Transglossic Language Practices: Young Adults Transgressing Language and Identity in Bangladesh

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Certificate of Original Authorship

I certify that the work in this thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree except as fully acknowledged within the text.

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In March 2010, I arrived in Sydney with two young children, aged 8 and 5. I was anxious, apprehensive, and concerned, worrying whether I had the strength and diligence to take up the intense mammoth task of doctoral studies in a foreign land. Over time, my fears were allayed. Countless enlightening and engaging conversations with my supervisor Professor Alastair Pennycook, challenging ethnographic research in Bangladesh amidst political mayhem in Dhaka, the frustrating yet rewarding process of drafting and redrafting chapters, the excruciatingly painful but satisfying process of writing articles for international applied linguistics journals, and the daunting task of single-parenting – and here I am today, in December 2013. Three years and nine months have slipped by and I have barely noticed. The thesis has survived through school musicals, choirs, market days, camping, a graduation ceremony, NAPLAN tests, selective exams and numerous school holidays. In retrospect, this journey to a foreign land has not only been an academic pursuit, kindling my passion for language and my interest in social science research. It has been a personal quest that has allowed me to unearth my prowess and resilience as a mother and a woman.

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Abstract

The thesis provides a counter narrative to the prevailing discourses in Bangladesh that have shown increased concern about the detrimental effect of English on Bangla, the national language, and Bangladeshi identity. It is commonly assumed that young adults are subjugated by the colonial legacy of English, and they are consequently portrayed as passive recipients of popular culture. They are also criticized for their failure to maintain a domain-specific demarcated use of language, that is, English for academic purposes and socioeconomic advancements, and Bangla for local, cultural, and national activities.

Identifying that these key assumptions understate the complexities of young adults' language practices and identity, the thesis offers a critical understanding of the role of English and Bangla in young adults' lives. Drawing on insights from Pennycook's transgressive approach to language and Bakhtin's 'heteroglossia', the thesis proposes the notion of *transglossia.* Going beyond the overt dependence on linguistic features, transglossia appears to have the potential to reveal a sophisticated understanding of language. On the one hand, it provides a theoretical grounding to address the transgression observable in language in the mixing of codes, modes, genres, and a variety of cultural semiotic resources. On the other hand, as a conceptual proposition, it has the capacity to untangle the social, historical, political, ideological, and spatial nature of language. In addition, with its analytical framework, transglossia brings out the values, vested interests, and politics behind language-, class-, and gender-based identifications.

The data are drawn from a three-month long ethnographic research project which included observations, casual face-to-face conversations, virtual conversations on Facebook, interviews, and focus-group discussions of 29 students at a university in Bangladesh. Based on the analysis, the thesis argues in favour of understanding language and identity not in terms of formal systems, such as English or Bangla per se, but in terms of *transglossia*. Young adults actively and reflexively engage with mixtures of codes, modes, genres, and stylisation and pragmatically recontextualise popular cultural texts in their transglossic language practices within the historical and spatial realities of their lives. Ultimately, this thesis advances the recent theorisation of translingual practices in applied linguistics. It also contributes to the field by providing glimpses of the sociocultural dynamics of language in the post-colonial context of Bangladesh, a country very much under-represented in sociolinguistics research.

To transgress is to go beyond the bounds or limits set by a commandment or law or convention, it is to violate or infringe. But to transgress is also more than this, it is to announce and even laudate the commandment, the law or the convention. Transgression is a deeply reflexive act of denial and affirmation. Analytically, then, transgression serves as an extremely sensitive vector in assessing the scope, direction and compass of any social theory.

(Jenks, 2003, p. 2)

Transgression is not the same as disorder; it opens up chaos and reminds us of the necessity of order. But the problem remains. We need to know the collective order, to recognize the edges, in order to transcend them.

(Jenks, 2003, p. 7)

Chapter 1 Language Pollution – As Destructive as River Pollution

1.1 Language as a translingual practice

The futility of defining any language as a set of infallible uniform structures has been recognised in applied linguistics (Block, 2007), anthropological studies (Bauman & Briggs, 1990), sociology (Bourdieu, 1991), and literary theory (Bakhtin, 1981). Language is not a "hermetically sealed property" (García, 2007, p. xii), an intrinsically defined object (Blommaert, 2010, 2013), an impermeable system, "a self-standing product, and autonomous in status" (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 7), or an artefact that is based on "decisive indifferences to differences" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 287). Language is "the messiness of actual usage" (Heller, 2007a, p. 13). Language never freezes at one point in time because of the changes brought into it by speakers at every moment in every utterance (Sultana, 2012a, 2012b). It is given meaning by individuals and it goes through a constant process of semiotic reconstruction (Pennycook, 2010). Overall, a redefinition of the theoretical construction which considers language as a combination of discreet linguistic features has been suggested.

Recent studies have questioned the language epistemologies that define language in terms of "blinkered monolingual lenses" in which bi-lingualism is the "separability and duality of two languages" and multilingualism is the "pluralisation of monolingualism" (Pennycook, 2010, p. 132). There have also been rising apprehensions about terms such as code-switching, code-mixing, bilingualism and multilingualism. On the one hand, too much attention to the meanings and functions of code-mixing shows a monolingual ideological orientation. On the other hand, "focus on constellations of linguistic features that are officially authorized as codes or languages, for example 'English' or 'Spanish', can contribute to neglect of the diversity of socially indexical linguistic resources *within* languages" (Bailey, 2012, p. 504; emphasis original). Because of the broader societal monoglot ideologies with emphasis on one standard language, multilingualism can become a political term, used for targeted inequalities, exclusion, denial, and policing. Depending on the locatedness of the individual speaker, multilingualism can be considered as a "truncated competence" (Blommaert, Collins, & Slembrouck, 2005, p. 197; Blommaert, Creve, & Willaert, 2006) or a source of linguistic and cultural

resources for social interaction and identity work (Blommaert, 2010; Heller, 2007b).

In other words, these value-laden terms may divert our attention from the fact that "labelling is an ideological act of demarcating certain codes in relation to certain identities and interests" (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 6). As Pennycook (2010, p. 132) has stated, "The point is no longer to decry monolingualism and eulogize bi- and multilingualism, but rather to question the language epistemologies that allow for such divisions, singularisms and pluralizations". These notions of mono-, bi-, and multi-lingualism appear problematic, as they fall short in addressing the accompanying political baggage and contemporary linguistic repertoires made up of mixes of local and global linguistic and cultural resources.

Several new terms influenced by the ethos of *trans-* are proposed. These terms capture the growing phenomena of movement and transgression observable in language, culture, and identity, and the complex organic process in linguistic and cultural transgressions and transformations. A significant few are *polylanguaging*, *transidiomatic practices*, *metrolingualism,* and *translanguaging*. With reference to *polylanguaging*, i.e., an amalgamation of features, not an arrangements of languages (Jørgensen, 2008; Jørgensen, Karrebaek, Jørgensen, & Madsen, 2011), it has been shown that Turkish-Danish young adults in a Danish school frequently use features from Turkish, Danish, and English and combine them in new forms (Jørgensen, 2008). Because of the diversity in linguistic and cultural semiotic resources, no bounded demarcation between languages remains. For some multilingual speakers, the code-mixing and code-switching are so smooth and seamless that speakers do not notice the transition from one language to another (Bailey, 2012).

Transidiomatic practices, according to Jacquemet (2005, p. 265), "are the results of the co-presence of multilingual talk (exercised by de/reterritorialised speakers) and electronic media, in contexts heavily structured by social indexicalities and semiotic codes". Similar to the notion of language as a local practice (Pennycook, 2010), transidiomatic practices indicate the emergence of new discourses and modes of representation when languages are reterritorialised within the local environment. Pennycook (2007a) has added to this, confirming that the mixing of

different modes, codes, and channels is nowadays a norm of communicative practice, not restricted to deterritorialised speakers in the electronic media.

Metrolingualism, i.e., “a product of modern and often urban interaction, describing the ways in which people of different and mixed backgrounds use, play with and negotiate identities through language” (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010, p. 1), has a similar kind of spirit. Rather than analysing language in terms of code-switching, with a concomitant need to account for why a certain code is used at a given juncture, and rather than assuming that naming it as ‘hybrid’ somehow offers an adequate level of explanation, Otsuji and Pennycook (2014) have suggested taking the multiple modes of semiotic diffusion and cultural interaction that occur across and within languages as the common norm.

The notion of *translanguaging*, i.e., “multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds”, has been explored (García, 2009, p. 45). It has been suggested that translanguaging goes beyond code-mixing and code-switching and, as a social practice, shows the emergence of a new discourse recurring because of the geopolitical and geocultural changes in the world in which super-diverse multilingualism and multimodal communication are the norms (Blommaert, 2010). In fact, it has been suggested that “there isn’t ‘a’ language” and hence, the target should be the “sustainability of languaging” (García, 2011, p. 7). In addition, referring to the work of Mignolo (2000), García (2011, p. 7) has defined translanguaging as ‘dynamic bilingualism’, “readdressing the asymmetry of languages and denouncing the coloniality of power and knowledge”. Consequently, the notion has been fruitful as an analytic construct and has been taken up in literacy and bilingual pedagogic practices research in multilingual contexts in the USA and UK, where minority language rights and the interdependence of knowledge across languages have been afforded particular importance (Creese & Blackledge, 2010a; García, 2009, 2011; Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012). I will comment more on *translanguaging* with reference to *transglossia* in Chapter 2.

All these notions seem appropriate for addressing language practices in a ‘superdiverse’ society, a society which has become a site of negotiations of language and identity among “an increased number of new, small and scattered,

multiple origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants who have arrived [in Britain] over the last decade" (Vertovec, 2007, p. 1024). The transformation of the communicative environment because of advanced technologies has in addition made it vital to move beyond the territorially defined formation of language, culture, and identity. The paradigmatic shift has become more of a necessity in research on linguistic and cultural practices in virtual spaces. With "a plurality of dialects and languages", i.e., on-line chat register and slang, size and type of font, size of print, integrated use of English and other languages, young adults cross the boundaries of ethnicity, race, gender, and socioeconomic backgrounds, and defy and challenge racism, anti-Semitism, stereotypes, and anti-immigration sentiments (McGinnis, Goodstein-Stolzenberg, & Saliani, 2007, p. 300). These linguistic and cultural experiences transcending geographical boundaries become an integral dimension of their multifaceted identity.

The virtual space is the transgressive space that provides immense flexibility to individuals in terms of linguistic and cultural practices and performances of identity. With reference to a group of Finnish snowboarder writers on the Web, Leppänen, Pitkänen-Huhta, Piirainen-Marsh, Nikula, and Peuronen (2009) have shown how they are involved in "rhizomatic and creative web activities" (p. 1088) and how they "retextualise globally disseminated popular cultural products" (p. 1092). Textual amalgamations along with linguistic, stylistic, and textual transformations have become important for "identity, self-representation, ambition, and development" (Leppänen et al., 2009, p. 1092). Drawing on a similar perspective of *trans* movement, Leppänen et al. (2009, p. 1080) proposed the notion of '*translocal* activity spaces or communities of practice', which seek to understand young people's linguistic engagements with the new media, not idiosyncratically on the basis of local/national or local/global identifications, but rather through translocal activity spaces, in which "national identity and language may have less significance … than shared interests, values, and ways of life" (Leppänen et al., 2009, p. 1080). Thus young adults are more interested in translingual, transnational, and transformative identities because of their increased mobility in virtual spaces.

In summary, problematising the axiomatic monolingual default parameter "embedded in national languages and international codes" and "dystopic … discourses of penetration, rape, and extinction", the *trans* movement in applied linguistics research defines linguistic exchange within the "discourses of cultural becoming, social mutations, and recombinant identities" (Jacquemet, 2005, p. 274). Canagarajah (2013) has consequently suggested that this new movement toward an emergent translingual orientation is a paradigm shift. Underlying the paradigm shift from monolingual bias to translingual orientation are two specific key concepts: first, texts are "meshed and mediated by diverse codes", with the consequence that communication "transcends individual languages", and second, that in addition to codes, "communication involves diverse semiotic resources and ecological affordance" (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 6 & 7). As language practices absorb features from a wide range of semiotic resources, it is difficult to demarcate linguistic features according to specific languages.

Some of these terms have recently been critiqued, however. Based on the "ultimately untenable 'telementational' view of communication[1]" and the "kindred ontological assumptions regarding language and communication" (Orman, 2013, p. 91) observed in languaging, translanguaging, supervernacular, polylanguaging, and polylingualism, Makoni (2012) and Orman (2013) have identified the limitations of these terms. Problematising the very notions of 'languaging' and 'translanguaging', Makoni (2012) stated that even though languaging and translanguaging focus more on the social semiotic process than code-switching and mixing, these notions cannot escape the idea of a language itself. According to Makoni (2012, p. 191), this kind of approach to language is "founded on a deterministic framework of language and communication and a non-dynamic way of understanding interaction that runs contrary to the idea of language as social action".

'Diversity' in *superdiversity* has been critically evaluated by applied linguists and researchers. When it apparently tends to show the impact of mass movement and immigration on language, it frequently becomes too over-laden with ideological and political values. In a multilingual society, it can turn into a trope for the

[1] The telementational model considers codes as the bearer of prefixed meaning which is accepted and conceived both by the speaker and hearer with the same meaning and interpretation (cf. Harris, 2005).

powerful to conceal the power differences between themselves and the less privileged. In other words, even though 'diversity' respects differences between individuals, groups, or languages, it can instigate new forms of stratification, depending on who is defining it and for what purposes. Hence, it can never be a neutral term for contexts distinct for their violent xenophobia (cf. Makoni, 2012). That is why "*superdiversity* contains a powerful sense of social romanticism, creating an illusion of equality in a highly asymmetrical world, particularly in contexts characterized by a search for homogenization" (Makoni, 2012, p. 193). Makoni has also identified that when notions such as *supervernaculars* are intended to address the complex variation of language not easily addressable by specific codes, they are dealt with directly with lexical, phonological, and grammatical and syntactical features. In a similar vein, Orman (2013, p. 90) has commented on the ontological assumptions in polylingualism. While theoretically polylingualism goes beyond the notions of bilingualism and multilingualism, critiquing their over-dependence on discreet and enumerable linguistic features as a term of reference, it practically offers a "strongly structuralist account of linguistic features and consequently of language itself (Orman, 2013, p. 92).

In this thesis, to minimise the inadequacy identified in these *trans*- approaches, while addressing the layers of integration in language necessary for the meaning-making process, I will show that *transglossia*, a notion of language I develop in this thesis (cf. Chapter 2), provides the theoretical grounding for the social nature of language. I will also explain how a *transglossic framework* (Sultana, Dovchin, & Pennycook, 2014), an analytical tool based on *transanalytical framework* (Pennycook, 2007a), is capable of addressing the layers of integration and values and politics behind the language (Chapter 2).

With reference to the specific context of Bangladesh, I will demonstrate in this thesis the viability of *transglossia* as a theoretical construct as well question the governmental, academic, and popular discourses prevalent in Bangladesh. I will also show how the research contributes to the current debate about language and identity research in international applied linguistics research.

In the following section, I will explain why the *transglossic* notion of language is significantly important in the context of Bangladesh.

1.2 Linguistic ideologies in Bangladesh and the translinguistics movement

The English language has recently become the subject of rising apprehension in Bangladesh. The Government (bdnews24.com, 2012a), the print media (T. Chowdhury, 2010; Hussain, 2007; Mazhar, 2007), and academic discourses (Biswas, 1998) have expressed concerns about the alleged distortion and pollution of Bengali or Bangla[2]. Here, distortion refers to two specific observable linguistic phenomena: the insertion of English (and Hindi – the national language of the neighbouring country, India) into the Bangla syntax, and the stylised pronunciation of Bangla with an anglicised accent, popularly known as 'Banglish'. The Government has recently taken a bold step. On 16th February 2012, on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Language Movement, the High Court directed people in Bangladesh to preserve the Bangla language from any kind of intrusion by foreign words and accents and to ensure the sanctity of the Bangla language (bdnews24.com, 2012a). It also instructed the media to stop broadcasting programmes in which Bangla is spoken improperly. The judges ordered the formation of a committee headed by Bangla Academy Chairman, Professor Anisuzzaman. He was given the responsibility of recommending measures "to prevent pollution of the language, distorted pronunciation, pronunciation of Bengali words in foreign accent, using wrong words and decadence of the language" (bdnews24.com, 2012a, para. 5). A public prosecutor commented that the order issued by the High Court would "uphold the sanctity of our mother tongue and stop the rape of Bengali, and its 1,000-year past" (BanglaCricket, 2012, para. 2).

The indiscriminate insertion and encroachment of English words into Bangla discourse, resulting in Bangla becoming "entangled in a foreign tongue" and creating a "mangled language" has been widely critiqued (B. Ahsan, 2006, para. 5). Biswas (1998, p. 79) showed surprise at our "*oggota*" (ignorance), "*oshochetonota*" (unawareness), and "*jatio oudarjo*" (national liberality) about the "*nirontor baichitromoi bikriti*" (continual various disfigurements) of Bangla with wrong pronunciation. In a provocative article, Hussain (2007, section 9) condemned the *deshi shahebs* in Bangladesh who act, speak, or lead life like the English-speaking

[2] The anglicised word 'Bengali' is used for *bangla*, the language and *bangali*, the ethnicity of Bangla speakers. .

people in the United Kingdom (UK) or the United States of America (USA) [*deshi* means local and *shaheb* means foreigner] and take pride in asserting their inadequacy in Bangla, despite their Bangladeshi origin and upbringing in Bangladesh. The younger generations (T. Chowdhury, 2010), upper-class, English-medium (Biswas, 1998), and private university students (Juberee & Khandker, 2006), and private TV and radio broadcasters (BanglaCricket, 2012) are generally considered likely to be the most responsible for corrupting Bangla, and are the alleged perpetrators of this offence. The younger generations[3] have been identified as the most "confused and lost" because they neglect Bangla, speak Bangla with an English accent, and have limited knowledge about Bangla and the history and culture of Bangladesh (T. Chowdhury, 2010, para. 2). In a similar vein, Sayed Manjurul Islam[4], Professor of English Literature and Language at Dhaka University and Bangla fiction writer, speaking of the influence of FM radio and television stations, stated in an interview that, "They are turning Bengali into a street language. It's like a developer constructing a building uprooting the grave of his forefathers" (BanglaCricket, 2012, para. 11).

Four specific causes for the gradual deterioration of Bangla in the hands of the younger generations have been identified: the Government's failure to establish Bangla in all spheres of life, specifically in education and law (Sarkar, 2007; Shahiduzzaman, 2010); the younger generations' lack of awareness of the rich literary heritage and culture of the Bangla language, and its historical and political significance in the making of the nation (T. Chowdhury, 2010); the colonisation of the mind by the imperialist spirit (Hussain, 2007; Mazhar, 2007); and globalisation – "a euphemism for the latest stage of imperialism" (Hussain, 2007, section 9). With reference to the shift of Bangla from the colonial era to the neo-colonial era, Mazhar (2007, para. 17) stated,

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[3] Note that I will use the terms 'young adults' and 'young generations', but – as postmodernists like Weedon (1997, p. 178) stipulated with reference to gender, race, and class – "on the assumption that their meaning is plural, historically and socially specific". It should not be assumed that this is a homogenised category with prior ontological status. The similarities, differences, and diversity ingrained in these terms need to be remembered

[4] It was Prof. Islam's newspaper commentary piece entitled "Language Pollution is as Deadly as River Pollution" (bdnews24.com, 2012a) that precipitated the entire movement in favour of the High Court verdict.

> It seems that the neo-colonial linguistic practice would like to prove that Bangla is a 'failed' language – just like Bangladesh is a 'failed' state. Neo-colonial Bangla is eager to demonstrate that Bangla *bhasha* (language) as a language and sign system does not have the capacity to express the day-to-day needs and concept of a modern society, not to mention serious thoughts; its vocabulary is so poor that one must borrow English words in every sentence. A middle-class that loses its connection with history also loses its relationship with its own language and culture, and becomes a drifting ship which has no anchor.

Specifically during the month of February when *shaheed dibosh* [Martyr Day][5] and *antorjatik matribhasha dibosh* [International Mother Language Day] are observed, talk shows and debates on television and articles in newspapers propose suggestions and recommendations on how to stop the corruption of the language, and the rise of a generation more inclined towards 'foreign' and 'alien' languages and cultures.

The present Government headed by Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina[6] has taken a strong position in the preservation and sustenance of the Bangla language. The International Mother Language Institute was established in 2001 in the presence of Kofi Annan, then Secretary of the United Nations (Banglanews24, 2013) and steps have been taken to turn the Institute into an international research organisation on language, heritage, culture, and ethnicity. Specific initiative has been taken in the 'Digital Bangladesh 2012'[7] project to ensure the use of Bangla in all forms of technology. For example, the mandatory installation of fully-fledged Bangla

[5] In 1999, UNESCO declared 21st February as 'International Mother Language Day' in recognition of the 1952 language movement in Bangladesh. Around 193 countries around the world now observe the day to support language preservation and promote linguistic and cultural diversity.

[6] The Bangla language and Bangladeshi nationalism have historically been significant in the rhetoric of the political and governmental agenda of the Awami League, the ruling party. Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina is the daughter of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. The honorary title of *bangabandhu* (friend of Bengal) was given to him for his phenomenal role in achieving the independence of Bangladesh. He is also called *jatio pita* (father of the nation) and respected as the founder of the country. He became the first President, and later the Prime Minister, when Bangladesh gained its independence in 1971 after 9 month of liberation war against West Pakistan. Bangladeshi Nationalism was considered to be one of the main pillars of the first Bangladesh constitution introduced in 1972.

[7] Digital Bangladesh 2012, a project initiated by the present Government, aimed to ensure the effective integration of information and computer technology in public and private sectors for the economic development of the country (Ministry of Information and Communication Technology, 2012).

keypads in basic mobile handsets of all brands has been ordered (bdnews24.com, 2012b). Recently, the Education Minister Nurul Islam Nahid announced that two subjects from the National Curriculum, "Bangla and Bangladesh" and "Biswa Parichoy" (related to global affairs), would be included in the syllabus as compulsory subjects in English Medium Schools from the next academic calendar year (Banglanews24, 2013; Notun Khobor, 2013). Bangladesh's Information Minister, Hasanul Haque Inu, informed the Parliament on 14th February, 2013 of his decision to stop the telecast of Japanese cartoons dubbed in Hindi and aired from Indian satellite channels. Apprehending the negative effects of the cartoon on the mother tongue in the future, ruling Awami League lawmaker Shahriar Alam suggested that cartoons in foreign languages must be dubbed in Bangla before being aired on Bangladeshi channels (Hindustan Times, 2013). There have been several other attempts on the Government's part to ban satellite channels in order to protect national cultural and linguistic heritage (H. Johnson, 2010).

Hussain (2007, section 8) suggested rejuvenating the ethos of the Language Movement "to emphasize freedom, democracy, anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism, the struggle for establishing people's rights – economic, social, cultural, linguistic, and so on". He strongly recommended the continuation of the "decolonisation movement", reducing the gap between "the privileged few" who know or use English and the "wretched ones" (in the Fanonian sense) who speak or use Bangla. There are also active social discussions and networking groups such as *Remove the Aggression of Hindi from Bangladesh* (Facebook Group, 2010) and *Ban Hindi Serials from Bangladesh* (Facebook Group, 2009), or blog spots entitled *Effects of Hindi Serials on Bangladesh* (Shuvo, 2010) which attempt to raise awareness of the negative impact and dominance of Hindi and Indian culture in Bangladesh.

The recent research findings in applied linguistics discussed above and my own experience as an English language learner, teacher and teacher-educator, however, suggests that the depiction of young adults as polluters of the Bangla language or powerless Western/American impersonators seems simplistic and inadequate in addressing the complexity of their experiences. In my quest for better understanding of the issue, that is, young adults and their use of language in the negotiation of identity, I explored the academic discourses both at home and abroad. I found that the majority of applied linguistics research in the context of

Bangladesh concerned the efficacy of CLT (communicative language teaching), English skills, materials development, teacher education, and medium of instruction and language policy – research areas that are usually funded by international donor agencies. My own research had also been on language skills and pedagogical practices – the issues immediately relevant to my teaching contexts. I identified a small number of research studies on codeswitching and codemixing of English and Bangla by Bangladeshi speakers, with a specific focus on the percentage of English and Bangla words (quantitative in nature) or speakers' opinions (qualitative in nature) about codeswitching and codemixing (S. Alam, 2006; Ara, 2012; S. Rahman & Hossain, 2012). None describes the intricacies of day-to-day language practices in real contexts or an ethnographically enriched understanding of language users' voices, aspirations, and purposes.

Significant research studies on the medium of instruction and language policy in Bangladesh have been done and published in international linguistics journals (Hamid, 2010; Hamid, 2011; Hamid, Jahan, & Islam, 2013), but none in relation to the sociolinguistic significance of English in young Bangladeshi adults' language practices and identity. In general, there is a vacuum in research on young urban youths in peripheral Asian countries, such as Bangladesh. Research in applied linguistics and sociolinguistics has so far been undertaken on multi-ethnic youth from migrant backgrounds (Rampton, 2003a, 2011a, 2011b) and first or second generation immigrants in the multilingual contexts of the UK (Blackledge, 2001; Blackledge & Creese, 2008, 2009a; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Much less attention has been paid to the language practices of non-migrant young adults in peripheral Asian countries who have not been subjected to migration and transnational mobility. Bucholtz (2002, p. 539) pointed out that research on youth style and identity "must look not only to the United States, Britain, and other post-industrial societies for evidence of youth cultural practice, but also to young people's cultural innovations in other locations around the world". Overall, this indicates the dire necessity of conducting sociolinguistically sensitive research on young Bangladeshi adults.

I also intend to problematise the predominant 'double monolingualist ideologies' (Heller, 2002) observable in the context of Bangladesh with specific reference to the development in applied linguistics: that is, language use should be separate and

unmerged (a homogenous monolingual variety of Bangla for local social, cultural, and national activities, and English only for academic and professional activities) because of its colonial history. Remaining mindful of the inequalities and unevenness in global linguistic and cultural relations, and the potential threat of linguistic and cultural homogenisation caused by the ever-increasing popularity of English as a global language (cf. Section 1.5), I will critique the ways in which English and Bangla are given two dichotomous, simplistic positions: Bangla for Bangladeshi nationalism and identity, and English as a tool for colonial subjugation. In this thesis, I disrupt the accepted discourses that tend to portray young adults as replicas of Caliban from Shakespeare's *Tempest*: a colonial victim and a mutant of the colonisation process, or, to borrow from Macaulay, *Bangladeshi in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect*[8].

Before describing the research and research questions, and setting out the structure of the thesis, I will give a brief sociolinguistic overview of Bangladesh in the following section, together with a discussion of the historical, political, and socio-cultural roles of English, Bangla, and Hindi. The overview will set the background of the research and allow a better understanding of the language practices of the young adults presented in this thesis.

1.3 Language situation in Bangladesh

Historically, English has changed its status over the years to become a significant language of the social landscape. Its presence can be explained with reference to three broad phases of the political history of Bangladesh, starting with the introduction of English education to the Indian subcontinent by the British colonial empire. In discussing the historical and political role of English, I will identify three issues that are significantly relevant to this thesis. First, historically, politically, and socially, English and Bangla have always occupied different hierarchical positions in terms of usage, and these hierarchies have progressively created a web of linguistics ideologies. Second, the interrelationship between language and class has

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[8] This alludes to the infamous Education Minute of 1835 in which Lord Macaulay advocated English education for Indian subjects, so that a class of people would work as "cultural intermediaries between the British and their Indian subjects" (Evans, 2002a, p. 260).

been sustained and nurtured by educational institutions and practices. Third, these practices have for centuries simultaneously created scope for resistance, transgression, and yearning for freedom and independence, while at the same time reinforcing inequalities, hierarchies, and linguistic, social, and cultural marginalisation. An understanding of these historical, political, social and ideological dynamics is significant for unravelling the ways in which young adults in Bangladesh locate themselves in the social landscape and engage in language practices.

English and Bangla in the Indian Subcontinent (1835-1947)

Bangladesh, along with West Bengal, the province situated in eastern India, was historically a part of the Indian subcontinent. For nearly 200 years, until 1947, it had a similar colonial history to India under the British coloniser. During the period of imperial reign from 1760 to 1840, Bangla was one of the many languages in use in the subcontinent; others were Arabic, Hindi, Persian, Portuguese, and Sanskrit, and more (T. Clark, 1956). Of these languages, Persian and Portuguese brought to the subcontinent by the Moghuls and the first European traders respectively, were considered to be important languages for official, administrative, and legislative purposes. Bangla had little usefulness and was given least priority in these domains, even though it was spoken by the vast majority of people. In addition, the Hindu *pandits* (scholars), who had immense respect for Sanskrit, regarded Bangla as a 'barbaric dialect'. The leaders of the Hindu community had reservations about Bangla and no initiatives were taken to extend the use of Bangla for governance and commerce (T. Clark, 1956).

During the latter half of the 18th century, when the East Indian Company took over the management of the Indian subcontinent, English started to replace Persian, the language of the Muslim ruler, in all domains, including administration, law, and the courts. It clearly became the prestige variety of language and a key to success for the professional middle class, who wanted to be a part of the bureaucracy. (T. Rahman, 1997). Moreover, the support of a group of local Indians, led by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, who were in favour of English education for learning more about the scientific and philosophical enlightenment of the West (Paranjape, 2013) made it easier for the British imperialists to promote English in education and government

in the region. T. Clark (1956) suggested that many of the upper class and probably the majority of the new middle class wanted to learn English for utilitarian motives, such as access to a profitable career. Their incentive grew stronger when Lord Bentinck opened more senior civil service posts to Indians. Therefore, Mazumder (as cited in A. Rahman, 2007, p. 70) stated, "English education was introduced into this country, not by the British government but in spite of them".

Interestingly, even though English education was restricted to the privileged few, it historically instigated social mobility and introduced a new kind of social hierarchy and power-play that restructured class boundaries. There was a rise of bureaucratic and professional elites to positions which previously had been occupied by landed gentry. "The professional middle class, especially the bureaucracy, increased, and the state became the biggest employer. This meant that the language chosen by the state to run the bureaucracy was the key to power" (T. Rahman, 1997, p. 146). Expensive English-medium schools were established which had a lasting impact on the socio-economic conditions within society. For example, the masses did not have access to chiefs' colleges which were established in the early 19th century on the model of the elitist British public school system. The masses received their education in the vernacular, such as Bangla, in government schools. The aristocrats sent their sons to chiefs' colleges where they could "learn the English language, and [become] sufficiently familiar with English customs" (Raleigh, 1906 as cited in T. Rahman, 1997, p. 147).

Only the sons of the princes of India were allowed admission to chiefs' colleges, whereas the sons of the professional middle class went to European or convent schools, which excluded most Indians based on birth or poverty (Clark, 1956). The cost for per student to attend Anglo-Indian and European institutions was Rs.156 while all types of institutions from a university to a primary school were only Rs.14[9] (Education in India, 1941 as cited in T. Rahman, 1997). The vernacular Bangla gradually became only the language of government primary education, the Indian press, and the lower branches of official administration (T. Clark, 1956). Eventually, these two types of education gave rise to class-based hierarchies in the society: the anglicised elite, who were educated in English-medium institutions and

[9] Today's English medium schools, colleges, and universities in Bangladesh are perhaps the prototypes of these institutions. .

held the powerful positions in the bureaucracy, and a class of people educated in the vernacular language, who aspired to and obtained subordinate positions in the lower bureaucracy (T. Rahman, 1997).

The hegemonic role of English, sustained and nurtured by the vested interests of a class of people, had not been accepted without struggle, contestation, and conflict. Out of this segregation, for example, rose the anti-English lobby – the masses educated in the vernacular – who were considered appropriate for subordinate positions in the bureaucracy while the powerful positions were reserved for Englishmen and elite English-educated Indians. Both the British monarch and the English language were officially displaced in 1947. Uprooting English overnight was, however, an ambitious plan when a segment of the society had been nurtured by the ethos of the British imperialist[10], driven by the utilitarian motives and ambitions of the collaborators in colonialism and by the presence of a new type of citizen who "saw his future only in the study of the English language and in the slavish imitation of Western manners" and pretended "that English was his own language" (T. Clark, 1956, p. 474). English was meant to prevail for generations even in the post-imperialist era.

Bangla and English during the Pakistani period (1947-1971)

Strong resistance against and repulsion for the British ruler led to none of the countries in the Indian subcontinent – India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, or Nepal – selecting the English language as its national language, although English remained a *de facto* official language in the domains of administration, the legal profession, and higher education. This was inevitable because political leaders and high officials were educated in English (Banu & Sussex, 2001a; Musa, 1989, 1995). It was also significantly important for the communication of the two wings of Pakistan, East and West, which had no other common language other than English for administrative purposes. Note that Pakistan with its two parts, East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and West Pakistan, were linguistically and culturally different, but were separated from the Indian subcontinent in 1947 on the basis of the

[10] The ethos promoted by the British coloniser is reflected in the often-cited Education Minute of Lord Macaulay (1835) in which he commented that "English is better worth knowing than Sanskrit and Arabic," (Evans, 2002a, p. 270 & 271; Rajan, 1992, p. 9).

dominant religion of those regions, Islam[11]. There were also 1200 miles of Indian territory between the two parts.

The independence from the British monarch eventually proved to be significant for Bangladesh. The social and cultural significance of Bangla and the birth of Bangladesh are closely tied to the political events that took place during the Pakistani era. The political leaders in West Pakistan, ignoring the fact that Bangla was spoken by 56.4% of the entire Pakistani population, announced on 21st March, 1948 that Urdu, which was spoken by the dominant group in West Pakistan who represented only 3.27% of the population, would be the only official language (Maron, 1955). The 'one state one official language model' was a new form of linguistic colonisation for the East Pakistanis, i.e. Bangladeshis. The newly-established Pakistan again started to splinter because of language. In fact, Bangla became the steering force for a political, historical, social, and cultural movement that united Bangladeshis to resist linguistic and political marginalisation by West Pakistan (Musa, 1996).

An attempt by the central government to enforce Urdu (the mother tongue of the West Pakistanis) as the official language and give preference to West Pakistan and West Pakistanis in the allocation of national revenues, development projects, and government posts violated the rights of East Pakistanis. The state-language controversies made the East Pakistanis realise that the privileged position of the British and the upper-class Hindus had been occupied by the West Pakistanis. The West Pakistanis were the "non-Bengali imperial guardian" (Maron, 1955, p. 133), enjoying an upper status nationally, socially, culturally, and linguistically. It was another long-term process to relegate East Pakistanis to inferior status: East Pakistanis or Bengalis would be handicapped in competitive examinations and consequently, would not be able to hold important positions in the bureaucracy. It was also a way of subordinating the majority by the minority (Maron, 1955).

This issue of language controversy started a language movement, as a result of which several students and citizens were killed by the police on 21st February, 1952. Because of this nation-wide movement and loss of life, West Pakistan had to

[11] When the British left the Indian subcontinent in 1947, it was divided into two independent countries based on religion: India for the Hindus and Pakistan for the Muslims.

give due recognition to Bangla. It was declared as a provincial language in the first constitution of Pakistan on 23rd March, 1956. The events left a deep scar on the relationship between the two provinces. The nations were eventually divided in 1971. Bangla, a significant marker of Bangladeshi identity since 1952, was revalidated in the liberation war of 1971 and eventually led Bangladesh to independence from Pakistan (Musa, 1989, 1995). Bangla, which had been politically and socially afforded lower status than English during the imperial era, and again in relation to English and Urdu during the Pakistani era, for the first time achieved status as a politically and historically significant language in the independent Bangladesh.

English and Bangla in the independent Bangladesh (1971 to date)

The People's Republic of Bangladesh emerged as an independent country in 1971. As one of the causes of the breach between West and East Pakistan was the legitimisation of the Bangla language and Bangladeshi nationalism, Bangla inevitably became the national language, as well as the official language – a symbol of national identity and freedom from oppression, exploitation, and subjugation (Musa, 1996). Klaiman (1987 as cited in Banu, 2005) identified that Bengali identity is neither genetic nor religious. The name of the country, Bangladesh, is made of *bangla* and *desha*. *Bangla* refers to the language, not the people or the territory of Bengal; and *desha* means 'country'. With the new fervour of nationality, English was displaced, along with Urdu. Even though the bureaucrats were more comfortable using English for administrative purposes, Bangla was constantly favoured by nationalist leaders and ministers. The "anomalous linguistic situation" arose because the key leaders were grass-root politicians with rural backgrounds (Banu & Sussex, 2001b, p. 126).

Following the independence, the parliament passed a bill declaring Bangla as the national language to be used in education, administration, and the judiciary (Musa, 1989, 1995), and Bangladesh a 'uni-cultural and uni-linguistic nation state' (Bal, 2010). Bangla replaced English in administrative activities, and in a constitutional amendment in 1987, Bangla was affirmed as the state language (Article 3), citizens of Bangladesh would be known as Bengalis [*bangalis*] (Article 6), and the Bangla language and culture would be the basis of Bengali [*bangali*] nationalism (Article

9) (Bangladesh Gazette, 1987). Moreover, the anglicised 'Dacca' was replaced by 'Dhaka', and 'Bengali' was replaced by *bangla* by an amendment in 1988, demonstrating the Government's "decolonising impulse" (Banu & Sussex, 2001b, p. 126). The constitutional changes emphasised the importance of Bangla as the national language and the marker of Bangladeshi identity.

The significance of historical and political events in the making of Bangladesh, the independent nation, has been heightened in governmental, academic, and socio-cultural discourses. The nation, as defined in the literature, usually has a "collective proper name, myths and memories of communal history, a common public culture, common laws and customs, and historic territory or homeland" (A. Smith, 2002, p. 17). In the context of Bangladesh, nationhood is also deeply embedded in the past and sustained in the present with the observation of Mother Language Day and Independence Day, and in the celebration of Victory Day, Bangabandhu Dibosh[12], and so on. Bangladeshi nationalism is reinvented, authenticated, and appropriated in the present based on these political, national, and cultural events in the past. Thus the deaths of millions of people and the sacrifices made by martyrs are the landmark of the ethnolinguistic history of Bangladesh and the key moments for the formation of the discursive construction of nationalism. Ethnolinguistic nationalism is also sustained and cultured in everyday discourses through the commemoration and celebration of the sacrifices made by martyrs and freedom fighters, who are always referred to in the media, and political discourse. As A. Smith (1995, p. 19) discerned, the past plays a significant role in our understanding of nationalism in the present:[13] "In this continually renewed two-way relationship between ethnic past and nationalist present lies the secret of the nation's explosive energy and the awful power it exerts over its members" (p. 19).

[12] It is the birthday celebration of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the leader whose liberating spirit encouraged the East Pakistanis to fight for independence in the liberation war.

[13] The social and cultural celebrations around these events have increased at a phenomenal rate recently and have been celebrated with more vigour and colour since the Awami League, the party of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, gained power, and Rahman's daughter, Sheikh Hasina, is Prime Minister of Bangladesh. In addition, Bengali social and cultural activities, such as Bangla New Year and the spring festival, have taken on new dimensions with the participation of a greater number of people and the commercialisation of these events across society. Thus the sense of Bangladeshi nationalism and identity are entangled with the pride and practice of the Bangla language, Bangladeshi culture and heritage, and the observation of political and historical events, specifically the Martyr Day in 1952 and the Liberation War of 1971.

The historical past has been revitalised by a strategic use of nationalism. Social dynamics of nationalism in Bangladesh indicates that nationalism works through the frames of two strategies (Máiz, 2003): an 'organisistic strategy' that articulates Bangladesh as a country with a homogenous ethnic group, with reference to 'thick ethnic objects', such as race, spirit, mission, space and so on, and a 'culturist strategy' that identifies Bangladeshi nationalism by reference to 'thin ethnic objects', such as culture, language, and tradition (Máiz 2003). 'National rhythms', obtained through the systematic observation of historical national events, recurring stress on the values of nationalism, and national emotional engagement with such events indicate that nationalism has an "epistemological and ontological basis" (Edensor, 2006, p. 542) in the context of Bangladesh. Nevertheless, in every politically significant phase of the history of Bangladesh, as noted earlier, nationalistic discourses introduced a new set of linguistic ideologies, practices of marginalisation, and language and class-based struggle.

Since 1971, the attempts of the Government to protect Bangla have always been based on the linguistic exclusivity of Bangla. Bangla has been given immense priority, politically, culturally, and socially, violating the linguistic rights of indigenous communities. The deeply ingrained, essentialised and deterministic assumption that Bangladesh is linguistically and ethnically a monolingual and homogenous country make the non-Bengali, non-Muslim Bangladeshis, i.e., the indigenous people (*adivasis*) and Biharis (a minority Muslim group from Pakistan, popularly known as 'stranded Urdu-speaking Muslim Pakistanis') invisible in government discourses (Hamid, 2011; Mohaiemen, 2012; Mohsin, 2003). The ethnicity of indigenous communities is afforded the least importance in this discourse. In 1972, the then only non-Bengali indigenous Chakma parliament member, Manabendra Narayan Larma objected to the parliamentary decisions. His opinions were not respected, nor was his sentiment valued when he protested on the imposition of Bengali identity on the indigenous people (Mohaiemen, 2012; Preetha, 2012), which is why Rajagopalan (2001, p. 24) showed scepticism about the way Bangla was "politically exploited as a banner to further the objective of independence" by "the founding fathers" who believed Bangla was "strong enough to hold together an ethnically and linguistic diverse mass of people".

The sociolinguistic significance of the 29 non-Bangladeshi indigenous communities, their indigenous languages, and numerous regional varieties of Bangla has remained unnoticed and unattended. Most importantly, the critical impact of Bangla as the medium of instruction in the public education system has been enormous for the ethnic minorities[14] (S. Ahsan & Chakma, 1989). Because their languages have no function in the education system and they learn Bangla at the expense of their mother tongue, 55.5% of indigenous children aged 6-10 are not enrolled in school and the dropout rate of indigenous children is almost 60% (Preetha, 2012). Some indigenous languages have become extinct – for example, Kuruk, the language of the Orao ethnic community – or endangered, for example, the Khumi, Khiyang, Pankho Koch, Patra, and Hajong languages (Mohsin, 2003; Preetha, 2012). Hammadi (2011) has lamented the fact that the progressive Bengali nationalism of the 1950s and 1960s is now being forsaken for "aggressive Bengali ultra-nationalism" (para 7), which reconfirms that "nationality is a political banner and gives rise to such politically powerful feelings as nationalism – which in turn is all too frequently liable to degenerate into chauvinism and xenophobia, its flipside" (Rajagopalan, 2001, p. 20).

The promotion and accentuation of Bangla has not allowed constructive discussion at the policy level about the regional varieties of Bangla, and the use of some varieties has consequently been marginalised and to some extent stigmatised (cf. Chapters 4 & 5 for further discussion). *Sadhu bangla* (Standard Bangla, or SB), which is quite archaic in its use of highly Sanskritised lexis and pedantic lexical items, is considered as High variety; it is specifically used in written form for all kinds of formal communication and is reserved for written compositions. *Chalit,* by

[14] This is no different than many post-colonial contexts. For example, in a critical-historical analysis of medium-of-instruction policies in the USA, McCarty (2004) demonstrated that the government manipulated policies to obtain geographical and political control over ethno-linguistic minorities, i.e., the Indians. In Hong Kong, the majority of schools had to use Chinese as the medium of instruction when China resumed control from Britain (Evans, 2002b). An analysis of British colonial policy in Basutoland shows that mother-tongue education was ensured only to provide various economic opportunities to people (Brutt-Griffler, 2002). In Malaysia, the Only-Malay policy marginalised Chinese- and Tamil-speakers in the education system (David & Govindasamy, 2005). A similar ideological role of language policy is found in Singapore, where the Government stipulated English for technological and economic domains and the mother tongue for social and cultural domains (Wee, 2006). Mandarin received recognition as an official language, but other languages, such as Malay or Tamil, were marginalised.

contrast, which has evolved from SB in simplified and colloquialised lexical items, is considered as Low variety and is specifically used in spoken form (Singh, 1986). Hence *chalit* bangla is called Standard Colloquial Bangla (SCB) in academic discourse. Bangladeshis learn SB through formal education as a compulsory subject (similar to English) from primary to higher secondary levels, even though SCB is "respected by all as an elegant form of speech" (Dil, 1986, p. 452). The regional varieties are the languages of home and hearth.

There is significant dispute as to what extent the regional varieties of Bangla, such as Noakhalian, Chittagonian Bangla, or Sylheti, are linguistically different from SB/SCB. For example, according to Morshed (1961, p. ii), the "dialects of Bangla" (i.e., regional varieties of Bangla) are "sufficiently different to be unintelligible" to SCB speakers, which account for the majority of educated Bangladeshis. In respect of Noakhalian Bangla, he added that it is distinctly different from SCB phonologically, morphologically, and lexically. With reference to Chalmers (1996) and Hamid (2007), Blackledge and Creese (2008, p. 542) stated that

> Sylheti (a regional variety of Bangla spoken in the north-east division, Sylhet) is often regarded as a modification of standard Bengali which is not intelligible to the people of other districts in Bangladesh. … Whilst Bengali [Bangla] is the literate language of Bangladesh, Sylheti is a vernacular variety.

Thompson (2007, p. 50) stated that Sylheti is

> sufficiently different from standard Bangla to cause various communication problems and Sylhetis [who] increasingly see themselves as having a separate identity. … the issue of Sylheti independence is being debated as much outside as inside Bangladesh[15].

However, in the nationalistic or governmental discourse, these issues in relation to regional varieties have not been addressed, which is why it is not surprising that a school administrator in a heritage school in the UK stated, "When you talk about language it means Bengali. Sylheti is not a language" (Blackledge & Creese, 2008, p. 538). His opinion reflects the ingrained beliefs and ideologies that people tend to

[15] Note that a majority of the Bangladeshi migrant communities in the UK are Sylhetis.

carry in terms of regional varieties of Bangla. These regional varieties are not accepted as 'languages'.

While the decision to determine the national language reflected the collective emotion about Bangla in the newly independent country, the centralistic, government-induced, and government-controlled decision to promote Bangla gave rise to two distinct streams of education, English and Bangla, which eventually led to a divide between 'haves' and 'haves-not', as had been observable in the British era. The statal and suprastatal rules prescribed Bangla as the only official language, without providing adequate instruction on how to phase out the use of English from other domains of life, for example, education. For example, the practical hurdle of the non-availability of Bangla textbooks for higher education was not addressed (Choudhury, 2001). Overall, the emphasis to Bangla, meant that people's long history of experience with English was ignored. As a consequence, despite being instructed to switch to Bangla, English-medium schools kept the English-medium education system active through the patronage of the elite (Banu & Sussex, 2001b). English remained in two forms in the education system: as a content-based subject for the majority in government schools, and as a medium of instruction and means to dynamic education for the elite minority in private English medium schools (Imam, 2005; A. Rahman, 2007; S. Rahman, 2005, 2009; Sultana, 2003). The education system now resembles that of the former imperialist period when elite children went to private schools and the masses went to the vernacular public schools.

The nationalistic orientation in education policy was later revised to redeem English language learning and teaching, considering the necessity of English as a language of development, only to encourage yet another form of extremism. In 1992, English was made a compulsory subject in primary to higher secondary education from years 1 to 12, and subsequently for the first year undergraduate students in the tertiary education in Bangladesh (Hamid et al., 2013). Since the Government is struggling to maintain a balance between nationalistic and developmental discourses, young adults presumably experience the conflicts and tensions that accompany ideological instability.

English and Bangla in Education in post-independent Bangladesh

The public primary, secondary, and higher secondary education system in Bangladesh, considered to be one of the largest centralised systems in the world (Imam, 2005), struggles to provide a decent education to a huge number of students with a limited budget[16]. Because of the inadequate number of teachers, classes are not held regularly, and the number of classes is few and alarmingly low. Year 1 and 2 students complete only 444 hours of classes per year in total (Imam, 2005). The standard of education in public schools is also unsatisfactory. On average 28% and 44% of students achieved the minimum level of competence in written Bangla and mathematics respectively after five years of basic education (World Bank, 2000). The standard of English education in Bangla-medium schools has also been in decline.

By contrast, the English-medium schools and colleges carry the ethos and heritage of elite English private schools established during British rule. Only a privileged few of the student population attend these schools (Hossain & Tollefson, 2007). These schools have high tuition fees, hence only rich parents can afford them; for example, whereas the monthly fee for a public school in Dhaka is only around Taka 250 (AU$3.12), the fee in an English medium school can range from Taka 3,000-15,000 (AU$37.5-187.5) per month, according to the age of the student. Most of the schools have highly proficient qualified teachers, some of whom are native speakers of English. The schools are located in expensive areas and provide all the amenities necessary for effective teaching and learning. They follow the curriculum and syllabuses developed by the Cambridge International Examination Board (an examination board in the UK), and the exams ('O' level and 'A' level) are administered by the British Council in Bangladesh. The scripts are marked by registered examiners in the UK, and the textbooks for all courses except Bangla and Religious Studies are published in the UK (Hossain & Tollefson, 2007; Imam, 2005).

[16] According to the Development Assistance Committee List of overseas development aid recipients, Bangladesh is one of the poorest and least developed countries in the world (Bolton, Gradol, & Meierkord, 2011).

It is not only the medium of education that has made these two kinds of schools and colleges different. The standard of education, materials taught in class, methods of teaching, number of trained teachers, number of classes held, amount of learning and teaching resources, and the overall ambience between these two kinds of education system in general are starkly different. In most of the Bangla-medium schools, knowledge is dealt with as a "monolithic entity, a finite, inflexible object, to be accepted whole and to be memorised and regurgitated" (A. Rahman, 1999, p. 241). Classroom practices, particularly in rural and sub-urban contexts, resemble the 'banking concept of education' (Sultana, 2003), which, according to Freire (1970, p. 36) is an "instrument of dehumanisation". In fact, this sort of teaching and learning practice seems to be a logical consequence of the disparity between the financial conditions of the respective educational institutions. The stark differences between the two education systems have given rise to two classes of people, as in the imperialist period. Similar to Asia Pacific countries such as China, Hong Kong, Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and Vietnam, English as a medium of education has created division and discrimination between the "haves and have-nots and city and rural area dwellers" (Nunan, 2003, p. 605). Thus institutional affiliation becomes complex for students as the affiliation implicitly reflects their socioeconomic background (Sultana, 2008; 2014b).

As English education is not accessible to the poor and the rural, people believe in the superiority of the English-speaking population (cf. Ramanathan, 2005 on the vernacular and English divide in India)[17]. People in general seem to have positive attitudes towards English and English-speaking Bangladeshis (A. Rahman, 2007). The English-speaking population is small, as in Japan (Kubota, 1998), but it enjoys supreme prestige and status in the society: "Bangladeshis who know English will always try to show off their proficiency in English. It symbolises, in Bangladeshi minds, better education, better culture, and higher intellect" (S. Rahman, 2009, p. 11). Thus "functioning in the manner of a huge classificatory machine" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. xi), the education system also eventually divides students and inscribes identity attributes based on institutional affiliation and education practices

[17] Tollefson (2000, pp. 14-15) describes the linguistic situation in the Philippines, and a similar trend is observable in other countries such as Nigeria, Tanzania, Kenya (Bamgbose, 2003), India (Bhatt, 2005), and Sri Lanka (Canagarajah, 1999) where English proficiency is a major criterion for access to higher education and jobs. Better proficiency in English means a stronger possibility of obtaining a more lucrative job and thus being able to send children to private schools.

on the micro level. Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) stated, with reference to reproduction in education, society, and culture, that "the school helps to make and to impose the legitimate exclusions and inclusions which form the basis of the social order" (p. xi)

> in societies which claim to recognise individuals only as equals in right, the education system and its modern nobility only contribute to disguise, and thus legitimize, in a more subtle way the arbitrariness of the distribution of powers and privileges which perpetuates itself through the socially uneven allocation of school titles and degrees (p. x).

Moreover, according to Bourdieu and Passeron (1990, p. xi), the elite schools ensure "the perpetuation and legitimation of social hierarchies". Thus the education system guarantees better positioning in the society for those who have received English education, even when Bangla is given respect as a national language for its crucial historical, political, and cultural role in the independence of Bangladesh.

The linguistic scenario has become increasingly multifaceted in Bangladesh with the recent popularity and currency of English as a global language and its instrumental value in the job market. Private companies prefer to employ university graduates with a higher level of proficiency in English, thereby legitimising the mythical values of English. Even people in rural villages want their children to be proficient in English (Erling, Seargeant, Solly, Chowdhury, & Rahman, 2012). Parents and private universities have started putting emphasis on English to prepare students for the job market, and it has been easier for the private universities to opt solely for English as the medium of education because of the absence of an explicit education policy for higher education. In addition, unlike public universities, these universities do not have historical, political, and social commitments toward nationalism (see also Chapter 3). As Hamid et al. (2013, p. 151) have noted,

> MOI [Medium of Instruction] denotes a divide between public and private sector higher education. Being controlled by macro-level policies, the former is underpinned by linguistic nationalism, protectionism and additive bilingualism, while the latter is informed by

> linguistic instrumentalism … the public-private divide marked by linguistic dualism – English only in the private sector and Bangla + English in the public sector.

1.4 Recent developments in the language scenario

Despite the stark realities that exist in Bangladesh, that it is a densely populated third world country beset by problems of flood, famine, and poverty[18], many young Bangladeshis are very much active consumers of many elements of popular culture. In the 1990s, with the Government's steps to liberate broadcasting and the airwaves, individuals experienced a dramatic increase in their access to the international media. There has since been a massive proliferation of private television and radio stations, satellite cables, and mobile phone companies, with a rise in the access to the Internet and mobile phone service (infoasaid, 2012). The 2011 Nielsen Media and Demographic Survey, conducted by the global media marketing group AC Nielsen, found that 84% of urban households and 43% of rural households in Bangladesh owned a television set. 83% of TV owners in urban areas and 39% of TV owners in the countryside have access to private TV channels via satellite or cable. There is a steady increase in numbers of rural households with access to some form of electricity supply are acquiring satellite cables (infoasaid, 2012).

Satellite TV channels broadcasting from India in Hindi and Bengali are popular for their soap operas, films and sports coverage. ETV Bangla, an Indian satellite channel based in Calcutta, ZTV, Star Plus, Sony TV, and Zee Cinema are among the most popular Indian entertainment channels. Doordarshan, BBC, CNN, and ETV Bangla, are popular satellite channels for news. The rate of mobile phone penetration (lines per 100 inhabitants) is 94% for urban areas and 83% for rural areas. According to the Bangladesh Telecommunications Regulatory Commission (BTRC), there were 87.9 million active mobile phone subscribers in the country in February 2012, and 66% of all individuals aged 15 years and above owned at least

[18] Bangladesh is one of the most densely populated country in the world with a population of 150.5 million (2012 est.) living in 147,570 sq. km. It means that 964.42 people live in per sq. km (World Population Review, 2013). It is one of the poorest countries as well, with 32% of its population living below the poverty line. About 28% of the population lives in urban areas (World Bank, 2013). The adult literacy rate in Bangladesh is 57% (2007-2011) (UNICEF Bangladesh, 2013).

one mobile phone with an active SIM (Subscriber Identification Module) card (infoasaid, 2012). The website www.socialbakers.com, which records global Internet usage, shows that more than 2.5 million Bangladeshis had Facebook accounts in February 2012. Overall, the younger generations in Bangladesh have increased exposure to the technology, world media, popular culture, and varied linguistic and cultural resources. Like any young adults around the world, they have an insatiable appetite for technology, Facebook, msn-chat, and so on. Because of their mobility and locatedness in the translingual and transcultural flow, young adults' engagement with other languages and cultures beyond Bangla and English is inevitable. In addition, career-oriented younger generations in Bangladesh are equally interested in learning Chinese to strengthen their job prospects in the booming garment sector in Bangladesh, which has strong business ties with Chinese buyers and traders. The gradual increase in the number of students in the Chinese language department in the Institute of Modern Languages at Dhaka University indicates the popularity of Chinese as a foreign language.

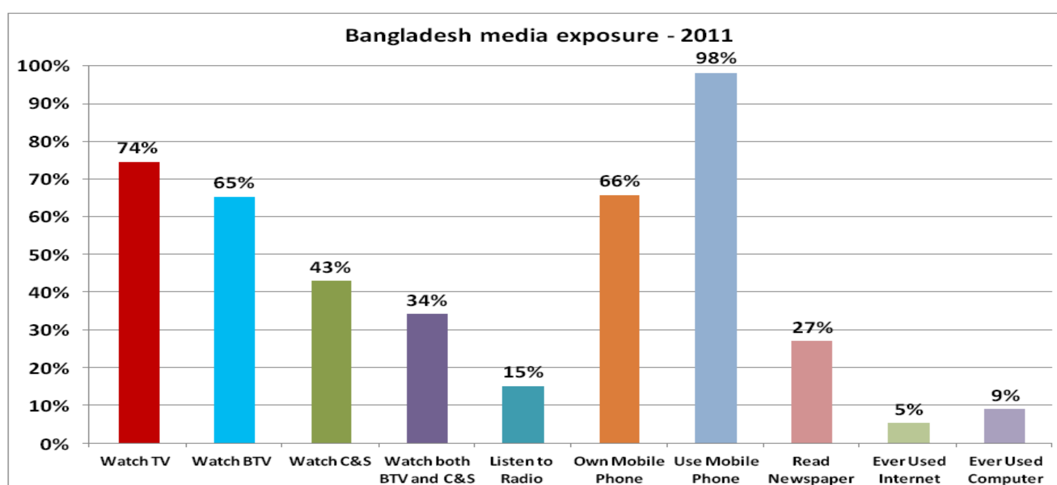

Figure 1.1: Bangladesh media exposure, 2011 (Shaheen & Lace, 2013, p. 5)

Indian film actors, actresses, and singers have always had a strong fan base in Bangladesh. They frequently visit the country and participate in cultural nights in five star hotels, tickets for which are sold for extremely high prices. For example, when Shahrukh Khan, a popular Indian actor, visited Dhaka in December 2010, the lowest priced ticket was Taka 5000 (AU$71.50). This ticket price is expensive, especially in the context of a country where 83% of the population lives on less than US$2 a day (World Bank, 2010). The demand for tickets represents the

increased popularity of Indian entertainment in the life of Bangladeshi socialites and urbanite youths. The youngsters also tend to follow Bollywood (Bombay film industry) fashion trends, and the fashion industry capitalises on trends in hairstyle, makeup, clothes and accessories (Sultana, 2012a). The popularity of Indian films and music was clear when a college student stated in an interview that Indian and English songs were melodious and catchy whereas Bangla songs were boring (Ali, 2010). In other words, there is no way of ignoring the existence and significance of Hindi in the life of younger generations.

The world of young Bangladeshi adults is by no means dominated by Western media and their culture is not Americanised. Their exposure is diverse: they watch Korean drama and films, from *Mr Right* to *Thank You* and Japanese animated cartoons, serials, and films, from *Death Note* to *Naruto*. As they watch dramas and films from countries such as Korea, India, Japan, and the USA, and Japanese manga, animated cartoons, and video games, they are exposed to a diversity of linguistic and cultural resources. Figures such as Naruto, the hero of a Japanese manga series, or Eminem, the American rapper, record producer, songwriter, and actor, have become a significant element in the lives of young adults, influencing their dress style and engagement with fan and blog sites. They call their teachers *sensei* (Japanese word for teacher), or name a friend who does not want to listen to them, as *chammok challo* (Hindi word meaning 'a beautiful, charming, sexy, moody girl who does not want to listen to anyone'), or a young girl as *jhal* (West Bengal, Indian Bangla for 'hot'), or a friend who fails to attract women as 'Johnny Bravo' (an American cartoon character who tries too hard to get women's attention and fails) (Sultana, 2012a). They celebrate Bangladeshi New Year and English New Year's Eve with equal interest and enthusiasm, and are also well aware of Chinese New Year. Thus they cross the boundaries of their local linguistic and cultural practices. Their use of shortened forms of both English and Bangla words and emoticons, such as :), :D and :(. show that they have acquired semiotic resources beyond their linguistic and cultural boundary (Sultana, 2012b). They 'shuttle between repertoires' (Canagarajah, 2011). The examples given above also show that they appropriate and recontextualise linguistic resources from different languages of the world, of which English is one (cf. Chapters 6 & 7).

The presence of other languages in the social landscape of Bangladesh to which individuals have access via popular culture nevertheless seems to be minimised because of the prominence of developmental and nationalistic discourses. As these languages are not relevant to official, national, and educational purposes, their sociocultural significance usually remains unaddressed and unrecognised. Even when it is addressed, the point of reference is either negative or simplistic. For example, Hindi has constantly been critiqued in popular discourses as a means to supply 'alien language and culture' (even though Bangladesh was formerly part of the Indian subcontinent) and for its interference in Bangla and Bangladeshi culture (Facebook Group, 2010; Facebook Pages, 2009; Shuvo, 2010). However, the criticism fails to give any nascent understanding of the sociolinguistic significance of Hindi and other foreign languages.

In the sections above, I have discussed the historical, political, ideological, and socio-cultural significance of English and Bangla in relation to regional varieties and indigenous languages. Identifying the younger generations' engagement with popular culture beyond their linguistic and cultural boundaries, I have also shown that any view that represents them as being responsible for 'language pollution' understates the underlying complexities of the social realities and social landscape of young adults. In the following sections, I will look at the existing approaches to global English observable in the context of Bangladesh and problematise the underlying ethos of these approaches. I will also position my research in relation to these approaches.

1.5 Approaches to English: Beyond homogeny, heterogeny, and pluricentrism

There are three prominent approaches to English observable in the context of Bangladesh. English is considered as the language of linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992, 1998) and the global language (Crystal, 1997). There have also been attempts to find a Bangladeshi variety of English which in spirit conforms to the approach of 'World Englishes' (Kachru, 1986; 2005). Showing the strengths and weaknesses of these approaches and explaining their inadequacy in addressing the complexities of young adults' language practices in the context of Bangladesh, I will justify why I opted for language as a local practice, as propounded by Pennycook (2010).

Linguistic imperialism paradigm: Myth of homogenous English

There is no doubt that linguistic imperialism is a strong paradigm based on a multidisciplinary approach that critically evaluates the role of English as a language of colonialism and globalisation (Phillipson, 1992, 1998). Linguistic imperialism problematises the standard language paradigm (cf. Honey, 1997; Quirk, 1990) which endorses the inherent superiority of English as a language, specifically the SE spoken by native speakers. It questions Crystal's (1997) glorification of English as a global language. It also draws attention to how English linguicism[19] was enacted in colonial countries through coercion, trade, missionary expedition, and 'gunboat diplomacy'. In the current post-colonial era, English has become the neo-imperial language, and linguicism is ensured through consent by the 'army of linguistic missionaries' from the UK (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996), in the form of English language teaching practitioners, and through UK and USA expansionism (Phillipson, 2008). In addition, Phillipson has identified the historical imposition of English and its role in the extinction of minor languages, as has been recognised by Crystal (2000) and Nettle and Merton (2000).

The penetration, fragmentation, marginalisation, supremacist ideologies, and hyper-accentuated role of English as a global language also do not address how English evolves amid the complexities of globalisation and current local conditions. For example, if we accept English *only* as a source of segregation in the neocolonial global polity, as we see in the Philippines (Tollefson, 2000b), Nigeria, Tanzania, and Kenya (Bamgbose, 2003; Bisong, 1995), South Africa (Kamwangamalu, 2007), India (Annamalai, 2005; Bhatt, 2005), and Hong Kong (Li, 2002), we will ***not*** see how the colonised rework the relationship by using "the 'master's tools' to deconstruct the 'master's house'" (Lin, Wang, Akamatsu, & Riazi, 2002, p. 313). Vaish (2005, p. 187) has shown how a disadvantaged urban poor community which has "historically been linguistically subalternized or disenfranchised" has improved life chances and is able to participate in the global economy because of English. For

[19] Linguicism is a set of "ideologies, structures, and practices, which are used to legitimate, effectuate, and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (material and immaterial) between groups which are defined on the basis of language" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1988 in Phillipson, 1998, p. 103).

the community, English is the "agent of decolonisation"[20]. Thus the linguistic imperialism paradigm does not reveal how "the various essentialised, dichotic, Self-Other construction and the Anglo-centric knowledge-production mechanism" can be "rework[ed], reimagine[d] and destabilise[d]" (Lin et al., 2002, p. 313).

Linguistic imperialism has little to say about the ongoing momentary negotiations of English. It also does not address individuals' aspirations, interests, intentions, and desires, as realised in everyday language use. Park and Wee (2012, pp. 17-18) identified that in linguistic imperialism, "language as entities … are clearly bounded, distinguishable, and enumerable, rather than existing as a non-discrete repertoire of practices that a speaker may appropriate in various ways", which is why they also stated that, "[o]ne problem of linguistic imperialism's macrosocial emphasis is that it does not leave room for more specific and ethnographically sensitive accounts of actual language use" (2012, p. 16). Canagarajah (1999, 2004, 2005a, 2005b, 2006, 2007) has conducted extensive research in the post-colonial context of Sri Lanka. Based on the findings of his research, he problematises the stereotypical representation of the colonised as gullible and shows that "the powerless postcolonial communities may find ways to negotiate, alter, and oppose political structures, and reconstruct their languages, cultures, identities to their advantage" (Canagarajah, 1999, p. 2) to "creatively negotiate the place of English in their lives" (Canagarajah, 2006, p. 200). Similarly, I intend to disrupt the presumed image of young adults in Bangladesh with an explicit understanding of the relationship between their language practices and macro-social issues.

