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Editorial Note

This special volume of Crossings is special in every sense of the term. It attempts to address the numerous loci where Englishes are found entangled. It goes beyond identifying English as a linguistic and cultural resource to engage with the voluminous debate on the after-life of English that once had its heyday as a colonial tool. It, therefore, promotes other Englishes and explores new directions of scholarship while problematizing the meaning-making process. The concern for disproportionate access to English and its consequent empowerment and disempowerment of language users in translocal spaces also find its voice in this volume.

Papers selected for this special issue were originally presented at a conference titled "Entangled Englishes in Translocal Spaces" on September 2-4, 2021. Organized by ULAB's Centre for Language Studies and Department of English and Humanities, the conference brought together scholars from all continents to participate in an academic gala that promised: "a discursive platform to explore possible ways of 'de-elitisation' of Englishes for sustainable development of human resources."

The keynote speaker, Dr. Alastair Pennycook, set the tone for both the conference and this issue. Pennycook extends his version of vital materialism scholarship that he employed earlier to understand the nuanced relational agencies of English in the Philippines to a Bangladeshi context and examines how Englishes are connected, both materially and non-materially.

The plenary speaker, Dr. Shyam Sharma, calls for Scholarship 2.0 to challenge the language-knowledge hegemony and identifies the Global South as the new realm for alternative knowledge. This is exemplified in two other papers selected for the volume. Paolo Coluzzi critiques the western-centricity of academic journals that control the double helix that Sharma mentions. Monisha Biswas's identification of the presumed prestige associated with the use of English for communication on Facebook offers another example.

The other conference plenary speakers, Dr. Shaila Sultana and Dr. Sender Dovchin use three-month-long ethnographic research on 29 participants to establish Bakhtin's concept of chronotope in suggesting how shared experiences over time and space could give them a shared knowledge and craft their relationship and affiliation. Asif Kamal locates the literary space in the syllabi of Bangladeshi universities to argue that the language skills of students can be developed through their exposures to literary texts while Zarin Tasnim and Risala Ahmed make a case for humanistic approaches to teaching.

The discussion on sociolinguistics thus neatly segues into the literature section where the language question is located in the contested spaces of different genres.

This issue of *Crossings* makes a serious attempt to identify various trends and shifts in knowledge production and circulation concerning the use of Englishes. We expect our readers and scholars to disseminate the findings and give the volume the visibility it deserves in various metric-controlled indices.

On behalf of the Editorial Board,
Shamsad Mortuza, PhD
Chief Editor

Entanglements and Assemblages of English

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Abstract

This paper takes up the concepts of entanglements and assemblages of English as a way to understand the multiple ways in which English is connected to, and part of, social, cultural, political, and material worlds. This way of thinking is more useful than approaches to English that focus primarily on the language in isolation (even if pluralized or diversified) or alternatively look at English as a mere reflection of already-defined relations of political economy. A backstreet sign for an English school in the Philippines, for example, suggests an assemblage of tangled wires, cheap English, desire, neoliberal goals, English frenzy, domestic workers, call centers, social stratifications, and unequal resources. Implications for looking at English in Bangladesh along similar lines will also be discussed. Developing the ideas of assemblages and entanglements, this paper argues that new approaches to materiality and the interconnectedness of things can take us forward in a search for alternative ways of thinking about the distribution of unequal linguistic resources. The paper concludes with a discussion of the possibilities of disentangling English.

Keywords: assemblage, entanglement, English, decoloniality

Introduction: Entangled English

A key question if we want to understand the role, spread, and position of English in the world is how to deal adequately with the ways English (or any language) is interwoven with social, cultural, material, and political relations. The idea of *entanglements of English* aims to address the multiple ways that English is connected to all that surrounds it, from global political and economic forces to local relations of class, culture, and education, from the circulation of discourses and ideologies to the contextual dispositions of people, artefacts, and place. The need for such an articulation derives from the problem that the "surgical removal of language from context produced an amputated 'language' that was the preferred object of the language sciences for most of the twentieth century" (Kroskrity, 2000, p. 5). In order to construct itself as a respectable discipline, linguistics had to make an extensive series of exclusions, relegating people, history, society, culture, and politics to a role external to languages. To overcome this problem, the more grounded fields of socio- and applied linguistics adopted an idea of context as the preferred tool for understanding language and its surrounds, but context has never been a very well-theorized account of how to understand linguistic settings, providing little more than a backdrop for pre-

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existing languages; languages are whole and complete and are performed amid particular environmental factors.

The need for this articulation emerges from the constant demand to find adequate ways to deal with the politics of global Englishes. This is both an old and a new project. It is old to the extent that many of us have been trying to get at this question from a variety of perspectives for a long time. In trying to find ways to understand the interconnectedness of English and its surrounds (Pennycook 1994), I adopted Edward Said's (1983) use of the term worldliness. As a politically-engaged literary critic, Said's interest was in finding a way of dealing with a text that does not leave it as a hermetically sealed textual cosmos with no connection to the world, while at the same time avoiding the reduction of a text to its worldly circumstances. Linking Said's concerns to more general issues of language, the goal becomes one of finding a space between a view of language as an idealized, abstract system disconnected from its surroundings, and a materialist view of language determined by worldly circumstance. If, on the one hand, we focus on linguistic system alone, we not only miss all that matters around language, but arguably misconstrue what language is. If, on the other hand, we view language only as a manifestation of a prior materiality, we also miss the point that language plays a dynamic role in relation to the world around it. "Is there no way," Said (1983) asked, "of dealing with a text and its worldly circumstances fairly?" (p.35).

This, then, was the work that I wanted the idea of the worldliness of English to do: English could be understood as worldly not only by dint of its vast global expansion, but also in the sense that a person may be called worldly: it has been and is constantly in the process of being changed by its position in the world. English is in the world and part of the world: to use English is to engage in social action which produces and reproduces social and cultural relations. The worldliness of English referred both to its local and to its global position, both to the ways in which it reflects and constitutes social relations. This, then, has been a long process of trying to understand the ways in which English is always global and local, part of local struggles for communication and recognition, bound up with class, race, culture, gender, and education. This is also a new project, however, insofar as recent ways of thinking about relations among languages, places, things, and people have opened up innovative avenues for thinking about English (and other languages) and its relation to the world.

Here we can bring together both decolonial and new materialist ways of thinking. The world Englishes (WE) and English as a lingua franca (ELF) movements have both, in their own ways, sought to decolonize English by insisting that English is the property of all, that ownership of English no longer rests in the hands of its so-called native speakers, and that English can be understood as global, variable, and multilingual. Proponents of these two related programs have aimed to delink English from its origins and ownership and to shift the center of English from the Global North. While both have arguably achieved some success in this endeavor – making it possible to see English as locally inflected, as no longer encumbered by conventional decrees, as no longer tied to particular speakers and places – such gains have only been partial. Neither framework provides the tools to appreciate

the extent of the political and theoretical delinking that is necessary to decolonize English (Kumaravadivelu, 2016; Mignolo and Walsh, 2018).

Both the WE and the ELF approaches have been widely critiqued for lacking a sufficient politics to engage with either the global implications or the local politics of English (Bruthiaux, 2003; O'Regan, 2014; Rudwick, 2022). More politically engaged approaches, such as linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992, 2009), meanwhile, have presented only a dystopian narrative of English domination, failing thereby to attend to the complex relations between English and its uses and users. A focus on *unequal Englishes* – "the unequal ways and situations in which Englishes are arranged, configured, and contested" (Tupas and Rubdy, 2015, p. 3; Tupas and Salonga, 2016) – partly addresses these concerns by keeping a focus on inequalities, pluralizing Englishes, grounding the analysis in local contexts of language use and highlighting the "coloniality of inequalities of Englishes" (Tupas, 2019, p. 531). As Kubota (2015) insists, we need to ask whether "all English users regardless of their racial, gender, socioeconomic, and other background" can "equally transgress linguistic boundaries and engage in hybrid and fluid linguistic practices" (p. 33).

This points to the need to raise ontological and decolonial questions. English arguably remains a language of the Global North both because it is embedded in the institutions and injustices created and maintained by the Global North, and because it remains ideologically a language framed in Global North terms. Talking of "Englishes" (even if unequal) does not take us far enough and cannot capture the "multilingual repertoire of speakers" or the "complex semiotic webs within and across which speakers move, comprising not just languages as we know them, but bits of language such as registers, accents, words, and *assemblages* of form-meaning elements, such as rap rhythms and embodied performances" (Williams, 2017, p.4, emphasis added). This paper asks how we can come to a better understanding of global Englishes if we focus not just on the translingual relations among English and other languages, but also among English and other entanglements. Developing the ideas of assemblages and entanglements, this paper suggests that new approaches to materiality and the interconnectedness of things can provide useful ways forward here.

Assemblages and Entanglements

The idea of entanglements of English aims to shift the sociolinguistic focus towards a more profound sense of interconnectedness. This is very different from the sociolinguistic trope of context, with its static relations between pregiven backgrounds and assumed languages; nor is it limited to a critical sociolinguistic or discourse analytic insistence that we have to focus on language in relation to power, class, capital, gender, race, and other social categories (though all these matter). Rather, by bringing together both old and new materialisms (Bennett, 2010), by questioning assumed divisions between humans and non-humans (Pennycook, 2018), between living and non-living existents (Povinelli, 2016), a notion of assemblages insists that we think again about how language relates to the world. For Tsing (2015), looking at the ways in which pine trees, mushrooms, and forest spaces cleared by humans cooperate with each other, thinking in terms of assemblages, urges us to ask how "gatherings sometimes become 'happenings,' that is, greater than the sum of their parts"

(p. 23). Assemblages, she argues, are “sites for watching how political economy works” not through a predefined operation of capital, but by the juxtaposition of people, things, and life trajectories (p. 23).

Toohey et al.’s (2015) study of sociomaterial assemblages brings a related focus on the complexity of sociolinguistic events to contexts of school literacy and collaborative production of digital video texts, asking “how human bodies, the physical setup of classrooms, classroom materials (furniture, books, paper, computers, and so on), discourses about teaching and learning, what is considered to be knowledge, school district policies, the curriculum, and so on are *entangled* with one another, and how they may be moving and changing together” (p. 466; emphasis added). This starts to bring together an interest in the “total linguistic/ semiotic fact” (Blommaert, 2017, p. 58; Pennycook, in press) – the multiplicity of factors that come together around people and place, those “dense and complex objects” that “are the ‘stuff’ of the study of language in society” (Blommaert, 2017, p. 59) – and recent directions in translinguistic theories that show how “personal, community, and spatial repertoires interact dynamically in the generation of meanings through distributed practice” (Canagarajah, 2021, p. 17).

A focus on semiotic assemblages has aimed to combine the complexity of “ad hoc groupings of diverse elements, of vibrant materials of all sorts” (Bennett, 2010, p. 23) with a focus on how semiotic resources, artefacts, and places are assembled in particular moments (Pennycook, 2017; Pennycook and Otsuji, 2017). Like Kerfoot and Hyltenstam’s (2017) exploration of the entanglements of North/South politics, epistemologies and histories in order to “illuminate the shifting structures of power and asymmetrical relations between North and South that render some types of knowledges, practices, repertoires, and bodies more legitimate, and therefore more visible, and thus construct different orders of visibility” (p.5), these approaches insist on both a politics of intersectionality and a politics of the material, assembling humans and non-humans, linguistic resources and material existents.

From this perspective, it is also possible to think of language itself as an assemblage. As Wee (2021) argues, this “affords significant advantages over the view of language as an autonomous bounded system. It provides a coherent account of regularities and fluidities in language while also being open to the idea of what actually constitutes ‘the linguistic’” (p. 16). Such assembled languages can be seen as part of broader language ideological assemblages that bring together different ways of knowing, accounts of language, relations to family, culture, land, and materialities (Kroskrity, 2021). Instead of reified languages and ideologies, the idea of assemblages allows “a more dynamic view of languages as continuously being reconstructed by their speakers” (Kroskrity, 2021, p. 131). By taking up a notion of entanglements, we can see how instances of language use may be connected to a range of factors, from artefacts to material surrounds, social relations to political economy, ideologies to discursive regimes; by looking at assemblages, we can see how different elements are pulled together around an utterance.

Entanglements of Wires and Desires

I have elsewhere discussed ways in which we can look at English in the Philippines along

these lines, starting with a focus on a sign for a local language school in a backstreet in Cebu (Pennycook, 2020, 2021). This sign, announcing "AGESL: Achieve Goal English as a Second Language" is connected in multiple ways to the world around it. Starting first with its physical emplacement, the location of this sign matters: it is on a backstreet in Banilad, Cebu City, in the central Philippines, surrounded by the bustle of cars, bikes, and Cebu jeepnees. Above the sign is a tangled expanse of electricity wires. The state and precarity of municipal wiring are often a good indicator of economic development (United Nations, 2006): the material relations between this sign and the wiring above it matter. For Bennett (2010), the "electrical power grid offers a good example of an assemblage. It is a material cluster of charged parts that have indeed affiliated, remaining in sufficient proximity and coordination to produce distinctive effects" (p. 24). Looking at the relations between English in the Philippines and the tangled wires behind the AGESL sign, and all they imply for electricity supplies, health, environment, and power, we can start to understand how English is part of the interconnected assemblage of the city (Amin and Thrift, 2017). Tangled wires are entangled wires, and English is part of those entanglements.

The sign is also, not surprisingly, for a private language school. This private-public tension around English echoes across the world. Whatever language policies are developed to place English in a balanced relationship with other languages, private language schools will frequently step into the gap, both reacting to, and creating a need for, English. Despite the partial resistance to the *grip of English* (Lorente 2013) and the associated emphasis on Standard American English and English-Only instruction (Canilao, 2019) through the development, at least at elementary levels, of mother-tongue-based multilingual education (MTB MLE) (Amarles, 2016; Azurin, 2010; Cruz & Mahboob, 2018), a number of factors constrain this move away from English. Not least among these are private schools, and their constant reproduction of English language capital and desire.

These schools, such as the nearby "English Factory" – following a "strict protocol like a real factory," where the teachers, "also known as manufacturers," provide the "students with the best quality learning experience" (English Factory, 2019) – also cater for overseas students. The Philippines has become a cheap destination to learn English, and, like all processes of impoverishment, these are not mere accidents of history but a very clear result of political and economic policies in the 20th century that saw the Philippines change from a colony of the USA, to a part of the Japanese empire, and a cornerstone (basecamp) of US counter-communist operations. As a new destination for such English language learners, the Philippines markets itself as a place where "authentic English" is spoken, yet its real drawcard is that its English is "cheap and affordable" (Lorente and Tupas, 2014, p. 79). For countries where English has long been institutionally embedded – the so-called outer-circle – the possibility of marketing English as both a cheap and a second – even an authentic – language has opened up new commercial possibilities.

To dwell on this process in terms of language commodification (Duchêne and Heller, 2012) may be an observation that is neither very accurate from the point of view of political economy (Block, 2018), nor very remarkable when we consider that languages have long

been intertwined with trade and viewed in material terms. We need to look beyond a language commodification framework that assumes a political economy of language but fails to adequately account for processes by which language can be understood as a commodity, or to distinguish between commodification as discourse and as a product of labor (Petrovic & Yazan, 2021; Simpson & O'Regan, 2018). Of more significance are the ways this market is entangled with the regional economy, and particularly Korea, and is also about the production of desire.

The presence of Koreans in Cebu (and the Philippines more generally), where they make up a significant diasporic population, is connected to a number of factors, including affordability, desirability as a tourist destination, the presence of English, and the possibility of setting up small businesses, including English schools for Korean visitors (Garcia-Yap, 2009). When we ask to whom this sign – with its call to "achieve goal English" – is addressed, therefore, the answer is as likely to be Koreans as anyone else. It is no coincidence that it is the two principal regional client states of the USA that are buying and selling English. South Korea's "frenzy" for English has driven people to remarkable extremes (from prenatal classes, to tongue surgery, to sending young children overseas to study). It is produced by a range of forces, from South Korea's "close dependent relationship with the United States in trade, security, culture, and politics" (Park, 2013, p. 287) to its insertion into a neoliberal order and desire to compete in global economic terms. Local conditions of culture and class and "local ideologies and contingencies" (Park, 2013, p. 300) matter too, as do the close collaboration between government, business, and education sectors.

This "desire for English," however, should not be seen in terms of "rational and economic logic" so much as "the deep *entanglements* of hopes, dreams, frustrations, and yearnings that constitute desire" (Park, 2021, p.59; emphasis added). Not only does the sign interpellate potential learners into discourses of the entrepreneurial self, reimagining the learner as "an assemblage of commodifiable elements … a bundle of skills" (Urciuoli and La Dousa, 2013, p. 176, italics added), but it invites students to invest in "the elusive promise of English" as a form of "speculative capital" (Tabiola and Lorente, 2017, p. 133). This helps us to see how such a sign is not just a product of neoliberal economies but rather is part of an assemblage of governmental practices, and that to understand student investment in English, we have to look at their entangled hopes and dreams.

As Tajima (2018) clarifies, this "cheap English" also extends to the online Eikaiwa (English conversation) industry, where Japanese and Korean companies are able to offer cheap Skype (before Zoom) conversation classes using Philippine workers. These women – often college students or graduates – are paid around 50 pesos (US$1) for a 25-minute lesson. As Tajima also observes, this is a highly sexualized domain, with predominantly male students learning from younger Filipinas. This in turn replicates a long history of Japanese male exploitation of Filipina women, from sex tours to bar "hostesses" and marriages between mainly rural Japanese men and Filipinas. We also, therefore, need to understand this "cheap English" not only within the neoliberal economics that breed call centers (Friginal, 2009; Rahman, 2009) and language schools, but also within a history of sexual exploitation of Filipina women.

English is often marketed in relation to a particular set of images of sexual desire, along with connections to travel, a White consumer lifestyle, and aspirational goals for learning English (Gray, 2010; 2012). English, as advertised for language schools and presented in textbooks, "emerges as a powerful tool to construct a gendered identity and to gain access to the romanticized West" (Piller and Takahashi, 2006, p. 69). As Motha and Lin (2014) contend, "at the center of every English language learning moment lies desire: desire for the language; for the identities represented by particular accents and varieties of English; for capital, power, and images that are associated with English; for what is believed to lie beyond the doors that English unlocks" (p. 332). Takahashi (2013) explains Japanese women's desire for English, as "constructed at the intersection between the macro-discourses of the West and foreign men and ideologies of Japanese women's life-courses in terms of education, occupation, and heterosexuality" (p. 144).

Focusing on the ways in which these discourses of desire implicate White Western men, Appleby (2013) shows how "an embodied hegemonic masculinity" is constructed in the Japanese ELT industry, producing as a commodity "an extroverted and eroticised White Western ideal for male teachers" (p. 144). Any understanding of the motivations to learn English, therefore, has to deal with relations of power not only in economic and educational terms but also as they are tied to questions of desire, gender, sexuality, and the marketing of English and English language teachers as products. The political economy of English and the possibility of cheap but authentic English are also, therefore, tied to very real material conditions of sexuality. English is thus entangled both with the political economy of tangled wires and the political embodiment of gendered desires.

Entanglements of Social Difference

The Philippine education system, as Ordoñez (1999) remarked some years ago, appears to be aimed at "supplying the world market economy with a docile and cheap labor force who are trained in English and the vocational and technical skills required by that economy" (pp. 19-20). English is bound up with the export of labor, and particularly, domestic workers (Lorente, 2017). Filipino workers can be found on boats and construction sites among many other workplaces, but it is in domestic and health care that many women work. These are the entangled relations of language, gender, domestic work, and migration. The export of domestic and other workers, and the importance of English in this process, affect language and education policies in the Philippines. These domestic workers now market themselves to prospective employers, while also having to deal with the local language politics of places such as Singapore. This is about Filipina women being inscribed into a neoliberal order of supermaids and scripts of servitude (Lorente, 2017).

Entangled with the class formations produced by neoliberal economies are the gendered nature of work and the ways this fits into patterns of domestic labor and transnational migration (Parreñas, 2001). Language, gender, and labor are already connected in complex ways (Gonçalvez and Schluter, 2017). The position of the Philippines in the global economy requires a "cheap, female labour force that has a working knowledge of English" (Tinio, 2013, p. 221). These women – domestic workers, aged care workers, bargirls, singers,

English Skype teachers – "serve as the very foundations of the global economic order that oppresses them. The English that they speak, idiosyncratic as it is, serves as a not so silent witness of the tenderness, care, libido, pretense at/desire for an ease with Western culture that is imbricated into this oppression" (Tinio, 2013, p. 221). For Lorente (2017), scripts of servitude turn these women into particular kinds of languagized domestic workers that are also stratified by country of origin.

All varieties of English are intertwined with questions of access and discrimination along the lines of class, gender, and race. If the notion of concentric circles of English is to carry any weight, it needs, as Martin (2014) observes in the context of the Philippines, to encompass circles within circles. We have to distinguish between an inner circle "of educated, elite Filipinos who have embraced the English language," an outer circle who may be aware of Philippine English as a variety but are "either powerless to support it and/or ambivalent about its promotion" and an expanding circle for whom the language is "largely inaccessible" (p. 53). The issue, therefore, is not centrally about how Philippine English differs from American English but how English resources are spread, used, and become available or inaccessible to people of different classes and ethnicities across these islands, how English operates amid questions of access, education, style, disparity, and difference. The focus needs to be not so much on linguistic variation as on "linguistic discrimination and prejudice experienced by translingual speakers" (Dovchin, 2019, p. 85).

Laying claim to a variety of English (such as Philippine English) is a claim on multiple levels – to authentic, equal, cheap, elite, or local ways of speaking – but what such claims usually cannot do is make a case for native speakerhood. As the World Englishes and ELF frameworks make clear, this is a domain reserved for predominantly White speakers of particular varieties (Guilherme, 2019): "Many studies which engage with identities in English lingua franca communication remain locked in a type of 'happy English' paradigm and issues of discrimination have not received much attention" (Rudwick, 2022, p. 4). The equation of the native speaker with whiteness and the non-native speaker with non-whiteness (Kubota and Lin, 2009) leads to "both race and nativeness" being "elements of 'the idealized native speaker'" (Romney 2010, p. 19). People of color face discrimination as non-native speakers, and non-native speakers are stigmatized within a racial order (Rosa and Flores, 2017). "White normativity," Jenks (2017) points out, is deeply embedded in the practices and ideologies of English language teaching, part of a "system of racial discrimination that is founded on White privilege, saviorism and neoliberalism" (p. 149).

Such language stratifications – whether gendered registers of servitude, class-based disparities between elites and ordinary people, or "ideologies about race, language, and the elite" that "are central to questions of coloniality," Reyes (2017, p. 211) – are part of the deep entanglements of English and "symptomatic of the harsh and polarized social stratification in the Philippines" (Tinio, 2013, p. 209) as well as more broadly. For Block (2018), English "becomes the mediator of increasing inequality in job markets and societies at large, as we see the emergence of what is, in effect, an English divide" (p. 12). This rift between English education (often private) and local ("vernacular") education can be deeply

divisive, with English education in India, for example, connected on the one hand with the denigration of vernacular languages, cultures, and ways of learning and teaching, and, on the other, dovetailing "with the values and aspirations of the elite Indian middle class" (Ramanathan, 2005, p. 112). A similar divide can also be seen, however, between the private English assets that the Indian middle classes can access and the private but low-quality English resources available to the aspirational poor (Mathew, 2022). This sign for the "Achieve Goal English as a Second Language" school in the backstreets of Cebu is thus entangled on multiple levels and in multiple ways with intersections of class, race, and gender in both local and wider stratifications of social relations.

Enbanglements of English

This sign and its emplacement is an assemblage of cheap English, sexual desire, neoliberal goals, domestic workers, multilingual repertoires, Korean English frenzy, American colonialism, brownouts, call centers, racial hierarchies, unequal resources, and tangled wires (Pennycook, 2020). We cannot understand English in Bangladesh without similar detailed understanding of both the physical emplacement of signs and utterances and the ways in which it is enmeshed within local economies, and all the inclusions, exclusions, stratifications, and inequalities this may entail. We cannot therefore sensibly discuss English or English language teaching in Bangladesh without considering how all that is done in policy, practice, curriculum design, and assessment is connected to broader political and ideological questions, including the relationship with the multilingual ecologies of mother tongues, indigenous ethnic languages, and the national languages with their specific historical, political, and sociocultural significances (Sultana, 2021b), or with the distinctions that are often made between rural and urban speakers (Sultana, 2021a).

When a young man of Chakma background suggests "We don't need Bangla," it is important to understand this deliberate distancing from Bangla as indicating "a deepseated linguistic, historical, political, and cultural desire for an identity that does not exist in the present, but is historically rooted and *entangled* with the future" (Sultana and Bolander, 2021, p. 14; emphasis added). English is embedded in local economies of desire, or ways in which demand for English is part of a larger picture of change, modernization, access, and longing (Hamid, 2016). It is tied to the languages, cultures, styles, and aesthetics of popular culture and changing modes of communication, the ways in which "Bangladeshi youths discursively claim their legitimacy in reusing these local and global multimodal semiotic reousrces" (Sultana, 2019, p. 16). Online translingual practices, however, as (Sultana, in press) also shows, are by no means just a process of creativity or resistance to oppressive language ideologies, but can also function as the breeding ground for the production of new kinds of intolerance and bigotry.

English is entangled with religious education, madrasas, and the choice between *deen* (religious understanding) and *duniya* (material conditions) (Chowdhury, 2021). People in rural madrasas in Bangladesh, Chowdhury (2021) explains, "present a complex array of alternatives in terms of economic advancement, western development programmes, linguistic markets (Arabic and Bangla), linguistic hegemony, globalism, and importantly,

intellectual stances (reflexive critical traditionalism)" (p. 17). To understand the diversity of what English is and what it means in all these contexts, we need to avoid prior assumptions about globalization and its effects, and develop instead critical studies of the local embeddedness of English. English in Bangladesh is therefore both similar and different to the entanglements of English in the Philippines: both are part of the wider Asian region, yet have very different geopolitical and economic backgrounds; both have colonial histories, yet of a very different type (British versus Spanish and American); both are strongly religious, yet one is largely Catholic (apart from Mindanao), while the other is largely Muslim; both are multilingual, yet have very different linguistic policies and ideologies. There are many such broad similarities and differences, but it is the local contingencies of class, ethnicity, desire and discrimination with which English is entangled that really matter.

Conclusion: Disentangling English

The idea of entanglements of English draws our attention to the multiple levels and ways in which English is part of social and political relations, from the inequalities of North/South political economies to the ways it is connected to discourses and ideologies of change, modernization, access, and desire. "Any discussion of English as a global language and its socioeducational implications" Rubdy (2015) reminds us, "cannot ignore the fact that far from being a solution to the dismantling of 'unequal power' relations in the world, English is in fact often part of the problem" (p. 43). At the same time, a framework of entanglements and assemblages allows us to avoid levels or scales that place the global at the top and work their way down through nations to the local. A scalar approach implies levels of importance that do not match with people's lives and contingencies (an English-only classroom language policy may be far more important than a national policy on language education). An assemblage approach avoids necessarily favoring one set of social and political relations over another whereby, for example, political economy is seen as more fundamental than, or as determining, classroom materiality. Such a move may appear to problematically equalize inequality – suggesting that all inequalities are the same in a flattened hierarchy – but this is neither the intention nor the outcome of this way of thinking.

By showing how English is entangled with social, cultural, political, and economic relations (Beck, 2018) I have tried not to favor one over the other, not to suggest that class matters a priori more than race or gender, economy more than health, materiality more than discourse. In these local assemblages, certain things do, of course, matter more than others – modes of inequality are not equal – but the point is not to operate with a predefined hierarchy of inequality. Inequalities must be understood in relation to each other. Although at times a focus on assemblages may appear to lead to flattened hierarchies and ontologies, it is, by contrast, intended as a way of understanding and engaging with contemporary political relations: "The logic of assemblage," Hardt and Negri (2017) assert, "integrates material and immaterial machines, as well as nature and other non-human entities, into cooperative subjectivities. An enriched freedom of assembly generates subjective assemblages that can animate a new world of cooperative networks and social production" (p. 295).

This approach allows for an alternative in terms of the politics of assembly and a more intertwined set of policies, practices, and discourses that occur across multiple spatiotemporal domains. Drawing on insights from Southern Applied Linguistics (Pennycook and Makoni, 2020) and posthumanist theory (Pennycook, 2018), this paper has sought to give an account of how English can be understood in relation to these local and global entanglements. A focus on English entanglements sheds light on how being "part of the problem" is about the interconnectedness between language, place, power, objects, class, race, gender, and more. To create a new post-neoliberal society, and a new post-homo economicus subjectivity, therefore, we need to be to able imagine "new subjectivities that operate increasingly according to a *logic of assemblage*, defined no longer by their possessions but by their connections" (Hardt and Negri, 2017, p. 295; emphasis added). This is to see how English is entangled in everyday, simultaneous activities and material encounters, and how a project of radical redistribution may concern not only political economy but also assemblages of linguistic resources, identifications, artefacts, and places.

The challenge, then, is how to disentangle English. This is not to suggest that English can somehow become unentangled – a language separated once more from all that it is engaged with – but rather that the relations between English and discourses, ideologies, cultures, and economies are not inevitable. This is a decolonial project that takes up the challenge to delink English from its ties of coloniality (Kumaravadivelu, 2016; Mignolo and Walsh, 2018), to challenge the connections between English and visions of modernity, to oppose ways English is assumed to be a pathway to change, development, and material success, to confront the relations between English and social, racial, and gendered discrimination, to counter the entanglements of English with forms of political economy and embodied desires, and to rethink our assumptions about languages and multilingualism (Ndhlovu and Makalela, 2021). This implies decolonial activism, research, and pedagogy that aim both to decolonize and provincialize English and to redress the repressive institutionalization of inequality in contemporary life with which it is connected (Pennycook, 2019). Looking through the lenses of entanglements and assemblages can show how these relations may be contingent, locally formed and unstable.

