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Lexical Borrowing from English to Bangla: Domains and Phonetic Modifications

Dr. Binoy Barman

Abstract: *Borrowing from one language to another is a usual phenomenon. One language has to borrow words from another, particularly when there is no equivalent expression in the borrower language. Borrowing gives a language better expressive capacity by enriching word stock. Bangla has borrowed a lot of words from many languages when the population concerned came into close contact with them for political, social, cultural or commercial reasons. Bangla has heavily borrowed from English, being the language of the British Raj, who ruled the Indian subcontinent for about two centuries. In the contemporary world, English is the international lingua franca and the language of industrially-technologically advanced Anglo-American civilizations, so that it exerts tremendous influences on other languages including Bangla, creating a condition of borrowing. Borrowing from English into Bangla is particularly conspicuous in the domains of science and information technology. When a word is borrowed, it often undergoes phonetic modification according to the pronunciation patterns of the borrower language. This paper closely examines what kinds of change took place during lexical borrowing from English to Bangla. It also explores the domains of borrowing, i.e. in which fields major loanwords came in as well as the reasons and levels of borrowing, with relation to English-Bangla transfer.*

Keywords: *Borrowing, loan word, adoption, assimilation, phonetic modification*

1. Introduction

In Sociolinguistics, borrowing would mean taking words as ‘loan’ from other language(s) for the convenience of communication among the users of a particular language. Borrowed words are often referred to as ‘loan words’ or ‘loans’ on an analogy with its denotation in Economics (Campbell, 2004; Crystal, 2008; Hoffer, 2005; Jamet, 2009). Borrowing, as we use it in a technical sense, is a linguistic process by means of which words from a foreign language enter the lexical territory of another language via the verbal practice

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of the speech community concerned. “Borrowing occurs when a vocabulary item from one language enters the vocabulary of another” (Swann, Deumart, Lillis & Mesthrie, 2004, p. 30). In Heath’s words, borrowing involves a form spreading from one linguistic variety into another linguistic variety (Heath, 2001). Loan words are morphophonemically integrated with the language for which it is borrowed. That is, the borrowed words are mixed up with the local vocabulary with some sorts of change inside them, phonological and morphological, shedding off the foreign flavor. Jamet (2009) notes, “Not only does the language which borrows keep the word, but very often, it modifies it in one way or another: the borrowed word can undergo phonological modification, semantic modification, morphological modification and even grammatical modification.” It is a necessary process for ‘domestication’ and ‘conventionalization’ of the loanword.

The root of borrowing is the contact between languages, being subject to various kinds of changes. Meyerhoff (2011) notes, “All variation and change can be viewed as the outcome of some form of contact between different individuals or members of different groups” (p. 249). Borrowing is a spontaneous process coming out of close contact between two languages for political, social, cultural, commercial and other reasons. Borrowing is an obvious instance of contact-induced language change (Winford, 2003; Zenner and Kristiansen, 2013). It is an inevitable consequence of multilingualism at individual and social levels. Evidently, two languages are necessarily involved in ‘borrowing’: one language borrows (hence ‘recipient language’ or ‘host language’) and the other language lends (hence ‘donor language’ or ‘source language’). Borrowing is often not one-way traffic. In the real world, languages may be mutual borrowers/lenders. For example, while Bangla has borrowed many words from English like ‘tea’, ‘coffee’, ‘cup’, ‘plate’, ‘light’, ‘fan’, etc., it has also lent some words to English like ‘sari’, ‘ghee’ and ‘guru’. (These words are shared by many Indian languages, having the same Sanskrit origin). Contact may cause interference in one or both the linguistic systems. Uriel Weinreich in his seminal work *Languages in Contact* (1953) saw ‘interference’ as the deviation from the norms of either language since it involves the rearrangement of the linguistic systems of phonology, morphology and syntax.

Trudgill (2003) defines borrowing as a process whereby bilingual speakers introduce words from one language into another. These loan words eventually get accepted as an integral part of the second language. Restaurant was originally a French word, but is now an integral part of the English language and is known and used by all speakers of English. It is also pronounced by English speakers according to the rules of English and not of French. Interestingly, the word 'restaurant' has also been borrowed into Bangla via English. It is now widely used in Bengali society side by side the other synonym 'hotel'. Grammatical constructions and speech sounds may also be borrowed from one language into another. But in this paper we are mainly concerned with lexical borrowing, i.e. borrowing of words.