Linguistic imperialism draws attention to the clear-cut role of developmental discourses that forefronts the ELT (English Language Teaching) industry, serving the vested interests of various stakeholders. For example, in Bangladesh, the targets of 'English in Action (EIA)[21], a nine-year long project, are to "contribute to the

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[20] The mythical values of English in alleviating poverty or the constant call for English as a solution to poverty have recently been problematised (cf. Pennycook, 2007b; Tollefson, 2000).

[21] EIA, a £50 million programme, is designed in response to a request from the Government of Bangladesh and conducted by the UK's Department for International Development (DFID) and BBC Media Action (a sister concern of BBC, UK). According to the project profile (DFID, 2012, p. 4), in the year 2011-2012, ELT media-learning (TV, web, WAP, and print) has increased. 12.6 million people watched 'With Fun We Learn' (*Mojay Mojay Shekha*), a TV programme for teaching English; 473,923 call on the mobile for the course of which 300,000 are regular users of mobile and 115,924 are visitors, with 26,396 registered for the new course so far.

economic growth of Bangladesh by providing the English language as a tool for better access to the world economy" (DFID, 2012, p. 1), increase "motivation for learning and using English among the population of Bangladesh (DFID, 2012, p. 1), and "change people's perceptions of English language learning, reduce barriers to English, and support the development of an English language media sector through the innovative use of television, mobile phones, and other media platforms" (DFID, 2012, p. 4). However, linguistic imperialism does not create opportunities to explore the language practices or the aspirations of the English language 'consumers' at the grass roots level and how these consumers make their ways through nationalistic and developmental discourses, specifically when they want to increase their overall economic sustainability. Linguistic imperialism does not either address the dual positions of the Government: on the one hand, its role in asking financial assistance from international donor agencies for the development of the ELT industry; on the other hand, its role in taking steps to protect the purity of the Bangla language from the corruption of the English language.

Paradoxically, linguistic imperialism that promotes the establishment of linguistic and cultural diversity may, on the downside, work in favour of linguistic and cultural homogenisation. Too much preoccupation with protecting the Bangla language from English may minimise and marginalise the role of the regional varieties of Bangla and indigenous languages in the context of Bangladesh. Consequently, supporting Bangla for linguistic and cultural exclusivity may lead to a narrow understanding of nationalism and linguistic rights. There is therefore a need to go against the strong nationalist stance, just as it is important to go beyond the linguistic imperialism paradigm. Overall, linguistic imperialism fails to capture the multifaceted dynamics of young adults' language practices which I intend to address in the thesis.

World Englishes: Homogeny to heterogeny

World Englishes tend to re-establish the efficacy of local varieties of English, unravelling the local appropriation and adaptation of English. For example, by recording in detail how post-colonial Indian English differs from Standard English (SE) in phonology, semantics, and syntax, Kachru (1983, 1986) has identified how Indian English is enriched by native similes and metaphors, rhetorical devices,

culturally specific translations of proverbs and idioms, and speech styles. In a similar vein, Banu (2000) has attempted to identify common linguistic features in the English of Bangladeshi speakers with reference to SE. However, my purpose in this thesis as is to understand the ongoing transgression in language, the World Englishes approach seems inadequate to meet this purpose. This becomes specifically problematic because the approach tends to identify local varieties of English by frequent reference to SE, "assuming a monolithic standard" (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 60). As the reference point is the norm-providing inner circle countries where English is spoken as a native language, this approach seems to marginalise the creativity in local languages, although the opposite has been claimed (Pennycook, 2008).

Methodologically, because of its language-centric analytical tools, World Englishes seems to be insufficient in addressing the socio-cultural dynamics of language use. For example, even though Bhatt's (2010, p. 534) enriched sociolinguistic observations of the syntactic and pragmatic features of the Indian variety of English indicated the acts of resistance and "new articulations of identity, values, power, and solidarity" of post-colonial people, the research failed to provide us with contextual realities and speakers' purposes, intentions, and meanings. Thus World Englishes, because of its inadequate integration of contextual information, ideologies associated with linguistic forms, and individual intertextual references, provides a limited view of post-colonial contexts, language use, and post-colonial identity. The methods of recording the Englishes also minimise the political issues behind the spread of World Englishes.

The World Englishes movement ignores the existence and uses of English in different varieties even within one country (Parakrama, 1995). With reference to Kachru's work, Canagarajah (1999, p. 180) identified that, in his

> attempt to systematize the periphery variants, Kachru has to standardise the language himself, leaving out many eccentric, hybrid forms of local Englishes as too unsystematic. The Kachruvian paradigm follows the logic of the prescriptive and elitist tendencies of the center linguists.

Note that different varieties of English, such as Baboo English, Cheechee English, Butler English, Bearer English, Box-Wallah English, Kitchen English, Hinglish (Hindi-English), Guru English (Aravamudan, 2006) become subsumed under the umbrella term 'Indian English'. That is why Pennycook (2003a) has defined the World Englishes approach as the *heterogeny position,* juxtaposing it to the *homogeny position* of the linguistic imperialism approach to English, an extension of the same position.

In summary, too great a preoccupation with the systematic features of English in the local language, as evidenced by the research conducted by Banu (2000) in the context of Bangladesh, seems to hamper the ability to grasp the social dynamics and complexities of a post-colonial context such as that of Bangladesh.

English as a lingua franca (ELF): Heterogeny to pluricentrism

The 'English as a lingua franca' approach seems no more appropriate for research on the language of young adults than World Englishes, since my intention is to understand the amorphous and momentary negotiation of English. In line with the thinking of World Englishes, English as a lingua franca (ELF) is another attempt by Jenkins (2000, 2006, 2007) and Seidlhofer (2001, 2004) to give validity to non-native varieties of English, their uses, and users and reduce the effort that learners exert to learn native English (NE)[22]. According to them, ELF epitomises the spirit of globalisation[23] and pluricentrism. It is not prescriptive, but a reaction to prescriptive languages such as SE; ELF is diverse, and there is no single variety called 'ELF'; ELF intends to raise awareness in learners about the existence of other varieties of English and the role of English in global communication (Jenkins, 2007, 2009; Seidlhofer, 2001, 2004). It is assumed that ELF speakers will be confident of their L1 (First Language) identity and at the same time be members of the international ELF community, remaining intelligible to their native English and

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[22] The promoters of ELF view this movement as a change of direction from the dichotomous relationship between 'native and non-native' speakerism to the use of 'monolingual-speaker of English' and 'bi-lingual speaker of English or expert-user of English' (Rampton, 1990).

[23] Dewey (2007) has suggested ELF as the ultimate answer, considering the general prediction that by 2050, NNSE will outnumber native speakers of English (NSE) and English will be primarily used as a second language in multilingual contexts. In fact, the number of NNSE at present outnumbers NSE (Graddol, 1997; Mesthrie, 2008) and up to 80% of the communication in English takes place among NNSE (Prodromou, 2007).

ELF interlocutors. ELF speakers' use of strategies, such as the accommodation of different linguistic and sociolinguistic norms and a range of repair strategies like the exploitation of redundancy, enhancement of prominence, increase in explicitness, and reinforcement of proposition, helps them to communicate across cultural and linguistic boundaries (Dewey, 2007). Overall, it is expected that ELF speakers will be better equipped to minimise the linguistic ideologies promoted in teaching SE that emanate from the norm-providing inner circle. It is more viable to learn and teach because of its 'lingua franca core' features, which are found among speakers in both Outer (post-colonial countries and other ESL countries) and Expanding (EFL countries) Circles, whereas SE seems unnecessarily difficult because of its accents, and features of connected speech such as elision, assimilation, and weak forms (Jenkins, 2007).

Nevertheless, these factors indicate that ELF suffers from the same pitfalls as World Englishes, even though it may appear to be more pluricentric and plurilithic, as opposed to monocentric and monolithic (Pennycook, 2008). Seidlhofer (2009, p. 243) herself has commented that, "ELF and postcolonial Englishes are very different realities on the ground". Presumably finding a lingua franca core for young adults in Bangladesh and teaching them in the classroom may minimise SE ideologies, but this will not address the complexity of linguistic ideologies that arise from the historical and political presence of English. Overall, the ELF approach cannot be taken in this thesis, even though approach goes "beyond the one-way homogenizing model of Phillipson and the heterogeneous dispersion model of Kachru" (Pennycook, 2003a, p. 9).

English as a local practice: Beyond homogeny, heterogeny, and pluricentrism

The approaches discussed above seem to be inadequate to justify young adults' engagement with English, and Pennycook (2008) therefore suggested going beyond national and international framings of English. In his notion of 'language as a local practice', Pennycook (2010) acknowledged the significance of linguistic imperialism, but simultaneously suggested redefining the notion of language, community, and post-colonial identity, keeping under consideration how they are realised in everyday language practices.

There are several significant traits of this approach which makes it more inclusive and appropriate for this thesis than the paradigms mentioned above. First, language as a local practice challenges the normative logocentric way of looking at language. Language is an emergent act which evolves in new forms in everyday practice. This adheres to an anti-foundationalist anti-essentialist notion of language, i.e., that language is not an abstract, unchangeable, or infallible structure and does not "float... in a vacuum, 'ready-made' within a system of phonetic, grammatical and lexical forms and [is not] divorced from the social context in which the speech is being uttered" (Nakata, 2007, p. 37). It is changeable, going through a constant process of semiotic reconstruction. It does not have fixed or predetermined meaning; it is not unique to any specific social context or individual. On the contrary, meaning is realised in localised social practices by specific individuals within their social milieu. In use, newer structures and meaning in language evolve.

Second, language as a local practice suggests rethinking the ontology of language, language-based community, and language-centric identity. Defining language in terms of practices, Pennycook (2010, p. 3) operationalised the notion of language as "integrated social and spatial activity", countering the power of the logo-centric trope. Consequently, "it is not so much whether or not one is born in a particular type of community but rather what one does with the language" (Pennycook, 2003b, p. 527). Using this approach, it is possible to problematise the two underlying assumptions of essentialism found in the discourses about identity in Bangladesh, namely that groups can be defined on the basis of linguistic/cultural/biological characteristics and that group members share "inalienable characteristics" (Bucholtz, 2003, p. 400).

Third, locality does not refer to a dichotomous role, e.g. Inner Circle vs. Outer Circle, local vs. global, centre vs. periphery; rather, it refers to the situatedness of language because "however global a practice may be, it still happens locally" (Pennycook, 2010, p. 128). In other words, language as a local practice identifies how locality impacts on language practices and identification, despite the fact that global trends influence individuals' emerging sense of being (Appadurai & Breckenridge, 1988; S. Hall, 1993; Higgins, 2009). There are large networks, exchanging and overlapping languages and creating cultures with "circles of flow" (Pennycook 2007a, p. 122). In addition, globalisation does not imply

homogenisation or Americanisation, since "different societies appropriate the materials of modernity differently" (Appadurai, 1996, p. 17).

'Language as a local practice' leads to two intricately entertwined issues: relocalisation of English and reconceptualisation of globalisation. Considering the "globalised linguistic and cultural-stylistic blend" and "semiotization of unique indexicalities that point towards the local-global dynamics", Blommaert (2003, p. 611) stated that:

> Metaphors such as the 'invasion' of English into Japanese, let alone linguistic and cultural 'imperialism' or worldwide lingua-cultural homogenization – *McDonaldization* – are obviously inadequate for a description of this fantastic semiotic creativity, which allows language users opportunities to represent cultural, social and historical conditions of being.

Exploring the relocalisation of English in young adults' language practices, I want to go beyond a simple centre/periphery framework because the periphery is relational, engaged in changing patterns of peripheralisation and centralisation (Pietikäinen & Kelly-Holmes, 2013). I will also consider a much more diverse range of cultural flows, where other cultural forms, such as Indian and Korean have long been part of an Asian circuit of cultural takeup, a process that unsettles common understandings of both globalisation and Asia (Chua & Iwabuchi, 2008; Ju, 2010; Jung, 2009; Lin & Tong, 2008; Shim, 2006).

Fourth, the approach redefines the relationship between language and context. Language as a local practice is thus appropriate not only for understanding how young adults in Bangladesh use English – the language of colonisation and neo-colonisation – but also for exploring how they use English to reinvent the meaning of their social landscape. Language practices in different physical and virtual spaces can transform the meaning of locality and reconfigure what the local means, because social landscape is dynamic, fluid, and permeable (Sultana, Dovchin, & Pennycook, 2013). By positioning the social landscape as the background to language practice, I will deliberately draw attention to the spatial realisation of language and identity because

> landscapes are not mere backdrops on which texts and images are drawn but are spaces that are imagined and invented…Local landscapes are not blank canvases or spatial contexts but integrative and invented environments (Pennycook, 2010, p. 14).

Finally, the importance of understanding language as a local practice requires political, historical, epistemological, spatial, social, and textual understanding of the language. These political and social dynamics are explored considering language, local, activities, and agency in specific space and time. Hence, language as a local practice has the capacity to address the issues raised recently by notions such as English as a commodity and capital (Heller, 2002, 2008; Heller & Duchene, 2012; Park & Wee, 2012). Using this approach, I will be better equipped to address the material, discursive, and ideological processes that influence the use of English, SB and regional varieties of Bangla, or other foreign languages, such as Hindi in the context of Bangladesh. In other words, I will be able to identify the socio-cultural and ideological factors that impact on young adults' transglossic language practices.

1.6 Research questions and implications of the research

I have shown in the discussions above that *transglossia* takes recent studies on polylanguaging, transidiomatic practices, metrolingualism, and translanguaging one step forward. I have indicated transglossia as a way to unravel the closely intertwined and intricately weaved layers of transgression in language that are not readily observable in linguistic features. A transglossic perspective sees language and identity as more fluid, negotiated in everyday practices within social and cultural dynamics. With specific reference to Bangladeshi young adults, I have shown that the notion of transglossia can be used to challenge the abstract forms of Bangla and stable fixed essentialised versions of demographic Bangladeshi identity. This will be an epistemological shift in the way the 'sense of being' is thought of in the context of Bangladesh – 'being' with reference to abstract notions such as language, culture, and ethnicity, to 'being' as 'doing'. I have also indicated that this thesis presents a counter-narrative to the 'monocentric model' of English.

The questions that I am addressing in this thesis are

- In what ways do young adults use linguistic and cultural resources in their language practices?
- What identification do they negotiate for themselves and *others* through their language practices?

Taking a 'transglossic approach to language' in this thesis and addressing the specific research questions given above, I will

- demonstrate the necessity of reconceptualising the discourses of language and identity and notions such as monolingualism, bilingualism or trilingualism;
- unravel the intricate relationship among language, identification, individual life trajectories, and the broader socio-economical, cultural, political, and historical landscape;
- strike a balance between notions such as mother tongue and global language and preservation and assimilation;
- take the notion of Bangladeshi identity beyond its fixed adherence to Bangla and show the necessity of understanding it in relation to standard Bangla, regional varieties of Bangla, indigenous languages, Hindi, and English;
- draw the attention of the intelligentsia, language educators, and policy makers in Bangladesh to the socially situated nature of language and identity; and
- indicate how this research contributes to future research on language and identity.

1.7 Structure of the thesis

In advancing my argument that young adults' language practices need to be addressed in relation to *transglossia*, the thesis is organised in the following way. In Chapter 1, I have discussed the theoretical debates in international applied linguistics and explained the necessity of developing the notion of transglossia. I have also explained why transglossia is a fruitful construct for a research study in the post-colonial context of Bangladesh and shown the viability of the research with specific reference to the predominant frameworks for the global position of

English: English as linguistic imperialism; World Englishes; English as a lingua franca, and finally English as a local practice. The chapter has helped me, first, to show the necessity of developing the notion of transglossia and justify a counter position I am taking against governmental and popular discourses, and second, to identify the necessity of exploring language as a transglossia, considering the contextual realities of the lives of young adults in Bangladesh.

In Chapter 2, I will develop the transglossic notion of language, drawing on insights from Bakhtin's (1981) notion of 'heteroglossia', Canagarajah's notion of 'translinguistics' (Canagarajah, 2013) and Pennycook's (2007a) transgressive approach to language. I will suggest that transglossia is appropriate for taking language and identity research beyond language-centric analysis and unravelling the ways meanings are made in mixed codes, modes, genres, and stylisation. I will also make a case for transglossia, which seems to be effective in untangling the voices embedded in language with varied desires, intentions, ideologies, and histories from the past and present. In Chapter 3, I will present the study and its methodology, explaining the appropriacy of ethnography as a research perspective and paradigm for any research that aligns with the definition of language as developed through the paradigm of transglossia. I will also describe the efficacy of the *transglossic framework* before I engage in a critical discussion of the major findings in Chapters 4 - 7 and suggest their implications in Chapter 8 Conclusion. In sum, the thesis suggests the efficacy of the transglossic notion of language and explores the role of various linguistic and cultural resources in the linguistic, social, and cultural practices of young adults in the context of Bangladesh.

1.8 Summary

The chapter has shown that *transglossia* is appropriate in understanding the historical, political, social, and cultural existence of English, Bangla, regional varieties of Bangla, indigenous languages, and Hindi in Bangladesh. With reference to myriad contested values, interests, and ideologies, I have also indicated that the collective Bangladeshi identity is inappropriate and inadequate, because it does not address individual and social parameters, such as life trajectories, class, socioeconomic and educational backgrounds. Based on the limitations of the existing governmental and popular discourses and the analytical potential of

transglossia, this chapter has proposed an in-depth investigation of the social mechanism of language use and the processual nature of identification that emerges in young adults’ everyday transglossic language practices.

Chapter 2 Towards a Different Paradigm

2.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I have discussed the necessity of understanding language and identity within their complex relationships of post-colonial realities. Showing the limitations of existing approaches, specifically linguistic imperialism, World Englishes, and ELF (English as a lingua franca) in addressing the day-to-day idiosyncrasies of language practices of young adults, I have also suggested looking at English as a local practice. The analytic potentiality of the approach is immense because it treats language not in terms of linguistic codes, but as a local practice that attains meaning by social, cultural, discursive, and historical precedents, and in the immediate realities of the social landscape. Showing how English is borrowed, enriched with new meanings, and eventually owned by its speakers when it is relocalised in different post-colonial contexts, the approach problematises assumptions that are taken for granted in relation to language and identity.

In this chapter, I first present an overview of the research on young adults' language and identity in applied linguistics and then identify the findings that I consider significantly relevant for this research. I specifically focus on post-structuralist emphasis on the role of language and the post-modernist significance of power relations in the negotiation of identity and the social constructionist approach to identity. I also discuss the recent development in applied linguistics research that addresses language from two specific approaches, i.e., language as a translingual practice and language as heteroglossia. Showing the efficacy and similarities of both the approaches in giving a greater understanding of language, I will also elaborate on how the interpretive capacity of translinguistics (Canagarajah, 2013; García, 2014; Jacquemet, 2005; Creese and Blackledge, 2010b) and heteroglossia (Bakhtin, 1981) increases, if these notions are complemented by Pennycook's (2007a) transgressive approaches to language. Rather than reinventing the wheel in theorising, I develop the notion of *transglossia* by the integration of these three approaches to language, each of which has respective strengths in unravelling historical and social dynamics in the contemporary social landscape and the transgression in language and identity. At the end of the chapter, I will show how transglossia as a spatial practice reflects the

underlying ethos of 'language as a local practice', which I have discussed in Chapter 1.

2.2 Language and identity in post-structuralism

There has been a significant change recently in the way language and identity is dealt with in applied linguistics. A productive application of post-structuralist and post-modern approaches has complemented classical sociolinguistics studies based on the quantitative paradigm (Labov, 1966) that established linear correlations between linguistic variables and social factors, such as the geographical location, prior education background, age, race, ethnicity, and sex. These approaches have provided an enriching understanding of the socio-cultural processes involved in second language, post-colonial, ethnic, and bi/multilingual identity.

Post-structuralism has specific stances that have been taken up in applied linguistics research and are relevant for this thesis on the conceptual and theoretical levels. First, on the conceptual level, post-structuralism assigns immense importance to language in the meaning-making process. While Saussure believed in pre-given fixed structuring of language deciphered in the relationship between 'signifier' and 'signified' by the rational human being and identified meaning in the linguistic system as single, stable, and fixed, post-structuralism defines language by its plurality of meaning. In other words, language is neither endowed with a single fixed meaning nor does it have any inherent meaning. It is also not interpreted and used in the same way by all speakers. Instead, plurality in meaning lies in the redefinition of the 'signifiers' in which the 'signified' is always changing. Both 'signifier' and 'signified' depend on the discursive context.

Based on the contention that meaning is open, undetermined and not always restricted by the system of 'langue', Derrida (1976) illustrates the infinity of meanings in text, which is realised by readers in their interaction with the text. From his perspective, language is *undecidable* and may not contain an inevitable meaning as intended by the author, nor be interpreted as such. That is why the words 'woman' or 'Islamic extremist' do not contain an essentialised sameness in meaning across different contexts. Words are resignified with various meanings

depending on who is using them, where, when, and why. Agger (1991, p. 112) for example stated that

> every text is contested terrain in the sense that what it appears to 'say' on the surface cannot be understood without reference to the concealments and contextualisations of meaning going on simultaneously to mark the text's significance.

In a similar line of thought, the thesis does not foreground linguistic features as the sources of meanings. Instead, the meaning of language resides in its subtextuality, i.e., the ideologies, cultural frames, and relations of power that affect the language; intertextuality, i.e., the covert and overt references to other texts; multivocality, i.e., the presence of numerous other voices with multiple social consciousnesses, ideologies, and undecidability, i.e., there is no decided and fixed correlation between 'signified' and 'signifier' (Norton & Morgan, 2013; Pennycook, 2007a). These terms suggest the need to look beyond the linguistic features, as Derrida (1968) suggested in his notion of 'transcendental signified', and shows that 'signified' transcends signs and any implied single determination of meaning.

As language "acquires meanings" and individual signs do not have "intrinsic meaning" (Weedon, 1997, p. 23), post-structuralism also shows that language is socially, culturally, and historically realised. Language is embedded in larger social, political, economic, and cultural issues. Hence, on the theoretical level, language is placed at the centre of social science research because it "constitutes social reality" and it is "the place where actual and possible forms of social organization and their likely social and political consequences are defined and contested" (Weedon, 1997, p. 23). As it changes and evolves within social and contextual realities, language is better understood, on the one hand, as a social and political phenomenon and on the other, as "the social site of political struggle" (Weedon, 1997, p. 23). Thus post-structural notion of language defies the linear relationship between 'signifier' and 'signified'.

Post-structuralism considers language as the key site for the ongoing construction and contestation of identity (Block, 2013; Norton & Morgan, 2013). In theorising the relationship between second language learners and their sociocultural world,

Norton (2000) identified that a language learner's identity is developed, produced, and reproduced in day-to-day interaction, and it is through language that a person negotiates a sense of self within the sociocultural dynamics of life. Similarly, Cameron (1995, 1997) showed that identity is constitutive of and constituted by language. Recent identity research that aligns with the poststructuralist approach (Bucholtz & Hall, 2008; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1995) confirmed that identity is "a dimension of linguistic enquiry" (Omoniyi & White, 2006, p. 1). Similarly, in this thesis, I will identify the discursive effects of language which, according to Pennycook (2000, p. 108) is "more subtle" and "trickier". Language has "ideological effects on people" and "affect[s] the ways in which people think and behave". My purpose will be to unravel the intertwined relationship between language and identities, i.e., identities are discursively constructed[24].

Post-structuralism also brings into light the ambivalence in identity, questioning the bounded and dichotomous categories of identity, such as male/female, husband/wife, Christian/Muslim, and so on. Situating identity within larger socioeconomic, sociohistoric and socio-political processes, post-structuralism problematises the essentialised notion of identity made with reference to individuals' ethnicity, nationality, gender, class, and social and cultural background. According to post-structuralism, identities are "unstable, fluid, and fragmented" (Omoniyi and White, 2006, p. 3). In other words, the approach provides a better understanding of identity in relation to social, ideological, and political dynamics (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). The main thread of interest here is the role of power in the way identity is realised. Similarly, in this thesis I am committed to investigating how Bangladeshi, urban, rural, educational and demographic identity attributes are embedded in and contested with power relationships.

Post-structuralist approaches to language and identity have also been fruitful in unravelling the complexities, multiplicity, and flexibility in the negotiation of

[24] I accept that man, woman, class, nation, and identity are discursive constructions. The discursive approach considers the relationship between language and identity to be mutually interdependent: it is with languages that identities are negotiated and constructed, and the ideologies of languages and identities impact on the way individuals negotiate their identities as well as the way they decipher others' identities and evaluate their use of linguistic resources (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004).

identity[25]. Identities are negotiated "at the interstices of multiple axes, such as age, race, class, ethnicity, gender, generation, sexual orientation, geopolitical locale, institutional affiliation, and social status, whereby each aspect of identity redefines and modifies all others" (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004, p. 16). Two Laotian American teenage girls in a multiracial Californian High School negotiated their identities with African American Vernacular English and youth slang – the most powerful languages on campus (Bucholtz, 2004). A middle-class European American boy at a Californian high school aligned himself with black youth culture and used elements from the African American Vernacular English in his speech, demonstrating his linguistic appropriation to negotiate male identity (Bucholtz, 1999). These examples indicate that ethnic identities are not pre-given; instead, they are negotiated in linguistic and social practices, based on which identities promise popularity and prestige for urban youths (Eckert, 1989; Ibrahim, 1999, 2003).

Since the 1990s, Rampton (2003a, 2011a) has conducted extensive research on multi-ethnic young adults in urban settings in Britain which seems to reflect the ethos of the post-structuralist approach. Between "ethnicity as inheritance" and "ethnicity as negotiated" (Rampton, 1995, p. 508), Rampton has shown that young adults travel across linguistic, social, and ethnic boundaries and demonstrate an "emergence of new solidarities counterpoised to dominant patterns of race division" (Rampton, 1999, p. 356). Even though these young adults cannot change their ethnic background, sexuality, or territoriality, they have more control over how they prefer to represent themselves as particular social types (Rampton, 2003b, p. 74). Thus they "temporarily denaturalise" ethnicity and "thematise change in ethnic identity and cultivate a spectacular, dynamic, heteroglossic marginality" (Rampton, 1995, p. 507). Overall, there has been an increased realisation among contemporary applied linguistic researchers that it is with language that individuals heighten, soften, or sometimes accentuate, different attributes of identity (Norton & Toohey,

[25] Note that I will be using 'negotiation of identities' because the target of the thesis is to address those moments in which identities are contested and young adults resist, change, and transform themselves and others in their interaction. With specific focus on these moments rather than on the ongoing construction and performances of identities, I will be better able to understand the invention, reinvention, and subversion of identity with specific reference to individual agency and reflexivity (cf. Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, pp. 20-24).

2002, p. 115). This thesis also reconfirms the contention with reference to language practices of young adults in Bangladesh.

2.3 Language, identity, and post-modernism

In following the ethos of post-structuralism, I have also found specific stances of post-modernism relevant to the thesis. Keeping under consideration the materialistic changes in the post-modern world brought about by increased globalisation, mobilisation, migration, and technological changes, I will also consider individuals as 'decentred subjects', "whose sense of identity and biographical continuity give way to fragmentation" (Featherstone, 1995, pp. 43-44), a conceptualisation that places emphasis on plurality, difference, otherness, and subjective relativity (Callero, 2003). Individuals are liberated from any form of fixity; a core, unified and ubiquitously unique identity, continually emerging and evolving in time and space. As the black American feminist critic, hooks (1990, p. 28) has stated,

> The critique of essentialism encouraged by postmodern thought is useful for African-Americans concerned with reformulating outmoded notions of identity. We have too long had imposed upon us from both the outside and the inside a narrow constricting notion of blackness. Postmodern critiques of essentialism which challenge notions of universality and static overdetermined identity within mass culture and mass consciousness can open up new possibilities for the construction of self and the assertion of agency.

I will also attempt to understand the process in which individuals tend to reach a balance, 'an ontological security' (Giddens, 1991) through synthesising the conflicts, contradictions and confusions that they experience in their life trajectories in the past, present, and future. The uncertainties also create ambivalence, because individuals feel isolated while also being part of the collective; they may be in a state or condition where they feel that they 'belong' and at the same time, be aloof (Block, 2006). They may be both insider and outsider at the same time, indicating that there is ambivalence in the way individuals maintain a sense of balance. Similarly, in the context of Bangladesh, I will question the narrowly-constructed

notion of Bangladeshi identity. I will address that fragmentation and ambivalence, as experienced by young adults in their everyday practices, and question their stereotypical representation as two-dimensional post-colonial selves, rather than multi-dimensional, late post-modern selves.

I will also reveal that the discursive construction of language and identity is historically relative and contingent and is influenced by the internal and invisible disciplinary mechanisms of institutions. Similar to Foucault (1982; 1980) who rejected the totalising perspective and refused to adhere to the Marxist stance that power is observable in the oppression of the proletariat at the hands of the bourgeoisie, I follow a Foucauldian perspective:

> power must be analysed as something which circulates, or rather as something which only functions in the form of a chain. It is never localised here or there, never in anybody's hands, never appropriated as a commodity or piece of wealth. Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organisation (Foucault, 1980, p. 98)

Subsequently, "power becomes a machinery that nobody owns" (Foucault, 1980, p. 156).

Identifying the types of social struggle against institutional domination and exploitation, subjection and subjectivity, and submission, Foucault (1980, 1982) showed that individuals evolve within the social stratification of classes and groups, and through other economic and social processes[26]. His work inspired postmodern feminist researchers to draw attention to the social relations of class and gender - realised, regulated and transformed in social institutions, disciplines, and everyday language practices. They have also identified that women, even though socially and discursively constructed in practices, are social agents with the capacity to resist and reflect upon the options of positions provided by society, and choose from those options (Weedon, 1997). Butler (1990) strongly suggested that masculinity or

[26] Foucault has been critiqued for depicting "power as a centralised, monolithic force with an inexorable and repressive grip on its subjects" (McNay 1992 in Dwyer, 1995, p. 473) and for allowing minimal function of human agency and resistance with his image of the 'docile body' (Dwyer, 1995, p. 473). On the contrary, I consider his notion of struggle to be very much about agency.

feminity is something we 'do' in ritualised social performances. In this thesis, I will also consider individual identity as an outcome of linguistic and social practices, challenged with power, struggle, and contestation: produced, contingent, and shifting. I will also explore how young adults negotiate and challenge identity attributes in their transglossic language practices in order to emerge a new.

In this thesis, in addition, with specific focus on how power is manifested in institutional practices, individual struggle against impositions, and communication through language and other semiotic resources, I will show that the discursive construction of *self* is intricately intertwined with power relations. Power is realised in people in two ways: the way they see themselves and sanction an identity to their own selves; and how people distinguish themselves from *others* in their identity. There are struggles in the consciousness, self-knowledge and self-realisation (Foucault, 1982). This also reconfirms the significance of *others* in the construction of *self* (see the section below).

In the section above, I have pointed out the salient issues that I have derived from the post-structuralist approach that helps me in illuminating the linguistic and social dynamics of their language and identity.

2.4 Social constructivism and the negotiation of identity

I have also identified social dynamics that impact on how individuals negotiate their identity. These are significantly relevant to, and in tune with, the thesis because I am interested in the constitutive effects of social norms (Adler, 1997) on language. I consider four aspects relevant to this thesis: the construction of *others,* the presence of *imagined* community, agency, and resistance.

Construction of 'others' and identity

The discursive construction of *others* is an important area of language and identity research. This social dynamic will be significant for my research for three specific reasons. First, the construction of *others* indicates in what ways social stratifications which are based on tangible observable characteristics and social dynamics, such as skin colour, ethnicity, language, economic condition, and competence in language and demographic background, work at the abstract level to

influence the social positioning of individuals. Ibrahim (2003, p. 52) has identified that the process of 'becoming black' is closely linked to the notion of *others* (cf. also Fanon, 1952). With reference to his own experience as an immigrant Sudanese in Canada and observations of a group of immigrant and refugee continental Francophone African youths in an urban French-language high school in southwestern Ontario, Canada, he has identified that diverse African students are perceived as 'Black' once they arrive in North America, and that they then start to see themselves one, adopting 'Black' language and culture. They enter a "social imaginary, a discursive space where they are already imagined, constructed, and thus treated as 'blacks' by hegemonic discourses and groups, respectively". The discursive construction that these diverse African students encounter on their arrival in North America influences the way they translate the social dynamics in the construction of "hybrid, temporal, and ambiguous African identity as accepted in North America" (Ibrahim, 2003, p. 52).

Second, understanding the process underlying the construction of *others* provides a more nascent understanding of the 'why' factor – why individuals aspire to speak like *others* while tending to mock some and maintaining dissociation with others. K. Hall (2005, p. 125) stated that, "Identities are best understood as mutually constituted intertextual phenomena, with both importantly reliant on ideological linkages of language and socioeconomic class for their articulation". This allows me an understanding how young adults in Bangladesh in a supposedly homogenous monolingual country (see Chapter 1) can be stratified based on social norms and structures at the abstract level. Even though the construction is based on stereotypical linguistic and cultural assumptions, these assumptions are "deployed, contested, and co-constructed" in interactions (Brandt & Jenks, 2011, p. 41). While exploring why the Antilles Negro is fond of speaking French, Fanon (1952, p. 15) has stated,

> I have known—and unfortunately I still know—people born in Dahomey or the Congo who pretend to be natives of the Antilles; I have known, and I still know, Antilles Negroes who are annoyed when they are suspected of being Senegalese. This is because the Antilles Negro is more "civilized" than the African, that is, he is closer to the white man; and this difference

prevails not only in back streets and on boulevards but also in public service and the army.

Keeping these imageries in mind, it can be seen that individuals tend to negotiate multiple positions and attributes of identification, as Fanon (1952, p. 25) has observed in the Antilles Negro, "a quest for subtleties, for refinements of language – so many further means of proving to himself that he has measured up to the culture" because for them, "to speak a language is to take on a world, a culture". With reference to the narratives of Eastern European immigrants, Vitanova (2004) showed that individuals tend to actively appropriate linguistic resources with the voices and positions of *others*, such as more experienced immigrants or American employers. With the presence of *others* and the appropriation of their linguistic and cultural resources, they feel transformed and they emerge with new textual selves in the process. "[The excluded categories] become the Other against which the Us is defined" (Epstein and Johnson, 1998 as cited in Moita-Lopes, 2006, p. 291). These constructions are sometimes imagined, but are "intrinsic to the creation and maintenance of individual and collective identities" (Grinshaw, 2010, p. 256). Thus this allows me to question and challenge the construction of 'others' in young adults' life based on demographic background, education, and language.

Third, with an understanding of the social imaginary, I will be better positioned to explore the conflicts and contradictions that arise from the borrowing and appropriation of voices and linguistic and cultural resources of *others.* A group of transgender people, *'kotis'* in northern India, impersonate another transgender group known as *hijras*, demonstrating class-based hostility to one another in their parodic '*hijra* acting'. Based on the notion of *others*, these *kotis* enact their own class, identity, and desire with an intertextual reference to 'otherness', which is again linked to micro and macro social dynamics. "It is through the intertextual parody of all that is not-koti that kotis are able to assert a distinctive sexuality for themselves" (K. Hall, 2005, p. 141). That is why

> all identities evolve and take shape through daily and multiple interrelationships with myriad, differently positioned others. These interrelationships, whether economic, political, professional, cultural or personal, are never power-free, but they cannot be avoided and they are

> the stuff that makes up the invention of social life today (Ang, 2003, pp. 152-153).

Hence, with a proper understanding of the imaginary of *others*, I will be able to explore what kind of identity young adults are drawn to or distance themselves from when they borrow words and expressions from English and Hindi, and what they experience as a consequence (cf. Chapters 5, 6, & 7).

Fourth and finally, I will be able to show that the presence of *others* does not mean that language emerges or identities are negotiated according to a stereotypical representation of groups. The presence can be deciphered in two ways: in individuals' interaction and in individuals' deliberate transgression. On the one hand, as Jenks, Bhatia, & Lou (2013, p. 121) with reference to the research of Jackson (2011) stated, "The perceptions of self and others are in a continuous state of negotiation and even stereotypical assumptions of cultural practices are infinitely expandable by interactants". For example, Chinese students, in a western Anglophone university, in their styling of "the Occidental Other", demonstrate both structural determinism and agentive voluntarism" (Grinshaw, 2010, p. 254). Just as there are boundaries, there are also motivations to cross these boundaries with reference to linguistic, cultural, or ethnic *others.* Consequently, the construction of *others* can be a means to transgression and emancipation, just as it can be a way to division and oppression (Ang, 2003). On the other hand, because of globalisation and technological advancements, the cultural boundaries that were once binary and divergent have become blurred. Grimshaw (2010, p. 243), with reference to his observation of Chinese-speaking students in 'international evenings' and 'debate contexts', has stated that these students are involved in the act of crossing and styling, with the "selective and playful appropriation of the discourses of the Other". On the basis of his observation of these students' discursive struggles and transculturation and negotiation of hybrid identities and conflicting subjectivities, he has drawn the conclusion that, in today's globalised cultural environment, "the compression of time and space that characterises late modernity offers ever greater possibilities for interacting with new 'Others' and creating of new 'Selves'" (Grinshaw, 2010, p. 256). Similarly, I will be able to first explore the motivation behind young adults' negotiation of different identity attributes, and second, to identify the new 'selves' that they opt for in their discursive construction of

identity. Overall, in this thesis also, I will show that the discursive construction of *others* plays a significant role in the way young adults negotiate their positions in the social landscape and decide which identity attributes to adopt, as well as which linguistic and cultural resources to choose from a multitude of resources (cf. Chapter 5).

Imagined community and identity

The abstract presence of 'imagined communities' also impact the way individuals engage in language practices and negotiate their identities. The term 'imagined communities' was first introduced by Anderson (1983) with reference to the sense of community, solidarity, camaraderie, and belonging that people share with others of the same nationality, even without meeting or knowing each other. Rejecting the construct of motivation that categorises the second language learner as a unified ahistorical personality, Norton (2008) and Norton and Toohey (2002) suggested that it is necessary "to make a meaningful connection between a learner's desire and commitment to learn a language, and the learner's changing identity" (Norton & Morgan, 2013, p. 3). They took up the notion of 'imagined communities', identifying them as catalysts in second language learning and in transforming essentialised second language learner identity (Kanno & Norton, 2003; Norton, 2008; Norton & Kamal, 2003). Their "imagined ties extend both spatially and temporally" (Kanno & Norton, 2003, p. 241) and thus in imagination, second language learners want to be recognised as members of communities that do not exist in physical proximity. With this abstract construction in mind, it will be easier to deconstruct in two ways the notion of 'western' as it is usually used with reference to young adults: first, how young adults' imagine the 'western' world to be and second, in what ways they identify themselves in relation to the 'western' world.

The construction of the imagined community promises the prospect of a greater range of relationships and identity options than the immediate context. Kanno (2000) presented a case study on a Japanese teenager who, even after spending two thirds of his life in Australia and Canada, believed in his Japanese identity and invested effort in maintaining his Japanese language proficiency so that he might identify with the Japanese community. The constructed community was idealised

and illusionary, and did not last long when he saw the 'real Japan'; however, Kanno & Norton (2003, p. 243) noted that, "the imagined community creates a powerful vision, giving him an important sense of direction". Kanno and Norton (2003) also suggested that these communities support the learner's vision of an imagined identity and future-self and have a greater impact on the young learner's investment in learning and the construction of identity than the immediate community. From this finding, it can be inferred that young adults may not pre-define themselves in the mould of Bangladeshi identity. Instead, they may imagine their present and future selves with reference to different imagined communities and construct their identity accordingly (cf. Chapter 6).

Individuals create alternative realties and imagined subjectivities, both in real life and on the Internet, with imitative language play and the creative and aesthetic use of language associated with the imagined community. Kramsch (2006) suggested that languages have referential and mythical values for multilingual adolescents and young adults who learn a foreign or second language. They "occupy an embodied, socially and culturally inflected third place in language, filled with memories of other languages and fantasies of other identities" and consequently, their desire to be someone else is fulfilled (Kramsch, 2006, p. 97). In this thesis, this constructed sense of the individual (going beyond linguistic or ethnic ways of being) will be fruitful in understanding in what ways young adults use language to approximate the imagined ways of 'being' and negotiate identity in relation to those ways of 'being' (cf. Chapters 6 & 7).

Agency, reflexivity, and identity

I have mentioned above that a key dynamic of the poststructuralist approach to research is the challenge to the fixed essentialised notion of identity, associated with socially structured class, economic condition, biological orientation, and so on. Even though Bourdieu has been extensively referred to in applied linguistics research, and has been critiqued for his structural determinism and his emphasis on the structured nature of social and cultural milieu within which individuals act, his theory seems to create a desired balance between structure and agency. In fact, Bourdieu's (1986) relationship of *habitus*, *field*, and *practice* seems to be an effective way to understand the relationship between structure and agency.

Habitus is a set of dispositions which are structured and durable. They are durable, because they develop through the life of speakers and are therefore not easily modifiable. Field refers to the social space which determines and influences how individuals act according to their position and habitus. Practice shows that habitus and field are not fixed, but are transformable in practice. From this perspective, habitus is historically determined and social systems influence individuals cognitively and bodily, and allocate their positionality in the social landscape. Habitus and field give structure to practices, but it is individual action, in other words, agency, that leads to practice. It is individuals who determine the course of action in their day-to-day activities in their practices within their habitus and field (Bourdieu, 1991). As he stated:

> Habitus change [*sic*] constantly in response to new experience. Dispositions are subject to a kind of permanent revision, but one which is never radical, because it works on the basis of the premises established in the previous state (Bourdieu, 2000 in Block, 2013, p. 140)

Acknowledging the correlation between language, disposition, and habitus, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004, p. 20) took the discussion further by showing negotiation of identity as an "interplay between reflective positioning, i.e., self-representation, and interactive positioning, whereby others attempt to position or reposition particular individuals or groups". According to Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), ethnicity, nationality, gender, race, class and social status, sexuality, religious affiliation, and linguistic competence are identity options that can be reinterpreted and reinvented in the process of reflective and interactive positioning. They also refer to Bakhtin to show that the negotiation may occur 'within' the individual, bringing changes to self-representation. Thus they show the ambivalence that individuals experience in the process and identify the significance of individual agency and reflexivity.

Individuals are considered to have more control over which identity they are inclined to assume. Gidden (1991) has taken a middle path and introduced the 'duality of structure' that shows structure both constitute and is constituted by agency though it might not determine, shape and condition agency. His perspective of the relationship between structure and agency (structuration) echoes the spirit of

both post-structuralism and social constructivism. Block (2006, 2013) expressed concern as to whether the over-emphasis on agency provides an adequate understanding of identity, particularly when terms such as ethnicity and race have an immediate and immense effect on human life. Indeed, Block (2013) questioned the default acceptance of identity as a social process as propounded by researchers with a post-structuralist bent.

Understanding the significance of both these stances, I also see the necessity of taking the argument further by adding two issues: first, in what ways is it possible to self-define oneself amidst the realities and restrictions propounded by class, race, and ethnicities and second, what do individuals experience, be it excitement, liberation, struggle, or conflict, in the process of negotiation. Drawing from Bourdieu, and Pavlenko and Blackledge, I consider that it is more productive not to confine young adults within the frame of Bangladeshi identity. In this thesis, I look at the historical trajectories of the participants and the possible structural impositions on young adults based on their education, socio-economic status, and linguistic and demographic background. I also explore their reflective and interactive positioning in their language practices and decipher agency in their practices and their negotiation of identity. This in turn leads me to circumstances in which young adults negotiate and transform their language-centred identity, which seems to be overstated in the discourse on Bangladesh. While acknowledging the fact that socio-historical elements impact on individual identity, I address the dilemma of structure and agency with the integration of the notion of habitus and practice of Bourdieu into the research – an issue that has perturbed researchers for decades.

Resistance and identity

Intricately intertwined with structure and agency is the notion of resistance. This also reflects the ethos of post-structuralism in the sense that resistance indicates human compulsion towards transgression and going beyond societal norms, structures, fixity, and stability. Resistance also reflects individual agency in challenging social, cultural, and ideological impositions. Norton (2004, 2008) has shown that language learners in multilingual ESL classroom contexts exhibit resistance to pedagogical practices that appear to locate students along homogenous

ethnic lines, reproducing identity, such as European or Indian, based on their place of origin. In a multilingual context, a group of bilingual students in Bangla language classes in heritage schools in the UK frequently defy the notion of 'one-language-equals-one ethnicity/culture'. Subverting and challenging the official discourses of the school in their deliberate use of English and preference for anglicised pronunciation, they negotiate alternative subject positions that undermine the heritage identities strongly upheld by the school (Blackledge & Creese, 2008, 2009a).

Resisting unfavourable and undesirable positions in the classroom caused by the ESL (English as a Second Language) programme, linguistically weak students can negotiate powerful positions in the class. Talmy (2008) analysed the interactions of a group of 'oldtimer' 'local ESL' students and their first-year teachers at a multilingual public high school in Hawaii and investigated the direct challenge levelled at the teachers by these students. The students constantly undermined the actions and activities that established the school-authorised official ESL programme structures, and consequently produced "another, oppositional ESL student identity" which made the teachers change their classroom practices (Talmy, 2008, p. 619). These students were neither weak nor non-agentive. In a similar vein, postcolonial ESL students have been found to challenge the widely accepted image of post-colonial beings subjugated by the legacy of English. Canagarajah (2004), for example, with his notion of 'subversive identities', showed that a group of ESL students in Sri Lanka chose clandestine literacy practices. Constructing pedagogical safe houses and sites of "underlife" in the classroom, they engaged in the "construction of alternate identities" (p. 135). Being mindful of the fact that resistance is a compelling dimension of post-colonial identification, as revealed in applied linguistics research, the thesis will consider this in detail to see whether young adults negotiate the identity attributes of 'western imposters' (cf. Chapter 1) to demonstrate their resistance and agency.

In the following section, I will show how the research also does not strictly adhere to the post-structuralist approach. Even though language is the entry point to the analysis, the research is not *only* language oriented and is not entirely grounded on the notion that social realities are discursively produced. By including the notion of space in the analysis, I will engage with the 'everydayness' of realities happening in

real time and space. The inclusion of space in the interpretation of language is in fact in tune with the concept of language as local practice that I have described in Chapter 1.

2.5 Language, identity, and space

I opt for the notion of 'space' instead of 'context' here, even though 'context' is the focal concept that has been used in applied linguistics, anthropological, linguistic ethnographic and communication research to counter-argue mainly language-centred analysis. For example, according to Blommaert et al. (2005), space is part of context and context incudes space. The authors stated that:

> It [Context] organizes and defines sociolinguistic regimes in which spaces are characterized by sets of norms and expectations about communicative behavior – orders of indexicality. Entering such spaces involves the imposition of the sets of norms and rules as well as the invoking of potentially meaningful relations between one scale and another (e.g., the local versus the national or the global) (p. 203).

Rather than disseminating the argument about whether space is part of context or vice-versa, I prefer the term 'space' as used by critical geographers such as Soja (1989) or Lefebvre (1991), and so on. When context is used to explore the norm and function of conversation in the presence of addresser and addressee, and according to the purposes of interaction and when context is influenced by immediate realities, the notion of space as defined by critical geographers seems to have much greater scope for exploring the realities beyond the immediate context.

Acknowledging space as being ontological to language, I also accept, according to critical geography, that space is the "irreducible, essential quality of humanness" (Allen, 1999, p. 252) and "*nothing humans do can escape space; life cannot be lived nor imagined without it*" (p. 253; emphasis original). It is never static, fixed, immobile, a pre-existing given, independent of knowers, or "neutral and passive geometry" (Keith & Pile, 1993, p. 24). It is always in the process of giving meaning to individuals' experiences and being realised with different meaning. There is complementarity and indispensability in the way language, individual, and space engage in the meaning-making process.

I have two reasons for including space as a point of consideration. First, as an applied linguist, I acknowledge the importance of language in social science research, but I support what critical geographers and anthropologists suggest about language. For example, Lefebvre (1991, p: 136) has written that "Signifying processes (a signifying practice) occur in a space which cannot be reduced either to an everyday discourse or to a literary language of texts". Schatzki (2002) indicated the inadequacy of conducting research on social phenomena, such as identity, community, power inequality, and so on, only through languages. For him, conceptualising practices only as "collections of sayings alone" is overvalued when practices are, in fact, "a motley of actions of both sorts [discursive and nondiscursive actions], and it seems to … [be] an error to grant priority to either type" (Schatzki, 2002, p. 77).

Second, while acknowledging the intricate relationship between language, identity, and space (see also 'language as a local practice' in Chapter 1), I also accept that when individuals' language practices are considered within social space, the analytical lens is micro. de Certeau (1984), for example, suggested studying human life from below – the micro-world of everyday life. Every activity of individuals in the micro-world is transacted within a smaller frame of time and space, i.e., where and when they are engaging in practices. Practice "is doing, but not just doing in and of itself. It is doing in historical and social context that gives structure and meaning to what we do" (Wenger, 1998, p. 47). Practice in time and place, then, is woven into the macro, history, culture, and ideology within which the space is located[27]. Because practices occur in social space, and space, with its socio-cultural, historical, and ideological dimensions, impacts on practices, both practices and space are intricately entwined. In terms of language practices, it can be added "that people in interaction semiotically create and modify space" (Blommaert, Collins, & Slembrouck, 2005, p. 203). That is why Lemke (1995, p. 8) has stated that,

> Speech is a material phenomenon as well as a social and cultural one. It does not just make meaning for us, it is part of the physical interaction of organisms in our community, it has physical effects; it has physical origins.

[27] By saying that, I do not want to suggest that culture or ideologies are pre-given. They also change and emerge with language practices.

This mutual dependency of language and space in meaning-making process aligns very much with the post-modern interpretation of space.

Space has become an "attractive lexicon" for sociological and cultural research (N. Smith & Katz, 1993, p. 67). There has also recently been a rising interest in applied linguistics in space in terms of language and identity, highlighting the need for further research. Blackledge and Creese (2009b), Block (2006, 2007), Blommaert (2010), Canagarajah (2013), and Pennycook (2007a), with reference to multilingual migrant or second language learning contexts, have suggested the need to explore the physical location of individuals and the sociohistorical and sociocultural conditions of those locations, because the specific social conditions of physical locations impact on linguistically mediated identities. Canagarajah (2013, p. 154) has in addition suggested to look into the "spatiotemporal migration of a language". In other words, it is not only necessary to look at the mobility of people, but also to consider the trajectories of linguistic and cultural resources.

All these research studies have been done in multilingual contexts; none has been carried out in a context where individuals and space do not experience encounters with a vast movement of multilingual speakers. For example, linguistic realisation of space and spatial realisation of language as research topics have not been addressed in the context of Bangladesh. There is only one piece of research on linguistic landscaping, i.e., the analysis and interpretation of the relationships between language and space in Bangladesh, in which the hybrid use of languages on billboards and shop signs have been researched (Banu & Sussex, 2001a). However, it does not go beyond the observable code-mixing, and provides little information about the reciprocity of meaning in both the language and the space. Therefore, there is a need to introduce social space to consider the "geopolitical contexts" of texts and talk (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 152): that is, how language ideologies, power, and identities are negotiated in space in which young adults in Bangladesh are located, which is assumed and perceived to be monolingual and stable, and not exposed to mobility or international migration.

I have explained how space gives a richer understanding of language, and in the remainder of this section, I will discuss the four aspects of space to which I will frequently refer to in the thesis. First, I will address the duality in space: as social

agents, individuals constitute space and, simultaneously, space is constituted by them in their action (Löw, 2008). It is not only space which impacts on individuals, but it is also space which is appropriated and reconfigured by individuals in their social practices. "Space is at once result and cause, product and producer" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 142). I am interested in the realisation of space - the notion of spatiality, i.e., how space is socially constructed and consequently, causally influences social life.

Accepting the duality in space, whereby space gives to, and is given meaning by, individual activities, and acknowledging that space is also individually realised in language practices, I see that space may have varied meaning. It may be full of contradictions, and the context and results of social, political, and economic struggles. It may also be discovered with new meaning, and as a means to explore the unaccepted self. Thus the possibilities of space differ from person to person, depending on how it is interpreted, appropriated, and recreated for individual benefit (Rechniewski, 2007).

When 'spatial' refers to "a physical or geographical image, something external to the social context and to social action, a part of the 'environment', a part of setting for the society", the term 'spatiality' refers to the "formative structure created by society" (Soja, 1989, p. 50). Spatiality identifies the "inherent(ly) social quality of organised space" and specifies the "socially-produced space" (Soja, 1989, p. 50). "As a social product, spatiality is simultaneously the medium and outcome, presupposition and embodiment, of social action and relationship" (Soja, 1989, p. 129). I am interested in exploring how language as a spatial practice brings meanings to space, and simultaneously is changed because of the spatiality. Consequently, I will gain a richer understanding of how young adults realise space in language practices, and how language and space are realised with new meanings in language practices.

Second, I am interested in the political nature of space. There is no doubt that any social phenomenon is situated in space and that

> socio-political contradictions are realised spatially. The contradictions of space … make the contradictions of social relations operative. In

> other words, spatial contradictions 'express' conflicts between socio-political interests and forces; it is only *in* space that such conflicts come effectively into play, and in so doing they become contradictions of space (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 365; emphasis original).

The contradictions in space are also influenced by ideology that is reflected not only in spatial practices, but also in language practices in space. As Lefebvre (1991, p: 44) has stated, "Ideology *per se* might well be said to consist primarily in a discourse upon social space". With a focus on the spatial realisation of socio-political contradictions and ideologies, and the resignification of space as its consequence, I will have a micro understanding of the day-to-day realisation of broader macro social and political issues in the lives of young adults. "Any good con/textualisation of an issue should examine the interplay between space, time, and society" (Allen, 1999, p. 252). In other words, socially constructed language and negotiated identity are intricately intertwined with the socio-political and ideological dynamics of the society, and require an understanding of the social constitution of space.

The political notion of space dovetails with the notion of 'third space', which seems to be a fruitful construct to refer to the social, political, and economical struggles that occur at the margin, periphery, exterior, or border as a protest against the dominant order. For Lefebvre (1991) as well as for Soja (1989), the third space is the 'counter-space' that represents the struggle against and resistance to the dominant order that have emerged from the subsidiary, exterior, and bordering positions. As it is lived and realised and experienced physically and mentally, the third space is "directional, situational or relational, because it is essentially qualitative fluid and dynamic" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 69). Bhabha (1994, p. 2) defined 'third space' with reference to post-colonial experiences - a relevant construct to post-colonial 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". With reference to interstitial spaces, he suggested that post-colonial subjectivities emerge in cultural hybridities, challenging the historiography of colonialism and genealogical cultural representation, that is, the cultural given (also cf. Davis, 2010). His 'third space' disrupts the accepted cultural

representation of 'colonial subjects' and questions the pre-given and genealogical representation of individuals. Note that here Bhaba placed importance on the spatial realisation of post-colonial identity, rather than the temporal identity that referred to the colonial past. On a similar note, Pennycook (2007a, p. 43), with reference to a transgressive approach to language (cf. Section 2.9), stated that we should shift our attention "from a temporal to a more spatial domain" that allows us a richer and greater understanding of language and identity in the contemporary world.

Third, while I will use the 'third space' to address the spatial realisation of identity with its struggles and resistance, I will borrow the ideas of *heterotopia* to understand the relational nature of space with reference to other spaces[28]. There is a subtle difference between third space and heterotopia. While the third space refers to the liminal space in which subversion and resistance are prominent, heterotopia is not always a site of resistance (cf. Davis, 2010; P. Johnson, 2006), even though it can potentially be used for subversion and resistance. For example, Foucault (1986) mentioned the heterotopias of crisis and deviation. The interpretive capacity of heterotopia is immense. Tamboukou (2004, p. 402) has used it to show that women's colleges in the patriarchal society in the UK were spaces of transition and tension; heterotopias were the emplacements that gave refuge to women in crisis. "They are sites within (patriarchal) society, but as a distance from it – both real and metaphorical – wherein space, identity, and politics come forcefully together" (Tamboukou, 2004, p. 402).

I am more interested in the third principle of heterotopia: "the heterotopia is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible" (Foucault, 1986, p. 25). The heterotope indexes multiple identities, social and institutional, in and through a single site, resisting its conventional meaning. The dynamic is always against the conceptual, ritualised hegemony of a given public site, such as a mall, museum, cemetery, or university.

[28] Note that I 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 chapter and are beyond the capacity of this thesis. What I am interested is in their interest in the relational aspect of space – which is a common thread to found in the work of these authors, even though their time, context of writing, academic and philosophical backgrounds are distinctly different. Nevertheless, all of them consider space as the key dynamic of social and cultural production.

When utopias are “fundamentally unreal space” (Foucault, 1986, p. 24), heterotopias thrive in *juxtaposition* and relational meaning. Having shown that the imagination of the existence of *others* is important for the negotiation of identities, I will show in this thesis that the presence of ‘other’ spaces is equally important in how individuals engage in language practices, involve themselves in activities, and mediate their locatedness in social space. With specific reference to virtual space, I see that these spaces juxtapose several emplacements in one single real place. I would like to show that 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 (cf. Chapter 4).

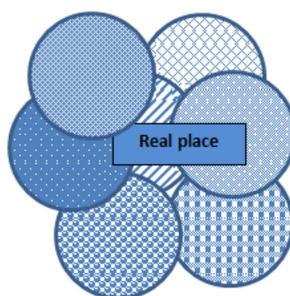

Figure 2.1: Real space overlapped with ‘other’ spaces

The presence of ‘other’ spaces reflects the ethos of Lefebvre (1991) for whom space is a conceptual phenomenon that occurs in the productive interaction between social practice, social representation of space (architect’s drawing, policy document) and representational space (art, reflection, narrative). For Lefebvre, there is a difference between signification and representation, and he directly commits to historical materiality and the ‘practice’ of social space as an embodied, conceptual phenomenon that directly contradicts late-20th century theories of signification (e.g., Derrida). He is keenly interested in semiotics. Taking this dynamic of space into consideration, I will make the connection between heterotopia – the other space - and the representation space that occurs in narratives. Here, language works as the bridge that connects the representation in narratives with the heterotopias. This will allow me to understand space as “double determinants: imaginary/real, produced/producing, material/social, immediate/mediated (milieu/transition), connection/separation, and so on” (Lefebvre, 1991, p: 187). I am specifically interested in heterotopias for exploring

the meaning potentiality of virtual space. Warf and Arias (2009, p. 5) stated that "… cyberspace has been instrumental to the production of complex, fragmented, jumbled spaces of postmodernity". I aim to capture the essence of fragmented spaces within the virtual space, specifically working out how these spaces become heterotopic in young adults' transglossic language practices, blurring the boundaries between real and virtual (cf. Chapter 4).

Fourth and finally, accepting the relational and representational aspects of space, I am also interested in its objective nature. I will explore the interrelationship between spatial arrangement, i.e., materials, physical properties, ecological, and physical features of landscape, and activities and presence of other social actors. I have already shown in Chapter 1 that I am interested in seeing language as a local practice, and the interrelationship among language, 'local', and practice can in fact only be deciphered with an adequate attention to material arrangements. As individuals act within the immediate material setting, "material arrangements form immense interconnected networks through which causal processes work, affecting both arrangements themselves and the human activity that transpired amid them" (Schatzki, 2011, pp. 6-7). In addition, "practices are carried on amid and determinative of, while also dependent on and altered by, material arrangements" (Schatzki, 2010a, p. 130). The practices again hinge on material objects, or 'non-human entities', or artefacts that influence the nature of human activities (Schatzki, 2010a). My purpose will be to explore how these interconnected and interrelated relationships impact on dialogic interactions. In other words, considering "a practice-arrangement bundle is linked sets of organised doings and sayings that are performed amid interconnected, continuous, or discontinuous material arrangements" (Schatzki, 2010b, p. 77), I want to see how within the nexus of material arrangements and activities, language evolves and space is interpreted (cf. Figure 2.2 below). To explore language as a spatial practice, I will look at the activities that young adults are engaged in within symbolic and material artefacts and material arrangements. Thus I will look not only at the relational space and socially produced organisation of space, but also at the immediate contextual space and question the validity of the Bangladesh-centred one Bangladeshi identity.

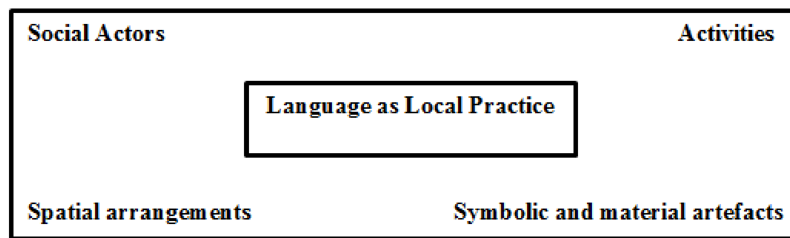

Figure 2.2: Spatial realisation of language

In summary, my objective is to explore space as a micro-analytic tool to develop nascent understanding of language and identity. I will look at not only the contextual or physical properties of space, but also the social organisation, i.e., how it is organised 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, specifically in the "high-tech new-capitalist world" (Gee, 2005, p. 223), and consequently, what contradictions they experience because of their biological, socioeconomic characteristics, and so on (cf. Chapters 6 & 7).

Overall, drawing on the insights from post-structuralism and post-modernism, I will adhere in this thesis to the view that identities are discursively constructed, and that individuals are "diverse, contradictory, and dynamic and multiple rather than unitary, decentred rather than centred" (Pierce, 1995, p. 16). Identities are also "multiple, conflicted, negotiated, and evolving" (Canagarajah, 2004, p. 117). This is an appropriate time to question the "essential, unique, fixed, and coherent core" of identity (Norton & Toohey, 2002, p. 21) and the homogenous and consensual notion of community (Norton, 2004), nation, and ethnicity. In addition, I will look at dynamic, open, changeable, and permeable space to gain a better understanding of the emergence of language and the negotiation of identity at the micro level. Consequently, I will be able to problematise the notion of monolingual Bangladeshi identity.

In the following section, I will narrow the discussion to language itself – the ways in which I will look at language.

2.6 Bakhtin’s heteroglossia

In the original Russian, Bakhtin uses the term ‘Разноречие’ for heteroglossia, which means the simultaneous use of different kinds of speech or other signs *(raznorechiye/ raznorechie* or *etero-gloss-ia*, literally ‘varied speech’), which has been rendered in English as ‘heteroglossia’. The term was coined from the Greek stems meaning "other" and "speech" (Ivanov, 2000, 2008). This is why the Russian term *raznorechie* is ‘at times translated as “the social diversity of speech types” rather than “heteroglossia”’ (Bailey, 2012, p. 499).

The meaning of the term draws attention to three specific issues. First, it is worth observing that the original term never bore the more ‘language’-oriented overtones of ‘glossia’ but was always oriented towards language practices (Sultana et al., 2014). Second, it is flexible enough to accommodate intra-language social variation, e.g. regional varieties or registers related to profession or age, or linguistic phenomena, such as multilingualism (even though heteroglossia in its ethos does not adhere to the notion of bi/multilingualism that involves the use of ‘distinct languages’). Third, as heteroglossia is more meaning-oriented than code-centred, it has the flexibility to address the social diversity in language caused by the simultaneous use of linguistic and cultural semiotic resources in different modes. Pennycook’s (2007a) transgressive and Canagarajah’s translinguistic (2013) approaches to language in fact promote this contention: language is only one semiotic resource among many, and meanings in language occur across symbols, icons, images, and modalities, including oral, written, and visual modes.

Bakhtin’s (1981, pp. 7-8) philosophy of language, as propounded in his literary theory, was defined by K. Clark & Holquist (1984) in the early 20th century as *translinguistics*. In fact, Bakhtin thought well ahead of his time, specifically countering the Saussureians, when he gave priority to language spoken in actual time and space over ‘synchronous language’ or *langue*, the systematic time-bound aspect of a language. Considering language neither as an abstract system of linguistic norms nor as a psychological act, he took language beyond its systematic and formal features and defined it as a social event of verbal interaction implemented in an utterance. He thus made an attempt to close the gap in the

> old and apparently unbridgeable dichotomy between the obviously systematic features of language, such as syntax, grammar, or the relatively fixed meanings of words, and their unsystematizable contexts, which interact with such stable features in any actual conversation (K. Clark & Holquist, 1984, p. 214).

Language is constructed in dialogues, continually unfolding in interaction, and embedded in the linguistic features are varied points of views, feelings, and consciousnesses of the speaker (Rampton, 1995). This understanding of language dissolves two myths: "the myth of a language that presumes to be the only language [i.e., there is no such entity as only one national language] and the myth of a language that presumes to be completely unified" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 68). Language is inherently transient both in forms and essence. This reflects the concept identified by Canagarajah (2013) and Pennycook (2007a, 2008): systematised grammar cannot be considered as an ontological construct of language. There is no ultimate final product or 'telos' in language. In other words, language is always in transcendence.

Bakhtin's notion of language is intrinsically social, jointly constructed between interlocutors. It is about how individuals come to terms with their personal, social, and historical ideas in relation to others' contradictory and conflicting ideas. Woolard (2004, p. 86), in relation to heteroglossia, stated that, "language is never really unitary in even the most monolingual settings, but is always stratified by the distinct social experiences of its speakers". Bakhtin was more interested in the worldviews and socio-ideological contradictions brought into the dialogic interaction by the speakers because of their varied political, social, historical, and ideological affiliations. For Bakhtin (1981, p. 276), a heteroglossic perspective shows that utterances are "entangled, shot through with shared points of view, alien value judgments and accents".

The focus of any linguistic phenomenon, then, should not be the language, but the multi-layered meanings. The micro-level details of utterances, accents or mixed linguistic forms lead to macro-level dimensions, interlocutors' perspectives, values, and ideologies. Even if there is no observable linguistic change, language becomes different in every utterance. Bakhtin (1981, p. 12) remarked that "each given

language – even if its linguistic composition (phonetics, vocabulary, morphology, etc.) were to remain absolutely unchanged – is, as it were reborn, becoming qualitatively a different thing for the consciousness that creates in it". Language is not only about visible linguistic features or 'norm-driven grammar'; it is about the consciousness that dwells within it – hence Bakhtin's (1981) proposition is that language contains the complexity of the world.

