspects are still very predominant. Gender specified form is one of them. Women tend to use more polite words than men and they also add "O" to the words to make it softer. Besides this, women are allowed to use emotional expressions more freely than men. For example when a man just praises something by saying 'good (*Ii-ne*)' a woman may use 'marvelous (*suteki*)' or 'cute (kawaii)'. Some differences can also be seen in the use of interjection as well as in the difference of tone. Women's voices rise and fall within a greater range than men's when freely expressing feelings. Besides these female deserve to be moresofter and much polite in selecting their words.

In general, the differences in gender specified speech can broadly be classified into two aspects. One of those differences is based on vocabulary and other based on style. Pronouns used by women are different from that of the pronouns used by the men. The most important characteristic of a female speech

is that it is generally considered to be extremely polite and usages of formal verb ending or usage of hedges to express unassertive and inconclusive form of their speech is very natural. In terms of style in Japanese Language, the use of Sentence Final Particle denotes the mood and feelings of the speaker concerned. With this also speaker can add tone or emotions to the words. This Sentence Final Particles are also quite different for the women and the men.

This gender specified language in Japanese society might start on and from the *Heian* Period (C. 794 to 1185 A.D.) which was evident from the writing of noted female writers of that period. In Japanese language there are two kinds of writing system. One of those is writing with pictorial character which was borrowed from China. That pictograph is known as *Kanji* and in the ancient days all official papers were written in that pictorial character. And ladies did not use those pictograph for any writing. They were not taught those scripts. Later, the development of phonetic alphabet system, known as *Kana* is much easier and earlier it was commonly used by the women.

The papers written in *Kanji* in the Chinese pattern of writing were known as *Kanbun*, which was regarded as the letter of elite people and ladies did not use those letters. Eminent writer Murasaki-no-Shikibu who is regarded as first Novel Writer in Japan wrote her all compositions in *Kana* or the phonetic writing system. Not only Shikibu but other woman writers of that period like Sei Shinagon preferred to use *Kana* than *Kanbun*. Moreover, according to many scholars, gendered-specified speech exhibited relatively fewer gender distinctive traits as women expressed their views vey politely.

Later, during the Kamakura Period (C.1185-1333 A.D.), Japanese society was classified into different social castes, based on social ranks. The emergence of *Shogunate* and establishment of feudalism resulted in a caste based society depending on Social rank or hierarchy. For women also social roles were ascertained and society expected from the women to have an appropriate behavior that reflected not only their social position, but also their gender.

In *Muromachi* Period (1333 – 1573 A.D.) a new form of women language was introduced in Japanese speech system. That particular system was known as "Court Ladies Language" (i.e. *nyobo no kotoba* in Japanese). Introduction of this particular pattern of speech by women and use of that particular speech pattern

by the court ladies as well as the female members of the aristocrat or elite families made women's speech distinctive from men's speech. Women used honorific language, indirect expression, prefix "O" or some particular soft suffix as expression. Between 12th century and 18th Century A.D. several books on social and moral code of conduct were written mainly for the girls who are preparing for marriage. These books on women conducts, known as *Jokun* were exclusively etiquette manual which not only advised women how they should behave in the society but also how women should talk, what they should talk and how much they should talk. One of the very famous of such books *"Niwa no oshie"*, published in 1283 taught that, women should speak ambiguously, speak as less as possible and never use rough or harsh language. It also narrates that women should be very careful in selecting the words of their talk or speech, should not express their emotion loudly and in writing they should never use pictorial character, *Kanji* or should not use Chinese style writing system or *Kanbun*.

In the Edo period as I mentioned earlier that, the strictures, considered to be proper for women were outlined. Accordingly, the language for women expression also took a new shape and dimension. During this period women were expected to talk indirectly and hesitantly along with their submissive behaviour. Even some books of conduct and encyclopaedias were published. One of those books was *Onna Chohoki*, written in 1692-1693 A.D. by *Namura Johaku* noted a detailed list of the words, which are forbidden for the ladies to use. Many books taught women of four behaviours or *shigyo* in Japanese. Among these four behaviours chapter on female language is very important.

Another radical change of Japanese Society took place during the Meiji period (1868-1912 A.D.), which influenced the manners, customs and behaviours among the Japanese Nationals also. But still the nation and society demanded proper use of the feminine speech pattern. Suddenly a new trend was introduced in Japanese Female Speech by the School Girls of Japan. In this speech they started to use short form of the verbs, which are very much informal and regarded as harsh speech by the linguists and social reformers. Initially this type of speech pattern, known as *"Jogakusei Kotoba"* or 'School Girl Speech" was regarded as vulgar and unsophisticated. Even a few litterateurs

condemned this type of speech pattern. But on the other hand, famous Novelist of Japanese literature *Natsume Soseki* was one of the first few writers who did not hesitate to use this so called vulgar or unsophisticated language in his works and which had been accepted even today as a standard speech pattern for women of all classes.