According to Muysken (1995), borrowing is the adaptation of lexical material to the phonological, morphological and syntactic patterns of the recipient language. Established 'loanwords' typically show full linguistic integration, native-language synonym displacement, and widespread diffusion, even among recipient-language monolinguals. They differ from 'nonce borrowings' only in so far as the latter need not satisfy the requirement of diffusion. Nonce borrowing is applied to a less frequently used item which is not integrated into the host language. We may call it 'idiosyncratic loan'. However, if a particularly useful nonce borrowing is repeated, eventually it is picked up by general speakers or big chunk of the speech community concerned (Herk, 2012), with necessary diffusion.

Kowner and Rosenhouse (2008) observes that lexical borrowing is a widespread activity, practiced ever since the earliest days of human civilization. It happens when speakers of a language incorporate elements of another language into their own lexicon. The process of borrowing needs some contact between the two languages, rudimentary understanding of the meaning of word and an inclination to bilingualism. In fact, borrowing takes place in bilingual context, or bilingualism acts as a catalyst for borrowing (Field, 2002; Scotton, 2006). The previously mentioned requirements may lead to occasional borrowing of a few words, and at times massive borrowing, amounting to thousands of words. For example, English adopted tens of thousands of words from French following the Norman conquest of England in the Middle Ages. According to Jamet (2009), some 10,000 words were adopted from French between 1250 and 1400, and roughly 75 per cent of

them are still used nowadays. It is the similar case with Modern Japanese, which has borrowed about 30,000 words, mainly from English, since the onset of Japan's modernization in the second half of the 19th century (Hock & Joseph, 1996; McMahon, 1994).

2. Reasons of Borrowing

One language borrows words from another for various reasons. First and foremost, a language may lack a necessary word to express the meaning of an object or idea denoted by a word in a foreign tongue. In this circumstance, the word gets a direct access to the language it lacks. This is the 'non-availability criterion' of borrowing. For example, Bangla has borrowed 'computer', 'laptop', 'hardware', 'software' etc. because no Bangla alternatives are available for them. With borrowing, the language fills up the lexical gap, thereby creating an opportunity of better expression and communication for its users. In other cases, words are borrowed despite availability of their equivalents in a language. It usually happens at the individual level. A person may just borrow a foreign word for speaking style, or just out of whim, as it might be observed in code-mixing. Or he/she may borrow because of psychological constraint like memory lapse (when one cannot recall a word in one's mother tongue during a course of conversation in immediate necessity); in that case, he/she resorts to the other-language alternative which is at his/her disposal by virtue of bilingualism.

When an equivalent to the borrowed word is already available in the language, it resists the foreign insertion. For example, 'mathematics', 'chemistry', 'philosophy', 'physics' and 'biology' could not secure their place in Bangla as they were resisted by their Bangla counterparts 'gonit', 'roshayon', 'dorshon', 'podarthabiggan' and 'jibobiggan' respectively (the last two were made up by combining existing Bangla word-parts of relevant meaning). Resistance cannot entirely eliminate the insertion. At present, both the terms, local and foreign, are used in Bengali society.

Words may intentionally be borrowed for new knowledge. People in higher studies and research often have to borrow words which are technical in nature. Concepts contained in technical terms of one language cannot be rendered into another language easily. Therefore, the terms are borrowed verbatim. For example, the students of natural sciences have to use the

borrowed words like ‘oxygen’, ‘hydrogen’, ‘carbon dioxide’, ‘electron’, ‘proton’, ‘neutron’, ‘quark’, ‘hadron’ etc. for their study and research. There were attempts by the textbook writers to innovate Bangla alternatives for the technical words (e.g. oxygen=omlojan), but they were not widely accepted.

Political, economic, social and cultural interactions between the two speech communities will lead to borrowing. Different languages of the world borrowed words from English language during the colonial era of the last four centuries. This is one of the reasons why English is globally understood and considered to be an international lingua franca. Regular diplomatic and commercial exchanges as well as close social and cultural ties broaden the scope of borrowing. Contact may create scope for even mutual borrowing. Through contact, English has not only lent words to but borrowed words from many languages, e.g. ‘alcohol’ (Arabic), ‘boss’ (Dutch), ‘lilac’ (Persian), ‘piano’ (Italian), robot (Czech), ‘tycoon’ (Japanese), ‘yogurt’ (Turkish) and ‘zebra’ (Bantu) (Yule, 2002). Millar (2015) says, “English-speakers have long been globally among the most enthusiastic borrowers of other people’s words and many, many thousands of English words have been acquired in just this way.” Durkin (2014) notes that loanwords make up a huge proportion of the words in any large dictionary of English and the words also figure largely in the language of everyday communication. English is not only an international donor but also a truly international recipient.