Bauman (2005, p. 146) deemed Bakhtin's dialogic notion of language also productive, because it takes into consideration the factors beyond the speech event, that is,

> it gives us a way of comprehending more extended temporal relations – history – in discourse based terms. In addition, it gives us a vantage point on social formation larger than those of the immediate interaction order, and it gives us ways of thinking of power and authority in discourse-based terms larger than those that are immediately and locally produced in the bounded speech events.

In other words, dialogic nature of language allows us to connect the speech events in the present to the past and have a deeper understanding of the societal mechanism of power and authority through the language.

Recent studies show that heteroglossia is manifested in the mixture of languages, registers, styles, and symbols which play an ideological role in reproducing and sustaining subcultural affiliations of class, gender, religion, demographic background, interests, and so on (Androutsopoulos, 2011a; Bailey, 2007a; Blommaert & Velghe, 2013; Pujolar, 2001; Rampton, 2011a; Squires, 2011; Wilce, 1998a). A range of research studies indicates that various linguistic resources may make a language heteroglossic. Heteroglossia has been identified in combined languages and linguistic features (Androutsopoulos, 2011a; Rampton, 2011a), stylisation, i.e., ethnic-accented English, slang, and hip-hop lexicon (Rampton, 2003b; Shankar, 2004), different cultures and their expressive resources (Leppänen et al., 2009), genre-specific expressions from popular culture (Pujolar, 2001; Sultana, 2014a), literal and non-literal interpretations of the Bible (Peuronen, 2011), mixtures of language with art and text art, i.e., works of art in which language is

significant for its visuality or performance (Jaworski, 2012), sets of symbols and grotesque images related to carnival tradition (Ivanov, 2000), and tuneful texted weeping, e.g. wept words that women in a village context use while crying in times of intense loss and grief (Wilce, 1998a).

Heteroglossia is observable in a group of Christian snowboarders in Finland who use traditional religious voices, religious register, and Biblical discourses, along with snowboarding, to present themselves as authentic Christian members of the community (Peuronen, 2013). A *pir baba* (Sufi preceptor) in Bangladesh transgresses between codes (Arabic, Bengali, and English) and between cultural traditions from the past (Islamic hadith, European physics) (Wilce, 1998a). These research studies show that heteroglossia is neither confined in language nor restricted to specific codes. It has the capacity to provide an enriched understanding of communication in which semiotic resources make meaning in their ecological affordance.

2.7 Bakhtin's theory of dialogue: A framework for analysis

To operationalise his interpretation of language, Bakhtin (1981, 1986) identified several basic notions as the foundation of the dialogic process including *multivocality* and *double-voicing*. Multivocality refers to the "simultaneously present and consecutively uttered plurality of independent and unmerged voices and consciousness" (Nikulin, 1998, p. 382). On the one hand, multivocality describes language with reference to individual meaning, intention, and socio-ideological conflict and contradiction, and on the other, it brings forth the 'autonomous and unmerged voices' of the speaker that throb beneath the neat symmetric amalgamation of different languages. "Multivocality in discourse [is] both axiomatic and heuristic" (Wilce, 1998a, p. 231) and an important dynamic of individuals' negotiation of identity. Another significant dimension, double-voicing, refers to the words of others inserted by speakers into their own discourses, as if these words existed within invisible quotation marks. "In such discourse, there are two voices, two meanings, and two expressions. And all the while these two voices are dialogically interrelated" (Bakhtin 1981, p. 324).

Double-voicing transforms the semantic potentiality of *voices* and 'reaccentuates' them according to the intention of the speaker (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 89). Stylisation, parody, *skaz,* reported speech, ironic intention and statements, quotations, and hybridisation are examples of double-voicing (Bauman & Briggs, 1990). Hill (1993) for example identified how a film tagline, 'Hasta la vista, baby', was appropriated by Anglo-Americans with exaggerated pronunciation for pejorative purposes. Thus multivocality and double-voicing are methodologically significant for analysing the difference, variety, alterity, plurality, and otherness inherent in language, and are productive for dealing with differences in language beyond the restricted notions of monolingualism, bilingualism and multilingualism (cf. Weiss, 1990; Wilce, 1998a, 1998b).

Multivocality and double-voicing are significant in three ways in identity research. First, it is with multivocality and double-voicing that individuals increase the meaning potentiality of language. According to Wilce (1998a), multiple identities are reconstituted through the mediation of multiple voices in one single voice of the speaker. From this perspective, various voices mediate multiple identities and create scope for channeling them in diverse contexts; thus, "multivocality is a groundspring, collecting place, and sanctuary for diverse elements of identity at the social and personal levels" (Wilce, 1998a, p. 235). Second, as dialogue is co-constructed with others and each utterance is multivocal because of the presence of numerous other *voices*, there is no "putatively neat sociological distribution of voices (e.g., peasants speaking like peasants, clerics like clerics)" (Wilce, 1998a, p. 231). Third, new identities are negotiated in voices.

Various linguistic and non-linguistic resources are used by individuals for voices and multivocality in order to negotiate different facets of identification. . For example, Muslim communities were found deconstructing the notion of "monolithic Islam and the univocal, one-dimensional Muslim" identity (Wilce, 1998a, p. 118). A Bangladeshi woman in a village, using the socioculturally accepted norm of lamenting or 'tuneful weeping' in rural Bangladesh, uttered various invocations of Allah and Mabud (Lord), and Arabic terms widely used among Bangladeshis with reported speech, pronouns, and stylisation. She expressed resistance to the norms of the patriarchal society and broke away from the conventional gendered Bangladeshi identity (Wilce, 1998a). Voice and

multivocality also reveal the "double-code-ism" and conflicts of 'social consciousnesses in language, questioning the viability of the prescripted norms of identification, i.e., women, Bangladeshi, or Muslim. In other words, a discursive construction of identity cannot be defined in terms of speakers' social or professional roles, or linguistic, educational, and national backgrounds. These research studies have become significant in recent years to address the new focus on hybridity, multiplicity, and simultaneity in communication.

2.8 Bakhtin's heteroglossia and *trans*- approaches to language

I have already mentioned that heteroglossic approach to language treats language as a translinguistics, gathering meanings both spatially and temporally, within and across. Thus Bakhtin's (1981) heteroglossic understanding of language also helps to illuminate its social, historical, and political nature. The micro-level details of utterances, accents or mixed linguistic forms lead to macro-level dimensions, interlocutors' perspectives, values, and ideologies. That is why Bakhtin (1981) defined language as 'heteroglossic', containing diverse intentions, meanings, histories, and ideologies. Heteroglossia also reflects the contextual realities within which the language exists and evolves in the past and present. With the unfinalisability of language and the inconclusivity of the present and future, Bakhtin showed the reflection and continuity of the past in the language. 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). A constant transition of evaluative meaning occurs in the dynamics of space and time.

2.9 Heteroglossia and the increase of its meaning potentiality

Heteroglossia has several strengths, which I accept. I nevertheless find that the heteroglossic approach can be strengthened by considering the superdiverse condition of the contemporary society which the Russian literary scholar Bakhtin did not come across in the early 19th century.

First, heteroglossia can be explored by going beyond the strict adherence to code-switching and code-mixing. The translinguistics movement has already identified the attempts to analyse language based on limiting linguistic features, specifically

in the world of globalisation. Heteroglossia can also address the superdiversity in language of the superdiverse world, by going beyond the linguistic features. Note that for multivocality and double-voicing and identity (Bailey, 2007a; Pujolar, 2001; Rampton, 2011a; Woolard, 2004), linguistic features have remained the entry point to the core of identity, as linguistic features have been for heteroglossia. According to Wilce (1998a), the codes, exemplifying multivocality and voice, become the 'semantic resources' for multiple identities. In other words, heterogeneous multiple voices are exemplified through code-mixing and code-switching or linguistic variation. While heteroglossia is "(a) the simultaneous use of different kinds of forms or signs, and (b) the tension and conflicts among those signs, based on the sociohistorical associations, they carry with them" (Bailey, 2007a, p. 257), the research studies that have employed the notion are more preoccupied with linguistic features. Paradoxically, however, Bakhtin's mapping of the relationship between signified and signifier "constantly insists on difference and simultaneity rather than symmetry" (Holquist, 1990, p. 45). In order to understand 'the difference and simultaneity', I see the necessity of bringing out the transgression observable in mixed codes, modes, and genres, and unveiling the transgression in voicing, such as in double-voicing and multivocality, as these voices, taken from different times and spaces, allow individuals to traverse fixed locations, culture, text, and meaning.

Second, the immense potential of heteroglossia can be dealt with methodologically with a more analytic focus on the transtextuality of language, to bring out the trajectories of voices from the past to the present into the future (cf. Section 2.10 for transglossic framework). Here it should be mentioned that researchers have not been able to come to an agreed resolution on how to deal with heteroglossia methodologically, i.e., which method can appropriately capture the socio-ideological and pragmatic function of language reflected in voice, double-voicing, and multivocality (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2011a; Woolard, 2004). On a similar note, Androutsopoulos (2011a, p. 283; emphasis added) identified the strengths of heteroglossia: "it allows us to 'think big', offering space to envisage heteroglossic relations between signs of various kinds and structural properties, whose coexistence and dialogue may be established *at different levels of discourse*". However, while appreciating the openness and flexibility of the notion,

Androutsopoulos also noted that heteroglossia is “an elusive and slippery concept” (2011a, p. 282) that may “run the risk of subjectivity and lack of transparency” (2011a, p. 283) because of its use in various discourse domains and processes.

Woolard (2004) identified six specific strengths of a heteroglossic approach to language as a powerful theoretical construct. However, she exhibited wariness about the difficulties of operationalising the notions, such as voicing. Woolard (2004, p. 88) stated that:

> Although Bakhtin allows us to capture nuance, variability, change, and most valuably, the linkage of form to social relations and ideology, there are difficulties in applying his system. Automatic readings of fixed intentionality from linguistic markers can be tempting, but for Bakhtin, it is intentions, not linguistic markers, that constitute distinct voices. External linguistic markers such as codeswitching are just the deposits of that intentional process, and can only be understood by examining the specific conceptualization they have been given by an intention. Although in theory one can posit a voice behind a particular usage, it is often very difficult to identify this voice or social intention in practice.

In order to avoid the assumed ‘elusive slipperiness’ of the concept, ambiguity in speakers’ intention in their voices, and challenges in analysing the voices, the speakers themselves can be bought into the interpretation process. Only then the researcher may decipher the intentions of the speakers underlying their voices from the speakers’ themselves. In other words, while theoretically heteroglossia will be considered in terms of transgression in mixed codes, modes, and genres, on the one hand; and in terms of transgression in culture, locality, text, and meaning, on the other hand; methodologically heteroglossia will be analysed in terms of the intention of the speakers and how the intentions are influenced by the historical, contextual, ideological, and individual association of the language.

My understanding of *transglossia* in fact develops from the specific points identified by Androutsopoulos (2011a), Bailey (2007a, 2012), and Woolard (2004). I agree with Bailey and Woolard’s contention that research studies need to look beyond language choice and codeswitching. I also support that a construct of

language as sophisticated as heteroglossia appropriately addresses the dynamicity of linguistic diversity that occurs in "the simultaneous use of different kinds of speech or other signs, the tension between them, and their conflicting relationship within one text" (Ivanov, 2001 in Androutsopoulos, 2011a, p. 282). I would add here that, rather than considering it too ambiguous to be used in linguistics research (Woolard, 2004) and leaving it open to the subjective interpretation for fear of losing its openness and flexibility (Androutsopoulos, 2011a), we can look at the voices and different types of transgression observable in the voice.

Transgression in language can be more concretely addressed if heteroglossia is redefined as *transglossia.* Because of the specific focus on transgression observable on the level of linguistic features and on the level of voice, heteroglossia becomes transglossia. The transgression in transglossia seems to reflect the ethos of Pennycook's (2007a) 'transgressive theories' that address the layers of integration in language and the different facets of transgression found in the meaning-making process of language in the 21st century. These interrelated approaches, i.e. *transculturation*, *translocalisation*, *transmodality*, *transtextualisation*, and *translation*, seem to be fruitful for exploring a more complex set of dynamic and organic relations across levels in heteroglossia rather than a casual set of relations in codes, modes, texts, culture and locality. These interrelated approaches, as Pennycook (2007a, p. 44) has succinctly identified, that have *trans-* within the domain of transgressive theories, make it possible to-

> integrate concepts of transculturation and translocalization, opening up the processes of cultural interaction in terms of fluidity of relations across global contexts; to develop the notion of transmodality as a way of thinking about language use as located within multiple modes of semiotic diffusion; to think of semiotics in terms of transtextualization, as a way of looking at texts and signs within the historical, local, discursive and interpretive elements of context; and translation as a way of thinking about translingual meaning as an act of interpretation across boundaries of understanding.

In the intricately intertwined approaches, codes are an important dynamic of language, but these codes are also a means to gain a broader understanding of the

meaning-making process. By taking these transgressive approaches to language into consideration in order to redefine heteroglossia as *transglossia,* I take into account the possible 'transignifications' that occur beyond linguistic features and voices. Thus I broadly address a greater range of meanings in the transglossic approach to language and take it beyond the assumptions of separate systemised language.

Note that the transglossic notion does not counteract the *trans-* approaches. The suggestion of transglossia is not an attempt to argue against terms such as heteroglossia, polylanguaging, or any of its cognates. Neither do I want to use it as "a descriptor for first-order linguistic realities", which Orman (2013, p. 97) has identified as problematic with reference to polylingualism (cf. Chapter 1, Section 1.1). Instead, I want to show that both heteroglossia and transgressive approaches can complement each other, since heteroglossia and *trans*- approaches in language research share the same ethos, that is, there is more to language than linguistic codes. Hence, transglossia is better equipped to identify the transgression in language because of its focus on *transculturation, translocalisation, transmodality, transtextualisation,* and *translation.* These dynamics of language, even though focused on the abstract level, have not been addressed concretely at the methodological level in any other *trans* – approaches.

Showing that transglossia, on the one hand, reflects the ethos of translinguistics in the mixture of codes, modes, genres, and stylisation and on the other, increases the interpretive potentiality of translingual practices by providing insights about language in its political, historical, and ideological realities, I suggest that the notion of transglossia allows me to straddle the strengths of both heteroglossia and transgressive approach to language.

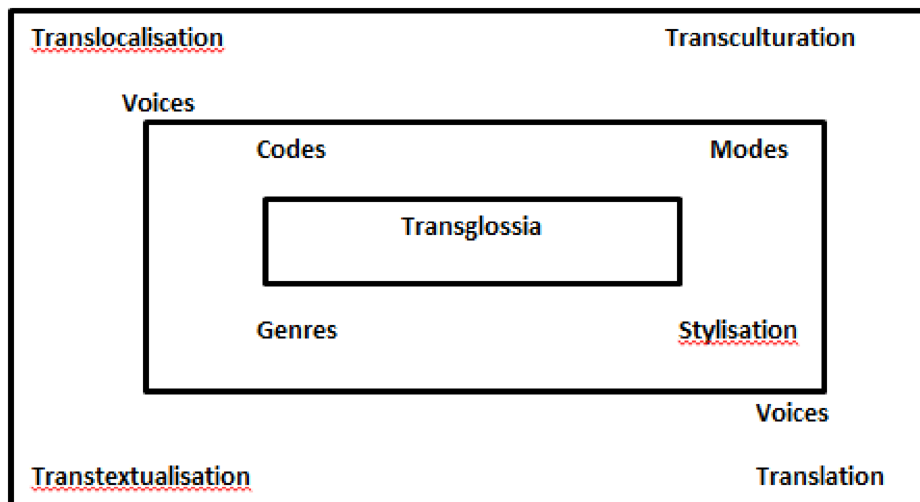

Figure 2.3: Dynamics of *transglossia*

In the following section, I will narrow the discussion to the interpretive tools for transglossia. I will reflect on how transglossia can be explained better in terms of a *transglossic framework*.

2.10 Transglossia and the transanalytic framework

To untie the translingual orientation of language, 'dialogic threads', the voices, and intentions, I suggest a *transglossic framework* (Sultana et al., 2014) which can be considered as an advanced extension of transtextual analysis (Pennycook, 2007a). I use the term transglossic framework because it deals not only with a single sign to extended texts, but also with the voices within historical, contextual, and ideological meanings. Similar to a transtextual framework, an analysis involves *pretextual* history, i.e. the socio-historical associations of the text; the *contextual relations,* i.e., the physical location, the participants, the indexical pointing to the world; the *subtextual* meaning, i.e., the ideologies, cultural frames, and relations of power that affect the interaction; and the *intertextual* echoes, i.e., the covert and overt references to other voices and texts. In addition, *posttextual* interpretation allows an investigation of the speakers' or others' interpretations of their language practices (cf. Pennycook, 2007a, pp. 53-54). *Posttextual* interpretation will be an important dynamic of the analytical framework because in sociolinguistics research, "not only practices, but also perceptions have become an indispensable object of study" and "social actors are viewed as the owners of images and understandings regarding the quality, function, status, or 'taste' of particular forms and linguistic

varieties, as well as of their relation to specific social groups and communities" (Jaspers, 2010, p. 193; emphasis original). Note that transglossic language practices concern not so much individuals as the ways in which individuals come to terms with their personal, social, and historical ideas in relation to others' contradictory and conflicting ideas (Bailey, 2007a; Pujolar, 2001). Consequently, transglossic analysis will allow me to unravel not only "the absorption and transformation of texts by texts" (Lesic-Thomas, 2005, p. 6) or the voices within a voice (cf. Chapters 6 & 7), but also the processes by which individuals use voices to reflect their own personal, social, and historical ideas in real time and space in relation to others' contradictory and conflicting ideas (cf. Chapters 4 & 5). In addition, young adults' inclination to recycle linguistic and semiotic resources from popular culture, their dexterity in bringing several voices into one single utterance, their sophisticated ways of connecting the past with the present with *intertextual* and *subtextual* references, can only be understood if I can transcend the linguistic forms of a language through a "social semiotics of transignification" (Pennycook, 2007a, p. 54).

The transglossic framework offers a multilayered account of heteroglossia, capturing the integration in the complexity of relations between the translingual practices (Canagarajah, 2013) of these participants and the diverse cultural resources they draw on. Consequently, bringing the notion of heteroglossia to the fore rather than privileging notions such as code-switching, I can show that a focus on *trans*- analyses is by no means merely a valorisation of heterogeneity or hybridity. Although young adults' heteroglossic language practices revolve around different codes, modes, genres, and stylisation within and beyond their cultural/linguistic boundaries, I also need to consider the fact that they seemingly occur in relation to one another: that is, through transgressive or 'transglossic' mixtures of various linguistic/cultural repertoires associated with explicit and implicit sociocultural and historical relationships.

I am specifically interested in the experiences individuals gather in their life trajectories (cf. also Blommaert, Creve, & Willaert, 2006). Hodges (1998) has identified how individuals' movements in time and space enable them to develop a sense of their 'historicised self'/historical self that concomitantly impact very significantly on their identification. As I am interested in 'transgression' in terms of

language and identity, I see it as pivotal to consider how individuals subvert their 'historical self' and make a 'discursive shift' in their situatedness (cf. Chapter 7). Here it should be noted that "situatedness, as an historical reconstruction of self, invites a constant rereading, and so the dynamics of socio-political-historical processes are incorporated into the inquiry" (Hodges, 1998, pp. 288-289).

Because of the integration of transgressive approaches to language (Pennycook, 2007a) with heteroglossia, my analytical framework for language and identity will be significantly different from the frameworks used in Wilce (1998a, 1998b), Woolard (1999), or Pujolar (2001). It allows me to look at identity as fluid and negotiated not so much so through the choice of certain languages but through a combination of linguistic/cultural codes, modes, and genres within and across languages, and through a constant blending of linguistic and cultural resources that young adults have localised and appropriated in their engagement with both local and translocal environments. Consequently, a transglossic analysis untangles the *transculturation*, and *translocalisation* occurring in language practices (cf. Sultana et al., 2014).

The theoretical lens afforded by heteroglossia has already been used extensively to research on identity in translocal space (Androutsopoulos, 2010, 2011a; Peuronen, 2011). If language is considered as transglossic at the very outset, it will increase the possibility of understanding identity work as a complex process occurring in the nexus of all these social dynamics within the fluidity of globalisation, rather than with reference to the fixity in Bangladeshi identity, based on ethnicity, literary heritage, nationalism, and language. Transglossia will thus unravel the contradictions and conflicts young adults in Bangladesh may experience because of the construction of competing and conflicting multiple identities.

It should be noted here that translinguistics cannot be thought of as being appropriate only for hip-hop, or the domain popular culture or any artful form, as apprehended by Park and Wee (2012). On the contrary, with a proper integration of heteroglossic and transgressive approaches to language, transglossia seems appropriate for understanding intimidation, coercion, and the constraints involved in any linguistic exchange. Thus it is perfectly capable of bringing out the political nature of language. Bourdieu (1991) strongly suggested that the noticeable

differences in the individual language practice of speakers reflect the subtle politics behind the practice and its intertwined relationship with speakers' life trajectories, accumulated symbolic capital, and *habitus* - a set of structured and dispositions that individuals acquire within the social condition. Linguistic capital in the form of competence in a language, or cultural capital in the form of education and cultural resources, determine what linguistic and cultural resources individuals have acquired. Transglossia, through its transglossic framework has the potential to explore the relationship between individual language practices, life trajectory, habitus, and all forms of capital, identified by Bourdieu (1986). It also creates a scope to address the tension arising by a lack of symbolic capital.

In Chapter 1, I mentioned that my purpose is to understand language as a local practice, i.e., the "locality (a geography of social space) and language practice (what happens through languages)" (Pennycook, 2010, p. 2). In other words, when I explore the language practices of young adults, I also want to understand the "*geography of linguistic happenings*". I have also stated in this chapter that I will capture these notions – the duality of space, third-space, and heterotopias and their interrelationship with language and identity. For this purpose, neither scales (cf. Blommaert, 2010; Dong, 2009) nor strategies of communication (cf. Canagarajah, 2013) seem adequate, even though both are significant dynamics of how individuals engage in language practices and define their locatedness. Findings from the *transglossic framework,* specifically those drawn from the *contextual* relations and *post-textual* interpretation, will be complemented by a keen observation of material arrangements, artefacts, and locatedness of other social actors. Transglossia also draws attention to the immediate social realities in space within its historical references. In this way I will be able to unravel the production of space, both real and imaginary, in the transglossic language practices and narratives of the young adults.

What does transglossia do that heteroglossia cannot offer on its own?

Bakhtin (1981) came up with his notion of heteroglossia in contrast to monoglossia, which was typical of ancient cities such as Athens. Here I propose the notion of *transglossia* in contrast to heteroglossia, identifying the post-modern phenomenon in language where language and linguistic features are always in transgression and

may not be demarcated according to their mono-, bi-, or multi-lingual features. For example, individuals may use features of filmic or advertising genre in their speaking, blurring the distinction between genre specific expressions (Sultana, Dovchin, Pennycook, 2013). Transglossia strengthens the argument propounded in heteroglossia, with specific focus on meanings made within and across codes, modes, genres, and stylisation, identifiable through *transmodality*, *transtextuality*, and *translation*. Transglossia hence seems more effective in analysing the constant transgression observable in codes and modes, genres, and stylisation. In other words, while heteroglossia concerns the stratification and social diversity of speech types, transglossia identifies how language becomes diverse in linguistic and semiotic resources at different layers. Showing this mix at the linguistic and supra-linguistic levels, transglossia identifies why language cannot be a unified entity.

Heteroglossia may become ambiguous as an analytic tool (Woolard, 2004) because it focuses on voice but does not explain in what ways voices are borrowed. In contrast, transglossia is more effective in bringing out the sources of voices through *translocalisation*, *transculturation*, *transtextualisation*, and *translation*. It becomes easier to understand from which location, culture, or texts voices are borrowed and for what purposes they are brought into play by the speakers. In addition, heteroglossia is appropriate for understanding the linguistic realities of the early 20th century and becomes more effective in addressing the fluidity of language in the 21st century.

While heteroglossia is about intentions, that is, that the plurality of meaning in language resides in the purposive use of language by the speaker, transglossia seems more effective in analysing the intentions and purposes of the speaker through a *transglossic framework* that brings historical, ideological, and contextual realities to the fore. Thus transglossia is more effective in capturing the intentionality as well as the uncertainty of the voice, the ambiguity and opacity of meaning caused by intention, and the associations as well as dissociations of other voices in the past to the present. Transglossia with its transglossic framework effectively identifies the social and historical association of voices from prior and situated use.

Heteroglossia is about how centrifugal and centripetal forces collide in utterances and create differences. "Every concrete utterance of a speaking subject serves as a point where centrifugal as well as centripetal forces are brought to bear. The processes of centralization and decentralization, of unification and disunification, intersect in the utterance" (Bakhtin 1981: 272). Transglossia is the outcome of the collision, that is, transgression. Language becomes transglossic when codes, modes, and genres from different cultures and locations become transgressive and enriched with new meanings, because of the conflict and collision. As a result, transglossia is better equipped to explore how these forces change codes, modes, and genres in utterances.

Note that with *trans-*, I bring an extra layer of analytic potentiality to *–glossia* which has been missing in the heteroglossic research on language and identity. Here *trans-* does not ignore the presence of certain linguistic, cultural, and social regulations. As in transgression*, trans-* occurs in the interdependence of limits and transcendence. This limit is related to various kinds of expected norms and structures of codes, modes, and genres, but meaning occurs not with specific reference to each of the linguistic dynamics, but in the blend of expected norms and structures within historical and contextual realities. Transgression, then, is the broad umbrella term within which transglossia occurs in the mixture of codes and modes, genre, and stylisation along with the organic process of transculturation, translocalisation, transtextuality, and translation.

In other words, heteroglossia is refined as *transglossia* to capture the linguistic realities of the 21st century which the Russian literary theorist Bakhtin did not encounter in his time. Transglossia, therefore, is about codes, modes, genres, and stylisation and how they make meanings and emerge anew in constant mixing, blending, and borrowing in the era of globalisation; transglossia is also about voices and the social intentionalities circulated from the past to the present. The concept of transglossia that I have developed for this thesis seeks to understand language practices not so much through separate linguistic codes (though they remain significant for understanding the nature of language practices), but rather by unveiling the voices of the young adults from my field work and unzipping the 'translinguistics' and the complexities of meanings. Consequently, rather than being "still stuck in [the] segregational wheel" (Davis, 2001 as cited in Orman,

2013, p. 97), as observable in superdiversity, supervernacular, and polylingualism, transglossia addresses the translinguistics of meshed codes and modes and the "processual and socially infused concept of heteroglossia … the irreducibly sociohistorical and ideological bases of language meaning and use" (Bailey, 2012, p. 506).

Note that the prefixes 'double' and 'multi' in double-voicing and multivocality do not, as metalanguage, align to prefixed lingualisms, such as bilingualism and multilingualism, but in ethos, these notions, double-voicing and multivocality, have never been developed for the discreet analysis of language. Hence, these notions are not disregarded or considered problematic in transglossia.

What does transglossia do that transgressive theory and heteroglossia cannot offer on their own?

Pennycook's transgressive theory, as I have shown earlier, incorporates several approaches to language. On the one hand, rather than having separate *trans*- terms for codes, idiomaticity as in transidiomatic practices, modes, and texts, transglossia shows that the blending and mixing of codes, modes, genres, or texts are inherent to language, and transglossia, as an advanced theoretical construct, may contain all these distinct *trans*- approaches to language. In addition, considering heteroglossia in *trans*- terms allows the second level of abstraction that has been missing – that is, between linguistic features and voices: the *transculturation*, *translocalisation*, and *transtextualisation*. While in previous research, codeswitching has been used to identify double-voicing and multivocality, transglossia will unravel the transgression in voices not so much so in linguistic features, but in the transculturation, translocalisation, and transtextualisation that actually occur in voicing.

What does transglossia do that Garcia's notion of transglossia cannot offer on its own?

A layer of integration and transgression that occurs in *transglossia*, as shown in Figure 2.3, also reflects the ethos of García's notions of transglossia, translanguaging, and dynamic bilingualism. García (2009; 2013; 2014) has developed the notion of transglossia in opposition to diglossia in order to question the language-centric monoglossic understanding of language and emancipate individuals from pre-fixed linguistic identities promoted by the modern and colonial discourses. Her notion of transglossia has also problematised the preservation and maintenance of languages with reference to nation-state or societal groups and suggested going beyond the defense of national language and national language ideologies. The notion has disrupted the acceptance of national myth based on fluid language practices. In this way, she has suggested we may go beyond "the dual monoglossic concept" such as diglossia, additive and subtractive bilingualism, and dichotomised terms, such as first and second language, and address the dynamic bilingualism (García, 2014, p. 101). In summary transglossia is observable in the language practices of the 21st century through the practices of translanguaging, a blend of transculturation and languaging, that leads to dynamic bilingualism' – an "evidence of more heteroglossic language practices" (García, 2014, p. 101).

There are also some subtle and distinct differences between García's transglossia and the notion of *transglossia* that I have developed in this thesis. García's transglossia which she initially developed as 'transdiglossia' and later on redefined as tranglossia refers to the impossibility of functional allocations of languages, problematising the traditional notion of 'diglossia' in which language is divided as high and low variety. In other words, both the notions of transglossia are distinctly different because of their point of reference – one referring to the functional allocation of language and the other refers to the language itself that evolves in everyday language practices. In fact, on the conceptual level, the notion of transglossia that I have developed for this thesis stands with 'dynamic bilingualism', as both refer to the phenomenon of language practice itself. In addition, both dynamic bilingualism and transglossia align to heteroglossia (cf. García, 2014). However, transglossia suggested in this thesis is more inclusive

because it draws attention not only to transculturation and translanguaging, but also to *translocalisation*, *transtextualisation*, and *translation*. Transglossia also addresses, in its multi-layered transglossic framework, the histories, as well as the formation of new alternative and conflicting knowledge, and new meanings of transglossic spaces, as identified by García in relation to translanguaging and Bakhtin in relation to heteroglossia. In other words, on the one hand, transglossia enriches our understanding of the transgressive nature of language in translanguaging as propounded by García; on the other hand, it minimises the language-centric over-tone in translanguaging critiqued by Makoni (2012) and Orman (2013).

2.11 Summary

In this chapter, I have explained why I have taken on board poststructuralist and post-modern approaches to language and identity for this thesis. I have also discussed the critical geographical notion of space that seems appropriate for unravelling the linguistic, historical, socio-cultural, and local realities within which language emerges with new meanings and identities are negotiated with various attributes. In addition, identifying the limitations of the blinkered monolingual lenses found in bi-and multi-lingual research studies and apolitical understanding of hybridity, I suggest an alternative way to look at language. With the integration of a transgressive approach to language and heteroglossia, I have offered the notion of transglossia.

Going beyond overt dependence on linguistic features, transglossia seems to have increased potentiality to unravel a sophisticated understanding of language that notions of monolingualism, bi- and multi-lingualism based on traditional practice of code choice, code-mixing, and code-switching fail to address. I have shown that a paradigmatic shift towards transglossia has become more of a necessity in research on linguistic and cultural practices. On the one hand, transglossia provides the theoretical grounding to address the transgression observable in language in the mixing of codes, modes, genres, and a variety of cultural semiotic resources. On the other hand, transglossia, as a conceptual proposition, has the capacity to address the social, historical, political, and ideological nature of language. A sophisticated transglossic analytic framework, with an in-depth focus on *pretextuality*,

intertextuality, *subtextuality*, and *posttextuality*, is effective in unravelling the historical, social and ideological significance of language, transgression observable in language-, class-, and gender-based identification, and the values, invested interests, and politics behind them.

In Chapter 3, I will describe the research design that has helped me to acquire insights into young adults' transglossic language practices and their negotiation of identity.

Chapter 3 Research Design

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I have suggested that "the construction of self [identity] is a more complex operation than 'simply' making the right lexical, syntactic, and phonological choices" (Davies 2005, p. 560). It is an "emergent process" and is "conditioned by social interaction and social structure…It is, in short, constitutive of and constituted by the social environment" (Block, 2006, p. 38). In other words, it is not only a linguistic phenomenon, but is also reflective of individual and social phenomena. I have developed the notion of *transglossia* in order to develop an understanding of young adults' language practices and negotiation of identity, and have also shown the necessity of exploring the intricate relationship between transglossia and the complex socio-spatial dynamic within which young adults are located.

In this chapter, I will first explain the epistemology of the research and the 'epistemic process', i.e., the process through which I made sense of different pieces of data, made connections, and interpreted them to come up with an in-depth understanding of young adults' language practices and identity construction. The epistemology and 'epistemic process' are significant dimensions of the research because they influence the specific research paradigm with which the research aligns, and in what ways I conducted the research, gathered information and data, and constructed the knowledge about the language practices of young adults in Bangladesh. Second, I will describe the research site, the locatedness of participants in time and space, and their linguistic, socioeconomic, and educational backgrounds. All these factors allowed me to have an understanding of each participant's life trajectory that has given meaning to their voice in the present. Third and finally, I reveal how my pursuit to unravel the language practices and voices of young adults in Bangladesh led me to rediscover my own voice in the process. This is significant for me as well as for the research, because it helped me to critically evaluate my own stance about language, nationality, and identity, and my role in the interpretation of the data.

3.2 Epistemology of the research

Epistemologically, my research is located broadly within poststructuralist, interpretive and critical traditions. I have already mentioned in Chapter 2 that it is influenced by a post-structuralist approach to language and identity. I am equally interested in the spatial realisation of language; hence, I explored the language by not only considering its linguistic features, but also by examining how language is influenced by the social landscape. I also looked beyond the contextual and physical properties of space and revealed the social and historical construction and relational organisation of space. I had to take into account the variable, tentative, relational and conditional nature of reality experienced by young adults, i.e., the effects of space on young adults' language practices and negotiated identities. In other words, I looked beyond the stable and fixed linguistic features of the Bangla language and explored the unstable, changeable and flexible nature of language in time and space.

The research was interpretive because the research participants and I, the researcher, both played an active role in the process of knowledge construction. The dialogic and interpretive nature of the ethnographic study itself, i.e., dialogues between the participants, space, and me, as a researcher, made the research interpretive. The *post-textual interpretation* (cf. *transglossic framework*) allowed me to co-construct meaning with the participants. My role as a researcher was active and participatory because I also drew on my own 'reflexive-realist perspectives' (cf. Atkinson, 1990; Ramanathan & Atkinson, 1999) in the process of data collection and analysis; that is, whenever I was in the research context, I spontaneously tried to get a sense of the participants' world as well as of the space, reflexively and continuously probed my research questions, what I saw and heard, and what I knew about the theoretical underpinnings of the social phenomena (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). As a consequence, I maintained 'subjectivist reflexivity'.

My role was 'double hermeneutic'. On the one hand, I brought my historical and discursive self into the meaning-making process. I was aware that historicity and discursivity influenced every step of the research, from the data collection to the data analysis, interpretation, and writing process. Edwards and Usher (1994), for example, identified the gender, sexuality, ethnicity, class, or race of the researcher

as ‘sociocultural products’ which influence both the form and outcome of research, and hence they referred to them as the *con-text* of the research. On the other hand, I did not only rely on my own interpretation, but also asked the participants to give their opinions about the data and my interpretations. However, I also ensured that I distanced myself from the data. In other words, rather than imposing my perception on the data, I placed more emphasis on how the data spoke to me, positioning myself at “absolute eticity from which the objective study of cultures can be undertaken” (Ramanathan & Atkinson, 1999, p. 61). As a result, I maintained ‘methodological reflexivity’. I also brought an alternative reading of language and culture in the context of Bangladesh to the research, looking “critically inward” (Ramanathan & Atkinson, 1999, p. 61), thereby ensuring ‘intertextual reflexivity’. The deep contemplation on the data and their interpretation, as realised in my reflective and reflexive process, enabled me to better understand young adults’ language practices and identification.

My sole purpose was not to describe the causal relationship between young adults’ socio-linguistic background and performance in English, but to go beyond the simplistic equation of cause and effect and analyse the complex and inter-relational social constructs of their identity. I intended to probe deep into their “patterned mosaic of social life” (O'Reilly, 2009, p. 16) and *understand* their experiences and motivation – *why* they mixed English and Hindi with Bangla. “The subject is the meaning maker, and whatever meaning is imposed may come from a seemingly endless source of experiences” (Faux, 2005 in Lichtman, 2013, p. 13). This stance reflects an important notion of interpretivism, explained by the term ‘verstehen’, a German word that means to understand or interpret the meaning of human activity (Crotty, 1998). I tried to understand the participants as socially constructed beings, both constituted and mediated by language (Crotty, 1998). Consequently, by adapting ‘interpretivism’, I accepted that their language practices were negotiated and “highly sensitive to the malleable and often, idiosyncratic nature of social life” (O'Reilly, 2009, p. 16).

The research was critical in three ways, even though I take on board Pennycook’s (2001) contention that applied linguistics work does not need to ‘wear’ the label ‘critical’, as this should be an ingrained aspect of the research. First, I had an interest in the broader power relationships that impact on the society and its

participants: the macro-dynamics of language practices that produce and reproduce the hegemonic role of English in a post-colonial context like Bangladesh, and the micro-dynamics that segregate and make students with limited fluency in English feel inadequate and marginalised in everyday activities (Sultana, 2008, 2014b). I questioned the social values and ideologies and critically evaluated the "hidden depths of exploitation, power, and disadvantage" (O'Reilly, 2009, p. 53). Second, I intended to problematise the implicit suppositions about the universal legitimacy of English, as pointed out by Phillipson (1992), by looking at language through the lens of transgressive theory (Pennycook, 2009, 2010) and identifying an alternative view of English. Challenging the dominant discourses regarding English, in which English is a tool of oppression and subjugation, I wanted to explore other ways of looking at English in which it can be a resource for negotiating individuality, solidarity, and emancipation. Third, the findings of the research had implications for English language policy and consequently, had the potential to contribute toward the betterment of language policy in Bangladesh. Overall, my research enterprise was to critically evaluate the social values and systems of meaning and eventually to identify the social structures and ideologies that impact on young adults' language practices (Crotty, 1998).

3.3 Ethnography as a research paradigm

I chose ethnography as a research paradigm for four specific reasons: 1. its theoretical perspective about language, culture, or society which seems to tally with the underlying philosophy of Bakhtin's theory of dialogue (Bakhtin, 1981); 2. its efficacy in observing the nascent subtleties of socially-situated language practices, i.e., the "processual and historical dimension to every act of language-in-society" (Blommaert & Dong, 2010), 3. its equal emphasis on the text and data histories, which allows extensive and intensive data collection and rigorous data analysis; and 4. the role of the participants and the researcher in the construction of knowledge.

First, ethnography, having, developed from anthropology adheres to the anthropological notion of language, i.e., that language is contextual, social, cultural, historical, and processual, realised in the interaction of individuals. The observation and understanding of human realisations of language is ontological to ethnography. The ethnographic notion of language is 'situated' and because of its emergence

from human interaction in social situations, language is never a product (Blommaert, 2001); consequently, it is never static. The ethnographic notion of research also suggests that no social phenomenon, such as language, culture, or identity, is a "historical artefact imposed on passively receptive individuals"; rather, it is "a dynamic set of choices, actively sought out by the empowered individuals – a conception which is more suitable to the global cafeteria of a world in which we currently live" (Lecompte, 2002, pp. 290-291). Thus culture, for example, is "something to be 'taken' by individuals, appropriated, and constructed against a matrix of possible and appropriate selves. These selves or social roles then are embodied and enacted by individuals" (Lecompte, 2002, p. 291). It does not mean that the individual, social, ideological dimension of language and performances of identity becomes minimised in the research process. In contrast, ethnography appreciates the 'humanness' of language, culture, or identity and creates the opportunities to bring it out. Hence, I accepted ethnography as a research perspective/paradigm, for its in-depth and distinct theoretical perspective about language, culture, and identity (Blommaert, 2007)[29].

Ethnography allows an applied linguist to look beyond the "unitary, centripetalizing language" (Holquist, 1981b, p. xxx) and see the "living mix of varied and opposing *voices*" in language (Holquist, 1981b, p. xxviii). Bhaktin considers that "language is alive and still in the process of becoming" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 272). The anthropological notion of language in ethnography makes it possible to understand the socio-ideological nature of language propounded by Bakhtin. Thus, I could bring the stories and *voices* of young adults to the fore and show that the young adults' language practices cannot be understood with reference to English, Bangla, and Hindi only, because they are entangled in the fabric of the society. While ethnographic research has been conducted in relation to *voice* and *multivocality* (Wilce, 1998a, 1998b), Quantz and O'Connor (1988, p. 109) identified that Bakhtin's concepts of dialogue and multivoicedness are appropriate for constructing "polyphonic ethnographies located in historical and ideological

[29] Blommaert (2007) is critical of the notion that ethnography metonymically refers to interviews or field work, or participant observation. I agree to his contention, considering its theoretical depth. Nevertheless, field work, observation, and interviews are key research tools in ethnography and translate its underlying theoretical perspectives into practice.

situations and, therefore, portray more accurately the dialogic nature and transformative possibilities of marginalized society".

Second, ethnographic studies have special significance for the observation of social phenomena, whether language, society, or identity. For example, ethnography discourages the written reproduction of observable synchronic events, such as language practices, as a description of the fieldwork. Instead, it foresees any language practices as

> *an effect* of the dialectics between the historical body and historical space. It is the actual order of communicative conduct that ensues from enskilled bodies in a space inscribed with particular conditions for communication. It has very little existence outside of it, and the three elements of the triad [historical body and space and communication] now form one ethnographic object of inquiry (Blommaert & Huang, 2009, p. 11).

It is not only language practices that need to be observed in an ethnographic study. It is also necessary to look into the historically evolving and organised individual, social, cultural, and spatial dimensions of the semiotic process, because "every language act is intrinsically historical" (Blommaert & Dong, 2010, p. 9) and individuals are embedded in their social, political, historical, and cultural environment, "constructing their own realities" (Lecompte, 2002, p. 291). In other words, ethnography allowed me to look into language practices beyond synchronic events as they evolved and emerged anew.

Third, ethnography includes the process of data collection as a significant dimension of knowledge construction. "The whole process of gathering and moulding knowledge is part of that knowledge; knowledge construction *is* knowledge, *the process is the product*" (Blommaert & Dong, 2010, p. 10; emphasis original). Referring to the narrative analysis of asylum seekers' stories in Belgium, Blommaert (2001) states that the significance of the linguistic-communicative resources of asylum seekers can only be understood when 'text history/trajectories' and 'data histories' are considered. 'Text history/trajectories' refers to the shifting of text across contexts, as in the verbal to written discourses of administrative staff

in Blommaert's study, and 'data histories' concerns the socio-historical situatedness of data, as observed in the positioning of asylum seekers against administrative staff in the interview setting which automatically puts asylum seekers in a compromising situation, both linguistically and socially. Both require close consideration for meticulous data collection and rigorous data analysis. In other words, ethnographic research recognises the fact that the history of the text and data, that is, the way data is obtained from where and with whom, and how it is documented and pondered upon by the researcher, impacts on what will be revealed in the data analysis process. This recognition is epistemic to ethnography. I also considered these issues concerning text and data histories when I analysed the data. I accepted the unpredictable incidents and unwarranted events that occurred during the research, which impacted on the data gathering process and the data themselves. Considering them as both strengths and weaknesses of the data, I acknowledged them as both the process and product of the data (cf. the sections below).

The sensibility and critical stance in terms of data collection and data analysis justified ethnography as the driving force of this research. In the process, I realised that ethnography not only helped me to collect data rigorously, as mentioned above, but also to conduct in-depth data analysis with the ethnographic intellectual enterprise that I developed during the ethnographic data collection. Recognising the ethnographic understanding of language and society, the process of constructing the knowledge through varied research methods, and developing an ethnographic sensibility for data analysis, I made ethnography the ontology and epistemology of my research. This also conforms to the assertion made by Blommaert and Dong (2010).

Fourth, I considered my ethnographic sensibilities and participants' opinions as vital to the interpretation of the data. I contextualised the data with participants' understandings about specific texts, and specifically focused on how participants viewed the context. Gumperz (1982) defines this as 'contextualisation' of 'context'[30]. Moving beyond the text and bringing participants' interpretation into focus, I attempted to strike a balance between 'emic' and 'etic' points of view to

[30] I consider 'space' to be a more inclusive term than 'context' for capturing the fluidity of a specific place in the post-modern world. While context seems static, stable and localised, space implies dynamic continual changes that occur even in specified locations. The notion of 'space' subsumes within it all other notions, such as location, place, or context.

come up with a “realistic multilayered” interpretation of participants’ language practices (Hornberger, 1994, p. 689) and their space and spatiality. Thus, an intensive engagement with and holistic understanding of the context (Hornberger, 1994) and the contextualisation of the context (Gumperz, 1982) was ensured, and the research consequently revealed the intricacies of the participants’ use of language and their identification.

3.4 Ethnography: Ethnography of communication vs. linguistic ethnography

This research is distinct from studies that opt for ‘ethnography of communication’ and ‘linguistic ethnography’, even though such works foresee the strengths of ethnography in linguistics research. Ethnography of communication brings communication rather than language to the fore and closely analyses acts of communication, events, and situations in speech communities in order to study the social dynamics of language. Hymes (1964) strongly recommended making ethnography the basic foundation of research:

> . . . it is not linguistics, but ethnography, not language, but communication, which must provide the frame of reference within which the place of language in culture and society is to be assessed . . . (Hymes, 1974, p. 4)

However, the ‘ethnography of communication’ seems to lack the rigour that linguistics can offer to ethnography and fails to minimise the ontological gap between text and context. By contrast, linguistic ethnography “attempts to combine close detail of local action and interaction as embedded in a wider social world” (Creese, 2008, p. 233). Rampton (2007, p. 3) has defined it as a “temporal unfolding of social processes”. While linguistic analysis allows a fine-grain understanding of language and ethnography puts the language within the social mechanism, linguistic ethnography identifies how meaning is eventually mediated within the intricate relationship between language and the stratified society. For example, Eckert (1989) first identified the linguistic (phonemic) features of high school students in Beltan High and then explored the relationship between the linguistic phenomena and their social significance through a range of ethnographic data. Thus linguistic ethnography provides both emic and etic understandings of language and captures the connection between text and context.

While accepting the strengths of linguistic ethnography in unravelling how meaning is mediated within language and society, this research will nevertheless focus more on the transgressive understanding of language. In other words, it will not focus as strongly on discreet linguistic features as the research studies in Rampton (1995, 2000), which opt for linguistic ethnography. Instead, this research extends the scope of linguistic ethnography by its *transglossic* notion of language, that is, language is the starting point of the research, but it will be seen in its transgressive forms of the mixture of codes, modes, genres, and voices (cf. Chapter 2). In addition, a *transglossic framework* which derives information from ethnographic research methods such as observation, interviews, and focus-group discussions leads to the *pretextual*, *subtextual*, *contextual*, and *posttextual* interpretations of language. Overall, the research takes linguistic ethnography to the next level by changing its focus from linguistics features per se to transgressive linguistic acts, as they occur in real time and space.

It was with the post-structuralist, interpretive, and critical epistemic bent of mind described above, and with an intention to conduct ethnographic study of transglossic language, that I went to the University of Excellence (UOE), a private university in Bangladesh, to conduct a three-month long research.

3.5 Research context

The University of Excellence (UOE)[31], located in the capital city of Bangladesh, Dhaka, is one of the few private universities in Bangladesh which has marked its place in higher education along with public universities. The establishment of private universities is a comparatively new phenomenon in higher education in Bangladesh. The first private university was established in 1992 and in the last 20 years, under the ordinance of the Private University Act 1992, 58 universities have been established (University Grants Commission of Bangladesh, 2012), outnumbering public universities. This phenomenal growth has been possible because of the recent commodification of education, supported by internal and external funding, investment by companies, and a wealthy elite business class. The universities have also become successful because of the educational needs of a

[31] The names of the university and participants are pseudonyms. The initials in capital letters, such as AA, PP, and KK, are of persons who did not participate in the research but who agreed that their conversations would be used for research purposes.

growing number of students graduating from high school (M. Alam & Khalifa, 2009), the scarcity of places in 34 public universities[32] (M. Alam, 2009; M. Alam, Haque, & Siddique, 2006), and the intrinsic and extrinsic values of education. Individuals with higher education in the context of Bangladesh, similar to other South Asian countries, are considered to be enlightened and knowledgeable; they are appreciated and expected to become successful in professional and personal life.

Most of these universities are located in different cosmopolitan cities in Bangladesh, mainly in Dhaka with only a few in Chittagong and Sylhet (M. Alam, 2009). A few of them are exceptionally modern in contemporary architecture and ambience, high-tech gadgets, and other amenities. These universities are situated in vertically-built multi-storeyed buildings, when it is difficult to develop sprawling universities similar to the government ones because of the scarcity of land[33]. In addition, the universities usually have a pristine environment untouched by political demonstrations, hartals, or strikes as in the public universities[34]. These universities tend to promote 'global education' for the 'global market' and they do it in English, the only official language within the university premises (Hamid et al., 2013; S. Rahman, 2005, 2009; Sultana, 2008). The same trend is found in Pakistan, where higher education is solely dominated by English (T. Rahman, 2008). Note that, contrary to the nationalistic discourses prevalent in Bangladesh and the strong promotion of Bangla in the public sector, the Private University Act 1992 does not have any instruction regarding the medium of instruction in the private universities.

3.6 Research participants and conducting the research

In 2011, I conducted an intensive three month ethnographic study with the consent of the authority of the UOE, Bangladesh and University of Technology, Sydney, Australia, and the participating students.

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[32] In 2012, a total number of 7,21,979 students passed the Higher Secondary Certificate (HSC) exam (Year 12 final examination) and 61,162 of them achieved the highest score, GPA (grade point average) 5. However, there are only 31,711 seats for first year honours students in public universities (Amin, 2012). In other words, even students with the highest score in the HSC exam will not all gain admission to public universities.

[33] Higher education in Bangladesh is experiencing a transition. Public universities enjoy higher status and acceptance than private ones, while public schools and colleges are gradually losing their battle to retain top status against private schools and colleges that ensure better learning environment for students.

[34] The Private University Act 1992 does not allow university teachers and students to form Teacher-Student Associations and consequently indirectly discourages their participation in national politics.

The participants were informed about the research by flyers posted on university notice-boards (cf. Appendices 1 & 2). A large number of students from different departments within the university contacted me via the phone number and email address on the flyer[35], and 29 students volunteered to participate in the research. All were under-graduate students at the UOE in Bangladesh, and their ages ranged from 19 to 24. The participants were asked to complete an information sheet which included questions about their personal, demographic, and educational background (cf. Appendix 3). The questions relating to their parents' academic qualifications or profession were not considered to be an invasion of privacy, because posing such questions are part of a culturally appropriate and accepted practice. The information sheet allowed me to develop an understanding of the participants' earlier socialisation experiences and opportunities as they were growing up. I gained knowledge about their individual and collective journeys in life trajectories before they started studying in an English-medium private university, and I further enriched this understanding with the information gathered from the individual interview sessions (cf. Appendix 4). The information sheet allowed me to obtain a broad understanding of the participants' habitus and life trajectories, as well as the choices available to them in both the past and the present (Bourdieu, 1991; Lecompte, 2002). While these participants were observed in extended ethnographic field studies, their language practices on an online social networking website, such as Facebook (FB), were also observed throughout the entire timeline of both research projects using 'virtual ethnography' (Androutsopoulos, 2006, 2011a), an ethnographic analytic framework which specifically looks at the behaviours of online users in a natural and unobtrusive manner.

The information drawn from the factual information sheet about the participants is summarised in a table in Appendix 5A. A brief description of the participants whose language practices are dealt with in detail in Chapters 4-7 is given in Appendix 5B. The answers in the information sheet indicate that the majority of participants finished their primary, secondary, and higher secondary education in Bangla-medium schools and colleges (BMSC) outside Dhaka. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the schools and colleges in suburban and rural settings are usually less

[35] Many of them showed their scepticism in being recorded in their informal casual conversations and decided not to participate in the research.

privileged in terms of teaching resources, teaching quality, number of trained teachers, class size, and classes held, and infra-structure than those in cosmopolitan cities in Bangladesh, such as Dhaka, Chittagong, or Sylhet (Hamid, 2010; Imam, 2005). In fact, these participants from diverse linguistic, educational, and socio-economic backgrounds[36] encountered the 'global education' system in English in a hi-tech university. The physical space of private universities is in stark contrast to the space of the majority of schools and colleges at which these participants had previously studied (cf. Chapter 4).

The information shows that the majority of the participants came to Dhaka from comparatively less developed, quieter cities and rural areas to pursue their higher education in the UOE. They came from demographically varied backgrounds and had to adjust to a new kind of education system in the high-tech space of the vertically structured UOE, as well as adapt themselves to the capital and cosmopolitan city of Dhaka – an expensive, crowded, traffic-ridden city – away from their family and friends, and familiar space. Being in the unfamiliar space of the university and the city itself caused these students to experience certain tensions, which they shared in the interviews. The table in Appendix 5A also challenges the accepted belief that only students from rich and affluent urban-centric educational backgrounds could afford private education.

The information also reveals that the majority of the participants in the research were from middle-class, lower middle-class, and working class backgrounds[37]. Abeer, for example, was dependent on philanthropic donations from a mosque and acquaintances. He is the son of a rickshaw-puller, while Shuvo's father is a farmer.

[36] Challenging the accepted notion that private education is only for the privileged elite, students from middle class and lower middle class backgrounds also study there, excluding perhaps the lowest class or income group. The immense significance of higher education in the society, the competitive job market, and the inability to gain admission to public universities force some parents to sell property and land, or to borrow money from relatives and pawn-brokers, to ensure their children's education in the private universities. Not all private universities in Bangladesh have high tuition fees; some are very affordable; however, there is a strong dispute over the quality of education they offer. M. Alam (2009) has observed that private universities have begun to spread their marketing activities outside the cosmopolitan cities to attract more students.

[37] The definition of class that I have adapted from Rampton (2003b, p. 55) attends to students and their parents' educational background, their parents' occupational background, their "general dispositions and trajectories within recreational and institutional space" and their own personal opinions about their class. For example, as the participants shared in the interviews, it appeared that they perceive class as being closely intertwined with economic conditions.

This knowledge helped me to gain an in-depth understanding about the language practices of a reasonably broad spectrum of young adults.

The participants also had diverse linguistic backgrounds. Most of them spoke a regional variety of Bangla and three participants were speakers of one of the indigenous languages, Chakma. However, during the research, the participants mainly spoke in Colloquial Bangla (CB), a variation that has evolved from the everyday interaction among people from regional backgrounds. Some of them also wrote 'Bangla' which in fact refers to Standard Colloquial Bangla (SCB) and CB, but not Standard Bangla (SB) which is only used in a specific written form (cf. Chapter 1).

The voluntary participation in the research influenced the nature of the data to some extent. Most of the research participants were from the Bangla-medium education background with only 10 participants from the English-medium education background. Hence for this research, equal numbers of participants from each background could not be ensured. However, the participants from the English-medium education background were especially enthusiastic about the research and more accommodative, that is, they frequently requested that I should hang out with them, invited me to attend their parties both inside and outside the university, made an effort to record their conversations on a digital recorder, and meticulously gained the consent of their non-research participant friends so that their conversations could be used in the research. The amount of data gathered from both the groups was therefore the same in size. This might appear to have impacted on the presentation of the data in the thesis, because Chapter 7 has more data from English-medium background participants than is found in Chapter 6 from Bangla-medium participants. However, since the purpose of the research was not to make a comparative study or define the characteristics of language practices between two groups of students, the disparity in the number of participants has not impacted on the validity of the research. In general, a nascent understanding of young adults' language practices through transglossic lens could still be developed.

In addition, because participation was voluntary, it was not possible to insist that conversations should be recorded according to my desired plan. Some of the participants' friends were not ready to engage, and the willing participants therefore

could not record their casual conversations with their friends. A few of the participants who were ready to participate individually were also unable to provide me with recorded conversations; hence, even though I interviewed them and arranged FGD with them, I have not referred to their comments in the thesis. Overall, the participants in the research seemed sufficiently diverse to ensure a broader understanding of the language and identity of young adults from a range of linguistic, demographic, educational, and socioeconomic backgrounds. Hence, 29 participants seemed to be adequate for validating the research findings.

3.7 Research methods

Ethnography consists of a family of methods that ensures direct and sustained contact with participants in the context of their daily lives (O' Reilly, 2009). Because ethnography firmly establishes that "people are not a cultural or linguistic catalogue" (Blommaert & Dong, 2010, p. 3), it defies context-less extraction and analysis of culture or language. My aim was not to develop an understanding about the participants' language practice and identification from language alone. My extended time with the research participants on campus, the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions, the close observation of students in the virtual space and my informal discussions with them allowed me to gain a holistic understanding of their language practices and negotiation of identity as embodied activities.

As a critical ethnographer, I observed their language practices with an expository stance. For example, one a research participant, Ria, very frequently engaged in the 'banglicisation' of English, i.e., she spoke English with a Bangla accent (cf. Chapter 6, extract 6.1 & 6.2) and identified that this stylisation was a way of entertaining herself. However, only by probing her background and observing her in both virtual and university space in communication with her close friends could I comprehend the historicity of her language practices and also decipher that she was enacting linguistic ideology, mocking those students who had difficulty pronouncing English words. Instead of taking the participants' utterances at face value, I had to interpret the multiple and layered meaning underlying the utterances.

The multiple methods described above ensured both 'thick participation' (Sarangi, 2007) and 'thick description' on my part (Geertz, 1973). Thick description required

me to observe the participants closely in their interaction, which became significant for building up a detailed picture of the participants' language practices. The value of thick participation and description was immense. I minimised the ontological gaps between text and context, i.e., how the text and context originated in the language practices, and checked my own emergent interpretations, 'tuned into' the participants' perspective (Maybin, 2006, p. 12), and tried to advance beyond what they said to what they meant or intended to mean by their particular acts of language. Eventually, I developed an ethnographic sensibility (Leung, 2005) about the relationship between the participants' language practices, their locatedness in space and their negotiation of identities.

Participant observations in natural settings

The significant facet of my research was to observe participants in their own environment and gain a deep understanding of the dynamics of their language practices within their social landscape. I immersed myself in the setting and observed the participants' language practices on campus[38]. By "getting close" to participants, I developed a "texture, an immediacy, and a depth of understanding" and saw their "experiences and involvements, their conflicts and their alliances, their perspectives, and their beliefs" (Grills, 1998, p. 16). The following are features in their language practices that I interpreted: their use of English, Bangla, and Hindi, specific stylisation in any of the languages, their interaction with one another, expressions of solidarity or resentment, their locatedness within the physical space of the university or any practices of polarisation, and finally their use of other markers of identity, such as dress, hair style, accessories, or artefacts such as mobile phones, laptops, or i-pods. As I consider language to be an embodied practice, the observation of extralinguistic features in the participants' lives helped me to understand the various ways in which the participants negotiated social identity, as well as group identities. Casual conversations were recorded in my presence as well as in my absence. The participants sometimes took the digital

[38] For my research, I kept field notes to a minimum, and their role in the research was marginal. This was an informed decision. 'Hanging out' with me, an academic in her late thirties, was already uncomfortable for the participants. I did not want to make them more conscious of the fact by bringing out a notebook to our encounters and writing in front of them. Instead, I decided to actively engage in conversation, or to answer questions when necessary. Nevertheless, I recorded any observable features that I considered on the spur of the moment to be necessary for making connections between an event and my intuitive knowledge.

recorder and recorded their conversations during class breaks according to their convenience.

Immense importance was placed on ethical considerations in the research design, and the process of recording casual conversations and collecting examples of FB entries was therefore clearly stated, explained, and repeatedly discussed at every step of the research. In order to record the casual conversations in day-to-day life and collect texts from FB, the participants had to be briefed properly about the process of observation and the purpose of the recordings, even though it was clearly stated in the flyer, information for students, information sheet (Appendices A, B, C), and consent form. Within a few days, I realised that it was difficult to record the conversations without including the research participants' friends, with whom they spent their time during class-breaks. Hence, I asked the research participants to encourage their friends with whom they spent their leisure time on campus to participate in the research; as a result, 29 participants constituted several groups of friends. In this way, I was able to minimise the participation of non-research participants in casual conversations. In some cases, research participants obtained their friends' signatures on consent forms provided by met. In some instances, research participants voiced the purpose of the research and asked their interlocutors' permission to record, especially when they were on their own, or when there was no opportunity to obtain signed consent forms, or when their friends participated in conversation randomly or sporadically. These verbal consents were recorded on the digital recorder. It was also clearly explained to them that the names of these participants would be anonymised if any part of their interaction was used in the research.

The greatest challenge was the exclusion of non-research participants in FB conversations, because the participants had little control over who commented on their posts or with whom they would engage in conversations. Therefore, only those FB conversations in which non-research participants were aware of the research, or came to have acquaintance with me during the ethnographic research, or included me in their FB friend list, were used. To avoid any threat of ethical haziness or conflict, the conversations of non-research participants included for analysis in the study were kept to a minimum.

The process of recording casual conversations depended on the availability of the research participants. There were two digital recorders, and I carried one most of the time when hanging out with the participants. The other one was taken by research participants who preferred not to be accompanied by me all the time. This largely happened with participants who spent most of their leisure time in the courtyard (Chapter 4). Some participants could not take me with them, as their friends who were not research participants did not feel comfortable in my presence. In all, two digital recorders were used every day for three months in different spaces and with different groups of research participants, either in my presence or absence.

Participant observation helped me to observe the participants in different situations, and to compare their actual language practices, and their opinions about their language practices, in interviews. The indication was that individuals are not always aware of their own choice of language practice, or of the societal role that influences their decision to choose certain linguistic features. "The comparison and contrast between what people say [said] and what people do [did] in a given context [enabled me] to arrive at a fuller representation of what is [was] going on" (Hornberger, 1994, p. 688). Observation thus also helped me to obtain clarification from them about why they spoke in certain way and what circumstances instigated different ways of speaking.

I did not observe the participants in the classroom because the usual teacher-dominated classroom creates little scope for students to interact. Equally, I wanted to avoid creating allegiances with figures of authority at the university (Eckert, 1989). Because I was not a teacher at UOE and did have close contact with university authorities, I could "enhance my credibility as an independent operator" (Eckert, 1989, p. 30) and mingle with the research participants in the university cafeteria, the library, favourite hangouts at the university, the stairways, clubs, or nearby fast food shop, FFC (Fortuna Fried Chicken).

In-depth interviews

The purpose of conducting an in-depth interview was to allow participants to express their experiences in relation to English, Bangla, and Hindi and to share

opinions about their language practices in their own terms (cf. William & Benjamin, 2004). Nevertheless, I went to the research site with several semi-structured and open-ended questions (see Appendix 4) which allowed them to ponder on their language practices. I was

> endlessly attentive and inquisitive, nonmoralistic, and very concerned about learning all the ins and outs of their day-to-day activities – to develop a highly sustained awareness of the world as they envisioned it, engaged it, and adjusted to it (Grills, 1998, p. 33).

Interview questions in relation to participants' language practices enabled me to contextualise those practices. With reference to two ethnographic longitudinal studies on students writing in the United Kingdom and professional academics writing in Hungary, Slovakia, Spain, and Portugal, Lillis (2008, p. 363) stated that 'cyclical talk' with writers about their writing enabled the researcher to develop "an exploratory space" and allowed "tiny emic details to be explored". Epistemologically I retained the 'cyclical talk' as an essential aspect of my interviews because it enabled me to 'contextualise the context' (Gumperz, 1982):

> Such emic contributions draw the researchers directly towards contextualisation, that is, towards a more specific and/or complex understanding of what is significant to writers [here, participants] at a specific moment in time, in their specific sociohistoric writing trajectories [here, speaking] (Lillis, 2008, p. 365).

Participants' opinions and comments were "an entranceway to narrative understanding" and "an adventure of sense-making" (Miller & Benjamin, 2004, p. 200). Participants' anecdotes regarding language and identity were 'critical' to identifying the nature of their experience and how they positioned themselves in their narratives with reference to language, culture, and identity (cf. Chapter 5). Following Ros i Solé (2007, p. 203), I accepted "learners do not communicate in a social vacuum but acquire new roles, positions and vantage points from which they negotiate their L2 selves". The students' self-reflection in interviews and my ethnographic observation allowed me to better understand their stories and the beliefs and attitudes embedded within them, the linguistically, socially and

culturally shaped discursive practices, and the ways in which they drew on identity attributes available to them in their voices (Coffey, 2008). Anecdotes also allowed me to see their life trajectories and *habitus* in construction – what sets of options they had available in the present and past and what choices they had made in their life trajectories. I also had a subtle understanding of their dreams, aspirations, and apprehension (Appendix 5B).

The focus group discussions (FGD) and interviews enabled me to identify whether the participants as a group thought the same way as individuals. This initiated new forms of discussion on the part of participants.

> What distinguishes focus group interviewing from qualitative interviewing with a single individual is that the group interaction may trigger thoughts and ideas among participants that do not emerge during an individual interview (Lichtman, 2006, p. 129).

The FGD elicited individual points of view as well as collective views, conforming to the common sense knowledge that individuals "make sense of their worlds through interaction with others rather than as individuals" (O'Reilly, 2009, p. 80).