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English as a Status Marker on Facebook: The Case of Bangladeshi University Students

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Abstract

Nowadays, Facebook seems to have become a platform for people to show off their statuses (social, economic, educational, etc.) to the extent that their choice of language here can be linked to a status symbol. This study specifically examines the reasons and different ways Bangladeshi university students use English on Facebook to achieve status. Data were collected through observations of Facebook posts, a survey of 117 university students, and a semi-structured interview of 10 undergraduate students. The study found that most of the participants preferring English for Facebook posts and comments feel more educated, impressive, and prestigious. However, most participants agreed to preferring Bangla for personal messages. Interestingly, English is found to be preferred when writing to someone respectful in a formal context. Even participants with a weaker command of English were found to be using the language on Facebook without being bothered about linguistic accuracy. The study also found that all participants used code switching and code mixing between English and Bangla languages. These findings imply that English is mostly used by these university students to exhibit their high education status and language identities in public on Facebook.

Keywords: English, status, language identity, Bangladeshi university students, Facebook

Introduction and Literature Review

The English language undoubtedly has a great pervasive influence on almost all sectors of life in postcolonial Bangladesh (Hamid, 2022). Even when it comes to social networking sites like Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc., most people, especially the young generation, can be seen to prefer English for communication. In Bangladesh, Facebook is the most popular social networking site with about 48 million users (Facebook users increase, 2021). My personal observation shows that university students in Bangladesh mostly use English on Facebook. It goes without saying that even the default language that they set on their Facebook handle is English. This seems to be true for students of both public and private universities across the country. Now, there can be various reasons for which this language is preferred. First of all, since the arrival of social media in 1995, there was a need for a lingua franca for worldwide communication. Lingua franca refers to an intermediary language used by speakers of different language backgrounds (Seidlhofer, 2005; Berns, 2012). There were a few contenders for the position of a lingua franca on social media, but without much debate, it can be said that English holds that prestigious position now (Berns, 2009;

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Seidlhofer, 2011). As Berns (2012) and Jenkins et al. (2011) point out, English is used for communications in social media to reach the highest possible number of people. This was to ensure that no one is left out of the collective dialogue regarding whatever is happening across the world. However, the question is whether that can be the only reason why tertiary level students of Bangladesh prefer English on Facebook.

According to linguistic scholars, language is a "cultural, social and psychological phenomenon" (The Power of Language, 2019). From a cultural point of view, we can assume that the university students in Bangladesh will prefer Bangla, their mother tongue. However, when it comes to social and psychological points of view, a different trend can be observed in this country. Sultana (2014) demonstrated how English, alongside Bangla, is creatively, strategically, and pragmatically used by young adults in Bangladesh and the nationalist stance in favor of Bangla may not depict the complex linguistic scenario in Bangladesh. She reported how the issue of translanguaging or code-mixing between Bangla and English is very much present among young adults in Bangladesh and that translanguaging practice is mainly present in oral communication but almost all official written work is done in English. According to Ara (2020), "A major reason of this use of English in oral communication is to appear smart, confident and to show communicative competence"(p. 90). One research by Hossain (2013) found that whereas 95% students speak English with their friends and teachers in the university campus, only 34.5% do that at home. The reason for this particular behavior can be the status and power of the English language as 66% of the participants in that study agreed that they think speaking English elevates their status. Also, there is the issue of bilingualism. The younger generation, born after 2000, are more likely to be bilingual due to their greater exposure to English and their greater need to use it in their daily lives (Kelly-Holmes & Pietikäinen, 2012). Hence, code-switching and code-mixing are common phenomena nowadays.

Moreover, in Bangladesh, English is considered "a stair of prosperity, a tool of acquiring knowledge, and a sign of sophistication" (Hossain, 2013, p.1). As Hasan and Rahaman (2012) opine, when linguistic pedagogy is concerned, the national language curriculum of Bangladesh did not quite make any systematic attempt to raise the standard of Bangla. On the other hand, English is constantly getting promoted across the globe. As Pennycook (2016) points out, several organizations such as the British Council are playing a role in promoting the global spread of English. However, if we observe countries like China, Hong Kong, or the Arab countries, we can find that they constantly promote their own languages and their respective languages enjoy the highest prestige in their societies. Some countries are not concerned about putting up signboards in English for the convenience of international tourists, but the scenario is the opposite in Bangladesh. Hence, it can be opined that the tertiary level students of Bangladesh would consider English not only an important language but also a "'status symbol" and perhaps, the main motivation for their learning and using English is to show others that they fit into the more "'standard" community of English-speaking people.

Now, if we turn to Facebook again, it needs no saying that its users are engrossed with

showing the best versions of themselves in public on social media and since Facebook provides a "popular agora for writing identity into being" (D'Arcy & Young, 2012, p. 532), its users can present themselves quite differently on Facebook from what they actually are. So, self-promotion is very much present on Facebook. Bazarova et al. (2012) pointed out that linguistic choices made by social media users carry social meanings as it includes the desires of negotiating relationships and controlling impressions of others. The issue of creating an identity of status can be connected to the issue of power and status of the English language in Bangladesh. So, it can possibly be said that the young generation in this country uses English to present their "standard" selves. Several studies (Ara, 2020; Awal, 2019; Alam, 2006; Banu & Sussex, 2001; Maniruzzaman, 2009; Erling et al., 2012) touch upon the issue of power and status of English language in Bangladesh and many (Haque Eyemoon, & Rahaman, 2021; Habib, Hossain, Ferdous, and Bayezid, 2018; Al-Jubayer, 2013) examine social media usage in Bangladesh, but the issue of language choice on social media to create a prestigious identity is not explored. Therefore, with regards to the particular speculations posed earlier, this paper will investigate these three research questions:

1. Do tertiary level students of Bangladesh prefer English on Facebook to achieve high status?
2. For what reasons do these students use English on Facebook?
3. What are the different ways in which English is used on Facebook by these students?

Research Methodology

This study uses a mixed-method design. Mixed method is a research design where multiple methods are incorporated to address research questions and involves collecting, analyzing, interpreting, and reporting both qualitative and quantitative data (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). This study used the convergent mixed-method design in particular and the quantitative and qualitative data were collected concurrently. According to Creswell & Plano Clark (2018), a convergent design follows pragmatism as a theoretical assumption, and qualitative and quantitative methods are mixed to obtain the triangulated results in this design. Here, data sets are collected concurrently and then analyzed independently using quantitative and qualitative analytical approaches. The purpose of using a mixed-method design for this study was to compare both types of findings (quantitative and qualitative) and to get a fuller picture of the phenomena. The quantitative approach examined the objective aspects of the research problem and the qualitative one examined the subjective aspects of the problem and the experiences of the participants.

For this particular study, quantitative data was collected through an online questionnaire using a Google form which was developed for this particular research and it contained 20 close-ended and 2 open-ended questions. Convenience sampling was used to choose participants for the survey questionnaire. There were 117 respondents (students of two private and one public university from the first year to Master's level) who took part in the survey. The questionnaire was distributed to the students online through Facebook and Messenger. The form was kept open for one week for the participants to submit their

responses and then closed. The participants' identities were kept anonymous in the survey. Statistical data of the questionnaire was analyzed automatically in the Google form through Google spreadsheet and the data of the two open-ended questions were quantified.

On the other hand, qualitative data was collected through semi-structured interviews of 10 undergraduate level students and observation of Facebook posts for a month to collect the corpus of status updates and wall posts. Purposive sampling was used to choose interviewees. First, observation was done on the researcher's Facebook handle for a period of 2 weeks to explore potential interviewees and then 10 university students were selected (5 students who used Bangla more and five who used English more on Facebook). The interviews were conducted on Google Meet and recorded, but not fully transcribed due to time limitations. Rather, notes were taken during and after the interviews and the data was analyzed using thematic text analysis. Notes were taken during observation on Facebook too and then analyzed thematically by identifying common themes – topics, ideas, and patterns of meaning that came up repeatedly. The findings (both qualitative and quantitative) are presented with discussion in a comparative structure in the next section.

Findings and Discussion

Do students actually prefer English on Facebook?

The research has found that tertiary level students of Bangladesh prefer to use English on Facebook. This same result was found after analyzing the data collected through the survey conducted, interviews, and observation of Facebook posts. A surprisingly large number of 88 respondents (75.2%) out of 117 agreed that they prefer English on Facebook while posting something (see Figure 1). Interviews of 10 university students also established the fact that they all prefer English on this social media handle. Needless to say, through the observations done on Facebook, it was also found that more than half (about 60%) of the university-going population on Facebook use English on their Facebook handles.

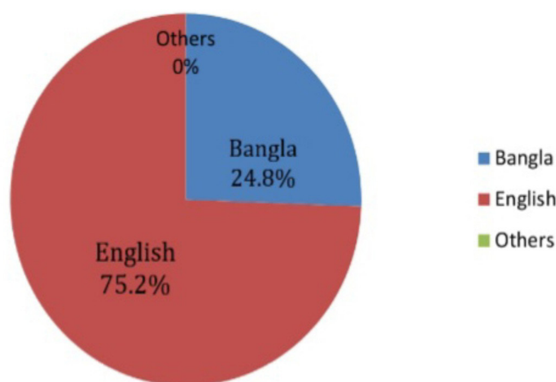

Figure 1: Preference for English for Facebook posts (results of the survey)

In one study, Hasan (2005) revealed that students are aware of the importance of learning the English language. However, he found that 59% of the participants are uninterested in

speaking English. It is quite interesting to note that while most students in Bangladesh are quite comfortable in using English in social media, in real life, they are uninterested in using the language for communicative purposes. Here, it is noteworthy that the participants in this research study were from Bengali ethnic background. Therefore, none pointed about using any other language while posting statuses on their timelines and hence, the result of other languages is 0%. What is more interesting here is that whereas most students prefer English for posting on their timelines, only half (50%) of them prefer this language while writing messages privately. The study found that 45% of the participants prefer Bangla and 5% prefer other languages while writing messages on Facebook (see Figure 2). From the interviews, it was found that the participants felt more comfortable in using their mother tongue while communicating with their friends and families. Contrastingly, they prefer English for formal communication via messages, for example, while communicating with teachers.

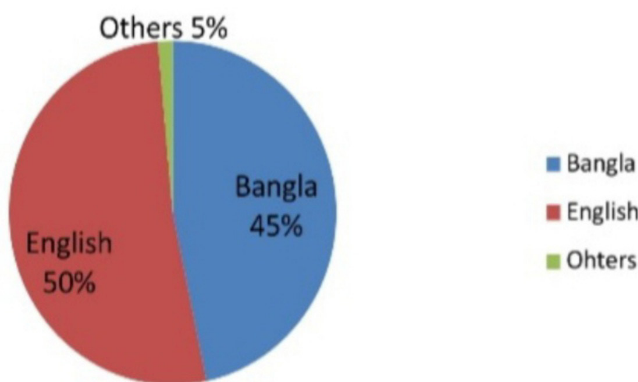

Figure 2: Students' preference for English in Facebook messages (results of the survey)

This particular behavior can be analyzed from their psychological point of view of appearing "standard" before others as most people can see posts on their Facebook timeline but messages are privately sent to a particular person or a group of people only. The literature also substantiates this claim. In this regard, one interviewee (no. 7) mentioned that, "messaging is like talking to a person. And I feel pretty comfortable to talk in my native language." Interestingly, one interviewee even pointed out that he prefers Bangla in message writing because people think he/she is showing off when he sends messages in English. In the interviewee's (no. 2) words: "if I message continuously in English, then people think I'm showing off because I'm a student of English department." Another (no. 8) pointed out, "most of my friends are comfortable with Bangla. So, I prefer Bangla language for messaging." So, it appears that the tertiary level students of Bangladesh prefer Bangla in writing messages on Facebook to feel included in their own community of Bangla-speaking people with whom they have closer bonds and whom they want to feel comfortable with while having a chat.

Reasons for students' preference for English

During the survey and interviews, similar reasons were pointed out by the students regarding their preference for English on Facebook. Furthermore, the observation of Facebook posts shed light on similar themes. Most participants (42%) in the survey reported that they prefer English because it is an international language and interestingly, a few (18%) pointed out that it is a "smart language." Related to this point, some (28%) addressed the issue of the need of English for their career and international communication. Also, since English as a lingua franca is needed for students for higher education, some (12%) pointed out that they use English on Facebook for academic purposes (perhaps, to practice the language or to put the language to use). Interviews also showed similar reasons for students' preference for English on Facebook. Here are some of the responses that the participants gave regarding these particular points (Note: the responses are given in their original version here without editing or grammatical corrections):

1. Because it's international language and it's easy to use.
2. Because it's international language and easy to understand for everyone.
3. I love English. It helps me to learn many things. It helps me to build good communication.
4. I prefer English language because it is globally used and helps us to connect with each other more than any other languages can. Also, by using this language we can understand many things easily. Like, histories which are mostly translated in English for the better understanding of everyone.
5. I prefer English language because of it is an international language.
6. It's a official language of most of the country in the world.

The next reason for their preference for English is definitely the issue of communication. Many (about 65%) have commented that they prefer to post something on Facebook in English because they have friends across the world and English, being a lingua franca, makes a bridge for communication. In addition, some (21%) pointed out the fact that English is easier to understand for themselves and to make others understand. Needless to say that in this era of global congestion, many of the young generation in Bangladesh have friends or family worldwide for which they feel the need for English to communicate. Similar remarks were made by interviewees too. In this regard, some of the comments from the students were:

1. English is a universal language. So, it would be better for all of my friends to understand my status properly as I have different kinds of friends from different nations.
2. Everybody can understand easily that language. I have also many friends who are live in another country.
3. English is an international language. Through this language we can communicate with other countries easily.
4. I prefer English language because it is globally used and helps us to connect with each other more than any other languages can.

5. Anyone can understand English in my friend list.
6. Because I've some foreign friends in my friend list. So, it'll be easier for them to understand.

Then, thematically, the next recurring point mentioned by most of the participants (84%) is that they find typing in English easier and more comfortable on Facebook compared to typing in Bangla, which is "difficult." The following comments by the interviewees show similar results:

1. It's more easy to type in English than Bangla.
2. Because I feel convenient writing in English. Typing in Bengali is difficult also I make tons of spelling mistakes.
3. I preferred English because it's quite easy to type.
4. Because English is very easy to write more than typing Bangla
5. Because it's very interesting. And it takes short time to type messages.

Now, it is well-known that languages like Mandarin or Arabic are quite difficult to type. However, the users of these languages seem to prefer their native language over English. Middle Eastern PR agency Spot On PR commissioned one study which indicated that Facebook's Arabic interface has grown 175% a year, double the rate of the social network's growth worldwide. Algeria saw the biggest rise, growing 423% annually (Brian, 2011). The Arabic platform's 10 million users make up about 35% of the region's Facebook subscribers, up from 24% in May 2010. 56% of Facebook users in Egypt (3.8 million) opt for the Arabic language version. If we turn to countries like Germany or Hong Kong, the citizens always prefer their native languages over other languages, even though these languages are quite difficult compared to English. So, why do young Bangladeshi people not prefer Bangla and show respect for their language? Can it be due to the subtle, indirect colonization of their minds due to the spread of the importance of English and the lack of importance of Bangla? Now, this issue is quite broad and out of the scope of this research, but this particular finding implies a subtle correlation between the choice of language and the importance or status that is attached to it, as was illustrated in the literature.

The next most recurring point, and perhaps the most important point to note in this research paper, is the issue of the "status"' of the English language. Many participants in the survey and interviews commented on things that either directly or indirectly express their urge to use English on social media to "look good." 40.8% participants of the survey reported "yes" to this claim. 30% of the participants thought that English does not make them look any better, and 29.2% remained neutral. Similarly, the comments below from the interviews validate the statement posed in this paper earlier that the university students of Bangladesh prefer English on Facebook to show off their "status":

1. Honestly speaking, I prefer English language to increase my value in everywhere.
2. Because I think it is the smart way.
3. It is classic and standard.
4. Because English language is the first priority in the world.

5. Coz it's a frequent language and smart language which we talk so randomly and usually.
6. Nowadays most of the people love to communicate in English, That's why I prefer this language.
7. Because of the acceptability to mass people as English is the universal and international language all over the world.

What is important here to note is that all of these reasons point to one thing: English is a powerful language, signifying status. So, using this language brings about a good image to the students for which they are drawn towards English even more than their mother tongue, Bangla, on Facebook.

When and how English is used

This section of the paper deals with the various contexts on Facebook in which English is used by tertiary-level students of Bangladesh and how they use the language. It will examine the issue of "status" in relation to when and how the language is used.

First of all, the study found that the participants prefer English in the formal context of communication. As mentioned earlier, they prefer English while communicating with teachers or other official personnel. The study found that most students (44.2%) use English with teachers "most of the time" while 40% use English "sometimes" and 9.2% use this language "all the time." Fewer than 10% of students use this language "rarely." However, when participants were asked regarding the language that they use to communicate with their families, friends, or relatives, most of them voted for Bangla (92.5%). Just a handful of the participants pointed out that they use English sometimes to communicate with family members, friends, or relatives living abroad. This clearly indicates that the students are aware of context-specific standard behavior. They use English to appear educated and "standard" to their community.

The study has also found that most of the students use English on Facebook when they want/need to "look good." In response to a question on this topic, 40.8% of the students agreed that they think using this language makes them look better in others' eyes. Another 29.2% chose "maybe" while just 30% confidently said "no." It was found in the survey that most students (18.3% "all the time," 33.3% "most of the time," 33.3% "sometimes," and 15% "rarely") are overwhelmed by people who write beautifully in English on Facebook. Also, around 60% of the participants assume that the university students use English on Facebook to "show-off" their level of education and/or language expertise, or social/economic class. Due to this particular perception, most of the students use English to write their status or captions on Facebook. Even 50% of the students said that they think captions in English are more interesting and catchier than Bangla, while 15.8% said "maybe," and 34.2% said "no." In this regard, the study found that a large number of students (60.8% "yes" and 15% "sometimes," 24.2% "no") even take text in English from the internet or some other source to post on Facebook. Interviews with the students also showed that some of the participants sometimes take quotes or ready-made captions from different websites and use them on Facebook.

Then comes the issue of code-switching and code-mixing. It was found that 26.9% of students are, most of the time, mixing their mother tongue, Bangla, and English in the same status, comment, or message. Here, 38.7% do it "sometimes," 6.7% do it "all the time," and 27.7% do it rarely. So, the mixing of these two languages on Facebook by a large number of students (around 70%) implies that they want to feel included in both the communities of native Bangla speakers and the lingua franca, English. Very interestingly, the study found that while only 9% of the participants said that they never check grammar, spelling, or such linguistic mechanisms while posting something in English on Facebook, 40% said they "never" and another 13.3% said they "rarely" check these while posting something in Bangla. This establishes the fact that students are more conscious while writing something in English so that any error does not affect their "image." What is interesting to note here is that, even when these students write in Bangla, most of the time (79.2%) they use English fonts to type Bangla. This particular behavior can be explained with the point previously mentioned that typing in Bangla is comparably difficult for these students.

In the case of using hashtags on significant social/cultural/political phenomena, the students mostly (70%) prefer English. This is because 54.6% of them believe that they can reach more people on Facebook with English hashtags. In this regard, one student pointed out, "people are more attracted to English hashtags than Bangla." Another one mentioned that English in a hashtag makes it more highlighted and reaches more people. Here, only 20% of the survey respondents said that they do not think English will help to reach more people.

The study found a very interesting correlation between the context and the language used therein. It was seen that most students use Bangla (both in Bangla font or Bangla in English font) for writing something on Facebook on occasions like Pohela Boishakh, International Mother Language Day, Independence Day, Victory Day, or other national days. In contrast, these students prefer to use English to write something on occasions like English New Year, birthdays, or any international event. The interviews have established similar findings.

Conclusion

To conclude, the study has found that most of the university-going students in Bangladesh prefer to use the English language on social media. There is no denying that social media like Facebook has become a craze for the young generation in Bangladesh. Millions of people here use Facebook on a daily basis for various purposes: from simple communication to conducting businesses (Prothom Alo, 2021). The university students of this country are no exception to this. It is to be noted that participants for the study were chosen based on the criteria that they were Facebook users. The riveting fact is that when possible participants were approached and asked if they use Facebook or not, none of them answered in the negative. This shows how popular and influential this particular social media is. And when it comes to portraying oneself to others, everyone desires to appear well. Many studies have examined the relation between self-esteem and the use of social media sites which showed how people with low self-esteem tend to use more social media sites to enhance their

self-image and self-esteem (Błachnio, Przepiorka, & Rudnicka, 2016; Denti et al., 2012; Gonzales & Hancock, 2011 as cited in Hawi & Samaha, 2016). Therefore, it is no wonder that most users of Facebook from the young generation of Bangladesh are concerned about presenting their best versions before others in public. Many post edited photos, filtered images, and so on just to look good in others' eyes. The fact seems to be true in case of their choice of language too.

English is undoubtedly deemed as a language of art, culture, power, and sophistication. In one study, Rahaman, Quasem, & Hasam (2019) showed how English medium students in Bangladesh try to attain an imaginary height of excellence by shaking off their culture and heritage, and becoming eager to explore those of the people of English-speaking countries. As Rahaman, Quasem, & Hasam (2019) point out, "English language is a symbol of high brow which makes them feel upgraded or elevated to some extent" (p. 41). So, being skilled in English is quite a great achievement for a person here. Also, the issue of colonization remains and even Bangla medium students are found to prefer English on Facebook. Therefore, the paper implies that English is preferred as a status marker on Facebook by the university level students in Bangladesh. However, the findings of this study should not be generalized. The study was quite small-scale with about two hundred participants only, and that too from only three universities. Also, no comparative study was conducted to examine if students from public and private, rural and urban areas yield different results. Further research can surely give more insights to the existing findings of this study.

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Appendix 1
Questionnaire

Dear students,
This survey is to gather information about Bangladeshi university students' preferences regarding the use of English language on Facebook. Your responses will be kept confidential. Kindly answer all the questions. Thank you.
Regards,
Monisha Biswas
Email: monisha@ewubd.com

Choose one option:
1. Which language do you prefer the most while posting someting on Facebook?
   a. Bangla b. English c. Others
2. Which language do you prefer the most for writing messages on Facebook?
   a. Bangla b. English c. Others
3. How frequently do you use Bangla to communicate with your teachers on Facebook?
   a. All the time b. Most of the times c. Sometimes d. Rarely
4. How frequently do you use English to communicate with your teachers on Facebook?
   a. All the time b. Most of the times c. Sometimes d. Rarely
5. Do you think using English on Facebook makes you look better in other's eyes?
   a. Yes b. No c. Maybe
6. Do you think captions in English are more catchy and interesting than captions in Bangla on Facebook?
   a. Yes b. No c. Maybe
7. Do you mix Bangla and English languages in the same status/comment/message on Facebook?
   a. All the time b. Most of the times c. Sometimes d. Rarely
8. Do you get overwhelmed by people who write beautifully in English on Facebook?
   a. All the time b. Most of the times c. Sometimes d. Rarely
9. Do you feel jealous of people who can write in good English?
   a. All the time b. Most of the times c. Sometimes d. Rarely
10. Do you think university students use English on Facebook to show off their level of education or language expertise to impress others?
   a. Yes b. No c. Maybe

11. Do you think university students use English on Facebook to show off their social and/or economic class to impress others?
 a. Yes b. No c. Maybe
12. Do you check for grammar, sentence structure, spelling and such when writing a status in English on Facebook?
 a. Always b. Most of the times c. Some d. Rarely
13. Do you check for grammar, sentence structure, spelling and such when writing a status in Bangla on Facebook?
 a. Always b. Often c. Sometimes d. Rarely e. Never
14. Have you ever taken any text written in English from the internet or any other source to use on Facebook for posting statuses/messages/captions?
 a. Yes b. No c. Maybe
15. Have you ever taken any text written in Bangla from the internet or any other source to use on Facebook for posting statuses/messages/captions?
 a. Yes b. No c. Maybe
16. Have you ever typed Bangla using English fonts on Facebook?
 a. Yes b. No c. Maybe
17. Which language do you prefer the most while communicating with family/friends/relatives?
 a. Bangla b. English c. Others
18. Do you think using English on Facebook will make you reach more people?
 a. Yes b. No c. Maybe
19. Have you ever used a hash-tag in Bangla on Facebook?
 a. Yes b. No c. Maybe
20. Have you ever used a hashtag in English on Facebook?
 a. Yes b. No c. Maybe
21. If you prefer English on Facebook, kindly write down the reason/s for it:
 ………………………………………………………………………………………..
22. If you prefer Bangla on Facebook, kindly write down the reason/s for it:
 ………………………………………………………………………………………..

Appendix 2
Semi-Structured Interview Questions

Core questions:
1. Which language do you prefer the most for posting status and writing messages on Facebook and why?
2. Which language do you prefer the most for communicating with family/friends/relatives and with teachers?
3. Do you check for grammar, sentence structure, spelling and such when writing a status or message on Facebook?
4. Do you mix Bangla and English languages in the same status/comment/message on Facebook?
5. Can you point out a few occasions when you use Bangla and when you use English on Facebook?

Western-Centricity in Academia: How International Journals Endorse Inner Circle Englishes and a European-American Worldview

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Abstract

Most international academic journals are produced in Europe and the United States, and whether or not they are considered objective and inclusive forums for worldwide academic research, they are subtly imbued with elements of their own culture. First of all, the language, is, in most cases, English, but not Outer Circle Englishes or English as a Lingua Franca, but specifically British and/or American English. And this obviously creates a big barrier for authors who are not fluent in these varieties, which partly explains the dearth of authors coming from areas outside Europe and, more specifically, the United Kingdom and North America. After the language itself, the problem lies in all the western cultural elements that are found in the journals. The dates, for example, are always expressed in western terms such as the Christian era. Or the names of the authors in the references, which follow the western convention of the surname followed by the first name/s (or initials), which is at odds with the patronymic systems normally used in Muslim countries where no family names exist, for example. This paper discusses these issues and tries to offer some possible solutions.

Keywords: academic journals, English as a lingua franca, Esperanto, eurocentrism, western-centricity

Introduction

Western-centricity, often simply called Eurocentrism even though it normally includes North America as well, is a form of ethnocentricity and a by-product of colonialism.

Ethnocentricity, of which western-centricity is a form, refers to "the tendency to view one's own ethnic group and its social standards as the basis for evaluative judgements concerning the practices of others – with the implication that one views one's own standards as superior" (Reber, 1985).

Quoting Gheverghese, Reddy and Searle-Chatterjee (1990), western-centricity

> grew out of the historical processes of Western colonial and economic dominance and has, in turn, provided an ideological justification for that dominance. The categories and approaches used in European academia help to maintain the political and intellectual superiority of Europe. (p. 1)

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Far from criticizing all things that come from the west, the problem is that the flow of knowledge is normally unidirectional: from Europe, and more precisely from Northern Europe and North America, to the rest of the world, and rarely the other way round, even though many countries have precious and unique knowledge that would greatly contribute to both academic studies and the general wellbeing of the West. As far as social science is concerned, it was reported in the *World Social Science Report 2010 of UNESCO* that research in this area of knowledge outside Europe is very limited and hardly ever cited. According to this report, for example, North America cited no research whatsoever from either Asia and Africa (Alvares, 2011, p. 72).

A lot has been written about this kind of cultural colonialism and I will not repeat what other researchers have explained better than me. In fact, in this article, I would like to focus on one specific type of western-centricity, i.e., academic journals in my own area of research, sociolinguistics. I will consider four main points of contention that in my view show the western-centricity of most academic journals quite clearly. I will start with the composition of editorial boards and the language normally used, English, and those that could be used, English as a lingua franca[1] and Esperanto. After these, I will briefly look at the dating system, always expressed as Christian era, and at the way references reflect the western notion of a name followed by a family name.