In the present world, most words are borrowed as an impact of science and technology. Science and technology comes up with new discovery and inventions generating new terms. As these are unprecedented, most of the languages do not have local words for them. So they are borrowed without any question. For example, Bangla has borrowed such technological terms as ‘laptop’, ‘tab’, ‘android’, ‘touch screen’, ‘upload’, ‘download’ etc. as recent phenomena. Kowner and Rosenhouse (2008) have identified three principal reasons for borrowing from English to other languages of the world: 1. Need to coin new terminology and concepts, 2. Tendency to emulate a dominant group, and 3. Tendency to create a special jargon in closed groups. The means of communication may be found largely responsible for the dissemination of English loan words. According to them, the most relevant means include direct communication, mass media and education system.

They also listed several determinants and resistant factors for adoption of English loan words in contemporary world languages. The determinants are: modernization and economic development prestige, and ethnic and linguistic diversity,; and the resistant factors are: nationalism, cultural threat, social psychology and existence of national linguistic establishment. Haspelmath (0000) held two main types of factors responsible for borrowing: 1. Social and attitudinal factors (prestige of the donor language and puristic attitude), and 2. Grammatical factors (nouns are more easily borrowed than verbs for nominal dominance).

3. Levels of Borrowing

There are levels of borrowing. A word may enter the body of another language but may not survive in the long run while some words really show their potency in surviving in a foreign language. In temporal consideration, a word may go through three levels: Level-1: Adoption, Level-2: Diffusion and Level-3: Assimilation. Adoption refers to the ready picking of a foreign word by the individual users. This is instant and immediate and nobody can predict the fate of the word in the new language. It may continue to be used or it may be thrown out of the language sooner or later. If usually there is no equivalent word in the borrower language, it will enjoy a safe sail. Diffusion is the spread of the borrowed word around wider community that goes on using it continuously. At this stage, speakers of the borrower language may innovate words to compete with the loan word. In the face of competition, the borrowed word may gradually cease to exist or continue to be used with some special meaning. Assimilation means the acceptance of the borrowed word with the equal status of the native vocabulary. The word is codified, that is, it enters the dictionary of the borrower language and is no longer felt to be foreign. It is completely mixed up with other words of the language, usually with necessary phonetic modification. Borrowing is a matter of degree. Hudson (2007) observes: "... a loan word is definitely part of the borrowing language, but this is in fact a matter of degree. It is common for items to be assimilated in some degree to the items already in the borrowing variety, with foreign sounds being replaced by native sounds and so on" (p. 57).

The levels of borrowing may be explained with examples. If we look at the current Bangladeshi society (in the year 2020), we will find that people here are increasingly using the technological tools as a part of their life.

Particularly, cell/mobile phone has secured its place in virtually every hand and household. It is used by the rich and poor alike. So we might come across such words as 'android', 'blue tooth', 'cloud', 'facebook', 'tweeter', 'instagram', 'pinterest', 'SIM' and 'SMS'. These words are staying at the Adoption level. For some time, Bangladeshi people have been acquainted with many computer related words like 'computer', 'laptop', 'processor', 'hard disk', 'software', 'RAM', 'internet', 'memory', 'digital' and 'virtual'. These words are going through the Diffusion level, with or without competition against the local vocabulary. A Bangla word 'khudebarta' has already been innovated for 'SMS', which many people are using nowadays. We also find words 'muthophon' and 'antorjal' for their English counterparts