Additional data sources and virtual ethnography

As everyday life is technologically mediated (Murthy, 2008) and a combination of online and offline communication provides a richer understanding of any social research (Sade-Beck, 2004), I included social media in the research, making the research multi-sited (Lecompte, 2002). Most of the participants were 'techno-friendly' and computer, Internet, and mobile phone devices and networking played a significant role in their life. Because of the increased importance of technologically mediated discourses in the lives of young adults, I perceived virtual space and their engagement with it to be a significant facet of their everyday life. The inclusion of a virtual site in the ethnographic research (strongly suggested by Androutsopoulos, 2008) captured the complexity of young adults' lives in a global world and the openness and versatility of experiences they were exposed to because of the Internet. There was no way I could "delimit" the research "to traditional physical configuration" (Murthy, 2008, p. 849).

I had access to the Facebook (FB) accounts of 17 of the 29 participants, from which I collected their virtual conversations. Indicating the technological affordances of FB, such as pictures, the display of interests and hobbies, social networking, and interactions, Zhao, Grasmuck, and Martin (2008, p. 1820) have stated that FB is "an ideal condition for examining identity construction … where the relationships are anchored in offline communities". Following in the footsteps of Androutsopoulos (2006, 2011a), I surfed the walls of the participants' FB accounts on a regular basis and simultaneously examined the FB conversations from four perspectives, incorporating both micro and macro dimensions of the language. These perspectives were: 1. the commonly accepted typical linguistic forms observable in virtual discourse; 2. the idiosyncratic particular forms of language and discourse style emerging from the creative amalgamation of English, Bangla, and Hindi; 3. the acknowledgment of participants' *voices* that are influenced by a variety of contextual parameters; and finally, 4. the construction of space in interaction with reference to 'other' spaces. Maintaining consideration of the variety of linguistic and non-linguistic resources, I also tried to understand how participants discursively negotiated their identity. I aligned my work with Androutsopoulos (2008, 2011b) who accepted the existence of categories in terms of identities, but gave equal emphasis to the fact that individuals discursively negotiate identity in on-line discussions. His line of contention is productive because it allows contemplation of all the dimensions of identification, specifically when language is perceived as the amalgamation of *voices* from the past, present, and future.

National identification has certain relevance in a person's life, and can nourish the social and cultural needs of individuals in respect of their collective need (Blackledge & Creese, 2009a). Given this, I also observed how the participants associated with and distanced themselves from certain aspects of identification with their language practices. With reference to diasporic identity, Mandaville (2003 in Androutsopoulos, 2006, p. 521) stated that the Internet provides "spaces of communication in which the identity, meaning, and boundaries of a diasporic community are continually constructed, debated, and reimagined". I wanted to learn more about the "reimagination" dimension: how identity was remade when diverse images were one click away in virtual space. I considered the 'emblematic

discourses' (Androutsopoulos, 2006) that participants used beyond the dichotomous language choices, such as English or Bangla, and how they brought tone and voice into the discourses through font size and symbols. I also tried to unravel the identities that were portrayed implicitly rather than explicitly (Zhao et al., 2008) by specific linguistic expressions, coinage of words, or links. I also used the Foucauldian idea of heterotopias in exploring the online 'other space' and young adults' experiences (Davis, 2010).

I observed participants' use of languages, manipulation of signs, symbols, and multimodal materials in the virtual space. My knowledge about their background and information was derived from the fact-finding information sheets, and the interviews allowed me to better understand their patterns of language practices and negotiations of identities. Interestingly, the virtual space, because of its flexibility and fluidity, provided more opportunities to understand how different resources were used to enact gendered or classed identity, how participants went beyond these prescribed markers using resources available to them and how they re-crafted their selves in the virtual space (cf. Chapter 4). I observed the images, photos, and diverse materials used by the participants to construct their FB spaces (i.e., wall, time-line, photo albums, links, personal information), using them to develop my 'ethnographic sensibility' and understand how they were used to build a digitally mediated FB space, engage in interactions, and negotiate positions.

Facebook is an integral space for young adults and their identity is not anonymous like many sites where individuals may have a 'claimed identity' or 'false identity' hiding their gender, race, age, religion, social, or cultural affiliation. I therefore considered the virtual space, language practices, and negotiation of identity as an extension of the participants' space and identification (Zhao et al., 2008). As I dealt with FB, a site on which people know one another as friends, and where relationships are anchored in off-line relationships, participants could not enact too 'unreal' an identity, in contrast to anonymous. However, it was interesting to see how participants could be openly resilient and resistant or create 'socially desired selves' or 'hoped for possible selves' (Zhao et al., 2008), using the fluidity and flexibility of the virtual space.

3.8 Text trajectories

The text trajectories refer to the processes involved, from the recording of the data (cf. Blommaert, 2005a) – here the conversations of young adults – to presenting the data in the research report or thesis. In other words, the processes unravel what happens to the data from the beginning to the end, and the summarisation, translations, reformulations, interpretations, and evaluations the data undergo. Transcribing the data was a strenuous task. They were messy and chaotic, especially the casual conversations, which were held in a noisy cafeteria or club where the participants' dialogues were overwhelmed by high volume English and Hindi songs.

The translation of Bangla to English was yet another challenge, and it was difficult to find appropriate translations of Bangla and the distinct lingos used by the younger generation that had specific meaning, such as *chorom* (awesome), *chame* (deceptively), *para* (punishment/cause pain), *jhal* (a 'hot girl' - sexy), and so on[39]. I asked for participants' interpretation of these words and translated them. I also did not follow word-by-word literal translation in order to avoid the confusion created by the long, passive sentences, or flowery language, or metaphor, used by participants. Hence, I used my linguistic, semantic, and pragmatic knowledge of both languages to keep the balance, so that the translation retained the original meaning, i.e., authenticity of the data, and at the same time, ensured the engagement of non-Bangladeshi readers with the data.

One focus of my research was to look into the linguistic appropriation of English and for this, transcription with subtlety was significantly important for the research. I was also aware that the authenticity of the research would require a thorough transcription of the language practices, even though it might be difficult for non-Bangladeshi readers to follow. Atkinson (1992 as cited in Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2007, p. 360) mentions in this regard that "the more comprehensible and readable the reported speech, the less 'authentic' it must be". However, I did not rigorously

[39] It sometimes seemed that I had a four-word translation for a single Bangla word, making the translation awkward to include in the spoken discourses of participants in casual conversations and FB conversations. In such cases, I identified English words that closely approximated the meaning of the words in Bangla. For further clarification, I used footnotes and gave additional information about the context-specific and generation-specific meanings of the words.

transcribe the pauses, turn-takings, over-laps, volume, or pace, because they were not relevant to the focus of the research.

In the extracts of face-to-face conversations, Bangla is presented in Roman script because Bangla is not widely supported in online environments outside Bangladesh. Al-Azami (2006), Al-Azami, Kenner, Ruby and Gregory (2010), and Blackledge and Creese (2009a) have undertaken a number of studies on the spoken discourses of the immigrant Bangladeshi community in the UK, and they have used transliteration in Roman script and translation for Bangla. International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) transcription of specific Bangla and English words is given when it is necessary to make a point in terms of participants' pronunciation. A general guide to transcription conventions is provided in Appendix 6, while a specific guide to language identification conventions is provided after the relevant extracts.

3.9 Epistemic process and data analysis

Around 55 hours of casual conversation recorded on digital recorders were transcribed and translated (phonetically transcribed when necessary) to make a point regarding the phonemic and phonetic features of the words spoken[40]. To understand the relationship between language, identity, and space, I focused on different segments of conversations held in different spaces of the university and on Facebook (FB). The majority of the face-to-face conversations were held in university clubs, the cafeteria, library, and courtyard - an open space where some participants preferred to hang out during their class breaks (cf. Chapter 4). A close observation of the language revealed that the language practices and negotiation of identities of the research participants were distinct from one space to another. Based on the distinct nature of the conversations, I selected four spaces for more rigorous analysis in which I looked into the symbolic and material artefacts and spatial arrangement of each location. I also explored what activities the research participants were involved in and with whom, and how language practices were mediated by these spatial dynamics. I selected Extracts 4.1 – 4.4 (Chapter 4) from

[40] I have a thorough understanding of how English phonetics and phonology work because of my master's degree in applied linguistics. In addition, I was born and brought up in Dhaka and speak a relatively standard-accented Bangla. Because of my education and intense engagement with American popular culture, I am capable of identifying the changes brought about by the participants to the segmental and supra-segmental features of Bangla and English.

four spaces (English Club, Cafeteria, Courtyard, and FB) by identifying the thematic realisation of space, as identified in Chapter 2: language and identity, as mediated in space; language and identity, as realised in the presence of imaginary and relational spaces; language and identity in third space; and language and identity in the heterotopic space (Chapter 4).

Around 41 hours of interview data and 6 hours of FGD were recorded and transcribed. Selected sections were translated. The main analytical concept that I depended on for analysing the interview and FGD was *positioning*, extensively used by Pavlenko (2001, 2007). First, the process of self-positioning unravelled how individuals situated and construct their subjectivities in their narratives, and how they positioned *others* as a result. Second, according to Pavlenko (2001, p.322), the process of self-positioning was "closely linked to the ways in which dominant ideologies of language and identity position the narrators and to ways in which the narrators internalize or resist these positioning". It seemed to serve the specific purposes of my thesis. As *transglossia* is about voices, I showed how the construction of *self* and *other* was closely linked to how individuals borrow voices from *others*. I also demonstrated a deeper understanding of the socio-cultural and ideological dynamics that impacted on the voices and their attempts in association and dissociation with the voices of *others*.

I observed two positioning approaches: *reflexive positioning* (how narrators situate themselves) and *interactive positioning* (how narrators describe others). Following the work of Koven (2004), as mentioned in Pavlenko (2007, pp. 179 - 180), I analysed the representation of *self* in discursive forms: (1) research participants' positioning of themselves as interlocutors, narrators, or characters, that is, *speaker roles*; (2) participants' references to other social actors, that is, *denotational characterisations*; (3) speakers' descriptions of the verbal actions of others, that is, *metapragmatic descriptors*; (4) participants' interpretations of others' speech (e.g. direct vs. indirect), that is, use of *quotation*. To analyse the responses of the semi-structured questionnaire and focus group discussions based on the discursive positioning mentioned above, I selected segments of conversations that showed the specific construction of *others*: civilised, uncultured, rural, high class, powerful, weak, *khat*, fast, colonial, neo-colonial, Hindi serial watchers, local, global,

Western woman, and Bangladeshi others (Chapter 5). The list of data included for analysis in the study is given in Appendix 6.

While analysing the data, both casual and FB conversations, and interview and FGD data, I made the research process progressively ‘spiral’, not linear. The simultaneous collection and analysis of data gave me the freedom to move back and forth to research questions, to theory and to data analysis. The research steps were flexible and emergent, not discreet, and the analysis enabled me to question the common-sense knowledge, as propounded by the print media, as well as to gain a sophisticated understanding of young adults’ language practices, their locatedness in time and space. Their continual review of steps (O’ Reilly, 2009) helped me to minimise my ‘otherness’, which was determined by my age, gender, linguistic, socio-economic background. I also had to make the familiar strange (Gordon, Holland, & Lahelma, 2007). I did not accept that I knew their language simply because I am a Bangladeshi. With the interrogation of “linguistic and textual fine-grain”, I opted for the key element of Foucauldian analysis: “rendering the familiar unfamiliar” (Pennycook, 1994, p. 130). Thus a constant questioning in the process of rendering the familiar unfamiliar and bringing in as much of an ‘emic’ view as possible eventually helped me in my attempts to untangle their historicised and engaged practices, and finally, their identities.

The *epistemic process* leads to ‘rich points’ (Aga 1995 as cited in Blommaert & Dong, 2010, p. 40) that develop awareness about the incongruity or strangeness of a specific phenomenon. (Blommaert, 2007). I constantly looked for these points and questioned notions that were taken for granted about Bangla and English, Bangladeshi notions of culture, and Bangladeshi nationalism. After all, “societies are a patchwork of micro-units, they only *look* homogenous” (Blommaert & Dong, 2010, p. 41; emphasis original). I had to maintain focus on a number of points, making the ethnographic research *polycentric*. Because of this policentricity, I had a better understanding of why Ashiq was submissive in front of me and strategic with the security guards (Chapter 4), but laddish in the courtyard (Chapter 7).

In order to explore the transglossic nature of language, I also focused on the digitally recorded face-to-face conversations and on-line conversations derived

from FB of the research participants. I identified all references of mixed codes, modes, genres, and stylisation. There were extensive and intensive uses of English, Bangla, Hindi, different regional varieties of Bangla, specific stylisation of Bangla and English, unambiguous references to different genres of entertainment, such as music genre - Bangladeshi, Western, and South Asian (specifically Indian), filmic genre - Bangladeshi, Western, and Indian, and advertising genre – Bangladeshi, Western, and Indian. The digitally recorded conversations and observations confirmed that the mixed codes, modes, genres, and stylisation differed distinctly from individual to individual. The differences were mainly based on the types of linguistic resources used from SB, SCB, and regional varieties of Bangla, English and Hindi and cultural resources used from different genres from various countries. From these, I selected language practices that seemed to be enriched with local linguistic and cultural resources, such as Bangladeshi and South Asian, and appeared to be inundated with linguistic and cultural resources from the Western world. Based on the distinct nature of codes, modes, genres, and stylisation in language practices, two specific groups of research participants were identified: Ria and her friends (Chapter 6) and Nayeem and his friends (Chapter 7). From these participants, I selected Extracts 6.1 - 6.11 and Extracts 7.1 - 7.10 on the basis of their mixture of codes, modes, genres, and stylisation. I specifically focused on segments of transglossic language practices in which these participants negotiated their identities.

As the purpose of the research was to explore *transglossia* (even though appropriation, contextualisation, and localisation of the linguistic, lexical, semantic, and syntactic properties of languages were also important), I examined the data through a *transglossic framework* (see Chapter 2). The spoken texts of the participants were at the centre of my data analysis, but I used my ethnographic sensibility to unravel the *contextual* (immediate surroundings), *pretextual* (historical trajectory of the text) (Pennycook, 2001, pp. 111-112), and *subtextual* meanings (the discourses and ideologies underlying the text), and the *intertextual* references (meaning across texts) (Pennycook, 2007a, p. 53). This is compatible with Blommaert's (2005b, p. 16) ethnography of text: an ethnography that ensures both micro and macro analysis of texts. In summary, the analysis of the data was ethnographically based with equal emphasis on the linguistic and contextual

features of the language. Like Blommaert (2006), I demonstrated that the participants' language was a dimension of, and entwined with, social activities, space, and spatiality.

Because of my specific interest in *transglossia,* I was interested in the voices of the participants in their dialogic interactions, and the resonance of the past and present in their voices: I always needed to look beyond the dialogues. Consequently, the analysis ensured a rigorous and robust understanding of the language practices of young adults in Bangladesh. On the one hand, I had their dialogues, their immediate voices; on the other; I had to look for the multiple divergent voices underlying their voices (cf. Pavlenko, 2007), of which the participants themselves were not always aware. Their *habitus*, their symbolic capital, their overall life trajectories, the social dynamics of space and spatiality and their ideological role in the language and negotiated subject positions somewhat impacted on those embedded voices (cf. Blommaert, 2005a). Hence, I had to bring my voice as a researcher to articulate their voice. I used my disciplinary knowledge, theoretical framework, and awareness of sociocultural significance of English, Bangla, and Hindi, developed through intensive research, to bring out their voices. As an ethnographer, during the analysis process, I also complemented their voice with mine. The dialoguing voices of participants and mine ensured "a more complex understanding of the situation than either could do alone" (Emerson et al., 2007, p. 366). Their *multivocality* and *double-voicing* were revealed by careful presentation of their quoted voices in dialogues.

In the contextualisation, I had to bring in the descriptive account of space, and my field notes, which captured my "deepening local knowledge, emerging sensitivities, and evolving substantive concerns and theoretical insights" (Emerson et al., 2007, p. 355). In the process, my disciplinary knowledge and theoretical knowledge, as well as my ethical and moral commitment to the research, the research participants, and my field of applied linguistics, ensured the representation of the data as spoken by the research participants (Canagarajah, 2013). In addition, I made sure that the transcription and translation of the data text approximate the 'real' event of interaction with its idiosyncrasies (Bucholtz, 2000; Roberts, 1997). As it is usually apprehended, 'real' events sometimes get distorted in 'the politics of transcription'. Thus I used the language as my entry point to the analysis of the data, but I was

mindful in a structured and disciplined way about what I saw, heard, and felt. This process of making sense of the data revealed the *epistemic process* (Blommaert & Dong, 2010).

Participants were continually questioned about what they meant or intended to mean with their particular acts of language and *posttextual interpretations* of the data (the ways texts are read, interpreted, resisted, and appropriated) were thus ensured (Pennycook, 2007a, p. 53). In other words, the participants themselves engaged in the process of contextualisation of their conversations (cf. also Pavlenko, 2007). Their responses on why they produced their own language and how they interpreted the language of others allowed the research to reflect not only my interpretation, but also theirs. Consequently, the emergent interpretations through the analysis were 'tuned into' participants' perspectives and voices (Maybin, 2006, p. 12). Participants' personal interpretations of their own voices and intentions were accommodated in the research and their opinions were fused into the data analysis section, rather than being put in a separate section. Therefore, the research itself was *polyphonic*, i.e., it contained multiple independent voices working together in a text (Bakhtin, 1981).

3.10 The political mayhem and strategic use of double-voicing

I arrived in Dhaka from Sydney in May, 2011. The political situation in Bangladesh started to become bleak around the same time. The country was undergoing incessant agitation programmes in the form of protest rallies, demonstrations, and *hartals* (general strikes that involve a total closure of workplaces, offices, educational institutions, shops, and so on). People could not leave their homes because of the violence created by the picketers, political activists and demonstrators[41]. The research was about to be hampered by the political situation on the one hand, and by the forthcoming period of Ramadan, the Muslim month of

[41] *Hartals* (as defined above) were called by the opposing Bangladesh National Party's (BNP) Chairperson Khaleda Zia against the ruling Party Awami League in pre-election negotiations. The BNP decided not to participate in the election under the existing government rule, claiming the possibility of forgery and manipulation of vote results. The hartals were a form of protest against the Government's effort to annul the non-party caretaker governance during the election period. There were 36-hour, 48-hour, and 72-hour non-stop *hartals* during my stay in Bangladesh.

fasting, on the other[42]. I was expected to work with the students during the spring semester, i.e. May to September 2011. Unlike the government universities, where the schedule of university classes and examinations accommodate the political situation in the country, private universities usually do not compromise on the length of the programme. Hence, to make up for the time lost for the *hartal*, they would provide extra classes during non-*hartal* days to compensate for the lost classes. This meant that my research participants had little leisure time during class breaks, including during weekends. With the increased number of classes came the pressure of class tests, mid-term exams, project work, and class presentations.

I deliberately forwent my professional authorial voice and used the *apu* subject position[43] in order to win their hearts[44]. I would, for example, say earnestly, “Please, please, please, please. Take the recorder now. *Apu* is requesting you. Won’t you listen to your *apu*?” My voice and the earnest yearning would not normally reflect my age and social positioning. I also knew that they would not be able to say ‘no’ to that voice, specifically because the voice was coming from an Assistant Professor at Dhaka University. These situations show that any ethnographic research requires patience to the highest degree, and a great range of diplomacy. I acted diplomatically, pretending, for example, that I did not see Ashiq in the courtyard when he had informed me earlier by phone that he would not be coming to the university. On occasion, I would pretend to be sad that I could no longer obtain recordings of conversations from the participants and would bring my mother identity to the fore to win their sympathy. Endless patience, empathy, understanding of their locatedness in the space and time of the university, transgressing my own subject positions of a middle-aged professional academic,

[42] As the length of the research or the quantity of time with the participants was compromised because of the *hartals* and Ramadan, I increased the intensity of the research. I recorded for as long as possible and interviewed as many participants as possible. Because of the constant changes in the class routine, I was stranded on the campus on my own for hours on many occasions. As I had decided to avoid any sort of affiliation with university authorities, I could not go to the English department, where I had colleagues, or to the Registrar, all of whom were very much ready to provide me with all kinds of support. Nevertheless, the participants were able to be more honest and open with me, because they saw more of my researcher identity than the authoritative teacher identity. They felt assured that whatever they recorded during their personal time on campus would not go beyond me and them.

[43] *Apu* means senior sister – social address for someone senior. There is a difference between *apa* and *apu*; *apa* is somewhat formal and appropriate for someone significantly senior in age, whereas *apu* is informal, used for someone younger in age.

[44] Ethnographic researchers need ‘chameleon-like capacity’ to adjust to an unpredictable, ambiguous, and sometimes harsh research site.

and donning the hat of a researcher and student from UTS, enabled me to bear with their unpredictable attitudes, gather adequate natural conversations, and complete their interviews.

3.11 Data collection and strategic minimisation of intrusion

To minimise the impact of the researcher on the research (O'Reilly, 2009), I sometimes allowed the research participants to record their conversations in their own terms in my absence[45]. As 'hanging out' with an ethnographic researcher was not an "everyday occurrence" (Eckert, 1989, p. 35), the participants seemed to feel uncomfortable. To be accepted within the private space of the participants, I approximated their style by wearing *salwar kamij*, which young adult women wear, instead of the *saree*, a traditional dress which, as a university teacher, I usually wear at Dhaka University. At the initial stage of the data collection, I sat in the cafeteria, allowing the research participants and other students to become accustomed to my presence there.

The role of researchers at interview is paradoxical. On the one hand, they are encouraged to be sincere, warm, enthusiastic, non-judgmental, and empathic, so that interviewees feel comfortable about the specific phenomena being researched. In fact, in interviews researchers are the research tools. On the other hand, they are encouraged to maintain distance in the interviewer-respondent relationship through 'bracketing', because "the interview is a dance of intimacy and distancing that creates a dramatic space where the interview partners disclose their inner thoughts and feelings and the interviewer knowingly hears and facilitates the story and recognises, repairs, and clarifies any apparent communication missteps" (Miller & Benjamin, 2004, p. 196). I wondered to what extent it was possible for me to distance myself while I was interviewing. Does not a successful conversation

[45] Questions may be raised about the reliability of the data in the presence or absence of the researcher. However, as my purpose was to bring out the authenticity of the participants' voices in their language practices, I preferred to have their natural conversations rather than contrived conversations in my presence. Saying that, I also knew that the digital recorder created an 'observer effect'. Even though I was not physically present, the recognition that I would listen to the participants' conversations would make them different. For example, one of the participants, Tia, said that she would deliberately avoid swear words in the presence of myself or the digital recorder. Nevertheless, ethnographic research recognises the possible intrusion caused by the researcher, the participants, and the sociocultural dynamics of the research context (Canagarajah, 2013), and suggests minimising the intrusion with other ethnographic approaches.

require the equal participation of all interlocutors? In this research, the 'listening space' belonged to both the interviewee and the interviewer, the researcher and hence, during the interviews the research participants in many occasions questioned me – about my understanding of language and politics behind it. I answered their questions as neutrally as possible, with an attempt not to influence their opinions.

As identified by Blommaert and Dong (2010), people usually find it difficult to articulate opinions about language and identity; hence, I had to soften the interview questions pragmatically. I had to elicit information indirectly from the interviewees. Even then, some participants from the business administration faculty found my questions about nationalism and identity very trivial and sometimes broke into laughter. Therefore, it does seem that "asking is indeed very often the worst possible way of trying to find out" (Blommaert & Dong, 2010, p. 2).

3.12 'Burden of an ethnographer'

My identity as a researcher was appropriated and recontextualised by the research participants in the form of address they used to refer to me – none of which was selected by me – solely dependent on the comfort and desire of the participants. Interestingly, many of them preferred the relationship at the personal level rather than the professional one. They called me either *apu* (elder sister) or *aunty* (sister of the mother), rather than 'madam' or 'ma'am', which made it easier for them to 'hang out' with me. Hamid (2010, p. 263), in a research study conducted in his native village in Bangladesh, observed the research participants' preference for his professional identity, as "muting his local identity", even though he went back to the schools in his home town, where he had grown up. I assumed the nature of the research somewhat determined the identity the participants negotiated for the researcher. As Hamid mentioned, it is more important to accept whatever identity the research participants prefer for the researcher to ensure the smooth progress of the research, which I also did[46].

[46] I personally did not like the participants addressing me as an aunty. The address, when I think about it in retrospect, reminded me of my age. While my time with them somehow took me back to a younger age and gave me a pleasurable sense of transgression, their form of address brought me back to reality. "No – no – no – you can't be an insider, no matter how long you hang out with us" – was the implicit message I received with every address of 'aunty'.

This issue leads us to the common dilemma faced by ethnographers who research their own community or teacher on their own classroom experience: the insider/outsider; the familiar/strange; the participant/non-participant. I wondered whether my familiarity might “distort interpretation toward shared biases” (Hornberger, 1994, p. 689). Could I have minimised my presence or intrusion in the research site? I was both an insider and an outsider in the research. I am a Bangladeshi, born and brought up there; I was educated at a university in Bangladesh. At some point in time, I had enjoyed the freedom young adults usually enjoy after high school. As a young adult, I was enthusiastic about American popular culture, i.e., music, films, sitcom, and TV thrillers. Contrary to my expected ‘disposition’ as an academic in her late thirties, I was well aware of current popular culture, hence I could bond with some participants immediately when they talked about reality shows or thrillers like *House*, *Good Wife*, *Master Chef*, X-*factor*, and *Desperate Housewives*, or a sit-com like *How I Met Your Mother*. Hence, some participants and I had somewhat similar interests.

While I was fully aware of American popular culture, I had little knowledge about Indian or Bangladeshi entertainment. When the Indian channels became a massive hit in Bangladesh in the early 1990s, I was a university student. It had little influence on my life, whereas the participants in this study, most of whom were young infants at that time, grew up with a strong affinity with Hindi entertainment. Therefore, whenever they sang songs from the Hindi films or used catchphrases from specific Hindi TV serials or films, I was totally unaware of their lexical and semantic indexicalities. They also possessed a range of linguistic and cultural resources as a result of their engagement with Korean and Japanese entertainment. Sometimes I felt that I had grown up “during eras of closed and deaf monoglossia” while these participants were “the new cultural and creative consciousness” living “in an actively polyglot world” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 12). Therefore, I did have to depend on participants for interpretation, which made them feel important in two ways: they could make fun of me because of my ignorance, and they could help me with the requisite information. I was frequently enlightened by the participants as to who is ‘salu mamu’ (famous Indian actor Salman Khan) or what is *Dhinka Chika Dhinka Chika*’ (title of a Hindi film song) or ‘*Chammok Chalo*’ (title of a Hindi

film song). Thus, they not only helped me with their own interpretation, they also helped me to find my way in the maze of popular culture.

It is questionable whether it is possible for researchers to feel connected to the participants. I knew I should create a rapport with all the participants; however, my upper-middle-class upbringing in the cosmopolitan city of Dhaka, my education in private school and college, and later in English in universities at home and abroad, became a barrier in certain instances. Even though I was very much accessible to everyone, I observed that participants from a similar linguistic, educational, and socio-economic background to me were more open with me, and more active in the research process. They would voluntarily call me and ask for the digital recorder, and invite me along whenever they had social gatherings on or off campus. They would frequently use 'we', including me in the 'trope of we-ness', and they would also say, *apu, tumioto bhalo jano eta* [sister, you also know it better], as if they expected me to know their situation because of our similar backgrounds. They would address me as *tumi* [informal way to address someone as 'you' in relationship] which is less formal than *apni* [formal way of addressing seniors]. They would laugh with me, laugh at me, and laugh along with me. They would share jokes with me. In those moments of hilarity, an understanding developed which made them more open to me.

I was an outsider because I was a university teacher living in Sydney. I was different, and many of them wanted my life. Because of my social position and relocation in Sydney, they saw me and themselves through a different lens. Some participants saw my affiliation to Dhaka University and UTS as potentially lucrative and asked for reference letters which they could use for postgraduate admission to universities in the UK and USA. Some would repeatedly ask me why I would return to Bangladesh after finishing the Ph.D. Anik, a research participant, would suggest that I should settle in Australia, taking my husband, Faisal, who was living in Bangladesh for his work, to Sydney: *Miss, Bangladesh is running out of gas. You won't be able to cook in future. I am leaving in the next available chance. You shouldn't come back as well*. Breaking the norm of researcher and researched, they critiqued my naivety, i.e., my plan to return to Bangladesh. Some of them also promised more rigorous participation in the research, or recordings of authentic casual conversations with swear words, which would be *souvenirs* of the research,

in return for IELTS (International English Language Testing System) coaching (because I was an English teacher, studying in Australia on a scholarship).

By contrast, some participants would call me ‘madam’ or ‘miss’: respectable terms for teachers. They would use *apni,* unlike those participants who addressed me as *tumi*. They were very formal and unnecessarily quiet, and would not come for interviews at the appointed time, even after agreeing to participate in the research. On many occasions, they would not answer my phone calls or return my calls, making me very self-conscious and embarrassed. They gave excuses of make-up classes and exams, caused by the incessant *hartals*. Sometimes, they would keep the digital recorders for hours, but would record little or nothing. They would act surprised, as if they had accidentally turned off the recorder, or completely forgotten to turn it on. Even after voluntarily agreeing to participate in the research, they seemed to find my presence to be an invasion of privacy. No matter how hard I tried, at the end of the day, I was an outsider and they did not want to open up in front of me. Interestingly, with the stance they adopted, these participants allowed me to be aware of my own different positions.

Some participants deliberately challenged my authorial position, ignoring my phone calls. My ego, nurtured by the lavish importance I had received as the only daughter and the eldest daughter-in-law in the family, my extensive exposure to Western education, and significant position in professional life in Bangladesh did not prepare me for any kind of rejection in life, yet in this situation, I was continually rejected, ignored, and sometimes stranded by these participants for hours in the university!! In other words, some research participants disrupted the hidden hierarchy in the relationship between the researcher and the researched.

3.13 Writing ethnographic research

I mentioned in Chapter 1 that I would present a counter-discourse to the popular governmental discourses in terms of language and identity in Bangladesh. Within this stance is also implicit a silenced criticism of the Government, i.e., Awami League Party that adheres to a more prescriptive and stable interpretation of language, culture, and ethnicity (see Chapter 1). A Bangladeshi born before the liberation war in 1971, having first-hand experience of the war and a strong

affiliation to the Awami League Party, would support the language purification movement of the Government, considering its role in the language movement and liberation war. Because I grew up in the post-war period and I have had exposure to social theories, I found it easier to remain sceptical about nationalistic discourses. Thus this ethnographic research is "purposed, angled, and voiced" (Emerson et al., 2007, p. 358); the written ethnographic account is very much a subjective representation; the knowledge constructed is "inherently perspectival" (Ramanathan & Atkinson, 1999, p. 45). This does not mean that the research lacked rigour, however, or did not construct an objective interpretation of the research participants' language practices and identity. By adhering to *epistemic reflexivity*, i.e., subjective accounts that question the accepted norms and assist the development of an objective account of a subjective phenomenon, I have attempted to encounter my biases at every step of the research.

I also did not intend to be an 'experiential authority' with immense qualification to speak about youth culture because of my intense involvement within the research site as well as with the participants. Nor did I believe in the timelessness of my data. I expected that by the time I finished writing the thesis, the language practices amongst young adults and negotiated subject positions would have changed. I also attempted to be 'inter-subjective', accommodating and complementing the participants' and my voice in the writing. Hence, there is a multiplicity in perspectives and voices in this ethnographic writing. The disjuncture caused by the popular discourses, young adults' lived experiences, and my observation, caused the ethnographic writing to be contested. Fabian (1983 as cited in Blommaert & Huang, 2009, p. 3) stated that, "The present tense 'freezes' a society at the time of observation", minimising the discourse that signifies knowledge as situational and context-dependent. Even though I used "timeless synchronic present tenses" in the data analysis section, I did not bracket the emerging nature of participants' language practices (Kelly, 2000, p. 7). Instead, I made sure of "the creation of a dialogic (or polyphonic) text" integrating different thread of participants' story and their voices into the analysis as much as possible (Kelly, 2000, pp. 13-14).

All ethnographic work is represented in writing which is different from the raw data collected from the research context, and ethnographers, to some extent, need to follow a genre of reporting. "After all, the very name of the endeavour itself –

ethnography – suggests the centrality of writing to its accomplishment" (Ramanathan & Atkinson, 1999, p. 63). While writing, be it converting field notes into written accounts, or reporting the monograph or ethnographic research itself, "the ethnographer turns remembered and jotted scenes into text, taming and reducing complex, lived experience to more concise, stylized, re-examinable written accounts" (Emerson et al., 2007, p. 357). The writing is thus negotiated.

> All ethnographic stories are stories of some portion of human lived experience, experience that is eminently real, immediate, concrete, and meaningful to those who live it. … All ethnographic stories, too, are stories, more or less, imaginative, nuanced, and stylistic interpretations of the worlds we study. Quibbles over the ontological status of the truly true and debates over the primacy of one discourse over another serve no useful purpose … All [stories] are but temporary way points in the on-going construction of meaning (Mitchell & Charmaz, 1998, p. 243)

Nevertheless, I tried to keep the "yeasty, ambivalent, amorphous experience of social life" (Mitchell & Charmaz, 1998, p. 244), both the participants' and mine, as authentic as possible. I did not try to keep all the complexities of social life in distance by simplification. I attempted to remain authentic by being honest at every step of the 'text trajectories', and 'data histories', through to the data interpretation and writing the dissertation.

3.14 Limitations of the research

The limitations of this research are mainly of methodological concern. As the participation was voluntary and political disruption coincided with the research[47], the participation of more than 29 young adults could not be ensured. Even though I was keenly interested in making an extensive recording of the natural conversations of the three indigenous Chakma research participants, I could not do so. The recording sessions were limited, because their friends who were not research participants did not want to be recorded. A gender balance could not be ensured,

[47] In fact, the political unrest that started in 2011 has continued to this day and has taken a worse direction in Bangladesh's political history, killing hundreds of people this year alone (Bhowmick, 2013).

because the groups of participants who volunteered were, in most cases, mono-gendered; that is, either male- or female-dominated. I also understood that the nature of the data, to some extent, was affected by the power relationship between the researched, the participants, and the researcher, me (Lichtman, 2013). A few of the participants mentioned that they deliberately avoided curses and abusive words, being aware that I would listen to the recording. Finally, because of the time constraints, i.e. a doctoral research needed to be finished within a limited time-frame, I could not conduct a long-term ethnographic study.

3.15 Summary

In this chapter I have shown why I chose ethnography as the ontology and epistemology of my research. I have explained how ethnography allowed me not only to collect data critically, but also to conduct in-depth data analysis with the ethnographic intellectual enterprise I developed during the ethnographic data collection. I have explained the *transglossic framework* which I used to understand the fluidity in language created by the mixed codes, modes, and genres, and the social dynamics of language caused by the political, historical, and ideological associations of language. I have also discussed *positioning approaches* that I used to understand the construction of *self* and *others* in data gathered from interviews and FGDs.

Overall, I have shown how I sought to understand language practices not so much through separate linguistic codes, but rather by unveiling the voices from my field work and unzipping the translinguistic complexities of meanings with an appropriate use of ethnographic approach to research and the transglossic framework.

The following Chapters 4–7 focus on the *process* of identification, i.e., how identity emerges in participants' language practices in real time and space. In Chapter 4, I will show the relationship between language and identity with specific reference to space – language and identity as realised in space and spatial practices. In addition, the chapter will provide an understanding of the social landscape of a private university within which young research participants engaged in language practices and negotiation of identity (Chapters 5-7).

Chapter 4 Language as a Spatial Practice

4.1 Introduction

While Chapter 3 has given detailed accounts of the research paradigm, methods, context, participants, and data analysis process chosen for the thesis, this chapter untangles the relationship between language and identity with specific reference to space – language and identity as realised in specific time and space. A focus on space allows me to show the spatial contextualisation of language and identity, that is, they are mediated in their intricate relationship among material arrangements, symbolic and material artefacts, activities, and social actors. Equally, the explicit attention to space enables me to show that the spatial contextualisation of language and identity is relational, very much in organic relationship with other spaces – both imaginary and concrete, and fluid and fixed. This chapter is therefore about the relationships between the spatial dynamics of both real and imagined spaces within which language and identity evolve and emerge.

Four extracts of conversations from four spaces most frequented by the research participants are presented here for analysis and discussion: English Club (Extract 4.1), the university café (Extract 4.2), the courtyard[48] (Extract 4.3), and the virtual space (Extract 4.4), that is, the Facebook (FB) account. The purpose is to explore the *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 nexus of material arrangements, symbolic and material artefacts, social actors, activities and presence of 'other' fluid and concrete spaces.

Before pondering these issues, I will describe the space of the University of Excellence (UOE) where all these smaller spaces are situated and realised in language practices.

[48] 'Courtyard' is a pseudonym for the space, as UOE is for the university.

4.2 University of Excellence (UOE)

The structure of the University of Excellence (UOE) is considered to be an 'architectural wonder' – a work of art that would impress anyone. There are two main academic buildings, connected by a suspended bridge. There are also huge auditoriums, a five-storey library, conference rooms, galleries for photographic exhibitions, boys' and girls' lounges for socialisation, with separate prayer rooms and ample space for students to rest and spend time with friends. The TVs in these rooms have access to satellite channels and students may watch them during class breaks. I found students watching their favourite TV serials or sports events together in the lounge. There are five food stalls in the café, catering lunch and light snacks from Bangladeshi, Indian, Chinese, and Thai cuisines. The food is more expensive than regular bakeries, confectionaries and restaurants. The entire university is air-conditioned. In other words, the university provides a comfortable environment for the academic pursuits of students, and teachers.

UOE also ensures a secure environment for students, and all the exit and entry points to the university premises are closely supervised. The university authorities show their commitment to providing a safe environment by having CC TV cameras and a substantial number of professional security guards at one exit gate, and at the two huge entrances, as well as ensuring the frequent presence of the Proctor of the university at the entrances and on the campus premises. To enter the university premises, both students and teachers have to pass an Information Desk and show their ID to the security guards. This efficient security system enables the university authorities to prevent the intrusion of unwanted visitors. Parents are also content to know that their children are studying in a well-protected environment. As a student and teacher at a public university which sprawls through a vast area with little security, I found the system quite amazing and amusing. For the first few days, I was issued with a visitor's coupon by the Information Desk in order to enter the university. Later, official ID as an international researcher was issued, because I was conducting the research on behalf of the University of Technology, Sydney (UTS). The centrality and security of the university space evokes an image of an island, very well protected from the outside world. It is glaringly different from its surrounding geo-physicality. For example, even though the university is situated in a newly-developed up-town area, a human labour market is located within a five

minute-distance of the university. This is a place where labourers are picked up on trucks to do menial jobs on construction sites in the city. The grandiosity of the campus, the air-conditioned buildings, the high-tech environments inside the campus and the exclusivity of the cafes and restaurants around it seem to make these labourers, to some extent, non-existent and irrelevant.

The space of UOE works in two different ways for research participants like Abeer (cf. Appendices 5A & 5B for the background of these research participants), who comes from the lower echelon of the society. For example, the university, with its modern architectural structure, was unfamiliar for Abeer, and he was intimidated when he first came to the university. He mentioned in one of the interviews[49] that: *jokhon **first** ashchilam, mane, khubi, iya lagse, "eita kone jaigai ashlam" … **first** dinto mane, ami, UOEe dhuktei pari nai. dhukhtei bhoi paitesi. "ami ki eikhane dukhbo, na dhukbo na?". prai dosh* ***minute****er moto ami baire darai chhilam. prothometo dhuktei bhoi paitam* [When I first came to the university, I was so intimidated. I asked myself, "Where have I come?". … First day, I didn't even dare to enter the UOE. I was so afraid. I asked myself, "should I get inside the place or not?" I stood at the entrance for more than 10 minutes…in the earlier days, I always felt afraid to enter the university] (062211). The space of the university has often made him conscious of his own socioeconomic background. Other participants such as Ashiq and Nayeem, who come from a rural background, repeatedly mentioned the sense of dissonance that they experienced on the urban-centric campus. At the same time, the campus gives them a tool to resist the sense of alienation with the promise of a better life and the possibility of pluralities in terms of future and identity. As a consequence, Abeer's feeling is conflicted because the university space promises refuge from the stern realities of life and a permanent escape from the space at home that constantly reminds him of his socioeconomic background. Abeer mentions that he finds the space of UOE a site of joy and delight. He feels exhilarated because of his experiences of freedom on campus. He can dissociate himself from his own space at home, class, socioeconomic background, which he expressed thus: *ashole, ekhane ashle, akta* ***happiness*** *kaj kore arki… mane, bashar poribeshta otota na, mane, shundar na. ektu nongra* ***type****er arki. ekhaneto pura*

[49] The data from the interviews are given in simplified translation to ensure readability and comprehensibility.

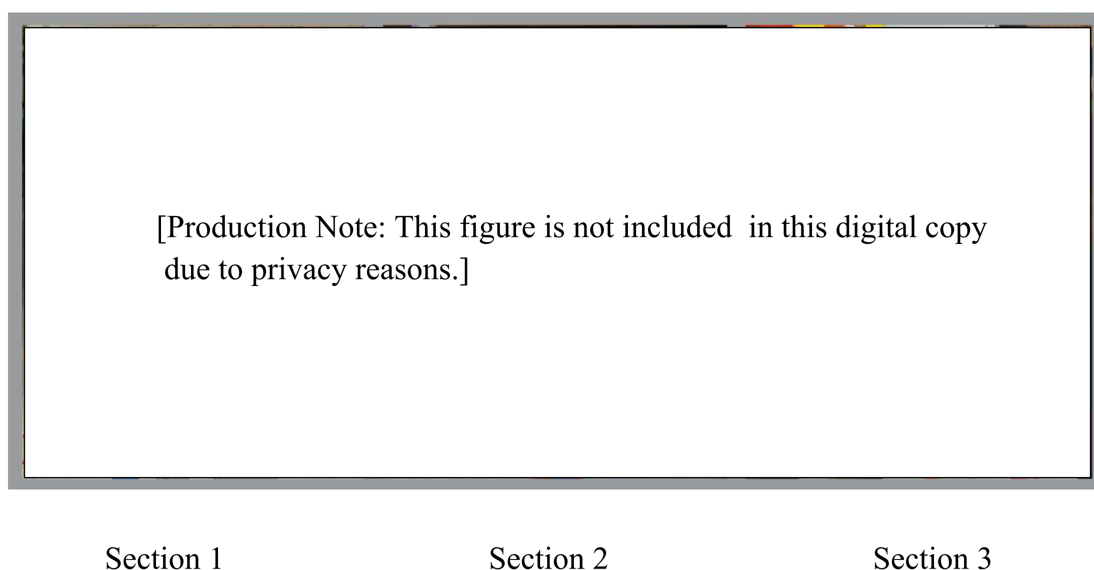
***clean**. tarpore mane, **view**ta onek shundar. **Campus** tao onek shundar. shobmilai ar ki. shobdik diyai mane, bhalo lage* [When I come here, I find a kind of happiness … the environment at home, I mean, is not that much beautiful. A bit dirty. Here everything is clean. Then, the campus is also very beautiful. In every respect, I mean, I feel good (about it)] (062211). Abeer also mentions in one of the later interviews that he likes being on campus because he feels he is like everyone else. The campus liberates him from the bonds and shackles of the realities that envelop him at home. He meshes into the crowd; thus he confirms what Rechniewski (2007) has identified about the privilege of being in an unfamiliar space. The possibility of newer roles and identities enable him to bear the sense of isolation he experiences on campus.

4.3 Language and linguistic ideologies mediated in space

The University of Excellence (UOE) has 19 clubs to cater for extracurricular student activities, of which the English Club is one. Run by the students of the English department under the supervision of a faculty-in-charge, the Club creates a platform for students interested in developing their skills and creative writing in English. It organises English poetry writing and recitation competitions, publishes the creative writing of students in a quarterly magazine, and often arranges English skills development seminars. Physically located with other clubs on the ground floor of one of the academic buildings, the small club room with low ceiling is the last one in the row. At the entry, on the main wall on the left-hand side a huge red collage made out of images of English literary figures, such as Shakespeare and Jane Austen, and English words cut out from newspapers, attracts immediate attention.

The rest of the wall is adorned with posters of various characters from Western media, such as Homer Simpson, Marge Simpson, and so on. The peaceful cohabitation of these characters from American popular culture (Figure 4.1, Section 1) and English classical literary figures from the 14th to 20th century (Figure 4.1, Section 2) is interesting. On the right, by the side of a small window, is a board word game (Figure 4.1, Section 3), where club members make words by throwing rings on the English letters written on a board (Figure 4.1, Section 3). There is also a list of 'lame jokes' in English, written down by members whenever they come

across one (see Chapter 6, Extract 6.7 for an example of a lame joke). In other words, the material arrangements appropriately reflect the activities that take place in the Club. As the material arrangement is one of the fundamental loci of social life sustained in practices and activities and “human activities are moments of practices and occur amid material arrangements” (Schatzki, 2010b, p. 208), “practices are generally construed as materially mediated nexuses of activity” (Schatzki, 2011, p. 11).



Section 1 Section 2 Section 3

Figure 4.1: Three different sections of the English Club wall

The posters, an important dynamic of the material arrangement in the English Club, seem to define the meaning of the space and the ethos represented by the Club. The ambiance created by the posters is part of the material arrangement. These posters can be considered as a ‘text art’ - “work[s] of art in which some form of language is the sole or key component of its visuality or performance” (Jaworski, 2012, p. 5). Similar to pieces of text art, the writing in these posters, with its choice of scripts, font, colour, and manner and medium of execution, interrelate with various other communicative modes, such as images, speech, and sound.

These posters give specific meanings to the space of the English Club. First, the space, as a wing of the English department, displays intellectual depth, an air of gravity, and its historical association with literary figures through its engagement with English literature. The representation of literary figures in the posters with

their quotations[50] is indicative of the club members' academic engagement with British and American literature. The Club represents the ethos of the department that promotes and maintains the significance of English literature. At the same time, the representation of Homer Simpson and other characters (cf. Figure 4.2) demonstrates the club members' interest in popular culture, specifically from Western media. With the visual representation of characters from popular culture, these pieces of text art tend to heighten the interest of prospective new club members in club activities.

Second, the meanings provoked and negotiated by these posters are also ideological. The speech bubbles establish the socially promoted ideological role of English. The destruction of the earth can be caused by the person who cannot speak English (Figure 4.1, Section 1) or joining the English Club is the way to the force (Figure 4.2) which works for the redemption of the good and the destruction of the evil. Homer's speech bubbles in six separate subtitles illustrate mistakes that people without proper competence in English may make:

- Disadvantage of not knowing English (*If something goes wrong at the planet, blame the guy who cannot speak English*)
- Spelling (*Earth to Marge, Earth to Marge! I was there, the clown is G-I-L-L-T-Y* !)
- Sentence structure (*Homer no function well without beer*!)
- Interjection (*WooHoo!!!*)
- Word order (*I hope I don't brain my damage*.)
- Vocabulary (*WEBSTERS DICTIONARY DEFINES WEEDING, "The process of removing weeds from one's garden!"*)

Thus the posters reproduce the linguistic ideologies present in the broader context of Bangladesh (see Chapter 1) in which sound competence in English is respected and desirable. Note that Bangladeshi literary figures or Bangladeshi writers who

[50] Some of the quotations as written on the posters are from Shakespeare (*To be, or not to be, that is the question*); Edgar Allan Poe (*Deep into the darkness peering, long I stood there - wondering, fearing, doubting, dreaming dreams no mortal ever dared to dream before* [sic]); Jane Austen (*It is a truth universally acknowledged that a single man with good fortune in possession must be in want of a wife* [sic]); Charles Dickens (*It was the best of times. It was the worst of times* [sic]).

write in English, or characters from Bangladeshi and Indian popular culture, have no representation. This is similar to different forms of text art, as analysed by Jaworski (2012, p. 9):

> In each of these symbolic dimensions, different resources – codes, discourses, ideologies and practices – clash in unpredictable and surprising ways creating a multiplicity of indexical relations within a singular work of art.

These posters are samples of 'staged linguistic performances', the term used by Bell and Gibson (2011, p. 555), involving "the agentive use of language, building on the foundation of existing social meanings". The way the posters accentuate the linguistic ideologies within the space of the English Club suggests that "Space is social morphology… intimately bound up with function and structure" (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 94 - 95).

Third, the two dimensional posters construct an imagined space with their authentic visual and linguistic representations of media characters and literary figures. Hence, Homer Simpson (a character from the American cartoon *The Simpsons*) is incapable of spelling *guilty* and blames the clown for his own misdeed (Figure 2); Cartman (an elementary school student from the TV serial *South Park*) is foulmouthed and mean; SpongeBob SquarePants (an American animated TV character who lives with his friends in the fictional underwater city of Bikini Bottom) is spirited and quirky; and Yoda (a character in the George Lucas *Star Wars* films, a famous Jedi Grand Master of the Jedi Council is grand and solemn (Figure 3). The literary figures are represented by their original quotations. Consequently, these representations break the boundaries of time and space. The pieces of text art are "image-centred, narrative-based accounts of strips of reality" and they also constitute "narratives of the Other and proto-narratives of possible lives, fantasies which could become prolegomena to the desire for acquisition and movement" (Appadurai, 1990, p. 9). Thus these posters, as pieces of text art, serve two purposes: the images create an image of an imagined community with a collective image where these characters speak in English, and individuals, by being members of the Club, can become a part of that imagined world.

With their interplay of images from media to the English Club and from the global to the local, these posters seem to transport Club members far beyond their immediate horizon. The images may seem attractive and enticing to those who have little knowledge of Western popular culture or lack the competence in English to engage with Western popular culture.

> The lines between the realistic and the fictional landscapes they see, are blurred, so that, the further away these audiences are from the direct experiences of metropolitan life [here popular culture], the more likely they are to construct imagined worlds which are chimerical, aesthetic, even fantastic objects, particularly if assessed by the criteria of some other perspectives, some other imagined world [sic] (Appadurai, 1990, p. 9).

Thus these posters – similar to pieces of text art with their writings, images, and strident voices from different genres - contribute to the construction of an imagined space for the university students beyond the immediate one and bring out the overlapping nature of space (cf. Canagarajah, 2013). With the construction of an imagined space within the space of the Club, the latter no longer remains a "discreet, bounded entity" or "fixed, eternal entity" (Warf and Arias, 2009, p. 4) and there is no dichotomous relation between global and local.

Finally, the meaning potentiality of these posters also increases because of their locatedness in the English Club and their relation to the Club members. With reference to a ‘geosemiotic’ approach to ‘discourses in place’, Jaworski (2012, p. 2) has drawn attention to the ‘emplaced’ character of text art, the meaning of which is influenced by its spatial location, interaction with other signs, and interaction between the sign and social actors. In addition, these posters can be considered as symbolic and material artefacts (cf. Thorne & Lantolf, 2007) because they play a vital role in the way interaction is mediated by and upon these posters (see Extract 4.1 below). The text art, space, and social actors – here, Club members in their dialogic interaction (Extract 4.1 given below) – define and sustain the meaning representation of space and spatiality of the Club. The language practices of research participants become a spatial practice and their identity both local and translocal in the intersection of material arrangements, symbolic and cultural

artefacts, activities with which research participants' engage, and their dialogic interactions with other social actors.

Extract 4.1 is part of a conversation that took place in the English Club where Ehsan and other members of the Club were drawing characters on a poster (Figure 4.2): Cartman, SpongeBob SquarePants, and Yoda, three of the characters described above. Ehsan (born and brought up in Dhaka; English-medium education background; majoring in Environmental Science) is the General Secretary; Arish (born and brought-up in Dhaka; English-medium background; majoring in Electronic Engineering and Telecommunication Systems) is a member (see Appendices 5A & 5B). They intend to use the poster to recruit members for the Club. QQ[51] is a possible new member. Arish enters the Club and finds QQ sitting in his preferred spot.

Extract 4.1: *You better join and be active.*

Guide to languages: Bangla (regular font); English (**bold**)

		Casual conversation	Translation
1.	QQ	**What's up, mate** ((pronouncing 'mate' in Australian accent))**?**	What's up, mate ((pronouncing 'mate' in Australian accent))?
2.	Ehsan	**We are colouring for the recruitment. Just check out the character.**	We are colouring for the recruitment. Just check out the character.
3.	QQ	**Cartman, Yoda, SpongeBob!** jose hoiseto!!! **I am joining, by the way.**	Cartman, Yoda, SpongeBob! Awesome!!! I am joining, by the way.
4.	Ehsan	**Awesome, man! You better join and be active.**	Awesome, man! You better join and be active.

[51] QQ and the security guard in Extract 4.3 were not research participants; however, they were aware of the nature of research and agreed to their conversations being used for research purposes.

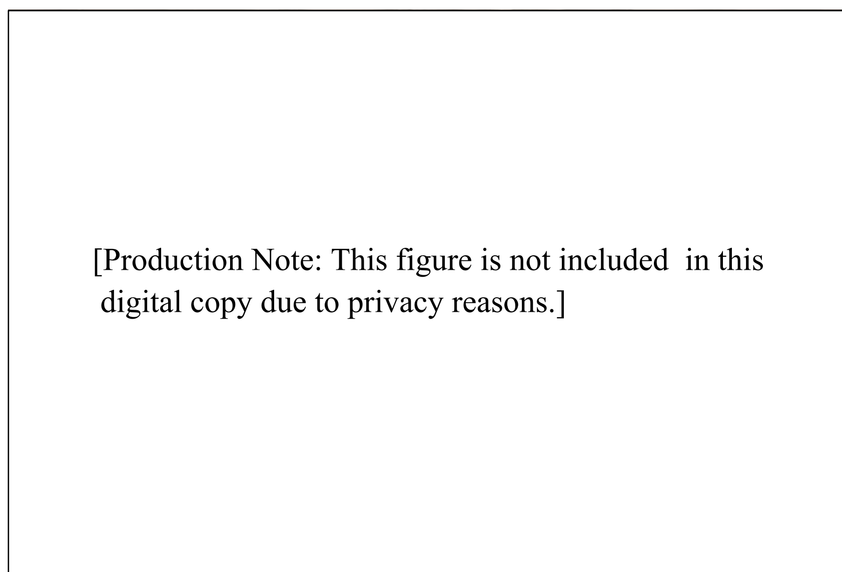
5.	QQ	**I will,** inshallah ((Arabic expression, meaning ‘if Allah wills’)).	I will, inshallah ((Arabic expression, meaning ‘if Allah wills’)).
		Arish enters the room and finds QQ sitting in his place.	
6.	Arish	**Sit over there, mate** ((pronouncing ‘mate’ in Australian accent)).	Sit over there, mate ((pronouncing ‘mate’ in Australian accent)).
7.	QQ	**Fuck you!**	QQ: Fuck you!
8.	Arish	**GET OFF, you bitch.**	Arish: Get off, you bitch.
9.	QQ	**I am dead!**	I am dead!
10.	Ehsan	((very much absorbed in his painting)) **Cartmaner dialogue** je ki deya jai? Ore **maximum** kotha guli hochhe **vulgar. Curse and vulgar.**	((very much absorbed in his painting)) What can we put as Cartman’s dialogue? Maximum ((most)) of his dialogues are vulgar. Curse and vulgar.
11.	Arish	**curse**r modde iyee diba…. **dot dot dot** ar **star** tar diye diba.	In the curses, you can …. put something like … you put dot dot dot and star.
12.	QQ	**Stars, hash**?	Stars, hash?
13.	Arish	**Astrix** ((asterisk)).	Astrix ((asterisk)).
14.	QQ	**Asterix** ((asterisk))? tao deya jai.	Asterix ((asterisk))? That can be used.
15.	Arish	**SpongeBob**, ki dewa jai?	SpongeBob, what can we use for him?
16.	Ehsan	((in the high-pitched voice of SpongeBob)) >“**I am ready. I am ready. I am ready**”.<	((in the high-pitched voice of SpongeBob)) “I am ready. I am ready. I am ready”.
17.	QQ	((in the squeaky voice of Cartman)) <“**Screw you guys!!! I am going to join this club**”.>	((in the squeaky voice of Cartman)) “Screw you guys!!! I am going to join this club”.

18.	Ehsan	**Owwww … we are not going to give “screw you guys**”. mane …	Owwww … we are not going to give “screw you guys”. I mean ...
19.	QQ	**the one who are not joining the club!**	the one who are not joining the club!
20.	Arish	<**Screwemmmmmm** …>	Screwemmmmmm …
21.	QQ	<**Screwemmmmmmm**! **Screw emmmmmmm**! **Screw emmmmmmm**!>	Screwemmmmmmm! Screwemmmmmmm! Screwemmmmmmm!
22.	Arish	((in the squeaky voice of Cartman)) >**who don’t join the English Club**<.	((in the squeaky voice of Cartman)) who don’t join the English Club.

Arish goes out and sees a group of German delegates heading towards the English Club. Running back to the Club, he expresses caution to the others.

		Casual conversation	Translation
23.	Arish	((bends and moves his head from left to write, as if searching for something and whispers like a cartoon/film character, suspecting the invasion of a foreign character or stranger)) **Behave yourself because there are foreigners**.	Arish: ((bends and moves his head from left to write, as if searching for something and whispers like a cartoon/film character, suspecting the invasion of a foreign character or stranger)) Behave yourself because there are foreigners.
24.	QQ	((stands up and bends his head and starts looking stealthily around)) **What do they want here**?	((stands up and bends his head and starts looking stealthily around)) What do they want here?
25.	Arish	((whispering)) **I told you. They are here.** <**Intruders in close proximity**!!!>	((whispering)) I told you. They are here. Intruders in close proximity!!!
26.	QQ	**Who are they?**	Who are they?
27.	Arish	**Dude! I don’t care. <IN-TRU-DERS**>.	Dude! I don’t care. <IN-TRU-DERS>.
28.	QQ	((both of them stand with their fingers pointed as guns, as if ready to shoot)) **Get your gun ready**.	((both of them stand with their fingers pointed as guns, as if ready to shoot)) Get your gun ready.

(German delegates enter. Ehsan stands up right away and Arish and QQ return to their normal posture.)



[Production Note: This figure is not included in this digital copy due to privacy reasons.]

Figure 4.2: Poster drawn by Ehsan and his friends in the Club

In this extract, the participants employ various caricatured or parodic accents, and slang, and mimic the voices of characters from the American media. The heavily accented Australian expression in lines 1 and 6 is associated with the representation of Australians among Bangladeshis: the popular Australian word *mate* and its 'Aussie' pronunciation. Words that are similarly popular among young men, such as *man* and *dude*, are also used, approximating African American pronunciation in line 4 and line 27. These participants thus seamlessly move from one code to another, Bangla, English, and Arabic (*I will, inshallah* in line 5). The mimicking in lines 16-22 approximates the voices of SpongeBob and Cartman. The transition of voice from high-pitched (SpongeBob) in line 16 to a squeaky voice like that of a mean-spirited and foulmouthed fourth grader (Cartman) in lines 17-22 to soldiers of science fiction (as if from *Star Wars*) in lines 23, 25, 27, and 28 shows these participants' multimodal semiotic engagement with language. Their elongated *screwem* (lines 17-22) is addressed to those students in the university who are unwilling to be members of the Club. They show their resentment and resistance towards them[52]. Similarly, the whispered *intruders* (line 25), a voice from *Star*

[52] Note that in line 17, it is QQ, who is not a research participant, who utters the slang first. It is easier for him to use swear words in front of me, an academic from Dhaka University, because he has had no prior communication with me and has not shared a relationship between a researcher and researched.

Wars, becomes their way of showing their reservation towards the German delegates who visit without prior notification. Thus, these voices from popular culture serve various purposes for them.

With the linguistic and cultural resources drawn from the global context, Ehsan and Arish reinvent the meaning of those resources according to local practice. The linguistic and cultural resources observable in the speech bubbles and the interaction of the participants are not "simply reproduced but recreated, refashioned, and contextualised linguistic and cultural resources in the act of communicating" (Swann & Maybin, 2007, p. 491). Note that Ehsan, Arish, and QQ exploit the linguistic and cultural resources, softening them according to the sociocultural context of the university. They are also strategic on how to avoid taboo language, without losing the humour implicit in the depiction of the character. The popular cultural figures and their English quotations also become localised in the way they are used for the Club recruitment drive. These utterances are examples of "the spatiotemporal mobility of English" – how "English flows across layered and changing contexts, traversing competing norms and values, to take on new grammars and meanings" (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 153).

The meaning of the English Club, with its posters, is mediated and extended and further accentuated in the language practices of these social actors. The Club becomes an 'active locus' where Ehsan, Arish, and QQ reinvent their experiences and knowledge of Western media. As I have shown in Chapter 2 with reference to Bourdieu (1986, 1991), the appreciation and enjoyment of cultural resources and engagements with popular culture are determined by the kind of socioeconomic condition to which individuals belong, because it requires a certain level of linguistic competence and socioeconomic condition to be accessed and enjoyed. Linguistic competence in English in the context of Bangladesh similarly depends on the demographic and educational backgrounds of individuals, which determine the amount and nature of exposure to English (see Chapter 1, Section 1.3). Individuals' language practices reflect their life trajectories and their engagement with specific kinds of popular culture: a successive form of their biography, demonstrating the timeframe within which they have evolved in the past. In other words, social actors like Ehsan, Arish, and QQ (lines 3-5) who have learnt, synthesised, and acquired linguistic and cultural resources, are able to engage with

the spatial practices of the English Club and define the meaning of the Club in their language practices. By contrast, students like Abeer or Ashiq (cf. Extract 4.3), not having the appropriate vocabulary, body language and style, will be outsiders in the space, and students like QQ (lines 3-5) will show interest in joining the club. Hence, it has been rightfully identified that "(Social) space is a (social) product" and it may become a "means of control and hence, domination of power" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 26). The English Club is an active political locus where students from different socioeconomic backgrounds may experience discomfort, and where non-Western or Bangladeshi entertainment is unrecognised.

The participants' language practices are sustained within the social dynamics of social actors and spatial practices. For example, the characters and their speech bubbles need a certain level of familiarity with the linguistic and cultural orientation of the characters to be understood. Acquaintance with the specificities of Cartman, SpongeBob and Yoda, English approximating Australian and American pronunciation, the uninhibited use of enunciated curses and swear words similar to those used by Cartman (lines 1-22), and the enactment of scenes, body language and style from a science fiction film (lines 23-28) indicate that Ehsan, Arish, and QQ, unlike many participants in the research, have an intense engagement with Western and Asian media. With their voices, they display their spatiotemporal history. Their FB accounts also always carry updates on American films and cartoons, as well as science fiction films, Japanese manga and animated films. The spontaneity in the dialogic interaction, the co-construction of meaning in the voices of Cartman and SpongeBob, the group decisions about what to use and not to use on the poster (Figure 4.2 – *screw* replaced by symbols), and finally the effortless imitation in voice, stance and movement of characters from a science fiction film indicate that Ehsan, Arish, and QQ have similar tastes that work as a scaffold for their present dialogic interaction.

For Ehsan and Arish, the space of the English Club is a space of fun, frolic, and creativity. Adorned with literary figures from British and American classical literature, characters from *The Simpsons* (Figure 1 and 2), *Star Wars, South Park*, and *SpongeBob* (Figure 3 and Extract 4.1), the space is their creation, and they recreate and reproduce the meaning of space with their 'diverse voices' from different geographical locations, i.e., the voices of Cartman or Yoda and

SpongeBob (Extract 4.1). They are multivocal, i.e., there is a presence of numerous or multiple voices in their language practices. These voices are *theirs* only because they can mediate them in their dialogic interactions in *the specific space* of the Club. In the process, they no longer remain bound to their Bangladeshi linguistic and cultural resources; they efficiently shuttle between different locations and enrich themselves with varied linguistic repertoires. When they enact a scene from *Star Wars*, they enact a specific identity for themselves. They also appropriately portray that they belong to the social space of the English Club. Thus Ehsan and Arish co-construct their identity as well as the meaning of the club.

In sum, language evolves as a spatial practice in the nexus of the material arrangement, bundle of activities, and research participants. Language as a spatial practice is also closely tied to the imagined space occupied by English literary figures and figures from popular culture, which becomes a significant dynamic of the local space, the English Club, and the participants' acts of identity. Using the voices of *others* in a Bhaktinian sense, the participants not only negotiate specific identity attributes but also nurture linguistic ideologies, inadvertently encouraging the participation in the club of students from privileged backgrounds who are more comfortable with English linguistic and cultural resources. In other words, space becomes ideological, mediated in language practices in the nexus of the material arrangement and symbolic and material artefacts of the English Club.

4.4 Language mediated in and through multiple interlocked spaces

The previous section has shown how language and linguistic ideologies evolve as mediated activities that encompass symbolic and material artefacts and a range of activities in the English Club. The extract below will show that the imagined space can be real and concrete, reference to which can have a mediating effect on the language practices of participants in their narratives. Language becomes a political act 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 a Bangla-medium school and college) Arish (born in the UAE and brought up in Dhaka; educated in an English-medium school and college) and Bonya (born and brougt up in sub-urban districts and later went to an English-

medium schools and college) share their experiences in Aziz Super Market at Shahbag with me over morning tea (cf. Appendices 5A & 5B).

Both Shahbag and the Aziz Super Market have a distinct history that sets them apart from newly-developed urban neighbourhoods and cosmopolitanised 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 (Shahbag, 2013). The leading prestigious public universities and institutes in Bangladesh[53] are located there. In the same locality is the Ramna Race course, where Bangabondhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman (cf. Chapter 1) called on Bangladeshis to unite against the autocracy of the West Pakistanis and fight for independence. His famous speech on 7th March 1971 played a significant role in starting the independence movement which eventually led Bangladesh into the liberation war. In close proximity to Shahbag is *shaheed minar*, the monument erected in honour of the martyrs who were killed in the Language Movement in 1952[54]. Shahbag became iconic for the 'Shahbag Movement' when the younger generations from the post-independence era demonstrated in Shahbag in February 2013 (see Figure 4.3), 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).