Editorial Boards

Most international academic journals are produced in Europe and the United States, and whether or not they portray themselves as objective and inclusive forums for sharing academic research worldwide, they are subtly imbued with elements of their own culture. Their editorial boards include mostly westerners working at western universities, in addition to a few other countries such as Israel, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Japan in Asia, and South Africa in Africa. Interestingly, very few Southern and Eastern European academics or universities are included either. Even those few non-Europeans and non-Americans that are included in the editorial boards normally work in western universities. I had a look at the editorial boards of eight of the highest ranking journals in my own area of research (*Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, Language Problems and Language Planning, Current Issues in Language Planning, Language Policy, Linguistic Landscape: An International Journal, International Journal of Multilingualism, Multilingua, International Journal of the Sociology of Language*). The number of affiliations outside Europe, North America, or Australia and New Zealand is on average 62 out of a total of 223 (28%); nearly a third of these (24 out 62), however, are from the "outposts," mentioned above, of western academic culture, that is, Israel, Singapore, Hong Kong, Japan, and South Africa. The journal doing the best in this sense is the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* (16 out of 30), the one doing "worst" is *Linguistic Landscape: An International Journal* (5 out of 27).[2]

The Language

Apart from these considerations, another problematic issue is the language used in the great majority of journals: English. Not Outer Circle Englishes or English as a Lingua

Franca, but specifically British and/or American English. This creates a barrier for authors who are not fluent in either of these varieties, which may partly explain the dearth of published authors coming from areas outside North America, the United Kingdom or, to a lesser extent, Europe. As Flowerdew (2013) has nicely summarized:

> The fact that this lingua franca, English, is also the native language of one group of scholars (a minority) and is an additional language for the rest of the world (the majority) brings with it particular advantages for the former group and disadvantages for the latter. Anglophone scholars enjoy what van Parijs (2007) has referred to as a "free ride." English is their mother tongue and the language in which they have received their education, so they do not need to make any special effort to learn an additional language …. Non-Anglophones, on the other hand, and their governments, have to invest in learning English. Governments need to use taxes to fund English teaching in schools and universities, and individuals, if they do not receive adequate support in the public sector, need to pay tutors and editors. (p. 3)

Let us look at this example:

> 3. Contributions must be in English. Spelling should be either American English or British English and should be consistent throughout the paper. *If not written by a native speaker, it is advisable to have the paper checked by a native speaker prior to submission*. [emphasis mine]

This is the third point in the guidelines for authors in the journal *Linguistic Landscape: An International Journal.* This means that British and American English are norms, which implies that other English spellings, such as South African English spelling, for example, would be rejected. This point would be enough to drive away a large number of Asian, African, and South American academics who do not master English and, above all, are not in contact with first language speakers who may edit their work. Professional editing services are offered on the web, but their fees are completely out of range for most academics in "developing" countries. One website I checked charges $250 for one research article! As English is not my first language, whenever I finalize an article, I also have to ask my English-speaking friends to look through it as I would not like to spend $250, which is equivalent to more than 1000 Malaysian ringgit, the amount of a minimum wage in Malaysia. Sometimes I have to wait for a while as not all of my English friends may be readily available.

Is there any solution to this problem? One would be allowing academics to use their own language, which is what the journal *Language Planning and Language Problems*, for instance, normally does. The problem, obviously, is that people who cannot speak or understand that language will probably skip the article. Another solution would be to allow all authors to use English as a lingua franca, whereby non-English-speaking academics would be allowed to express themselves in their own variety of English. The problems of comprehensibility that may arise could perhaps be obviated using explanatory footnotes provided by the editors.

The problem with this approach is that probably few authors would allow themselves to do this, feeling that their own English is incorrect or substandard. A lot has already been written on the high prestige that inner circle Englishes enjoy and nothing more needs to be added here (for one example relating to Malaysia, see Kaur, 2014).

Another solution could be the use of Esperanto or possibly some other international auxiliary language. Esperanto, however, may be the best candidate for its development and popularity.[3] It was invented by L. L. Zamenhof in 1887. Although it is not completely neutral as its vocabulary is based on European languages, it is very simple and completely regular, and most importantly, it is not the first language of anyone and has no culture behind it; and if it has, it is an international and pacifist culture. The whole grammar of Esperanto can be included in a few pages. It is a language that does not have any exceptions, where a large number of prefixes and suffixes are used to expand the meanings of root words. For example, the root *parol-*, coming from the Italian noun "parola" (word), can become *parolo* (word), *paroloj* (words), *parola* (spoken), *paroli* (to speak), *parolas* (I speak, you speak, etc.), *parolis* (I spoke/I have spoken, etc.), *parolos* (I will speak, etc.), *parolus* (I would speak), *parolu* (speak!), and so on (for a brief outline, see https://en.wikiversity.org/wiki/Esperanto/Grammar_Rules). However, in this case, too, the problem of prestige would probably emerge, as Esperanto does not seem to enjoy a particular high prestige outside its small circle of enthusiasts. It is a well-known fact that prestige is normally associated with whatever can bring cultural and, particularly, economic advantages. However, if anyone outside Europe and America had any doubts about the appropriateness of adopting a language created in Europe and whose vocabulary is based solely on European languages, I may perhaps recall that at one time, before the rapid spread of English, most countries in the world had Esperanto associations and many still do. As a matter of fact, China has been one of the biggest promoters of Esperanto, in spite of the great difference between its languages, including Mandarin, on one hand, and Esperanto on the other (Chan, 1986). One of the reasons for this popularity has been that Esperanto:

> is relatively easy to learn and use. It is systematic, logical, phonetic, and has few grammatical variations. Its practical (though limited) use for almost a century has demonstrated that it is easier to learn than national languages. (Chan, 1986, p. 11)

If Esperanto were accepted as the main language of academia, all academics, including American and British, would need to learn it like everybody else in the academic world. The above mentioned journal, *Language Problems and Language Planning*, requests two abstracts for every article: one in English and one in any other language, normally the first language of the author. In addition, a translation in Esperanto is always added. It is not certain whether adopting this idea would make a real difference, but it would be at least a symbolic statement against the "unicity" of English.

This is an example of the abstracts that were published for one of my articles on *Language Problems and Language Planning* (Coluzzi, 2015):

> *Economic phenomena and ideologies behind language shift: From nationalism and*

globalization to modernization and the ideology of "new"

This article examines the phenomenon of language shift from a macroeconomic and ideological perspective. More specifically it looks at how phenomena such as nationalism and globalization, which are closely related to the capitalist mode of production, have affected the spread of some languages and the demise of others, usually minority and regional languages. A special emphasis is placed on the ideology of modernity as a major cause for language shift in the world. Each section in the article includes examples from the areas in the world where the author has carried out his own research and possible solutions to the problems set forth.

Sommario [Italian]
Fenomeni economici e ideologie alla base della deriva linguistica: Dal nazionalismo e la globalizzazione alla modernizzazione e l'ideologia del "nuovo"

Questo articolo esamina il fenomeno della deriva linguistica da una prospettiva macroeconomica e ideologica. Più specificatamente esamina come fenomeni come il nazionalismo e la globalizzazione, che sono intimamente legati al modo di produzione capitalista, abbiano influito sulla diffusione di alcune lingue e sulla scomparsa di altre, di solito lingue minoritarie o regionali. Enfasi particolare è stata posta sull'ideologia della modernità come causa principale della deriva linguistica nel mondo. Ogni sezione include esempi da aree diverse del mondo in cui l'autore ha svolto la sua ricerca, e possibili soluzioni ai problemi presentati.

Resumo [Esperanto]
Ekonomiaj fenomenoj kaj ideologioj malantaŭ lingva ŝoviĝo: De naciismo kaj tutmondiĝo al modernigo kaj la ideologio de "noveco"

Tiu ĉi artikolo ekzamenas la fenomenon de lingva ŝoviĝo el makroekonomia kaj ideologia vidpunkto. Pli specife, ĝi konsideras la manieron laŭ kiu fenomenoj kiel naciismo kaj tutmondiĝo, kiuj proksime rilatas al la kapitalista modalo de produktado, efikis al la disvastiĝo de iuj lingvoj kaj la malapero de aliaj, kutime minoritataj kaj regionaj lingvoj. Specialan emfazon oni donas al la ideologio de moderneco kiel forta kaŭzo de lingvoŝoviĝo en la mondo. Ĉiu sekcio de la artikolo enhavas ekzemplojn el mondaj regionoj kie la aŭtoro faris proprajn esplorojn kaj prezentas eblajn solvojn al la problemoj prezentitaj.

Other Problems

Although language may be considered the first and biggest problem about academic journals, western-centricity is clear in other aspects as well. These may seem "minor" with respect to the problem of language, but they retain a very strong symbolic significance.

If one looks at any journal cover, for example, what stands out instantly is the date, which is always expressed in western terms such as the Christian era. Calling it the Common Era has been an improvement, but it still makes reference to the date of Jesus's birth. It would be both fair and easy to add at least the most used calendars in the world, at the very least

the Islamic and Buddhist eras. For March 2009, for example, the Islamic era Rabi al-Awwal 1430 and the Buddhist era Mee-naa-kom 2552 could be added.

Another problematic area is the references. There, the names of the authors have to follow the convention of putting the surname before the first and/or middle names (or their initials). This is clearly based on the western use of first names and family names, which is at odds with many other naming systems in the world. Patronymic systems, for examples, are normally used in Muslim countries, but not exclusively. In Europe, for example, Icelandic people follow this system (see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Patronymic). In other cultures, for example, only a few first names or family names exist, which makes the APA system of using only family names and initials very confusing. In Bali, for example, only 10 first names are used (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Balinese_name), whereas the Sikh have, in theory at least, only two surnames: Singh for men and Kaur for women (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sikh_names). Many solutions have been offered to solve this problem, but ideally, journals should use the system followed in the original country of the contributor, even though that implies that the reference may begin with a first name, which should never be shortened.

Conclusion

In this short paper, I have just highlighted a few elements that are clearly western-centric and, I believe, should be changed. Trying to increase the number of non-western scholars in the editorial boards or changing the way dates and references are currently expressed should not prove particularly difficult, but, obviously, the use of English is and will continue to be a problem until either any language or English as a lingua franca could be used, or Esperanto, as I have suggested. Obviously opposition will always be strong, both from British and American academics who would not want to lose the power and centricity they currently enjoy, and from many Outer Circle academics whose first language is not English but can speak, read and write the latter with relative fluency.

Notes

1. Firth's definition of English as a lingua franca is: "ELF is a 'contact language' between persons who share neither a common native tongue nor a common (national) culture, and for whom English is the chosen foreign language of communication" (Firth, 1996, p. 240, in Flowerdew, 2013, p. 4).
2. These are all good and respectable journals, and I am not commenting on the quality of the articles published, nor am I suggesting they should necessarily include African, Asian or South American academics in their boards who do not suit the requirements of the journals. Mine is just an observation about the western orientation of these journals.
3. Other auxiliary languages have been invented, but even though some have tried to be less Eurocentric in their grammar and especially lexicon, none has had the popularity nor has enjoyed the development and the abundance of material that Esperanto has. One example of a constructed auxiliary language whose vocabulary is based on roots from the major languages of the world is Lingwa de Planeta (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lingwa_de_planeta).

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Learners' Attitude towards the Adaptation of CLIL in Undergraduate English Literature Courses in a Private University Context in Bangladesh

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Abstract

For a lack of competence in the English language, students of BA English programs in private universities in Bangladesh appear to struggle to understand the lessons involving literary content (Alam, 2018). To help students with adequate skills in English, adapting Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), with equal emphasis on subject teaching and language teaching for enhancing both the skills of communicating and transferring content knowledge, appears to be more effective than just lecture-based content teaching of literature. Then again, the success of CLIL in literature classes depends on learners' positive attitude towards it (Dörneyi, 1990; Dörneyi, 2001; Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Heckhausen, 1991). Therefore, this research intends to explore learners' perceptions about integrating task-oriented literary materials with both content and language teaching to develop students' comprehension level of literary contents as well as enhance their English language skills. This paper, a fraction of a larger research, will focus on the findings of a questionnaire and interviews to address learners' perspectives regarding the strengths of using CLIL in undergraduate English literature classes in Bangladesh. A group of first year undergraduate students of English literature courses in a private university participated in this research. The quantitative data from the questionnaire was analyzed using an Excel spreadsheet and the qualitative interview data was analyzed thematically. Based on the analysis of the findings, the research identified that the learners expressed a mixed attitude towards CLIL in literature classes regarding its strengths and weaknesses. The majority of the learners with weaker language skills enjoyed CLIL whereas learners with better language skills preferred lecture-based lessons instead of CLIL.

Keywords: CLIL in literature class, learners' attitude, undergraduate program, Bangladesh

Introduction

Learners' heterogeneity is a significant catalyst concerning the success of any teaching learning technique. Research reveals that undergraduate English literature courses in Bangladesh are typically composed of heterogeneous learners in terms of linguistic competence and educational background: a portion of them are adept in English language skills while some lack the required language skills for BA in English programs (Shahriar, 2012; Hasan, 2016; Yeasmin, 2011). In the same way, before entering tertiary

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education some students complete their higher secondary education from English medium institutions located in urban areas and some from Bangla medium institutions located in both urban areas aided by and rural areas deprived of updated and advanced teaching learning facilities. In fact, undergraduate candidates are not apparently prepared with the language skills they would require to study in the English department (Alam, 2018). They find it rather difficult to understand the contents of English literature courses, and, in most cases, the course outcomes become less successful in meeting the objectives and goals of the program. In order to equip these students with the English language skills required to analyze and appreciate literary texts, adopting Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) appears to be more effective than just conducting lecture-based content teaching of the texts as CLIL puts equal emphasis on subject teaching and language teaching with the purpose of both enhancing the skill of communicating as well as gathering and transferring content knowledge (Coyle, Hood, & Marsh, 2010).

In fact, the success of CLIL in literature classes depends on learners' positive attitude towards it. Therefore, this research intends to explore learners' perceptions about the integration of task-oriented literary materials with both content and language teaching to develop students' comprehension level of literary contents as well as enhance their English language skills. This paper, a fraction of a larger research, will focus only on the findings from a questionnaire and interviews to address learners' perceptions regarding the strengths and weaknesses of using CLIL in English literature classes in Bangladesh.

Literature Review

Scholars have been raising their voices for including literary texts in the second and foreign language curriculum (Cook, 1994; Shanahan, 1997; Hanauer, 2001; Carroli, 2008). Researchers have also alternatively advocated a content-based curriculum that would include literature components (Liddicoat, 2000; Kramsch, 2013). With this connection, CLIL shows an appropriate relevance to English literature classes in Bangladesh. Nevertheless, the success of CLIL basically depends on learners' acceptance and attitude towards this approach. Generally speaking, attitude is an individual's set of beliefs and reactions towards any practice, issue, and phenomena. This attitude of learners is vital for the success of any teaching-learning approach as researchers correspondingly claim that a positive attitude facilitates learning (Dörneyi, 1990; Dörneyi, 2001; Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Heckhausen, 1991). Furthermore, in any situation, attitude is a driving force which is strongly linked to motivation (Katarzyna, 2012), and the formation of motivation among learners depends on the type of effective materials used and the teaching strategies applied. Consequently, it can be alluded and argued that using literature as language teaching resources has linguistic and motivational advantages (Lazar, 1993; Pison, 2000), and CLIL materials are highly motivational in comparison to non-CLIL materials (Doiz, Lasagabaster, & Sierra, 2014).

In fact, the effectiveness of CLIL in literature classes in undergraduate programs in Bangladesh depends on learners' performance outcomes and attitudes regarding the use of language skills and content knowledge. Studies reveal that the appropriate ways of using CLIL are

extensively researched in European contexts (Dalton-Puffer & Nikula 2006; Dalton-Puffer & Smit 2007; Lasagabaster & Ruiz de Zarobe 2010) and learners' performance in receptive linguistic competence were found to be quite satisfactory (Coonan 2007; Dalton-Puffer 2008) as CLIL enhances learning motivation among the learners (Burston & Kyprianou 2009). In Asia, teachers are still searching for ways to adapt CLIL to different contexts (Lee & Chang 2008; Sasajima et al. 2011) whereas Bangladesh seems to be new to the practice of CLIL in higher education contexts (Kamal, 2021). Therefore, the present study aims at examining a tertiary CLIL education in an existing BA in English program in a private university context in Bangladesh in terms of its learners' acceptance and attitude towards it. This study also aims to bridge the gap in the CLIL research in the context of tertiary education of English studies in Bangladesh.

Research Methodology

For this research, a mixed-methods approach (Fielding & Fielding, 1986; Steckler, McLeroy, Goodman, Bird, & McCormick, 1992) is adopted because this method will provide the researcher with multiple ways to explore the research problem and address it at different levels. A group of first year undergraduate students of English literature courses in a private university participated in this research. The primary data collection processes for this research include a questionnaire (see Appendix 1) administered among 30 CLIL lesson learners within the age range of 18-21 years who were registered for the *Contemporary South Asian Writings in English* course of the BA in English program. These participants were selected through a convenience sampling method. Then, interview data were collected from interview responses (see Appendix 2) of eight students randomly chosen based on their consent and availability.

Interviews and observations were used to gather qualitative data with open-ended information, which presents the diversity of ideas gathered from learners. On the other hand, the questionnaire was used to collect quantitative data with close-ended information to measure the attitudes and behaviors of the research participants in this study. The quantitative data from the questionnaire was analyzed using an Excel spreadsheet to retrieve the percentage of responses and qualitative interview data was analyzed thematically. Knowing learners' attitudes and behavior was important to find out how CLIL in a literature class influences the learning of literary contents and the English language, and in what ways CLIL may be used for teaching English literature and developing students' linguistic competence in English at the tertiary level of education in Bangladesh.

Therefore, the questionnaire was administered to identify learners' perceptions about CLIL and elicit the possible strengths and weaknesses of using CLIL in English literature classes. In addition, it intended to identify learners' opinions about the possible ways to address the weaknesses of using CLIL in literature classes. The interview initially attempted to discover if learners faced any difficulties regarding the required language skills in literature classes. The interview further explored whether their existing English language competency is enough for understanding literary texts or not. It is assumed that some of the participants' lack of language competency (if any) is a barrier for understanding English literature.

Therefore, the participants were asked whether they think that without language lessons as a support, comprehension of the literary content is difficult for those who are weak in English.

Apart from the content/syllabus, the participants were probed to share their perceptions about any other differences between the traditional lecture-based classes of other literature courses and the CLIL classes of Contemporary South Asian Wring in English course. Since language lessons on the use of tense, passive form, phrasal verbs, vocabulary, etc. were simultaneously used to scaffold or support the understanding of literary content such as themes, character analysis, generic structures etc., the participants were asked to reflect on whether they found CLIL lessons helpful to improve their knowledge of English grammar and vocabulary. Since CLIL lessons were implemented on existing literature courses with traditional course objectives of developing critical thinking and appreciation skills, learners' opinions were also taken on the following statement: "CLIL in literature class did not hamper the objective of the course which was to improve literary knowledge." It was also investigated whether language lessons, in parallel with content lessons, helped the learners in terms of understanding the literary contents and made the lessons enjoyable. It was also investigated whether the content and language integrated lessons in literature classes are better than lecture-based lessons of literary contents. Further, their opinion was taken on whether language support simultaneous to content lessons for students of BA in English program is unnecessary (useless) or necessary (helpful) for understanding literary content. Learners of literature might get carried away (distracted/diverted) from literary lessons while language lessons are imparted. The learners' perceptions were also retrieved on this issue. Finally, it was asked whether the allotted class/interaction time for simultaneous teaching of content and language lessons was sufficient or not.

Analysis and Discussion

Learners' perceptions of and attitudes towards any teaching-learning approach can easily be traced by investigating their interests, choices, and enjoyment. Learners' opinions and attitudes regarding the implementation of CLIL approach in undergraduate English literature classes were not entirely positive. They expressed their mixed attitude towards CLIL in English literature classes regarding its strengths and weaknesses. The majority of learners with weaker language skills enjoyed CLIL whereas learners with better language skills preferred lecture-based lessons instead of CLIL.

Table 1. Learners' responses regarding the integration of CLIL in literature classes

Sl.	Items	Strongly Disagree (%)	Disagree (%)	Neutral (%)	Agree (%)	Strongly Agree (%)
1	Learners enjoyed CLIL in literature classes	3.0	12.1	21.2	27.3	36.4
2	Learners' choice: CLIL vs. lecture-based class	18.2	12.1	12.1	42.4	15.2

3	Language barrier exists in studying English literature	12.1	6.1	18.2	24.2	39.4
4	Understanding English literature is difficult without language support	9.1	3.0	21.2	18.2	48.5
5	Language support for literature class is not necessary	30.3	36.4	24.2	6.1	3.0
6	Use of CLIL to understand literature classes is helpful	3.0		21.2	45.5	30.3
7	Achieving dual objectives is successful	9.1	6.1	24.2	39.4	21.2
8	CLIL hampers and distracts from content lesson	9.1	18.2	21.2	42.4	9.1
9	Class interaction/contact time with students for CLIL lesson	15.2	12.1	27.3	27.3	15.2
10	CLIL improves English vocabulary and grammar	3.0	3.0	12.1	24.2	57.6
11	CLIL as barrier for smooth literary lesson	42.4	27.3	12.1	6.1	12.1

The critical analysis of learners' perceptions and attitudes towards CLIL in English literature classes retrieved through the above inquiries can be presented under the following key themes.

Learners' interest towards CLIL in literature classes: Enjoyable or boring?

Making class lessons interesting is very challenging as well as important as it is one of the vital parameters used to count the success of any class lesson or of any teaching material. Investigation of the learners' interest and comfort in doing CLIL tasks in English literature courses yielded quite a positive response. This response is crucial as positive attitude facilitates learning (Dörneyi, 1990; Dörneyi, 2001; Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Heckhausen, 1991). The most important strength of CLIL lessons is that they are more enjoyable and useful than traditional lecture-based classes (Parsons & Caldwell, 2016). In response to the statement, *CLIL lessons in literature classes were enjoyable,* a considerable number of respondents were positive. Table 1 gives a comparative picture of the scenario. 63.7% of the participants were in agreement with the statement; among them 36.4% strongly agreed and 27.3% simply claimed that they enjoyed the integration of language lessons in English literature classes.

A total of 16% students either disagreed or strongly disagreed that *CLIL lesson in literature class was enjoyable*. About 19% of the respondents were neutral. This is a significant number.

It was also found from the investigation that those who believe that the language and content integrated lesson in English literature classes is not enjoyable had good proficiency in all the skills of English language and were quite responsive during class lessons. However, overall, lessons through CLIL appeared to be enjoyable to most of the students.

With a view to determining whether the implementation of CLIL in literature classes was enjoyable or not, interview participants were also asked whether "(they) enjoy the lesson focusing both on literary and language content." One of the respondents was quite positive and responded "*Yes ..., I liked the lesson*" (Interviewee# 1). The same response was emphasized with further explanation by another respondent saying, "*I enjoyed the lesson in literature class where both the language lessons and literary lessons were given*" (Interviewee# 2). Regarding perception about CLIL lessons, another interviewee explained the overall situation of class in details:

> *Yes ... I did… I basically liked the way that we first came to know about the content that we will learn. At first, we were confused that why these sorts of questions we were facing beforehand, before the lectures or the topic that the teacher will discuss that day. But when the discussion was over and we again looked at the questions, then we thought that this was easy or that was fun.* ***So, we enjoyed it…That brings the enthusiasm*** *in me that these are the questions I have to look for the answers through the discussion* (Interviewee# 4).

Generally speaking, most of the respondents expressed that CLIL was enjoyable as it was interesting:

> *(I)t does not distract, it was actually helpful to the students in a sense, … the way you gave us (the lesson); we had actually content based and also language based. So, we found it interesting and we had our full concentration over there*. (Interviewee 1)

In fact, the learners liked and were excited to do tasks prepared on literary texts as they worked together in pairs and groups dissecting, analyzing meaning, and interpreting texts. It helped them share their critical thinking on any issues discussed in the text. In fact, language is the vehicle for teaching content in CLIL approach of learning and stimulates the development of higher-order thinking (HOT) skills (Ball, Kelly, & Clegg, 2015), such as critical analysis and appreciation which appear as a common objective of literature courses taught in Bangladesh. Thus, CLIL-based lessons in English literature classes reveal: (1) Language and content integrated lessons were enjoyable, (2) Some students initially could not understand its benefit, but later they realized the significance of the integration.

Comparison and reason of choice between CLIL class and lecture-based class

The students were allowed to compare CLIL lessons with lecture-based lessons which they have attended in other literature courses such as *Classical Literature*, *Modern Drama and Poetry*, etc. Hence, students were able to compare the learning benefits and drawbacks of lecture-based literature teaching and CLIL-based literature teaching. To some participants, content and language integrated lessons in literature classes seemed to be better than lecture-based lessons of literary contents as it helped them with the language support to understand

the contents. Majority of them were positive about CLIL lesson in literature classes as about 57.6% endorsed that *content and language integrated lessons in literature classes are better than lecture-based lessons of literary contents.* Nonetheless, 35% of the respondents did not believe that CLIL-based literature class is better than lecture-based literature (Table 1). This negative response of 35% will lead to the scope for further investigation of the question *why CLIL is not that helpful or not better than traditional lecture-based classes for a significant number of students in literature class?*

In order to understand students' preference between CLIL-based lessons and lecture-based lessons in English literature classes, participants were asked if they think that the integration of both the language teaching and literature teaching is more effective than just lecture-based literature teaching. The participants directed the choice to the instructor saying:

> *… it is attractive, it (result) actually* ***depends on (the way how) the faculty is handling*** *that (the integration of content and language lessons). If the content and story, language content and story given in a way, if it is interesting then the student will enjoy that, and it will help the skill also to increase* (Interviewee# 1).

Some of them preferred to depend more on teachers' choice regarding the teaching techniques of a literary piece of a literature course. That means they liked the need-based use of CLIL depending on students' needs and teachers' comfort. The interviewees did not unanimously agree with any particular idea of implementing CLIL in English literature classes as their language skills, expectations, perception of, and attitudes towards CLIL varied a lot. The following quote may shed some light on this fact:

> *I think a teacher should decide his/her teaching strategy based on classroom situation. Some courses need student's participation such as recitation, acting and so on but some courses require only lectures and grammatical and language teachings. So,* ***a teacher should decide his teaching strategy based on classroom situation*** (Interviewee# 2).

Some students preferred task-based CLIL lessons in literature classes to lecture-based classes. One of the respondents' claimed, "*I prefer task-based CLIL classes to lecture-based literature classes*" (Interviewee 4) because he found CLIL classes rather more engaging. In fact, CLIL learners have been found to produce more and longer utterances, develop constructive abilities in L2 and display a higher language level than non-CLIL learners (Coyle, 2013; Denman, Tanner & Graaff, 2013; Lo, 2014; Ruiz de Zarobe, 2008; Wannagat, 2007). In short, students' preference for CLIL is based mostly on their better linguistic performance. Therefore, the comparison between CLIL-based lessons and lecture-based lessons in English literature classes revealed that the effectiveness of integration depends on how the teacher develops the lessons, handles the classroom situation, and makes CLIL interesting by applying effective teaching strategies.

Language barrier in studying English literature

Investigating learners' opinions about the possible barriers to a successful study of English literature in a class is important as their literary performance such as comprehension,

appreciation and critical analysis of texts, and performance in the examinations seem to be unsatisfactory (Hasan, 2016; Shahriar, 2012; Yeasmin, 2011). For a significant number of participants, the lack of language competency appeared to be a crucial barrier for understanding the meaning and critical analysis of any English literary text. Therefore, this lack requires language support as a scaffold. However, the participants who are from English medium secondary and higher secondary education, do not feel or demonstrate the lack of English proficiency required for comprehension of original English literary texts.

Around 64% of the respondents face some barriers in studying English literature in terms of comprehension, and they consider insufficient language competency as a significant barrier. Then again, 18% either disagree or strongly disagree that *the lack of language competency is a barrier for understanding English literature.* The rest 18% respondents were neutral in their position regarding the lack of language competency as a negative catalyst in learning literary contents (Table 1). It was also found that those who did not endorse the lack of language competency as a barrier had considerably better skills in the English language. Most of the interview respondents even agreed, without any reservation, that language incompetency is a barrier in understanding and responding to the content of English literature. Therefore, the lack of competence in English is one of the most common paucities among learners (Hasan, 2016; Shahriar, 2012; Yeasmin, 2011). In fact, undergraduate candidates are not apparently prepared with the language skills they would require to study in the English department (Alam, 2018). They also believe that without English language support through language lessons, understanding the content of English literature is difficult only for those who have weak English skills.

Hence, without English language support through language lessons, understanding the content of English literature appeared difficult to most of the participants. When the respondents were asked whether *without English language support through language lessons, understanding the content of English literature is difficult* (Table 1), the response was almost similar to the previous question. 66.7% of the respondents believed that understanding the content of English literary texts became difficult for them unless any language support in terms of vocabulary and contextual grammar lessons was provided (Table 1). Since a majority of the students agreed or strongly agreed that the lack of language competency was an obstacle for students in learning literature and felt that without language support it was difficult for them to overcome the barrier. Due to all these logical reasons, language support simultaneous to literary lessons was deemed necessary by 66.7% of them (Table 1). This data portrays learners' attitude towards the contribution of English skills in learning literary lessons in class.

Learners' perception regarding CLIL's role to make up for the lack in language skills

In order to understand the contribution of CLIL in filling in the gaps in language skills required to understand literary content, the participants were asked if they think the lack of language competence is somehow a barrier for understanding English literature and CLIL can bridge this gap. One of the interviewees commented that "*it depends from student*

to student; if the student is good enough in the language content that is in the competency of language skills, then it is not an obstacle for him/her" (Interviewee# 1) and consequently there is no need for CLIL. This response projects that the respondent is well aware about her language skills and has quite a clear understanding about the need of language skills. She also claimed:

> *For the original English literature text* ***sometimes, I feel (language) barrier but not all the time*** *and yes not all the time, specially about … if I connect it to the literary terms, figurative speech and that content, from the literature view then* ***sometimes I need the help****; and for the* ***language content I don't feel that much barrier*** *but other student in the class they may feel the barrier* (Interviewee# 1)

To some extent, she was critical about the need and contribution of CLIL and implied a need-based implementation of CLIL. Another participant specifically pointed to the lack of vocabulary in learning literary content saying, *"For me (the)* ***lack of vocabulary is a major problem*** *for understanding any* ***literature text****"* (Interviewee# 2). Therefore, vocabulary knowledge appears to be an important catalyst in comprehension of literary texts. On the other hand, the following student indirectly ignores the importance of language skills to understand literature, rather focusing on the superficial understanding of the gist of a text saying:

> *I don't think it's that much complicated actually.* ***If you can*** *actually* ***get the gist*** *about what is happening in the story, then* ***you actually know what is in the story****. Then you can write because everything is creative in literature* (Interviewee# 3).