'mobile phone' and 'internet' respectively. 'Muthophon' is an interesting example of what Hoffer (2002) called 'dual language neologism' in which the first morpheme ('mutho') is Bangla and the second morpheme ('phon') is English. This can also be termed 'intra-word code-mixing'. For 'facebook', some would use the Bangla term 'anonboi' ('anon' means face/head and 'boi' means book). This type of neologism is often referred to as 'loan translation' or 'calque'. If someone uses the phrase 'komolpaniyo' for 'soft drink' and 'thotseba' for 'lip service', they will also be calques. Morshed (2019) made an important study on English-to-Bangla calques and categorized them as single-word (e.g. globalization → golokayon), multi-word (e.g. cat walk → biralhanta), phrasal (e.g. golden handshake → sonalikoromordon), and acronymic (e.g. abcd → oakokho). Though calques may enrich vocabulary but, Morshed cautions, too much calquing may rob the recipient language of its native flavor. We are not in a position to say whether the new entrants will ultimately survive in Bangla language or will be replaced by the innovated Bangla competitors. Their survival will be determined by the acceptance/rejection of the community and it will be clear as more time will pass. The examples of Assimilation would be 'chair', 'table', 'cup', 'plate', 'office', 'bus', 'shirt' etc. These words have long been used in Bangla, since the colonial era, turning into part of its vocabulary, permanently. Now they can no more be distinguished from other Bangla words.

Whether a borrowed word will ultimately survive can be measured with the extent of popular use in the borrower speech community. If there is a conflict between the foreign and local words, only the widely accepted one is most likely to knock out the less accepted one. We have such cases in hand and we

may make a prediction. We can say with appreciable confidence, in cases of ‘calendar’/’dinoponji’, ‘diary’/’dinolipi’, ‘report’/’protibedon’, the English ones will replace the Bangla counterparts in the long run. For such cases as ‘telephone’/’duralaponi’, ‘television’/’durodorshon’ and ‘projector’/’prok-khepok’, the English words have already won the war. For other cases like ‘movie’/’choloচিত্র’, ‘music’/’songit’, ‘acting’/’obhinoi’, we are not sure about the direction of the lexical tussle.

When a word is borrowed despite the presence of a vernacular alternative, it may ultimately lead to semantic specialization. The donor language word and the borrower language word acquire special meaning in course of time. This is what has happened in the cases of some word pairs: ‘fan’/’pakha’ (the former indicates mechanical operation while the latter manual operation), ‘light’/’bati’ (the former refers to electric lighting device while the latter mainly non-electric), ‘bread’/’ruti’ (the former is a cake-shaped bakery product while the latter is a flat round home-made product), ‘cake’/’pitha’ (the former refers to a sweet bakery product while the latter a home-made traditional food item particularly made during festivals), ‘towel’/’gamccha’ (the former is a industrially manufactured thick cloth while the latter is a thin cloth produced by handloom), ‘cottage’/’kutir’ (the former means a fashionable country house while the latter a tattered straw-thatched house). Sometimes these words in pair are used interchangeably but their subtle difference in meaning can hardly be ignored. The semantic field may change as a result of co-existence of foreign and local pairs for a long time. For example, the word ‘ghori’ covers both ‘clock’ and ‘watch’. ‘Library’ and ‘book store’ are covered by ‘gronthagar’.

Hoque, Behak, Baharunand Molla (2018) have studied the nature of borrowing from English to Bangla and they have found, of the loanwords, 65% have Bangla equivalents, 19% have not Bangla equivalents, 13% have close Bangla equivalents and 4% are hybridized. According to their observation, English loans are gradually getting integrated into Bangla, adding to Bangla lexical stock on the one hand and replacing the Bangla equivalents on the other. They have expressed their apprehension about robust intrusion of English vocabulary into Bangla as they think ‘unrestrained and unguided borrowings’ may paralyze the recipient language.

Researchers have noticed that the word class that features most prominently in borrowing is noun (Wohlgemuth, 2009). As nouns are used for referring to objects and ideas or for naming something, they are prerequisites for verbal communication. Other word classes like verbs and adjectives are infrequently borrowed. Wohlgemuth notes that verbs generally are more difficult to borrow than other parts of speech as they usually need a re-verbalization in the recipient language. Even rarer are the borrowings of adverb, preposition, conjunction, interjection and various affixes.

4. Borrowing and Code-mixing

Borrowing will obviously result in code-mixing and code-switching. People will mix the borrowed words with the local ones in their utterances, producing a mixed feeling among the audience. In the everyday conversations of Bengali people, we may observe a lot of code-mixing. Some examples are:

‘Ajamar lunch korte late hoyegelo.’ (Today I have taken lunch late.)

‘Ma marketegiyechhe shopping korte.’ (Mother has gone to market for shopping).

‘Aj rate televisioneki program acche?’ (What is the program on television tonight?)

‘Rastaiaprochondo traffic jam.’ (There is terrible traffic jam in the streets today.)