[53] 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 killed by Pakistani soldiers during the Bangladesh Liberation War in 1971 are also located here.

[54] 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 1952, such as *ekushey boi mela* (book fair commemorating 21st February 1952), are held within the centre 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.

Figure 4.3: People gathered during the Shahbag Movement (2013)

The three-storey building of Aziz Super Market[55] is located in the very centre of Shahbag. It has bookshops and publishing houses which are considered to be the birthplace of poets and writers; a hub of intellectuals and free-thinkers who gather in the book stores 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 recognised organisers 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, and 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" (*deshio 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 vigour 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 palone kora hoi. .. ami chhoto belai, ami kintu shaheed minar*

[55] Note that the English word 'supermarket' is relocalised 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.

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[56] when I was young. When did I see Shaheed Minar? I guess it was two years ago[57]. It was 21st February. I had never been to TSC[58]. 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 haven't been to Shaheed Minar. I personally feel bad about it. I have never been to Ramna[59]. … 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.

Figure 4.4: Aziz Super Market (2013)

[56] Shaheed Minar is the 'Martyr Monument', established to commemorate those killed during the Language Movement demonstrations on 21st February, 1952.
[57] Nikita was 21 years old.
[58] The Teacher-Student Center (TSC) of the University of Dhaka, an important social and cultural activity centre 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.
[59] 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, come O *Boishakh,* come upon us).

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 negotiate their identity in the process.

Extract 4.2: *kotha theke ashche agula. bangla porte pare na!!!*

Guide to languages: Bangla (regular font); English (**bold**)

		Casual Conversation	Translation
1.	Nikita	((addressing me, the researcher)) 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 me, the researcher)) It was fun taking them to Shahbag. Have you seen those all 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 T-shirts, the salesmen kept on staring at them with 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 me)) oder lekhatao jano, onek kamon hibijibi kore lekha thake. bhujteo **problem** hoi.	((looking at me)) You know how they ((designers)) write on the t-shirts. Bangla is written in somewhat 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. tore 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%.**	Don't ever sign any legal documents in Bangla. You have 80% possibility of being cheated.
9.	Bonya	na na, ami bhaike diye porabo.	I will ask my brother to read it for me.
10.	Nikita	tui kake diya porabi??? tore **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 give you a call.
		((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.))	((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.

Their 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 business men 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 they have 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 identity attributes, they are not.

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 have 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, they construct specific meanings for both Shahbag Super Market and the university café, and for their 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 in 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. Schatzki (2010b), with reference to 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, p. 311) has stated, identities display "the presence of the past in the present". With their linguistic practices in the café of UOE, 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).

Space should instead be considered as the "sphere of juxtaposition and coexistence" (Löw, 2008, p. 25) and “complex, fragmented, jumbled” (Warf & Arias, 2009). The meaning of each space becomes more potent because of its relational positioning. Only with proper consideration of the space in relation to 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.

4.5 Language mediated in third space

Extract 4.1 indicates that language and identity are mediated in the immediate space of the English Club with reference to an imagined world of literary figures and popular culture. Extract 4.2, shows that negotiation of language and identity at present occurs within the historical, political, and socio-cultural differences between spaces, here, the immediate space of the university café and the downtown supermarket. Extract 4.3 will demonstrate how language and identity are mediated in a centrally located space, turning it into a ‘third space’ through a range of subversive activities. The meaning-making process that takes place there in interactions between social actors and through subversive activities also indicates the necessity to reconceptualise metaphors such as central/peripheral,

median/marginal, or top/bottom (even though the implicit meanings of these metaphors have relevance to participants in how they position themselves in space and what identity they negotiate for themselves in the process).

Note that the participants Nayeem (cf. Chapters 5 & 7) and Ashiq and Abeer, two research participants in Extract 4.3, could not receive an education in urban-centric elite English-medium schools or colleges because of their socioeconomic background (see Appendices 5A & 5B). Even though they presumably had different life trajectories in different provincial districts in Bangladesh, they relate to each other. Their socioeconomic and educational backgrounds seem to help them in sharing the in-group dynamic. Similar to university students who migrate to Dhaka from rural areas for higher education[60] (Sultana, 2014b), they have experienced a feeling of displacement within the space of the university and have struggled to make their own niche in its social landscape. They also commented on the mismatch between their life before and after entering UOE. Shamim, another research participant in Extract 4.3, has had a comparatively privileged upbringing in Chittagong, the second capital in Bangladesh (see also Appendices 5A & 5B.

Extract 4.3 is taken from the 'courtyard': an open space located on the second floor, very much at the centre of the two main academic buildings and the administrative building. It resembles an amphitheatre or basketball stadium, with raked seating and walls (see Figure 4.7). Because of its location at the centre of the two academic buildings, teachers, students, and administration staff walk past the courtyard all the time. I became intrigued when it was suggested by teachers and research participants that I should avoid the courtyard. None of research participants allowed me to accompany them to the courtyard. Some of them were polite and said that I would not feel comfortable there: ***environment****a* ***actually*** *apnake neyar moto na.* ***Smoke*** *kortese. shobai tash kheltese.* ***gambling*** *kortese* [The environment (of the courtyard) is actually not the kind where you can be taken to. Students are smoking. They are playing cards. They are gambling.] (Joy 071311)

[60] Many of the good universities in Bangladesh, both government and private, are located in Dhaka, the capital city, and a huge number of students migrate to Dhaka from different regions of Bangladesh for their tertiary education. However, there are no statistical figures that show the percentage of young adults who migrate to pursue higher education.

The image in Figure 4.7 is of two students smoking, although the campus is a smoke-free zone, and some students can be seen sitting at the back, gambling. Outside the classroom, Abeer and his friends, Ashiq, Nayeem, and Shamim usually hang out in the courtyard.

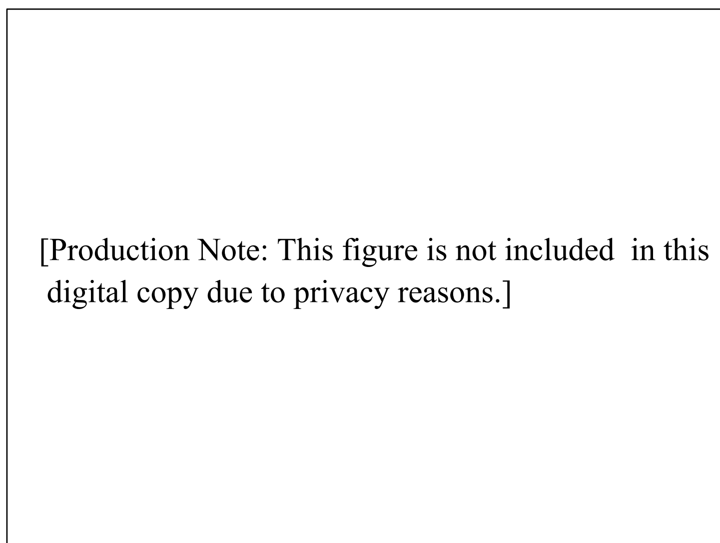


Figure 4.5: The courtyard

The courtyard displays a *duality of space.* It exists as well as is produced in repeated activities (Löw, 2008). Based on the recordings on the digital recorders carried by the research participants, the courtyard can be considered as the hub of a variety of activities negotiated in language practices. Nayeem, Abeer, Ashiq, Shamim and their friends are found sharing stories about how they flout the rules, regulations, and administrative system of the university to their benefit. This is the space, for example, where Ashiq and his friends swap ideas on how to select subjects based on who is teaching; how to investigate the previous teaching history of the teacher; how to find out which teacher uses more Bangla in class than others; how to identify the teachers who are lenient in marking exam scripts; or how to become sick and manipulate the teachers if they feel they are not prepared for exams, and so on. In an interview, Nayeem shared with me that they do extensive homework on the teaching and grading history of faculty members, and choose their courses entirely on the basis of factors such as: *kon* ***faculty****ta fakibaj, kone* ***faculty****ta shohoj, kon* ***faculty****ta bhalo, kone* ***faculty****ta kathin, kharap* ***retake*** *tetake daina,* ***exam easy*** *kore* [which faculty ((member)) is not serious in his work, which faculty is easy to understand in class, which faculty is good as a person, which

faculty is strict or bad or does not allow students to retake an exam, and sets easy questions for the exam.[61]] (080711). Thus these participants come up with strategies to survive the academic challenges in the courtyard and rediscover and reinvent it as a space of refuge.

There are stories, narratives, and conversations in digital recordings in which research participants ask for the help of other students in the courtyard to write letters for assignment extensions. They also discuss how to take advantage of their relationship with teachers and the administration. They swap ideas about how to convince teachers to change grades, which teaching assistants and teachers they should contact in order to skip mid-term exams, what kinds of letters they should write to win teachers' sympathy, or how to win the love and attention of a possible girlfriend (Chapter 7, Extract 7.1). They also tease and taunt passing female students (Chapter 7, Extract 7.3). Ashiq, for example, constantly makes suggestions not only to his classmates and junior students in the department, but also to candidates for admission to the university[62]. At one point, Ashiq promises one of his classmates that he will ensure the admission of his younger brother to the university in exchange for Taka 300,000 (around AUD$4,000). It is beyond the scope of this research to identify whether Ashiq and his friends really can ensure the admission of students to the university, but in the courtyard, they verbally negotiate a 'streetwise' identity with their roles as mentor and saviour. The courtyard seems to promise a certain kind of freedom, authority and position away from the strict rules and regulations of an elite private university. Thus the courtyard is organised and given meaning in the way research participants engage in these activities with their language practices.

The following extract is a conversation between Ashiq and a security guard on campus. In drawing attention to a relationship based on 'friendship with benefits',

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[61] The university follows an American education system, and hence the teachers are called 'faculty'. Students have the freedom to choose courses at the beginning of the semester. The literal translation of the word *fakibaj* is 'deceitful'; however, here Nayeem means someone who is not serious about his commitments as a teacher. If the teacher is *fakibaj*, the students find it easier to survive in the course. This is an important factor, because if the teacher fails them or gives a poor grade, students need to retake the course and pay the course fees on credit.

[62] Ashiq and his friends use their ID cards to help their friends who are not UOE students to enter the campus, even though outsiders are not allowed to enter into the campus without permission from the proper authority.

the extract indicates how language mediates the relationship between social actors, subversive activities and the presence of ‘other’ spaces within the university.

Extract 4.3: *uporer lelvele jara, tarato thake office e*

Guide to languages: Bangla (regular font); English (**bold**)

		Casual Conversation	Translation
1.	Abeer	mamare dhor!	Get the Uncle[63] here!
2.	Abeer	kotha bolen mama.	((putting the digital recorder in front of him)) Say something, uncle.
3.	Mama	ki bolbo, mama?	What will I say, uncle?
4.	Ashiq	ja ichhaa, mama.	Anything you want to say, uncle.
5.	Shamim	ja ichha bolo, mama.	Anything you want to say, uncle.
6.	Ashiq	tumi ki tumar bou polapanre kisu builte chao? … mama jei arame ase, MAMA:::, shahenshar moto. ghure ar mal dehe: ((laughing out loud)) are deha::r jinish dhakhbo na::, mama. <“manush shoundorjer pujaree. Allah choke dise dakhar jonne. shundor jinish dakho. Allahr srishti”>.	Do you want to say anything to your wife and kids? … Uncle is leading such a comfortable life. He walks around the campus and sees beautiful chicks ((laughing out loud)). Hey, they are supposed to be looked at ((admired)), Uncle. “Humans worship beauty. Allah has given ((you)) eyes to watch. Appreciate the beautiful things ((around you)). They are the creation of Allah”.
7.	Mama	akta meye dekhlam je gaja khaitese. amare koi, “mama, <akta tanben?”> ami koilam, >“**Sorry**. ami khaile shomoshha’.<	I saw a girl, smoking cannabis. She told me, “Uncle, would you take a puff?” I replied, “Sorry. Smoking will mean trouble for me” ((because smoking is prohibited on campus and he is the security guard)).

[63] The office-support staff and students usually call each other by endearing addresses, such as *mama*/ *mamu* (maternal uncle) or *khala* (maternal auntie).

8.	Abeer	GAJA:: ((surprised to the fact that female students were smoking cannabis???))	Cannabis ((surprised at the fact that female students were smoking canabis???))
9.	Mama	ha, amare dite chailo. ami khailam na. oi **side**e ((here, 'side' is used to show the location of the girl in the courtyard)).	Yes, she wanted to give me one. I didn't want to smoke. There she is ((showing the girl sitting at one corner of the courtyard)).
10.	Ashiq	ho thiki korsen. khannai. khaile apnageroi to shomoshha. bujhen NAI!	Yes, you've done the right thing. You didn't smoke. You would have been in trouble if you did so. You do know that!
11.	Shamim	tarporeo, apne akhone **dress** pora obosthai asen na!	On top of it, you are also in your uniform now!
12.	Mama	amrao khai. **cigarette**. kintu churi muri koira khai ((referring to the fact that Ashiq also smokes, but openly in the courtyard, when he himself does it in secret)).	We also smoke. Cigarette. But we do it secretly ((referring to the fact that Ashiq also smokes, but openly in the courtyard, while he does it in secret)).
13.	Ashiq	<HEITAITO AMI KOITESI.>	I am saying the same thing.
14.	Mama	thik ase. oi chipai khailam oi chipai khailam. Mama, amra **open** khaile amader shomoshsha.	You are right. We smoke secretively in different corners. Uncle, if we smoke in open places, we will be in trouble.

The language of interaction between Ashiq, his friends and the security guard is mainly a mixture of regional varieties of Bangla and Colloquial Bangla (CB), instead of Standard Colloquial Bangla (SCB). Ashiq, his friends and the security guard seem to share same linguistic resources and they linguistically share an in-group identity. Hence, it is *builte* (a word from Chapai Nawabgonj or the greater Rajshahi division in the north Bangladesh) instead of *bolte* (line 6), *dahe* instead of *dhake* (line 6), *khaitese* instead of *khachhe* (line 7), *koira* instead of *kore* (line 12); *heitaito* instead of *sheijonyo* and *koitesi* instead of *bolchhi* (line 13); *ase* instead of *achhe* and *khaile* instead of *khele* (line 14); *boya roisilam* instead of *boshe chhilam,*

amgore instead of *amader,* and *amnego* instead of *apnader* (line 15 given below), and so on. Their choice of lexis (*mal, churi muri, chipa*, *khatil*) is reflected in their similarity in language use, indicating informality, familiarity, and friendliness, and their previous linguistic history in interaction. They seem to have similar 'historical body', that is, life experiences, intentions and purposes, and habitual characters (Blommaert & Huang, 2009). In line 6, claiming that the security guard on duty ogles female students, Ashiq develops a sense of fraternity with him (see Chapter 7). He uses *mal,* a derogatory term for 'women'. He also justifies the prohibited activity, bringing the 'voice' of the religious preacher (line 6). He shifts to SCB in his style of speaking and selection of specific words, such as *Allah choke dise dekhar jonne, shundar jinish dakho*, *Allahr srishti*. He puts stress on the importance of watching women with an emphasis on the active verbs *dekha* and *dakho.* Here, his utterance is double-voiced because he uses the dialogue of religious preachers used to inspire individuals to appreciate the natural creation of Allah and be more appreciative of Him. Ashiq uses these same phrases for a purpose which is strictly prohibited in Islam, i.e., staring at women. With the voice of the Islamic preacher and the use of SCB, he elevates the official status of the activity.

Note that voices of authority, struggle, and negotiation have been heard and reported from groups of young students in different multilingual contexts (Bailey, 2001; Blackledge & Creese, 2009b; Rampton, 2002; Talmy, 2004). With their several linguistic resources and voices, multilingual youths create a 'second life' within the official space of the classroom:

> Semiprivate space of oaths, curses, and degradation … that opposes power without opposing it, that undermines the official activity without undermining it. … the language of the market-place, with its debasement debasing power, if only ephemerally (Blackledge & Creese, 2009b, p. 247).

Even though the contexts for these participants are different, Ashiq and his friends seem to have a similar kind of 'second life' in the courtyard and mitigate their feelings of marginalisation and dissociation in the space (cf. section 4.2).

The language practice that occurs because of the interaction between Ashiq and the security guard is counter-hegemonic. On the one hand, it allows Ashiq and his

friends to reclaim their language against the perceived superiority of SCB and English, and on the other hand, they create a clear ground for themselves through their language practices. Thus with their 'own' 'linguistic landscaping', they define the meaning of their 'own' space and with that, they reclaim their position on campus. They can also challenge the urban-rural hierarchy in terms of standard and non-standard Bangla and strategically use it, along with a street-wise identity repertoire, to obtain a powerful position amongst peers and on campus[64]. They are advanced language users because they use this specific Bangla to balance their locatedness in the transgressive space of the courtyard. They revalidate Pennycook's (2010, p. 69) contention that space is the "geography of linguistic happenings" and in the process, participants like Abeer who end up in a cosmopoliticised Americanised private university, discover new meanings of space and realise the emergence of a new sense of being.

In lines 5-22, Ashiq, Shamim, and the security guard discuss how they and other students smoke on campus: Ashiq in the courtyard, while the security guards keep watch for the University Proctor, out of sight of the administration. Smoking on campus is prohibited, and this is also written in big letters on the walls of the courtyard.

		Casual Conversation	Translation
15.	Ashiq	ehane ami akdin boya roisilam. mama tinchar jone aise. aiya amare agei koya gese, >"aitese, aitese"<. mamarato shobai bhalo. amgore chine jane. amnego amago loge akta bhalo khatil. apnarato thaken mat porjaye. amago loge jodi kharap hoi, tahoileto thakte parben na. bujhento?	I was sitting here one day, ((smoking)). Three or four of the uncles came. They told me earlier, "they are coming. They are coming" ((the Proctor and other administrative officers)). Uncles are all good. You know us well. We have good relations with you all. You work at the grass roots level. If you don't have good relation with us, you can't survive here. Right?
16.	Mama	ar ami jodi kharap hoitam, apnago loge eihane daraya kota	And if I were non-coperative, could I stand here and talk to you? It is me

[64] A same kind of hierarchy in language as a dimension of negotiation of identity has also been observed in a group of Dominican immigrant young adults in the USA. One of the research participant states, "it depends on where they come from, if they come from the *campo* or the farm whatever, it's kind of different, cause you live with the cows and everything" (Bailey, 2007c, p. 50).

		koite partam? protidini kintu amarei **duty** korte hoibo.	who will be doing the duty here every day.
17.	Ashiq	ho, protidinito **duty** korte hoibo. uporer **lelvel**e jara, tarato thake **office**e. herato apnare iya korte parbo na, apnar loge jamon amra **friendly** bhabe kotha koitesi, apne amago loge.	Ashiq: Yes, we have to do duty here every day. Those, who work at the upper level (in the administration), stay at the office. They won’t be able to be friendly with you in the way we are with each other.
18.	Mama	amaro jodi kono shomoshsha hoi, apnaraito dekhben.	If I face any problem, you are after all going to look after me.
19.	Ashiq	ho, AMRAITO DEKMU. heidaieto koitesi.	Yes, we will look after you. This is the point I also want to make to you.
20.	Mama	majhe majhe ei Chakmatare khali potai. dhori.	Sometimes I go up to that Chakma ((drawing attention to a student from the indigenous Chakma community sitting there)) and try to convince him.
21.	Abeer	kone Chakma?	Which Chakma?
22.	Mama	oi Chakma:. ore dekhlei dhori. ore giya dhori, <“oi bish taka de”.> bole, >“**NO, NO, NO**”<. mone bhalo thakle, dei dosh taka, bish taka.	That Chakma. Whenever I see him, I grab him, “Hey, give me twenty taka. He says, “no, no, no”. If he is in good mood, he gives me ten taka, twenty taka.

Ashiq deliberately stresses the mutual dependency of himself and the security guard by locating them both at grass roots level (*mat porjaye*) in line 15 compared to the administrative officers in the administrative building, who are higher in status (*uporer leveler jara, tara thake office e*) in line 17. He implicitly indicates that the Proctor and the administrative officers are intruders in the courtyard. Lines 15, 16, and 17 also explain the basis of their mutual dependency in the relationship. The security guard works in the lowest rank of the hierarchical administrative positions and he is roaming the campus, whereas other key administrative figures are sitting in their offices. Here, Ashiq’s language is distinctly different from that shown in Chapter 7, Extracts 7.6-7.9; that is, it is not stylised with slang and swear words,

indicating that Ashiq does not intend to exert power on or display his masculinity to the security guard. Instead, he intends to maintain a friendly relationship with him. Thus the space of the courtyard and their locatedness allow these students to bond with a network of people within the space and engage in language practices. They reach for *others* in the courtyard with whom they legitimise their locatedness on campus. In addition, with language practices they fulfil the requirement of macho culture, i.e. bonding, collaboration, cooperation, and negotiation, in order to sustain the group dynamics. They reach for and align themselves with those with whom they can construct meaningful relationship. They opt for "a collective engagement of mutually implicated identities" (N. Smith & Katz, 1993, p. 69).

The meaning of the courtyard is constructed and sustained collectively in the language practices of students as well as by the activities that occur in the courtyard. The university authorities created the courtyard for students so that they could spend time with their friends. However, these participants, as they are "situated in space" (Lefebvre, 1991, p: 35), modify its meaning through their practices. Every now and then, the security guards are found to have chatty conversations with the participants, receive cigarettes, ask for Taka 20/30 from them and swap stories about other subversive activities that they observe in the courtyard and on campus (these stories cannot be mentioned for ethical reasons). The silence of the security guards about student misconduct (i.e., students smoking or gambling) in the courtyard and their attempts to protect them from the higher authority, at least in these interactions, show their allegiances with the students. Consequently, they produce a new sense and new dimension of the courtyard: a haven for subversive activities. Their language is an instance of language as a local practice and the space, as Pennycook (2010, p. 14) mentions in terms of local landscape, is one of "integrative and invented environments … [a] dynamic place … much more than being in a location … about the becoming of place". The courtyard is continually re-invented with new meanings in these participants' language practices and activities.

The locatedness of the space is very much in contrast with the activities that take place in the courtyard. Subversive activities do not always occur at the periphery of the campus. The courtyard is physically located at the centre of the campus, even though metaphorically speaking, we may consider it to be marginal. It is not hidden

from the eyes of the teachers or the administration. This shows that subversive activities do not always happen in liminal space. Students like Ashiq, Abeer, or Nayeem feel marginalised on campus, but they come to terms with their feelings of marginality, displacement, dislocation, inadequacy, or alienation when they are sitting at the centre of the campus. Thus the spatiality of the courtyard reveals the participants' collective ways of meeting those feelings.

In this space, identity is constructed by the participants themselves, not determined by their age, gender, and role on campus. Some female students sit in the courtyard and break away from the traditional role of women by smoking cigarettes and cannabis in the courtyard - unimaginable in the broader context of Bangladesh. Even male adolescents and young adults do not smoke openly when there is a possibility of being seen by parents, relatives, teachers, or elders. The female students here not only smoke, challenging the presence of the passing teachers, but one even offers it to the security guard with an air of nonchalance (Extract 7.3, lines 3-7). When students engage in subversive activities such as smoking while sitting under the sign, 'Smoking is strictly prohibited', they are all very much visible to the teachers and the administrative figures. The courtyard becomes the active locus for flouting the rules set by the university authorities. Referring to her experiences as an African American woman, hooks (1990, p. 153) noted that we

> make a definite distinction between that marginality which is imposed by oppressive structures and that marginality one chooses as site of resistance – as location of radical openness and possibility … We are transformed, individually, collectively, as we make radical creative space which affirms and sustains our subjectivity, which gives us a new location from which to articulate our sense of the world.

Similarly, Ashiq and his friends choose to be in the courtyard because it is 'a radical creative space' (cf. also Chapter 7).

Through their practices within the space and in their attempt in engaging in subversive activities, the participants create their own sense of self. The students manage to challenge their gendered, age-based and role-based identities, locating themselves at that specific space. This indicates that there are multiple communities

of resistance in the courtyard. While the males are negotiating streetwise subjectivities, the females are liberating themselves from the bonds and shackles of social ties that permit males to smoke but strictly prohibit women from doing so. hooks (1990, p. 15) has stated that people who are oppressed and marginalised do not yearn to replace the oppressors or take over their positions; neither do they fight for an alternative identity to fight against oppression and dehumanisation. Instead, they yearn and strive for "creative, expansive self-actualisation". These students modify expected gendered practices by their own spatial practices in the courtyard, the third space. It is the space that constitutes and is constituted by their practices. The courtyard, because of its physical centrality on campus and metaphorical centrality in the way it helps the participants to define their course of action, allows the students to produce a new sense of self that questions dichotomous spatial relationships, such as centre/periphery or margin/centre.

As a haven of resistance, the courtyard also becomes a site of multi-dimensional experiences. Soja (1996, p. 97) has described this deliberate choice of space as the "political and geographical act of *choosing marginality*". Ashiq, Abeer, or Nayeem are "transformed, individually, collectively" and "affirm and sustain" their subjectivity through their practices in the courtyard (hooks, 1990, p. 153). When they relocate themselves in the future in the much-desired club run by the Business faculty [which they frequently discuss with Shiraj, an influential student on campus], their engagement with the space will presumably change. These participants' plight and pleasure are similar to those of female students in the first university-associated colleges for women in the UK in the 19th century. Those female students fashioned "new forms of subjectivity, always oscillating between the 'unbearable lightness and heaviness of being'[65]; by adopting unstable positions between them" (Tamboukou, 2004, p. 399):

> women in colleges on the one hand lived within a 'constraining reality', the social boundaries of accepted womanhood; on the other hand, they were dreaming of a 'limitless freedom', the kind of freedom, education,

[65] This metaphor was originally used by Simons (1995 in Tamboukou, 2004, p. 410) to show the contrast "between constraining limitations and the limitless freedom" individuals may experience in space.

> economic independence and 'a room of their own' …could offer them (Tamboukou, 2004, p. 410).

Thus, those female students redefined the meaning of marginality as they believed in better future. Here also note that Ashiq and his friends may also locate themselves in new spaces soon and negotiate new identities, which is why Keith and Pile (1993, p. 28) have observed that "identity is always incomplete, always subsumes a lack, perhaps, is more readily understood as a process rather than an outcome".

In summary, there are fragmented spaces within the space of the private university. These smaller spaces are reinvented with newer meanings with voices of the participants. While they recreate meaning for these smaller spaces, the participants indicate their rootlessness and displacement. Their possibility of travelling from one space to another and their dream of journeying and movement indicate that the "mythical, seamless integrated market that embraces the entire planet" (Warf, 2009, p. 68) does not exist in the post-modern capitalist society and their identity is always "a process, not an artefact" (Keith & Pile, 1993, p. 30). Overall, the emergence of language and identity within the intricate relationship between space, social actors, and activities is so engrained that its complexity can only be unravelled when we go beyond the linguistic features and metaphors such as 'periphery' and 'margin' – specifically, when the participants engage in subversive activities while sitting at the centre of the campus.

4.6 Language mediated in heterotopic space

While the previous section has shown how language is practised and identity is negotiated in 'third space' – a site and space of resistance – this section shows how the virtual space turns into a heterotopia in participants' language practices, a relational space and self-reflective construction in contrast to the real space for transgressive language practice and alternative acts of identity. I will show how language drawn from linguistic and cultural resources along with images and photos gives meaning to the space that research participants occupy on Facebook (FB). Here, the participants' FB is the "multipurpose discursive space where different types of social relationships and discourse activities are acted out"

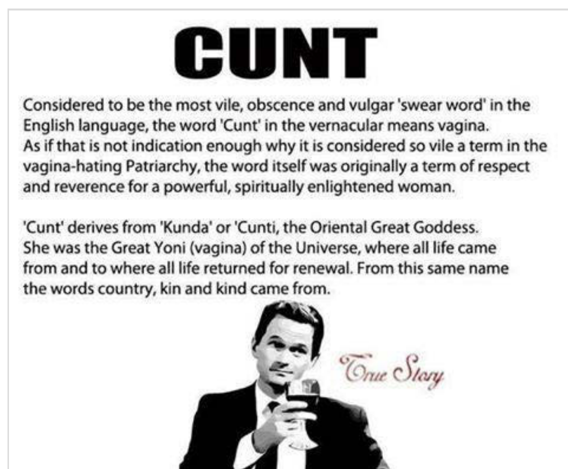
(Androutsopoulos, 2011a, p. 287). It is a space in which new ways of expressing views and affinities, of affirming and rejecting moral stances, and presenting identity are invented (G. Jones, Schieffelin, & Smith, 2011).

The conversation takes place between Toma (female, born and mainly brought up in Dhaka, a fourth year student, majoring in English), Ria (female, born and brought up in Dhaka, a fourth year student, majoring in English), and Luna (female, born and brought up in Sylhet, a fourth year student, majoring in English), when Toma posts a FB status about her friends (cf. Lee, 2011 for more on FB status updates). All of them are Teaching Assistants (TAs) in the English department. Their TA status, which requires an advanced level of competence in English for marking other students' homework, reflects their affluent family background and elite educational history. Toma is the President, Luna is the Vice-President, and Ria is an executive member of the English Club (cf. Appendices 5A & 5B).

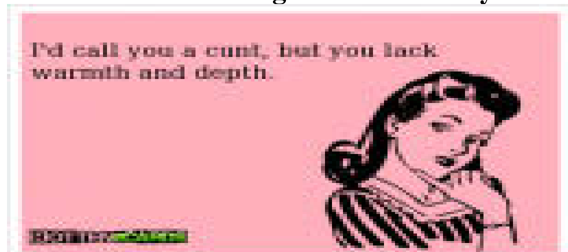
Extract 7.4: *All my girlfriends are such cunts!*

Facebook Conversation

1. Toma **All my girlfriends are such cunts! :D**
Ria Hussain Sasha, Luna Ahmed, and LSR



2. LSR **Awesome. I love being one. This is why this is a better insult:**



http://www.rottenecards.com/ecards/Rottenecards_3141163_5hh77v9tyc.png

3.	Ria	**Seen and laughed at this before**... ki [so] **creative**
4.	Toma	**LMFAO** ((laughing my fucking ass off))!! **Also, the famous lines by Betty White "Why do people say 'grow some balls'? Balls are weak and sensitive. If you wanna be tough, grow a vagina. Those things can take a pounding"**
5.	LSR	**Yes I like that one too. Oh do keep me informed about the other instances.**
6.	Luna	Hahahaha, **good one.**

Like real space, virtual space seems to be constructed in language practices within the material arrangement (as created by multimodal resources, such as photos, images, links to videos and songs, etc.) (Androutsopoulos, 2011a), activities, and other social actors. Note that Toma and LSR[66] present direct quotations in line 1, 2, and 5. In line 1, for example, Toma borrows the voice of the TV character Barney Stinson from the comedy series *How I Met your Mother*[67]. In line 5, with the quotation by Betty White, Toma comments on the strengths and courage of women compared to men. With the use of globally available resources, they share their own aspirations and negotiate a specific stance, suspending the normative conventions and making the virtual space a site of social, cultural, and aesthetic practices (Leppänen et al., 2009). 'Stance' refers to:

> a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means (language, gesture, and other symbolic forms), through which social actors simultaneously evaluate objects, position subjects (themselves and others) and align with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field (Dubois, 2007 as cited in Walton & Jaffe, 2011, p. 200).

[66] LSR did not directly participate in the research.

[67] Barney's success as a TV character lies in his farfetched but elaborate stories, supported with made-up statistics for credibility. His usual catchphrase is 'True Story', particularly when the story or theory is flawed. His stories involve women, showing his keen interest in them. While Barney's comment in line 1 brings out the etymology of the word 'cunt', indicating the solemnity originally associated with the word, a card with the catch-line in line 2 references the warmth and depth of women (a cultural perception) in an interplay with the physical qualities embodied in the word 'cunt'.

Toma and her friends use voice to express their multimodal and multi-layered stances – "an act of self-representation and social judgement" (Thurlow & Jaworski, 2011, p. 245). As G. Jones et al. (2011) mention in reference to virtual space, space provides opportunities for presenting new ways of identity, as observed here in the actions of Toma and her friends.

The image of Barney and his comment, and the other quotations with images, serve the purpose of symbolic and material artefacts. First, these comments work as a prop to start a conversation around a taboo expression. The students can take voices from popular culture, claim themselves to be cunts, and proclaim all the strong character attributes associated with the word. On the other hand, as their language hinges on multimodal resources, they can also maintain a desired distance, showing that the taboo was originally commented on by someone else. Nevertheless, they can also afford voice to engage in identity work around an issue which they find relevant to their interests. In other words, they can hedge their way into a conversation that is too provocative for them to pursue unmediated, not missing the opportunity to engage in 'envoicing' (cf. Canagarajah, 2013). They consequently are implicitly involved in identity claims. They transgress their linguistic and cultural boundaries in an act of liberation when they engage in this conversation regarding 'cunt' – a transgressive act, as identified in transgressive theory, that promotes knowledge that "confront[s] relations of power – dominion, disparity, difference and desire" (Pennycook, 2007a, p. 56). The virtual space allows them the opportunity of transgression because it is their heterotopia – a space for "ruptures in ordinary life, imaginary realms, polyphonic representations" (Defert, 1997 as cited in P. Johnson, 2006, p. 87).

Second, while these participants linguistically and communicatively constitute the space, these multimodal symbolic and material artefacts play a mediating role between these two social dynamics, that is, language and space. Castell (1996 in Warf, 2009, p. 71) has noted that, "Our societies are constructed around flows: flows of capital, flows of information, flows of technology, flows of organizational interaction, flows of images, sounds, and symbols". These flows and cultural artefacts help Toma and her friends in the act of making space, as well as engaging in language practices and in the positioning of self, by taking a specific stance. They are powerful factors in shaping the meaning of space. The virtual space

ensures multidimensional experiences and, consequently, broader scope for the negotiation of identities for participants with access to such spaces, because of its flexibility and fluidity in terms of material arrangements, symbolic and social artefacts, and social actors.

Third, with the interactive use of similar kinds of linguistic and cultural resources in line 1, 2, and 4, these participants create a 'state of held-togetherness' which is best represented in the German word *zusammenhang* (Schatzki, 1996). "Human lives hang together through a mess of interlocked practices" (Schatzki, 2002, p. 70), evidenced here by the uploading of similar kinds of quotations by each interlocutor. Schatzki (1996, p. 116) added that,

> A person is 'one of us' when she uses language as we do and more broadly acts and speaks intelligibly to us. A 'we', consequently, is an open-ended collection of people who behave mutually intelligibly. I also noted that since intelligibility comes in degrees, the boundaries of a we are unstable, shifting and contingent. We have also seen that practices articulate intelligibility and carry understanding. This implies that people who act and speak mutually intelligibly are, roughly, people who are party to the same field of dispersed and integrative practices.

Thus intelligibility and meaning-making, and differentiation between practices and groupings, even though very non-visible actions, are achieved through language.

Most importantly, the transmodal representation of the quotations, such as the integration of words with images of Barney and the retro-look image of a girl, the use of slang and voices, expressed through feminist discourse, give meaning to the space these young women occupy on FB. As Toma's FB account is restricted to her friends, who are mainly young adults like her, Toma and her friends can afford to be more adventurous about how they want to present themselves, or how they would like to be judged by others. The contextual features of the virtual space allow them the freedom to use the space according to their desire; consequently, spaces emerge in the ways they engage in language practices *in* them and *with* them through transmodal symbolic and material artefacts. While defining the meaning potentiality of space, they also show that they belong to a de-territorialised fluid

space that can be enriched with resources beyond the national border. They are physically and firmly located in Bangladesh, but they seem to have crossed local boundaries and acquired fluidity through their boundless mobility in 'mediascape' (cf. Appadurai, 2000; Hannigan, 2002). Being aware that 'cunt' is a taboo expression even in the Western world, let alone for Bangladeshi sensibilities, they bring those linguistic and cultural resources to the virtual space. Because the virtual space is flexible in terms of how individuals can exist in fully disembodied text mode (Zhao et al., 2008), these participants create an embodied space with multimodal settings from where they can engage in acts of self-empowerment and self-representation in the spirit of liberal feminism.

Toma and her friends use the virtual space to disrupt the boundaries and expected differences along gender lines. For them, "transgression is not merely, therefore, an act of going against what is accepted, of testing the possibilities of difference, but is also an exploration of boundaries of thought" (Pennycook, 2007a, p. 42). It seems easier for them to explore the boundaries of thought in virtual space, which is apparently flexible and fluid and boundless, where they decide the structure and norms. They may not do it as easily in real time and space, where material arrangements, symbolic and material artefacts, and social actors are not always under their control. Virtual space thus becomes the participants' *heterotopia,* very much enacted and practised as a spatio-temporal idea with relation to real space (Davis, 2010), which they construct with voices from others in language practices, "juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible" (Foucault, 1986, p. 25).

4.7 Summary

Taking a more grounded approach to language practice I have explored the intertwined relationship of language, identity, and space. I have suggested that language evolves in a range of activities, interlocked with spaces that are always in process, better understood in their organic (not unidirectional) relationship with other spaces. Acknowledging that space in the university is also an "ideological, lived, and subjective one" and "intimately tied to lived experiences" (Warf & Arias, 2009, p. 4), I have provided reasons why language needs to be understood in the intersection of space. Since **"**focusing on space inserts language into semiotic

complexes, including participation frames, topics, genres of discourse, material and symbolic resources, and so forth ” (Blommaert et al., 2005, p. 206), we can in addition consider individuals as being emergent in the intersection where linguistic and historical experiences interact with spatial realities. I argue that participants' negotiated identities are spatially bounded and there is no way we may consider their identity as a stable category pervasive beyond these boundaries.

In this chapter, I have shown that *other* spaces also play a significant role in the way individuals engage with their immediate spaces. These spaces, both imagined and real – the spaces of Cartman, Shahbag Super Market, Clubs, the spaces of university clubs, and the virtual space – are intricately intertwined with how young adults reconstruct the meaning of their immediate space. In other words, with an implicit reference to *other* spaces, participants can negotiate newer meaning for the space they occupy, which at times are restricting, disempowering, and marginalising. As Massey (1993) has identified, space is always transforming with incongruities and oddities, and always heading towards the future through the active participation of these participants. 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.

I have also drawn attention to the fact that space, language practice, and identity need to be understood in relation to fluidity in the metaphor of 'journey/mobility'. The first extract highlights the mobility of Ehsan and Arish in the 'mediascape', how they construct the meaning of the English Club, and their identification with *intertextual* references and voices from popular culture. In the second extract, Nikita and her friends' incidental journey to Shahbag brings to the fore the differences between two spaces and how the construction of identity for the participants is tied up with the spatiality of the spaces they do and do not occupy. The third extract shows journey in two ways: on the one hand, Ashiq and Nayeem travel from rural Bangladesh to an uptown English-medium private university and create a 'third space' for coming to terms with their contradictory feelings about the university space in general, and on the other hand, sitting in the 'third space', they not only engage in subversive activities (cf. also Chapter 7), but also look forward

to a journey from the courtyard to a newer space which promises a better life for them. The final extract shows how young female adults take advantage of the fluidity of the virtual space and mobilise a range of linguistic and cultural resources to establish liberated identities. In all these extracts (4.1-4.4), 'other spaces', 'traveling/mobility, and 'centre/periphery' as metaphors describe the life trajectories of the participants, their affective relation to spaces, and their dilemmas, struggle, excitement, and enthusiasm when they arrive expectedly (Extracts 4.1 & 4.4) and unexpectedly (Extracts 4.2 & 4.4) at different spaces. The final extract indicates how resources allow them to create

> a patchwork not of 'new form' so much as using of old patches with newer scraps of meaning. Finally, it becomes a colourful complex of quilt of heterotopic tapestry, which contains elements of past and present, of local and transnational, of resistance and mimesis (Davis, 2010, p. 666).

That is why, overall, the chapter suggests the necessity of exploring language and identity in the reconstruction and reinvention of spaces, in other words, *linguistic landscaping* (Pennycook, 2010).

In Chapter 5 I will show how the construction of *self* is closely influenced by the discursive construction of *others* and the imagined world of *others*. With an implicit reference to imagined *others*, young participants position themselves in the social landscape and invent and reinvent their language and identity in new dimensions.

Chapter 5 Social Imaginary of Self and Others

5.1 Introduction

In Chapter 4, I have shown how language and identity evolve in space, both real and imaginary, within its social dynamics of material arrangements, symbolic and cultural artefacts, and social actors. In this chapter, I will explore how language and identity are also intricately intertwined with young adults' sense of *others*, both real and imagined. This chapter also reveals that the historical, political, and ideological roles of language influence with whom these young adults identify, which in turn influences how they engage in language practices (cf. Chapters 6 & 7) and consequently, position themselves linguistically and culturally in the social landscape. In other words, the chapter prepares the ground for the discussion on transglossic language practices in the next two chapters. I intend to show that the individual and collective constructions of *others* are intrinsic to which voices and linguistic and cultural resources individuals use for their negotiation of identities.

5.2 Civilised vs. uncultured *others*

The process of the discursive construction of *others* is influenced by the role of languages and the linguistic ideologies associated with those languages in the society. Individuals located in the social landscape engage in the construction process, considering themselves in relation to these languages as well as to the linguistic ideologies associated with the languages. For example, the research participants from various demographical and linguistic backgrounds are very much aware of the values related to Standard Colloquial Bangla (SCB) and regional varieties of Bangla in the context of Bangladesh (cf. Chapter 1). This awareness influences the way in which they construct images for SCB speakers and regional variety speakers. Hence, for Shuvo (Appendices 5A & 5B), who was born and brought up in Sylhet (a north-eastern division in Bangladesh), SCB represents modernity and progressiveness which he does not associate with his own regional variety of Bangla, Sylheti: the *others,* i.e., SCB speakers are ***maximum developed*** *manush.* ***Civilised*** *manush. rickshawalara na. gramer manusho na* [maximum developed human beings. They are civilised. They are not rickshaw-pullers. They are also not rural villagers] (070411).

The construction of *others* is revalidated on the basis of differences and oppositions. For example, for some research participants, the imaginary *others* are civilised and modern only because their competence in SCB is contrasted and confirmed by yet other contrasting and starkly different imaginary *others* who are 'rural', 'hick' and 'uncultured', such as rickshaw pullers and villagers. Hence, Nayeem (Appendices 5A & 5B), born and brought up in Noakhali up to the age of 11, shares his experiences about his regional variety, Noakhalian Bangla (NB): *Noakhalir* ***language*** *ta je, amra ei* ***language use*** *korle, oneke chhoto mone kore. geo geo* ***type****er arki. grammo. mane,* ***uncultured****. eirokom* ***type****er* [if we speak in Noakhalian Bangla, we are belittled by others. We are considered to be the hick. Rural, I mean, uncultured (080711)]. These everyday realisations about language impact on individual position in the social landscape and eventually, the negotiation of identity. The participants' definition of *others* impacts on their ability to relate to the group, their desire to use *others'* linguistic and cultural resources and their active appropriation of these resources to negotiate their own positions. Hence, Shuvo adds, *jokhon shudhho bhashai kotha boltesi, tokhon, nijeke aktu* ***modern*** *mone hoi. kingba, akta* ***modern*** *manusher shathe kotha boltesi. ami akta* ***modern civilisation****er moddhe achhi.* [When I speak in the standard language ((Bangla)), I feel a bit modern. Or I feel I am speaking to a modern person. I am in the midst of a modern civilisation.] (070411). The social imaginary, that is, the discursive space where individuals are already imagined and constructed (Ibrahim, 2003, p. 52), is so potent and strong that Nayeem prefers to hide his linguistic background: *Noakhalir bhasha* ***friend circle****er shathe* ***use*** *korte chaina, ei jonneje, Noakhalir bhashake oneke grammo bhasha mone kore. khattat. ekta pochani* ***type****er. ei jonne use kori na* [I don't want to use Noakhalian Bangla with my friends. Noakhalian Bangla is considered to be rural. Hick. A language for buffoonery. That is why I don't want to use it] (072611).

The construction of *others*[68] becomes the motivational force that impacts on how the participants position themselves in the social landscape. For example, because of the association of SCB with the Dhaka-centric imagined community, the participants try to emulate urban, modern, educated, and Dhaka-centric identity

[68] It is imaginary to the extent that in the three month ethnographic study, I did not find any single research participant speaking in SCB (if it really exists in practice) in their language practices.

attributes with their attempts to use SCB. Hence, they see SCB as a semiotic resource, effective in gaining social importance. Abeer (Appendices 5A & 5B), the son of a rickshaw-puller and housemaid, states that, *shobaito shuddho bhashai kotha bolte chai. cheshta kore. jeikono gramei hoke na kano. Dhaka shohore jokhon ashe, chai, mane, Dhakar bhashai, mane shuddho bhashai kotha bolte chai* … (laughing) *abar Dhakar bhashai na. shuddho bhashata mane, shorbojone shikkrito* [everyone wants to speak in the standard language. They (people coming from the village to Dhaka) try. Whichever village they come from, they want to speak in the language of Dhaka, the standard language. … (laughing) but not in the Dhakaiya variety[69]. I mean, standard language is well accepted across Dhaka] (062211). Here SB and Dhaka are the locus of the *imagined community*. If they want to be members of that imagined community, urban Dhaka-centred educated people with social class and a better education, individuals must dissociate themselves from their rural upbringing and rural, educational, and linguistic backgrounds (cf. Chapter 7), both symbolically and pragmatically.

The imagery of *others* is so compelling that participants become overpowered by it. Hence, those who come from a rural background do not want to be *Noakhailla* or *Chatgaiya* when they are in the city. The social imaginary and positive social identity associated with SCB is so compelling that Rima (Appendices 5A & 5B), an indigenous Chakma speaker[70], comments, *amar mone hoi na je amar kono chhele pochhondo hobe je shuddho Banglai bolte parbe na* [I don’t think I will ever like a man who can’t even speak standard Bangla] (081611). Rima never mentions her possible partner’s competence in Chakma, her native tongue. Being away from her region and the indigenous community, she does not need the language for practical day-to-day-activities. Chakma has become irrelevant to her life. These participants thus can aspire to speak in the language of the educated class, i.e., the *others*, while

[69] Dhakaiya variety is the regional variety of Bangla spoken by the original inhabitants of Dhaka district. Similar to other varieties of Bangla, Dhakaiya Bangla is different from SB and SCB, which were developed based on the language at what was, at the time, the centre, i.e., Nadia district in West Bengal, India (Faquire, 2012).

[70] The Chakmas ethnically belong to the Tibeto-Burman language family, who entered Bengal through the north-eastern passes and settled (Talukdar, 1988). Even though the indigenous communities have historically lived in the hill tracts of Bangladesh since before 500 BC, their history, place, and practices are distinctly different from those of the people living in the ‘plain land’, who primarily evolved from the Indo-Aryan race and speak Bangla, an Indo-Aryan language. (As a result, indigenous communities are called ‘pahari’ – people who live on the mountains – while the state or ethnic majority lives on the ‘low land’ or ‘plain land’).

they are also learning to become members of the city, i.e., the imagined community, and experience greater self-expression in the anonymity of the city (cf. Rechniewski, 2007). These constructions promise a sense of liberation for them. As Gal (2012, p. 30) has mentioned, "the standard register, …, is supposedly independent of place, time or speaker identity; it is "for every-one", a "voice from nowhere". The constructions of the social imaginary of *other* and Dhaka-centred *imagined community* work in complex ways with these research participants' migration to the city and their social mobility. They promise integration into the new cosmopolitan environment in which the research participants find themselves[71] when they reach there for tertiary education; for example, Shuvo's desire for civilised society, and Nayeem's intention to be accepted in the new community, are very much reflected in the linguistic resources they opt for in their language practices (cf. Chapters 6 & 7). SCB becomes both the language of inclusion and exclusion in Dhaka-centred urbanity. Their choice of language is conflicted with the reality of imposition as well as a sense of liberation.

The social imaginary of *others* is collectively sustained so strongly so that it becomes a source of social admiration or humiliation, putting individuals from specific linguistic backgrounds in advantageous or compromising positions. Nayeem confirms in interviews that he is very often mocked by his friends because of his linguistic background: *Noakhalir bhasha jodi age jodi* ***use*** *kortam, age jamon, Bangla bolar majh khane Noakhalir bhasha choila ashle, polapan hashahashi shuru koira dito. "ei je Noakhalir". Bangladeshe akta shomoshsha ase. Noakhali and Barisal. ei duitare pochaite pochaite falai. abar uthai. "ei je, Noakhailla". ar shob jagai amare motamoti shobai – Noakhalir janlei, "Noakhailla ki khobor?* [If I ever used Noakhalian Bangla, or uttered a Noakhalian word by mistake, people started laughing at me. "He is from Noakhali". This is a problem in Bangladesh. Two districts in Bangladesh, Noakhali and Barisal (the former a north-eastern district and the latter a southern district with distinct varieties of Bangla) are ridiculed the most. "Hey, he is Noakhailla". The moment I am identified as one, people usually start teasing me, "What's up, Noakhailla"]. Thus everyday practices reemphasise the categorisation and representation of the

[71] Approximately 400,000 people migrate to Dhaka from different regional districts and villages each year in search of education, employment, livelihood, and better living standards (Erik & Pyne, 2010, September). Dhaka is the melting pot of modern Bangladesh.

others, influenced by how “voices are differentially valued, differentially audible” (J. Miller, 2004, p. 313). “There is an economy of reception, which allows or constrains … the negotiation of identities” (J. Miller, 2004, p. 313). Consequently, the participants want to dissociate themselves from their rural upbringing and avoid any possibility of social humiliation because of their rural, educational, and linguistic background. The careful crafting of Nayeem’s own linguistic identity indicates language as the marker of *others,* as well as the cause of desire and investment. Language turns into a political act of translating the social dynamics in the construction of identity (cf. Ibrahim, 2003).

A similar observation has been confirmed by a group of Greek Cypriots, whose mother tongues are non-standard varieties, the Greek Cypriot Dialects (GCDs), and who in their everyday interaction use Standard Modern Greek (SMG), the official language of Greece and Cyprus and the language of education and the media. They consider that linguistic features associated with GCD are perceived as being ‘less educated’, ‘of lower class’, and ‘less prestigious’, when “SMG is associated with education, professionalism, and modernity” (Papapavlou & Sophocleous, 2009, pp. 186, 187). GCD speakers do not sound as polite as their SMG counterparts. ‘Heavy GCD’ speakers who employ a less formal style are associated with village life and little education. They are also satirised in terms of their language and culture in the media. Characters from that specific region are portrayed as ‘regressive’ and ‘premodern’, and are addressed with abject humiliation. In general, these students like Nayeem avoid the use of GCDs in their “attempt to maintain a positive social identity” (Papapavlou & Sophocleous, 2009, p. 179).

The section above shows that the construction of *self* and *others* is intricately associated with linguistic ideologies, assigned meanings, and the implicit hierarchies that exist between SCB and regional varieties of Bangla. The construction is also achieved with the construction of differences, with an assignment of opposing meanings to *self* and *others*. Based on the acceptability of different languages, the potentiality of the imageries constructed by them and their own locatedness in Dhaka, these participants pragmatically prefer to de-accentuate their regional identifications.

5.3 The 'obscure' rural vs. high-class *others*

The construction of *others* based on individual linguistic and demographic backgrounds becomes complex when a process of *othering* is instigated*,* materialised by exoticising the *others*. "Exoticization is known as a covert power exercise where 'self' creates inferior 'other' in order to establish and maintain its superiority [Said 1978], which involves identity construction and categorization" (Fukuda, 2006, p. 429). While sharing her experiences about the UOE campus, Tamara (Appendices 5A & 5B), born and brought up mainly in Dhaka (four years' stay in the USA) and educated in an English-medium school and college in Dhaka, says she likes the campus, but she disapproves of ***the new crowd of students in the UOE who are not approachable*** (080311). Referring to the students' rural upbringing, inability to speak SCB, non-urban gestures and postures, and non-acculturation to urban Dhaka-centric youth clothing fashion, Tamara is regretful, but says that she would not be able to learn anything from them. She shares in the interview that she once had to work with a student from the village for a class project: ***the guy came from the village. But in that matter, I didn't want to stress myself over it. I didn't want to create that discrimination that he came from a village. So what I did, you know, I distributed the responsibilities and I used to contact him over the phone because it was difficult for me to interact with him personally. Because the kind of language he uses, probably his gestures, weren't acceptable for me, like people coming from the English-medium background. Because we find them, you know, quite obscure.*** (072411). The informed decision to maintain a physical distance concretises the differences between her and the rural *others,* and the hidden patronisation and discrimination that occur in everyday interaction between the rural and urban research participants. In addition, her comments indicate that students from rural settings are already imagined and constructed in certain ways by students from Dhaka-centric English educated backgrounds (cf. Ibrahim, 1999, 2003).

The exoticisation based on linguistic and demographic backgrounds is revalidated and reinforced when the disadvantaged *others* accept the *othering* process as justifiable and natural. Abeer (062111) states that, *amar* ***financial*** *obostha oto bhalo na, to ekhane to oneke, mane, bhalo bhalo* ***family****r theke ashche, mane,* ***high class family*** *theke. to oder shathe* ***adjust*** *korte ektu shomoshsha hoi. mane ... amito*

ashchito akta poribesh theke. ora ashche arekta poribesh theke. amar kotha bolar ***style****, mane, onek* ***different****. mane, shuddho bhabe, bhalo bhabe bole. oder shathe manai chola onek* ***tough*** *ase.* ***Easily*** *jeye kotha bolte pari na. amar jani nijer kach thekei jani kirokom akta kamon lage. ora, mane, ami bhabi shudhu je, ora amar theke, mane,* ***different****. alada.* [My financial position is not so good. Many of them, I mean, come from good families, I mean, from high class families. So I find it a bit problematic to adjust to them. I mean … I came from one kind of environment. They came from another environment. My style of speaking is very different. It is tough to get along with them. I cannot go up to them and talk to them easily. I feel somewhat strange. They are – I mean, I find them different from me. Separate]. The transformation of the participants from one geo-cultural and linguistic space to another (here, a private university) means that they experience differences more acutely, and they become aware of the socio-economic differences. The repeated use of the word *alada* [different] by Abeer and his definition of Dhaka-centred students as *high class* indicate that, for him, these constructions are self-reflective entities that he uses to reaffirm how he sees himself in the social landscape in relation to these *other* students.

With an awareness of perceived differences based on linguistic and demographic backgrounds and socio-economic class, some participants thus engage in an *othering* process, while others who are being *othered* experience "the bumpy road of (re)translation and negotiation", indicating that the movement from one geo-cultural-and linguistic space to another complicates the process of the negotiation of identity. This also demonstrates the "complexity and difficulty of displaced identity formation processes" (Ibrahim, 2003, p. 67).

5.4 Powerful vs. weak and vulnerable *others*

Linguistic competence in English seems to be a strong marker for the construction of *self* and *others* and the negotiation of identity for the research participants. With its accumulated supremacy over centuries and its undeniable role in social and professional mobility, English has historically been regarded as a much coveted language in the context of Bangladesh (cf. Chapter 1). Participants create a specific sense of *self* and negotiate a powerful position in the social landscape, if they are linguistically competent in English. Luna (Appendices 5A & 5B), a participant

from an English-medium background, for example states, s***ometimes we feel bad for others, but again I think, deep inside, yah, we feel powerful….I feel POWERFUL. I feel better. I see myself in a higher level than others. It's not like, that I am proud of it, but I feel good obviously***" (082511). On a similar note, Tamara, another student from an English-medium background says, ***it*** [English] ***really outcasts me compare*****[d]** ***to the others. It really out-shadows me. It makes me the centre of attraction. … They would come to me. … I JUST LOVE IT …. I TAKE FULL ADVANTAGE OF THAT. AND I AM SO GOOD AT THAT*** [*sic*][72] (072411). English, as a language of distinction and demarcation, makes Tamara and Luna dissociate themselves from *others* who are less competent in English. They perform a privileged powerful identity with their linguistic competence in English, positioning themselves as indispensable and invincible, compared to others. When Tamara claims that *they would come to me* and manipulates her linguistic skills for her own advantage, she expresses her "refracted intention" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 324), i.e., making others, who are not as linguistically advanced as her, depend on her. She and Luna talk very much in individualistic terms when they refer to their position in the social landscape. Advanced competence in English thus becomes their social marker of *self* and a means to negotiate a powerful identity. Note that Luna comes from Sylhet and started living in Dhaka at the age of 19. However, she does not feel disadvantaged or *othered* like other participants coming from outside Dhaka because of her competence in English, which she has developed because of her English-medium education in Sylhet.

Luna and Tamara's voices are consequently distinctly different from those of Nayeem, or Abeer. Nayeem, for example, does not yet have the desired fluency in English, but sees the power it gives to *others* and longs to obtain it. Nayeem comments, *eita hoise, akta* ***extra ordinary****.* ***English*** *parata. eijonno* ***English*** *shobai pare na, ba* ***uncommon type*** *…* ***English*** *oneke keo* ***spoken*** *kore, tahole, oneke, mane, karo shamne korle, tarao bhabe, "cheleta onek* ***talent***" [it is an extraordinary quality. Not that everyone can speak it. It's an uncommon quality. "He is a talent" – people think of the person who speaks in English] (072611). Joy (Appendices 5A & 5B), an indigenous Chakma speaker, mentions how fluency in English may give

[72] The data in English unaccompanying by Bangla indicate that the interviews were given in English.

one an aura of distinction: *ami* ***English*** *e kotha bolte parchhi, jeta kina shobai parchhe na. ...* ***confidence****er akta bapar achhe. amar jeta* ***feeling****, sheta hocche, onnorai amake* ***isolate*** *kore fele ami jodi bhalo moto* ***English*** *bolte pari. ... pura* ***personality****tai* ***change*** *hoye jachhe.* ***change*** *hoei jai.* ***I think myself better in English*** [*sic*][I can speak in English that everyone can't speak. … I feel confident. I am in fact being isolated by others when I speak good English. … So my entire personality changes when I speak in English. The change occurs inevitably. I think high of myself when I speak in English] (071411). Because these participants perceive *others* to be better, it seems natural that they would emulate the 'better' *others*.These extracts also indicate that English is about setting the *self* apart from *others* and feeling different and powerful[73].

By contrast, the imagined *others* in terms of linguistic competence in SCB seem to be a more collective driver, expressed in the desire of speakers to make themselves members of the Dhaka-centred collective educated class. Conformity to the collective seems to be the sole purpose of using Bangla, and incorporates the view that language and ethnolinguistic identity are productive for locatedness and economic advancement in the capitalist era. Rima and Joy regret their parents' and their own illiteracy and limited proficiency in listening and speaking in written Chakma, but they act on their impulse to become the members of the Dhaka-centric *imagined community*. Joy states, *ami Chakmarje* ***written form****tai parina. ami jodi nao pari, tate amar khub akta khoti hobe na. kintu akta* ***language*** *harai jachhe, eitar akta monoshtattik akta bapar. eta amar kachhe kharap lage. kintu eita jodi ami nao pari,* ***UOE Debate Team*** *amake nibe* [I don't know how to write Chakma, but I am not disadvantaged by that. I am concerned that the language (Chakma) is becoming endangered and the loss is immense. I feel bad about it. However, my competence in Chakma will not determine whether I can become a member of the UOE Debate Club (but English will)] (071311). For Joy, his *imagined community* is

[73] The competitive feelings provoked by English can be related to its association with the materialistic corporate world where positions are scarce and only the skilled, qualified, and linguistically competent survive (cf. Chapter 1). It is not only educational qualification but also competence in speaking English that ensure better chance of jobs in the competitive private job market, which offers great promise in terms of economic and social mobility in Bangladesh. SCB and English thus both allow the research participants to be part of two distinctly different social imageries: one encourages them to align with the collective as required for integration into Dhaka (having migrated from suburbs and rural settings) and the other pulls them towards a late-capitalist sense of individual self as required for recognition in the social landscape and survival in a utilitarian materialistic world.

the Debate Club and he wants to be a member of this community where English is the only acceptable language for gaining membership. Joy's opinions reinstate the relationship between the commodifiability of language and participants' desire to be a member of an *imagined community* (cf. Nettle & Merton, 2000; Norton, 2008). His decision thus reconfirms Brutt-Griffler's (2002) comments with reference to British colonial policy in Lesotho and Sri Lanka, that language users may choose the language to accentuate their socioeconomic class, instead of constructing their linguistic identity based on their ethnicity.

> If you make ethnicity, nationality, or minority status the unit of analysis, you can conclude that people would want to or have in their interest to maintain their mother tongue. If, on the contrary, you take class as the unit of analysis, their interest might dictate emphasis on access to 'dominant languages' … (Brutt-Griffler, 2002, p. 225).

Thus within the social imaginary of different types of *others* and everyday realisation of different facets of *otherness*, they position themselves in the social landscape, even if it means giving up their mother tongue.

5.5 The *khat* vs. fast *others*

Similar to language and demographic background, medium of education seems to be a strong marker for associations and dissociations, and consequently, of the construction of *self* and *others*. As language is used to differentiate between the civilised and uncivilised, and between the demographic backgrounds of lower and higher classes, medium of education is used to group individuals according to their linguistic competence, socioeconomic background, and lifestyle. In fact, educational background is invested with layers of meaning which again become hinges for the imagination of *self* and *others*. The construction is very much related to life trajectories, the experiences that individuals accumulate through their time in schools and colleges, and the keen observations of others from different educational backgrounds. For example, Tomal (cf. Appendices 5A & 5B), a student from a Bangla-medium background, refers to someone who studied in the English-medium education system and had ample difficulties in speaking Bangla: *peter bhitor theke Bangla bair hoi. buchtei parben na. ki jani boltese. apni takaiii thakben*

kichhukkhon. koyekbar bolar pore bujhte parben [His Bangla seems to come from his stomach. You will not understand any of it. You will stare at him for a while. After listening to him several times, you will understand what he intends to say]. Jasmine adds that his Bangla is influenced by English, so much so that it sounds like English (cf. Chapter 6, Extract 6.4 for anglicisation of Bangla). The educational differences are thus accentuated and differentiated by linguistic features.

The differences between *us* and *them* become amplified not only in the variation of participants' linguistic competence in Bangla, but also by their socioeconomic backgrounds. Tomal comments on the attitude of English-medium students which, according to him, is the product of their affluence: *chorom bhab mare ora* [they show off a lot]. He also mentions the differences between the lifestyles of Bangla and English-medium students, which are again influenced by the individual economic position of the participants: *baparta dukkhojonok hoileo shatti. ora hotath kore chole ashtese **FFC**te. dosh barota **chicken leg** khaitese. noshto kortese. ar amader akta **chicken*** ((leg)) *khaitei jan bair hoya jai… ar amar **moneybag** faita jaitese, akta **chicken*** ((leg)) *khaite* [This is hurtful but true. They come to FFC ((fast food shop)) whenever they want, order 10 to 12 chicken legs and leave the food unfinished. They can afford to waste the food, whereas we need to think twice when we order only one piece … I really have to count the money carefully ((in the moneybag)) to order just one piece] (071211).

On the basis of the observable social dynamics, be it demographic background, education, language, or socio-economic status, individuals seem to come up with additional character attributes that they see in *others* and in themselves which will be discussed in the section below. Focus Group Discussion (FGD) 5.1 (071211) contains extracts from discussions with a group of participants from a Bangla-medium educational background, and FGD 5.2 (081811) is an extract of a discussion with participants from an English-medium educational background.

FGD 5.1: *manush hishebei totally different.*

Guide to languages: Bangla (regular font); Hindi (*italics*); English (**bold**)

		Discussion	Translation
1.	Saud	manush hishebei **totally different.**	They ((English-medium students)) are totally different as human beings.
2.	Jasmine	oderke dekhlei bujhte pari. oder shathe kotha boli, kintu **friendly** achoron hoi na arki.	We can identify them right away. I do talk to them ((English-medium students)), but I don't feel friendly towards them.
3.	Shaila	bhashar jonnoi ki oderke onno rokom lage?	Is it only because of the language that you feel different from them?
4.	Saud	ora aktu **Western culture**er dike jhoke.	They are a bit inclined towards Western culture.
5.	Jasmine	aktu **p^ha:st.**	They are a bit p^ha:st ((fast)).
6.	Saima	amader theke aktu, mane, **p^ha:st.**	They are a bit p^ha:st ((faster)) than us, I mean, fa:st.
7.	Tomal	oneki **fast** thake. **Drinks** kore.	They are in fact very fast. They drink ((drinking here refers to the consumption of alcohol)).
8.	Imran	amra jamon beshir bhagi **conservative**. ora oto **conservative** na.	Most of us for example are conservative. They are not so conservative.
9.	Shaila	**fast** bolle; **conservative** na bolle. tomra ki bujhao ei shobdogula diye?	As you said, they are fast; they are not conservative. What do you mean by these words?
10.	Saima	onek shomoi dekha galo, amra kothao ghurte jabo **friend circle** theke. amader basha theke jamon dibe na. oder dekha galo, meye chhele akshathe ghurte chole jaitese. oder **family** theke kichhu	It often happens that our family does not allow us to go out with friends. They (English-medium students), boys and girls are going out together. Their families have no reservations about it. We don't even dare to ask our parents. We are afraid of our family. How will

		boltese na. amra nijerai jawar kotha boli na. **family**r bhoye. ki jabo? ora **friend**der niye onek **party** tarty kortese. amader oirokom hoina.	we go? They have lots of parties with their friends. We do not attend these sorts of parties.
11.	Tomal	raterje **barbeque party** tarty hoi na, oder basha theke konodini **allow** korbe na. amar basha thekeo **allow** korbe na.	You know about the evening barbeque parties ((in the university)). Her ((Saima's)) parents will never allow her to attend these parties. Neither will my parents.
12.	Saima	amrao **aunty** jabo na. rater bela.	Aunty, we wouldn't want to go to these evening parties either.