Another interviewee who seemed to be a bit positive about CLIL in literature class appreciated with enthusiasm, saying, "*Yes Sir. That is obvious"* (Lack of language skill is a barrier, we need some language support) (Interviewee# 4). Hence, on the lack of language skills for understanding literary texts, interviewees' responses can be summed up as:

- Some students feel that the lack of language skills is a barrier in understanding original literary texts.
- Some students feel this barrier sometimes but not all the time.
- One of the major problems is the lack of vocabulary.
- Understanding the gist is important in literature; no need to understand each and every language use in the text.

CLIL's contribution to developing language skills in literature class

According to the perception of the learners, CLIL's contribution in developing language skills in literature classes appears to be really significant. When asked, "*Do you think that CLIL did (or did not) help to improve your English language skill?*" the learners were positive and one of the interviewees replied positively endorsing that, "*Yes, CLIL helped improve my language skills, especially I learned new vocabulary*" (Interviewee# 1). Another interviewee added:

> *We are studying some words now which are totally different from what we studied*

> *before. So, these are new things to us. These are not what we studied. So, in this case, it's the constant process that we need to learn vocabulary. There is no other option.* (Interviewee# 3)

CLIL helped in the development of their language skills. In fact, vocabulary plays a substantial role in understanding the theme and meaning of English literature for English as second or foreign language learners since diverse and unique word choice as an identical feature of literary texts regulates their meaning. Though students of the BA in English program have to take two and, in some cases, three functional English courses to develop learners' English to be used for academic purposes, few interview participants of this research claim that these courses are not enough to develop students' vocabulary up to the level which is required for understanding English literary texts. With this connection, one interviewee states:

> *Very minimal vocabularies are used in English Reading Skills, English Writing Skills and Professional English. Obviously, those vocabularies that we studied in those subjects are not related to what we are studying now (in literature courses).* ***We are studying some words now which are totally different from what we studied before****. So, these are new things to us. These are not what we studied. So, in this case, it's the constant process that* ***we need to learn vocabulary****. There is no other option* (Interviewee# 3).

CLIL in literature class catalyzed the development of the vocabulary of learners. Yet again, there are some other variables that facilitate the development of vocabulary. For example, one student majoring in Linguistics and ELT claims that there are other linguistics courses from where she learned new vocabulary which helped in understanding literary texts. She also admits that CLIL in literature courses, one of which she took as a core course, also helped develop her vocabulary:

> *In my case, it helped because not only from the English literature but also since I am a linguistics student, I also get the language content from linguistics sources as well. So, it helped me from the literature courses (too)….* (Interviewee# 4)

Therefore, issues regarding CLIL's contribution in developing language skills in literature classes can be listed in the following bullet points:

- English language skill is enhanced by improving English vocabulary.
- Other courses had some influence also in developing language skills. All the courses (not literature alone) have some contribution in the development of language skills.

Perception of the role of CLIL to aid or hinder the learning of literature

This issue was addressed in the questions to investigate the learners' view regarding the necessity of integrating language lessons in literature classes. In order to understand participants' ideas about CLIL as a positive or negative catalyst for the improvement of both content knowledge and language skills, an investigation was conducted on the role of CLIL either to aid or hamper the learning of literature. Participants were asked if they think that *content and language integrated learning hamper or aid the learning of literary*

contents. As a response, one of the interviewees retorted that:

> *It was actually…it depends; the way you balanced it was good enough. But if it is* ***too much content based then some students find it somehow not interesting****, but it depends on the balance* (Interviewee# 1).

Therefore, the suggestion was also on the proper balance of content and language lessons so that it remains interesting for the students as "the search for the right balance of language and content teaching" (Celce-Murcia, 2002, p. 315) is important for the success of CLIL. On the other hand, another interviewee took a moderate stand and said, *I think it will hamper a little bit but not totally* (Interviewee# 3). One of them even suggested adopting the mother tongue in order to make them understand the literary texts written in English:

> *In such case when the language barrier is working, it often helped them because the teacher was trying to make them understand that this is what is inside the text or what is the writer wanting to convey. Then the students may understand that this is the meaning. So, the teacher can also* ***adopt the native language*** *in such case* ***to make them understand*** (Interviewee# 4).

His stand regarding native language indirectly suggests that this student finds it difficult to understand the meaning or theme of a literary text written in English. That is the reason why he emphasized the use of the mother tongue which ultimately suggests that the language lesson is a necessary parallel to literary content lessons for the better understanding of it. Therefore, as students of a BA in English program, a significant number of participants with better English language skills feel that for understanding literary contents, language support simultaneous to content lessons seems to be unnecessary. The main points can be summed up as:

- Balance between content and language lessons makes it interesting
- Too much content makes lessons boring.
- Integration of language lesson hampers the literary lessons a bit
- Integration helped but the teacher may also adopt native language for the purpose of making learners understand.

Regarding support of CLIL in understanding literature and success of dual objectives

If a learner's language skills are not up to the mark of understanding the English literary language, it will be difficult to comprehend and appreciate the literary texts. Hence, students' attitudes towards the integration of CLIL in literature classes as a support for understanding literary texts was crucial. With all these logical reasons, 75.8% of them agreed or strongly agreed (Table 1) that *language lessons parallel to content lessons helped the learners in terms of understanding the literary contents.* This portion of learners demonstrates lesser language skills.

If a course has dual objectives to achieve it might be difficult and challenging for the learners with lesser language skills to achieve these dual goals. Therefore, it is important to

know the learners' attitudes before conjoining dual goals in a single course. Since improving literary knowledge was the primary goal of a literature course, the researcher was rightly probed to look into the fact that whether th*e Content and Language Integrated Learning … (anyhow) hampers the objective of the course which was to improve literary knowledge.* The investigation into this issue revealed that around 60% of the respondents agreed that the CLIL did not hamper the learning of literary knowledge (Table 1).

Hindrance to and distraction from content lesson

Dual goals may hamper the literary content lessons and distract the attention of the learners. Therefore, investigating learners' experiences on this issue appears to be significant to determine the efficacy of CLIL-based literature lessons in English literature classes. For the majority of them, content and language integrated learning did not hamper the learning of literary contents, but a significant number of students did not enjoy the integration of language lessons in literature classes (Table 1). It is also claimed that content and language integrated learning did not hamper the objective of the literature courses which was to improve literary knowledge.

But contradicting the previous response regarding the achievement of dual goals, around 52% of the respondents agreed or strongly agreed that during CLIL lessons in literature classes, *the learners are distracted or diverted from literary lessons while language lessons are imparted.* (Table 1). This contradiction of data demands further investigation into the reasons of this anomaly. However, bearing the same tone as the previous issue, 42% of the respondents agreed or strongly agreed that *Content and language integrated learning hampered the learning of literary contents.* 24% of them remained neutral which gives a significant signal that CLIL in literature class does not carry any significant importance in literature class (Table 1). Table 1 presents significant data regarding the role of CLIL, if any, to hamper the flow of learning of literary contents in a literature class.

It was also found that the majority of the learners are not carried away or distracted or diverted from literary lessons while language lessons are imparted along with the literary lessons. One of the interview respondents claimed that integration of content and language lessons does not anyhow distract the student focus from literature:

> *it … it **does not distract**, it was actually helpful to the students in a sense, but some students who are too much expert they think that this is not much interesting but the way you gave us that we actually content based and also language based. So, we found it interesting and we had our full concentration over there.* (Interviewee# 1)

The concentration on language lessons does not divert students' focus, meaning the intention of learning literature. Nevertheless, one of the respondents claimed that "sometimes it becomes boring for those who enjoy critical discussion through lectures" (Interviewee# 4). Another interviewee promptly responded in favor of CLIL adding the special benefit of vocabulary building:

> *No. I don't think so. A teacher is teaching **vocabulary and grammar** taking a line from text and along with that a teacher is teaching the **literary terms** such as **theme***

> *and background etc. so, it is a* ***great way for me to learn everything combined together*** (Interviewee# 2).

Instead of possible distraction from the focus CLIL rather helped to understand literature better as another interviewee claimed that "*It (CLIL) does not distract me. It's actually helping me. It's helping me to understand it properly"* (Interviewee# 3). Generally speaking, according to learners' average perception CLIL aided rather than hampered the learning of both literature and language.

Learners' attitude to CLIL as an approach to improving vocabulary and grammar

The efficacy of CLIL in building students' vocabulary will be determined by the learners' attitude towards it. Even though there were mixed feelings among the respondents regarding contact hours of *CLIL literature class, CLIL in literature helped to improve (students') English vocabulary.* It is seen in the survey that significantly around 82% of the respondents agreed that CLIL helped improve the vocabulary of the learners (Table 1). Along with the improvement in the vocabulary strength, *CLIL helped to improve (students') grammar*. Table 1 clearly demonstrates that more than 70% of the respondents were in agreement.

Therefore, though more than half of the participants (51.5%) believe that CLIL hampers the smooth flow of literary discussion in the class and distracts their attention from the literary contents (Table 1), it helped to develop learners' grammar and vocabulary. This is the area where the situation turned critical in terms of the respondents' improvement of grammar and literary knowledge. After further investigation of the prior language skills of learners, it was revealed that the respondents who were critical about the implementation of CLIL lessons in English literature classes had better language skills. The respondents reacted oddly because of their heterogenous linguistic background and capacities. On average, the CLIL approach applied in literature in English classes helped to improve the majority of the learners' English vocabulary, grammar, and overall English language skills. Though to some students CLIL did not help to improve their knowledge of literature, the majority of the learners who had weaker language skills liked the idea of integrating language lessons in literature classes.

CLIL as a barrier for a smooth literary lesson

Some learners may feel that the integration of language lessons is a barrier to the smooth progression of literary lessons in class. Therefore, students are supposed to share their adverse experiences of using CLIL lessons in English literature classes. Consequently, it is also found that around 18% of the research participants agreed or strongly agreed that *CLIL did not help to improve (their) knowledge of literature.* This data is very crucially significant if we want to assess the success and effectiveness of implementing CLIL in tertiary level literature classes. The above data suggest that almost a quarter of the students in a literature class enjoy lecture-based classes and did not entertain the interference of language lessons to understand the literary content as they are already well equipped with the necessary skills of language needed to comprehend authentic English literary texts. That is why, an almost similar percentage of participants responded with almost the same answer when they were asked whether CLIL did not help improve their literary knowledge.

Learners' reservation for CLIL used in literature class

No teaching approach has unmixed blessings. There were some learners in the literature class who did not prefer the integration as "*some students who are too much expert … think that this is not much interesting*" (Interviewee# 1). Though one of the respondents admitted that learning of language cannot be separated from learning literature, which means that literature and language learning go hand in hand, he still felt that some students get distracted from the content of the lessons:

> *In general, we can't separate language from literature. Literature is mostly combined with language. But in such case, **some students get distracted** because if they concentrate more on the structure or the language which is not also a native language of the students. So, they felt the struggle to understand the content of the write-up or the text or the literary support what the teacher is trying to give. **So, it often hampered** the learning of literature* (Interviewee# 4).

Therefore, for some students, language learning in tandem with literature lessons appears to be quite distracting and it often hampers the smooth learning of literature. Additionally, through the interview, it was found that a significant number of participants were not positive about the CLIL lessons in English literature classes. After investigating the background of those respondents' English skills, it was found that most of them had much better skills than the others who were more positive about the use of CLIL in literature classes.

Though most of the students believe that CLIL lessons in literature helped to improve their English vocabulary and grammar, the lessons themselves seemed a bit dry for them. Therefore, CLIL was not very enjoyable for them. Moreover, they do not think that language lessons alongside content lessons helped the learners in terms of understanding the literary content, and that content and language integrated lessons in literature classes are better than lecture-based lessons of literary contents. Some of the students thought that for understanding the literary content, language support simultaneous to content lessons for students of BA in English program is unnecessary and useless. And as a reason for their stance, they cited that a) content and language integrated learning hampered the learning of literary contents, b) learners are carried away (distracted/diverted) from literary lessons while language lessons are imparted, c) though CLIL helped to improve English language skills, it did not help to improve the knowledge of literature. In a nutshell, the issue of the negative impact of CLIL in literature classes can be summarized by the following:

- Through the learners' views, some negative impacts of CLIL were traced in literature classes in terms of creating boredom and bringing disappointment to the appreciators of literature who enjoy lectures and analysis.
- For some learners with good language skills, integration of language and literature was not interesting.
- Some of them believe that CLIL hampers the objective of the course which was to improve literary knowledge.

Conclusion

To conclude, learners' language skills with specific concentration on grammar items such as tense, parallel structure, comparatives, use of phrasal verbs and sentence structures were developed through the use of CLIL in undergraduate English literature classes. Therefore, initially, the learners' demonstrated a positive attitude towards the implementation of CLIL in English literature classes. Also, they recognized the impact of CLIL on the development of their vocabulary knowledge. CLIL also influenced the development of literary content knowledge in terms of understanding themes, context, character, etc., and developing critical appreciation. Hence, students appreciated the integration of content and language lessons in literature classes. Learners' appreciation and interest in CLIL in literature classes made the implementation of CLIL successful. However, some learners showed reservations towards this approach of teaching literature and language together as they believed that CLIL hampers the learning of literary contents, makes literature classes boring, distracts the learners' attention, and destroys the pleasure of reading literature. This group of students also claimed that as their vocabulary is developed, they do not need language lessons in literature classes. Therefore, according to the learners' perceptions, CLIL demonstrates both positive and negative impacts as its strengths and weaknesses in undergraduate English literature classes in private university contexts in Bangladesh. To make CLIL effective in literature classes, learners' suggestions for need-based adaptation of CLIL lessons can be recommended instead of a uniform practice for all learners. In some cases, the adoption of native language as the medium of instruction for making students understand the literary contents better was also suggested by some students as the original literary contents created fear in learners who lacked appropriate language skills. Therefore, learners' attitudes and perspectives towards the implementation of CLIL are not univocal in the context of undergraduate literature classes in Bangladesh.

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Appendix 1: Survey (Questionnaire)

Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) in English literature classes

Name: ID#

Date:

strongly agree=5, agree=4, neutral=3, disagree=2, strongly disagree=1

No.		5	4	3	2	1
1	Lessons through Content and language Integrated Learning (CLIL) were enjoyable.					
2	Content and language integrated lessons in literature classes are better than lecture based lessons of literary contents.					
3	The lack of language competency is a barrier for understanding English literature.					
4	Without English language support through language lessons, understanding the content of English literature is difficult.					
5	For understanding literary contents, language support simultaneous to content lessons for students of BA in English program is unnecessary.					
6	Language lessons parallel to content lessons helped the learners in terms of understanding the literary contents.					
7	Content and language integrated learning did not hamper the objective of the course which was to improve literary knowledge.					
8	Learners are carried away (distracted/diverted) from literary lessons while language lessons are imparted.					
9	Content and language integrated learning hampered the learning of literary contents.					

10	Allotted class/interaction time for simultaneous teaching of content and language lessons is sufficient.					
11	CLIL approach in Literature class helped to improve my English vocabulary.					
12	CLIL approach in Literature helped to improve my grammar.					
13	CLIL did not help to improve my English language skill.					
14	CLIL did not help to improve my knowledge of literature.					

Appendix 2: Interview questions

Interview questions on CLIL in Literature Class

The following questions were asked to the students who underwent CLIL lessons in literature classes. The responses were recorded and transcribed for analysis.

1. How many literature courses have you finished so far?
2. Do you face any sort of difficulties in literature classes? Yes/No?
3. If yes, what is/are the main difficulty(ies) for you as you traced in literature classes?
4. Do you think that your English language competency is enough in understanding literary texts?
5. Do you think that the lack of language competency (if any) is a barrier for understanding English Literature?
6. Do you think that without English language support through language lessons, understanding the content of English literature is difficult for those who are weak in English?
7. Apart from the content/syllabus do you find any other differences between the classes of other literature courses and the classes of Contemporary South Asian Wring inEnglish and Modern Fiction Class?
8. If yes, what other differences do you trace?
9. Was any parallel language lessons used to scaffold or support the understanding of literary content such as themes, etc.?
10. What type of language /lesson element did you learn from this class?
    a. Was there any use of tense/use of passive form/phrasal verbs/vocabulary, etc.?
11. Did you find Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) lessons helpful?
    a. Content and language integrated learning did not hamper the objective of the course which was to improve literary knowledge.
    b. CLIL helped to improve your English vocabulary.
    c. CLIL helped to improve your grammar.
    d. Were the lessons through Content and language Integrated Learning (CLIL) enjoyable?
    e. Do you think that language lessons parallel to content lessons helped the learners in terms of understanding the literary contents?
12. Do you think that content and language integrated lessons in literature classes are better than lecture-based lessons of literary contents?
13. Do you think that for understanding literary contents, language support simultaneous to content lessons for students of BA in English program is unnecessary (useless) or necessary (helpful)? Why?
    a. Did content and language integrated learning hamper or aid the learning of literary

contents?

b. Do you think that learners are carried away (distracted/diverted) from literary lessons while language lessons are imparted?

c. Do you think that CLIL did (not) help to improve your English language skill?

14. What do you think about the allotted class/interaction time for simultaneous teaching of content and language lessons is sufficient?

Appendix 3: Sample CLIL lesson prepared using literary text (Ode on the Lungi) used in class

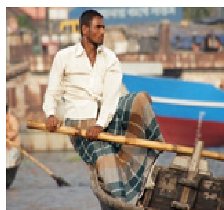
Module: Contemporary South Asian Writings in English
Lesson 1
"Ode on the Lungi"
Kaiser Haq

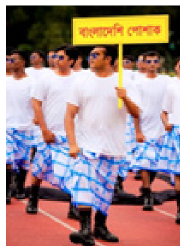
Activity 1 Prior Knowledge

1. *Work in groups on the following*

a. Look and reflect on the pictures of Bangladeshi men and women.

b. Describe the common attire for Bangladeshi men and boys.





c. Look at the pictures above and share information on the lungi, e.g. length, height, structure etc.

Activity 2

1. *Prepare a fact file of Kaiser Haq from the text below*

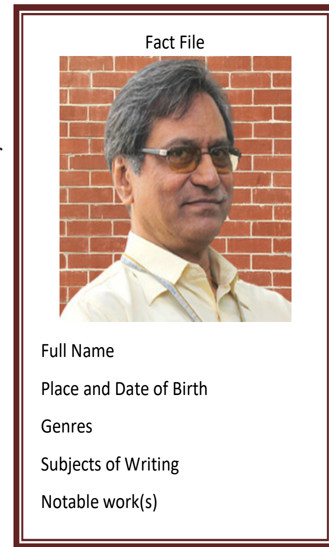
Kaiser Hamidul Haq is a poet, translator and essayist who was educated at the universities of Dhaka (BA Honours, MA) and Warwick (PhD). He is a Professor of English, Dhaka University, where he has taught since 1975. He has been a Commonwealth Scholar in the UK and a Senior Fulbright Scholar and Vilas Fellow in the USA.

An undergraduate when the Bangladesh war of independence broke out in 1971, he joined the liberation army and saw combat as a freshly commissioned subaltern in command of a company. For several years Haq was on the panel of judges for the Commonwealth Writers Prize.

In 2001, he was a resident at the Hawthornden Castle Writers' Retreat and the Ledig House Writers Colony in upstate New York. He is a life member of the Association of Literary Scholars and Critics (USA) and the Asiatic Society of Bangladesh. He has edited the *Dhaka University Studies* (Journal of the Faculty of Arts), co-edited *Form: a Magazine of the Arts*, and is on the editorial board of

the *Six Seasons Review*.

Haq's work has appeared in international journals including *London Magazine*, *The Cambridge Review*, *Chapman*, *Acumen*, *Ariel*, *Wasafiri* and *World Literature Written in English*. He has published five collections of poetry: *Starting Lines* (Dhaka 1978), *A Little Ado* (Dhaka 1978), *A Happy Farewell* (Dhaka: UPL 1994), *Black Orchid* (London: Aark Arts 1996), *The Logopathic Reviewer's Song* (Dhaka: UPL and London: Aark Arts 2002). He has edited an anthology, *Contemporary Indian Poetry* (Ohio State University Press 1990) and translated the *Selected Poems of Shamsur Rahman* (Dhaka: BRAC 1985); a novel by Rabindranath Tagore, *Quartet* (Heinemann Asian Writers Series, 1993); and an eighteenth-century travel narrative, *The Wonders of Vilayet* (Leeds: Peepal Tree 2002). He is represented in such anthologies as the *Arnold Anthology of Postcolonial Literature in English*.



Source: https://www.rlf.org.uk/fellowships/kaiser-haq/

Activity 3

Discuss the following terms then choose the correct meaning from the options given below:

Apostrophe ___________	Egalitarianism___________
Hegemony___________	Intertexuality ___________
Neo-imperialism___________	Ode_______________
Subaltern___________	Register _____________

a. the interrelationship between texts, especially works of literature; the way that similar or related texts influence, reflect, or differ from each other

b. a figure of speech sometimes represented by exclamation "O". A writer or a speaker, using an apostrophe, detaches him/herself from the reality and addresses an imaginary character in his speech.

c. belief in the equality of all people, especially in political, social, or economic life

d. leadership or dominance, especially by one country or social group over others.

e. lower in rank; subordinate

f. a lyric poem typically of elaborate or irregular metrical form and expressive of exalted or enthusiastic emotion

g. in linguistics, a variety of a language used for a particular purpose or in a particular social setting.

h. a new and modern policy or practice of a wealthy or powerful nation in extending its influence into a less developed one, especially in exploiting that nation's resources.

Study Tip

Features of Poetry

1. Poetry reorganizes syntax

2. Invents its own vocabulary

3. Freely mixes registers

4. Creates its own pronunciation

Activity 4

Read the following extracts from "Ode on the Lungi" and match

underlined word(s) with the concepts/explanations given in the boxes.

Grandpa Walt, allow me to share my thoughts

Walt Whitman, America's first "poet of **democracy**"

with you, if only because every time

I read "Passage to India" and come across

the phrase "passage to more than India"

I fancy, anachronistically, that you wanted

to overshoot the target

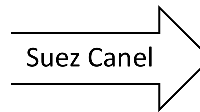
by a shadow line

and land in Bangladesh

One that is out of its proper or chronological order or place, especially a person or practice that belongs to an earlier time

1. When the Suez canal opened in 1869, Walt Whitman wrote "A Passage to India" to celebrate both the engineering achievement and the opportunity to connect to other people and spiritual traditions

2. E. M. Forster's novel



1. Can you identify the apostrophe used in this extract?
2. How many inter-textual references do you find here? Identify.

Glossary

"if only because" means "there's no good reason, but if there is any at all, it would be because..."?

---

3. Search online any more meaning of the phrase "if only because" and develop two effective sentences with it

Lately, I've been thinking a lot about sartorial equality
How far we are from this democratic ideal! And how hypocritical!
"All clothes have equal rights" – this nobody will deny
and yet, some obviously are more equal than others

Relating to the making of clothes, usually men's clothes, or to a way of dressing

No, I'm not complaining about the jacket and tie
required in certain places – that, like fancy dress parties,
is in the spirit of a game

All animals are equal, some animals are more equal thanthe others- *Animal Farm*

Study Tip

What is the difference between?

a. I've been thinking a lot

b. I was thinking a lot

What is the difference between? 'clothe' and 'cloth'

1. Discuss in pairs what do you think is meant by the following lines: *"All clothes have equal rights...some obviously are more equal than others".*
2. Do you find any allusion or inter-textual reference? If yes, explain what references are used here and why did the poet use it?

Activity 5

Read the following extract and match underlined word(s) with the concepts/explanations/pictures given beside.

I'm talking of something more fundamental
Hundreds of millions
from East Africa to Indonesia
wear the lungi, also known variously
as the <u>sarong</u>, munda, htamain, saaram,
ma'awaiis, kitenge. kanga. kaiki
They wear it day in day out,
indoors and out
Just think –
at any one moment
there are more people in lungis
than the population of the USA

Now try wearing one
to a White House appointment –
not even you. Grandpa Walt,
laureate of democracy,
will make it in
You would if you
affected a kilt –
but a lungi? No way.
But why? – this is the question
I ask all to ponder

a person who has been given a very high honour because of their ability in a subject of study

Think

1. What are the different names for lungi in different parts of the world?
2. Identify the phrasal verbs used and write their meaning in the box. Check online or use any dictionary.

Phrasal Verb	Meaning
Talk of	
Make in	

3. Use the above phrases to write sentences below:

Activity 6

Read the following extract and match underlined word(s) with the concepts/explanations/pictures given beside.

Is it a clash of civilisations?
The sheer illogicality of it –
the kilt is with "us"
but the lungi is with "them!"

Think too of neo-imperialism
and sartorial hegemony,
how brown and yellow sahibs
in natty suits crinkle their noses

Samuel P. Huntington

a skirt with many folds, made from tartan cloth a traditionally worn by Scottish men and boys

the position of being the strongest and most powerful and therefore able to control

stylish and tidy in every detail

wrinkled, or wavy, e.g. by crushing or pressing

at compatriots (even relations)
in modest lungis,
exceptions only proving the rule:
Sri Lanka, where designer lungis
are party wear, or Myanmar
where political honchos
queue up in lungis
to receive visiting dignitaries
But then, Myanmar dozes
behind a cane curtain,
a half pariah among nations
Wait till it's globalised:
Savile Row will acquire
a fresh crop of patrons

a person who comes from the same country. / (US) a friend or someone you work with

the person in charge

a person who is not accepted by a social group, especially because he or she is not liked, respected, or trusted

is a street in Mayfair, central London, known for its traditional men's bespoke tailoring.

1. What does the poet mean by 'neo-imperialism' and 'sartorial hegemony'?
2. What clash does the poet refer to here? Of what civilization?

Activity 7

Read the following extract and match underlined word(s) with the concepts/explanations/pictures given beside.

Hegemony invades private space
as well: my cousin in America
would get home from work
and lounge in a lungi –
till his son grew ashamed
of dad and started hiding
the "ridiculous ethnic attire"

It's all too depressing
But I won't leave it at that
The situation is desperate
Something needs to be done
I've decided not to
take it lying down

control or dominating influence by one person or group

The next time someone insinuates
that I live in an Ivory Tower
I'll proudly proclaim
I AM A LUNGI ACTIVIST!
Friends and fellow lungi lovers,
let us organise lungi parties and lungi parades,
let us lobby Hallmark and Archies
to introduce an international Lungi Day
when the UN Chief will wear a lungi
and address the world

to suggest, without being direct, that something unpleasant is true

The term originates in the Biblical Song of Solomon, is a symbol for noble purity.

A disparaging term that refers to elitist detachment from, and especially criticism of the everyday world, or of common sense and beliefs.

announce publicly

1. What does the poet mean by "I am a lungi activist"?

Activity 8

Read the following extract and match underlined word(s) with the concepts/explanations/pictures given beside.

Grandpa Walt, I celebrate my lungi
and sing my lungi
and what I wear
you shall wear
It's time you finally made your passage
to more than India – to Bangladesh –
and lounging in a lungi
in a cottage on Cox's Bazar beach
(the longest in the world, we proudly claim)
watched 28 young men in lungis bathing in the sea
But what is this thing
(my learned friends,
I'm alluding to Beau Brummell)
I repeat, what is this thing
I'm going on about?
A rectangular cloth,
White, coloured, check or plaid,
roughly 45X80 inches,
halved lengthwise
and stitched

Beau Brummell: was an iconic figure in Regency England, the arbiter of men's fashion, and a friend of the Prince Regent, the future King George IV. He established the mode of dress for men that rejected overly ornate fashions for one of understated, but perfectly fitted and tailored clothing.

to make a tube
you can get into
and fasten in a slipknot
around the waist –
One size fits all
and should you pick up dirt
say on your seat
you can simply turn it inside out

Study Tip: Major word classes

English has four major word classes: nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. Nouns are the most common type of word, followed by verbs. Many words belong to more than one word class. For example:
*It's an interesting **book**.* (noun)
*We ought to **book** a holiday soon.* (verb)
*He loves **fast** cars.* (adjective)
*Don't drive so **fast**!* (adverb)

1. Underline the phrasal verbs from this stanza and write their meaning in the box. Check online or use any dictionary

	Phrasal Verb	Meaning
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		

2. What are the word class of the following words *halved, stiched, seat, dirt, coloured, fasten, alluding, rectangular* and *slipknot*? Place them in appropriate box and write other forms of them

	Noun	Verb	Adjective	Adverb
e.g.	*class*	*classify*	*classic/classical*	*classically*
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				

3. Discuss in pairs what do you think is meant by the following lines:

Activity 9

Read the following extract and match underlined word(s) with the concepts/ explanations/pictures given beside.

When you are out of it
the lungi can be folded up
like a scarf
Worn out it has its uses –
as dish rag or floor wipe
or material for a <u>*kantha*</u> <u>quilt</u>
Or you can let your imagination
play with the textile tube
to illustrate the superstrings
of the "Theory of Everything"
(vide, the book of this title
by the venerable <u>Stephen Hawking</u>)

Known For:

- ❑ Making advances in the field of cosmology
- ❑ Discovering several new properties of black holes

ultimate theory, unified field of theory or master theory

Superstring theory - known less formally as "string theory" - is sometimes called the Theory of Everything (TOE), because it is a unifying physics theory that reconciles the differences between quantum theory and the theory of relativity to explain the nature of all known forces and matter. According to string theory, at the most microscopic level, everything in the universe is made up of loops of vibrating strings. An object (such as an apple, for example) and a force (such as radiation, for example) can both be broken down into atoms, which can be further broken down into electrons and quarks, which can be, finally, broken down into tiny, vibrating loops of strings.