‘Classegotokal teacher kiporiyechhen?’ (What did the teacher teach in the class yesterday?)

Often these are not imposed; rather they are spontaneous. People are accustomed to such mixing of language. Only the too fastidious people talk in monolingual vocabulary. Normally code-mixers are not looked down upon. But some formal situations such as meeting, interview and talk show demand purity of language; and mixing of Bangla and English may cause a little unease among the audience. In Bengali society, code-mixing is widespread that sometimes speakers even make mistakes unawares and continue using out of habit. Some funny examples have been registered by Bhattacharja (2016): ‘Ekta jokesshunbi?’ (=Will you listen to a jokes?) (The plural form of a noun has been used with a singular number-word.)

‘Meyetirgolar voicebhari mishit.’ (=The voice of the girl’s voice is so sweet.) (Two separate words meaning the same thing have been used redundantly.)

‘Etaisobtheke best.’ (=This is the most best.) (Double superlatives have been used redundantly.)

There is often a misconception that only the uneducated section of society mix codes. Reality is just the opposite. Educated people borrow more and fall into code-mixing. Again, code-mixing paved the way for borrowing. When individuals mix codes out of their whim or necessity, it may roll in the community habits, enlarging its scope of acceptance and use. Borrowing is often a journey from individual to community via code-mixing.

5. Perspectives of Borrowing from English into Bangla

Borrowing takes place in some social-historical context, as indicated by Heath (2001). Bangla has been borrowing from English since the two languages came into contact during the colonial period in the Indian subcontinent. The British ruled Bangladesh, India and Pakistan (undivided) for about two hundred years. During the British Raj in the Indian subcontinent, English was introduced to administration; and schools and colleges were established where English was taught. Like other languages in the subcontinent, Bangla also borrowed many words from English via the people who learned it for job and other purposes. Many words relating to English culture and lifestyle were immediately borrowed as there were no alternative to them. And other English words gradually came into use side by side with Bangla equivalents through long interactions.

After the partition of 1947, Bangladesh (then East Pakistan) entered into Pakistani era, which saw a rising influence of Urdu on Bangla. But the English words continued its presence through education. Bangladesh became independent in 1971 and it aspired to establish Bangla in all spheres. But the deep-rooted English vocabulary could not be eliminated altogether since many words already became part and parcel of Bangla language by virtue of long use. In higher education and research, English is still widely used. Moreover, there was a wave of change in society when information and communication technology made its way from the West to the East. The United States became dominant with its computer technology. The operation of computer needed English literacy, through which a good many words made inroads into Bangla just like other languages of the world. This time it is the American variety of English which became prominent and dominant. In the twenty-first century, the world has witnessed the surge of cell phone technology alongside computer technology.

At present, almost everyday new words relating to these two technological strongholds are entering the body of Bangla. Particularly, the young generation feels enthusiastic with technological innovations and they use new words along with the new gadgets. The comment of Masthrie, Swann, Deumert and Leap (2009) is significant in this regard:

“In the modern world, the power and prestige of English and its associated Anglo-American technology have penetrated a large section of the globe. Terms relating to long-distance travel, domestic appliances, computers, television and other forms of communication occur as borrowings from English in language after language.” (p. 244)

6. Domains of Borrowing

Words borrowed from English into Bangla belong to different domains of life. Some domains are rather broad while some are narrow. Some domains are interconnected, for example, Electronics and ICT, but they have been kept separate as the fields are continuously burgeoning. Here are the lists of words in different domains (only the most common have been included). Some of the words have Bangla equivalents while some have none.

- a **Electronics:** radio, television, fan (ceiling, table, exhaust), fridge, charger, battery, light, oven, microwave, remote, television, telephone, tube light, bulb, LED, camera, scanner, photocopier, calling bell, microphone, megaphone, miketypewriter, photo, photograph, audio, video.
- b **Information and Communication Technology (ICT):** computer, monitor, keyboard, mouse, mouse pad, CD, DVD, pen drive, hardware, software, RAM, memory card, hard disk, smart phone, i-phone, laptop, desktop, touch screen, screensaver, animation, printer, website, internet, network, facebook, twitter, SMS, email, selfie, smiley, WiFi, blue tooth, megabyte, gigabyte, terabyte, keyboard, motherboard, processor, sound box. headphone, earphone, data cable, programming.
- c **Medical/treatment:** doctor, operation (theatre), stretcher,

nurse, surgery, anesthesia, clinic, prescription, diagnosis, pathology, ward, injection, tablet capsule, syrup, vitamin, thermometer, stethoscope, AIDS, cancer, cholera, diarrhea, typhoid, malaria, diabetes, stroke.