FGD 5.2: *oder characteristics differrent. tara different.*

		Discussion	Translation
1.	Luna	puratai alada. oder **characteristics differrent**. tara **different. So usually what happens** – ki hoi - **Bangla-medium** theke hoile dakha jai je ora aktu …	They ((Bangla-medium students)) are totally different from us. Their characteristics are different. They are different. So usually you know what happens –those who come from Bangla-medium background are a bit…
2.	Ria	**Reserved.**	**Reserved.**
3.	Luna	**They have their own style, own jokes** – jegula amra relate korte pari na. **Maybe, they will crack jokes about guys which we will find lame. And maybe we will crack jokes** jeta ora **relate** korte parbe na.	They have their own style, own jokes – we can't relate to these jokes. Maybe, they crack jokes about guys which we find lame. And maybe we crack jokes that they find obscure.
4.	Ria	**They can't relate.**	They can't relate.
5.	Luna	**Maybe they watch more Hindi movies. Maybe we watch more English movies. And that matters.** ei **type**r. shob kichhu.	Maybe they watch more Hindi movies. Maybe we watch more English movies. And that matters. This type of differences does exist.

6.	Luna	…. **That's the general concept** (about) **the English-medium people. They are the ones considered as snobs and upper class. Like, people call them upper class bitches**. ar Bangla-**medium** er bapare amader aktu dharona ase. "shobgula khat **type**r".	…. That's the general concept (about) the English-medium people. They are the ones considered as snobs and upper class. Like, people call them upper class bitches. We also have assumptions about the students from the Bangla-medium. "They are the hick type"
7.	Ria	**And moreover, like, they, like, the things we are liking, they are disliking them as well. Like, the same thing, the same attitude toward the Bangla serials, Hindi serials that we have, they have the same attitude toward, like, English movies.**	And moreover, like, they, like, the things we are liking, they are disliking them as well. Like, the same thing, the same attitude toward the Bangla serials, Hindi serials that we have, they have the same attitude toward, like, English movies.
8.	Luna	**And even like in relationship and everything. They have the tendency of,** dhoren, **they will still go out. They will talk over the phone with two or three guys. But they will not admit it. They will say, like** "eita bhalo na. na, ami eibhabe kori na. poribar theke jai". **Maybe, I may not talk with two three guys, I mean, specially, but I will say,** mane, karo shathe oi bhabe **specially, but** ami bolbo, "ha, **I go out with a guy I like**". **Openly** bolbo. amake **consider** kora hobe ami hoito aktu **rude. I am more Western, rude**. bhadrota jani na.	And even like in relationship and everything. They have the tendency of, for example, they will still go out. They will talk over the phone with two or three guys. But they will not admit it. They will say, like "This is not good. No, I don't do this. We have gone out with the family". Maybe, I may not talk with two three guys, I mean, specially, but I will say, "Yes, I go out with a guy I like". I will say it openly. Because of this, I will be perhaps considered as rude. I am more Western, rude. I am not modest.
9.	Ria	**P^{h}a::st.**	P^{h}a::st.
10.	Luna	**Inconsiderate.**	Inconsiderate.
11.	Ria	**They use this word.**	They use this word.
12.	Luna	**Ha, they use this word**	Ha, they use this word 'p^{h}a::st' (fast).

		‘p^{h}a::st’. P^{H}-A-S-T. We are p^{h}a::st pipol (fast people). **We …**	P^{H}-A-S-T. We are p^{h}a::st pipol (fast people). We …
13.	Ria	**Shumon Sir has a joke for this. He says, “Oh, I am not feeling p^{h}a::st today. I am not p^{h}a::sting today. I am quite slow”.** ((they break into laughter)).	Shumon Sir has a joke for this. He says, “Oh, I am not feeling p^{h}a::st ((fast)) today. I am not p^{h}a::sting ((fasting)) today. I am quite slow”. ((they break into laughter)).
14.	Luna	eije ei **type**r. **Even classroom discussion**e. **Literature**e hoitho **sex and everything** ashlo. amra hoito **repel** kortesi na. ora **class**e oi bhabe **discuss** kore na. **so they feel** je ei meyegula onek **arrogant.**	Yes, this is their type. For example, in literature classes, we don’t repel ((shy away from)) discussions on sex. They do not participate in the discussion, as if we are the arrogant ((least inihibited)) ones.
15.	Ria	**They don’t have the psychology as I said before. They are not, they don’t incorporate whatever is Western. You have to be Eastern. Like, you know, anything just not, does not, like, confine to anything outside the box, anything that talks about sexuality, anything that borders, like, umm, border like, crossing the religion, that is bad. That is not acceptable.**	They don’t have the psychology as I said before. They are not, they don’t incorporate whatever is Western. You have to be Eastern. Like, you know, anything just not, does not, like, confine to anything outside the box, anything that talks about sexuality, anything that borders, like, umm, border like, crossing the religion, that is bad. That is not acceptable.

Both groups of participants in the FG discussions offer a candid understanding of education-based identification in specific referential terms: *fast* vs. *khat*[74] *others*. These words *intertextually* refer to an array of meanings related to specific kinds of lifestyle. For example, according to FGD 5.1, *fast* refers to the Western way of life (which is also an imagined construction) (line 4), an extravagant and wasteful life of financially well-off English-medium students who actively indulge in a non-

[74] *Khat* is a new word that has evolved in young urban adults’ language practices. It is used both as a noun and adjective. *Khat* is a person, who is hick, uncultured, or unsophisticated. *Khat* also refers to attributes, such as rustic, lame, non-standard, and so on.

traditional lifestyle and are accustomed to the 'Western life', i.e., less conservative in terms of relationship (lines 7 and 8) and religion[75] (lines 7 and 8) and more inclined towards the new youth urban culture of parties and barbecues (10 and 11), approximating ideas, customs, and practices coming from the West (line 3).

The pronunciation of *fast* is also a marker of difference between the two groups. The banglicisation of the English words *fast* with an exaggerated stylised pronunciation, that is, a substitution of /f/ with /ph/ and elongation of the single vowel /a/ in lines 9, 12, and 13 FGD 5.2 resembles the way it is pronounced by the participants in lines 5 and 6, FGD 5.1[76]. Even the teacher participates in sustaining the imageries by the pronunciation (FGD 5.2, lines 12), hence the participants in FGD 5.2 laugh at the pronunciation (FGD 5.2, lines 9 and 13) that is usually made by students like Jasmine (line 5) and Saima (line 6). With the pronunciation, the imaginary becomes even more concrete: Bangla-medium students are *khat* because they are incapable of pronouncing English words properly.

By contrast, according to group 2 in FGD 5.2, *khat* (line 6) refers to a specific group of people who are conservative or reserved (line 2), indulge in unpalatable lame jokes (line 3), and watch Hindi and Bangla films and TV serials (lines 5 and 7). These people are also pretentious and hypocritical in their lifestyle, i.e., they pretend to maintain a traditional way of life, when in reality they have relationships with boys/girls (lines 8); they are inhibited and restrained in the classroom (line 14); and they are inconsiderate, judgmental and prejudiced (line 8, 10, 14), and backward in thinking (line 15). The *khat* students do not participate in classroom discussions in literature classes when topics like sex arise (line 14) and they tend to adhere to Eastern rather than Western religious values (line 15); they are not ready to cross the boundaries imposed by Eastern culture and religion.

The differences in lifestyle associated with the students from Bangla- and English-medium educational backgrounds, as portrayed by both groups are distinctly polarised. FGD 5.1 line 10 - 11 and FGD 5.2 lines 8 and 15 define one group as

[75] Consumption of alcohol is strictly prohibited in Islam. It also does not support 'free-mixing' between males and females.

[76] Some Bangla speakers (for example, in FGD 5.1, line 6, Jasmine and Saima do) have troubles in pronouncing /f/ challenging. They tend to approximate the sound with the aspirated plosive / p^h/ of Bangla (Hai & Ball, 1961; Hoque, 2011).

liberal and the other as hypocritical. Hence, in line 12, Saima states that she would not attend the evening parties anyway, even if supported by her parents; in lines 8 and 14, Luna mentions that she would go out with boys and be honest about it and she would not mind participating in discussion about sex in class. They have these imagined constructions of *selves* and *others*, that is, they are aware of their own sense of being, according to the imageries and individual realisation. English-medium students seem to be aware of these accepted perceptions too, and hence, Luna comments on being *upper class and bitchy* in FGD 5.2, line 6. Their choice becomes a political act because the imageries that start with the educational background, a static marker, do not remain tied to education *per se*. The educational background becomes a marker of progressiveness or regressiveness. The construction of *us* and *them* based on the educational background also becomes a way to segregate and divide people.

These participants use the two adjectives, *khat* and *fast*, to align themselves and *others* with two distinctly disparate 'imagined' ways of being. They are drawn on imagined notions of conservative traditional Bangladeshi ways and liberal, open and free Western ways as a means of self-representation, despite having only passive experience of Western culture through the media. By contrasting education, tastes in entertainment, lifestyle, and orientation to man-woman relationships, they develop the social imaginary of two groups of students from English-medium and Bangla-medium backgrounds.

Social imageries enable the participants to navigate what and how they want to be with reference to these imageries and their sense of *others*. They provide an "indispensable memory and experiential site from which to *translate* and hence *negotiate* the new geo-cultural-and-linguistic space" (Ibrahim, 2003, p. 64). For example, Tomal comments, *ora ashole chhoto bela thekei oirokom* ***culture****er shathe obhhosto. amra sheirokom* ***cultuer****er shathe obhhosto na. koekjon dekha jai je amader* ***culture*** *theke oder* ***culture****e* ***shift*** *korte pare.* ***But*** *onekei pare na. ami jamone* ***50%-50%****. Anik* ***50%-50%.*** *But* ***100%*** *oder moto* ***attitude*** *hobe na* [They have grown up in this kind of culture. They are used to it. We are not used to this kind of culture. Some of us shift from our culture to their culture. But many cannot. I could for example, 50%-50%. Anik 50%-50%. But we can never be 100% like them in our attitude] (071211 FGD 5.1). Note that here *culture* refers to lifestyle.

According to Tomal, his 50% adoption of *their* culture means that he now has female friends, with whom he spends time, attends parties, or visits the FFC. In this way, not only are the images of *others* and *self* reproduced, they become real. These observations are mobilised into the process of identity formation and become the reference point for the construction of *us.* Ibrahim (1999, p. 365) stated with reference to the experiences of migrant continental Francophone African youths, “To become Black is to become an ethnographer who translates and looks around in an effort to understand what it means to be Black in Canada”. Similarly, these research participants become ethnographers and tend to approximate *others.* Their identity becomes situated and shaped by the presence of English-medium students in the context of a private university in Bangladesh.

5.6 Colonial vs. neo-colonial *others*

The social imageries referred to in binary distinctions have been developed historically, temporally, and spatially, and these participants bring traces of these historic divisions through their voices, connecting the past with the present and the future. Similarly, some of the participants seem to carry the ethos of colonial zeal and the historic divisions between coloniser and colonised from the imperial era even today in the way they perceive *others*. Tamara stated that English should be made compulsory in every domain of life, and said that only a stern step would motivate people in Bangladesh to learn English. For participants, like Tamara, there is no doubt English is the only language for the *bangalis* (anglicised word for it is Bengali). She justifies it further: ***You know, in Bengali culture, if you do not pressurise the Bangalis, they never work. You will have to pressurise them. You have to make them work. Just make it mandatory. ‘You have to speak in English during the conference’. Automatically they learn English*** [*sic*] (081011).

The imagery becomes more potent when her voice is considered with reference to “the socio-ideological consciousness” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 277) of the coloniser. According to her, *Bangalis* [Bengalis] are inherently lazy. They do not function well in a democratic environment; rather, they need stringent discipline and autocratic ruling to make them work, because they are incapable of working on their own. Defining the *others* and justifying her reason for *othering* the students less competent in English, she locates herself, as she has done previously, in a

better position. Her *voice* resonates with the zeal of the narcissistic colonisers in Africa, America, and Australasia who considered their language and culture superior to that of the colonised, i.e., the colonised were inherently lazy, inferior, and uncivilised because they did not share the vision of colonial economy: *the myth of the lazy native*. This view is an "important element in the ideology of colonial capitalism" and "a major justification for territorial conquest" (Alatas 1977 as cited in Alastair Pennycook, 1998, p. 58). Thus Tamara's voice is "filled with *other words*, varying degrees of *other-ness* and varying degree of '*ourness*'" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 89; emphasis added). A normative view of linguistic identification will miss the complexities of her social positioning and voicing; her identification is done and redone, invented and reinvented, within the imageries and voices that connect her to the past.

The imageries of *others* based on the differences between the colonised and the coloniser of the past is reincarnated in the present in the asymmetric power play implicit in the submissions to, struggles against, and resistances towards the linguistically empowered students who are more competent in English. In two separate interviews, Joy specifically mentions the superiority of the English people and the English language in the *imagined past* in his interpretation of the colonial era: *bharot mohadeshe onekei English shekhar bapare jore diyechhilo. Raja Ram Mohon Rai. karone onara bujhte perechhilen,* ***in the next future,*** *amra oder shonge achi. ora ameder theke* ***superior****. amader oi bhabei jete hobe* [English was emphasised in the Indian subcontinent by many. Raja Ram Mohon Roy[77] was one of them. They understood that we would be aligned with ***them*** ((British imperialists)) in the future. ***They are superior to us. We should follow them***]. Joy also mentions, *amader* ***psychologically****te amra* ***200*** *bochhor odhine chhilam. tara* ***superior*** *chhilo. akhone keo jodi* ***English*** *bhalo pare, obhijat moneto hobei.* ***English*** *hote cheyechhilo dekei Michael Madhu Shudon Datta desh chhere bideshe chole giyechhilo.* ***English****ke obhijat na mantam, shob kichhu jodi* ***English****e na kortam, Rabindranath* ***Nobel Prize*** *peten na, jodi Gitanjolee* ***translation*** *na hoto.*

[77] Historically Raja Ram Mohon Roy (22 May 1772 – 27 September 1883), the Indian religious, social, and educational reformer, considered to be the 'Father of Modern India' and the 'Father of the Bengal Renaissance' wanted his fellow Indians to learn about the scientific advancements in the Western world through English education (Paranjape, 2013). English was the language to make a space in the global world. It is undecidable if Raja Ram Mohon Roy considered the English superior, but the English language was, no doubt, a pragmatic choice for him and his compatriots.

eijonnoi obhijat mone hoi. "ei meyeta mone hoi ***Scholastica****,* ***Aga Khan****, othoba* ***India*** *theke eshche". dharona cholei ashe. amra jokhon chhoto belai shuntham –* ***Scholastica*** *–* ***Wow****!* [... we are mentally enslaved to them because we were under their (the British colonisers) rule for 200 years. ***They were the superiors. Now if we find someone who speaks in English, it is natural that we find her sophisticated.*** Michael Madhu Shudan Datta[78] wanted to become English and left India to pursue that dream. If we didn't find English sophisticated, if we didn't take up English and if we didn't translate *Gitanjalee,* Rabindranath[79] wouldn't receive the Noble Prize. That's why we find people speaking in English sophisticated. 'She must be from Scholastica, Aga Khan (English-medium schools in Bangladesh), or she must have studied in India'. We automatically think in that way. When we were younger, if we met someone from Scholastica – we would say – 'wow!' (071411)].

The presence of *others* is historic, defined in the present by new characteristics. Joy connects the past with the present in his construction of *others* with reference to the historical trajectories of English, the British coloniser and the English-speaking students from today's English-medium schools and colleges. In his mind, the students from Scholastica and Aga Khan, two famous English-medium schools in Dhaka, represent the sophistication that the colonised perceived in the coloniser. Suggesting that these students should receive the admiration once reserved for the British colonisers, Joy indicates how the 'post-colonial identities' are renegotiated and reconstructed within the ideological legacies of English. He seems to echo the comments of Ahluwalia (2001 in Stroud, 2007, p. 38): "post-colonial states are first and foremost products of colonialism" and "postcolonial society is a society continually responding in all its myriad ways to the experience of the colonial contact". Note that Joy is an indigenous language speaker who often commented, as Nayeem, Saima, and others did: *banglar dorkar ki? banglar kono dorkar nai* [why does Bangla have to be essential? We don't need Bangla]. His choice of linguistic and cultural resources is far more complex and contradictory than nationalistic discourses on language and identity might demonstrate. In a historically,

[78] Michael Madhu Shudon Datta (25 January 1824 – 29 June 1873), born to a wealthy Hindu family, became one of Bangladesh's greatest literary figures and the father of the Bangla sonnet. Widely loved for his contribution to Bangla literature yet critiqued for his admiration of the English and Christianity, he is an example of an individual entangled in different ways of being.

[79] Rabidranath Tagore (7 May 1861 – 7 August 1941) became the first Non-European Nobel laureate to win the prize in literature for *Gitanjalee* (Song Offerings) only because it was translated in English.

ideologically, and emotionally conflicted post-colonial milieu, Joy creates the image of *others* that again directly influences the linguistic and cultural resources and voices he prefers to use in his language practices (cf. also Sections 5.9 & 5.10).

5.7 Regular Hindi serial watchers

Hindi, a language of the Indian subcontinent of which Bangladesh was historically a part, is significant for the role it plays in entertainment and popular culture in Bangladesh. Most of the participants indicate that Hindi is also a part of their linguistic and identity repertoire[80]. Nikita (072211 Café 1) mentions how she frequently quotes lines from Hindi films: *if someone is afraid of doing any specific work, I would say, "jo dar gaya wo mar gaya"* [He who is afraid is dead]. *If I want someone to do something, I would say, "karo, karo, aaj karo. aaj karegi tu swasti."*[Do, do. Do it today. If you do it today, you'll feel relaxed]. *These are all dialogues from Hindi films. If I feel like throwing swear words from Hindi films to someone for fun, "kutte! mein tera khoon piya jaaonga"* [dog, I will drink your blood]. These sentences are taken from song titles or popular dialogues in Hindi films. For example, *jo dar gaya wo mar gaya* is a song title from the 2003 film, *Darna Mana Hai*; *kutte! mein tera khoon pi jaaonga*! is from the 1975 film, *Sholay*. Others are commonly-found clichés from Hindi films and TV serials. The participants indicated that they would not use Hindi for serious purposes, but only sporadically for sheer buffooneries with friends.

Hindi seems to occupy a stable, and yet precarious position[81]. Even when the research participants do use Hindi or talk about Hindi entertainment, they make it clear that it is the lightness or sheer buffoonery of the language that encourages

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[80] The research participants are aware of the sociocultural and ideological factors involved in their language choice. Many of them, such as Imran, Jasmine, Tahura, and Tamara mention that they watch Hindi films, reality shows, and talk shows. According to the participants, India, as a country with rich cultural heritage and better economic conditions and technological advancements than Bangladesh, has been able to make world-standard films such as *3 Idiots* or *Slum Dog Millionaire*. Joy (081811) mentioned the franchise TV shows made by Bangladesh and India, such as *Stuntmania* or *Who Wants to be Millionaire*, but the Indian productions of these shows are far better than the Bangladeshi versions. The Indian *X-factor, MTV Roadies, MTV Splitsvilla*, and so on are, according to Joy, very exciting and nerve-wracking. Joy thus summarises succinctly why Indian entertainment is more popular than Bangladeshi; it is a classic example of a bigger country and culture overpowering the imagination of the inhabitants of a smaller country.

[81] Indian entertainment has a strong hold over the Bangladeshi market and controls access by the Bangladeshi channels to the Indian market (Khasru, 2012). The example shows the top-down control of the bigger culture over the smaller one.

them to use it. It is, similar to Bangla and English, used in the construction of *others*. Indian entertainment does not have the same status as Western, Japanese, or Korean entertainment. Because of the social hierarchies implicit in entertainment, the participants discuss Japanese manga and Korean drama very often, but deliberately avoid discussion of Hindi entertainment. Jasmine (060811), a research participant, states that people display little respect to those who talk in Hindi or about Hindi TV serials. Imran (053111) mentions that he follows Shahrukh Khan, the Indian film star, in clothes and hair style. Hastily he adds, *ashole agula ami kokhono karo shathe* ***share*** *kori nai. ... ami apnar shathe* ***share*** *kortesi. ... ami kintu boltam na – agula shunle oneke hashe* [In fact, I never share this (his likings for Shahrukh Khan) with anyone. … I am sharing this with you. …. I wouldn't with anyone else … the majority would laugh at me]. On a similar note, Tahura (072511 - 2) makes dresses following the style of Sanam Kapoor, the Indian film actress and daughter of actor Anil Kapoor. However, she lies to her friends that she has come up with the idea herself. Tahura also states, ***If you speak Hindi, people get an assumption that you are a regular Hindi serial watcher. You know like, people don't take you that seriously, specially the guys. You know, they start teasing you. "Oh, you are watching Hindi movies. You watch Hindi serials". Probably that's because it's not considered as fashionable, rather funny*** (072511- 2). Hence, even though these participants watch Hindi films and listen to Hindi songs, they make sure that they do not talk about these in front of their friends. Mentally, they imagine Hindi with *others* who are not as classy or educated as those who favour English entertainment (cf. Chapters 6 & 7). For example, in the section above, both Luna and Ria define *others* from Bangla-medium schools and colleges as those who are more interested in Indian entertainment. They decide to change their positionality, i.e., they show that they are using Hindi to make the conversation 'fun', but they do not want to be considered as having a keen interest in Hindi, or an avid interest in Indian entertainment.

The informed decision of maintaining a distance from Hindi seems to be influenced by arrays of reasons. Considering that both English and Hindi are foreign languages for them, I asked why they would discriminate against Hindi, especially when it plays such an important role in their entertainment. Joy, an indigenous language speaker, considers that the linguistic position of Hindi parallels indigenous

languages in Bangladesh. These languages are neither the subject of the national curriculum, nor useful for wider communication (071411). He also highlights a different dimension; that it is a language with unexpected meaning and unexpected association: *ami* ***personally*** *mone kori, Hindir cheye Bangla* ***language****ta* ***standard****. ... Hindita jani kamon – amar kachhe* ***weird*** *mone hoi – ami jodi boli shikkhito oshikkhito – oshikkhito manusher bhasha hochhe Hindi. shikkhito manusher bhasha hochhe Bangla. Banglata amar kachhe mone hoi – akta alada gambhirjo achhe jeta Hindi bhashai nai. Hindi bhashar kothata amar kachhe* ***cheap cheap*** *mone hoi. mane, "mei tumhara shaath jaunga, paunga, keya korta hu, aap keya korta hei" – er cheye "ami okhane jabo, korbo"- oita onek beshi* ***standard*** *mone hoi* [I personally think that Bangla is more standard than Hindi. .. Hindi is **weird** – I feel – if we talk with reference to education – Hindi is the language of the uneducated. Bangla is the language of the educated. I think Bangla has a distinct gravity that Hindi lacks. I find the Hindi language itself cheap. Bangla sentences such as "I will go there. I will do it" sound more standard than the Hindi ones, such as *mei tumhara shaath jaunga, paunga, keya kortha hu, aap keya kortha hei* (Hindi)] [*sic*](071411). Joy implicitly places languages in different hierarchies Having earlier mentioned that Bangla could never be a language close to his heart, even though he used it for practical reasons, here, he defines Bangla as the language of the educated and Hindi as the language of the uneducated.

The construction of *others* reflects the social dynamics and linguistic ideologies associated with Hindi. Tahura and Toma both identify Hindi as the language of a developing country, a neighbouring country. It is easy to learn because both Hindi and Bangla evolved from Sanskrit. Hindi is also not part of the formal education curriculum. Because it does not ensure mobility in any domain, there is no perceived relevance of the language in their lives. Pujolar (2007) mentions that consumers in the world economy prefer to be 'clients' rather than 'citizens'. They do not want to see themselves on the lower rungs of the socioeconomic ladder and are ready to give up a language that indicates constrained social mobility. Hindi has no role in terms of social advancement; thus these participants do not want to show it off as part of their linguistic and identity repertoire; neither do they want to be a part of it.

The political dynamics also seem to influence how they perceive Hindi in their life. There has been continual debate over the fact that the Indian Government earns billions of dollars, reaping benefits from Bangladesh, when Bangladesh itself has not been allowed to broadcast Bangladeshi channels in India (Khasru, 2012). In addition, the political relationship between Bangladesh and India has always been volatile over the issue of sharing a border and the water body of 54 rivers flowing through India and Bangladesh. Hence, when Luna by mistake utters, *tumi mango kano?* [Why are you asking for it?] in front of her brother, using the Hindi word, *mango,* her brother starts calling her *rajakar* [82], a derogatory term to refer to people who work against the freedom of the country (081811). Here, Bangla symbolically represents the sovereignty of Bangladesh and speaking in Hindi is similar to destroying its independence. Thus social imageries work in various pragmatic, economic, and cultural ways, and these participants maintain a pragmatic approach to the ways in which they want to use Hindi. In other words, how they use the language, the status they afford it, and ultimately the subjectivities they prefer to negotiate with it depend on neither their life trajectory nor their agency alone.

5.8 Blurred boundaries between the local self and imagined global *others*

Globalisation has provided different kinds of linguistic, cultural, and economic resources to participants to imagine *others* and be part of the world of the *others*. Participants talk about iPhone, iPad, netbook, X Box 360, HTC ThunderBolt, and so on. They discuss the models of cars made in Germany, Japan, and the USA. Even when they do not travel much for holiday, they swap stories about the experiences of extended family members and friends. These symbolic and material objects allow participants to travel in virtual space across countries to become part of global imagined communities. In other words, being a member of the imagined global community is not only about being in the flow of information; it is also tied to the consumption of global products, both in real-time space and virtual space, which helps the participants to define the type of identity repertoire they may employ for themselves as a global citizen.

[82] The word originates from the paramilitary force created by the Pakistan Army in East Pakistan during the Bangladesh Liberation War 1971 (cf. Chapter 7 extract 7.10). They are the people who collaborated with the Pakistani army in massive killing, rape, and vandalism, and all kinds of human right violation activities.

While these participants consider themselves to be in the flow of globalisation, they tend to straddle both local and the global imaginary *self* in their linguistic and cultural practices. Some of the participants use anglicised names to show their allegiance to the imagined community. They shorten their names and anglicise them with stylised English pronunciation; Archona is Archies, Amina is Amie, Anika is Anne, and, as mentioned in interviews, they consider that these names give them a 'cool' group identity. As has been identified previously, "one of the most obvious linguistic means of establishing people's identity is through the giving and using of names" (Thornborrow, 1999, p. 138). Blackledge and Creese (2008, p. 547), referring to bilingual speakers of Bangla in a UK heritage school indicated that students preferred the anglicised pronunciation when the teachers called their names because it provided them with "an opportunity to negotiate available linguistic resources in subtle, nuanced ways to occupy a position which is oppositional to ideologies which rely on the 'purity' of the Bengali language". The anglicisation of Chinese names in Singapore is significantly on the rise, suggesting an increased acceptance of English as the first language and Christianity as the most popular religion (Tan, 2001). Note that all these contexts are distinctly different from one another. For example, in the context of the UK, bilingual Bangla speakers use it to show resistance as well as to disaffiliate from the identity promoted by the heritage school. In the context of UOE, even though anglicised names are used informally among friends, the practice indicates the participants' attempts to affiliate themselves with non-Bangladeshi linguistic and cultural resources and a desire to negotiate a different facet of their identity associated with an *imagined English community*.

Because of the immersion in the different languages and cultures, these young adults seem to occupy different *imagined communities* simultaneously. Bonya and Nakib (072211 café 2) are avid followers of non-Western entertainment and their exposure is diverse: they watch Korean drama and films, *Mr. Right, Thank you*, and so on, and Japanese serials and manga, *Wanted, Bleach, Fairy Tale,* and *Naruto*, which they regularly download from the Internet. Nakib is keenly interested in Japanese cartoons, anime, and manga. These are topics of lively discussion among the friends, and they are actively engaged with it as they laugh and cry with the rise, and the fall of their favourite heroes. With their exposure to these linguistic and

cultural resources, some participants like Nakib have developed a sense of awareness of Korean and Japanese languages and cultures. For example, he mentions that, *amra subtitle shoho dekhi. tobe ajkal subtitle lagena* ***actually****. dekhte dekhte bojha jai ... hoi ki janen?* ***Naruto*** *dektesi.* ***Naruto****r* ***tone*** *dekhte dekhte obhhosto.* ***subtitle****to thakei. tokhon ar pura* ***subtitle*** *pora lagtese na.* ***automatically meaning****ta mathai chole ashe* [We watch them with subtitles. However, nowadays we don't actually need the subtitles. The continual watching has given us an understanding …what happens, you know? We watch 'Naruto'. We have become used to the voice of Naruto. There are also subtitles. Then we don't need to read the entire subtitle. We can easily understand the meaning] (072211 café 2). They use Japanese words, such as *sensei* meaning 'teacher'*; arigato* meaning 'thank you*; matto maiyo* meaning 'wait for me'. English subtitles play an important mediating role by helping them to access forms of global culture before these Asian cultural forms are incorporated into their daily or online conversations. Thus these participants have "immense cultural options, recreational opportunities, access to knowledge" and "ways of configuring life" (Holden, 2006, p. 87). Nakib's choice of Japanese films or cartoons reveals his "reflexive engagement – choosing and rejecting, transforming or synthesising" global elements according to his tastes and needs (Nilan & Feixa, 2006, p. 8). In the plural worlds of these young adults, it is possible to draw on a wide range of linguistic and cultural resources in their everyday discourse. By this appropriation, "the languages and cultures that circulate within these flows are constantly mixed with other languages and cultures, so that new mixtures arrive in new places and remix once again as they become relocalized" (Pennycook, 2007a, p. 122).

As a result of globalisation and technological advancements, the lines that divide images of the local self and the global self have dissolved or become blurred (Grinshaw, 2010). Some participants chat with Americans or Argentinians in *Dracula Ville*, where they play games or trade vampire artefacts as part of the game. A dispute over the price of a mansion in *Town Ville* with a Kazakh, or a money transaction with an Armenian in a *Town Ville* bank is ***normal*** for them. Nikita and Nakib (072211 Café 1) dreamed of attending the first Metallica concert in Delhi on 30th October 2011 (a severe riot later took place in India when the band cancelled their tour), or the British Summer Time Hyde Park concert in the UK.

Some participants consider globalisation very much ‘unmarked’. The ease of mobility in the virtual space, transcendence of geographical boundaries, and transgression in their linguistic and cultural practices (Chapters 4, 6, and 7) do not make them feel global. As Joy states, ***Global*** *howar ar ki achhe.* ***It’s pretty normal thing*** [What’s there to be so global about? *It’s pretty normal thing* (081811)]. Nakib (081411) is nonchalant about the process of globalisation. None of them sees themselves as situated in the global flow, because they enter the flow of information through the media and the Internet. This is a regular practice in their lives, and they consider themselves very much located in the context of their own country. Since there has been no visible change in their locatedness, they do not think of themselves as ‘global’. Their interpretation of the concept ‘global’ indicates the relativity of meaning that the word invokes to participants.

5.9 The imagined Western woman *other*

The English language and the participants’ own interpretation of ‘Western culture’ seem to play a significant role in the way the participants perceive themselves. They have different levels of experience in terms of their consumption and production of linguistic and cultural resources and based on that, they question the appropriacy and legitimacy of different cultural practices and accordingly, dissociate themselves from the identification. Participants like Toma, Ria, and Luna are torn between ‘fixity’, i.e., place, tradition, heritage, authenticity, roots, and so on, and fluidity, i.e., the dynamics of -scapes (Appadurai, 2000; Hannigan, 2002). In different sessions of interviews and focus group discussions, Toma mentions her conflicted feelings about her identity. She finds she has greater affinity with the identity of women portrayed in Western media.

Toma questions the gendered identity that she sees as being encouraged by certain groups of people in the country. From a distance, she can also dissociate herself: *...I have become liberal in lot of ways; maybe a bit more open. I am not sure. But I don’t think I fit in to the Bangladeshi society anymore because I have been exposed to the Western culture so much. For me lots of things are not taboo which are maybe taboo for a typical Bangladeshi girl who has not been exposed to Western culture much. Yes, there is a sort of conflict going on. Like, I want to achieve at the end of the day is I want to remain Bangladeshi. But I also want to, umm, adopt, or*

adapt good things, that is, from other culture, their thoughts, their ways into my little life. I don't want to umm, become dogmatic in terms of the other cultural things [arranged marriage, divorce, living together] that we have in our culture that is what I think is still confined and narrow minded. So yah, there is a sort of conflict in that sense [sic] (081611).

On the one hand, this comment reveals that the Bangladeshi identity, in the minds of young adults, does not only relate to linguistic affiliation and loyalty. To their mind, it also indexes a conservative traditional role for women, amplified in the practices of marriage or separation in which women have little voice. While they are ready to show their affiliation to Bangladeshi identity, they are also critical about certain associations related to Bangladeshi identity. Toma specifically mentions women's identity, and maintaining a certain distance from Bangladeshi identification allows Toma to show her reservation about Bangladeshi social cultural practices in relation to marriage and divorce, which she finds *confined* and *narrow-minded*. On the other hand, the comment demonstrates that national identity based on language is an inadequate assumption for addressing this simultaneous association and dissociation and the conflict that younger generations experience when they are exposed to varied ways of being.

What are these 'Western culture' and 'Western ways of being' that these female participants aspire to? What do they signify to these participants? Toma lived in Dubai for a few years at a younger age, but Ria and Luna have never travelled beyond Bangladesh. The Western culture they repeatedly mention is entirely seen and felt through the media. This is not the 'imagined community' mentioned by Anderson (1983), in which people endorse their membership of their native community from a distance, nor is it the 'imagined community', mentioned by Norton and Toohey (2002), of which second language learners want to be members and to learn the target language of that community. They are firmly located in Bangladesh, not in Canada or the USA. It seems that these young female participants have exoticised Western ways of being. It is an imagined Western culture that they seek to reinvent from the media and reinterpret it to bring into their *little life* (as Toma says) in Bangladesh. It also indicates that "identity can and does change trans-culturally and inter-culturally, being the outcome of the concrete interactions taking place between concrete individuals who are situated in different

cultural contexts" (Monceri, 2009, p. 50). Located very much in their own context and firmly situated in their own social landscape, they approximate an imagined way of being that in their mind, epitomises a pristine form of rationality, and a balanced way of being. That is why their voices are not always theirs, and their identities are always in flux.

5.10 Imagined Bangladeshi community

As propounded in the nationalistic discourses in Bangladesh, national symbols, customs, and ceremonies are the most powerful and durable aspects of nationalism (A. Smith, 1995) and used for the construction of *us*. The participants' awareness of the constructed *imagined Bangladeshi community* and their decision to distance themselves from it show their ambivalence towards it. Joy draws attention to the politicisation of these events in the hands of power-seeking political parties in Bangladesh. Joy does not have opportunities to celebrate his own linguistic and cultural heritage in his Dhaka-centred life, and states, "*…amader lifestyle akhone ar amaderke* ***allow*** *korena eguloke oi bhabe* ***observe*** *korte.* ***Because,*** *karone hochhe, 1952te je bhasha shaheed hoechhe,* ***honorable*** *onara. onader shathe amader* ***blood relation*** *bolen, eta onekei ar obhabe feel korena. amra khali mukhei boltesi je "****We are the only nation who gave blood for our mother tongue****". oita* ***power*** *pawar jonne boli. kintu oitar* ***proper respect*** *amra nijerao rakhi na.* ***not even for our mother tongue****. so* ***observe*** *kora hoina ... shunle hoito ba kharap lagbe. apnar kharap lagte pare. jodio amar bolar kotha na. but amar oibhabe* ***attachment****ta nai. ami jani na onnora ki bhabe* ***feel*** *kore, ami oibhabe* ***feel*** *kori na. amar* ***personal*** *mot hochhe, ami obhabe* ***attached feel*** *kori na* [Our lifestyle does not allow us to observe these events as such. They are the honourable martyrs. However, the blood relation that people think we share with the martyrs no longer exists. We tell it for the sake of telling, *"We are the only nation who gave blood for our mother tongue"*. We tell it only to get power. We haven't shown proper respect to the martyrs or to our mother tongue. So I don't observe… you may feel bad about it. I shouldn't tell it. I don't feel any attachment (to Bangladeshi nationalism). I don't know how others feel. I don't feel that much. My personal opinion is I don't feel attached. (071911)]

This is Joy's symbolic 'counterhegemonic' resistance, constructing and negotiating his own identity, responding differently from the accepted norm of showing allegiance to Bangladeshi nationalism. Joy is forced to use Bangla for political and ideological reasons (cf. Chapter 1; Appendix 5B), but he can show his resistance by giving priority to English and by not participating in national celebrations. The attempt on the Government's part to emphasise Bangla as the only official language, and the national festivals as ways to legitimate the collective Bangladeshi identity, are excluded with indifference and indignation by Joy. His silent protest also shows that the nationalistic discourses propounded by the Government cannot instil nationalism, even though it may enforce a language on the community through standardisation and as the medium of instruction, and impose stable identity markers by legislative changes. Thus the notion of *others* allows Joy to dissociate from the *imagined Bangladeshi community* that the Government tries to create by its nationalistic discourses. On a similar note, Jasmine, born and brought up in a strictly Islamic family in a provincial town, does not participate in linguistic and cultural practices that are nationally celebrated. Having been brought up to consider such practices as singing, dancing, painting, rallying, and the performing arts as altogether secular, she cannot consider herself part of the community. It is all for *others*.

Participants also show temporal associations and dissociations with the constructed Bangladeshi *selves.* They are aware of the distinct historical significance of these events, but simultaneously, they identify a sense of distance from them. Thus nationalism becomes a "myth of the historical renovation" and "a pristine state of true collective individuality" (Smith 1971 in J. Edwards, 2009, p. 197). Luna does not see any relation between celebrating these occasions and feeling Bangladeshi. In another interview, Luna declares that she has enough love for her country; she was born here; she has never been abroad; she is interested in the language, history, and culture of Bangladesh. However, for her, the national and cultural activities mostly take the form of celebrations (082311- 1), although she felt emotional at times, both in school and college, when teachers and students stood in silence to the theme song *amar bhaiyer rokte rangano, ekushey February* (My Brothers Blood Coloured 21 February*)*. This shows that the sense of nationalism in relation to these events is not static, stable, or atemporal. The sense of nationalism for the

participants softens or heightens with space and time. "From an analytical perspective, "social identity is not what one *is*, but what one *counts as* in a particular time and place" (Bailey, 2007b, p. 345; emphasis original). This indicates that these participants are influenced by the modern cultural conditions evoked in the multiplicity of their interpretations and alternative ways of looking at nationalism. They are entangled in different ways of being. They do not see 'local' as being tied to traditional linguistic and cultural practices; rather, they seem more flexible in terms of how they define both local and global language and culture. The boundaries in their linguistic and cultural practices between local and global are becoming blurred, and their membership of different imagined communities is becoming fluid.

5.11 Bangla and Bangladeshi identity

When the construction of *self* and *other* in relation to English and other languages seems to get stronger and more attractive, the presence of linguistic *others* with reference to Bangla seems to weaken. This conforms to what May (2005) has stated: that one can be Spanish-speaking and American, Catalan-speaking and Spanish, or Welsh-speaking and British, indicating that the relationship between language and national identity has become more flexible for people in the world today. No particular language defines them; thus their sense of *self* distinctly differs from the historically constructed nationalistic *self* and is lived in the moment, rather than in history. That has led May (2005, p. 329) to observe that:

> Holding onto the idea of a link between a particular language and identity – as MLR (Minority Language Rights) advocates appear to do – thus seems not only irremediably *passé*, but unrealistic, since multiple identities, including multiple linguistic identities, are now the order of the day.

With the multiplicity of linguistic repertoires, some participants do not want to adhere to one language, or one national philosophy of language which is promoted in the nationalistic discourse. This kind of one to one relationship between language and nationality has become clichéd for them.

In a research study on young English adults living in Britain, it was found that they are significantly indifferent towards their national identity. Based on their apathy and antagonism to nationalism, Fenton (2007) has suggested that we might have to reconsider national identity as an important marker and as a source of natural and spontaneous enthusiasm. He shows how young adults show their "casual indifference" by signals, such as 'I suppose', 'I am just', or 'I never think about it', or by their explicit indifference and rebuttal of national identity by the use of such expressions as 'we're all the same really', the celebration of individuality, such as 'I'm just me', or in the embrace of supra-national identities (Fenton, 2007, p. 335). They seem "suspicious of collective identities" (Fenton, 2007, p. 336). Their view of themselves is formed in relation to their life trajectories, their careers, families, and friends, and a local area community and their growing sense of nationalism is complemented by their reservation about racism based on nationality. Fenton also stated that nation, nationality, and national identity do not "resonate with the identities of individuals"; this shows the growth of a "non-national generation" (Fenton, 2007, p. 336). In the context of Bangladesh, participants have different levels of affiliation with Bangla and English and varied realisations of linguistic identities in different time and space; hence, some of them do not have a strong adherence to Bangladeshi nationalism, national identity, and the imagined Bangladeshi community.

The national discourses seem to work in different ways for these participants. They can be national even when they do not speak in the language (note the comments made by Toma given below). They can be unnationalistic even when they are talking in the language and observing the national activities (note the comments of Joy). They also consider Bangla and Bangladeshi linguistic and cultural resources as one of many resources that they use for the negotiation of identity (cf. Chapters 6 & 7). The multiplicity of their identification does not allow them to be grounded only in nationalistic discourses and nationalism expressed in language, culture, and heritage. It is important for this reason to observe the construction of nationalism in the lives of ordinary people: "The nation and its derivatives are not simply discrete objects traded in elite discourse or constructed by the state; they are also everyday processes: ways of doing, seeing, talking and being that implicate, enact, ratify and uphold a national view of the world (Fox & Miller-Idriss, 2008, p. 554).

The nation-state with its historical and political events creates the base upon which individuals build their new identification. Toma (082111) mentions that she wears jeans and other Western clothes and she is also open to other kinds of clothes, such as the Japanese *kimono*. Her food habits have also changed over the years. She eats more non-traditional food, such as fried rice or fried chicken or burgers. She kisses her friends on their cheek when saying goodbye, which is very much a non-Bangladeshi cultural practice. She also sees no harm in celebrating Halloween or having a Masquerade Party along with Victory Day or Bangla Happy New Year. As she says, "*As long as these events don't interfere with our own culture - it's just another day to celebrate"*. S. Hall (2001) with reference to Caribbean identity postulated that identities are not produced in a vacuum. For example, the intellectual movement of negritude, the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s, the cultural revolution of Rastafarianism were present in the awakening of second generation black people in the society.

> No cultural identity is produced out of the thin air. It is produced out of those historical experiences, those cultural traditions, those lost and marginal languages; those marginalized experiences, those peoples and histories that remain unwritten. Those are the specific roots of identity. On the other hand, identity itself is not the rediscovery of them, but what they as cultural resources allow a people to produce. Identity is not in the past to be found, but in the future to be constructed" (S. Hall, 2001, p. 14).

Similarly, the incorporation of supposedly Western practices by these young participants is indicative of their attempts to straddle different worlds in their everyday life. The gradual changes in their linguistic and cultural practices both in off-line and on-line spaces indicate that the overall linguistic and cultural lifestyle of many participants as well as the way they perceive the local culture, is changing. The identities of these participants are so intricately intertwined with the space and time in the present and imageries foreseeable in future that there is no way to comment on a penultimate Bangladeshi identity. They individually revise their own sense of self with reference to *others* and different imagined communities here and beyond. Thus there is no denying the necessity of *others* in the construction of the *selves.*

5.12 Summary

This chapter has revealed the complex ways in which the participants position themselves with reference to a constructed sense of *others* and *imagined communities*. This construction is intricately related to the ideological, historical, and political roles of language in the social landscape and in the life trajectories of the participants across demographic locations, linguistic, educational, and socio-economic backgrounds.

A binary distinction is ontological in the way individuals work out sameness and difference for making sense of *self*. There is always a sense of binary distinction when these participants reflect on *them* and *us*: civilised vs. uncultured; obscure rural vs. high class; powerful vs. weak; fast vs. hick; Eastern vs. Western; and local vs. global. Based on these polarised understanding of different *others*, they construct their sense of *self*. However, this does not mean that they are engaged in the reproduction of these imageries. The binary construction is necessary for the realisation of the self, as Hall has identified,

> [the] critical thing about identity is that it is partly the relationship between you and the Other. Only when there is an Other can you know who you are… And there is no identity that is without the dialogic relationship to the Other. The Other is not outside, but also inside the Self, the identity. … Identity is also the relationship of the Other to oneself. (S. Hall, 1989, p. 23)

Even though the constructions are based on binary stereotypical representations, influenced by socio-cultural realities and constraints, the constructions allow these participants to reinvent their own positions in the discursive reconstruction of the *self* (Moita-Lopes, 2006), rewriting the present locatedness. Hence, Joy can tactfully dissociate himself from his linguistic, ethnic, and national identity and admire Raja Ram Mohon Roy, who is in favour of the introduction of English education on the Indian subcontinent, just as Toma can approximate the Western woman discursively, distancing herself from the Bangladeshi notion of women. In other words, even though these constructions are apparently the product of the imagination, and are abstract, stereotypical and restricted, they nevertheless become

a process when individuals engage in transglossic language practices, borrowing linguistic and cultural resources and voices from imagined *others* (Chapters 6 & 7). It is in their transglossic practices that the separation between *self* and *others* also becomes discernible.

The construction of *self* and *others* problematises the collective cultural representation of youth identity with common trends, cultural preferences, and practices, specifically in the context of Bangladesh. For these participants, identity is not fixed and final (cf. S. Hall, 1989). These participants are entangled in different imageries and they long for dynamic, multiple, and heterogeneous ways that they associate with imageries and imagined communities. Consequently, the bounded, segmented, linear time in the national space becomes one dimension of the multifaceted time and space they experience in their day-to-day lives. That is why their sense of Bangladeshi *self,* even though very important, is no longer an over-powering homogenous consistent trait of their ontological self (cf. J. Edwards, 2009).

This chapter prepares the ground for the next two chapters (Chapters 6 & 7), in which I will show that the presence of *others* is highly significant in the way these participants borrow linguistic and cultural resources, position themselves, and engage in the construction of identity. I am specifically interested in how their versions of linguistic and cultural representation of the *selves* and the *others* and *us* and *them* are reproduced, essentialised, reinvented and rearticulated through transglossic language practices. As these constructions are intricately linked with participants' individual life trajectories, particularly their educational, linguistic and socio-economic backgrounds, the nature of their exposure to popular culture, and mobility in space, whether rural, urban, or virtual, they will be illuminating for understanding how intangible social dynamics become tangible in these participants' language and identity. I will also show how the participants who appear to be the disempowered victims of being *othered* and experiencing *othering* find ways to resist and redefine the imposed *other* identity.

In Chapters 6 and 7, the language practices of Ria and her friends, and Nayeem and his friends will be focused on respectively. Based on the participants' life trajectories and locatedness in the social landscape of the University, these two

groups have been selected for an in-depth investigation of language practices. They represent distinctly different kinds of life trajectory. Ria and her friends have had a Dhaka-centric life, whereas Nayeem and his friends have spent their lives in rural and provincial areas. Both groups have had a variety of experiences in terms of language and education. In the interviews and focus group discussions, one group of participants considered themselves to be rightly located within the space; the other considered themselves to be peripheral to the space. The juxtaposition of the two groups seems to illuminate the contradictory and contesting facets of language practices and identity. We will understand who is speaking whose words – whose voices and texts are being used, why they are taken up and incorporated, and how identity is negotiated in dialogic interaction.

Chapter 6 Transglossic Language Practices: Ria and her Friends

6.1 Introduction

Chapter 5 has explored how young adults position themselves and discursively construct their identities, with reference to *others* and *imagined communities.* Chapter 6, drawing on insights from the notion of *transglossia* (cf. Chapter 2), explores how these abstract notions appear in and through various linguistic and cultural resources of Ria and her friends. I will analyse 12 sets of on/off-line linguistic practices and unravel the ways in which they mobilise a range of semiotic resources for communicative purposes and the negotiation of identity. These processes of transglossic language practices and identification are also closely related to how these young people want to position themselves in relation to *others*.

Based on the transglossic framework analysis (including *pretextual history, contextual relations, subtextual meaning, intertextual echoes,* and *posttextual interpretation*) of their language practices (cf. Chapters 2 and 3), I will explore that transglossia is displayed in Ria and her friends' exaggerated pronunciation, specific patterns of stress and intonation and stylisation of Bangla, English and Indian English (Extracts 6.1-6. 4), mixed codes (Extracts 6.5 & 6.6), and different kinds of genres, such as lame jokes (Extract 6.7), advertisements (Extract 6.8), films (Extract 6.9), and mode of filmic writing (Extract 6.10), and mixed genres (Extracts 6.11). These participants' transglossic language practices lead to larger questions of power, linguistic and social hierarchies, inter/intra-group relationships, and individuals' response and resistance to linguistic and social hierarchies. In so doing, they shed light on the ***process*** of identity.

6.2 Tranglossia in the stylisation of English and Indian English

The casual conversations given below were mostly held in the English Club between Ria, Toma, and Luna (cf. Chaper 4, Section 4.1 and Appendices 5A & 5B). In Extracts 6.1-6.3, transglossia is appropriate in exploring the fine and subtle manipulation of stylisation. Stylisation is the presence of marked phonetic, grammatical, and lexical features in the utterances. There is also the deliberate insertion of lines from popular culture, the introduction of reported speech, sudden changes in the suprasegmental features of sentences, such as in stress, intonation,

pitch level, loudness, voice quality, and overall delivery. Stylisation is also observable in formulaic expressions and the representation of stereotypical personae caricatured in the stylised utterances. Stylisation exists in mutual interaction and is therefore sustained in in-group interactions by laughter, repetition, comments, and the introduction of new 'non-normal dialect or voice'. I will use the term 'stylisation' throughout the thesis to show the participants' awareness of their decisions to use stylised Bangla and English.

In Extracts 6.1 and 6.2, Ria engages in stylisation of English, interchanging phonological features of English with Bangla and pronouncing English like Bangla. In Extract 6.3, she speaks English with an Indian accent. I define these specific stylisations as the 'banglicisation of English' and 'Indianisation of English' respectively, following Rampton's notion of stylisation (2003b, 2011a).

In Extract 6.1, Ria shares with her friends that her family is planning to move to Uttara, a residential area in Dhaka and she will therefore be able to stay in close contact with her friends who live there. Both her friends are happy that they will soon all be living in the same neighbourhood.

Extract 6.1: *Phor the time being, I am in the Cantonment.*

Guide to languages: Bangla (regular font); English (**bold**)

		Casual conversation	Translation
1.	XX	tumi **Cantonment**e thako	Do you live in Cantonment?
2.	Ria	Phor (for) **the time being, I am in the Cantonment. Then I will come and** <libh (live) bechide (beside) **you and you will be** bechide (beside) **me**>.	Phor (for) the time being, I am in the Cantonment. Then I will come and libh (live) bechide (beside) you and you will be bechide (beside) me.
3.	Toma	haa, Uttarai chole asho tumi.	Yes, do move to Uttara.
4.	XX	We will be there.	We will be there.

English has two labio-dental fricatives /f/ and /v/. Because of the absence of these two phonemes in the Bangla phoneme inventory, Bangladeshis with limited

exposure to spoken English tend to replace them with Bangla bilabial stops / p^h/ and /b^h/ (pronouncing the phonemes with both the lips) and hence, the phonemes approximate aspirated bilabial plosives rather than /f/ and /v/. In addition, English /k/ is a plosive unvoiced and thus pronounced with slight aspiration in the word-initial position. In Bangla, there is a velar unaspirated /k/.The English /r/ is a fricative consonant, pronounced with one tap and usually remaining silent in the word-final position, except when the word is followed by a word with a vowel-initial. By contrast, Bangla speakers tend to pronounce /r/ with two taps and they pronounce it fully, instead of dropping it (Barman, 2009; Hai & Ball, 1961; Hoque, 2011). Speakers of the south-eastern varieties of Bangla, especially the speakers of Noakhali, have problems uttering English affricates /ʧ/ and /ʤ/ and pronounce them as fricatives, similar to many other Bangladeshis. One possible reason is the absence of affricate sounds in SB which approximate these English affricates (Barman, 2009; Hai & Ball, 1961; Hoque, 2011). Noakhalians may have problems pronouncing certain English phonemes. For example, they pronounce 'personally' as *fersonally* or 'parliament' as *farliament*. Other Bangladeshis may pronounce these words as *phersonally* and *pharliament* (Barman, 2009; Hoque, 2011). Based on these observable features in spoken English, people from the rural and south-eastern areas, such as Noakhali, are stereotyped both in the popular discourse and the media

In Extract 6.1, line 2, Ria substitutes fricative /f/ with the aspirated plosive /ph/ of Bangla, as in *for*; she also pronounces /k/ with no aspiration in *Cantonment*; she uses fricative 'v' with voiced aspirated bilabial plosive /bh/ in *live*; she also pronounces /r/ fully in *phor.* She deliberately replaces /s/ with fricative /ʧ/ in *beside*. Note that some Noakhalian speakers tend to replace /ʧ/ with /s/ - an alveolar fricative (Hai & Ball, 1961; Hoque, 2011). Doing the opposite here, in this stylisation of English, Ria seems to mimic the stereotypical representation of the rural people and south-eastern variety Bangla speakers.

In Extract 6.2, Ria talks about the way her voice has changed as a result of heavy cold and blocked nose. She has had it for some time and her utterances are more nasalised as a result; however, she finds it interesting that her friend Luna likes the accent.

Extract 6.2: *I HABH IT PHOR EBHAR*.

Guide to languages: Bangla (regular font); English (**bold**)

		Casual conversation	Translation
1.	Luna	tomar nak bondho.	Your nose is blocked.
2.	Ria	dakhso, amar notun akta **accent** hoise.	You see, I have a new kind of accent ((because of the blocked nose)).
3.	Luna	amar ei **sound**ta shundori lage. **I love it.**	I find this sound ((accent)) nice. I love it.
4.	Ria	(laughing) <**INTARASTING! I HABH IT PHOR EBHAR**.>	Interesting! I have it forever.

In line 4, Extract 6.2, a distinct stylisation becomes obvious in the mild exaggeration of pronunciation, usually not observable in Ria's spoken English. Note that Ria is highly competent in English. The replacement of the /ə/ phoneme with Bangla /a/ phoneme in 'interesting' is intended to accentuate her stylised English. Bangla /a/ is pronounced between English /ʌ/ and /a:/ sounds. This is again seems to be an imitation of some Bangladeshi speakers who have problems pronouncing the /ə/ phoneme because of its absence from the Bangla phoneme inventory (Hai & Ball, 1961; Hoque, 2011). As in Extract 6.1, the pronunciation of *habh* and *phor ever* is the stylisation of Bangldeshi English speakers. The deliberate stress on the words in line 4 indicates Ria's intention of making her 'crossing' salient compared to the other dialogues of the conversation.

In Extract 6.3, she talks about one of her classmates who, although she studied in an English-medium school, is not competent in written English. Ria compares her to two of her other friends, Toma and XX, who she considers to be better at English than the classmate.

Extract 6.3: *ami English aktu aktu pari.*

Guide to languages: Bangla (regular font); Hindi (*italics*); English (**bold**)

		Casual conversation	Translation
1.	Ria	she hochhe **psychologically challenged**. tomra hochho je tomader	She is psychologically challenged. You have aptitudes in both ((drawing

		duitai **aptitude** bhalo dui dike ((drawing and English)). To o **Englishe** bohut kharap.	and English)). She is very bad at English.
2.	XX:	tai?	Is it so?
3.	Toma	**Oh, yes, I am good at something!** ((laughing)) Ha ha ha…	Oh, yes, I am good at something! ((laughing)) Ha ha ha…
4.	Ria	((approximating Indian accent of English)) **She is bad at English. I am too good and I feel she is bad at it and I pointed her and laugh and she pointed me and laugh.** ((laughing)) ha ha ha >“ami **English** aktu aktu pari”<, **she says.** ha ha ha ((laughing)).	((approximating Indian accent of English)) She is bad at English. I am too good and I feel she is bad at it and I pointed her and laugh and she pointed me and laugh ((laughing)) ha ha ha “I know a little English”, she says ha ha ha ((laughing)).

Indian-accented English is very familiar to Bangladeshis who have exposure to the Indian media, and is a popular way of making fun of different ways of speaking English, as is the Noakhalian way of speaking English. The distinct features of Indian English are its word-stress and intonation patterns that approximate the accentuation rules of the Indian languages. Gargesh (2008) mentioned that in Indian English, all monosyllabic words are accented. Consequently, auxiliary verb forms and articles, which are usually weak syllabled in English, have relatively strong stress in Indian English. Trudgill and Hannah (2013) also identified Indian English as ‘syllable-timed’, rather than stress-timed[83]. Consequently, the syllables in Indian English are uttered with equal prominence, and weak forms of vowels (as in function words) can be stressed and not reduced. First person singular pronoun such as ‘I’, auxiliary verbs such as ‘am’, ‘is’, or ‘have’, and prepositions, such as ‘at’, all have relative stress. The shortened forms are never realised, as in ‘I’m’ [a:ɪm] or [əv] in ‘have’. They are articulated more completely. The aspirated consonants /p/, /t/, and /k/ are unaspirated even in syllable-initial positions. In addition, /t/ and /d/ are retroflexed (Gargesh, 2008). /r/ becomes a flap or retroflex flap in Indian English.

Line 4 seems to have all these features. For example, the function words, i.e., pronouns (she, I, and it), auxiliary verbs (am, is), and preposition (at) are stressed.

[83] As with Hindi, Bangla is a syllable-timed language. English spoken by Bangladeshis also sometimes sounds ‘syllable-timed’, rather than stress-timed (Hai & Ball, 1961).

The pronunciation of ‘I am’ or ‘she is’ is articulated more completely. /ʈ, ɖ/ are retroflexed in *bad, at, pointed,* and /ɽ/ is flapped and retroflexed in *her.* In general, line 4 is an example of the stylisation of Indian English. There is also a caricature of a dialogue of novice non-native Bangla speakers, *ami Bangla aktu aktu/ ektu ektu pari*, (I know a little Bangla), as represented in the media. In TV serials, dramas, and films, non-native speakers of Bangla visiting Bangladesh, and Bangladeshis born and raised abroad, commonly utter this sentence: *ami aktu aktu Bangla pari* (I know a little Bangla.), when they are questioned about their linguistic competence in Bangla. When Ria supposedly takes up the voice of a novice non-native speaker of Bangla with the pronunciation, choice of lexis, and syntactical structure in *ami English aktu aktu pari,* she specifically intends to mock the classmate with an *intertextual* reference to the dialogue.

The mockery occurs because of the differences between the truth and the reality. Although Ria portrays her as a beginner of English learner who knows only *aktu aktu* [a little] English, in reality, the classmate has learnt English since the age of 3 in an English-medium school. In other words, with the enactment of the voice, she indicates that the classmate has not been able to develop the desired linguistic skills even after the rigorous English teaching in the English-medium school. With the voice, she in fact reconfirms what she has said in line 1, i.e. that the classmate is *psychologically challenged* and she is very weak in English. This is validated and confirmed with the Toma’s laughter. Blackledge and Creese (2009a), with reference to Bakhtin’s double-voiced discourses, stated that parodic discourse can be extremely diverse and can be used for ironic impact. Here, Ria is double-voiced. She satirises a classmate who was unable to excel in English even after studying in an English-medium school. This resembles the language practices of a group of students in language learning classes in the UK. The linguistically advanced students “adopt the parodic voice of the students who has not yet developed English proficiency” and locate them in the “freshy” subject positions (Blackledge & Creese, 2009b, pp. 242-243).

A transglossic analysis of Extracts 6.1-6.3 gives an in-depth understanding of Ria’s voices. The position assigned to NB and NB speakers as ‘hicks’, ‘uneducated’ and ‘uncultured’ or the unacceptability of NB as a ‘legitimate language’ is not only tied to the official status of Bangla as the national language (cf. also Chapter 5).

Instituted and structured within the collective knowledge and discourse, it is historically and socially accepted, and is sustained and nurtured in the depiction of the Noakhalians as objects of satire, mockery and buffoonery in the media, literature, popular discourse, and real life. It is also deeply embedded in the imagination of the participants, as they construct a sense of *others*. On a similar note, Indian English seems to be considered a deficient form of SE (cf. Chapter 5). With reference to the "extremely pejorative comments" and antipathy of the English as Native Language supporters, who themselves are EFL learners, Jenkins (2009) mentioned how World Englishes, such as Indian English, Japanese English, or Singaporean English are judged and rated. For example,

> [research participants] rated Indian English as poorly as Chinese and Japanese English for both acceptability and pleasantness … Japanese English accent was described as 'weird' and 'menacing', Chinese English as 'quarrel-like' and 'appalling, and Russian English as 'heavy', 'sharp', and 'aggressive' (Jenkins, 2009, p. 204).

In other words, Indian English is often judged as derogatory in comparison with SE. The ideological relationships between standard and non-standard accents mobilise discourses like Extracts 6.1-6.3. Ria's voice is conflicted with the ethos of all those voices that carry immense negativity towards non-native English accents. Ria also *translocalises* the voices from rural and Indian contexts to an urban context in Bangladesh, where she uses these accents to *subtextually* accentuate ideological values based on her own local, discursive, and interpretive elements. Without a clear understanding of the *pretextual* history of the voices (factors that make the voices ideologically laden) and *contextual* relationships (the physical location and the participants), the transgression cannot be explored. Consequently, the *subtextual* meaning that occurs in the *khat* voice makes it *transtextual.*

Transglossia is intricately intertwined with the life trajectories of the participants. In individual interview sessions, both Ria and Toma mentioned that they started using stylised English with their friends in school to humiliate teachers who lacked competence in English pronunciation. Both had teachers who reportedly had specific difficulty pronouncing /z/ and they would use every possible opportunity in class to mimic them. They could use the teachers' weakness in pronunciation to

shake their position of authority, enjoying a sense of power while destabilising the teachers' position in the class. This seems like a group of students in language learning classes in the UK who "adopt a high-pitched, stylized intonation that mimics and mocks that of the teacher" and use "highly stylized mock ethnic accent" to subvert the teacher's authoritative position in the classroom discourse (Blackledge & Creese, 2009b, pp. 242-243).

Toma and Ria expanded on this issue with specific reference to two words, *khat*[84] and *fobby*, which gave rise to a *posttextual* interpretation of their transglossic language practices[85]. Ria informed me in the interview that she took up the accent artificially to amuse and entertain her friends: ***Accent for us is mostly artificial. We have habit of changing our accent, like for fun. We will use like, an Indian accent without even knowing. Or we will use a really fobby accent to be politically incorrect*** (08811). Toma (and also Ria) is well aware that the mimicking (banglicisation of English) can be condescending towards some people (072511 EC). However, she repeatedly emphasises that it has become a natural and cultural ritual amongst friends for deriving fun and pleasure.

While commenting on the reason behind their deliberate pronunciation of *everybady* (everybody), *jiro* (zero), *joo* (zoo), *ishmart* (smart) or *ikzam* (exam) [86] or speaking in Indian English, Toma stated: *Like, amra,* ***friend****rato*, *ei bhabei kotha boltesi, ei bhabe kotha bolte moja lage* [Like, we amongst our friends, talk in this way. We get fun when we talk like this]. **It also adds a bit of creativity***je,* ***You know the correct form, but you are going against your own better judgment and using the wrong form. You know, that also needs a bit of creativity in itself. So*** *ei jonno amader moja lage* [that's the reason we find it so hilarious]. ***And we try to out*** [do] ***each other***. "*je nah. amarta beshi khat hochhe, nah toreta beshi khat hochhe"* [*"*no, my one is more hick, no, your one is more hick"] (072511 EC).

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[84] Note that Ria and Luna have used the same word *khat* in Chapter 5, FGD 5.2 with reference to Bangla-medium students.

[85] Also note that Toma, Ria, Luna, Tamara, and Tahura preferred to give interviews in English, which reflects their advanced competence in English compared to other research participants, for example, those presented in Chapter 5.

[86] Note that /zɪərəʊ/ is pronounced by many Noakhalian speakers as /ziru/ and the fricative /z/ phoneme is replace with affricate /ʤ/ or plosive /j/ by some Bangladeshi speakers. There is a tendency to pronounce only the first part of the diphthong, with the second sound being omitted altogether. The Bangla phoneme inventory does not have the phoneme /ə/ and /z/, and the consonant clusters such as *"sk, st,* and *sp*" are preceded by "an indeterminate vowel between the two consonants e.g. /i/ and / ə/" (Hai & Ball, 1961, p. 41; Hoque, 2011).

Ria and Toma define the 'banglicised English' as *khat* and *fobby*. Both words index an array of ideological assumptions that is derogatory to people speaking in banglicised English (cf. also Chapter 5). Ria here knows the exact connotation of the word FOB[87] and uses the term fobby to refer to the pronunciation of individuals who come to the city and the university from rural areas. For example, the Noakhalian way of speaking is fobby for her because Ria and her friends have had a Dhaka-centric life and a sophisticated education in English-medium schools and colleges. Hence, when Ria talks in the *fobby accent*, she expresses a deeper sense of disaffiliation and dissociates herself from those who come from provincial areas and a specific socioeconomic class. With her frequent use of '*we* and '*us*' and the 'trope of we-ness', she folds the voice of *others* in her single voice and aligns herself with a group of students for whom accent is '*artificial*'. She also knows that it is *politically incorrect* to mimic because *NO. You don't make fun of people who have, like, conditions* (080811). Ria is fully aware that for her, accent is '*artificial*, i.e., totally simulated, but for others, it is a '*condition*', i.e., a bodily disorder. Thus she differentiates herself and her friends from the linguistically and culturally *others*.