After the Meiji Restoration another flow of tremendous changes occurred in the Japanese Society after the World War II. The social changes those were initiated during the Meiji Period were actually executed after the World War II. The voice raised by the women in the late Meiji early Taisho period for the social equality irrespective of sex, social status and race was materialized after the World War II. Due to social and economic need women had to be appointed by many factories and offices. For some families women became the bread earners in place of their male members of the family, who had to join the army. This was beginning of the era from when the long awaited break down of patriarchal tradition was replaced by the new idea and legacy of modernization. Gradually the rigidity and gender specified usage of the language by the women became dormant and the age paved the way for gender neutralized languages officially.

But Japanese women like to speak in softer tone and mood than that of their male counterparts and which had became a tradition to their society since long back.

In modern times there is little difference between men's and women's speech in the work situation and public speaking. In personal conversation, however, there are some differences. In polite conversation, women, especially older women tend to speak more politely and use some feminine sentence endings.

References

Dore, Roland P. 1965. *Education in Tokugawa Japan*, New York. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Gangopadhyay , Purabi. 2006. *"Japanese Women: Mukoirikon to Modernization"*- in an Edited Volume of *"Women Across Asia-issues of Identities",* Edited by Lipi Ghosh, Ishita Mukhopadhyay, Suchandra Chakraborty, New Delhi, Gyan Publishing House.

Inoue, Kyoshi *Nihon Joosei Shi* (in Japanese), Tokyo 1954. Reprint in 1987. *"Japanese Nature Worship"* Brochure Published by Jinja Honcho, The Association of Shinto Priests, Tokyo, Japan,

Sachidanand, Unita. 2018. "*Nihon ni okeru jendaa, kotoba to bungaku*(Gender, Language and Literature in Japan, in Japanese)—in an Edited Volume of Interlinking Linguistics and Literature, Edited by Janashruti Chandra, New Delhi, Northern Book Centre.

Singh, Rupa. 2018. *"Women's Language in Modern Japanese Literary Texts"*-- in an Edited Volume of Interlinking Linguistics and Literature, Edited by Janashruti Chandra, New Delhi, Northern Book Centre.

Bio Profile of the Author:
PhD., Japanese language Faculty. Currently attached with School of Languages and Culture, Rabindra Bharati University, Kolkata
Joint General Secretary, Indo-Japan Welfare and Cultural Association, Kolkata.
Translator and Interpreter in Japanese Language.
E-mail - purabi2001@gmail.com

Notes for Contributors

We accept contributions in four categories for the Journal of Kolkata Society For Asian Studies:

- Research Articles
  The original research papers submitted for consideration should not exceed 7000 words. It includes figures, charts, tables and references and excludes the abstract, key words and the bio-note of the author/s. Papers based on scientific study, review articles written in correct English and Bangla will be considered for publication.
- Research Notes:
  Informal items of topical interest (maximum 5000 words including endnotes and bibliography).
- Reports:
  Based on any survey or field study approved by any recognised University or Authorised research organization (maximum 5000 words including endnotes and references).
- Reviews of Social Science Scholarship:
  Books, Journals and other media (maximum 800 words), are also invited for reviews in the Journal.

Style Sheet for Research Article

1. Manuscripts should be submitted in duplicate (hard copy) along with a softcopy. All correspondences regarding manuscripts should be submitted to:

   The Editor, Kolkata Society for Asian Studies.
   Postal Address: 3/25/1 R.K. Chatterjee Road, Kolkata-700042
   Phone +91 9432490361
   Email: kspublication1@gmail.com
   Copy to: ksasianstudies@gmail.com
2. Manuscripts should be typed using a word-processing program like MS.

Word with .doc/.rtf extension and also in pdf. format. Type the manuscript on one side of the paper. Leave double space between the lines, extra space between the sections and keep 1 inch (2.54 cm.) margins on all four sides of the paper.

3. Abstract should be provided before the article.
4. The number of Key Words should be up to 10.
5. The contributor's affiliations and his/her complete mailing address must be given at the end of the manuscript.
6. Endnotes should follow numerical order. Try to avoid footnotes.
7. As the journal will be mainly printed in Black, the authors are requested to make the charts, graphs and tables using Black and White combination only.
8. The references should be like:
   i. Embedded references (Phillipson 1992: 144)
   ii. Multiple references placed in alphabetical order '(Ellis 1994:10; Lenneberg 1967: 7; Pinker 1994: 54)'
   iii. Multiple references of the same author published in the same year arranged serially '(Pattanayak 2000a, 2000b)'

The detailed style of referencing follows:

a. Books:

Wirsing, G. 1972. *Indian Experiment: Key to Asia's Future.* Calcutta: Orient Longman.

Liu, J., H. A. Ross and D.P. Kelly. 2000. *The Ethnographic Eye: An Interpretative Study of Education in China*. New York : Falmer Press.

b. Articles in Edited Volumes:

Atkinson, J. M. 1987. Religions in Dialogue: The Construction of an Indonesian Minority Religion. In: R.S. Kipp and S. Rodgers (eds.), *Indonesian Religions in Transition*. pp. 171-86. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

c. Articles in Journals:

Sonntag, S. K. 1996. 'The Political Saliency of Language in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh', *Journal of Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 34 (2): 1-18.

d. Edited and Translated Volumes:

Zakaria, H. A. and H. A. Crouch (eds.). 1985. *Military-Civilian Relations in South-East Asia*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.