- d Foods:** sandwich, soup, chicken fry, pop corn, juice, hot dog, burger, tea, coffee, coffee mate, (potato) chips, roast, cake, ice cream, chocolate, lollypop, nut, biscuit, toast, roast, grill, chicken, beef, mutton, pudding, pie, donut, cheese, margarine, dessert, breakfast, lunch, dinner, beer, wine, cigarette.
- e Vegetation:** cactus, fern, fungus, moss, grass, garden, horticulture, hybrid, lily, palm, seed, bean, acacia, pine, tomato, apple, peach, pear, oak, olive, broccoli, lettuce, corn, mushroom, dahlia.
- f Animals:** giraffe, zebra, hyena, hound, poodle, cheetah, panther, chimpanzee, gorilla, baboon, gibbon, kangaroo, bison, koala, lemur, panda, rhino, sloth, moth, penguin, dolphin, seal, salmon, tuna, sardine, goldfish, octopus, squid, starfish, eagle, anaconda, dinosaur.
- g Sports:** hockey, badminton, tennis, golf, basketball, baseball, billiard, football, goal, goalpost, goalkeeper, defense, handball, head, penalty, cricket, bat, batsman, bowler, spin(ner), all-rounder, run, catch, drop, wicket, boundary, umpire, century, one-day, test, match, tournament, record, champion, runner-up, warmup, practice, exercise.
- h Education:** class, classroom, bench, seat, school, college, university, pen, pencil, duster, assignment, project, dissertation, thesis, laboratory, library, stapler, paper, paper weight, projector, chalk, board, marker, coaching, training, tutor, routine, semester, admission, convocation, e-learning.
- i Office and Administration:** office, officer, desk, front desk, lounge, file, officer, probationary officer, internee, bank, banker, deposit, customer care, secretary, director, chairperson, trustee board, notice, pension, promotion, resign, transfer, bureau, department, ministry, parliament, club, peon, staff, email, draft, boss.

- j Business and Trade:** business, tender, auction, sale, buyer, readymade garments (RMG), salary, pay scale, bonus, letter of credit (LC), dollar, export, import, visa, passport, travel, contract, Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) customer, online payment, retail, wholesale, tourist, guide, interpreter, startup, transport, shipment.
- k Arms and Defense:** pistol, revolver, rifle, bullet, bayonet, machine gun, mortar, torpedo, soldier, battalion, shoot, missile, rocket, satellite, bomb, atom bomb, hydrogen bomb, cluster bombing, gas chamber, guillotine, tank, submarine, drone attack, army, air force, navy, police, border guard, coast guard, crossfire.
- l Media and entertainment:** drama, serial, feature film, short film, acting, actor, anchor, camera, long shot, close-up, fashion show, cat walk, magazine, advertisement, print media, online media, dish, TV channel, YouTube channel, broadcast, telecast, newscaster, reader, audience, newspaper, news, column, columnist.
- m Music:** folk music, classical music, guitar, electric guitar, keyboard, drum, mouth organ, sound box, piano, concert, orchestra, band, rock, disco, melody, opera, pop, rap, remix, composer, lyric, tune, jazz, drum, bugle, bagpipe, saxophone, trumpet, cymbal.
- n Household:** tower, flat, apartment, floor, roof, stair, railing, bed room, dining room, guest room, interior decoration, heater, air conditioner, basin, bathroom, commode, chair, armchair, table (dining, dressing), hall, auditorium, book shelf, show case, show piece, trolley, toothbrush, toothpaste, razor, foam, gel, purse, mug, jug, cup, plate, furnish, varnish.
- o Transport:** car, bus, taxi, cab, uber, driver, conductor, helper, counter, ticker, truck, scooter, cab, (bi)cycle, train, (aero)plane, jet, supersonic, flight, trawler, launch, steamer, (aero)plane, helicopter, luggage, station, gas station, rail, railway, metro, tube, intercity, cargo, petrol, diesel, octane.
- p Fashion and Clothing:** fashion, haircut, hairstyle, lipstick, nail-polish, shampoo, lotion, powder, beauty soap, eye-liner, suit, coat, coat pin,