Read again the stanzas above and identify the following phrasal verbs and write their meanings.

	Phrasal Verb	meaning
1	Fold up	
2	Wear out	
3	Play with	

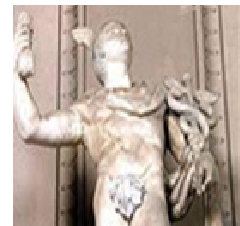
1. Paraphrase the stanzas.

Activity 10

Read the following extract and match underlined word(s) with the concepts/ explanations/pictures given beside.

Coming back to basics,
the lungi is an elaborate <u>fig-leaf</u>,

A fig leaf cast in plaster used to cover the genitals of a copy of a statue of David



the foundation of propriety
in ordinary mortals
Most of the year, when barebodied
is cool, you can lead a decent life
with only a couple of lungis,
dipping in pond or river
or swimming in a lungi
abbreviated into a G-string,
then changing into the other one
Under the hot sun
a lungi can become
Arab-style headgear
or Sikh-style turban
Come chilly weather
the spare lungi can be
an improvised poncho
The lungi as G-string
can be worn to wrestle
or play kabaddi
but on football or cricket field
or wading through the monsoon
it's folded vertically
and kilted at the knee

correct moral behavior or actions

a narrow piece of cloth worn between a person's legs to cover their sexual organs that is held in place by a piece of string around their waist

a hat or other covering that is worn on the head

a simple outer garment for the upper body in the form of a single piece of heavy cloth, often wool, with a slit in it for the head.

1. Describing comfort using different dress: Vocabulary: easy, en- route outfit, stylish , blown, comfy dressing, casual, pull on, pull off

Activity 11

Read the following extract and match underlined word(s) with the concepts/explanations/pictures given beside.

In short
the lungi is a complete wardrobe
for anyone interested:
an emblem of egalitarianism,
symbol of global left-outs
Raised and flapped amidst laughter
It's the subaltern speaking
And more:
when romance strikes, the lungi

a picture of an object which is used to represent a particular person, group or idea

believing that all people are equally important and should have the same rights and opportunities in life

an army officer whose rank is lower than captain; Subordinate Class; Essay "Can the Subaltern Speak" by Gayatri C. Spivak

is a sleeping bag for two:
a book of poems, a bottle of <u>hooch</u>
and your beloved inside your lungi –
there's paradise for you

strong alcohol, especially whisky

1. Read the two stanzas above and suggest some alternative vocabulary to replace the underlined words in the first stanza.
2. How can a lungi be a wardrobe? What is the significance of saying so?
3. Paraphrase the stanzas.

Activity 12

Read the following extract and match underlined word(s) with the concepts/explanations/pictures given beside. Underline all the phrasal verbs from the stanza below and discuss their meaning. Use dictionary.

If your luck runs out
and the monsoon turns into
a biblical <u>deluge</u>
just get in the water and hand-pump
air to balloon up your lungi –
now your humble ark

Great Flood

Not special, ordinary boat

When you find shelter
on a treetop
take it off',
<u>rinse</u> it,
hold it aloft –
flag of your <u>indisposition</u> –
and wave it at the useless stars

when someone is unable to do something because they are ill or not willing

1. Identify the phrasal verbs used in this extract and write their meaning in the box below:

Phrasal Verb	Meaning

2. Use the words listed above to complete the following sentences.

1. He __________ the cookie into a glass of milk.
2. She __________ the pot before using.
3. About 2000 pilgrims come to ___________ in the river.
4. The city provides plenty of opportunities to ________ in the culture
5. ____________ a piece of cotton with hydrogen peroxide.
6. Let's not just ___________ into this.
7. __________ your entire body into it.

3. Write sentences using them as main verbs

   *e.g. When you find shelter on a treetop **take** it **off**, **rinse** it, **hold** it **aloft** and **flag of** your indisposition*

4. What allusion does the poet give here?

Activity 13

Underline the key features of Kaiser Haq's poems from the following comments by other writers and scholars; then write your own analysis and feelings in a paragraph about 'Ode on the Lungi' with reference to the following comments.

- Kaiser Haq is a jovial litterateur . . . he also has a macabre sense of humour. -Khushwant Singh, *Sunday.*
- 'Haq writes about the contemporary Bangladeshi scene, exposing life's little incongruities and ironies . . . His poetry relies on understatement. It combines flashes of insight with a journalistic detailing of objects; it is moving and insightful, but smart and refreshingly witty at the same time.' - Syed Manzoorul Islam in *The Oxford Companion to Twentieth Century Poetry in English.*
- 'Haq captures in a few lines the essentials of a social landscape, whose lineaments are drawn by a deep feeling for place and by a self-conscious relation to the poetic medium . . . Haq can also combine his derisive imagery with moving writing and unforgettable images of his country.' -Alamgir Hashmi in *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Post-Colonial Literature.*

Activity 14

Make a list of all the new vocabulary you have learnt after reading this poem and learn their meaning and use.

Word	Simple Meaning	Use in Sentence

Scholarship 2.0: Countering the Hegemony of English for Making Knowledge Production Locally More Valuable in the Global South

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Abstract

Scholars have shown how the politics of English(es) can perpetuate structures of unequal power, marginalization, and injustice (as well as being used to counter them). Yet, scholars in the global south remain complacent and complicit about the status quo. Focusing on social justice and equity, this paper, based on the plenary given at the Entangled Englishes Conference in Dhaka, will show how we can disentangle ourselves from the hegemony of English(es) and its localized power politics. Sharing what I call a "scholar 2.0" framework, I show how practically confronting the hegemony of English(es) requires transcending individual interest and ego, mobilizing all languages in the interest of local society and professions, and engaging in translanguaging and critical global citizenship. Only by producing new knowledge for our own communities and societies – in many languages and new local venues – can we give life and meaning to our critical perspectives on language.

Keywords: hegemony, English(es), translanguaging, scholarship, knowledge production

In Greek philosopher Plato's allegorical cave, chained humans who inhabit it believe that shadows on a wall in front of them, made by light and objects behind them, constitute the real world. Strangely, two and a half millennia later, scholars across the world measure the "impact" of their knowledge on society as represented by the number of times they refer to each other within a shadow-making process controlled by financially invested entities that are not accountable to society. Scholars in the global south are particularly vulnerable to this odd condition where the worth of knowledge lies not in relevance, application, outcome, inclusion, opportunity, or benefit to society but instead on odd measurements of "quality" by proxy, focusing on medium (English), circulation (citation), number (of publications), scope (international), and gatekeeping (indexing). That is to say nothing about financial barriers (paywalls) against the majority of stakeholders who fund the majority of research. How did we, academics, ostensibly the smartest lot of all, come to accept such a regime? What could we do about it?

The key among the functions of the above situation is the English language, claimed

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to be the link language connecting all scholars across the world. So, I start this article, adapted from my plenary for the conference "Entangled Englishes in Translocal Spaces," by highlighting how the current discourse about the "hegemony of English" (whether accepted or critiqued, as the medium of academic exchange) is essentially three fingers pointing back at ourselves as scholars, our identities and privileges, our self-serving interests and investments in English (which we have gone on to pluralize in discourse and practice). My acceptance to speak at an English-only conference, and to publish this article, in English is no exception. I try to make some feeble efforts at languaging otherwise as well, as I urge us to diversify our mediums, make our scholarship more accessible, and focus on the larger social purpose of our work. I argue that our scholarship and our teaching must be valued not just in terms of what we preach but based on what we practice vis-à-vis our contribution to the communities around us that do not have the same privileges that we do, communities to which we owe honesty as well as access to the knowledge we advance. Sharing what I have learned from working with networks of scholars across South Asia in recent years, I show how we can counter the hegemony of Englishes by rejecting current premises and building new frameworks within which we can do research and publications that are relevant locally first. Based on the shifts I have observed scholars able to make in practice, I propose that we disentangle the reality of English as a medium from the politics of treating English as the very goal of education and scholarship – instead of just pontificating otherwise. I advance my arguments here within a translanguaging framework, one within which we can disentangle ourselves from the power and privileges, investing honest efforts to mobilize all languages for what we might call Scholarship 2.0 – a framework for a more grounded, more just, more meaningful scholarship. Our scholarship's (and our) goals must be to advance and use knowledge for social good, to affect justice, to improve the human condition – indeed, to help preserve the planet – and we do not have to do all these ***in*** English ***only***.

Linguistic-Epistemic Hegemonies

First, the obvious questions about language. For what purpose do we do all the teaching and researching and critiquing of language? Specifically, about English, and Englishes, and some more about its hegemony? Or, any scholarship for that matter? Who do we do it for? To what effect? For what social value? Toward what social-justice outcomes?

Uncomfortable as these questions may sound, how many of us rhetorically (rather than ideologically) determine which language and what combinations we use for which audience in what context and for what purpose and effect? Frankly, I think we just love to cash in on the power of English, including the cultural capital we derive from critiquing it; we do little or nothing about the problems we discuss because the latter is not in our business interest. Some of us blame the est while perpetuating its linguistic and cultural hegemony, inadvertently or not. It is not like the West, like some English-pushing emperor, rewards scholars around the world for their service; the scholars just happen to benefit from perpetuating the hegemony. We localize, replicate, adapt, and find value in cultivating its hegemony – with local spices and flavors. Then we argue a little more about how empowering the whole process of adapting and appropriating the power of English

can be – for some of us, that is, though we seldom admit it. We then go on to cherry-pick *empirical* evidence to justify what we want to – forgetting that our arguments do not apply to the vast majority of members of our societies. We don't paint the full picture, only an urban one, and don't acknowledge that.

The reality is that most of us are complicit and complacent because we cannot break away from our personal privileges and pleasures offered by the status quo. Through our institutions, policies, and frameworks of professional development and rewards, we have adopted competition, persuasion, conversion, and the regime of exclusion – all of which are mediated and maintained by English and its attendant political capital that we invest in and harvest of. We produce scholarship that is mostly inaccessible and therefore largely useless to our local societies – even the scholarship critiquing English or discourse advocating for using all languages, like this article.

> কেন আমরা একে অপরের সাথে ইংরেজিতে কথা বলি? (Keno amra eke oporer shathe Engrejite kotha boli?)
>
> আমাদের প্রতিবেশিদের জন্য আমাদের প্রকাশনা কোথায়? (Amader protibeshider jonno amader prokashona kothay?)

Second, there is severe imbalance of knowledge production between the global north and global south (Czerniewicz, 2014). And this is correlated to the non-use of local languages in scholarly publication and discourse. In the name of using a more widely **shared** language, we have only connected the cities, the elites, and the privileged – or people like us – who constitute a small segment of our respective countries' populations.

The above imbalance is also quite multifaceted. There is not only an imbalance if we accept the narrow definition of "scholarship" as whatever is published in academic journals and is indexed and counted as such; other forms of knowledge (from oral in medium to informal in form to embodied in practice to communal in ownership) are not recognized as knowledge. It is as if a dominant group of apple farmers in a globalized fruit market decides that only the apple counts as fruit. It is not at all that myriad other fruits are not produced and consumed in the local and global markets; it is just that they are not recognized as fruit – or at least "real" fruit. And the most significant part of the situation is that the more informed farmers among communities that are nourished by all the other fruits are involved in the business of apple that mainly benefits themselves.

Across the world, increasingly, if any research and publication is done in English, it enjoys greater recognition and reward (Lillis & Curry, 2004). From institutional practices to government policies to public understanding and aspiration to the very consciousness of scholars across the disciplines, strangely including those of us who focus on language, the medium (English) measures the value of research instead of its purpose in and contribution to society. It commands respect.

The hegemony of English – which points three fingers at us – is all-pervading and rapidly expanding – thanks to us, the scholars of language and allied fields.

> और हम इस की शिकायत अंग्रेजी में करते रहते हैं । (aur hum is ki shikayat angreji me karte rahate hain.)

The hegemony of English, therefore, is entangled with the underproduction and non-recognition of recognized "knowledge" in the global south. And the solution to one must involve tackling the other as well.

Countering the Double Helix

Let me use an example to discuss how scholars in the global south can counter the double helix of the language-knowledge hegemony above. In 2019-20, a few colleagues from Bangladesh, India, and Nepal formed a group of two dozen scholars from these countries and from across the disciplines, helping the members develop research projects that had clear social-impact foundations and goals. We would help them publish internationally if they wished. We provided workshops, peer review support, resources, and a local network of experienced mentors. The participants worked on projects such as an investigation of potato yield in Kathmandu valley, environmental content in ELT in Bangladesh, quality of bricks in Nepal, human-wild animal clashes in the South Asian countryside, and partition-induced violence at the India-Bangladesh border.

After the project's completion, using surveys and interviews, colleagues Nasrin Pervin from Bangladesh, Pratusha Bhowmik from India, Surendra Subedi from Nepal respectively, and I from the US, wrote an article (forthcoming), reporting how scholars, pursuing research with broader social responsibility in mind rather than just for talking to each other, find far greater motivation to do research and publication. Our article shares the findings of the action-research component of the community support, showing that when there is community rather than competition, support as a response to demand, and a higher social purpose, research becomes more enrooted in local social needs and outcomes. That enrootment, in turn, bolsters motivation and productivity among scholars.

By "enrootment," we refer to the process, condition, and agency for taking root in the local world, especially as a condition of finding meaning or making an impact. Enrootment lexically means to "cause (a plant or seedling) to grow roots," to "establish something deeply and firmly," or to "have as an origin or cause." It is suggestive of something being embedded, established, entrenched, or having a gravitational pull toward the local. In the research and writing support community, the mentors and mentoring, collaborators and collaborations were connected laterally; local languages were used where possible; the focus was on process rather than product; and the community was defined by mutual support, purpose, resource-building, and, most importantly, social mission.

Accordingly, our work sought to contribute to the discourse about the academic regime of "publish or perish" spreading across the global south, showing a pathway to what we call a "publish and cherish" framework. In a world where global south scholars are constantly pulled into the global north, physically and intellectually, and where their choices undermine their own local knowledge production (Adriansen, 2019), we have argued for the need to go beyond the dynamics of power and hegemony, using support programs

to disrupt the global-local hegemonic relationship by fostering scholars' agency through localization, social impact, and enrootment of their knowledge production. We must show how to change the way in which the current map of global knowledge production is itself drawn; for instance, as Czerniewicz (2014) has argued, it is not just the amount and quality/rigor of publications but also how they are measured, whose knowledge counts, who gets access, and who has resources that create and sustain inequality. We must focus on the local purpose of knowledge as the basis of quality and rigor, thereby empowering local scholars to publish in global venues if they wish – essentially rejecting the global-local binary in favor of making scholarship locally purposeful as well as globally useful. We must ask not just who circulates knowledge, or how to improve the citation count of scholars in the global south (a point raised by Mazloumian et. al, 2013) but who produces knowledge and for whom. We must develop intervention programs to help local scholars publish internationally, as some scholars have done and reported in local and global literature.

The Paradigm Shift

To create conditions whereby scholars around the world can make their research and publication socially more relevant and valuable, there is a need for a particular kind of paradigm shift. I call this the shift from "Scholarship 1.0" to "Scholarship 2.0."

The term 2.0 comes from a discourse on the evolution of internet technology. Before around 2003-2006, internet technology used to only allow the vast majority of users to read content published by a small number of people who had special coding and ftp-based web-publishing skills. That was web 1.0; that internet was like broadcast technologies such as radio and TV. With the advent of wiki at first, then blogging, then microblogging, and other social networking platforms, the internet started allowing general users to write back, to chat with each other, to post and comment in multimodal formats, and eventually to interact in real time. This was web 2.0.

Imagine that books were not only written by authors because everyone is *potentially* an author, that we all have access to radio and TV stations, and that we are all journalists and publishers. It does not mean that we do a good job of any of these, but we are able to (the potential is there). Web 2.0 is that potential, especially defined by interactivity, flattening of the landscape as to who is authority and who is just a consumer, and the explosion of opportunity for expression and interaction. It is an explosion of new possibilities, which we may now take for granted but it has been a revolution, used and misused in various ways.

Unfortunately, the paradigm shift on the internet – and thereby the mode of communication and collaboration, civic engagement and political power-sharing – has not reshaped academe. Authors are still few, scholars are both feared and ignored by the public, and, even within academe, "researchers" (and not just the lowly teachers and learners) are still up there in the hierarchy. Especially in the global south, and especially in South Asia, our hierarchical socio-epistemic structures and colonial legacies sustain the tradition of Scholarship 1.0 where knowledge is a one-way traffic – and the streets and highways are reserved for the elites only – often by birth as well as educational gatekeeping. This status

quo is where the politics of English does its dirty work, and does it quite well. Or, rather, we do it, through English and Englishes.

Practically confronting the hegemony of English(es) requires, first and foremost, transcending individual interest and ego, mobilizing all languages in the interest of local society and professions, engaging in translanguaging and critical global citizenship, and actually practicing what we preach about language and scholarship. That shift requires that we behave and carry out our work very differently in relation to medium, process, audience, rewards, and recognition. It requires intellectual honesty and social accountability. It requires us to at least allocate some of our time and energies to "publish" scholarship beyond the global neoliberal regime, to challenge and help shape institutional policies that reproduce that regime locally, and to invest time to include and engage diverse stakeholders of our scholarship. Only by producing new knowledge for our own communities and societies – in many languages and new local venues – can we give life and meaning to our critical perspectives on language. From the many collaborative projects in South Asia in the past fifteen years, I have learned that the politics of global English (including Englishes) can best be countered by focusing instead on our social responsibility and accountability as scholars, by seeking to advance social justice through knowledge production and especially knowledge application, locally. Ultimately, global can and must be the totality of locals rather than the other way around.

Unequal access to and fluency in English and its elitist forms undergirds significant discrimination in faculty hiring, professional opportunities, and the general attitude toward and respect for scholars – the latest as seen in the case of unequal treatment of faculty who do not have educational degrees from or even low numbers of visits to "native" English speaking countries. So, without shifting from the current paradigm to one that localizes knowledge and pursues social justice, we cannot disentangle ourselves from the hegemony of English(es) and its localized power politics.

A paradigm shift from 1.0 to 2.0 in academe would put the social worth of scholarship at the center by fostering community rather than competition. It would not encourage the me-me-me scholar bragging about their publication on social media but scholars who are networked and mutually supporting, producing, and applying knowledge for their own community first.

The push for knowledge production away from local venues and audiences is increasingly prompting problematic responses from scholars, such as publications in predatory journals, high frequency of plagiarism and low originality in scholarship, and acceptance of citation index as a goal for new institutional initiatives, if any. In the past decade, the most striking challenges were seen in India, where increased demands for publication (without commensurate infrastructures or support for scholars) led to the annual production of more than a third of the world's 400,000 articles in 8,000 predatory journals (according to a 2019 *Nature* article by Bhusan Patwardhan, the former Vice President of Indian University Grants Commission). Especially countries in the global south are now exacerbating that imbalance and the underlying problems instead of addressing them: by pushing their

scholars to publish in English (which, in fact, is one of the unfortunate reasons for the imbalance), in international venues (another barrier for many), and to meet certain proxy measures of quality (such as citation index, instead of relevance to and impact on society), they are aggravating an emerging neocolonial, neoliberal hegemony facilitated ironically by the internet. As Mazloumian et al. (2013) have illustrated, citation count may only reflect consumption and dependence on others, instead of setting the agenda locally and putting new knowledge to meaningful use (Gerke & Evers, 2006), as well as contributing it globally.

To pursue meaningful goals, we need publication venues and peer review processes that are inclusive and supportive, rather than exclusive and judgmental. We must add layers of mentoring to standard review processes, helping writers better communicate ideas across cultures. We need review processes that redefines quality by diversity, rather than prestige and, too often, prestige by the ratio of rejection to acceptance. Quality must also be defined by meaning and value to readers and writers locally. We must also see quality in variety, sharing, and interaction. Fortunately, we can use the affordances of the web to redefine quality and rigor in ways I just mentioned – but we must change our mindsets first.

Practicing What We Preach

Now, how do we mobilize other languages, alongside English, to facilitate the paradigm shift, to achieve social goals of scholarship?

First, we must honestly admit that the power of English is based on aspirations and ideologies far more than actual benefits for us and for our societies. As scholars have reported from classrooms and communities in global-south contexts like Nepal's (Phyak, 2015; Phyak & Sharma, 2020; Sah & Li, 2020), ideologies about English, as a generic and named language, actually create all kinds of adverse languaging conditions for multilingual users (rather than facilitating resourcefulness and agency). In a forthcoming article, I report how a group of 80+ Nepalese scholars from across the discipline engage with English in the process of writing for academic publication – especially how they struggle with English and feel ashamed to use their home languages – using the latter in hiding and far more frequently than they think they do. Based on an action research integrated into a 6-month long research and writing support program in 2020-21, the article explores power and politics, ideology and myth-making, coercion and stigma in what I call translingual conditions under duress. The analysis and theming of data indicated a lower awareness of multilingual practice relative to practice itself, a tendency to overestimate English use in academic research and writing, and a great deal of appreciation for environments that accorded freedom of linguistic choice (in spite of considerable aspirations, among some, to improve English by not using other languages).

During research and collaborations in South Asia in particular, I have observed that by modeling translingual communication and providing resources in different languages (rather than institutions just enforcing rules or making demands of quality or quantity), providing support and fostering collaboration helps scholars to produce far better research. Fostering agentive (rather than inhibited) translanguaging also seems to require addressing

much broader politics of language and with an understanding of the full languaging condition. It is for institutions and academic leaders to tackle that larger challenge.

Similarly, how do we align the translingual and decolonial frameworks with the Scholarship 2.0 framework?

First, we must pursue collaborative scholarship in and across the global south contexts, contributing to global platforms from the ground up but producing and using new knowledge on the ground first.

Second, we must mobilize the hegemonic impulse for countering that very impulse and to create mutual benefits from which we can advance more meaningful scholarship locally and transnationally in the interest of the marginalized communities, not the minority of scholars who pursue their own personal interests in the name of their communities.

And, third, we must translate ethical principles of research into professionally, educationally, and socially beneficial practices; we must start writing in different languages or for different audiences, conducting and publishing research collaboratively, and using scholarship for teacher training and program development.

What is most needed in the field of language education and communication is not more scholarship about English, Englishes, or even language and languaging. It is a new paradigm that values and mobilizes the languages in which our communities conduct life, professions, and learning. We are as sophisticated as we are self-serving. We are less awkward and more articulate than our less educated neighbors in how we talk. But we are not honest and grounded, not as committed to the common good. So, even a humble turn toward no longer refusing to speak the different languages we know and use in daily life would make a difference.

A little intellectual courage and honesty would take us a long way, from the shadows of citation count in our modern cave, toward the world of reality where we can recognize "social impact" when we see it, where we are challenged to actually make some.

> আসুন আমাদের সকল ভাষায় প্রকাশ করি। আসুন আমরা আমাদের সম্প্রদায়ের কাছে জ্ঞানকে সহজলভ্য করি। (Ashun amader shokol bhashay prokash kori. Ashun amra amader shomprodayer kache gyanke shohojlobbho kori.)
>
> आइए हम अपने आदर्शों को व्यवहार में लाएं। आइए हम अंग्रेजी के आधिपत्य की अपनी आलोचना को काम में लाएं। (aiye hum apne adarshon ko vyavhar me layen. Aiye hum angreji ke aadhipatya ki apni aalochana ko kam me layen.
>
> आउनुहोस अब छिमेकीहरुका भाषाहरुमा पनि ज्ञान उत्पादन गरौं । आउनुहोस हाम्रा समुदायकै उत्थान खातीर ज्ञानको प्रयोजन गरौं । (aunuhos aba chhimekihruka bhashahruma pni gyan utpadan garaun. Aunuhos hamro samudaykai utthan katir gyanko prayojan garaun.)

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Language, Chronotope, Other Spaces and Times, and Identity

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to explore the intricate relationship between the spatial dynamics of real and imagined spaces, and to understand how language and identity evolve and emerge within these spaces. To do so, both face-to-face and digital conversations from an intensive three-month-long ethnographic research in Bangladesh, in which 29 participants took part, are analyzed with reference to Bakhtin's concept of the *chronotope*. The analysis reveals that while participants engage in conversation within the contextual realities and spatial dynamics, they also equally refer to *other* spaces and times. These spaces work as reference points that enable the participants to bring extra layers of meaning to the meaning-making processes of their language practices. The participants also approximate or transgress the linguistic and cultural boundaries within the social and spatial realities of the present with reference to the socially and culturally appropriate norms and propriety of *other* spaces. The paper hence concludes that the spatial contextualization of language and the negotiation of identity are relational, very much in an organic relationship with *other* spaces and times, both imaginary and concrete, and fluid and fixed. Thus, the paper contributes to the recent development in sociolinguistics research that strongly suggests including space as an important dynamic of language, its meaning-making processes, and individual and collective identity.

Keywords: Bangladesh, chronotope, identity, language, space

Introduction

The complex meaning-making processes of language and the discursive construction of individual and collective identities in relation to space and time have recently received attention both in applied linguistics and sociolinguistics (Deroo & Mohamud, 2022). Preece (2010), while analyzing data in relation to students' identity, considered identity both "contextually situated" and "ideologically informed" (p. 23). Hence, instead of grouping students into fixed categories, she empirically demonstrated that the relationship between participants and context/setting shaped their interaction at the local level. The

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perspectives and positions that emerged from interaction with others at the local level eventually evoked broader dimensions of identity at the macro and discursive levels. From this perspective, she concluded that identity was "fluid and negotiated" in specific spaces (Preece, 2010, p. 24). It was also identified that people did not conform to any putative homogenous group identity. They were all diverse and complex.

Performances of identities were compared with stages of drama where interlocutors performed according to the social setting constructed as front and back stages (Goffman, 1959). According to Goffman (1959), both the performers and audiences, and the props in the front and backstage, together influenced the nature of interactions and accessibility to performances of identities either in the front or backstage. Interlocutors' psychological processes and orientations were greatly determined by personal experiences of norms and values in society and spaces they had been to and they were now. This also suggested identity as a discursive and dialectic practice in tandem with social and cultural values, and norms and social contexts. Scripts of identities were co-recreated or co-defined or co-written with reference to all the historical and spatial dynamics. Pennycook (2010) as well mentioned that language practices were "indissolubly interlinked" with history (repeated action), society (social activity), and space (situatedness) (p. 55). Blommaert et al. (2005), for example, stated "focusing on space inserts language into semiotic complexes, including participation frames, topics, genres of discourse, material and symbolic resources, and so forth " (p. 206).

In the context of private higher education in Bangladesh, it was identified that the interpretation and realization of private university spaces by students were relational and relative. Spaces of private higher education in Bangladesh were the site of exhilaration and excitement, on the one hand, and constant struggle and resistance, on the other. Spaces carried students' enthusiasm for being part of the newer Western education movement and, not to mention, carried their conflicts, contradictions, struggles, and anguishes, as they felt like outsiders in the new spaces. The research concluded that the spaces of pro-English hi-tech universities gave rise to alternative realities for students and these realities need to be understood critically and sympathetically (Sultana, 2018).

Another research study, with reference to two popularly used words amongst Bangladeshis, explored how university students in Bangladesh used the English word "fast" and the Bangla word "khaet" (hick) to construct a sense of "others" and position themselves in their educational landscape. The findings revealed that individual and collective use and interpretation of "fast" and "khaet" and associated identity attributes were intricately intertwined with the historical, political, and ideological roles of English; individual life trajectories; educational, linguistic, and socio-economic backgrounds; and nature of exposure to linguistic and cultural resources and mobility in different spaces. In fact, the Bangla word, ক্ষেত/ "khaet" etymologically comes from "ksetra," a Sanskrit word meaning "cultivated land." The identity attributes associated with "khaet" are generally used by the urbanites for people coming from a ক্ষেত/cultivated field/rural background/village, to juxtapose with others from the city. They do not know the manners of city life, since

they come from a rural background. Because of their locatedness in peripheral spaces, they are also incapable of speaking standard Bangla, the national and official language of the country, but are more comfortable using the regional varieties of Bangla. Hence, they are generally identified as "hick," "uncultured," and "uncivilized," while the *others* are "cultured" and "educated" (Sultana, 2020). In other words, geographical locations and associated spaces are important dynamics of these specific identity constructions too. Hence, it seems important that we unpack this complex and entangled relationship among language, identity, and space further. This paper seeks to address the research question given below:

> In what ways are spaces intertwined with the co-construction of both individual and collective language practices and negotiation of identity?

To explore the research question, it is important to explain first how we conceptualize language, identity, and space in this paper.

Bakhtin's Dialogic Theory and Definition of Language

According to the dialogic theory of Bakhtin (1986), language is not a combination of linguistic features. It is also a vehicle of multiple voices that individuals convey when they engage in dialogic interactions with others. These voices carry different intentions, meaning, beliefs, and values that interlocutors gather from different contexts. Hence, Bakhtin (1981) stated, "Each word tastes of the context and context in which it has lived its socially charged life … Words bring with them the contexts where they have lived" (p. 293). This specific understanding of language draws attention to several specific historical, social, and spatial dynamics of language: first, language is contextual and language is historical. A language that evolves in dialogic interactions in the present is the successor to the ones that have occurred in other contexts in the past. In other words, the synthesis of forms and meaning observable in the language is very much interlinked with the context in the present as well as in the past. Thus languages are mediated in contexts from the past to the present. Hence, a language needs to be understood both in terms of contexts and forms, as it emerges historically.