According to Bakhtin (1981), sometimes individuals opt to use the language and speech to distance themselves from those from whom they borrow the language. This is 'veridirectional double-voicing'. In Ria's double-voicing, the two voices are clearly separated, deliberately distanced, and also opposed. She "speaks in someone else's discourse, but … introduces into that discourse a semantic intention directly opposed to the original one" (Bakhtin 1984 as cited in Rampton, 2000, p. 200). Rampton (1999) has observed that a group of multilingual young people engage in 'veridirectional double-voicing' when they dissociate themselves from self-projected identities by using the voice of stylised Asian English, which they use to distance themselves from their first generation Asian immigrant forefathers and their heritage, as well as newly-arrived immigrants from Asia. They use it to threaten, regress, or isolate the *others*. A similar dynamics of self-projection is evident in Ria's 'veridirectional double-voicing'. Ria jokingly takes up banglicised

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[87] The phrase FOB is used by adolescent 'generation 1.5' Asian and Pacific Islanders in a high school in the US to refer to newcomers. *Fobby* is the accent of the FOB (fresh off the boat), "an exoticized cultural and linguistic Other" (Talmy, 2004, p. 147), "someone whose English is undeniably 'limited, someone who is unfamiliar with the cultures, styles, and practices of the US and its schools, someone who is, indeed, 'fresh off the boat'" (Talmy, 2004, p. 164).

English (Extracts 6.1 & 6.2) and Indian English (Extract 6.3) to attribute incompetence to others.

Overall, the fobby or *khat* (hick) way of speaking English and *othering* revalidate a political process of identification (cf. Chapter 5). Such processes are influenced by social and economic dynamics along with linguistic ideologies - the central cultural process in a class-based society[88] (Rampton, 2003b). With reference to the notion of 'markedness' in identity research, i.e., the default status of social categories, Bucholtz and Hall (2004) refer to 'unmarked categories' such as whiteness, masculinity, heterosexuality, middle-class status, and Christianity. By contrast, "marked identity is associated with marked language: linguistic structures or practices that differ from the norm" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, p. 372). With banglicised English, a 'deviation' from SE pronunciation, Ria jocularly takes up the 'unmarked identity', indicating her dissociation from the marked language and marked identity. Transglossia arising from the various stylisation and *translocalisation* of banglicisation and indianisation of English to the English Club thus creates opportunities for Ria and her friends for the further negotiation of identities.

6.3 Tranglossia in the stylisation of Bangla

In Extracts 6.1-6.3, I have shown that transglossia occurs in the banglicisation and indianisation of English. By contrast, here I will show another kind of stylisation, that is, the anglicisation of Bangla – speaking Bangla with segmental and supra-segmental features of English. This specific kind of stylisation has been observed in some participants' language practices. While banglicisation of English is widely associated with 'hicks', the anglicisation of Bangla appears to be considered the language of the urban centric, upper class students educated at private English schools.

The conversation given below takes place in the English Club where Toma, the President of the Club, is repeatedly teased by Ameen for her weight. Toma seems embarrassed by Ameen's rude comments towards her. Even when she wants to divert the conversation to her new haircut, Ameen does not stop (line 1).

[88] 'Class' as used in the thesis is defined in Chapter 3.

Extract 6.4: *ami Eh`san`ke love ko`rii:*

Guide to languages: Bangla (regular font); English (**bold**)

		Casual conversation	Translation
1.	Toma	dekso, amio chul katsi?	Have you noticed that I also got my hair cut?
2.	Ameen	**It doesn't change that you are fat.**	It doesn't change that you are fat.
3.	Toma	**Ya, I am still fat.** ((starts singing)) **I'm fat; I'm fat; I'm fat. Ye ye ye** …. ((to the tune of Michael Jackson's 'Bad'.))	Ya, I am still fat. ((starts singing)) I'm fat; I'm fat; I'm fat. Ye ye ye …. ((to the tune of Michael Jackson's 'Bad'.))
4.	Ehsan	**Who says you're fat?** koi?	Who says you're fat? Where?
5.	Ameen	**You need glass**[es] ((looking at Ehsan)).	You need glass[es] ((looking at Ehsan)).
6.	Toma	Ehsan, <**I l-o-v-e you**>. Aaj`ke Eh`san amaa`ke **pret`ty** bol`sei. Eh`san aa`khone bol`sei ami **fat** naaa. ami Eh`san`ke l**ove** ko`rii.	Ehsan, I l-o-v-e you. Ehsan has told me today that I am pretty. Ehsan has just told me that I am not fat. I love Ehsan.

The conversation that Toma finds herself in is awkward and embarrassing, particularly in the presence of other junior students and me. However, she does not want her unease to become obvious, and wants to show that she is very much 'cool' with it. In line 3, she starts singing a song, a parody of Michael Jackson's famous song 'Bad'[89]. The song seems to serve two purposes for Toma. On the one hand, it allows her to bring jocularity into the conversation; the song becomes a tool for diversion from an awkward situation and a 'counter reaction' to the repeated verbal attack. On the other hand, by proclaiming herself 'fat' with the song, she can present herself as 'confident' about her weight and show a laid-back and nonchalant attitude to Ameen's comment.

[89] This song 'I'm fat' to a Jackson's melody has already been sung by Weird Al Yankovich as a parody of the song. Toma may have been singing the parody itself.

In line 6, she says ‘I love you’ to Ehsan for taking her side, but when she switches to Bangla in the following sentence, she continues to use the English supra-segmental features in Bangla. I have already mentioned earlier in relation to Extracts 6.1-6.3 that, similar to Hindi (Gargesh, 2008), stress in Bangla is not syllabic, and long sequences of unstressed syllables occur quite frequently (Ray, Hai, & Ray, 1966). Usually, words are given stress to make them convey specific implications (Hai & Ball, 1961); however, Toma uses syllabic stress in her utterances in Bangla. In addition, in *aajke* she replaces plosive /j/, a distinctly Bangla phoneme, absent from the English phonetic inventory, with English fricative /ʒ/. She also pronounces /k/ with aspiration, which in Bangla is pronounced with no aspiration. In ‘korii’ she pronounces the Bangla post alveolar ‘r’ like American palatal flapped /r/. She also uses the diphthong /ei/ in ‘bolse’ instead of simple vowel /e/ and long vowel /i:/ in ‘korii’ instead of the short vowel /i/. Because of these features, Toma’s utterance in Bangla sounds more like English – an approximation. Toma personally expresses strong reservation about stylised Bangla: ***I don’t think it sounds cool … I just don’t understand why they*** [people who speak in anglicised Bangla] ***would do that … I think they are trying to be someone that they are not. They are the wannabes. More fake****. …* ***I would never speak in anglicised tone****….* ***Because most people who do it are people who are trying to be somebody they are not*** (072511 EC). In Extract 6.4, however, contrary to her strong reservation, she strategically and pragmatically speaks in anglicised Bangla on purpose.

Toma also draws on her non-linguistic resources to take control of the situation. Along with elongated words, such as *amaake, aakhone, naa,* and *korii,* she tactically uses her coy giggle, tone of voice, child-like and innocent ‘I love you’ to Ehsan. A strong, confident, eloquent, self-assertive girl decides to act like an innocent little girl in this face-threatening situation. She uses both linguistic and non-linguistic resources to negotiate a position for herself (Blommaert, 2005b). This tactical use of “cute, innocent, submissive, laughter, and smiles” resembles Choi’s (2012, p. 114) deliberate act of following Korean female drama characters and tricking others into believing that one can be controlled. Toma’s bashful childlike utterances, similar to those discussed in Choi (2012), are ‘double-voiced’, i.e., they have multi-layered meanings and intentions.

A *transglossic analysis* unravels the social dynamics of the parodic accents "for particular effect" (Harissi, Otsuji, & Pennycook, 2012, p. 531; Hill, 1993). Note that anglicised Bangla is accepted as socially less stigmatised[90], even though some participants show strong reservation about it. Rima for example finds it *bisri* [disgusting]; through anglicisation, *Bangla bhashatar madhurjota chole jai* [the melody of Bangla is destroyed (062811)]. She associates this practice with students from the upper echelon of society who find it cool or 'yo yo', a generic term used both for an artificial style of speaking and for people who try too hard to show off their linguistic and educational backgrounds[91]. By contrast, Tahura, a research participant born and brought up in Dhaka and educated in an English-medium school, prefers to speak in anglicised Bangla and considers it as the future of Bangla: ***probably, in the future, people overseas may become interested to learn Bengali, if they find it up-to mark. Probably they won't find it*** *khat* [hick] … ***Probably 10 years down the line, it will become global and international. We do speak in it*** **[anglicised Bangla]** ***and we are very much proud of it. We are doing something that probably others can't. WE ARE VERY PROUD OF IT*** (172511). When I ask her opinions about the negative attitude that others have about it, she directly states, ***There is one sentence I would like to say. "FACE THE WORLD". If you face the world, you will get more prediction about the reality. In real life, speaking in plain typical Bengali doesn't hold any more values. We are just fine with it. We know that we get more appreciation than those who speak in plain Bengali. … Too bad for them.*** In other words, anglicised English does not have the association with mockery and buffoonery accorded to banglicised English. Instead, it is used by privileged upper-class young adults.

When she speaks in anglicised Bangla, Toma deliberately crosses (Rampton, 2003a) linguistic consciousness (Bakhtin, 1981) and takes up the voice of the *wannabes,* as she calls them. It does not mean she is becoming *fake,* as she mentions in the interview. Instead, she takes advantage of anglicised Bangla, along with other non-linguistic features, to precisely ignore and tone down Ameen's

[90] Anglicised Bangla is a popular style of speaking on private radio music channels, where radio hosts widely use stylised Bangla to attract urban-centred audiences.
[91] Rima also mentions about students who do not do it deliberately. They have been born and brought up abroad and hence fail to speak Bangla properly when they come to stay or study in Bangladesh. They understand, but struggle to speak in Bangla. These students are not blamed for their pronunciation difficulties. However, those students who are born and raised in Bangladesh who tend to show off their linguistic difficulties are the ones most widely critiqued.

spiteful comment. With her choice of anglicisation of Bangla, she puts the fakeness and frivolity of it to the fore for a strategic manipulation of a specific circumstance in which she is vulnerable. With her double-voiced discourses, Toma regains control over the situation both strategically and pragmatically. In a research study on the leadership language of women at executive level in seven multinational UK companies, Baxter (2011) has shown that women tend to use more 'double-voiced discourses' to survive in the male-dominated business world. It is a strategy for survival and success, by which women negotiate stronger positions to take control over interviews or in the boardroom. I do not intend to compare the complexity of the experiences of a female executive in a multinational company and a young adult English Club President in a university at the same level, but in both cases, double-voicing indexes "a shift from their [her] position as an authority figure to a team colleague" and a quick shift "from a direct, assertive style of engagement to a more indirect inclusive one" (Baxter, 2011, p. 242). Both women use double-voicing to project a different dimension of their identity. With *intertextual* referencing to how some women might act, i.e., they can be naïve, submissive, and coquettish, Toma constructs her identity within the *contextual* relations, flipping her role from authoritative to submissive.

The use of linguistic and cultural resources from Western pop-culture to the English Club shows what happens to voices when they are reinvented with new meanings and intentions in the fluidity of the global context. For example, Michael Jackson's song is relocalised and appropriated in the context of the Club and it is not mere mimicry of the song but the *translocalisation* and *transculturation* of these linguistic and cultural resources, used to make meaning amongst the *contextual* relations and *subtextual* interpretations. The voice of the 'wannabes' that Toma opts for in this interaction also brings layers of contradictory meanings that cannot be deciphered without understanding *pretextual* history, *intertextual* echoes, and *post-textual* interpretations. Only then can we comprehend how Toma uses these voices as transgressive linguistic acts.

Extracts 6.1- 6.4 are also examples of 'iconisation' – a linguistic system or set of features that are considered to be a representation of a group. The iconisation of Spanish and English has been observed in a group of Hispanic, American, and Dominican Americans of largely African descent who situationally, linguistically,

and discursively activate their non-white identities and mark the intra-group boundaries between US-raised Dominican Americans and the relatively new Spanish-speaking immigrants – 'the hicks', based on the 'iconic' use of languages (Bailey, 2001). As Spanish is being used to differentiate "positive self and a disparaged other" (Bailey, 2001, p. 211) and "both referentially and indexically to situationally invoke commonalities and differences between themselves and others, and between each other" (p. 214), these participants also negotiate, construct, and accentuate their class-based identity to differentiate themselves. Their language practices as revealed in their stylisation of Bangla and English indicate the complex process of transglossia through which the semiotic representation reflects, sustains and nurtures a large-scale social system. In their practices, languages become *translocalised* for social and ideological purposes.

6.4 Transglossia in 'broken English'

While the previous extracts have looked at certain examples of semiotic resources afforded by different languages and a mixture of styles (Leppänen et al., 2009), this extract will examine how Ria and her friend make meanings across and against a specific code. In the Facebook conversation in Extract 6.5, Ria and her friend KK talk about their present and future plans: KK is doing a masters in English literature at the University of Excellence (UOE) and is planning to go abroad for higher education (line 3 and 6), and Ria just graduated and plans to gain work experience before she starts her masters' degree next year (line 4).

Extract 6.5: *me the happy to hears. party!*

Guide to languages: Bangla (regular font); English (**bold**)

FB conversation

1.	KK	**yoohoo,** Ria**, how u be? wat courses u takes?**
2.	Ria	**i the grazuet** :)
3.	KK	**u the grazuet. oho! me the happy to hears. party! i the masters student** kintu [but]. **u masters plans wen?**
4.	Ria	**next year... i the zobbings** ((jobbing))... **gathering the eggzpiranz**

((experience)) **like there is no tomoro**.

5. Ria **where you mastersing?**

6. KK **at UOE** ((University of Excellence)) **literachar** ((literature)). **the books they calls for me. this yr i also applies for session abroad next yr.**

7. KK oi Ria, **i just notices. y u unfollows me on twitter? i spams ur timeline? or u hates me?**

8. Ria **eh... twitter? i don't twit... walso ((also)), i'll be seeing you at UOE!**

9. KK **is true**

In this extract, we see several features of transglossia, visible beyond the 'deterritorialised language practices' in translocal spaces, i.e., shortened form of words, avoidance of capitalisation, unconventional orthographic representation of words, loose syntactical structures, frequent use of '…..' to show pause, and emoticons, such as, :(.The same range of emoticons are used by middle class American teenagers on their Facebook sites (G. Jones et al., 2011), showing that Ria and her friend KK have linguistic resources for on-line communication that are common to other on-line users across spaces. The consistent use of *u, wat, i, wen, yr, y, u,* or *ur* indicate that their on-line discourses share 'e-grammar', i.e. the structural features of computer-mediated language and culture (Herring, 2011). Ria and KK appear to deliberately flout the conventional features of lexical, semantic, and syntactical of English. The Bangla language seems to play no role. They creatively decouple English from its specific syntactical structure – for example, subject+ verb+ object (lines 1, 4, 5, 7) and so on. They turn the nouns 'job' and 'masters' into verbs by adding *–ing* and give a feel of continuity to the nouns (lines 4 & 5). A similar trend in adding suffixes has been observed in the language practices of young adults in Bangladesh (Sultana, 2012b), bilingual English speakers in India (Baldridge, 2002), and young Mongolians (Dovchin, 2011, in progress).

Transglossia here occurs not only in the use of two linguistic codes (English and Bangla) or the creative use of on-line discourses, but also in the way these

participants transcend their mode of communication (writing in virtual space) and relocalise it with layers of meanings from other modes of meaning-making (e.g., speaking in real life). They show the features of spoken forms, i.e., exaggerated pronunciation in writing when they write *zobbings, eggzpiranz,* or *literachar* (lines 4 and 6). Thus in the written mode of communication, they apparently transgress its boundaries and borrow and blend semiotic resources for *transmodal* meaning-making.

The orthographic choice of Roman script and the consistent use of *u, wat, i, wen, yr, y, u,* or *ur*, as well as an apt use of a range of voices, meanings, and intensions also make Ria and KK's language transglossic. The extract *intertextually* refers to the 'broken English' spoken by 'less linguistically capable' speakers (cf. Aravamudan, 2006). The extract shows the presence of content words and absence of grammatical words, such as the omission of auxiliary verbs (lines 1-7), the omission of pronouns (line 9), simplification, i.e., non-realisation of morphological markings, such as inflectional suffixes (lines 1, 2, 3), omission of verb agreement and pronoun (lines 6, 7, 9), omission of copula (lines 1, 5), and question formation, i.e., no change of word order (lines 1, 2, 5, 7). These features resemble ButlE (Butler English) which evolved during the colonial era in the communication between the English master and native servants who had little competence in English (cf. Hosali, 2005, 2008; Mesthrie, 1990). It has survived in "uneducated bilinguals knowing some English", such as guides, salesmen/women, domestic staff of hotels catering to the respective needs of foreign visitors (Hosali, 2008, p. 1032). Thus the linguistic features in this extract are also distinctly different from e-grammar (Herring, 2011) or supervernacular[92]. With the creative use of Bangla, English, and specific codes, these participants transgress the linguistic boundaries of several codes. Their transglossia becomes polyphonic with voices from far and between; these voices of linguistically incompetent bilingual speakers allow them to construct the situated dynamics of identity.

[92] Blommaert (2011, p. 3) defined scripts of communication on the mobile space as 'the dialect of the supervernacular': "the supervernacular is 'English' and the dialects are the actually occurring 'world Englishes': specific local or regional realisations of English, tied to and embedded in local and regional sociolinguistics economies and emerged out of processes that bear all the features of dialects".

Note that in the context of Bangladesh, where English is considered as the prestige variety of language and people are respected and admired for speaking English (S. Rahman, 2009), the broken English that is written in virtual space will be *subtextually* stigmatised. However, the natural and unselfconscious mimicking for fun is socially constituted. As these students have advanced competence in English, they are not compelled to maintain accuracy in it like *others*. This kind of English is meaningful, amusing, and entertaining for them, while the same English can be a cause of embarrassment and shame for others. Their shared knowledge and familiarity allowed the accepted jocular abuse of the English of *others*. "They merely need to be what they are in order to be what they have to be" (Bourdieu, 1994 as cited in Roberts & Sarangi, 2001, p. 175). In other words, because of their ability in English, they do not have to show off their advanced competence, which otherwise is an important dynamic of who they are, what they do as students and TAs of the English department, and what identity they negotiate for themselves.

Ria and Toma speak in 'broken English' deliberately, for fun, showing that their specific transglossia is a novelistic hybrid, i.e., intentional or *namerennyi*, unlike, say, "naïve mixing in everyday speech" (Holquist, 1981a, p. 429). This intentional or *namerennyi* hybrid text is multifunctional. Their deliberate flouting of the conventions of English shows off their "agentive manifestation of multicompetence which is afforded via the transformative internalization of a second language" (Belz, 2002, p. 76). With the reassignment of the grammatical rules, they enjoy the "thrill of imaginative creation" (Belz, 2002, p.76). In other words, they are so well aware of the linguistic forms of English that they can break and remould them playfully. Their competence in English gives them a kind of 'creative freedom' to transgress the linguistic boundary of English.

Making fun of 'marked languages' associated with specific class, cast, and ethnicity is a common linguistic practice (cf. Rampton, 2000, 2011b). However, Talmy (2004) indicated that when a group of students in a high school in Hawaii mocked newly-arrived students at the school for their pronunciation and lesser competence in English, or considered themselves to be "relationally non-FOBs", rather than FOBs - the social position that they tried to resist in the ESL class, they in fact reproduced the linguistic and social stratifications. "The effect is the same: the reinscription (and redefinition) not only of the FOB subject position, but the

linguistic hierarchy it is part of" (Talmy, 2004, p. 161). Here, Ria, Toma, and her friends entertain themselves with banglicised English and Indian English (Extracts 6.1-6.3) and broken English (Extract 6.5), but they contribute to "a local instantiation of a societal linguicism" (Talmy, 2004, p. 169). They reinforce linguistic purity by mocking it but end up promoting that same linguistic purity. Thus a matrix of forces, i.e., the intentions, beliefs, and unconscious linguistic ideology that are in play in their language practices, indicates the necessity of looking beyond the linguistic structures and opting for a transglossic interpretation, with a close consideration of historical, local, discursive, and interpretive elements in their voices. The discursive construction of *others* and the process of *othering* are significantly important for their self- projections of identity.

6.5 Transglossia in mixed codes

The following conversation takes place on Facebook (FB) between research participant Bonya and her friends. She is a student of Electronic Engineering and Computer Sciences and has higher competence in English because of her English education background. She has had a comfortable upbringing in a Dhaka-centric family background (cf. also Appendices 5A & 5B). Here, I will show meanings occur in Bonya and her friends' transglossic language practices through 'transignification' in meaning by the creative use of translation across and against codes and *intertextual* and *subtextual* references within the online space, especially in the use of slang, explicit reference to the socio-historical and ideological role of Indian and American entertainment, and the meaningful use of signs, symbols, and media jargon.

Extract 6.6: *tui khub beshi hole Jhony Gaddar hoite parbi* :P

Guide to languages: Bangla (regular font); English (**bold**)

		FB conversation	Translation
1.	Sabbir:	Ajke ami amar **4** ta **hoobies** khuje pelam.....Women, Girls, Chicks and Babes.....lol	Today I have found my four hoobies ((hobbies))… Women, Girls, Chicks and Babes.....lol
2.	Bonya:	mohila, meye, murgi r bachcha...	Woman, girl, young chickens, and

		:-/	babies ... :-/
3.	Sabbir:	bah....tui to valo bangla janos..... Bonya	bah ((sound of appreciation)) …you know such good Bangla …. Bonya
4.	Bonya:	hehe... :D	hehe... :D
5.	SA:	**You really think you're Johnny Bravo? Come on** Sabbir! ;)	You really think you're Johnny Bravo? Come on Sabbir! ;)
6.	FH:	**Thank you** SA :)	Thank you SA :)
7.	SA:	^ **LAWL.**	^ LAWL.
8.	SM:	Sabbir, tui to r **jhony bravo** hoite parbi na, tui khub beshi hole Jhony Gaddar hoite parbi :P	Sabbir, you can never be jhony bravo, you can be Jhony Gaddar if you really try hard :P

In line 1, using English and global online signs such as ‘lol’ (North, 2007) and Bangla, Sabbir enacts a laddish masculinity, suggesting that his interest in women of different ages (Women, Girls, Chicks and Babes) is a pleasurable hobby. His intentions are foiled, however, by Bonya in line 2 with the literal translation of *chicks* and *babes* into Bangla, subverting Sabbir’s attempt with a bizarre image of him being interested in *murgir bachha* (young chicken) and bachcha (*young children*). Bonya’s use of literal translation manipulates the differences in meaning caused by the opacity of translation, which “is not so much a process of encoding and decoding across languages but of making meaning across and against codification” (Pennycook, 2007a, p. 55). In lines 5 and 8, Sabbir’s attempt to portray himself as a womaniser is even more disrupted by *intertextual* references to Johnny Bravo and Jhony (Johnny) Gaddar. Johnny Bravo is the main character in an American animated television series: a hunk who impersonates Elvis Presley in his pompadour hairstyle and voice, and who spends his time in futile attempts to make women fall in love with him. Johnny Gaddar (Johnny the Traitor), by contrast, refers to the main character of a 2007 Hindi film in which an underworld criminal betrays and kills his friends in a drug deal, only to be killed himself at the end of the film.

These *intertextual* references to popular culture are used to playfully tease Sabbir, pointing to their common cultural reference points. The *subtextual* reference to socio-cultural ideologies – that Indian entertainment has lower acceptance and status than Western entertainment (cf. Chapter 5) – on the other hand, allows SA and SM to accomplish their evaluative function by manipulating the potential hierarchies between two kinds of popular culture. The *intertextual* reference to popular culture and the *contextual* relations between friends, as well as the constant use of emoticons (:-/ :D :) :P) allow the group improvisation of sarcasm, parody, and humour (instances of Bakhtinian double-voicing – see Bauman and Briggs, 1990) over the theme presented by Sabbir in line 1 to work as a hedge to mitigate the possibility of causing direct offence to Sabbir.

Defining the character of Sabbir with reference to Johnny Bravo and Jhony Gaddar, and the enhancement of the meaning-making process with referents such as *girls, chicks,* or *babes,* is indicative of the *translocalisation* and *transculturation* of linguistic and cultural resources. Linguistic and cultural resources evoke certain imagery in the mind. When these participants refer to these characters (line 1), they traverse boundaries of thought, imagery, and meaning and appropriate these cultural resources for their own context. An analysis of the extract with transglossic framework, deploying both Bangla and English resources, also shows how the *heteroglossic* voices are interwoven with transglossic meanings which occur in the *translocalisation* and *transculturation* of mixed codes and genres.

6.6 Tranglossia in the lame joke genre

The extract above indicates that these participants engage in transglossic language practices with the smooth integration and disintegration of various linguistic features, while they depend on transignification in meanings. The lame joke given below is a localised invention of the participants, specifically those from the English-medium education background, i.e., Ria and her friends, emergent from their *intertextual* references to other discourses and texts beyond their immediate contexts, created out of 'dialogic contact between texts' (Bakhtin, 1986). These jokes also indicate the necessity of understanding not only the forms and functions of language, but also how to transgress across different linguistic and communicative codes to form them into new modes of expression. Toma borrows

and blends culturally specific resources as semiotic codes, blurring the boundaries between codes, modes, and genres.

Extract 6.7: *Hip((s)) don't lie.*

		Casual conversation	Translation
1.	Toma	arokom arekta achhe je. tumi **jungle** diye hete jachho. abong tumi harai gesso. tumi poth khujhteso. kintu tumi poth khuje pachho na. tarpore tumi akta **hippopotamus** ke dekhla, ha! tumi **hippopotamus** ke dekhla. jiggesh korla kone dike. tomar kachhe mone hochhe **left** diye gele mone hoi ber hothe parba. **Hippopotamus** ke jiggesk korla.	There is another one like this. You are walking through a jungle. And you have lost your way. You are looking for ways out of the jungle, but you can't find the way. Then you see a hippopotamus, ha! Then you ask it the way out of the jungle. You have a gut feeling that the left path would lead you out ((of the jungle)).
2.	XX	ha ha ha ((sound of approval that she is listening)).	ha ha ha ((sound of approval that she is listening)).
3.	Toma	tokhon she bollo, "**right** diye". tumi **hippopotamus** ke **believe** korba, kintu kano **believe** korba?	Then it says, "Take the right path". You should believe the hippopotamus, but why should you?
4.	XX	**believe** korbo??	I should believe it??
5.	Toma	kintu kano **believe** korba?	Why will you believe it?
6.	XX	**hippopotamus right** tai.	Because the hippopotamus is right.
7.	Toma	kano **right**? **Come on, there has to be a logic. It's a lame joke. It does have a logic**.	Why is it right? Come on, there has to be logic. It's a lame joke. It does have logic.
8.	AA	There are actually. manush bujhe na je **how much of the thought, brain goes into the lame joke**.	There are actually. People do not understand how much of the thought ((and)) brain goes into the lame joke.
9.	Toma	**High thought** hoite hobe.	It requires sophisticated inferencing.
10.	AA	**People just don't get it**.	People just don't get it.
11.	XX	bole dao.	Tell the answer.

12.	AA	**It's a guessing game**, Toma. **Sheldon** bole na, "Guess who. Ha! I don't agree. You proposed it".	It's a guessing game, Toma. It is Sheldon's ((a character from TV sitcom, Big Bang Theory)) tag line. "Guess who. Ha! I don't agree. You proposed it".
13.	Toma	tomra **hippopotamus** ke **believe** korba karone '**hip**((s)) **don't lie'** [*sic*].	You will believe the hippopotamus because 'hip((s)) don't lie' [*sic*].
14.	XX	**Oh my God**. Ha ha ha ((laughing)) …	Oh my God. Ha ha ha ((laughing))…
15.	Toma	erokom akta **lame joke**r list banaisi. buchho, **club**e jhulaisi **chart** ta.	We made a chart of the lame jokes. We have put it up in the club.
16.	AA	**You should name it, "The Wall of Lame".**	You should name it, "The Wall of Lame".

Central to the lame joke is an understanding of the dynamic nature of the text. On the one hand, it has a specific generic structure, involving question and answer format. On the other hand, it is the *intertextual* references to varied codes and modes that account for its meaning. For example, the jokes usually depend heavily on popular culture, such as names of films, cartoons, songs, and so on, and are shaped by a particular socio-cultural context. In Extract 6.7, Toma shares the lame joke above in which the title of the USA pop star Shakira's song 'Hips Don't Lie' is used as the basis of the joke (line 13). The *intertextual* reference to the song is far-fetched, but the meaning is produced and sustained by it. For example, the hippopotamus is shortened as 'hip', not 'hippos' and the answer is a near pun based on Shakira's song 'Hips Don't Lie'. Puns are used to exploit formal resemblances at all levels of the language system – phonetics, semantic, and lexical. "By triggering surprising associations, puns give rein to the imagination, taking us into 'wild realms beyond the code'" (Culler 1988 in North, 2007, p. 546). Note that none of Toma's friends could solve the problem because of the bizarre association. As occurs with puns, the participants are fooled, but they derive pleasure and satisfaction when they recognise the pun. The construction of the lame joke genre also revalidates Bakhtin's contention, supported by Briggs and Bauman (2009, p.

227), that “Just as genre can create order and sense in a text, it can render texts chaotic, fragmented, and nonsensical”.

Toma and her friends have the knowledge of common cultural referents, such as Sheldon Cooper of the American sit-com *The Big Bang Theory* (line 12) and Shakira (line 13) and they introduce these referents for the shared understanding of the lame joke. In line 16, AA comes up with a name for the wall, ‘The Wall of Lame’, where Toma, as President of the English Club, has displayed the lame jokes in the club (line 15). She derives the name ‘wall of lame’ from the Western phrase, ‘hall of fame’, which refers to the exemplification of the names of individuals who have obtained success and glory in their life.

The construction of the lame joke is distinct. The participants here can invent newer forms of lame jokes because of their shared knowledge and strategic use of different genres of popular culture of the Western world. Bucholtz (1993, p. 41) defined genre as a

> culturally recognizable form of linguistic interaction that is achieved through prior texts on the one hand and current discursive acts on the other, and has associated with it a collection of knowledge about its norms, formal, functional, and social.

Others, without the appropriate and relevant knowledge of popular culture, or acquaintance with the appropriate strategies, such as punning, translation or transliteration, will never be able to comprehend how lame jokes work or derive pleasure from them. In other words, the entertainment factor of lame jokes is highly specific for the participants. The *contextual* relations, i.e., the physical location and participants, indicate that the lame jokes are usually cracked by the English-medium students in the English Club (cf. Chapter 4). Thus these lame jokes create opportunities for participants to show off their knowledge of a varied linguistic and cultural repertoire, and wit and presence of mind. This also indicates that the semiotic resources with which individuals enact their identity are in part stratified, and “the particular stratification of identities and their resources will depend on the particular environment” (Blommaert, 2005b, p. 211).

These participants' creative transglossia encompasses integration and disintegration from not only linguistic resources but also cultural resources that allow them to "select, appropriate, refashion, and return of new cultural and linguistic forms" – in other words, it is *transculturation* and the creation of "an alternative space of cultural production" (Pennycook, 2007a, p. 47). Cultural production is conducted along the subcultural affiliations of gender, class, interests, and desires. The linguistic and cultural reproductions observable in the lame joke, as it occurs in the context of the English Club, confirm Pennycook's contention that language evolves in transgression at different levels.

Because these jokes are linguistically and territorially defined by these participants, they engage in a group identity when they share the jokes among themselves. Thus the genre of the lame joke, as it has emerged in the language practices of these participants, seems to bring an extra dimension to the negotiation of identity. They are intentional stylistic hybrids and their success in promoting this specific dimension of their identity depends on the linguistic and cultural positioning of the listener. Consequently, when these participants share lame jokes or use them as a source of entertainment, they develop an intergroup harmony and in-group identity.

Overall, this transglossic analysis illustrates that these participants create their own localised version of lame jokes, using various resources from popular culture that have specific *intertextual*, *contextual*, and *pretextual* references. The lame joke cannot be understood without an adequate knowledge of these points of reference. New meanings emerge within the transglossic relationship, evolving in the mixture of a wide range of genres.

6.7 Transglossia in the advertising genre

In this extract from a FB conversation, the transglossic recycling of advertising jingles, intertextual references to the performances in advertisements, and the commercial products themselves mobilise a range of meanings. The conversation starts when SC uploads a photo of herself, dressed in an exclusive dress, in which she stands with her hand on her hip. The first comment on the photo comes from Ameen. A student in the Electronic Engineering and Computer Sciences department, he has spent the majority of his life in Oman. He came to Bangladesh

to study at UOE. Because of his English-medium education in international schools in Oman, he has high competence in English (cf. also Appendices 5A & 5B).

Extract 6.8: *kamar mein dard ho toh moov lagao!!!*
Guide to languages: Bangla (regular font); Hindi (*italics*); English (**bold**)

		Facebook conversation	Translation
1.	Ameen:	*kamar mein dard ho toh moov lagao!!!*	if you have pain in your waist then apply 'Moov'!!!
2.	ZZ:	**my sexyy goth queen**! ♥	my sexyy goth queen! ♥
3.	SC:	Ameen, *Dil mey dard ho to... Dil ko POKE kyu nahi karteho jeee* **:P**	Ameen, if you have pain in your heart........why don't you poke your heart?
4.	SC:	ZZ, **Bebbbieee**???	ZZ, Bebbbieee???
5.	Ameen:	*Dil ko POKE kiyaa toh.........dard aur bhi hoga..........aur aapke dil ko dard huwa toh..........mujhe mehsoos hoga...........aur mehsoos huwa toh...........pyaar nikal aajaya mere hoto pe aapke liye!!* **:P**	If you poke the heart, the greater will be the pain...........and if you have pain in your heart....i will feel that.......and if i feel that......love will come out in the form of words for you.
6.	SC:	hahahahah :p	hahahahah :p
		hahahahhaahah Ameen **Hellooo brother i was talking about your** "Dil" **here**.....	hahahahhaahah Ameen Hellooo brother i was talking about your "Heart" here.....
		Phir bhi keh'e detihu..... Duniya ne apko **Pervrt** *bulaya....lekin apko pata nai chala....* **UOE** *ne apko "PU" bulaya..... phir bhi apko samajh nahi aya....... Aab chaley aye* **Facebook** *pe muuuh uthake pyaar jatane...." Areyyyy o ... dil ko thora chaen doh or nahi to kharid ke jhandu baam lo ..... Dil pe lagane ke lea* **:P :P :P** *Dar kam ho jayega* ;)	I am repeating myself … people have named you Pervrt ((pervert)) … but you have no clue to it … UOE has called you "PU' ((poo)) … you still haven't understood …. You came to Facebook to summon love in me ....*"* hey you … give some rest to your heart … or buy jhandu baam and apply it … on your heart **:**P :P :P the pain will go away ;)

The *pretextual* reference of the first line is directly associated with an Indian cultural mode – a popular advertisement on Indian media on an 'ayurvedic' pain

relieving ointment used for backache, strains, sprains, called ‘Moov’. SC’s stance with her hand on her hip seems to instantly remind Ameen of the advertisement in which women with back pain are depicted in this posture. Consequently, he uses the catchphrase from the advertisement to tease SC. The advertisement shows that women who have hectic lifestyles and prefer to give priority to household chores to ensure the comfort of the family use Moov, because it offers effective and immediate pain relief. In all these advertisements ‘mothers’, or as the advertisements call them ‘moov *janani*’ (‘moov mothers’) play a significant role – the sacrificing mother looking after the family in every situation. With a line from the advertising jingle in line 1, first, Ameen deliberately ignores the fact that SC is well-dressed in an exclusive dress that she has worn to a masquerade party arranged at the university; second, he teases the way SC is standing in the photograph, which is in fact appropriate for the occasion; and third, with his *intertextual* references to the advertisement, he alludes to the *pretextual* history of the advertisement, i.e., that it is appropriate for ‘mothers’, indirectly teasing SC with reference to her age.

Based on the comment in line 1, both Ameen and SC immediately become involved in the co-construction of meaning, manipulating not only the linguistic forms, but also a range of cultural reference points, such as their knowledge of Indian advertisements. SC refers to another medicinal balm in reply to Ameen. In line 6, she suggests that Ameen should use Zandu balm (an ayurvedic balm for headache, body ache, and cold) to heal his wounded heart. The effectiveness of Zandu balm for healing a love-stricken heart *intertextually* refers to the song *Munni Badnaam Hui* (The innocent cute girl got disgraced, for you darling) from the 2010 Hindi film *Dabangg* (‘Audacious’) in which the actress Malaika Arora Khan sings and dances, suggesting that Zandu Balm has the power to heal an ailing heart (Hindustan Times, 2010). SC suggests that she would become Zandu Balm for Salman Khan, the lead actor in the film. With an *intertextual* reference to the healing power of Zandu Balm, SC makes it clear that Ameen’s wounded heart needs the balm; however, she will be the cause of the ailment because she cannot reciprocate the love. She uses strong and provocative English words such as *pervrt* (pervert) and *pu/* poo to show her resentment towards him; thus, the use of linguistic and cultural resources from popular culture, a common trend in on-line

discourses (Leppänen et al., 2009) which starts in line 1 with Moov, creates a cohesive chain for the subsquent comments around the theme of 'pain'.

The participants in this exchange construct the interaction by shared *intertextual* reference that creates a "multiplicity of cohesive ties", defined by Carter (2004 in North, 2007, p. 548) as "verbal schizophrenia, with words pointing in two directions at once". Here, for example, *kamar mein dard* (pain in the waist) and *moov* lead to *dil mey dard* (pain in the heart) and *dil ko POKE* (poke the heart) in line 3, resulting in two different interpretations. The humour of the conversation builds around the words 'pain' and 'balm', prompting more innuendo. While Ameen attempts to spoil SC's graceful posture in a beautiful dress, SC counterfoils it by claiming that Ameen is experiencing pain in the heart, looking at the beauty of her in the photo, which is why he needs to poke his own heart. With reference to chatroom environments, North (2007, p. 553) has mentioned the ambiguity in word play that may serve a double-anaphoric role, "offering two interpretations each of which may be picked up and elaborated as the discussion unfolds" and consequently, creating "dense" and "tangled" textual cohesion. With the 'multiplicity of cohesive ties' and tangled textual cohesion, the dialogic interaction continues around the topic *dil mey dard* (pain in the heart) and love; the topics are interwoven and lead to the concluding comment in line 6 where SC verbally abuses Ameen. It seems that her *intertextual* reference to Zandu balm is a strategic way to insult and humiliate Ameen, who initiated the verbal duel by referring to Moov balm in line 1. The negotiation strategies, i.e., the individual interpretation and recontextualisation of words according to the individual purpose of the speaker, allow both of them to express their intentions. While 'double-voicing' can be considered as a way of using linguistic and cultural resources to express intentions and identities, this way of taking meaning in different directions can be considered an interactional strategy (cf. Canagarajah, 2013 for translingual negotiation strategies).

Both Ameen and SC's comments are stylised in terms of the frequency of reiteration. There are repetitions of words, such as 'dil', 'pain', 'poke', but each repetition incurs a different meaning and response (Pennycook, 2007c). With the sameness and difference in intentions and meanings, they mock each other. It also appears to be easier for SC to call Ameen 'pervert' and 'poo' when she is writing

predominantly in Hindi, a language of playful and humorous teasing, as has repeatedly been mentioned by the participants (cf. Chapter 5). SC disrupts the social norm of politeness, writing that Ameen is called ‘pervert’ and ‘poo’ at UOE. In her transglossic language practices, she adopts “abuses, curses, profanities, and improprieties” as official elements of her language which Bhaktin (1968 in Blackledge & Creese, 2009b, p. 251) identifies as “the unofficial elements of speech”. With the manipulation of linguistic and cultural resources available to her through Indian popular culture, and by using abusive language as a way of negotiating her position, she directly shows her displeasure towards Ameen who seems to spoil her representation as a ‘Goth queen’ with his reference to Moov balm. She can also be multivocal, transgressing the Bangladeshi norm of ‘politeness’, abusing Ameen in an unrestricted and unrestrained way with the voice of the *others*.

The interaction also demonstrates how linguistic and cultural resources and voices open up processes of cultural interaction in different times and spaces. The voices that both Ameen and SC borrow from the advertising and filmic genres allow them to *translocalise* the linguistic and cultural resources from India and reinvent the meaning of these resources with their intentional meaning in the context of their virtual conversation. The voices are also *transmodal*, because they are borrowed from the filmic and advertising genres and have a purposive use in a casual conversation on FB. The capacity of modes is enhanced because of the novelty of the use. Thus these resources are reinvented with new meanings in the *translocalised* and *transmodal* use of linguistic and cultural resources and voices.

The transglossic analysis illustrates that these participants use resources from mixed genres (advertising, Indian films) for double-voicing with *intertextual*, *contextual*, and *pretextual* references. The use of Hindi and the mockery and parody arising from the use cannot be fully understood without the integration of these references. Similarly, the transcendence of modes from the advertising medium to parodic speaking (here writing) cannot be explored without considering the complexities of ideas accentuated in the voices of the participants. When different genres are subsumed into transglossic language practices, the interpretive potentialities of the genres increase and thus need to be explored through a transglossic framework.

6.8 Transglossia in the filmic genre

In the previous extract, I have shown how meanings are made in the transglossic language practices of young adults in the way they recycle jingles and the lyrical meanings of particular advertisements and songs from films. In this extract, I will show how the title of a film allows Tahura to come up with a variety of meanings by referring to a word that has a range of social semiotic meanings which are shared by those who are aware of the Bollywood[93] filmic connotation of the word.

Extract 6.9: *amar jawani te shobai deewani.*

Guide to languages: Bangla (regular font); Hindi (*italics*); English (**bold**)

	FB conversation	Translation
Tahura	**Tamara ur sister is the smartest and the coolest, u shud be proud of me...I think the funniest thing I ever did in my life... Question:** tumi ki '*Yeh jawani hai dewani dekso*?' My answer: aeikhane amar *jawani* te shobai *deewani*, **so I see it everyday**..... hahahahahahaha **Go 2a doc if u didn't laugh after reading this** …	Tamara ur sister is the smartest and the coolest, u shud be proud of me...I think the funniest thing I ever did in my life... Question: Have you seen *This Youth is Crazy*? My answer: here everyone is crazy about my youth, so I see it everyday..... hahahahahahaha Go 2a doc if u didn't laugh after reading this …

In her Facebook (FB) update status, Tahura (cf. Appendix 5A & 5B) uses a range of textual dimensions, such as word play, figure of speech, echoing and transforming others' words, and so on (cf. Lee, 2011). She also uses a particular genre, such as the adoption of narrative format, i.e., she reflexively positions herself as the recipient of a question and interactively positions others in a conversation in which she has been asked whether she has watched a particular Hindi film. Her narrative is based on a joint cultural reference to the newly-released Hindi film *Yeh Jawaani Hai Deewani* (This Youth is Crazy). *Yeh Jawaani Hai Deewani* is a 2013 Indian romantic comedy film, one of the greatest box-office hits in the Bollywood film industry. It is the third highest grossing Bollywood film in India. When the film was released, the research participants engaged in a number of conversations about the film in the virtual space. The authenticity of Tahura's comment and

[93] Bollywood and Dhallywood are generic terms that refer to both the films and the film industry in Mumbai, India and Dhaka, Bangladesh respectively.

stance is based on the conversation that she represents here with both direct and indirect quotations. The contextual relations also determine the direct approach we see in her language. Maybin and Swann (2007) defined this as ‘interactional poetic’ – an episode in which speakers creatively and reflexively play with words by manipulating *contextual* and *intertextual* references in their everyday linguistic creativity.

All the textual dimensions manipulated here in the FB status by Tahura in this extract match those identified by Maybin and Swann (2007) in relation to creativity: Tahura borrows the title of the Hindi song and blends it into new modes of expression. Her reflexive response to a question, the word play around the film title *Yeh Jawaani Hai Deewani* and her playful repetition of *jawani* (youth) may be analysed textually in terms of how the word works as a cohesive device to create the humour in the extract. Note that it is not the literal meaning of *jawani* at play here. *Jawani* has linguistic and cultural trajectories that *intertextually* provoke a range of images that allude to the youthful representation of women in Hindi songs and films[94] as sexually attractive, exciting their counterparts with their seductive dances and provocative songs. With the *intertextual* meanings that the word evokes, Tahura refers to her own youth and sexiness. On the one hand, she directly proclaims herself as the ‘smartest and coolest’, and the funniest one. With a reference to the film, Tahura indicates that she is so pretty, youthful, and sexy that everyone around her is crazy about her. The title and the specific word *jawani* help her to reproduce the effect of a beauty-struck admirer as found among Bollywood characters. On the other hand, she seems to indicate that she does not need to follow the trend pursued by everyone. With her double-voicing and her own interpretive elements, Tahura additionally manipulates the textual representation of the word *jawani* in Hindi films and aptly *transtextualises* and *translocalises* this linguistic and cultural resource for her own communicative purposes.

In her carefree attitude to the common trend, Tahura manages to represent herself as different from others, not following the trend in popular culture. She is addressing this comment to her sister Tamara, and the mediating environment of

[94] Other examples are *Halkat Jawani* – This Careless Mean Prime Youth (You Tube, August 16, 2012), *Sheila Ki Jawani* – Sheila’s Youth (You Tube, November 17, 2010), or *Hot Jawani* – Hot Youth (You Tube, January 25, 2013).

the virtual space allows her to enjoy the freedom to proclaim herself as the 'smartest' and the 'coolest'. Her underlying intention is to display her evaluation of her own self, not only in terms of her external beauty but also of her inner strength- i.e., she is relaxed and laid-back and not easily caught up in popular culture (cf. Chapter 5 to see how she manages to maintain strategic distance from Hindi entertainment). She thus uses the narrative framework with reference to the Hindi film to share her double-voiced discourses. Maybin and Swann (2007, p. 513) also mentioned that the "creative episodes are necessarily evaluative, reflecting and constructing a certain evaluative stance". Similarly, Tahura negotiates different facets of identity with the evaluative stances she adopts here.

This practice of using linguistic and cultural resources from Hindi films has also been observed in a group of teenagers in South-Asian American communities in the US. The narrative framework, prescripted dialogue, distinct registers and expressions through which young teens enact "their own dynamics of humor, flirting, conflict, and other types of talk" (Shankar, 2004, p. 317) indicate their transgressive linguistic practices in which the dramatic dialogues, comedic routines, and romantic lyrics have immense significance, even outside the viewing context. These linguistic and cultural resources are the means of transgression, even though they are very much stereotyped and bounded, and they become a powerful source of meanings and negotiation of identity because of their *transcultural*, *translocal*, *transmodal*, and *transtextual* use in transglossic language practices.

6.9 Transglossia in mixed modes

The following conversation takes place between Ria, Eshadi, and Aditi, when Eshadi writes a comment on her missed chance of a possible romance with Raqib, a friend of Eshadi's who has already graduated and left the university. Ria and her friends continue the conversation solely in written Bangla and English in Roman script, but a closer observation suggests that these participants borrow modes of meaning-making from the commercial South Asian filmic genre and integrate them according to the affordance of the mode of interaction in the virtual space.

Research on the use of filmic dialogues in the language practices of groups of Desi (South Asian American) teenagers in Silicon Valley, CA and New York in the USA

has been published earlier (Shankar, 2004; 2008b). The prescripted dialogues, which are instantly recognisable (as I have mentioned earlier), and the various affects associated with these dialogues, are deployed for the enactment of humour, flirting, and conflict. While embedding Hindi film dialogues in their dialogic interactions, they negotiate a range of styles and identities. For example, Sikh boys in the company of other male Sikhs use distinct registers from Indian films, such as the villainous ones from Bollywood, "*Chad de!! Oh bas kar!*" [Let me go! Oh, stop it!] or "*Nahin! Main tera khoon kar dungaa!*" [No! I'm going to murder you!] for the purpose of negotiating hypermasculinity (Shankar, 2008b, p. 279). However, no research has so far been reported on how young adults use filmic genre in transmodal practices. Young adults seem tangled in the complexities of meaning-making when they are located in different spaces and can afford to use various modes simultaneously. Also note that these young adults' source of entertainment is not the Bangladeshi film, but they use its features to work out a trajectory of an imagined romantic event.

Extract 6.10: *Ontor Jala Sasha*

Guide to languages: Bangla (regular font); English (**bold**)

Eshadi (on the Facebook wall of Ria Hussain Sasha)

		Facebook Conversation	Translation
1.	Ria	oufffffffffff arrey jala jala jala ei ontore arrey jala jala...	oufffffffffff ((onomatopoeic expression for impatience)) arrey ((sound of confirmation)) fire, fire, fire, this heart is on fire ((a Bangladeshi film/song title))
2.	Aditi	hai hai, pran jaye, pran jaye jaye pran jaye! :P LMAO! :P	hai hai [oh me – expressing surprise or joy], my heart is falling deep in love ((Bangladeshi film/song title))!:P LMAO! :P
3.	Eshadi	hai hai :P **i can sense a hit film coming up**, Ontor Jala Sasha (**poster** e ria **standing wid an Olympic torch**)	hai hai ((oh me – expressing surprise or joy)) :P i can sense a hit film coming up, Sasha's Heart on Fire (on the poster ria is standing wid an Olympic

			torch)
4.	Ria	shonar'o palonker ghore lekhe rekhe chilam dare.... humph	Alone in my room, full of comforts, I wrote on the door ((a song from the Bangladeshi film Monpura)) .... humph
5.	Ria	AHAHAHAHHAAHHHAHAAHAHAHHSAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHHAHHAHAHAHAHADEFWIUEFGC;WDUFCG;WIDUVGSDUIVGSFDUIVGIS;UGFVFUSDGVDIUVG	AHAHAHAHHAAHHHAHAAHAHAHHSAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHAHHAHHAHAHAHAHADEFWIUEFGC;WDUFCG;WIDUVGSDUIVGSFDUIVGIS;UGFVFUSDGVDIUVG

The filmic style of speaking is distinctive to the genre of commercial South Asian films, specifically those of Dhallywood and Bollywood (Booth, 1995; Ciecko, 2001; Yasmin, 2011) and is instantly recognisable to Bangladeshis for its typical observable features. The delivery of the speech, and the gesture and posture of the characters that accompany the dialogues are, in general, theatrical and melodramatic. The characters become elated when they experience love, joy, or pain. Even in trivial situations, their expressions are animated and overzealous, or at other times solemn or grand. Bangla films are recognisable for situation-specific set expressions: *chhaira de*, *chhaira dey, ami ar bachte chai na* (let me go, let me go, I don't want to live anymore - when the hero/heroine has experienced intense loss), *amake mere falo* (kill me – when the hero/heroine no longer finds reason to live, especially after the death of a beloved), *bachao, bachao, bachao* (help, help, help – when someone is abducted by the villain)*, ami tomar jonno jan kurban dibo* (I will sacrifice my life for you –when the hero declares his love to the heroine), *moroneo tumi amar* (even after death, you are mine – when the heroine wants to show her intense love to the hero). These set expressions are also over-emphasised with the enunciated pronunciation of the last vowel sound or middle vowel sound of the last word of the sentence, such as *deeeeeeeeeee*, *jeyonaaaaaaa*, or *duuuuuuuuure* (Sultana et al., 2013) or in Indian Hindi films, *chood do mujhee, suun lo, maanga,* and so on. Such dialogues use exaggerated melodramatic tones, body movements and gestures.

In the first 5 lines, Ria borrows the features of melodramatic expression from the Dhallywood and Bollywood commercial films - exaggeration, emotionalism, and sentimentalism - in her comments, as she takes up the role of a forlorn love-stricken character because of her presumed missed romance with Raqib. She expresses the sufferings of the character with a phrase, *ontore jala* (the heart is on fire), commonly found in Bangladeshi film and song titles such as in *Ak Buk Jala* (Heart Full of Fire) (2013) and *Premer Jala* (Fire of Love) (2010). In reply, Aditi writes another line, *pran jai* (my heart is falling deep in love), another commonly used Bangladeshi folk song title, as in *Amar Poran Jai Jolia* (My Heart is Burning) (2012) or the Indian Bangla song *Paran Jai Jolia Re* (Oh, My Heart is Burning) (2009). Usually, these songs (both in films and music videos) are dramatised with actors and actresses singing in the 'signature style of song and dance', a combination of Bangladeshi traditional classical and folk dances elaborated with a mixture of dancing features from Bollywood, disco, and Arabic belly dances. Because of the association of the song and dance, it seems both Aditi and Eshadi write *hai hai* (oh me) in lines 2 and 3, a theatrical interjection (words expressing surprise, greeting, or joy) usually uttered after a spectacular performance or unexpected revelation in relation to love and romance. Ria's enactment of love for Raqib makes Aditi and Eshadi follow the protocol of Dhallywood and Bollywood films in expressing their theatrical surprise and joy.

Because of the provocative song titles written by Ria and Aditi in lines 1 and 2, Eshadi declares that Ria is the lead actress of the forthcoming new Bangla film, *Ontor Jala Sasha* (Sasha's Heart on Fire). Sasha is Ria's last name and Eshadi presents Ria as the lead actress, holding an Olympic torch (line 3). As Ria's heart is on fire, Eshadi wants to present her with the fire of the Olympic torch. Thus he refers to film posters in which the protagonists/antagonists are usually depicted as holding guns, flambeaux, clubs/cudgels, or scales of justice (see posters below). He also manages to tease Ria because of the absurdity of the imagery.

Figure 6.1: Samples of Bangladeshi Film Posters (2007)

In reply to Eshadi's comment, Ria writes another song title in line 4 to show that she is pining for the love of Raqib: Alone in my room, full of comforts, I wrote on the door- a line from the song entitled *jao pakhi bolo tare* [Fly Bird, Let Him Know] from the film *Monpura.* This song alludes to a folk narrative in which the heroine sacrifices the love of her life, the hero (who comes from a lower social economic background), to protect the family caste, creed and honour, and marries a rich respectable man. However, she suffers from internal conflict and pines for the hero in the comfort of her new life. The 'door' symbolically represents the restriction and confinement imposed on her by social norms and expectations. With the use of the song and *intertextual* reference to the folk tale, Ria successfully displays the pain and anguish of the character. It should be mentioned that music is an integral part of Bangladeshi films. Similar to other South Asian films, music "reinforces the meaning already present", and "along with visuals, dialogue and so on, [music] is an active parameter in the creation of emergence of narrative and meaning" (Morcom, 2007, p. 16). Ria and Aditi also construct a narrative that Ria's heart is longing for the beloved, who is no longer with her (line 1). She is falling deeper and deeper in love with him (line 2) and waiting for him alone in the room (line 4). This provokes Ria to become more melodramatic, and in line 5, she writes 'ahaaha', an uproar of frustration and pain. Thus in their role play, these participants, even though communicating in written mode, are transgressing boundaries and borrowing and blending semiotic resources such as song and film titles and exaggerated melodramatic set expressions from the filmic genre for *transmodal* meaning-making.

		Facebook Conversation	Translation
6.	Aditi	moner jala ki jinish tumi bujhbe na eshadi :P	You will never understand the torment of the heart on fire eshadi :P
7.	Eshadi	**random background noise time:** *hai haiii* ((in **slutty bengali female voice**))	random background noise time: *hai haiii* ((in slutty bengali female voice))
8.	Ria	***pokes eshadi's eyeballs out***	*pokes eshadi's eyeballs out*
9.	Eshadi	**now excuzie mee, i hab to fix my eyes :(thank gawd i was wearing my Sasha protective contacts brb**	now excuzie mee, i hab to fix my eyes :(thank gawd i was wearing my Sasha protective contacts brb ((be right back))
10.	Aditi	ria, tumi eshadi-r chokher aalo kere nitey paro, kintu moner aalo ki kere nitey parbe?!?! ***dramatic voice***	ria, you can take away eshadi's eyesight, but can you take away the power of his soul?!?! *dramatic voice*
11.	Eshadi	… ria hussain sasha *tash tash tash tash **lightning noise***	... ria hussain sasha *tash tash tash tash lightning noise*
12.	Aditi	RIA HUSSAIN SASHA.. RIA HUSSAIN Sasha.. RIA hussain Sasha...***echoes***	RIA HUSSAIN SASHA.. RIA HUSSAIN Sasha.. RIA hussain Sasha...*echoes*
13.	Eshadi	amar prosner uttor amake dite hobe na, tumar nijer bibek ke dilei cholbe.. ami chollam... tomar ei nisthur **wall** e ar ek muhurto thakbo na na na na na amar ek **mouse** je dike jai... ***unfortunately the pc freezes***	you don't have to answer my question, it's enough if you can justify it to your conscience.. I am going away... I won't stay on your cruel wall (FB wall) not even for a second no no no no no (I will go) wherever this mouse takes me ... *unfortunately the pc freezes*
14.	Ria	**HAIN**!!!!!!!!!!!!! ***RAWRS***	HAIN!!!!!!!!!!!!! *RAWRS*

In this dialogic interaction, Ria and her friends also use clichéd and hyperbolic dialogues from Bangladeshi films, much used and quoted, that heighten the drama in the conversation. Ria and her friend's utterances are iconic of Bangladeshi films, as in line 6 (you will never understand the torment of the heart on fire, eshadi), line 10 (ria, you can take away eshadi's eyesight, but can you take away the power of his soul?!?!), and line 13 (it's enough if you can justify it to your conscience). These dialogues are solemn and serious, as are the dialogues of the film.

These 'filmic dialogues' play a significant role in building the 'climax' of the film. Similarly, line 13 seems to bring the dialogic interaction to its climax. Eshadi dramatically declares that he has no other choice but to leave the conversation. Usually, heartbroken protagonists in Bangladeshi films decide to leave their familiar surroundings, and they exclaim, 'I will leave this place and go wherever the eye takes me' (*ami chole jabo ekhan theke jei dike dui chokh jai*), which contributes to the development of the climax. 'Wherever the eye takes me' (*jei dike dui chokh jai*) is similar to the English phrase 'wherever my feet take me' or 'wherever my life takes me'. Here, Eshadi again recontextualises the filmic expression, according to the space (the FB wall) and purpose (the enactment of a multimodal filmic dialogic interaction). He substitutes the words *ekhan theke* (the place) and *dui chokh* (two eyes) with *wall* (Facebook) and *mouse* respectively. It is not the 'place' that he is leaving; it is not the 'eyes' that he is following. It is the 'wall' he is leaving and he is following the lead of the 'computer mouse'. In other words, with his desire to leave Ria in the middle of the FB conversation, Eshadi creates the climax, and his written filmic dialogue in line 13 brings the narrative that they have been enacting to a conclusion. With the use of specific words such as *mouse*, *wall*, and *pc freezes*, he also defines the spatial location within which the embodied (somatic) *transmodal* language practices occur.

It is not the only filmic code and way of speaking that these participants transfer to their written interaction. They also borrow the transmodal meaning-making resources of films, such as visual and auditory cues, gestures and movements, voice and music, i.e., the 'kineikonic mode' that represents the 'semiotic grammar' of film. For example, visual cues are given in line 8 where Ria pokes out Eshadis eyeballs; in line 9, Eshadi fixes his own eyeballs, protected by 'Sasha protective contact lenses'; and in line 15, Eshadi mentions that the PC has frozen.

The auditory effects in Bangladeshi films are also very distinct. The sounds, particularly those of fighting or natural calamities, are artificially accentuated and overdone. Nature is also projected with 'pathetic fallacy', i.e., a romantic notion of nature in which nature symbolically reflects human emotions. Hence, there will be thunder, lightning, and storm when characters experience emotional turmoil, or there will be echoes of the name of the beloved in the open space of nature where characters suffer from emptiness or hollowness in the absence of the beloved. Ria and Eshadi also borrow dramatic auditory effects from films to draw into their conversation. Hence, they mention the *random background noise* in line 7, the *tash tash lightning noise* in line 11, and nature echoing back the name 'Ria Hussain Sasha' in line 12. Thus they dramatise the inner conflicts of the characters they are enacting in the conversation with vivid and meticulous description of the auditory effects.

The auditory effects are also demonstrated with the action sign (*). The dramatic rendition of *hai haiii* is done with the lengthening of the syllable and with specific cues, such as *slutty bengali female voice* in line 7. A dramatic action is accentuated with an action sign in line 10, vowel lengthening in line 5, and capitalisation in lines 5, 12, and 14. Within the multiple modes of semiotic diffusion, English plays a secondary role, particularly in the participants' stylised orthographic practices commonly found in media discourses[95], such as *wid* (line 3), *gawd* (line 9); vowel lengthening as in *mee* (line 9); creative spellings, such as *excuzie* (line 9); abbreviation, as in *LMAO* [laughing my ass off] (line 2), or *brb* [be right back] (line 9), or simply in borrowing popular lingo from the media, as in *humph* [express doubt, displeasure, or contempt] (line 4), *hain* [crazy] (line 14) or *rawr* [a deep outburst of sound] (line 14).

In summary, Ria, Aditi, and Eshadi reconfigure the exaggerated tones, body movements and gestures found in South Asian films in their transglossic writing. They recreate the special visual and auditory effects of the specific filmic genre,

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[95] For example, exclamations, similar to those seen in online communities in Finland, such as j*ojojoojoooo*, and *jee* (Peuronen, 2011), are also seen in their language practices, such as *ouffffffff* (line 1), *yeayeayeayeayeayeaaaahh* (line 5). They also use emoticons, which are "the iconic representation of a human emotional expression" (Fetscher, 2009, p. 37) and one of the most common activities among online users around the world; in English-medium websites (see Provine et al., 2007) and the Facebook discourse of American middle class teenagers (G. Jones, et al., 2011).

build up the climax, and fold/unfold the meaning-making processes of their conversation. These dialogues help them to construct the melodrama of South Asian commercial films in which the plot evolves in the crisis of human emotion, such as a failed romance. They transcend the affordance of the written mode of the communicative channel of the virtual space. An orchestrated array of semiotic resources render their language practices in the virtual space '*transmodal*', and a new kind of socio-semiotics emerges. Thus they transgress the possibility of the writing mode and increase the meaning-making potential of the virtual space, the '*intertextual'* interface where separate code, mode, and genre no longer produce separate meanings because they are *transmodally* entangled. In other words, understanding a particular mode without its relation to other modes no longer works here, as the meaning in transglossia emerges in the complexity of its integrated relations with other modes.

6.10 Transglossia in mixed genres

Extract 6.11 reveals the ways in which young adults take up linguistic and cultural resources from different sources and appropriate them for their own communicative needs, feelings, intentions, and meanings. Here, Toma and her friends use various forms of linguistic and cultural resources, such as lyrics of Hindi and English songs, and catchphrases from English films to represent their engagement with the voices of others and to position themselves in a liberal way. These voices allow them to cross the boundaries between themselves and the linguistic and cultural *other*, in the Bakhtinian sense (1981), even when they are physically and firmly located in Bangladesh and have never travelled outside Bangladesh.

In this longer FB conversation, Ria, Toma, and Luna converse about a specific teacher and their crush on him. They have fictitious plans involving him, and the conversation is entirely based on imaginary situations in which they would like to find themselves with the teacher.

Extract 6.11: *mon diye ki korbo...deho pailei hoilo*

Guide to languages: Bangla (regular font); English (**bold**)

		FB conversations	Translation
1.	Ria	**i remember getting a good score... on this one**	i remember getting a good score... on this one
2.	Toma	**i remember shumon sir having an "academic orgasm" reading my answer...."yes.....yes.....YES!!!" ;) hahahaha! remember?**	i remember shumon sir having an "academic orgasm" reading my answer...."yes.....yes.....YES!!!" ;) hahahaha! remember?
3.	Luna	hahahaha …. **nvr forgot that :P**	hahahaha …. nvr forgot that :P
4.	Ria	**lol.. i only remember ns's no no NO!!!**	lol.. i only remember ns's no no NO!!!
5.	Luna	**n also dat** ^^	n also dat ^^
6.	Toma	***dramatically slaps forehead*** ;) **:P**	*dramatically slaps forehead* ;) :P
7.	Ria	**i remember he wrote a yes on one answer and a perverted "nice" on the other one**	i remember he wrote a yes on one answer and a perverted "nice" on the other one
8.	Luna	**no he wrote three "yes" 1st one – normal, 2nd one – bigger....3rd one – as if he was screaming :O**	no he wrote three "yes" 1st one – normal, 2nd one – bigger....3rd one – as if he was screaming :O
9.	Ria	**you hit the spot with the third one!**	you hit the spot with the third one!
10.	Luna	hehehe **lmfao** @ **"jealous competitor"**	hehehe lmfao @ "jealous competitor"

In this extract, Shumon sir's marking system is deliberately misinterpreted by Toma, Ria, and Luna. When he uses the size of the letters 'yes, yes, Yes' (line 2) or 'no no No' (line 4) to give his feedback, Toma (line 2), Luna (line 8), and Ria (line 9) playfully use them as an indication of 'academic orgasm'. The accepted correlation between 'yes, yes, Yes', 'hitting the spot with the third one' (line 9) and 'orgasm' perceived by these participants is also very much influenced by Western

media - seen, learnt, synthesised, and transferred from English films to the context of their conversation. They bring a meaningful twist when they relate the teacher's marking to 'academic orgasm'. Toma is also aware of the melodramatic action that exists in Bangladeshi drama, and hence she writes that she slaps her forehead (line 6).