Becker, C. 1923. *Early History of the Catholic Missions in Northeast India (1598-1890)*, edited and translated by F. Leicht and S Karotemprel. 1989. Shillong: Vendrame.

e. Unpublished Works:

Kurasawa, A. I. 1988. 'Mobilization and Control: A Study of Social Change in Rural Java, 1942-1945.' (2 vols.)
Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Ithaca: Cornell University.

Mullins, D. 2001. 'Land reform, poverty reduction and HIV/AIDS'. Paper presented at the Southern African Regional Poverty Network conference on Land Reform and Poverty Alleviation in the Region, Pretoria, 12-14, March.

f. Primary Source Citations:

The location of the archive (the name of the town/village/city) and the country must be mentioned. Materials from personal archive should contain the name and location of the collector. If an audio/ audiovisual material is being used, the date/time and location of the recordings should be specified.

g. Website Citation:

http://en.mastersinleiden.nl/programmes/history-arts-and-culture-of-asia/en/introduction (accessed/retrieved/updated on 5th May 2014)

Other specifications:

i. Use double quotation marks where necessary. Single quotation marks should be used only for a quotation within a quotation.
ii. In the text, the words from a regional language other than English which appear in a commonly used dictionary must be italicized. Proper names

from all the countries and terms like 'et al.', 'ibid.', 'vis-a-vis' etc. should be written in Roman alphabet.

iii. A stop should be used after abbreviations ('ed.','vol.' etc.), contractions ('Dr.', 'Prof.' etc.) and between initials (as in 'J.S. Karan'). Do not use a stop in a contraction in capital ('UNESCO', 'USA' etc.).

iv. In the text, the numbers from one to nine should be in words rather than figures. However, 10 and above can remain in figures. Use 'thousands' and 'millions', avoid 'crores' and 'lakhs'. Dates and page numbers should be in full forms (like '2002-2007' and 'pp.125-127').

v. Attach each figure and table on a separate sheet of paper at the end of the article and arrange them serially. The titles should be short and crisp.

vi. Figures, tables, charts, graphs or photographs reproduced from any other source must obtain Copyright permission before reproduction.

vii. Diacritical marks should be consistent.

Glosses and Translations of Examples:

1. Language specific examples must be provided in International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) or in Roman alphabet.
2. Examples from various languages other than English should be translated. Some examples may require a translation along with a word-for-word or morpheme-by-morpheme gloss.
3. The translation and the gloss should be placed under the example with proper indentation and alignment (in case of word-for-word or morpheme-by-morpheme gloss).
4. The grammatical categories in a gloss must be abbreviated

   For example,

   a) adʒ ɔnek brʃʈi hoyeʈʃhe.
      today lot rain be-pr.pf.3rd
      'Today there was heavy shower.'

   b) boneder ʈʃhobi.
      sister-gen.pl. picture
      'Sisters' picture.'

5. The abbreviations must be given in a separate list.

The paper/s submitted for consideration should not have been published before or under consideration for publication, anywhere in any language. The work must be approved by its author and the co-authors and also by the authorities of the place where the research was done. If the paper is accepted for publication in the present journal, it must not be published anywhere in any language without the proper written consent of the copyright holder.

For Papers in Bangla

The same style sheet should be followed for papers written in the Bangla language. Bangla font 'Avro – Nirmala Ul' is preferred.

ALSO PUBLISHED

Contours of India's Act East Policy: Opportunities, Challenges and Futuristic Trend of Indo-ASEAN Partnership
Editors : Archita Ghose & Sarmistha De Basu
June : 2021
Pub: Kolkata Society for Asian Studies
ASIN : B097NL92S2
E-Book, File size: 2386 KB, Kindle Edition

Folk Architecture of Asian Villages and Towns: A Comparative Study
Editor : Durga Basu
Year : 2021
Pub : Kolkata Society for Asian Studies and Sharada Publication
ISBN : 978-93-83221-31-8

India's Vernacular Journalism : A Journey of Two Centuries
Editor : Pallab Sengupta
January 2020
Pub : Kolkata Society for Asian Studies and Setu Publication
ISBN : 978-81-942129-2-8

Sub-Regionalism and Connectivity : The BCIM Corridor
Editors : Anindya Jyoti Majumdar and Sudarshana Banerjee
November 2018
Pub : Kolkata Society for Asian Studies and Setu Publication
ISBN : 978-81-933898-9-8

Suniti Kumar Chatterji Revisited
(With a foreword from Dilip Coomer Ghose) 2015
Pub : Kolkata Society for Asian Studies and Gangchil
ISBN : 978-93-84002-56-5

Published by Kolkata Society for Asian Studies, Postal Address : 3/25/1, R.K. Chatterjee Road, Kolkata- 700042
Phone: + 91-9432490361
Email: ksasianstudies@gmail.com
kspublication1@gmail.com

Printed at : ANINDYA MAITRA, Purbangan, 379/1, Purbachal Main Road, Flat No.A7, Kolkata-700078,
Phone: 8240397414/8420254148, Email:printopack.19@gmail.com