This embeddedness of the past in language leads to another significant issue: language is heteroglossic. Linguistic features (phonological, morphological, lexical, syntactic, intonational), styles, registers, and sociolects are diversified and stratified by voices that epitomize class, generation, profession, or groups and contextual, historical, spatial, and temporal idiosyncrasies. Even when there are attempts to come up with a "unified code" for a standard or a national language, the language itself remains heteroglossic. Thus Bakhtin's theory of dialogue shows that a language is socially, historically, contextually, and dialogically constituted. Each word "cannot fail to brush up against thousands of living dialogic threads, woven by socio-ideological consciousness around the given object of an utterance; it cannot fail to become an active participant in social dialogue" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 276). In other words, deciphering the meanings of multiple voices implicit in any language requires an understanding of individuals' use of language, their life trajectories, and the socio-cultural-historical meaning of language, as practised in different contexts and

times. It is the "extralinguistic" features – the complex ways a language evolves historically in different spaces over time - that are significantly important in the meaning-making processes of a language.

Dialogues are not about individuals only. It is about how individuals come to terms with their personal, social, and historical ideas as well as that of others'. Bakhtin is more interested in the intersubjectivity in dialogue, i.e., human subjects, their agency, and their intentionality. Hence, Bakhtin's "extremely complex and vibrant theory of dialogism, heteroglossia, and polyphony" is not about the "text within text," but a very much "agency-driven concept of the interaction of historical and social languages" (Volosinov, 1973 in Clark & Holquist, 1984, p. 22)

Dialogic Theory, Chronotope, and Identity

The historical emergence of language in dialogic interactions and its interrelationship with time and space have been poignantly addressed in Bakhtin's notion of *chronotope*, the neologism that literally means "time-space." "Every entry into the sphere of meaning is accomplished only through the gates of chronotope," says Bakhtin (1981, p. 258). Chronotope is the lens that focuses on the "materiality of the language," i.e., how language acts in time and space (Blommaert, 2017). Chronotope refers to the time and space that speakers of texts experience in life (Bakhtin, 1981) and eventually metamorphose into who they are and what they say. Individuals' pasts create scaffolding for the present dialogic interaction. Hence, language and speakers can never be aspatial or atemporal beings. Both of them evolve in the intersection of space (where the utterances take place) and time (when the utterances take place). There is also an intrinsic link between the utterances taking place in other times and places. The constant accumulation, changes, and transitions in meaning occur in the dynamics of space and time (Dovchin, 2019a). In other words, in space and time, individuals experience the world, gather their worldviews, and values and evolve who they are and what meaning and voices they would bring to dialogic interactions. Therefore, language studies require the identification of the invisible spatial and temporal markers throbbing under the linguistic features.

The notion of chronotope is illuminating to understand how relationships and a sense of belonging develop in individuals over time and space (Blommaert, 2015; Kroon & Swanenberg, 2019). Baxter (2004) mentioned that there would be a certain level of similarity between the interlocutors for coordinated interaction as well as for meaningful sustainable relationships (p. 4). She stated that "*chronotopic similarity* is the stockpile of shared time-space experience that a pair constructs through their joint interaction events over time." It was the mundane communicative events of small talk, gossip, or making a plan that enabled individuals to "build jointly shared history – an emergent chronotopic similarity". Thus "chronotopic similarity is not performed but emergent over time" (Baxter, 2004, p. 5). Even though Baxter (2004) came up with this neologism for unravelling the dynamics of human relationships, this notion in terms of group affiliation and identification seemed to carry the immense possibility of understanding individual and collective negotiation of identity.

Interlocutors with chronotopic similarity are more at ease in relating with each other. As interlocutors experience life in varied times and spaces, they have a common base of experiences. Their shared experiences give them a shared knowledge and they can craft their relationship and affiliation. The chronotopic similarity becomes the "emergent scaffold" for interlocutors. In addition, it also allows individuals with different "habitus" and "symbolic capital" (Bourdieu, 1991) in time and space to develop a sense of place for themselves and others in the social milieu. Thus, chronotopic similarity does not put individuals in one specific category according to "habitus" or "capital" (cf. Bourdieu, 1991), but acknowledges their impact in time and space, and eventually how individuals may realize and reinvent them in dialogic interactions. As a consequence, in the process, individuals' sense of self may change. The similarities and differences brought by the interlocutors are not concrete, but dynamic, reinvented by interlocutors in interactions.

Chronotopic similarities, in addition, draw attention to the social aspect of identity construction. Identity cannot be unitary because it is developed in dialogues with "others" with chronotopic similarities and dissimilarities. The "others" play a significant role in the way individuals engage in multivocal discourses in dialogic interactions. From this perspective, as Baxter (2004) mentioned, *becoming* "holds no implicit telos – becoming selves are not developing or progressing in some linear completion. Rather, …[it] refer[s] to the ongoing process of constituting selves" (p. 4). Consequently, using the framework of chronotope, the inherently social nature of individuals' utterances and how they weave themselves into the fabric of society when they mutually engage in dialogic interaction may be explored. Thus, chronotopic similarity/dissimilarity seems to be a fruitful construct to show how interlocutors may also reconstruct a vision of "us" and "them."

Chronotope works in three ways in dialogic interaction. First, it makes sense how time and space shape interlocutors' perceptions and experiences. Language does go through various chronotopic appropriations and thus it is crucial to reconstruct the connection between the historical context in the past, the existing context in the present, and the unpredictable context of the future and interlocutors' perceptions and experiences. Time and space even shape the language. The discursive nature of Bakhtinian dialogism is inseparable from the chronotope. The "metamorphic character" of individuals also evolves in time and space, i.e., chronotope (Kim, 2004). Chronotopes "actually *enable* different kinds of character development" (Woolard, 2013, p. 211; emphasis original). Language and identity emerge only chronotopically. Chronotope brings forth the spatial and temporal dynamics of language and identity.

Second, chronotopes shape the communicative events and provide information on the space and time and where and when narrative events are organized. Time is tangible and evident in narrative events (Allan, 1994). Similarly, the existence of space concretizes events. "It is precisely the chronotope that provides the ground essential for the showing-forth, the representability of events" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 250). Thus communicative events are structured spatially, historically, and temporarily in chronotopes.

Third, it reveals how a single utterance epitomizes multiple senses of time and space. One

chronotope may contain multiple chronotopes inside it and an utterance may reveal features of various chronotopes and hence, Bakhtin (1981) stated, that chronotopes are "mutually inclusive, they co-exist, they may be interwoven with, replace or oppose one another, contradict one another or find themselves in ever more complex interrelationships" (p. 252). Therefore, any attempt to understand a chronotope requires looking at not only the contextual space and specific temporality, but also the politically, historically, and socially produced organization of space, i.e., what thoughts, values, actions, and interactions go in space, by whom and with whom, the physical location of interaction, what time, and for how long the interaction continues, and so forth.

Because space is representational, that is, lived and experienced in life, it is linked with time. Past, present, and future are intricately linked together with the spatial practices at present and consequently, it is difficult to separate time from space. "Space implies time, and vice versa" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 118). Thus it needs to be recognized that space and time carry social meaning and it impacts individuals' language practices and identifications. Individuals are usually aware of time only in terms of a linear model, i.e., past, present, and future. However, time is present in an organic way, i.e., enveloping interlocutors from every direction of their life. Because of its pervasiveness, it is difficult to put them in a linear order.

> The live time, after all, they are *in* time. … Time is apprehended within space – in the very heart of space; the hour of the day, the season, the elevation of the sun above the horizon, the position of the moon and stars in the heavens, the cold and the heat, the age of each natural being, and so on. … time was thus inscribed in space… our time, then, this most essential part of lived experience, this greatest good of all goods, is no longer visible to us, no longer intelligible. It cannot be constructed. It is consumed, exhausted, and that is all. It leaves no traces. It is concealed in space, hidden under a pile of debris to be disposed of as soon as possible; after all, rubbish is a pollutant (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 95-96; original emphasis).

Fourth, chronotope draws attention to the social fabric of interactions, i.e., how utterances are conflicted and riddled with ideologies, values, interests, and intentions of specific interlocutors of a specific chronotopic context where the dialogues are negotiated in specific temporal and spatial terms. The meaning of time and space, hence, differs according to the social divisions and hierarchies, such as class, gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality, and so on (Allan, 1994). Following the footsteps of Marx, space is considered a way of understanding class consciousness and class struggle within the contemporary capitalism (Soja, 1980). Soja (1996 in Pennycook, 2010), for example, considered space as the "third existential dimension" and it influenced the way history, society, and time and space were interpreted (p. 55).

The third principle of Foucault's (1986) concept of *heterotopia* draws attention to the relational nature of spaces[1] too. Specifically, the third principle of heterotopia – "the heterotopia is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place in several spaces, several sites

that are in themselves incompatible" (Foucault, 1986, p. 25) – seems to share the ethos of chronotope. The heterotopia indexes multiple identities, social and institutional, in and through a single site, and resists its conventional meaning. The dynamic is always against the conceptual, ritualized hegemony of a given public site, such as a mall, museum, cemetery, or university. When utopias are "fundamentally unreal space" (Foucault, 1986, p. 24), heterotopias thrive in *juxtaposition* and relational meaning and they thrive through a symbiotic connection.

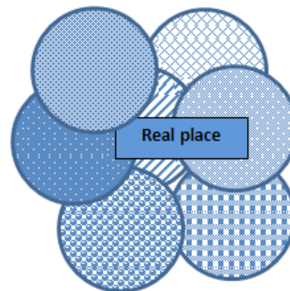


Figure 1: Real space overlapped with "other" spaces

Similarly, locatedness in different spaces in life trajectories, the imagery existence of other spaces, and the existence of real spaces bring extra layers of meaning to the language practices and negotiation of identity. Andrews (2021) indicated queer South African bloggers created an alternative heterotopia on YouTube channels with their communities as a protest to the stereotypes and distorted presentation of queer lives and experiences in mass media as well in real life (p. 84). Andrews (2021) concluded that,

> These heterotopian YouTube communities provide forums where identity, space and authenticity or 'realness' are invoked and reimagined in ways that speak back to the limitations or oppressions experienced in offline spaces. The communities also offer viewers and commenters the space to share, reflect on and demonstrate support for the experiences of others. (p. 84)

The real spaces are equally important. As individuals act within the immediate material setting, "material arrangements form immense interconnected networks through which causal processes work, [affect] both arrangements themselves and the human activity that transpired amid them" (Schatzki, 2011, pp. 6-7). Within the nexus of material arrangements and activities, language evolves and space is interpreted. Thus the relational space and socially produced organization of space and the immediate contextual space – all are important in meaning-making processes and negotiation of identity.

The presence of "other" spaces is also equally important in how individuals engage in language practices, involve themselves in activities, mediate their locatedness in space, and negotiate their identities. These spaces juxtapose several emplacements in one single real place. Heterotopias increase the representational capacities of one space because they capture

the imageries of various spaces in one real space – and are hence very much relational. Taking this relational dynamic of space *in situ* with other spaces into consideration, in this paper, we make a connection between chronotope and heterotopia. Here, language works as the bridge that connects the different times and spaces. It is through language we can see space as "double determinants: imaginary/real, produced/producing, material/social, immediate/mediated (milieu/transition), connection/separation, and so on" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 187).

The alternative realities that space evokes are also explained in the notion of the "third space" propounded by both Lefebvre (1991) and Soja (1996). The third space transcends the first space, i.e., space with its material arrangements, and the second space, i.e., space with its conceivable meaning to individuals. It is the outcome of individual practical experiences of day-to-day life and it is "lived," realized and experienced physically and mentally through personal engagement. As third space emerges out of the "restructuring" of the alternative realities beyond the first and second, Lefebvre (1991) defined it as "thirding-as-Othering." It is an "interjection" of "an-Other set of choices" and the third space evolves through a deconstruction and reconstruction of the "Other set of choices." Consequently, the third space is "directional, situational or relational" and "it is essentially qualitative, fluid and dynamic" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 69). In other words, the notion of third space is fruitful to understand the space created by interlocutors themselves.

Because of its individual realization, the third space may have varied meanings. It may be full of struggles and contradictions. It may be the space for resistance from the dominant order, created at the margin, periphery, exterior, or border as a protest to the dominant order (Lefebvre, 1991; Soja, 1996). It can also be the context and results of social, political, and economical struggles. People may also find new meaning in the third space and engage with it to rediscover unexplored and unaccepted selves. Third space may promise newer life, emergent identity, and liberating avenues (Tamboukou, 2004). Bhabha (1994) defined "third space" with reference to postcolonial experiences – a relevant construct to postcolonial adults in the context of Bangladesh. He identified "third space" as the "in-between space which provides the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood, singular or communal – that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration and contestation" (p. 2). With reference to interstitial spaces, he suggested that postcolonial subjectivities emerged in cultural hybridities, challenging the historiography of colonialism and genealogical cultural representation, that is, the cultural given (also cf. Davis, 2010). His "third space" disrupted the accepted cultural representation of "colonial subjects" and questioned the pre-given and genealogical representation of individuals. Note that here Bhaba placed importance on the spatial realization of postcolonial identity, rather than the temporal identity that referred to the colonial past.

In summary, an understanding of identity requires layers of abstraction in terms of individual and collective language practices, time, space, history, and individual and collective identification. Individuals' social, discursive, and historical precedents and consequent reinvention of language practices illuminate the complex manifestation of

identification. Identity is not about only language, practices, or social landscape. It is within the nexus of all three dimensions that identification develops. Space is a micro-analytic tool to develop a nascent understanding of language and identity. In addition to the contextual or physical properties of space, the social organization, i.e., how it is organized and why; what role it plays in young adults' language practices; what thoughts and ideologies are brought into it; by whom and with whom; and how they relate themselves with space and when; and consequently, what contradictions they experience because of their biological, socioeconomic characteristics, and so on, are equally important (cf. Sultana 2022a; Sultana, 2022b). The dynamic, open, changeable, and permeable space gives a better understanding of the emergence of language and the negotiation of identity at the micro level.

Digital and Onsite Ethnography

The University of Excellence (UOE)[2] is a private university in Bangladesh. It has marked its place in higher education in Bangladesh along with public universities. The campus itself is an architectural wonder, since it evokes images of a space that excels in structure and technological amenities (first space), meeting the expected image of private education institutions perceived by all stakeholders (second space), such as parents, students, university authority, and so on. Many students, specifically those from the English-medium education background, prefer to get admission to this university.

Digital and onsite ethnography was the research method and the participants' language practices with an expository stance were observed. By probing their background and observing them in university spaces, and in communication with their friends, the historicity of their language practices was possible. The selection of the space for this paper was done based on the observable linguistic and lexical features of language practices held in those spaces. For example, the participants' language practices are distinctly different in linguistic and lexical features from each other in a specific space in the university.

We also used Digital Ethnography (DE) as a qualitative ethnography research method in an online environment, which investigates the behaviors of online users. DE primarily allows for the fine-grained exploration of linguistic, symbolic, and semiotic practices of diverse communities on the Internet (Dovchin, 2019b). Through DE, we undertook constant social media (Facebook) observation without obstructing our participants, which allows the collection of online natural data as they circulate across social media interactions. We were involved with research participants in prolonged and persistent observation, rigorous vigilance of digital participants, and their social spaces and practices, mainly documented through screenshots and field notes. DE provided us with a better understanding of Facebook linguistic and communicative practices with which we were consciously and strategically engaged as the key participants were co-constructing their ongoing interactions or the emerging online languages (Tankosić & Dovchin, 2021).

Two extracts of conversations from two spaces most frequented by the research participants are presented here for analysis and discussion: the university café (Extract 1) and the digital space (Extract 2), that is, the Facebook (FB) account. The purpose is to explore *linguistic landscaping* – "the active production of space through language" that deals with

"how different linguistic resources are used, different worlds evoked, different possibilities engaged in as people use the linguistic wherewithal around them" (Pennycook, 2010, p. 69) – in the presence of "other" fluid and concrete spaces. Participants were also continually asked questions about what they meant or intended to mean with their particular acts of language. Consequently, the emergent interpretations through the analysis were "tuned into" participants' perspectives and voices (Maybin, 2006, p. 12; Sultana, 2015a, 2015b). Therefore, the research itself was polyphonic, i.e., containing multiple independent voices working together in a text (Bakhtin, 1981).

Language and Identity Mediated in and through Multiple Interlocked Spaces

The extract below will show that the imagined space can be real and concrete, a reference to which can have a mediating effect on the language practices of participants in their narratives. Language also becomes a chronotopic identity for these participants: from being a student to a political activist in the way that research participants linguistically position themselves and negotiate identity with reference to these spaces. Here, Nikita (born and brought up in Dhaka; educated in Bangla-medium education schools and colleges), Arish (born in the UAE and brought up in Dhaka; educated in English-medium schools and colleges), and Bonya (born and brought up in suburban districts and later went to English-medium schools and colleges), share their experiences in Aziz Super Market at Shahbag over morning tea.

Both Shahbag and the Aziz Super Market have a distinct history that sets them apart from newly-developed urban neighborhoods and cosmopolitanized shopping malls in Dhaka. Shahbag, originally called "Bagh-e-Badshahi" (Garden of the Master Kings in Persian) was developed in the 17th century by the Mughal emperor. The name was subsequently shortened to *Shah* (Persian: king) *Bagh* (Persian: garden), and later turned into Shahbag. The leading prestigious public universities and institutes in Bangladesh[3] are located there. In the same locality is the Ramna Racecourse, where Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman called on Bangladeshis to unite against the autocracy of the West Pakistanis and fight for independence. His famous speech on March 7, 1971 played a significant role in starting the independence movement which eventually led Bangladesh into the liberation war. Near Shahbag is the *Shaheed Minar*, the monument erected in honor of the martyrs who were killed in the Language Movement in 1952[4]. Shahbag became iconic for the "Shahbag Movement" when the younger generations from the post-independence era demonstrated in Shahbag in February 2013, giving rise to protests across the country and ultimately ensuring that the Government accelerated the judicial process to bring the war criminals of 1971 to trial (Afrin, 2013; Murshid, 2013; Murshid & Sanya, 2013).

The three-storey building of Aziz Super Market[5] is located in the very center of Shahbag. It has bookshops and publishing houses which are considered to be the birthplace of poets and writers; a hub for intellectuals and free-thinkers who gather in the bookstores and tea stalls in the evenings. Many of the shops are owned by former Dhaka University students, writers, and poets. The office of the internationally recognized organizers of the International Short and Independent Film Festival in Bangladesh is situated in Aziz Super Market. In recent

years, it has also become popular because of boutique shops that promote local fashion industries, Bangladeshi weavers, cloth-makers, designers, and garment workers to support the recently-formed movement against the Indian hold over the fashion industry. Their slogan is "Buy local products; feel blessed" (*deshi ponyo kine hou dhonyo*). They sell locally-made fashion garments and clothes, many of which have Bangla scripts and quotations on them. The market thus is unique in the way it reflects the zeal of Bangladeshi nationalism.

Note that Nikita and her friends do not frequently visit the places around Shahbag, even though the place is historically crucial in the emergence of Bangladesh as an independent country. Nikita's narrative about 21st February, which is observed with much solemnity and vigor around Shahbag (including *ekushey boi mela*], indicates that the historical and cultural significance of national events and spaces have little relevance to her life. Nikita states, *ekushey* ***February, it's a holiday****.* ***just*** *akta* ***holiday*** *hishebe palon kora hoi. … ami chhoto belai, ami kintu shaheed minar dekhi nai. ami shaheed minar kobe deksi? dui bochhor age mone hoi. ekushey* ***February****te.* ***TSC*** *kokhono jai nai. ami amar* ***friend****er shathe* ***TSC*** *gesi. ami jokhon bolsi ami kokhono shaheed minar dekhi nai, tokhon amar* ***friend****ra dakhailo.* ***So*** *dakho. ami* ***by born*** *Dhakai.* ***Born and brought up in Dhaka****. ami kintu shaheed minar kokhono jai nai. eta amar nijer kase kharap lage. ami kintu kokhono – Ramnai kokhonoi jai nai. … amar baba ma amake oita* ***celebrate*** *korte shikhae nai.* [21st February, it's a holiday. I celebrate the day just as a holiday. I didn't visit Shaheed Minar[6] when I was young. When did I see Shaheed Minar? I guess it was two years ago[7]. It was 21st February. I had never been to TSC[8]. I went to TSC with my friends. They showed me Shaheed Minar when I told them that I hadn't seen it before. See! I was born and brought up in Dhaka. I hadn't been to Shaheed Minar. I personally feel bad about it. I have never been to Ramna[9]. … I don't celebrate the national festivals … My mom and dad didn't teach me to celebrate ((observe)) these events] (083111). In other words, the historical, political, and cultural interpretation of national events along with the spaces have different levels of signification for individual Bangladeshis.

Nikita ended up in this locality with Arish and Bonya. With reference to this space (Aziz Super Market at Shahbag, Dhaka) outside their immediate boundary, with their material arrangements, social actors, and activities, these participants, sitting in the university café at UOE, define the spatial meaning of the space and while negotiating their identities through chronotope in the process.

Extract 1

		Casual Conversation	**Translation**
1.	**Nikita**	((addressing one of the authors, Shaila Sultana)) oderke niye moja hoise Shahbage giya. oikhane ki shob **t-shirt**e Bangla lekha thake na, Banglai likha thake na? ora dui jone mila kichhui porte partese na.	((addressing one of the authors, Shaila Sultana) It was fun taking them to Shahbag. Have you seen all those sorts of t-shirts sold there with Bangla scripts embossed on them? !!! They couldn't read the Bangla on the t-shirts.
2.	**Arish**	((laughing)) he he he!	((laughing)) he he he!

3.	**Nikita**	duitai ki je kortese! shahbager Aziz **Super Market**e to DUr **student**ra thake. DU **student**deri to ak akta dokan **own** kore. ora shobai DUr **student** dekhe obhhosto. ami mane, ora ak akta portese duijone. ak akta **salesman** AMNE takai ase!!! mane, oder cheharata dekhle, mane <“kotha theke ashche AGULA? bangla porte pare na!!!”> jaye bipode pore gesi. **Simple** ak akta bangla dhoro, ki jani akta chhilo!	You can’t imagine what these two were doing there! The shops at Aziz Super Market are usually frequented by DU students. Some of them also own the shops there. The salesmen are more used to seeing them. When they ((Bonya and Arish)) were trying to read each sentence on the t-shirts, the salesmen kept staring at them in indignation. It was written all over their faces, as if “where have they come from? They can’t even read Bangla!” I felt so embarrassed. They couldn’t read even simple Bangla, like, what was it!
4.	**Bonya**	((looking at the researcher)) oder lekhatao jano, onek kamon hibijibi kore lekha thake. bhujteo **problem** hoi.	((looking at the researcher)) You know how they ((designers)) write on the t-shirts. The writing was in illegible scribbles. It is difficult to read.
5.	**Arish**	BANGLA **ITALICS.**	Bangla Italics.
6.	**Nikita**	jara Bangla porte parbe, tara thiki porte parbe. ami Bangla **simple** koreo likhe anleo toder shomoshha hobe. tor ar Jamiler. ((looking at Arish)) ar, ar torto!	Those who can read Bangla will read them anyway. If I write Bangla even in simple letters, you and Jamil will find them difficult. (looking at Arish) and you, no comment!
7.	**Arish**	Bangla **Italics.**	Bangla Italics.
8.	**Nikita**	tora Bangla dalile kokhono **sign** korishna. toderke thokanore **possibility** achhe **80%.**	You don’t ever sign any legal documents in Bangla. You have 80% possibility of being cheated.
9.	**Bonya**	na na, ami bhaike diye porabo.	No! I will ask my brother to read it for me.
10.	**Nikita**	tui kake diya porabi??? tor **family**teito keo Bangla parena.	Who will you show it to? There is no one in your family who can read Bangla.
11.	**Arish**	toke **phone** dibo.	I will call you then.
	((They keep talking about the possible problems that they might face in life because of their limited literacy in Bangla. Nikita starts to draw Bangla letters with her finger on the table and ask them what each one is.))		
12.	**Arish**	>eita kha. na na. eita kha na. **semi colon**, na **colon**<.	This is *kha* ((a Bangla letter)). No, No. This is not *kha*. Semi colon, no colon.
13.	**Bonya**	<buchhi::>, duita golla.	Understood, two round dots.
14.	**Arish**	sheitaito, **colon** koitesi.	I am saying the same thing, a colon.
15.	**Nikita**	eita bishorgo, banglai bole.	This is *bishorgo* ((a Bangla letter)) in Bangla.

In this extract, language evolves in the nexus of two spaces, Shahbag and UOE with reference to symbolic and material artefacts (cf. Thorne & Lantolf, 2007), in this case, the t-shirts with Bangla script (line 1), the actors, Nikita, Arish, and Bonya – imaginary

outsiders from a private university – and other social actors, the Dhaka University students and the salesmen (line 3). The t-shirts, as symbolic and material artefacts, play a mediating role in the space between Arish and Bonya, allowing them to negotiate different facets of identity attributes in their perceived inability to read Bangla (lines 1, 3, 4, 5, and 6) and their nonchalant attitude about it (lines 2, 5, 7 – the Bangla on the t-shirt is *hibijibi* and *Bangla Italics*. Bonya and Arish claim that it is the artistically written Bangla on the t-shirts (*hibijibi* - line 4; *Bangla Italics*-lines 5 and 7) that make it difficult for them to follow, not their inability. In lines 12-15, when Nikita draws several Bangla letters on the table with her finger and asks Arish and Bonya to identify them, it seems that Bonya and Arish do not remember Bangla letters, such as *onushshor, khondotto, khiyo*, and *bishorgo*. In an interview, commenting on the relationship between language and nationalism, Nikita (083111) states that few of her friends in UOE do not know Bangla numbers, such as "tihattur"/ 73. The long conversation that follows shows that Bonya and Arish try to figure out the Bangla letters, struggling for a long time to come up with the right answer. They also look at the features of Bangla letters with reference to English symbols, such as semicolon, colon, and round dots (lines 12-15) and dash, and diagonal signs (not given here because of the length of the exchange). In this setting, English is indispensable for them to come up with the right answer and work out the signs of Bangla letters. However, this episode is less about their restricted competence in Bangla and more about the negotiation of English-medium student identity attributes.

These participants' chronotopic identity construction is also reconfirmed in relational terms against *others* – here DU students and salesmen. Nikita differentiates herself and her friends from those students, younger generation businessmen, and graduates from DU who want to make a living through the positive and creative use of Bangladeshi resources, which includes the use of Bangla letters on t-shirts. The difference is accentuated and heightened, as reported by Nikita, in the curious gazes of the salesmen, their questioning eyes ("where have they come from?" [*kotha theke ashche agula?*]), and their baffled faces. In other words, Nikita ascribes certain identity attributes to Bonya and Arish, who are incapable of reading Bangla, in relation to students from public universities such as DU. While the *others* are more inclined towards nationalistic discourses and chronotopic identity attributes, they are not. However, this sort of affiliation and disaffiliation is complex. For example, for students labelled as Chinese, Marshall (2010) showed that differences existed. These differences were related not only to languages but also to places of upbringing and cultural practices. That is why Chinese students described themselves as "banana – yellow outside, white inside" or "white people with Asian appearance" (Marshall, 2010, p. 51). These research participants in Bangladesh may have a similar sense of "being."

The chronotopic spaces – past travel and trajectories across space from the uptown part of the city to the downtown (line 1) seem to be important to the way these individuals negotiate identity in the present, sitting in the university café (cf. Soja & Hooper, 1993 for more on the metaphor of journey). Nikita identifies the distinct difference between the spaces and their locatedness in the first line, when she narrates Arish and Bonya's activities in the shops of Aziz Super Market. With her specific choice of words in line 1, such as

"that place" (*oikhane*) and "all sorts of" (*ki shob*), "Aziz Super Market is frequented by DU students" (*shahbager Aziz Super Marketeto DUr studentra thake*) and "where they come from" (*kotha theke ashche egula*), Nikita indicates clearly that they are the outsiders and their presence is unexpected. In line 3, Nikita further makes it clear that the shop owners and salesmen are more accustomed to seeing students from DU. In the juxtaposition, Nikita constructs specific meanings for both Shahbag Super Market and the university café, and her friends' and her own selves.

The linguistic meaning-making and social positioning are intricately intertwined with the social and cultural significance of Shahbag, the spatial practice of Shahbag mentioned at the beginning of the section, and the presence of the *others*. In their narratives, Nikita, Arish, and Bonya use the spatial dynamics of Shahbag Aziz Super Market and implicitly define the meaning of UOE – a private university in the uptown part of the city. Thus time and space, as central constitutive features of their language practices, create opportunities for further negotiation of identities through chronotopic space. Schatzki (2010), concerning human activity, has mentioned that identities evolve as individuals' actions unfold through time and space, and as identities emerge in their passage through life. The present persistently represents the earlier phases of life. As Schatzki (2003) has stated, identities display "the presence of the past in the present" (p. 311). With their linguistic practices in the café of UOE and their reference to the "unexpected" visit to Aziz Super Market, the students reproduce and reconfirm their identification as students of an elite English-medium private university. Within the specific space of UOE, their inadequacy in Bangla is irrelevant and is not considered to be a limitation as such. The meaning they construct for their space and the identity they perform are made in contrast to Shahbag and the Dhaka University students.

Their language also discursively constructs Shahbag Super Market as a heterotopic space, because heterotopia survives in juxtaposition and relational meanings.

> [That] space is created out of the vast incredible complexities, of the interlocking and the non-interlocking, and the networks of relations at every scale from local to global. What makes a particular view of these social relations specifically spatial is their simultaneity … Seeing space as a moment in the intersection of configured social relations (rather than as an absolute dimension) means that it cannot be seen as static. (Massey, 1993, pp. 155-156)

Hence, space may be considered the "sphere of juxtaposition and coexistence" (Löw, 2008, p. 25) and "complex, fragmented, jumbled" (Warf & Arias, 2009, p. 5). Similarly, concerning action and chronotopes in discourses about same-sex relationship practices between male tourists, Rowlette & King (2022) stated that

> participants' chronotopic awareness of language shapes a negotiation of power, knowledge, and action with respect to these relationships. Encompassing the discursive positioning of selves and others through the deployment of relevant and affective chronotopes, the talk from these Cambodian men allows us to challenge assumptions about (im)mobility, awareness, agency, sexuality, and power, and

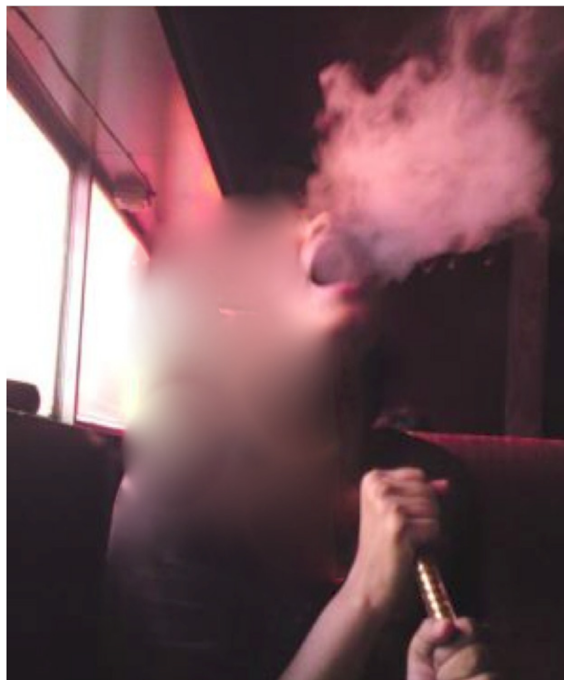
> demonstrate how these are accessed in multiple ways at this site of North/South contact. (p. 1)

The meaning of each language becomes more potent because of its relational positioning in different spaces. Only with proper consideration of the space of other spaces can we have a better understanding of language and the negotiation of identities within the complexities of spatial relationships, both immediate and beyond, and imagined and real.

Language and Identity Mediated in and through Multiple Spatial Resources

The section indicates how one's chronotopic identity is closely related to how digital space is constructed, i.e., here a photograph in combination with linguistic and non-linguistic resources. This is one of the photos uploaded by Bonya, where she is smoking a *shisha* pipe, a Persian word for *hookah*, made of a glass jar and pipe, usually smoked in the Arab countries in the Persian Gulf[10]. In this extract, the photo creates the chance for a conversation between Bonya (female and a third-year student of electronic and telecommunication engineering) and her friends.

Extract 2



	Facebook conversation	Translation
1.	Meher: **fantasome kiddo**...	Meher: fantasome kiddo...
2.	Bonya: **thx for capturing ... :P**	Bonya: thx for capturing ... :P
3.	Rashid: **pic** ta **nice**....**but** jeita kortassos oita **Worse**	Rashid: The pic is nice....but what you are doing is worse.

4.	Bonya: **yes** dost kam ta asholei **worse**... jodi eita **habit** thake...	Bonya: yes mate this is really worse... if it turns into a habit...
5.	Rashid: **habit** hok r jai hk...kharap **is** kharap... ei nia kono **argue** nai!!!	Rashid: habit or not...what is bad is bad ... there should not be any argument about it!!!
6.	Bonya: tai ni... :-/ 	Bonya: is it so... :-/
7.	Jahid: :|	Jahid: :|
8.	Bonya: *Kya huya vatashri*?	Bonya: What happened to you, brother?
9.	Razzak: isss bacchae mukh dia paad maare isss :P	Razzak: isss (sound of disapproval) the kid's farting through the mouth isss (sound of disapproval) :P
10.	Bonya: khamchaiya tor mukh nai koira dimu ...	Bonya: I will scratch your face off ...
11.	Reza: **lol**	Reza: lol
12.	Riyad: কি রে জংলি তুই দেখি টাউন ধুমায়িতো করে দিচ্ছিস। যা দৌরা লাগা জংগলে গিয়ে মঙ্গল কর...	Riyad: Hey savage you are filling the city with smoke. Run off to the jungle and do some good there ...
13.	Riyad: তোর জংলি গিরি জংগলে গিয়া কর :P:P:P hihi :P:P:P	Riyad: go to the jungle and do your savagery there :P:P:P hihi :P:P:P
14.	Reza: dhuyar vitor mosha c c c !!	Reza: there are mosquitoes in the smoke c c c (sound of disapproval)!!
15.	Malek: **super like**.	Malek: super like.
16.	Nagib: chorom unmadona!!	Nagib: utmost ecstasy!!
17.	Farzana: **wow** !	Farzana: wow !
18.	Aditi: joteeeeeeeeeeeeeeelll dst............ ;))	Aditi: aweeeeeeeeeesomeeeee mate............ ;))
19.	Tasnia: **luv it**	Tasnia: luv it
20.	Nafisa: Oi ki krs egula?	Nafisa: hey what are you doing?
21.	Bonya: @Reza: tui kana... @Malek: hehe...**thanku** @Nagib: aber jigz... @Farzana: :D @Aditi: **thanku**... :) @Nafisa: *dum* mari *dum*... :PPPPPP	Bonya: @Reza: you are blind... @Malek: hehe...thanku @Nagib: why do you ask... @Farzana: :D @Aditi: thanku... :) @Nafisa: I'm taking a puff; I am taking puff... :PPPPPP
22.	Sabbir: Hati dhua khay!! :o	Sabbir: The elephant's smoking!! :o
23.	Bonya: dost khaitesi na ... valo kore dekh... :P	Bonya: mate I'm not inhaling ... look carefully ... :P
24.	Sabbir: naki mukh diye agun ber hoy! Tui dekhi **Dragon**! o_O	Sabbir: or is that fire coming out of your mouth! It seems that you have become a Dragon! o_O

25.	Bonya: muhuhahaha... ;P	Bonya: muhuhahaha... ;P
26.	Sakila: jottil ,,,,,,,,,,,,	Sakila: awesome ,,,,,,,,,,,,

The space, i.e., the Facebook (FB) wall, where the conversation is taking place is very distinct, specifically in the context of Bangladesh. On one hand, accessibility to fancy Persian restaurants, the Internet, and Facebook depends on the fact that they can financially afford them. Hence, even though the photo is uploaded on FB, it is exposed to the privileged few of the public in Bangladeshi society. On the other hand, the Internet and FB are still frequented more by the younger generations compared to the older people in Bangladesh. In addition, FB features allow a special privacy setting and hence, it is possible to make the photo and the conversation exposed to a restricted group of people, i.e., her FB friends. Thus, because of the nature of the space itself, the limited number of possible people from Bangladesh seeing the photo and the access and involvement of "only friends" in her FB conversation, Bonya can afford to be more malleable in terms of how she wants to present herself or how she will be judged by others. Thus, the contextual features of the digital space allow her to have the freedom and use of the space according to her desire. That is why Lefebvre (1991) stated,

> Activity in space is restricted by that space; space "decided" what activity may occur, but even this "decision" has limits placed upon it. Space lays down the law because it implies a certain order – and hence also a certain disorder (just as what may be seen defines what is obscene). … Space commands bodies, prescribing or proscribing gestures, routes, and distances to be covered. It is produced with this purpose in mind; this is its raison d'être. (p. 143)

With this *other* space, an expensive restaurant frequented by the privileged few of society, and the very act of smoking *shisha*, Bonya brings new meaning to the digital space which she herself constructs as her "third space." Smoking and drinking for women are not yet socially accepted in the context of Bangladesh and hence, the photographic representation of a woman smoking *shisha* is a rare sight. Hence, it can be assumed that the use of this symbolic and material artefact is a deliberate act of self-representation with which Bonya represents as part of her chronotopic identity – from how she wants to represent herself to what meaning she would bestow to her space on Facebook. She does it concerning an activity that has taken place in another space and represents herself as a woman with a liberated spirit, ready to challenge and contest the cultural and social ideologies about how women should act in the public space. Consequently, she transforms the meaning of being a "woman" for herself and sets the ambience of the space. The photo allows her to reincarnate the moment of liberated feeling within the digital space which she experienced in another space.

In the entire conversation, her friends react to the photo in varied ways. Some find smoking the *shisha* pipe amazing, and hence, we see examples of *fantasome* (line 1), *superlike* (line 15), utmost ecstasy (*chorom ummadona*) (line 16), *wow* (line 17), awesome mate (*joteeeeeeeeeeeeeelll dst*) (line 18), or awesome (*jottil*) (line 26). These are the lingo of the younger generation of Bangladesh, which also resemble the language of the digital space,

where two words are combined for greater effect, such as fantastic and awesome together becoming *fantasome*; the FB cue "like" becomes "superlike"; vowels are lengthened and consonants are repeated in words for dramatic effect; Bangla words, such as *korish* is shortened to *krs* (line 20), *jigai* to *jigz* (line 21). Interestingly, *z* is used randomly here to import the cool factor into the conversation. These are stylized orthographic practices commonly found in media discourses where commentators follow prosodic spelling and substitute graphemes (Androutsopoulos 2000), such as in "lol," "iz," "carz," or "beez" (p. 521).

Bonya and her friends also coin the popular lingo amongst the younger generations in Bangladesh, such as *chorom* and *jotil* or *jattil.* These words meant "highest" and "complex" respectively. However, in recent years. these words mentioned above have gathered newer meanings in the use of the younger generations and hence, *chorom* is "something beyond the limit" and *jatil* is "awesome." These participants also demonstrate nuances of tone in their creative use of emoticons, punctuation, capitalization, and codified abbreviations, as found in other media research (Jones, Schieffelin, & Smith, 2011). Thus, the sharing of the same kind of linguistic features with other social actors, semiotic, and discursive choices within the conversations with the social actors, borrowing and appropriation of varied linguistic features from the digital space and locality, and their competence in a similar kind of linguistic repertoire allows them to have a shared sense of space.

The individual meaning given to space can be linguistically and dialogically contested and disputed by the other social actors. Some friends of Bonya show strong reservations about her smoking. Only one commentator directly critiques her (lines 3 and 5), but others seem to do it with covert metaphors and phrases, and hence, her smoking is compared with fart/*paad* (line 9), and she is compared with savage/*jongli* (line 12) and elephant/*hati* (line 22), and the smoke is seen as filled with mosquitoes (line 14). In line 12, Riyad compares Bonya with those people from the pre-historic era who lived in the jungle and invoked gods and goddesses with fire and smoke in search of bliss. He repeatedly emphasizes that Bonya's act of smoking a *shisha* pipe makes her an appropriate inhabitant of the jungle (lines 12 and 13). In line 22, perhaps her posture with the face looking upward reminds Sabbir of the image of an elephant and he compares her with one. On a lighter note, in line 24, she is compared with a fire-breathing dragon. Interestingly, there is no direct comment from her friends about her being a woman and smoking a *shisha*, and the first negative comment in line 5 by Rashid, in fact, refers to the health hazard of smoking. Thus the spatial realization of identity attributes may be destabilized.

Bonya however challenges the contestation with her presence of mind, a sharp sense of humor, and a level of confidence in her light-hearted comments (line 4), a cartoon figure of Tom (line 6), Hindi dialogue (line 8), a very popular Bangladeshi rap and hip-hop song title *abar jigai* (line 28), sung by a Bangladeshi American band based in Queens, New York, which has become a catchphrase for the younger generations. In line 21, she also refers to a legendary classical Hindi song titled *dum maaro dum, mit jaye gham* (Take a puff [of the marijuana]; the pain will go away) from the 1971 film *Hare Rama Hare*

Krishna (Hail Krishna, Hail Ram), making it clear that she experienced a pleasurable act. Here, with the intertextual reference to the song and video with images of actors/actresses smoking *hukkhas*, she evokes the image of the hippies in the 1970s who, influenced by the International Hare Krishna Movement, spent their lives consuming alcohol and drugs.

Bonya is also very casual in the way she engages in conversations with her friends who find it difficult to accept her smoking the *shisha*. The overall style of the way she reacts to her friends' comments is informal. She is not overtly angry and vindictive in her reply. For example, she calls Reza blind/*kana* (line 21), as he sees mosquitos in the smoke coming out of her mouth; she also corrects Sabbir in line 23 that she is not inhaling the smoke but exhaling it. Nevertheless, in line 10, her willingness to scratch Razzak is very much feminine in the sense that "scratching" is socially accepted as feminine whereas fighting is laddish, involving physical aggression and male testosterone. Thus Bonya, with her strategic coinage of linguistic resources and her careful positioning of herself in relation to her friends, distances herself from the traditional image of a woman, while simultaneously maintaining certain attributes of femininity in her linguistic practices. Bonya also does not want to avoid confrontation with her male FB friends. She uploads a photograph with an "unexpected" image of herself and disrupts the social and cultural practices expected from women, and challenges the women's identification with her embodied charm, *unmadona* (utmost ecstasy) (line 16), and shows that she is also as entitled to use the *shisha* pipe as Zeenat Aman in *Hare Rama Hare Krishna* and experience the feeling restricted to men. Thus she creates a "third space" where she creatively and strategically restructures her realities for herself.

By the "orchestration" of the photo, linguistic conversation, and other semiotic resources, Bonya defines the social dynamics of the FB space as chronotopic space. Her identity repertoire is contested, challenged, and sustained by her Facebook friends, but Bonya's self-representation eventually gets validated and confirmed by her own negotiation. Thus the extract reveals how Bonya strategically positions herself with references to her friends' comments, enforces her identity attributes, and consequently, emphasizes a culture and lifestyle for herself. As Jones et al. (2011), concerning digital space, mentioned, the space gave opportunities for presenting new ways of identity, here. For Bonya, FB seems to be the space for presenting identity, expressing views, and affirming her social and cultural stance.

The intertextual relations created by the metaphors and phrases by her friends do put Bonya in a deprecatory position. In addition, it is observable that most of this playful criticism comes from her male friends when female friends seem quite open and appreciative of it (lines 1, 17-19, and 26). As no one highlights Bonya as a woman or girl, it would be too limited to draw a broad conclusion that her women friends were more open to the moments of ecstasy enjoyed by Bonya. However, the differences in the reaction between her male and female friends do draw our attention to an interesting dimension of gender play. The extract, hence, indicates the necessity of looking for these small moments of transgression and addresses how the "others," i.e., Bonya's male friends react to the

"unexpected" representation. Only then, we may understand how individuals, within their smaller spaces, "confront relations of power-dominion, disparity, difference, and desire" (Pennycook, 2007, p. 56).

Conclusion

A focus on chronotope showed that language and identity are spatially mediated. Equally, the explicit attention to chronotope unravelled that the spatial contextualization of language and identity is relational, very much in an organic relationship with other spaces – both imaginary and concrete, and fluid and fixed. We have also drawn attention to the fact that chronotope, language practice, and identity need to be understood in relation to fluidity in the metaphor of "journey/mobility." In the first extract, Nikita and her friends' incidental journey to Shahbag brings to the fore the chronotopic differences between the two spaces and how the construction of identity for interlocutors is tied up with the spatiality of the spaces they do and do not occupy. The second extract shows how a young female adult takes advantage of the fluidity of the digital space and mobilizes a range of linguistic and cultural resources to establish liberated identities. In all these extracts, chronotope, "travelling/mobility," and "centre/periphery" as metaphors, describe the life trajectories of the interlocutors, their affective relation to spaces, and their dilemmas, struggle, excitement, and enthusiasm when they arrive unexpectedly (Extract 1) and expectedly (Extract 2) at different spaces.

We have also shown that *other* spaces play a significant role in the way individuals engage with their immediate spaces. These spaces, both imagined and real – Shahbag Super Market or the digital space – are intricately intertwined with how interlocutors reconstruct the meaning of their immediate space. With an implicit reference to *other* spaces, interlocutors can negotiate newer meanings for the space they occupy, which at times are restricting, disempowering, and marginalizing. Space is always transforming with incongruities and oddities, and always heading towards the future through the active participation of these interlocutors. Within the space, their "subjective, shifting, and ideologically infused" language practices and identities are always "open to constant dialogical transformation" (Pujolar, 2001, p. 32). Their identity is always in process, and this process needs to be understood in relation to the evolving space. In their language practices, the interlocutors also create a *third space* in their FB, reinventing an alternative space with a new meaning in subversive activities, making it "a location of radical openness and possibility" (hooks, 1990, p. 153).

This confirms that applied linguistics needs to traverse conventional disciplinary boundaries and develop a transgressive applied linguistics stance. For example, we have developed the theoretical and methodological frameworks of this paper with insights drawn from literary theories (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986), critical geography (Lefebvre, 1991; Soja, 1996), sociology (Bourdieu, 1991; Foucault, 1982, 1986), sociolinguistics, and applied linguistics. Consequently, with a transdisciplinary approach, as suggested by Elder (2004), Rajagopalan (2004), and Pennycook (2007), we have been able to address the complexities and messiness of young adults' language and identities more rigorously with sociolinguistic

and cultural sensitivities (cf. Blommaert, 2017). More similar kinds of research studies are required in the South Asian contexts in future.

Notes

1. Note that we have no intention of meshing the formidable theoretical arenas propounded by Lefebvre, Soja, Bhaba, and Foucault, because their theories are too rich and dense to be glossed over in one paper and are beyond the capacity of this paper. What we are interested in is the relational aspect of space – which is a common thread to be found in the works of these authors, even though their time, context of writing, and academic and philosophical backgrounds are distinctly different. Nevertheless, all of them consider space as the key dynamic of social and cultural production and they accepted the existence of *other* spaces.
2. The name of the university and the participants are pseudonyms.
3. Dhaka University (DU), Bangladesh University of Engineering and Technology (BUET), the Institute of Fine Arts, Bangladesh National Museum, National Public Library, and Bangla Academy, a national academy for promoting the Bangla language, are situated there. Dhaka University mosque and cemetery, where the graves of the national poet Kazi Nazrul Islam, the painters Zainul Abedin and Qamrul Hassan, and Dhaka University teachers who were killed by Pakistani soldiers during the Bangladesh Liberation War in 1971, are also located here.
4. Because of the historical and political significance of the space, national celebrations such as Bangla New Year, *bashanta utshab* (Festival of Spring), and social and cultural activities related to the Language Movement of 1952, such as *Ekushey boi mela* (Book Fair commemorating February 21, 1952), are held within the center and larger periphery of the area. Consequently, it has acquired importance in terms of social and cultural meanings, in addition to historical and political meanings.
5. Note that the English word "supermarket" is relocalized with newer meanings in the specific context of Aziz Super Market. Whereas the English word "supermarket" refers to a large self-service retail store for food and household products, "Super Market" renders a different meaning and refers to a large number of book, pottery, and boutique shops in a single place, i.e., a three-storey building.
6. Shaheed Minar is the "Martyr Monument," established to commemorate those killed during the Language Movement demonstrations on February 21, 1952.
7. Nikita was 21 years old.
8. The Teacher-Student Center (TSC) of the University of Dhaka, an important social and cultural activity center for students and teachers, has played a significant role in the political dynamics of Bangladesh since its establishment in 1961. Its most vital historical role was during the Liberation War when it housed meetings of academics and students in relation to political movements against the West Pakistanis.
9. The celebration of Bangla New Year starts at Ramna, under the banyan tree (the Ramna Batamul) at the break of the dawn with the rendition of Rabindranath Tagore's song, "Esho he Baishakh" (Come, come, O *Boishakh,* come upon us).
10. Dhaka, the capital city of Bangladesh, has become a hub of a rising number of restaurants. The phenomenal growth of the food catering industry is very obvious in the number of restaurants which serve cuisines from different countries of the world, starting from Chinese, French, Mexican to Persian. These restaurants try to emulate the ambiance and hence, the Persian restaurants provide the facility of the *shisha* pipe or *hukkah.*

Transcription Guide

"…"	reporting statements of others
((…))	non-linguistic features an explanation of utterances or situations for readers' comprehensibility
< >	slower pace than the surrounding talk
> <	quicker pace than the surrounding talk
CAP	loud utterances
: /::/ :::	sustained elongation of a syllable

Language Guide

Regular New Roman	Bangla
Bold New Roman	English
Italics	Hindi

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Rise of Humanistic Education: Are Learners "Humans" or Simply "Machines"?

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Abstract

This theoretical paper aims to explore the concept of the humanistic approach in the field of teacher education. Humanistic education is concerned with the study of learners' emotions, knowledge, and experiences involved in their learning process. According to this approach, students should be viewed as "humans," not as "machines" as they are the most crucial part of the education system. The curriculum and syllabus should focus on the students' interests, needs, and overall learning circumstances. In humanistic teaching, students are perceived as active beings, not "robots" who are supposed to follow the teacher's orders without any justification or challenge. Teachers' roles in humanistic education are to cater support to the students considering several learner factors and guiding them to reach the highest point of autonomous learning. Therefore, the humanistic approach needs to be adapted in the academic field for ensuring practical learning and mutual respect between teachers and students. The paper is organized into three sections. First, it explores the origin and evolution of the humanistic movement in education. Secondly, a detailed account of the basic principles and teacher roles in humanistic education is provided. Finally, the paper discusses its implications in ELT and existing complications regarding this approach.

Keywords: humanistic education, machines, learner autonomy

Introduction

The concept of humanistic education has become prominent worldwide over the last three decades. It originated from Humanistic Psychology, which investigates human behavior, feelings, and the nature of motivation from a holistic point of view. It intends to value the essence of a human and recognizes their specific personal needs. Humanistic education stresses the importance of the learner's inner world and puts the person's thoughts, feelings, and emotions at the focal point of human development (Lei, 2007). The major aim of the humanistic approach is to emphasize the needs and independence of the students and ensure flexibility and mutual support on the part of teachers. Thus, the notion of humanistic teaching advocates treating learners as living beings, not as "lifeless objects." The overall learning environment should make the learners confident, enthusiastic, and motivated for

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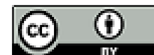

effective outcomes. The basic premises of the humanistic approach to education are to identify the potentiality of students and promote freedom for learning choices.

Origin and Evolution of Humanistic Approach

The humanistic approach was derived from the Philosophy of Humanism in the Middle Ages and followed the principles of Humanistic Psychology. In the 15th century, the early humanistic movement started as a form of protest against the conservative mindset of Christian scholars. In the mid-1950s, modern Humanistic Psychology evolved to study the individual's mental and emotional development as a whole person. It challenged the beliefs of Behaviorism and emphasized human characteristics such as freedom, love, sorrow, choice, faith, creativity, awareness, self-worth, and so on.

Humanistic Psychology maintained its profound influence through various scholarly writings about education in the 1970s and 1980s. In the early 20th century, when Behaviorist Psychology and Freud's Psychoanalysis dominated philosophical thinking, the humanistic approach emerged as a school of psychological thought which conceptualizes human capacities, determination, and self-image. It resumed flourishing in the second half of the 20th century in the United States by developing a particular field of Psychology. Different psychologists and educators contributed to the growth of humanistic development in education.

The two most famous contributors were the American psychologists, Abraham Maslow and Carl Rogers who established the niche of humanistic education. Maslow (1943) introduced his concept of the "Hierarchy of Needs" in which he presented five levels of particular human needs to realize the importance of the "self" and thus shaped his thought of humanism.

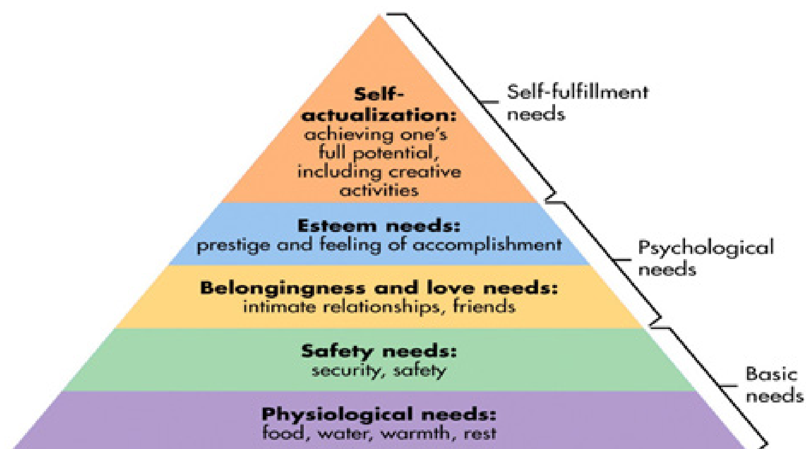

Figure: Hierarchy of Needs

The Hierarchy of Needs is a pyramid-shaped diagram that demonstrates five types of needs based on their importance in life. Maslow created the model by starting with the lower level of **physiological** or biological needs which consists of the most common needs of human

beings such as air, food, shelter, water, sleep, and so on. The second level includes **safety needs** suggesting security or protection from any danger and ensuring stress-free physical, mental, and emotional states. The next level is about **love and a sense of belonging**, which indicates a human's desire for love, friendship, and acceptance from the family and society. The fourth level involves **esteem needs**, the desire for respect, achievement, autonomy, competence, recognition, attention, etc. Finally, humans move on to the top and ultimate level: **self-actualization**. It signifies the internal motivation to utilize one's potential and worth to the fullest sense. After the fulfillment of the lower needs, individuals direct themselves towards achieving self-understanding and success within their capacities. Maslow (1987) considers "freedom" as an important precondition of the basic needs before they reach the highest level-self-actualization. According to Wang (2005), unless a person satisfies his physical and emotional needs, he might not progress in language learning.

The Humanistic Psychology of Carl Rogers (1957) had a considerable impact on educational applications. He developed a philosophy of learning that deals with the feelings and experiences of the person. Rogers (1969, cited in Smith, 1999) mentioned some characteristics of the humanistic learning approach: it has a quality of personal involvement; it is self-initiated; it is pervasive; it is evaluated by the learner and its essence is meaning.

Stevick (1990) also identified the following five distinctive human traits which support the view of humanism (p. 23-24): i. **Feelings** (emotions and appreciation of beauty): this quality explains that the humanistic approach tends to reject whatever factors hinder gladness and lead to bad feelings; ii. **Social relations**: this trait supports friendship and mutual aid between peers and dissuades the opposite; iii. **Responsibilities:** it emphasizes the importance of the need for critique, rectification, rejection, and scrutiny from the public; iv. **Intellect** (reason, knowledge, and understanding): It opposes whichever idea that hampers the free exercise of the human's mind, and seizes belief in anything that can be tested intellectually, and v. **Self-actualization** (one's recognition of his/her deepest and true qualities): it believes that liberation is the result of the pursuit of exceptionality.

The field of human psychology paved the way for the development of humanism in education and contributed to the transformation of a "mechanic classroom" into a lively one.

Humanistic Movement in Education

The humanistic movement continued to be influential in the 60s when Maslow, together with another psychologist, founded the Association for Humanistic Psychology in 1961 and published the first issue of the *Journal of Humanistic Psychology* in the spring of the following year (McLeod, 2007). The original roots of the humanistic movement in education can be traced to 1970 when the Association of Humanistic Psychology was established as an international organization in the USA. Open education programs were organized in English primary schools which popularized the humanistic approach. They emphasized learner-centered classrooms where students were supposed to avail themselves of the freedom to make choices regarding the topic and activities. Teachers had pivotal

roles to facilitate students' work by responding to their ideas and feelings, and minimizing the pressure of tests and assessments.

Moskowitz (1978) states, "Humanistic education is a way of relating that emphasizes self-discovery, introspection, self-esteem, and getting in touch with the strengths and positive qualities of others and ourselves. It lets learning concern more for others and ourselves. In addition, humanistic education is fun" (p. 14).

Mishra (2000) specifies the following aspects of humanistic education:

- A principal purpose of education is to provide learning and an environment that facilitates the achievement of the full potential of students.
- Personal growth, as well as cognitive growth, is a responsibility of the school. Therefore, education should deal with both dimensions of humans – the cognitive or intellectual and the affective or emotional.
- For learning to be significant, feelings must be recognized and put to use.
- Significant learning is discovered for oneself.
- Human beings want to actualize their potential.
- Having healthy relationships with other classmates is more conducive to learning.
- Learning about oneself is a motivating factor in learning.
- Increasing one's self-esteem is a motivating factor in learning.

According to Prabhavathy and Mahalakshmi (2016), the term "humanistic" is defined as the learning approach that takes the fundamental responsibility of the whole person in the process of learning. Jingna (2012) concurs with Rogers that one of the important goals of education is self-actualization. He also emphasizes "self-realization," which turns around the fundamental teaching purpose. DeCarvalho (1991) opines that the purpose of humanistic education is to provide a foundation for personal growth and development so that learning will continue throughout life in a self-directed manner.

Gage and Berliner (1991) mention the following objectives of humanistic education:

- Promote positive self-direction and independence
- Develop the ability to take responsibility for what is learned
- Develop creativity
- Infuse curiosity
- Grow an interest in the arts

Based on the assumptions of different educators, the major goals of humanistic education are:

- Identifying learners' interests and purposes
- Providing freedom of choice in the learning process
- Guiding and facilitating learners' academic development
- Creating a stress-free and supportive learning environment
- Developing respect and concern for learners' capabilities
- Building rapport between the learners and the teacher

Principles of Humanistic Education

According to Gage and Berliner (1991), there are five key principles of humanistic education:

- **Students learn best what they want and need to know:** If the learners are given freedom of choice, they can learn more quickly and easily. This implies that students should be allowed certain scopes to choose topics, materials, and types of activities within the prescribed syllabus or curriculum.
- **Knowing how to learn is more important than acquiring a lot of knowledge:** students should be self-motivated and autonomous about their learning progress. Humanistic education intends to boost their confidence and helps to foster learner autonomy.
- **Self-evaluation is the only meaningful evaluation of a student's work:** the humanistic approach emphasizes self-assessment and personal development. Educators believe that grading and objective tests are irrelevant and do not provide constructive feedback. Therefore, meaningful self-evaluation should be encouraged. It is extremely important to develop learners' perceptions and abilities regarding self-regulation and achievement.
- **Feelings are as important as facts:** Both knowledge and feelings are equally important. The humanistic approach does not consider the cognitive and affective domains to be separate. Rather they contribute together to base the learning.
- **Students learn best in a non-threatening environment:** humanistic education advocates that institutions should provide a relaxing and favorable environment so that learners can feel secure and stress-free during the instruction. Only then effective learning is possible.

Roles of Humanistic Teachers

The role of a teacher in the humanistic approach is incredibly important because, unlike other traditional approaches, the teacher has to emphasize the importance of the inner world of the learner and place the individual's thoughts, feelings, and emotions at the forefront of all human development (William & Burden, 1997). Thus, the role of a teacher in humanistic teaching is to make sure students are getting a moral learning climate where they can be involved in both physical and psychological activities.

Khatib et al. (2013) opine that teachers need to act as facilitators of learning and focus more on the process of learning rather than the content. It suggests that a humanistic teacher should show the different ways of learning, not only the topic of learning itself. Underhill (1999) classifies teachers into three types: i. lecturers who have the idea of the topic, ii. teachers who are familiar with the methods along with the topic and stratagems of teaching this topic, and iii. teachers who are also familiar with the psychological learning process and atmosphere besides having a clear idea about the topic. In reality, only the last type best reflects the humanistic approach. In contrast to traditional academic practices, humanistic education emphasizes the social and intellectual atmosphere, which protects students from educational oppression, physical torture, and disrespect (Aloni, 2007).

Therefore, the ultimate target of a teacher is to treat a student more humanely and value his emotions and beliefs.

To ensure humanistic language teaching in a classroom, teachers have to play some major roles. For example, they have to consider students as viable members of society by accepting and valuing their emotions and beliefs. They need to make the classroom learner-centered by maximizing individualized or personalized instruction. To apply a humanistic approach in language teaching, teachers must guide the students to realize their full potential to achieve their goals in life. By doing so, teachers will be able to contribute to the developing process of the students as human beings. By promoting creativity, insight, and initiative, teachers can play important roles in facilitating independent and open-ended learning.

Most importantly, in humanistic language teaching, teachers must consider themselves to be facilitators rather than instructors. Therefore, being proficient in the target language alone is not enough. Rather, humanistic language teachers should be well-acquainted with the learning theories and psychological aspects of the learners..

Learners' Roles as "Human"

In the humanistic approach, students need to be enthusiastic and responsible about their learning. They are treated as active human beings in the learning process. Students, regardless of their age, gender, and ethnicity, are given utmost priority in the institutions. Therefore, it creates confidence and a sense of responsibility among them, which inspires them to expedite their academic progress. Neither the teachers nor the institutional authority should impose unnecessary regulations or pressure on them as doing so may hinder students' personal growth. Therefore, students need to be self-aware and proactive in classroom situations. They must express their needs and opinions to develop their learning skills. They must not act like machines, which are operated or controlled. Overall, learners will not be "robots" to function on orders given by the teachers but will rather prove their worth by showing their potential and diligence.

Educational Implications of Humanistic Approach

In the present era, humanistic ideas are not limited to the field of philosophy as a significant amount of research has emerged in the field of education (Ling et al., 2014). A large number of educators and scholars hold positive views about the humanistic approach and suggest adapting it in an educational context.

According to Lei (2007), the humanistic approach as one of the mainstreams of contemporary educational theories has influenced the second language pedagogy over the past two decades and has led to certain implications and applications for the language teachers and learners. Stevick (1990) discusses the implications of the humanistic approach for teacher education. He explains that a combination of cognitive and affective factors in education and a concern for the interpersonal conditions for facilitating significant learning demand changes in the preparation of teachers. Moskowitz (1978) provides several strategies which she termed "humanistic" or "awareness" exercises which might be helpful for the teachers to incorporate humanistic elements in the prevalent educational policies and curriculum.

The humanistic approach has an impact on the learners' attitude and level of motivation. Ghaith and Diab (2008) discover that the use of the humanistic method of teaching can increase students' motivation and class sociability. As humanistic teaching theory is grounded in classroom instruction, it can transform a traditional classroom into a learner-centered and feasible one. Chaudhury (2001) states, "the humanistic approach has important implications for education as it shifts the focus from teaching to learning" (p. 26). She illustrates the point by considering the "learning" of the students as the most important because learners do not always learn from what the teacher teaches but rather how the teacher teaches them. Humanistic teachers need to acknowledge the learners' choices and emotional needs to provide them with the best support.

Moreover, course books, materials, and classroom tasks and activities can be designed by "humanizing" certain elements depending on the topics and concepts. Tomlinson (2013) opines that one of the humanistic ways to design a syllabus is that the teacher incorporates relatable materials into textbooks, which allow learners to obtain and reflect on the experience.

Based on the ideas of Chaudhury (2001), education can be upgraded by creating humanistic classrooms in several ways:

- Teachers should maintain eye contact and adopt a friendly manner when interacting with students.
- If possible, it is better to remember students' names because it inspires them to be more responsible about learning.
- Teachers must be punctual in class and should initiate warm-up activities before starting the main lessons.
- Students' motivation and participation can be increased if teachers move around and monitor their activities.
- Teachers, and even the institutional authority, should make concerted efforts to ask for students' suggestions or recommendations, and know their expectations and problems about the course or subject.
- Group work needs to be encouraged as it develops the interactive and collaborative skills of students. It also helps to create a positive vibe in the classroom.
- Teachers should provide encouragement and appreciation to the students as it can boost their confidence to work harder.
- Learners' differences and proficiency levels need to be taken into consideration.
- Teachers should assist students in ways that benefit both the strong and the weak ones.
- Students can contribute to materials selection, topic choice, and ideas sharing in the class.

In short, the humanistic approach can serve as an effective tool for improving education if educators and teachers ponder over the students' mental and emotional states during learning.

ELT and Humanistic Education

The humanistic approach has a pivotal role to play in language teaching and learning. Arifi (2017) expresses that the consequence of the humanistic approach to teaching foreign languages is perceived as recognizing the value and role of affection in communication and the attachment of emotions in the process of learning, featuring the significance that every learner clarifies the importance and capacity of everybody to have various objectives.

Some foreign language teaching approaches and methods are fundamentally based on humanism. Community Language Learning, Suggestopedia, The Silent, Way, and Total Physical Response are four such ELT approaches that follow the principles of humanistic education. Community Language Learning (CLL), also known as "Counselling Learning," developed by Curran (1976), encourages the teacher to view students as "whole persons" and consider their emotions, responses, and intelligence. Similarly, Suggestopedia, introduced by Lozanov in the late 1970s, emphasizes creating a relaxed class atmosphere to reduce learners' anxiety about learning the target language. Gattegno (1972) founded "The Silent Way" where learners work on the language independently and the teacher remains "silent" most of the time. Total Physical Response, developed by Asher in the 1970s, is based on the learners' listening and comprehension skills through physical activity, requiring students' mental preparation to produce the language. These approaches are innovative in the sense that they turn the focus from a traditional teacher-dominated classroom to a learner-centered one.

Some modern ELT approaches such as Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) and Task-Based Language teaching (TBLT) are designed to make learners prepared for meaningful verbal communication. These often choose topics that are practically relatable and useful for the students and, thus, they can make the class quite interactive. Teachers act as facilitators and students are active participants in the class. Humanistic elements are incorporated through sharing ideas, experiences, oral presentations, role-plays, argumentative discussions, etc.

Moreover, teachers can implement a humanistic approach in some traditional approaches, for instance, the Grammar Translation Method and the Direct Method, by designing particular activities such as freewriting on any topic, incorporating particular grammar items into writing or speaking, preparing short talks of their interest, sharing individual strategies to the peers, etc.

Challenges to the Humanistic Approach

In different traditional approaches, teachers follow a fixed method or a set of designs where students have to fit themselves to acquire knowledge. By contrast, in the humanistic approach, teachers need to cater to students' feelings, emotions, and beliefs first before they can assist them in acquiring knowledge. As a result, teachers need to apply different suitable strategies for each student. So, the Humanistic Language Teaching (HLT) approach is quite challenging because its success mostly depends on the teachers' proficiency, HLT-friendly environment, and learners' interests. The challenges of the HLT approach are given in the following section:

i. Teachers' attitude

The main challenge of HLT lies in the reversal of the traditional teacher-student roles. Having only good academic knowledge is not enough for humanistic teaching. Teachers have to be well acquainted with psychology and learning theories. They also need to be interested and knowledgeable in diverse topics. They have to be patient and compassionate enough to listen to the students. They need to be creative enough to improvise materials when needed. However, it is often challenging to find or train teachers with such qualities.

ii. Lack of learners' autonomy

Being habituated to traditional ways of language learning, students find it challenging to accept themselves in the driving seat as they often do not know or are not sure what they need or what is good for them. Not everyone understands their lackings and needs.

iii. Large and/or Mixed Class

For teachers, giving attention to every student individually can be difficult, if not impossible. It is essential to create a proper environment for humanistic learning. So, performing and conducting activities might be hard to provide for some countries because it is too expensive. Evaluation and assessment of development are also very difficult without a fixed or standardized test and syllabus if there is a mixed ability class which is more likely in developing and overpopulated countries.

iv. Too much focus on psychology

There is no doubt that, to achieve more effective and speedy learning, incorporating personal feelings, emotions, desires, and needs can be highly useful. However, the humanistic approach in ELT tends to focus too much on the psychological and emotional comfort and development of a student. Teachers should focus on the primary needs of students by understanding why they have enrolled in a language class. Students may be driven by a desire for personal growth and development, or to become a better person or human. This needs to be sorted out first.

Implementing HLT in Bangladesh: The Real Scenario

The education system of Bangladesh is mostly teacher-centered and impractical. It does not provide opportunities for students to express their needs, choices, or suggestions in terms of topics or materials. The implementation of humanistic teaching in the classroom is quite challenging in Bangladesh for different reasons such as those listed below:

- Bangladeshi teachers rarely experience a humanistic approach during their student life. Therefore, the lack of practical experience can be a probable reason why teachers in Bangladesh hardly use this approach in their classrooms. Even if some teachers might consider using humanistic elements, in most cases, it fails to achieve the desired learning outcomes.
- In Bangladesh, students of schools and colleges usually learn English through GTM, DM, and CLT. When a new teaching approach appears in the field, it takes time to design a different curriculum by considering several factors such as learner needs, motivation, teachers' attitudes, flexibility, availability of resources, use of technology,

and so on. Therefore, both the students and teachers find it very challenging to cope with the new situation when using a humanistic approach.

- Bangladesh is a densely populated country. It is obvious that institutions need to accommodate a large number of students in one classroom. In HLT, teachers need to focus on each student, but due to the large class size, teachers can find it difficult to monitor them individually.
- In some cases, the cultural and religious barriers could be a reason for not implementing HLT vastly in Bangladeshi education, especially in rural institutions. A conservative mindset about the co-ed environment as well as the use of music and audio-visuals in classrooms is still unwelcome in Bangladesh.
- Moreover, most teachers are reluctant to give students a certain amount of autonomy because they fear losing their dominant roles in the classroom. Thus, the rising concern of teachers about risking their position of power in the classroom has become one of the obstacles to implementing a humanistic approach.

Solutions

Although adopting the humanistic approach in language teaching can be quite challenging, it can be done if it is introduced or applied in the classrooms creatively. It is difficult to introduce the four common methods under the humanistic approach namely, Suggestopedia, the Silent Method, Total Physical Response, and Community Language Learning in language teaching in underdeveloped and developing countries and in countries where the classes are usually large and mixed ability ones. However, teachers can take the core and essential elements from the humanistic approach and apply them in their classrooms. In other words, teachers can integrate humanistic teaching techniques with existing and traditional teaching methods. The following steps can be taken to make HLT successful and effective:

1. Teachers' Training

Teachers are the most important prerequisite for HLT. Therefore, effective training courses must be introduced to the teachers who will not only be proficient in the target language but also be familiar with different learning theories and, most importantly, the psychology of the learners.

2. Purpose-driven Education

One of the reasons traditional language teaching methods fail to accomplish their goal is that students find no purpose in their learning process. They do not understand why they are being asked to do and perform certain tasks and hence they think these tasks to be unnecessary and eventually lose interest in learning. The materials should be chosen according to the needs and interests of the learners. This provides them with a specific purpose and their learning will thus be effective if they find that it contributes to their personal growth.

3. Extracurricular Activities

Self-actualization is an important part of the humanistic approach. For self-actualization,

extra-curricular activities are needed. Traditional syllabus and textbooks are not enough for the students to realize their full potential. Extracurricular activities can introduce the learners to the world beyond their four walls and a myriad of possibilities. Drama/theater performances, singing, recitation, quiz competitions, solving language-based puzzles, and spelling bee competitions, for example, can be very helpful in this regard.

4. Personal Involvement

Ensuring personal involvement from the learners' end is necessary for HLT. The learning process becomes more effective and speedy if the learners find themselves personally involved in what they are learning. If the students cannot relate to the materials they are being taught, they fail to take part in the learning process as a whole person and thus their learning remains incomplete and inadequate.

Below are some sample humanistic topics that can easily be taught and integrated into a traditional classroom setting:

i. Aim in life, interests/hobbies, favorite sports/tv-shows/personalities.
ii. Childhood memories, places, parents, siblings, best friends.
iii. Current and trendy national or international issues.

Conclusion

Students cannot be the lifeless "machines" or "robots" who would blindly follow the academic rules and curriculum. They must be given chances to question and participate in the entire learning situation. Teachers and concerned authorities should show a major concern and humane attitude towards the learners. By implementing the humanistic learning theory, the education system of the country might be improved to a great extent. There are theoretical and practical complications of adapting humanistic education; however, proper planning and thoughtful execution of various strategies can minimize those. In developing countries like Bangladesh where the education system is deteriorating, it is high time to contemplate the adaption of the humanistic approach.

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Transcreating *Lal Shalu*: Tanvir Mokammel's Intersemiotic Translation of Syed Walliullah's *Lal Shalu*

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Abstract

Roman Jakobson classifies film adaptation as an "Intersemiotic Translation" (qtd. in Munday 5) and Andre Lefevere sees every translation as "potentially the most influential form of rewriting" (qtd. in Munday 142). Both of the ideas open up a space to think about the relocation of language from the source text to the re-written text and layers of transformation from the text to screen in case of making any film based on a literary text. In *Speaking of Films*, Satyajit Ray opines: "Just as a writer has words at his disposal, a film-maker has image and sound that make up the language of cinema" (28). Tanvir Mokammel's film *Lal Shalu* draws attention significantly as an intersemiotic translation of Syed Walliullah's *Lal Shalu* with all its changes and manifestations in cinematic language. There is no specific way of determining how much liberty one filmmaker can enjoy in converting the language of the source text into that of the target text, and it leads to creating room to rethink the parallelism between the language of the source text and the presentation of the "translated text" through image and sound. This paper aims at exploring how transformation takes place in Tanvir Mokammel's *Lal Shalu* and its appropriateness as an intersemiotic cinematographic translation.

Keywords: translation, transcreation, film, intersemiotic, *Lal Shalu*

In the film *Lal Shalu*, Tanvir Mokammel presents the story of Syed Walliullah's *Lal Shalu* with an effort to preserve the original intent, background, sentiment, and tone but as an intersemiotic translation, *Lal Shalu* addresses deviation, addition, and subtraction of the content. Apart from the translation within the same language and between two particular languages, Roman Jakobson describes intersemiotic translation as "an interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs of nonverbal sign systems" (233). On theoretical grounds, the conversion of literary texts into film, music, paintings, or other art forms finds its place in this category and essentially creates room to rethink and reassess the changes taking place in the translated text.

Intersemiotic translation always appears with a gap between two or more semiotic codes or between linguistic text-signs and nonlinguistic codes. While making a film based on a literary text, the translator, in fact, transforms the code from the book to the screen or from the book to the stage. The process of translation remains mysterious as there is no accepted layout of measuring the loyalty and faithfulness of the screenwriter or the director toward the source text. Every intersemiotic translation appears with the translator's crafty transformation of a particular cultural system in their translated text and eventually, it

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becomes really improper to speak of the perfection of such a text. Octavio Paz says:

> Every text is unique and, at the same time, it is the translation of another text. No text is entirely original because language itself, in its essence, is already a translation: firstly, of the nonverbal world and secondly, since every sign and every phrase is the translation of another sign and another phrase. (qtd. in Bassnett 44)

Translation is, in fact, a process that directly relates to a certain political as well as cultural context which is impactful in all respects of the transformation. Campbell and Vidal opine that "in literary translation, a text is translated into another text using purely verbal means" (xxvi). This process considers "intra-semiotic" as it remains in the verbal domain within the system of signs and meaning we call language (qtd. in Campbell and Vidal xxvi). They also add that "intersemiotic translation provides an interactive, participative platform with the potential to engage individuals and communities in connecting with cultures different from their own" (xxvi).

Torop theorizes "intersemiotic translation" as "total translation." He says: "Co-existence of the verbal and the visual and non-coincidence of their border and the border between the verbal and iconic … points to the productivity of a semiotic approach both in textology and in the analysis of texts of culture" (280). Torop sees intersemiotic translation as nothing but the study of cultural communication. Thus, placing cultural set-up in the translated text becomes one of the most challenging tasks for an intersemiotic translator.

Long ago, Dolet set out five principles, one of which is: "The translator should assemble and liaise words eloquently to avoid clumsiness" (qtd. in Munday 26). In the same way, Tytler says: "The translation should have all the ease of the original composition" (qtd. in Munday 26). When a text is translated, the translated text becomes a complete creation with an autonomous sense. Things are more striking in the case of intersemiotic translation in such a way that the texts cannot remain interchangeable at all.

All the narratives of a literary text cannot be translated into film and therefore, an intersemiotic translator has to advance with a series of alternative narrations to reach the audience. *Tree Without Roots* begins thus:

> There are too many of them on this land, this piece of raped and ravaged land which yields no more. They know it, but what can they do? Every inch of it is ploughed and sown. Three times a year for rice, to make three harvests out of it. Then for jute, the only cash crop, and for a host of other things: sugarcane, linseed, mustard, rape and sesame. The land is ploughed and reploughed, sown and resown all the year round, every season, every day from sunrise to sunset. It has no rest, no peace, and, what is worse, no nourishment, at least not from these ravenous ones who suck it dry. (Walliullah 3)

This is the description of a particular area along with the unending struggle of its inhabitants. Now, this narration seems untranslatable due to its inclusion of a lot of subject matters within just a few statements. But careful observation reveals loads of images in the narrative and they are, in fact, the focal issues for a director. Satyajit Ray, in his *Speaking of Films*, writes:

> An image here is not just a picture. It is a picture that speaks. In other words, the picture does not begin and end in itself, the way a painting does. What matters chiefly here is the meaning of that image. Every image is like a whole sentence, and the sum total of all the images is the final message of a film. Even in the silent era, images carried meanings. Their language was not dependent on dialogue. (30)

Tree Without Roots (1967) appeared as a transcreation by Syed Waliullah himself with some noteworthy changes to *Lal Shalu* (1948), his source text, and thus, the text went beyond common trends of bilingual translation. Deviation, subtraction, and addition take place in *Tree Without Roots* in such a way that the changes of characters, episodes, and incidents become one of the most significant issues in any discussion around the rewriting of *Lal Shalu*. In 2001, Tanvir Mokammel made a film based on Syed Waliullah's *Lal Shalu* and decided to transcreate the language on the screen by placing the story with cinematographic effect of images and sound.

Lal Shalu is centered around Majeed, a very intelligent poor man with great potential, who possesses a strong will to get settled in life. He did not want to live permanently in his birthplace where he grew up as "there are too many of them, too many mouths to feed and not enough land" (Walliullah, *Tree Without Roots* 3). A good number of young men learn about religion in the maktabs (Islamic elementary schools), but this learning does not come to practical use and therefore, they go out in search of better work opportunities. Majeed manages the job of the muezzin of a mosque in the Garo Hills, but he does not feel any sense of contentment in this hard and challenging life. His wit, unique perceptions, and cunning make him reach Mahabbatnagar, a remote village in the then Pakistan. The village was renamed as Mahabbatpur in *Tree Without Roots*, the English translation of *Lal Shalu*, but Mokammel retains the name "Mahabbatnagar" in his audio-visual translation due to his loyalty to the source text.

One of the major changes between the source text and visual representation takes place at the very beginning of the film. The source text starts with the background story of Majeed's arrival in Mahabbatnagar whereas Mokammel's intersemiotic translation avoids informing the audience about Majeed's back story at the opening. It is revealed later through a flashback. Such implication becomes a cinematographic necessity to create a sense of suspense around Majeed in the film.

From the viewpoint of Sergei Eisenstein, a filmmaker may take the source text completely or partially or he may stick to his commercial purpose only while making a film based on a novel (qtd. in Awwal 58). In this case, the source text centers on a social system and its multidimensional manifestations on the basis of religion, ideology, imperialism, customary practices, values, ideas on tradition and culture, roles of different kinds of institutions, and so on. The text shows that the "mazar" or tomb emerges as one of the most powerful institutions and establishes its influence even on the production system of this particular region. Majeed establishes himself and becomes the most influential figure of Mahabbatnagar, using, as capital, the customs and practices developed around the concept of the "mazar." *Lal Shalu* is, in fact, a profound study of a societal system along

with its prevailing customs and cultural traits. The film *Lal Shalu* also remained faithful to the exposure of these issues and the subject matter of the novel.

The setting of the film echoes that of the novel with a village beset with socio-cultural and socio-economic strata. In drawing the picture of a village of 1948, Mokammel hones in on the signs and symbols used in the novel to recreate it with a sense of universality which makes the film contemporary. The *kharam* or shoes Majeed wears, the *surmadani* Majeed and Jamila use, Akkas's request for four or eight *anna* subscription for founding a school, Majeed's call for donating five *paisa*, the donation box of the mazar indicating the Bangla year 1354, for instance, clearly indicate the time period of the source text. Besides, the use of the Urdu language by the assistants of the Pir of Awalpur reminds the audience about the rule of the then Pakistan.

In the novel as well as in the film, Majeed legalizes his activities by using the "mazar" and "patrimonialism" simultaneously. He uses the local judiciary system along with influential and God-fearing people of the village to continue his personal control over every important issue of Mahabbatnagar. Majeed is very aware of his strategies in taking over Mahabbatnagar using religious fervor. In the film, he becomes anxious on hearing the harvest song of the villagers, stops baul songs, controls Rahima's usual daily activities, raises his voice against Jamila's make-up, and thus he establishes his ideals. Such activities of Majeed bridge the gap between the novel and the film in terms of thematic and cultural interpretation of *Lal Shalu*.

As an intersemiotic translator, Tanvir Mokammel uses the technique of "jump cuts" frequently and repetitively to control the time and space of the source text. In the mazar, Majeed mentions the divorce of Khaleque Bepari's wife and in the very next scene the audience notices her going back to her father's house, bag and baggage. But in the source text, it happens three days after Majeed's suggestion. Similarly, the audience sees Majeed first in the streets of Matiganj and finds him cleaning the jungle at Mahabbatnagar in the next shot. Staying at Khaleque Bepari's house, Majeed opines that he wants Amena Bibi to drink holy water and do some rituals at the mazar but within this conversation, the shot jumps into the action of the activities. Another jump cut takes place around the fight between the followers of two Pirs. The filmmaker omits the scenes centering on the hospital, doctor, and compounder that existed in the source text. He even avoids creating a sequence of Majeed's visit to the hospital. In fact, he has to remain very conscious about keeping the totality of the text within his time-frame in the film and, for doing so, he decided to delete the details. But such jumps do not deviate the filmmaker from establishing the theme of how influential mazar culture and pirtontro (pir-culture) are in the society. According to Islam,

> His (Majeed) domination was inexorably linked up with the process of Islamization within the framework of little tradition. Majeed was also possibly accepted by the rich peasants who could complete their upward social mobility through this process. Both Majeed and the village-chief (Khaleque Bepari) were partners in the dissemination of Islamic culture. (86)

As institutions, mazar culture and pirtontro jointly work in retaining baseless old traditions as well as determining power in Mahabbatnagar. In another scene, Kahlelque Bepari inspires Majeed to marry and, in the next scene, the audience finds Rahima riding on a *palki* as the wife of Majeed. In another sequence, Amena Bibi returning to her father's house (after her divorce) and Jamila entering Mahabbatnagar take place simultaneously. Mokammel brings about all such changes on the grounds of cinematographic necessity in terms of image, sound, and a fixed amount of time.

Jamila, Majeed's second wife, is the only character in the novel who is able to make Majeed afraid as well as anxious about his own stance. When Jamila enters Majeed's house, she starts losing herself and falls victim to a crisis amidst a series of prohibitions. As an obvious outcome, she reacts with all the power inherent in her personality. In his transcreation, Mokammel uses perfect sound construction in creating this effect in the scene of Jamila's rage and her spitting on Majeed's face.

The images used in the film perfectly blend the contemporary culture, the theme of the source text, and symbolic interpretation. When Majeed goes inside the house after tying Jamila up in the mazar, ants are shown to scurry away. This symbolic scene follows the storm scene, leading to the only "freeze shot" of the last scene where Jamila is found dead or unconscious, but her feet are touching the "lal shalu" or red cover on the mazar. Notably, the source text includes something more: Jamila is brought back home, and Majeed goes out again to stand alone in the midst of the ruins, his eyes reflecting determination. In *Tree Without Roots*, Walliullah has Majeed decide to return to his own home, leaving Rahima and Jamila behind in Mahabbatnagar. It ends with: "He had to get back, with a firm, quick stride, he started on his way" (156) but the film, in contrast, remains open-ended creating a thought-provoking window for the audience.

Schleimacher considers translating scholarly and artistic texts as "being on a higher creative plane, breathing new life into the language" (qtd. in Munday 27). He says:

> Although it may seem impossible to translate scholarly and artistic texts – since the ST meaning is couched in language that is very culture-bound and to which the TL can never fully correspond – the real question is how to bring the ST writer and the TT reader together. (qtd. in Munday 27)

Unlike Satyajit Ray's *Ganashatru*, where he alters Henrik Ibsen's theme completely, Mokammel upholds the theme of Walliullah's *Lal Shalu*, keeping it almost intact. His language in the film has been transcreated on the basis of an essential transformation from one medium to another though he has brought about a few changes, including the addition of a completely new character in his film.

Mokammel follows non-narrative style of storytelling with the frequent use of jump cuts, flashbacks, and flash forward, consciously ignoring the sequential order of the narrative formula. He uses the language of the film in his own way, adopting a vertical technique, not pyramidic or horizontal structures. Therefore, the film loses continuity in scene construction and changeovers. Every scene appears with a certain message and ends successfully. No

third scene builds up as an essential result of the clash between the previous two scenes. In the exposition of the film, the audience comes across the fishing scene of Taher and Kader. In the very next scene, Majeed is found discovering the grave. These are two completely different scenes but look parallel on the grounds of Majeed's expedition of hunting human beings instead of fishes.

In line with the source text, Mokammel's *Lal Shalu* represents the abuse and misuse of religion and shows how it gives birth to fear and anxiety through a number of customs and patriarchal practices. Jamila becomes worried and anxious when experiencing mazar culture, Hasuni's mother cannot trust marriage as an institution anymore, and every step that Rahima takes is dictated. Thus, the marriage system itself turns out to be a source of terror as Rahima, Taher's mother, Hasuni's mother, Amena, and Jamila never marry but rather are married off.

The filmmaker uses humor in the text not only to entertain the audience but also to advance the major theme of the plot. These humorous scenes include the incidents around the simultaneous circumcision of the father and the son, the satiric smile of the fakir, Jamila's statement of Majeed's not having ablution before going to the mazar, etc. Apart from these textual scenes, Mokammel adds a completely new but symbolic humor to the film: Majeed throws money to his newly arrived follower from Feni and instantly, this man stops fanning the grave and fans Majeed instead. When this follower asks Majeed, "Whose grave is it? Aren't you afraid of God?" (*Lal Shalu* 00:21:12), the audience, for the first time, finds Majeed unsettled and afraid. This additional character, who is absent from the text, becomes, thus, Majeed's conscience, a kind of extension of his self.

As an intersemiotic translator, Mokammel leaves his final message using symbolic images, the center of any cinematographic creation. At the end of the film, the revolt of Jamila and that of nature itself become the response to all the inhuman activities Majeed has done so far. The source text highlights the issue of resistance immensely and Mokammel sticks to this theme without new interpretations. By highlighting the character of Jamila and ending with Jamila's revolt, the film *Lal Shalu* also becomes a film of resistance.

Andre Lefevere claims that "the same basic process of rewriting is at work in translation" (qtd. in Munday 127). The film *Lal Shalu* is a rewritten version and to the novelist as well as the filmmaker, the text appears as the art of resistance in the guise of all the issues highlighted in the source text as well as in the intersemiotic translation. Walliullah's resolution in *Lal Shalu* includes nature for punishing Majeed but in his *Tree Without Roots*, he discards the supernatural ending. Taking the liberty as an intersemiotic translator, Tanvir Mokammel does not come up with any resolution; rather he creates an open floor for the audience bringing about an ending of his own.

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