		FB conversations	Translation
11.	Ria	**well … we had a love-hate relationship... very chemical**..	well … we had a love-hate relationship... very chemical..
12.	Toma	**him and i had an orgasmic relationship...very physical** ;) **:P**	him and i had an orgasmic relationship...very physical ;) :P
13.	Ria	**and yeah sure toma... only he is collecting my lip marks on his door... i swear i saw three of them.. all mine... tor gulo muche felse... toke meye hishabe dekhe**!	and yeah sure toma... only he is collecting my lip marks on his door... i swear i saw three of them.. all mine... he rubbed off your ones... he treats you as his daughter!
14.	Toma	Ria, **he's collecting my lip marks on his face darling** ;)	Ria, he's collecting my lip marks on his face darling ;)

The accepted norm of relationship between older teacher and female student, i.e., 'father and daughter' relationship (line 13) is less desirable for them than the imaginary love/hate and chemical relationship (line 11) and orgasmic and physical relationship (line 12) with the teacher. Ria and Toma, for example, are not socially allowed to express their affection to the teacher publicly, so Ria says she leaves her lip marks on the notepad on the door of the teacher (line 13) and Toma leaves her lip marks on his face (line 14). Thus with reference to the relationship traditionally expected between students and teachers, they talk about an imaginary non-traditional and unacceptable relationship with the teacher.

		FB conversations	Translation
15.	Toma	**anyways, i've been seriously thinking about asking him out on a date O_o...i mean i'm not his student anymore :$**	anyways, i've been seriously thinking about asking him out on a date O_o...i mean i'm not his student anymore :$
16.	Toma:	**imagine him singing "brothers on a hotel bed" for me!! *dreamy**	imagine him singing "brothers on a hotel bed" for me!! *dreamy eyed* :D

		eyed* :D	
17.	Ria	**dude... sure... on his face... sure... i said "i love you" three times already... not to brag... or anything... and don't deny your OWN dreams where i am his gf! :p**	dude... sure... on his face... sure... i said "i love you" three times already... not to brag... or anything... and don't deny your OWN dreams where i am his gf! :p
18.	Luna	**here we go again *rolls eyes***	here we go again *rolls eyes*
19.	Ria	tumi deho peleo... mon tho amar!	You may get his body… but his soul is mine!
20.	Toma	mon diye ki korbo...deho pailei hoilo :P ***drools***	what will I do with his soul... I am fine with it as long as I get his body :P *drools*
21.	Toma	**guys it's fucking 1:15 am**?!! :O :O :O **i got bloody classes tmrw**!!! :O :O :O **and i haven't prepared for any of them! fuck**!!! :O	guys it's fucking 1:15 am?!! :O :O :O i got bloody classes tmrw!!! :O :O :O and i haven't prepared for any of them! fuck!!! :O

'Asking someone out' in line 15 refers to a 'dating practice' both linguistically and socio-culturally alien to the Bangladeshi context. Toma is also aware of the ethical issues involved in it and justifies it since she is no longer his student (line 15). In line 16, she imagines Shumon sir in a hotel bedroom, singing *Brothers On A Hotel Bed* by Death Cab For Cutie and her eyes become dreamy (* this sign refers to action). Ria counters Toma with a melodramatic dialogue from a Bangla film heroine and declares that she is after the soul of Shumon sir (line 19). However, Toma pretends to challenge the traditional coy image of a Bangladeshi young woman who longs for soul. She instead opts for the image of a very untraditional, passionate lover, longing only for physical companionship (line 20). The provocative image of a lascivious woman is deliberately drawn by the specific expression of *drooling* (line 20). They use the titles of English songs and set-expressions and give their Bangla a global feel. There is an osmosis of ideas. Consequently, their language carries that fluidity inherent in the global culture and indicates that they are situated within the –scapes[96]. They have mobility and fluidity

[96] The sense of fluidity of global cultural flows has been sensitively captured by a typology of five scapes (Appadurai, 1990): ethnoscape (landscape of people on move), technoscape (high speed technology crossing national and international boundaries), financescape (currency or stock

in their local practices (Appadurai, 2000; Hannigan, 2002). However, they also utilise their own linguistic and cultural resources along with these linguistic features of English, making their languages context-dependent. The way they use genre specific language resources both from Western and Bangladeshi media is creative, novel, playful, and original. In addition, the *transculturation* that evolves in the integration and transcendence of the cultural semiotic resources increases the meaning potentiality of their dialogic interactions.

Toma also expresses her anger in English swear words, which, in the context of Bangladesh, is socially unacceptable for women (line 21). Pujolar (2001) observed in a study on a group of Catalan-speaking young adults that they constructed their gender identity through particular linguistic varieties and swear words. He defines swearing, cursing, and the creative development of taboo resources as *ritual displays of transgression.* These taboo expressions amplify strengths and masculinity because they allow these young female adults to challenge social norms, propriety, and expected appropriacy. This contravention of the social norm appears to be ritualised in the sense that it evokes laughter and appreciation. Ria, Toma, and Luna seem to do the same in this FB conversation through their imaginary encounters with Shumon sir and the use of swear words. By their overall demeanour in this longer Facebook conversation, they transgress the persona of a traditional Bangladeshi woman, even though only verbally, which is reserved, conservative, and more formal and gentle in language usage than a Bangladeshi man. Thus the transgression can be seen as 'gender crossing' by the appropriation of practices usually adopted by the other sex and FB as the transgressive *heterotopic* space (cf. also Chapter 4) within which Ria, Toma, and Luna cross their linguistic, cultural, and gender boundaries.

As Choi (2012), a Korean American growing up in America, 'played innocent' with her 'clean language' around other Koreans, or as speakers codeswitch from Castilian to Catalan to characterise a weak, feminine, or wry academic persona (Pujolar 1995 as cited in Woolard, 1999), so Toma deliberately pretends to be

exchanges on flow), mediascape (image-centred narrative accounts disseminated through media) and ideoscape (ideologies and counter ideologies of the social movement). Rantanen (2006) later proposed 'languagescape' and Pennycook (2007a) 'linguascape' to capture the ways in which languages are no longer tied to the locality of community, but rather operate globally in conjunction with other scapes.

amorous and experienced in front of her friends. However the voices she adapts from CB and popular culture are "alien voices" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 348), i.e., Toma usually does not speak in CB with a rustic edge to it and is not expected to act 'slutty'. However, all become a part of her 'unmediated discourses' as "a variety of alien voices enter into the struggle for influence within an individual's consciousness" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 348). She challenges preconceived socio-cultural notions and perceived identity with the discourses of *others*. Thus she is double-voicing with *intertextual* references to popular culture (Bailey, 2007a) and her "discourse becomes an arena of battle between the two voices" (Bakhtin 1994 as cited in Blackledge & Creese, 2008, p. 545). A similar practice has been found in a group of adolescent youths in London who speak in ultra-posh English and Cockney to attend the issues of identity, sexuality, territory, and demeanour (Rampton, 2003b). Toma also uses 'language crossing' to negotiate axes of social differentiation, such as sexuality and gender.

Toma manages to *translocalise* and involve *transculturation*, crossing the boundaries of local and western. Toma enacts the role of a young female student infatuated with her older teacher; she also pretends to act like a romantic lover, looking at him with dreamy eyes while he sings a romantic love song to her; she acts like a lusty woman drooling over the body of the teacher, and also pretends to be rough and tough like a man in her use of swear words. With the cloak of the English language and the voices borrowed from Western culture, both Toma and Ria can veil their Bangladeshi self which would not allow them to bring sexuality to the respectable, asexual image of the teacher. With the language of 'others' they dissociate themselves from traditional images of young girls in Bangladesh and portray themselves, at least in their discourses, as less inhibited in terms of sex and relationship. They enact all these personae with their playful use of linguistic repertoires drawn from a variety of sources, and borrowed voices from the media. They also seem to enjoy themselves when they engage in negotiating these dimensions of their identity. That is why Skeggs (1997 as cited in Rampton, 2003b, p. 77) has stated that there can be "pleasure and [not just] pain associated with gender, class, and sexuality".

In the era of globalisation, young adults are "creative social actors, in cultural consumption and social movement" (Nilan & Feixa, 2006, p. 1). Ria considers

herself privileged because of her boundless mobility in the 'technoscape' and 'mediascape', and in her awareness of the 'ideoscape'. Ria states, "*In my case, I think, I have been given the opportunity, the platform from where I use the space of the horizon. Like my horizon has no vicinity. Like, I can go wherever I want. I choose to watch BBC. I don't watch MTV all the time. So I choose my source of information. So it kind of makes me what I am because I am using the information. I am incorporating them. I am kind of moulding and shaping my thoughts on the basis of what I have gathered from outside world and from the experiences I am getting from the University of Excellence… There is no definite identity. You can't have a precise definition for us. Like, there is flexibility. And like, we have, like, this versatile taste ….*" [*sic*].

Immersed in global culture, participants like Ria are transformed every day in their continual consumption of ideas from the techno, media, and ideoscapes. Even her repeated use of 'like' indicates her adherence to an Americanised way of speaking (cf. Ibrahim, 1999, 2003). Ria's transformation gives her a sense of flexibility in terms of her identity. Her opportunity and agency in accessing BBC and MTV, the choice of *moulding and shaping* her *thoughts*, her opportunity to have *versatile taste* and *flexibility* in terms of identity, take her beyond the grip of nationalistic control. In the organic process, Ria becomes a member of different imagined communities.

Ria's utterance that *there is no definite identity* indicates that these participants are flexible in terms of their exposure, taste, and acceptance. They enjoy the freedom they have to incorporate whatever they find appropriate for their taste and be eclectic in their choices. Butcher and Thomas (2006), with reference to the identities of second generation migrant youth from Asia, the Middle East, and the Pacific living in Western Sydney, have stated that these youth do not blindly follow homeland traditions, rituals, ceremony, memory, and ancestry. They create new links between and across different cultures (Butcher & Thomas, 2006, p. 67):

> The sense of cultural ambiguity felt by many led to new means of sharing, adapting and fusing spaces, languages and (life) styles in their quest for their own modes of cultural expression and social belonging.

They belong to both their migrant background, their Australianness, and most significantly, to their third space (Bhaba, 1994), especially for their networking in friendship groups. They are capable of shifting their identities and sense of belonging depending on the social situation. “Along with this identity, mobility was at times a sense of confusion, concomitant with feeling ‘in-between’” (Butcher & Thomas, 2006, p. 59).

Similarly, these participants in the research construct their own subjective identities, reflexively positioning themselves in local, regional, and global environments and thus straddling the discourses of plural worlds. Ria specifically mentions her love of languages thereby identifies that she cannot confine herself to one language or one kind of identification because of her eclecticism in the way she picks up different languages, entertainment, and culture. The Bangla-language and culture-based Bangladeshi identity is restricting for her. She is *flexible, indefinite,* and *imprecise*, but with the incorporation of different linguistic and cultural repertoires into her own identity repertoire, she can take herself beyond the boundaries of any prescriptive identification.

6.11 Summary

The linguistic practices of Ria and her friends, illustrated in Chapter 6, suggest that language does not make meaning in isolation. It is consequently futile to look at the various linguistic features as separate discreet entities. Meaning is made in the complexity of *transmodal* relations of communication, such as aural, oral, visual, embodied, and spatial aspects of language practices, making their language transglossic. In other words, it is asserted in this chapter that the quotidian and inevitable ontological grounding of language is tranglossic, and that specific linguistic forms are one facet of this transglossia. Rather than dwelling on a restricted notion of language based on codes, transglossia gives a more nascent understanding of *translocalisation*, *transmodality*, *transculturation*, and *transtextualisation* which occur because of the meaning across and against codes, modes, genres, and stylisation.

This chapter also shows that the use of popular culture has become a tangible way of demonstrating associations with, and dissociations from, *others.* For these young

adults, various forms of local and global popular culture and class are intertwined (cf. Shankar, 2004, 2008a, 2008b). It is not only the language, nationality, class, demographic or educational backgrounds that are markers of social categories: engagement with popular culture seems to have the same stratifying effects as other social categories mentioned above.

The participants' language practices, even though attuned to the linguistic ideologies and the social stratification of Bangladesh, show the reflexivity of the participants in their choice of language and negotiation of identities. They simultaneously conform to and contradict the accepted norms of language, class, gender-based identification; for example, they use linguistic and cultural resources and opt for double-voicing and multivocality to symbolically and deliberately accentuate their class-based identity – which is intricately tied up with their demographic background, educational background, and linguistic competence in English. They negotiate these identity attributes within a class-based society where language, education, and demographic locations work as markers of social stratification.

By contrast, they show their reservation about language-based Bangladeshi identity (cf. also Chapter 5) and the identity of a socially and culturally constructed conservative Bangladeshi woman, which they prefer to deaccentuate in their language practices. Double-voicing and mutlivocality play a significant role in the way participants emphasise or deemphasise new forms of identity for themselves; as Rampton (1999) has stated, the processes of identification do not happen only over biographical time. The 'movement of identity' is always emerging in individuals' choices as well in their voices. This foregrounds the loose, flexible, and organic relationship between language, culture, and identity.

The chapter further emphasises the role of *others* in the way these participants engage in transglossic language practices. The presence of "the other person as *another* (the *other*) and of one's *I* as a naked *I*" together in their interdependence construct dialogues … "the role of the other person was revealed, in whose sole light could any word about oneself be constructed" (Bakhtin 1984 in Nikulin, 1998, p. 395). It is with the voices and consciousnesses of *others* that young participants seem to reflexively engage in transglossic language practices.

The chapter also confirms that identities are always in flux, even though education, class, or gender allows these participants to renegotiate their identities within the contextual realities of their life. New identities are continually realised in different times and spaces, juxtaposed with stereotypical identities; thus the chapter unravels the fluidity of young adults' language and identity while showing the significance of the fixities in language and identities. Consequently, the significance of the ***process of identity*** in applied linguistics research, rather than language, education, class, gender, and nation based identity, is indicated.

The findings in this chapter suggest that observable transgression in the participants' language and identity does not mean that these participants are free of social norms. The very existence of boundaries and the limitations imposed by language, class, or gender, and the imagined construction of *others,* make transglossia more meaningful and poignant. Transgression and boundaries are indispensable to each other because "a limit could not exist if it were absolutely uncrossable and, reciprocally, transgression would be pointless if it merely crossed a limit composed of illusions and shadows" (Foucault, 1977, p. 41). On the basis of the findings in this chapter, I contend that transglossia, in its transcendence of codes, modes, genres, and stylisation, gives a glimpse of that area which participants frequent without losing sight of the boundaries and limitations. The linguistic transgression in fact leads to the broader question of dialectic orientation and problematises such notions as Western vs Bangladeshi, colonial vs post-colonial, local vs global, or spatial vs temporal. I suggest it is necessary to address the grey areas that participants tread with relation to the existence of the *other*, the imagined community and the desire to resist and protest – the three dynamics I have identified in Chapter 2 from a post-structuralist approach to language identity. Within the complexities of these social dynamics, these young adults engage in transgression.

The next chapter will further illuminate young adults' transgression within the boundaries and limitations imposed on them by their linguistic, demographic, and educational backgrounds.

Chapter 7 Transglossic Language Practices: Nayeem and his Friends

7.1 Introduction

Close examination of the dialogues between Ria and her friends in Chapter 6 has shown that monolingual orientation in language research is inadequate for unpacking the complexity of the integrated linguistic codes, modes, genres, and texts used in the everyday language practices of the group of young research participants. The chapter has reemphasised that the meaning-making process involves semiotic transgression which occurs within the historical, ideological, and discursive elements of the context. Recognising the features and natures of different codes, modes, and genres, the participants recontextualise and relocalise them for their own intentions and meanings and, consequently, experience the thrill of transgression. While illuminating how language is combined with diverse semiotic resources, including multimodal resources, the chapter confirms that transgression is the dynamic force that lies beneath the language and drives the negotiation of varied facets of identity.

Chapter 7 presents extracts of the language practices of a group of research participants who experienced a less privileged upbringing and education in the early years of their lives in villages and provincial towns than the participants in Chapter 6. Another contrasting feature between these two groups of research participants is the monosexual composition of the group, even though the monosexuality of the group as a variable was a natural occurance and beyond control[97]. Nevertheless, gender is a significant variable, because their ritual insulting, swearing, aggression, and performances of tough and independent masculinity are absent in the participants of Chapter 6 and identical to the acts identified in Pujolar (2001). Here it should be mentioned that the same linguistic features were not usually observed in the Dhaka-centric male participants, confirming that gender is one variable among others that impacts on language practices and identification processes, and that it is intertwined with other variables, such as socio-economic, demographic, and educational background.

[97] Most of the groups who participated in the research were monosexual, that is, the groups were either male or female dominated.

Based on the observable differences between the language practices of the participants in Chapters 6 and 7, this chapter suggests that transglossia is appropriate in exploring linguistics and cultural resources that already have *pretextual*, *intertextual*, and *subtextual* meanings and hence, carry the struggles, tensions, and dissonance experienced by the participants. Nevertheless, showing that the meshed and mediated codes of the participants, similar to the participants in Chapter 6, display *transculturation*, *translocalisation*, *transtextualisation*, and *transignification* in translation, I argue that transgression is ontological to language. Lastly, the issue is complicated by the ambivalence inherent in transglossia, raising the issue as to what extent the language and identity of this group of research participants is reproductive or transformative of linguistic, socioeconomic, and educational orders.

Similar to Chapter 6, I will explore how transglossia is displayed in mixed codes (Extracts 7.1, 7.2 & 7.3), filmic genre (Extract 7.4), music genre (Extract 7.5), and stylisation of Bangla (Extracts 7.6-7.10) with exaggerated pronunciation, specific patterns of stress and intonation, and slang and swear words. The extracts given below are taken from a range of conversations engaged in by these participants, either during their class breaks on the university campus or on their FB accounts (see Chapter 4).

7.2 Transglossia in mixed codes

Nayeem and his friends – Ashiq (born and brought up in Pabna, a north-western district in Bangladesh), Abeer (born in Shariyatpur, a district in central Bangladesh), Shamim (born and brought up in Chittagong, considered to be the second capital city of the country and located in the southeastern part of Bangladesh), and Arafat (born and brought up in Shirajgonj) are majoring in business administration at UOE (see Appendix 5A & 5B).

In the previous chapter, Extracts 6.1 and 6.2, I showed that Ria and her friends engage in banglicisation of English and accentuate their education and class-based identification. Here, in Chapter 7, Nayeem (Extract 7.1) and Ashiq (Extract 7.2) seem to use a commonly found set of expressions in English, *I am in love* and *I love you,* that approximate the banglicised English, parodied by Ria and her friends.

However, in Extract 7.1, the banglicised *I am in love* becomes a means for Nayeem and his friends to translocalise the moment of interaction to a rural setting. In Extract 7.2, the purposive appropriation of *I love you*, because of its use in drawing the attention of female students, indicates how transglossia occurs not only in meaning across and against mixed codes, but also in the local and interpretive elements of the context. In their use, the perceived weaknesses in pronunciation seem to become their strengths in negotiating identity (see also Extract 7.6).

Nayeem, Ashiq, Abeer, and Shamim are in the courtyard and Extract 7.1 is taken from a conversation where Nayeem declares to his friends that he is in love and he wants to see his possible girlfriend who is waiting under a tree.

Extract 7.1: I am in L-O-B-H!

Guide to languages: Bangla (regular font); English (**bold**)

		Casual Conversation	Translation
1.	Nayeem	((theatrical)) … chhaira:: de, chhaira:: de:::	((theatrical)) … Let me go, let me go.
2.	Ashiq	<gas tolaie akjone boshe ase>.	Someone is sitting under the tree.
3.	Abeer	((informing Shamim who seems to be unaware of Nayeem's newly found love)) Nayeem akjone meyere posondo korsilo.	((informing Shamim who seems to be unaware of Nayeem's newly found love)) Nayeem liked a girl.
4.	Nayeem	**I am in L-O-B-H**! [/labh/].	I am in L-O-B-H! [/labh/].
5.	Ashiq	**I am in L-O-B-H**. [/labh/].	I am in L-O-B-H. [/labh/].
6.	Shamim	**You are** bolafa**ing** L-O-V-E. [/læv/]	(referring that Nayeem is talking about his love) You are bolafaing L-O-V-E. [/læv/].

While stylised English, i.e., anglicised English is satirised by the participants in Chapter 6, Nayeem engages in transglossic language practices in creative ways through its apt use. In line 1, Nayeem proclaims that he wants to meet his girlfriend and his friend should let him go. However, his prolonged pronunciation of *de* and 'I am in L-O-B-H!' (line 4) and Ashiq's consequent repetition of 'I am in L-O-B-H' (line 5) are specific contrasts to the Bangla norm, *de* and the English norm, *I am in*

love. With intertextual reference to dialogues in Bangladeshi and Hindi films, Nayeem is being 'filmic' (see also Chapter 6 Extract 6.9), i.e., he is emphatic in his utterances when he stretches the 'e' sound, puts specific stress on 'lobh', and says 'I am in L-O-B-H' with a rising intonation. The /ˈlʌv/ is pronounced as [/labh/], with the substitution of /ʌ/ sound with a Bangla vowel sound /a/ - that stands somewhere between English /ʌ/ and /a:/ sounds (Barman, 2009; Hai & Ball, 1961; Hoque, 2011). The fricative voiced /v/ is replaced by a voiced aspirated bilabial plosive /bh/. In addition, Nayeem's stress on the syllable creates a rising intonation and makes *lobh* very emphatic, whereas the English 'love' has no stress. Linguistically, it is the banglicised English mimicked and parodied by Ria in Chapter 4, Extracts 4.1 and 4.2.

In the process, these participants transgress the linguistic boundaries of both English and Bangla and eventually *translocalise* and *transtextualise* the linguistic and cultural resources, diffusing them in newer linguistic practices. In line 2, Ashiq states that someone is waiting for Nayeem under the tree and in line 3, Abeer mentions that the someone is Nayeem's possible new girlfriend. In line 4, recontextualising and recycling English *I am in love* with the perceived theatricality of Bangladeshi films, and using it with reference to a girl sitting under a tree, they create an alternative understanding of *I am in love*.

In a rural setting, the heroine in the film waits for the beloved one under a tree, away from the eyes of the conservative villagers who are usually against the 'love' between the hero and heroine prior to their marriage. Thus the tree conjures an image of a space of transgression, where the hero and the heroine subvert the age-old village tradition, patriarchal customs, and social and cultural norms of a traditional and conservative society. The scenario also refers to the moments that evoke the pleasure and excitement of a relationship forbidden by society. Note that the vertically built university campus of UOE does not have any big trees as such, but by referring to a fictitious tree, Ashiq alludes to the time and space of the possible encounters and the transgression for Nayeem, who cannot declare his love to the girl waiting under the imaginary tree. Thus the one line in English, *I am in love* [/labh/] is deconstructed, dismantled, and reassembled with a new semiotic possibility which refers both linguistically and semantically to the love declared in that specific context. 'Love' is changed phonologically and semantically, and

reauthenticated by these participants with new meanings, allowing them to *translocalise* and *tranculturate* these linguistic and cultural elements.

These participants produce new words and new meanings across and against English and Bangla. For example, in Extract 7.1, line 6, an English suffix 'ing' is combined with the Bangla verb '*bola*' [tell] to show that 'bola' is in the continuous tense (see also Chapter 4). This is a common trend of code mixing found in the language of other research participants. Usually 'faing' is added to Bangla verbs/nouns to give them a feel of continuity, action, and progression: *adda*faing (*adda* + fa + ing)/chatting; *poch*ifaing (*pocha*[98] + fa + ing)/pulling someone's leg; *agun*ifaing (*agun* + fa + ing)/setting someone or something on fire, and so on. Here, the English labio-dental fricative /f/ is pronounced with aspiration /f^h/. The norms of both English and Bangla are suspended on two levels: two discreet elements from Bangla and English are combined, following the rule of English grammar; and 'f^ha' which is neither English nor Bangla and has no distinct meaning is put in the middle of the word. This practice of adding f^ha' is distinctly different from the similar practice of adding the English *–ing* to local words in India (Baldridge, 2002) and Mongolia (Dovchin, in progress). Nevertheless, similar to the young Mongolians, these participants' practice of borrowing and blending from different languages is a way to refashion their identities.

The following extract shows how *I love you* becomes recontextualised in new modes of expressions by these participants. Shamim, Nayeem, and Ashiq are chatting, while looking at the students walking past the courtyard.

Extract 7.2: It is four much!

Guide to languages: Bangla (regular font); English (**bold**)

		Casual Conversation	Translation
1.	Shamim	((Abeer attempts to take two taka from Shamim and give it to Ashiq)) tui dui teha amar thon niya, oidare ditesosh!!!	((Abeer attempts to take two taka from Shamim and give it to Ashiq)) You are taking 2 taka from me and giving it to him!!!

[98] Again, here should be mentioned that the Bangla word 'pocha' means 'rotten' and is used with reference to fruit, vegetable, fish, and so on. 'Pulling someone's leg' is a newly-added meaning to the word, invented and usually used by younger people amongst their peer groups in informal situations.

2.	Abeer	((laughing)) tui shobar shamne bair koira raksosh.	((laughing)) You put it out in front of everyone ((as if you want me to give it away)).
3.	Shamim	**It is too much!**	It is too much!
4.	Abeer	**It is three much!**	It is three much!
5.	Shamim	**It is four much!**	It is four much!
6.	Ashiq	((looking at the female students walking by)) **Hey BABES, come on!** ((Abeer breaks into laughter))	((looking at the female students walking by)) Hey BABES, come on! ((Abeer breaks into laughter))
7.	Shamim	((looking at the girl Nayeem says that he has chosen for himself)) **OH MY G-O-D**! /ga:d/	((looking at the girl Nayeem says that he has chosen for himself)) OH MY G-O-D! /ga:d/
8.	Nayeem	((losing sight of the girl)) hai, hai ((sound of pity)), koi galo? dosto kisu akta koira de!	((losing sight of the girl)) Alas ((sound of pity)) where has she gone? Mate, do something!
9.	Ashiq	((as if he is trying to draw the attention of the girl Nayeem is looking for)) <**I la::ve (love) you** g-o. **I la::ve** (love) **you go**::> ((in a melodramatic tone)). **I la::ve (love) you go::** ((breaks into laughter)).	((as if he is trying to draw the attention of the girl Nayeem is looking for)) I lave (love) you go. I lave (love) you go (in a melodramatic tone). I lave (love) you g-o-o. ((breaks into laughter)).

In Extract 7.2, line 6, Ashiq's intention is to draw the attention of the passing female students. To do so, he uses a specific English set expression commonly found in popular culture, *hey babes, come on.* These participants share in interview sessions during the ethnographic research that the practice of using English phrases in Bangla sentences is *smart*, *bold*, *confident*, and *cool*. They associate these phrases with strength and confidence. Saud, one of the research participants, states, *shobdogula* ***bold*** *lage ...* ***weight*** *beshi mone hoi ...* ***strong*** *lage beshi* [I find the words ((English words)) bold… The words carry more weight in English … they seem stronger (053011)]. In an interview, Nayeem (072611) states that he prefers to use 'oh my god', 'oh no', 'awesome', or 'what a lovely [*sic*]' and he feels 'cool' and fashionable' when he does so. He learnt these words from different sources; for example, he acquired 'what a lovely' [*sic*] from a set expression in cricket commentary, 'what a lovely shot'. When these participants lack reasonable fluency in spoken English and have strong desire to acquire it (cf. Chapter 5), they tend to

approximate their feelings of achievement with these rudimentary expressions (even though they are very common around the world), such as 'babe', 'oh my god', 'awesome', or 'I love you'.

Extracts 7.1 and 7.2 indicate their personal reflexivity in the semiotic resignification of the linguistic and cultural resources. For example, Abeer instantly reinvents his own expression, *three much,* when Shamim comments, *it is too much* (line 3-5). This is also a possibility that Abeer, who grew up as an avid watcher of Indian Hindi films and drama serials in the household of his upbringing (062211), is double-voicing through the dialogue of Anupom Kher from the 1991 Hindi film *Lamhe* (Moments). Anupom Kher, likewise Abeer at the specific moment of the conversation, tries to foil Anil Kapoor's serious demeanour by the consecutive dialogues given in lines 3-5 and collaboratively creates humorous effects. Because of the *pretextual* history of these expressions, i.e., they are frequently found in the media, and the *intertextual* references, i.e., they are expressions popular with young adults around the world, they consider these set expression appropriate for emulating coolness.

The pronunciation of *babes* is distinctly different from English /beib/. It sounds more like /beb/ with the pronunciation of /b/ being more prominent than the softer English /b/. Hai (1961) also mentioned that Bangla speakers tend to replace the diphthong /ei/ in English words with Bangla vowel /e/. As in Extract 7.1, here in line 9, /ʌ/ sound in *love* is replaced with a Bangla vowel sound /a/ and it is lengthened which allows Ashiq to express the desired theatricality. Similar enunciated pronunciation and vowel lengthening are observed in *god* in line 7, which approximates the pronunciation of /gad/. In other words, these English words approximate banglicised English[99]. Note that their inability to pronounce English without regional interference is closely tied up with their *linguistic habitus* – a subset of durable dispositions that individuals acquire in the course of learning to speak in particular contexts, for example, family, peer group, schools, or social milieu (Bourdieu, 1991). Their inability also draws attention to their cultural capital, according to Bourdieu (1986), which leaves its marks in the pronunciations characteristic of a class or region and is always indicative of the earlier socialisation

[99] In other recorded conversations and interviews, Nayeem, Ashiq, Abeer, Shamim, and Shuvo have often been found to pronounce English words with Bangla phonetic features.

and acquisition conditions that individuals experience. They opt for expressions in English borrowed from sports or American popular culture and appropriate them for their local practice, but the historically embedded individual *habitus* and embodied cultural capital leave their mark on the language.

While individuals like these participants are negatively portrayed as 'hicks' (cf. Chapter 6) because of the cross-linguistic or interlingual influence on English, Extracts 7.1 and 7.2 show that they are creative and playful in the way they appropriate and recontextualise rudimentary English expressions from the media and consequently engage in *translocalisation* and *transculturation* of these expressions for the ritual of 'eve-teasing'. The formulaic use of set phrases and songs to address young girls in public places, streets, and public transport, i.e., a kind of double-voicing, is commonly known as 'eve teasing' - a euphemism used in the South Asian context for the public pestering of women by men (see also Extract 7.5 below). Ashiq adds a Bangla word '*g-o-o*' at the end of *I love you* in line 9. *go* is usually used for drawing attention as in *ogo* (o you!), *ha go* (Look here!) or in *ke go* (who are you?). It is also used as a suffix at the end of *ma* (mother) as in *mago* or Allah (lord) as in *Allahgo* in invocations or lamentations. The co-existence of *I love you* and *go* side-by-side is unusual and unexpected, but is an example of "interactional poetics" (Maybin & Swann, 2007, p. 506) – everyday linguistic creativity with words through the manipulation of linguistic forms. The pronunciation is exaggerated and enunciated with stress, and Ashiq's utterance is theatrical. By bringing English *I love you* and Bangla *go* together, Ashiq aptly uses them to strategically draw the attention of passing female students and simultaneously create a desired dramatic effect amongst his friends. Overall, these participants recontextualise English phrases for their own purposes and intentions and their transglossia leads to the *translocalisation* and *transculturation* of *I love you.*

The stylisation of banglicised English, i.e., exaggerated pronunciation and imposed theatricality, allows the participants a linguistic performance, and they negotiate various identity attributes in their dialogic interactions (playful, smart, confident, cool, or laddish), even though the sociohistorical shapes the way they act as agents. This novel use of English, even though banglicised, allows them to show they are perhaps not always subjugated and subordinated by their linguistic background.

They have agency in their language use, and with their playful use of English, they may challenge, resist, or question any prescribed identity, such as the 'hick' or 'uncultured'. That is why Canagarajah (2013, p. 6) stated that:

> we have to reconsider the dominant understanding that one language detrimentally 'interferes' with the learning and use of another. The influence of one language on the other can be creative, enabling, and offer possibilities for voice.

If we consider that their banglicised English is the reflection of their *habitus* and the socio-historical influence their potential to act as an agent, they seem to suspend and to some extent, transform themselves by their purposive transgressive transglossic linguistic acts, in which linguistic and cultural resources are *translocalised*. This specific transglossic linguistic practice also demonstrates what happens to English in local practices such as the South Asian style of eve-teasing.

7.3 Transglossia in mixed varieties of Bangla

While the previous section has shown certain examples of the role of *translocalisation* and *transculturation* of English in untangling the linguistic transgression, this section will examine the utility of transglossia in exploring meaning that occurs across and against various regional varieties of Bangla. Transglossia, as I have mentioned in Chapter 2, may occur in the way individuals include intra-language variations, i.e., regional varieties and registers with competing social and political implications. The participants' attempts to speak in Noakhalian variety of Bangla (NB), particularly when Shamim and Ashiq do not come from the Noakhali district, evokes a range of meaning because the variety is socially and culturally stigmatised in the context of Bangladesh (Chapter 4, Extract 4.1- 4.2).

Extract 7.3: *ami baro mishali kotha koitesi*

(Shamim and Ashiq are talking about Nayeem's newly found love – cf. Extract 7.1 above.)

		Casual Conversation	Translation
1.	Shamim	hatene preme porese!	He (Nayeem) has fallen in love.
2.	Ashiq	hatene preme porise? katene ((Ashiq's invention)) kamne preme porilo? katene? katene ((possibly Ashiq's invention which means - who)) ki preme porise?	Has he fallen in love? katene ((Ashiq's invention)) how has he fallen in love? katene? katene ((possibly Ashiq's invention which means - who)) has fallen in love?
3.	Shamim	eitato Noakhailla basha na. katani?	This is not Noakhalian Bangla. katani?
4.	Ashiq	ami koite ari na. mui cheshta koirtesi je kamne kamne noakhailla bhasha kowon jai.	I can't speak Noakhalian Bangla. I am trying to learn how to speak the Noakhalian Bangla.
5.	Shamim	"mui cheshta koirtasi" eita koone dhoroner basha koitaso? Jessorer?	"I am trying"? Which language are you trying to speak? Jessorian ((a regional variety of Bangla))?
6.	PP	oi Ashiq!	Hey, Ashiq!
7.	Shamim	jessorer?	From Jessor? ((the south-eastern district in Bangladesh))
8.	Ashiq	ami baro mishali kotha koitesi. apni ki bujte pairtesen?	I am speaking a hotchpotch language. Do you understand it?

The extract shows that both Shamim and Ashiq start off with NB and then use different linguistic resources. Both fail to approximate NB in their attempts (line 1-7) which differs from SCB phonologically, morphologically and lexically. For example, in line 1, NB *hatene* [he] will be *tini* in SCB; *hatener* [his] will be *tar*. As Ashiq does not know NB, he says *prem* [love] in line 2 and *bujte* [understand] in line 8 in SCB, instead of Noakhalian p^{h}*irit* and *buijte*. Again in line 4, Ashiq says *mui* [I] which is Barisalian Bangla for *ami* in SCB or *ai* in NB. Their language is also inconsistent. For Shamim, it is *porese* (line 1) and for Ashiq, it is *porise* (line 2). For Ashiq, it is *katene* (line 2) and for Shamim, it is *katani* (line 3); for Ashiq, it is *koirtesi* (line 4) and for Shamim, it is *koirtasi* (line 5). Words such as *katene* and *ari na* can be considered as their own invention of expressions that rhyme with *hatene* and *pari na.* Thus their language does not conform to any variety of Bangla. Coming from Chittagong and Pabna respectively and spending their childhood in

these two localities, both Shamim and Ashiq are presumably more familiar with Chittagonian and Pabnaiyan Bangla. Consequently, as Ashiq claims in line 8, their language becomes an amalgamation of diverse linguistic resources - a mixture of regional varieties of Bangla, i.e., *baro mishali kotha* [a language which is a mixture of twelve different elements – a hotchpotch]. According to Ashiq, they are indeed engaged in 'hotchpotch Bangla languaging'. The notion underlying Ashiq's terms reflects the ethos of Jørgensen (2007 as cited in Højrup & Moller, 2010, p. 227) whose concept of languaging refers to the fact that "language users use whatever linguistic features are at their disposal as best they can according to the specific context and their specific aim". Here, Ashiq and Shamim do not have mastery of any of the varieties, but even the limited linguistic resources from the regional varieties allow them a smooth transition from one to another.

These participants' 'hotch potch Bangla languaging' unravels several dynamics in the language practices of young adults. First, the mobility of people through different social landscapes caused by migration, that is, the 'ethnoscape', impacts on how these participants engage in *transglossic* language practices. Even though Ashiq, Abeer, Nayeem, and Shamim have not been subjected to transnational mobility, they have experienced flows of linguistic diversity and mobility of people, and have come into close contact with people from different linguistic backgrounds and different districts since they migrated to Dhaka, the melting pot of Bangladesh. Their perceived lack of confidence in SCB and the contextual factors, i.e., the presence of friends from different linguistic backgrounds and interaction amongst them, have allowed them to learn and use other varieties. They have constructed the image of *others* based on individuals' linguistic and demographic backgrounds (cf. Chapter 5), but they negotiate their linguistic allegiances depending on the situation. Shamim mentions how he switches to Chittagonian Bangla when he speaks to his friends from Chittagong, and Tangalian Bangla, a regional variety spoken in the district of Tangail, a district in the central region of Bangladesh, when he is with his Tangalian friends at UOE. When he is asked why he does this, he answers, ***switch*** *kori, karone* ***friends****ra oirokom bhabe boleto. ader shathe thakte thakte oder moto bola hoye jai* [I switch because my friends speak in it. As I spend lots of time with them, I seem to talk like them] (071311). In a similar way, Toma and Ria (cf. Chapter 4), who usually speak in SCB, use one or two

words from Sylheti that they have learnt from Luna, a Sylheti research participant. Tomal and Imran, two other research participants, are found using Norshingdian Bangla, which they have learnt from Jesmine. Their language is transglossic because they reflexively engage with the different varieties of Bangla and the languaging process.

Second, *transtextuality* in transglossia occurs because the social semiotic is influenced by the larger macro framework of meaning. It reconfirms and reaccentuates the ideological role of language, in addition to showing the codemeshing and crossing. Note that "it is possible for words to be meshed into another language and still play significant functions for voice, values, and identity" (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 11). In their affected deference and genuine interest in NB, Shamim and Ashiq show the inter-region perception, as accepted in the society. The societal, political, and educational factors become even more complicated when other varieties of Bangla are compared with NB. Chittagonians or Sylhetis do not have the linguistic capital in SCB, but they seem to be least bothered about it[100]. For example, Sylhet, as a region, is economically more solvent than other regions due to its remittance from expatriates living in the UK and USA; its tea gardens, which include the largest tea gardens in the world, Sree Mangal; its gas fields, which make Sylhet the largest natural gas producer in the country; and its scenic tourist attractions. There is a direct flight from London to Sylhet. As Shuvo mentions in an interview, *amar **close friends** shobai **UK**te chole gese. ar jara kom close chhilo, tara Sylheter bibhinno jaigai ase. Sylheter manush ektu ashte kom chai Dhakai. ... tara mone kore, pora lekha korbe na. tabu Sylhet theke ashbe na. ei rokom akta monobhab ase. ami amar kono **friend**ke bujhaitei pari na je, "chol, Dhakai jai". ora bhabe Dhakaai jawa jei kotha, **UK** jawa **same*** [All my close friends went to the UK. Those with whom I was less close got admission to different institutes in Sylhet. Sylhetis do not prefer to come to Dhaka. … they won't leave Sylhet even if it means they can't study. They do have this kind of mindset. I couldn't convince them, "let's go to Dhaka". They think that going to Dhaka is just like going to the UK] (062811). These factors contribute to the process of commodification of Sylheti and increase its accretion of values.

[100] Shuvo nevertheless seemed to give more priority to SCB than to Sylheti, so much so that he considered SCB as the language of the modern civilisation (cf. Chapter 5, Section 5.2).

Consequently, different perceptions are incurred even within regional varieties, based on indexical values accumulated through economic association and other social dynamics[101]. Young adults like Nayeem, Shamim, and Ashiq borrow the voices from different regions keeping in consideration the indexical values.

This however contradicts the position given to Sylheti by immigrant Bangladeshi teachers and administrators in the heritage school in the UK (Blackledge & Creese, 2008, 2009a). They define Bangla as a language, but not Sylheti and refer to Sylheti speakers as the 'scheduled caste'[102] compared to the educated group speaking in Bangla: "regarded as the least educated group in society, with no resource of any kind, they (Sylheti speakers) are the lowest of the low" (Blackledge & Creese, 2008, p. 543). Here, with the words 'schedule caste', one of the school-teachers in the heritage school refers to the early history of unskilled migration from Bangladesh to the UK, when, as the teacher mentions, the poor, the deprived, the farmers went to the UK from Bangladesh as menial and kitchen hands. Nevertheless, with their locatedness in the UK, the Sylhetis have been able to negotiate an advantageous position compared to other regional varieties in Bangladesh.

Understandably then, Nayeem deliberately hides his Noakhalian linguistic and demographic background to minimise the possibility of social humiliation[103]. The socially constructed representation of Noakhalian Bangla as 'rural' and 'rustic' and the Noakhalians as uncultured, cunning, and devious is reinforced and sustained by the media, literature, and so on (cf. also Chapter 5). Characters from the region are

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[101] In an email correspondence, Mahmud Hasan Khan, lecturer at the International Islamic University Malaysia (personal communication, December 9th, 2012) states that, "I must insert Freud, his pleasure principle which says: subjects at the end must be happy/satisfied with what s/he has. It's a kind of rationalization process. Subject should be able to say something like, oh yeah, we have a long tradition that the centre doesn't have. The strange thing is, the puran Dhakayias/ Bikrompuris (speakers from the old Dhaka/ Bikrompur) who are so near to the centre don't speak the prestige dialect; they don't care either". In other words, the regional varieties signify different ideological associations depending on the individual and collective social and cultural dynamics.

[102] The term 'scheduled caste' is understandably used to refer to the historical, political, and social hierarchies and unevenness between different varieties of Bangla in the context of Bangladesh with reference to the caste system in the Indian subcontinent. Interestingly the term 'scheduled cast' is a "legal designation … adopted in 1935, when the British listed the lowest-ranking Hindu castes in a Schedule appended to the Government of India Act for the purposes of statutory safeguards and other benefits" for the people from the lowest castes (Dushkin, 1967, p. 626).

[103] Nayeem's attempts to hide his linguistic background has been found to be futile at different times during the study because of the interference of specific segmental and supra-segmental features of NB in his Bangla which make him easily recognisable as a *noakhailla*. In extract 7.1, line 4, for example, he pronounces *lobh* instead of *love*.

portrayed as ‘regressive’ and ‘premodern’, and are addressed with abject humiliation. In Extract 7.2, Shamim’s attempt to speak and Nayeem’s attempt to not speak NB (Extract 7.1, line 1; Extract 7.2, line 8) revalidate the social and linguistic ideology that makes the NB a variety for mockery, humiliation, and buffoonery. Hence, in Bakhtin’s terms, their voice is ‘double-voiced’. In addition, their voice is ‘veridirectional’ (Bakhtin 1984 in Rampton, 2000) because they clearly demarcate the fact that the voice they are taking is not claimed to be theirs (cf. also Chapter 6, Extracts 6.1-6.3).

Third, the extract also reveals that transglossia with its mixed codes sustains *othering* – a significant social process for the momentary and emergent nature of identity. In Chapter 4, Ria and her friends negotiate an urban-centric, non-hick, sophisticated cool identity, dissociating themselves from banglicised English and regional Bangla speakers with particular life trajectories, class, and social status. Rampton (2013, p. 2) defined

> class, ethnicity, gender and generation as cultural interpretations, as second-order abstractions, as ideological stories that people use to group certain signs, practices and persons together, positioning them in general social processes, differentiating some from others, aligning them with particular histories, trajectories and destinies.

From these two examples, it can be deciphered that *othering* is a consequence of ‘second-order abstractions’ which is materialised and reflected in subtle transgressive linguistic acts. Replete with competing socio-historical voices and ideologies (Bakhtin, 1981), all languages, even those perceived as monolinguals’, are transglossic in the way they are used for the process of *othering*.

This leads to another important issue in relation to group dynamics. The term *baromishali bhasha* [hotchpotch language], which Ashiq uses in Extract 7.3, line 8, does not only refer to linguistic features, but also to the linguistic consciousnesses reflected in it. Language is “a mixture of two or more different linguistic consciousnesses” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 429) and a “simultaneous presence of two or more national languages interacting within a single cultural system” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 431). The participants seem to carry the consciousnesses in their voices.

That is why even though these participants hang out together and construct an 'in-group' identity when they spend time together during class breaks, a transglossic analysis shows that they discursively deconstruct that identity. Bangla, which is commonly considered to be a unifying insignia of Bangladeshi identity, in fact becomes stratified in ideological meanings, assumptions, and values, marking intra-group boundaries among young adults.

A similar trend is observable in a group of Hispanic, American, and African descent Dominican American young adults who use linguistic forms from Spanish and English and activate various dimensions of multiple identities: they speak an African American Vernacular English form to enact a non-white identity; use Spanish and represent themselves by the ethnolinguistic label 'Spanish' to claim 'non-black' Spanish/Dominican identity; and manipulate linguistic resources to accentuate their affiliation with the USA and differentiate themselves from recently-immigrated Dominican-raised recent immigrants. Their interactional construction of multiple identities and shifting alignments "belie reified dichotomies, monolithic identities, and the one-to-one correspondence between linguistic code and social affiliation" and questions the uniform and essentialised African American category prompted by the US Government and other discourses (Bailey, 2001, p.192). Similarly, these young adults in the research weaken the discourses of one uniform Bangladeshi identity. It is fragmented within, as the regional varieties are contested and conflicted with ideological values. While *translocalising* and *transtextualising* their linguistic resources, these participants mobilise a whole range of identity attributes in their interaction. They do not become Noakhalian or non-Noakhalian. They become entangled in multiple voices and multiple identities.

7.4 Transglossia in the filmic genre

While the previous extract showed *transtextual* references underpin the transglossic language practices, this extract examines how young adults make meanings, traversing different genres of texts. Shuvo (born and brought up in Sylhet) is majoring in finance and management (cf. Appendices 5A & 5B). Here, Shuvo and his friends are chatting in the cafeteria during the class break. Like many other young adults in Bangladesh, Shuvo's favourite sport is cricket and he is also a die-

hard fan of Indian cricketer, Sachin Tendulkar, watching as many of his matches as possible, following him on Twitter, naming his FB account after him, and emulating his clothes and hairstyle. Shuvo is called Sachin by his friends because of his obsession with the Indian cricketer. In line 1, Shuvo’s friend AA makes fun of him, telling that he is way too popular amongst girls, as if he is the real-life Sachin Tendulkar. His friends use a range of linguistic and cultural resources, especially Hindi, as they manipulate voices in parodic caricatures of characters from Indian films. They use three specific stylistic features from Indian and Bangladeshi films: clichéd set expressions, prosodic features, and role relationships between men and women.

Extract 7.4: *hai Allah. Sachin*?

Guide to languages: Bangla (regular font); Hindi (*italics*); English (**bold**)

		Casual conversation	Translation
1.	Shuvo	tumi ki bolla?	What have you said?
2.	AA	((like a young coy female heroine speaking in a filmic way)) oki dushtu? **naughty naughty** kotha bolte gese. **NAUGHTY BOY** !!!	((like a young coy female heroine speaking in a filmic way)) What’s this, Naughty? You have been telling all the naughty naughty things. NAUGHTY BOY!!!
3.	KK	((indicating Shuvo)) shotti kotha boltesi. gaye lege jachhe tar.	((indicating Shuvo)) I am telling the truth. He is getting hurt.
4.	AA:	dadato meyeder shamney jaya bole, ((in filmic male voice) <“*rishtey me hum tumhara baap bontey hey*” >.	Brother (Shuvo) goes to the girls and states ((in filmic male voice)), “The relationship between you and me makes me your dad.”
5.	KK:	((in filmic female voice)) “*BABUUUUUUUU*”. “*BAPPPAAAAA*” ((adoring addresses in Hindi for father)). meyerato pappa bole jorai dhorey.	((in filmic female voice)) “BABUUUUUUUU”. “BAPPPAAAAA” ((adoring addresses in Hindi for father)). The girls call him pappa and hug him.
6.	AA:	meyera tarpore bole, ((in filmic female voice)) <“*tum kown ho*”?	Then the girls tell him, (in filmic female voice) “Who are you?” ((in

		((in filmic male voice - supposedly Shuvo answers,)) "*rishte mein hum tumhara swaami lagta hai*."	filmic female voice - supposedly Shuvo answers)) "The relationship between you and me makes me your husband."
7.	KK:	((in filmic male voice)) "*swaami lagtahai*."	((in filmic male voice)) "[The relationship between you and me] makes me your husband."
8.	AA:	((in filmic male voice)) "*mera naam hei Sachin*."	((in filmic male voice)) "My name is Sachin."
9.	KK:	((in filmic female voice)) "*hai Allah. Sachin*?"	((in filmic female voice)) "Oh Lord, Sachin?"

Lines 1-9 are caricatures of a very popular Indian film dialogue, *rishtey main to hum tumharey baap lagtey hain, naam hai Shehenshah* (In this relationship between you and me, I happen to be your dad. My name is *Shehenshah),* uttered by Indian actor Amitabh Bachchan. It is considered to be one of his most memorable and signature dialogues from the 1988 film, *Shahenshah* (Hindustan Times, 2012). All the consecutive lines have a resonance with the dialogue. Line 2 also has the lengthening of the penultimate vowel sound that increases the theatricality of the dialogue, as found in Bangladeshi and Indian films (Sultana et al., 2013). The *pretextual* history of this dialogue allows Shuvo's friends to recreate the ultimate drama, tension, conflicts, and contradictions in Indian films, which are heavily based on stories of kinship between father, son, daughter, and so on.

The filmic male and female voices are aptly uttered with the prosodic features of such dialogues, creating *translocalisation* and *transmodality* of cultural resources: The male voices are enacted as lofty, grand, and heroic, i.e., the voice of the saviour (lines 4 and 5), similar to the voice of Amitabh Bachchan, considered the ultimate hero in the Indian film industry; and the female voices are enacted as coy, shy, and bashful, as depicted in Bangladeshi and Indian films (lines 2, 5, 6, and 9), as they coquettishly ask, *tum kown ho* (who are you?) or say with bashful naïve surprise, *hai Allah, Sachin* (Oh Lord, Sachin). The young females in these films usually speak in flirtatious ways and hence, in the imaginary conversation, in line 2, AA uses words like, *dushtu* (naughty) when he takes up the role of the girl. Even the word *naughty boy*, an English phrase, is uttered in bashful coyness. Here, the word *dushtu,* which approximates *naughty* in meaning, also refers to the mischievousness

of their love. The English word *naughty* here is appropriated for the local context, and consequently becomes richer with localised meaning. The *pretextual* history of these filmic dialogues caricatures Shuvo as a hero amongst girls. Thus the use of filmic dialogues in a newer context and in newer modes, i.e., in casual interactions and teasing friends, indicates *transmodality* as a norm of young adults' linguistic practices.

The intention of Shuvo's friends, however, is not to valorise him but to characterise him as a person who takes on a paternal role to take advantage of young naïve girls who may be easily deceived by Shuvo's personification. This elderly man is also a representation of a typical deceptive villain figure found in commercial Bangladeshi and Indian films – an elderly male who assumes fatherly qualities, and the virtuosities of religion and patience, to gain the trust of the innocent and 'see-no-evil' girl (which in fact heightens the hunting instinct of the villain) or a damsel in distress, i.e., an unwed mother, young widow, abandoned wife, waiting wife, or frightened newlywed (Booth, 1995). Consequently, with the *intertextual* references to the filmic genre and the *pretextual* history of these dialogues, Shuvo's friends mobilise a range of *subtextual* meanings (see also the following extract).

By parodying a scene from an Indian commercial film, they present Shuvo as being capable of taking advantage of young girls through his representation of himself as the famous cricketer Sachin Tendulkar. This filmic double-voicing transforms the semantic potentiality of the dialogue through its heteroglossic and translinguistic references, *reaccentuating* (Bakhtin, 1986) their utterances through "repetition as an act of difference" (Pennycook, 2007c, p. 580). The self-presentation of a certain male persona as a famous cricketer is parodied and undermined (while a degree of solidarity and face is nonetheless maintained) through humorous *transmodal*, *transcultural*, and *translocal* appropriations of other voices.

7.5 Transglossia in the musical genre

In the previous extract, I have presented the transglossic language practices in which meanings occur across and against the filmic genre. In this extract, I will look at episodes in which meanings occur through/between musical genres. The

participants recycle the lyrics or the lyrical meanings of the particular musical performances in accordance with their localised linguistic practices.

Here, Abeer, Shamim, Nayeem, and Ashiq are in the Study Hall, the ground floor of the University library, where students are allowed to study and talk, unlike the rest of the library. Their discussions on accounting terms, such as ‘perpetual system’, and ‘periodical system’ becomes a somewhat laborious because of Abeer’s unawareness of basic concepts like ‘merchandising company’, ‘wholesaler’, ‘retailer’, or ‘ledger’. They start talking and singing songs amongst themselves as a consequence.

Extract 7.5: *tumi jaionago bashore ghorer batti nibhaiya …*

Guide to languages: Bangla (regular font); Hindi (*italics*); English (**bold**)

		Casual conversation	Translation
1.	Abeer:	…. ((starts singing a Hindi film song)) *jab jab dekhe tujhe tinku jiya, haan tinku jiya, ishq ka engine chalaye jiya*.	… ((starts singing a Hindi film song)) whenever I see you, tinku jiya[104], yes tinku jiya, the heart sets off the love engine.
2.	Nayeem:	((singing a Bangla folk song)) tumi jaionago bashore ghorer batti nibhaiya. ami bondho ghorer ondhokare jabo moriya.	((singing a Bangla folk song)) Please do not leave this bridal suite turning off the light. I will die from the darkness of this claustrophobic room.
3.	Abeer:	((singing)) bhalobashi tore. kolete boshaiya tore koritam adore go::.	((singing)) I love you. I would take you on my lap and adore you.
4.	Shamim:	ei ganta gaish na Abeer, please.	Don’t sing this song, Abeer, please.
5.	Ashiq:	((at a girl walking by – with a theatrical affection in voice)) <ahhh, ki BHALO laglo::! ahhh, ki BHALO laglo::! > kichhu bolo:!	((at a girl walking by – with a theatrical affection in voice)) ahhh, it felt so good! ahhh, it felt so good! Say something!
6.	Abeer:	((singing a song from a Bangla film *Chachhu amar Chachhu*)) ei BUKERI BHITORE achhe ak mone. shey moneri gobhire achhey akjone. sheto TUMI. shudhu TUMI, shudhu …	((singing a song from a Bangla film, *Uncle my Uncle*)) I have only one heart. Deep in this heart is only one love. This is only you. Only you, only …

[104] The word *tinku* does not have any meaning as such. *jiya* means heart. It is a catchphrase to show that the heart is throbbing with love.

7.	Shamim:	((a sound of disapproval)) hei! ((addressing Abeer)) hei hala::i, hala::i, kotha::i kotha::i kha::li ga::n gai!	((a sound of disapproval)) hey! ((addressing Abeer)) This brother-in-law ((a swearing word)), brother-in-law, he starts singing at every turn!
8.	Abeer:	((to Ashiq)) ei, tui meyederke ato **tease** koros kan?	((to Ashiq)) why do you tease the girls so much?
9.	Ashiq:	((strongly denying the blame)) ami *teri ore, teri ore* gan gaisi!	((strongly denying the blame)) I just sang the song, *Towards you. Towards you*.

In line 1, Abeer sings a Hindi film item song[105] from the 2011 song *Yamla Pagla Deewana*; in line 2, a folk song from Bangladesh that belongs to a specific genre marketed for a targeted audience (similar to the commercial films); and in line 6, a Bangladeshi film song of his favourite film hero[106], Sakib Khan (YouTube, November 30, 2010). Each song has a particular *pretextual* history that allows the participants to mobilise a range of interconnected images and meanings. Line 1 conjures the image of Mumbai film actors Dharmendro and Boby Deol, dancing with a young girl in an attempt to draw her attention. Lines 2 and 3 refer to the expectation of the newlywed husband and shyness of the wife in response, explicitly demonstrated in both the lyric and the music video (YouTube June 28, 2009). Hence, in line 4, Shamim rebukes Abeer for singing the song. Line 6 alludes to Shakib Khan's declaration of love to the heroine. Line 5 is a typical expression from older Bangla films (both from the West Bengal, India and Bangladesh), notably from the era of the 1970s. This set phrase *ahhh, ki bhalo laglo::! ahhh, ki bhalo laglo::!* (ahhh, it felt so good! ahhh, it felt so good!) is usually used by connoisseurs after musical or dancing performances to show admiration and praise. Ashiq uses the phrase to appreciate the beauty of the female student walking past them. To show his earnestness and ecstasy, Ashiq puts stress on the first syllable of *ahh*, the interjection that expresses the joy of satisfaction. He then starts at a higher pitch, utters *BHALO* loudly, and glides down in *ki bhalo laglo* [it felt so good]. For

[105] An item number in the Indian cinema is a 'non-situational musical performance' which has no major connection with the narrative of the film, presented in a large-scale and lavish picturisation (Morcom, 2007), added to the film to show beautiful dancing women in revealing clothes. The song is melodically catchy and upbeat, and the dance is usually accompanied by a sexually provocative dance sequence. Item numbers are considered to be a marketing strategy of the film industry to attract more spectators to the movie theatre.

[106] Nayeem shares this in an interview (072611).

the desired theatricality, he lengthens the last syllable of *laglo* and *bolo*. Ashiq does the same for *kichhu bolo,* in which he starts *kichhu* at a slightly higher pitch and glides down abruptly at *bolo*.

The mixture of songs and set dialogues in *transmodal* meaning-making serve the specific intentions of the participants: eve-teasing for the purpose of drawing the attention of female students and showing interest in them. In Bangladeshi and Indian films, eve-teasing plays a vital role in starting a courtship between the hero and heroine, where the hero woos the heroine by teasing her. Sometimes the hero rescues the heroine from eve-teasers, beating them and eventually winning her love. The eve-teaser is also called a ‘road-side Romeo’ (there is Hindi film entitled *Roadside Romeo* which came out in 2007). Ashiq, as expected in his mimicry of an eve-teaser in the films, immediately denies that he has been ‘eve-teasing’ (line 7). The use by this group of specific linguistic and cultural resources makes *intertextual* reference to the wide popularity of the songs used in eve-teasing. Consequently, these resources allow them to serve a ‘double-edged’ purpose: to enliven their time in the study hall and to develop peer-bonding by engaging in stylised performance. These participants subvert the accepted norm of behaving in the study space and with the subversion, acquire the pleasure of transgression with *transmodal* language practices. As Rampton (2003b) has mentioned, stylised performances allow individuals to approximate the stereotypical representation of the social persona that they want to portray (here, as the eve-teaser) and to serve the pragmatic function of the performances, which here is the negotiation of the laddish identity subverting the norm of behaviour of the study space.

The use of Bangladeshi and Indian inspired cultural resources evokes a range of *subtextual* meanings in relation to the class and social status associations of these participants. For example, because of specific generic features, explicit and implicit violence, vulgarity, and obscenity, Bangladeshi and Indian commercial films are considered aesthetically inappropriate for the urban-centred educated class. Indian commercial films are hugely critiqued for their “sexual innuendo and scatological swear-words” and “sexual violence against women” (Ciecko, 2001, p. 127); Bangladeshi films are controversial for their vulgarity, obscenity (*oshlilota)*, and “hard-core cinematic pornography” (Hoek, 2010, p. 137), including inserted ‘cut pieces’ (strips of celluloid featuring sexually explicit scenes) after the films have

received certification for distribution from the Bangladesh Board of Film Censors (Hoek, 2010, p. 135). The filmic conventions, including dress, sets, cinematography, acting styles, and actress size also incur the disapproval of journalists and film critics (Mahmud, 2012). In a survey on the perception about the commercial cinema among the Dhaka-centric younger generation, it has been revealed that 71% of them do not watch Bangla cinema; 72% of them think that the lower classes, especially day-labourers, go to the cinema hall. In the same survey it was found that rickshaw pullers, garment workers, pion (office support staff), service holders, and hawkers frequent the six cinema halls surveyed. In the same research article, a renowned National award winning Bangladeshi film producer informed the researcher that rickshaw pullers are their main spectators and they, the film producers and directors, make films that keep the expectations of the target spectators, which happens to include young villagers (Yasmin, 2011).

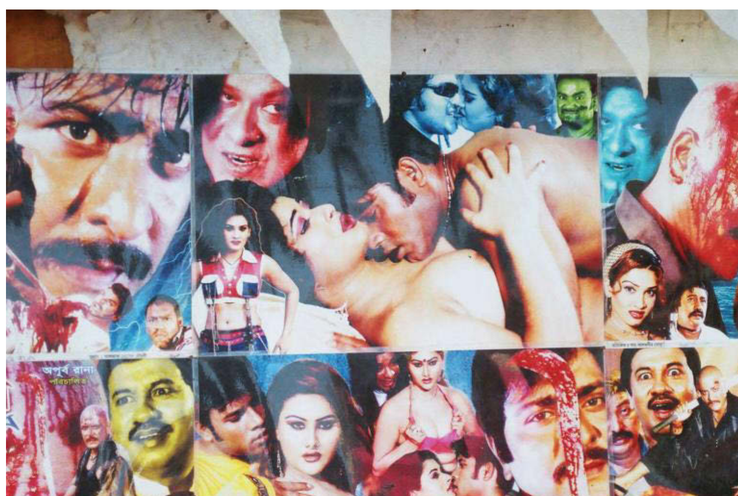

Figure 7.1: Scenes from commercial action films in Bangladesh (Hoek, 2010, p. 141)

The participants' earlier upbringing in the rural villages and provincial towns presumably exposed them to commercial Bangladeshi action films. In the recorded casual conversations of the three month ethnographic study (unlike the participants in Chapter 4), Abeer, Ashiq, and Nayeem engage in extensive conversations on Bangla films, TV drama, serials, Indian films and reality shows. For example, Ashiq and Abeer talk about which actor they like most in the Bangladeshi film industry, Dhallywood and Indian film industry, Bollywood. They consider Sakib Khan to be the number one film actor in Bangladesh. In an interview, Nayeem

mentions that he loves the older Bangla films by the actresses Shabana and Shabnur; he has watched the Indian Hindi film, *Mai Huna* 10 to 12 times; his all-time favourite Hindi films are *Kahona Payar Hai* and *Khabi Khushi Khabi Ghuum.* His passion for Indian film actors becomes clear when he mentions his admiration for Hrithik Roshan: *amar kachhe mone hoi, mane,* ***as a idol*** [sic] *hishabe, Hrithik shob dik diya* ***pherfect****.* ***Body structure****; tarpore obhinoi; tarpore* **dance**. *tar* ***dance****ta khub bhalo lage* [I personally think, I mean, as an idol, Hrithik, is perfect in every respect. Body structure; then his acting; then his dance. I like his dance a lot.] (072611). On a similar note, Abeer mentions that he likes Salman Khan, Shahrukh Khan, and Ameer Khan – the famous Khans from the Bollywood film industry. As he does not have a TV and DVD at home, he goes to his friend's home to watch these films (062211).

The participants in Chapter 6, Ria and her friends, tend to use more linguistic and cultural features from Western media, but these participants by contrast depend predominantly on the Bangladeshi and Indian film industries. Nayeem, Ashiq, and Abeer find pleasure and potentiality in negotiating masculine identity attributes in the filmic genre. However, the integrated relationship of the social stratification of identities, their resources and the particular environment becomes obvious in the participants' conflicted opinions. They seem to distance themselves from Bangladeshi entertainment. Nayeem, Abeer, and Ashiq inform that nowadays they try to watch one or two English action films, but they do not understand English and consequently struggle to enjoy the films. Nevertheless, they watch because other students watch them; they also expect that their English will improve as a consequence. Taking the voice of the middle class educated urbanite, Abeer critiques (062211) the Bangla films for their lack of artistic qualities. He also claims that he could make a Bangladeshi film, because it does not require intellectual or professional expertise. His decision to distance himself from Bangladeshi popular culture can be considered an outcome of his locatedness in UOE and his attempt to be a member of the educated middle-class population. He has not been able to discard the emotional affiliation to Bangladeshi and Indian popular culture, but his opinions reflect his desire to dissociate himself from the image of class and demographic background in relation to Bangladeshi popular culture. The spatial relocation of these young people in an English-medium private

university in a cosmopolitan city, and their awareness of the ideological associations of Bangladeshi filmic genre, seem to impact on the linguistic and cultural resources they will choose to use in future and which identities they would prefer to perform with the linguistic and cultural resources available to them. Crossing linguistic and cultural boundaries is also observable here as these young participants *transtextualise* different linguistic and cultural resources, manipulating the ideological roles these voices bring to the fore.

A transglossic analysis indicates that Nayeem and his friends make meaning against and across the musical genre by recontextualising the lyrics and phrases in reference to their situated activity, within the particular physical location: that is, eve-teasing at the study hall. Their utterances are double-voiced as they use musical genre to negotiate a kind of 'laddish' identity. They reinvent voices from the music genre with their own meanings and intentions, based on their locatedness in the social space within a range of socio-ideological associations and affiliations mobilised by *intertextual* and *subtextual* meanings in relation to popular culture. In addition, transglossia indicates that all semiotic resources, including genre-specific expressions, are ecologically embedded in the language and need to be understood in relation to speakers' past life trajectories, their demographic and socioeconomic backgrounds, and their subcultural affiliation to class and gender.

7.6 Transglossia in the stylisation of Bangla

In the following Extracts 7.6-7.10, the participants engage in the stylisation of Bangla with extensive use of colloquial expressions, exaggerated pronunciation, aggressive tone, swear words, and pranks, hassling, teasing and taunting. This is distinctly different from the Bangla spoken by Ria and her friends in Chapter 4. The Bangla used by Ashiq, Nayeem, and Abeer has specific purposes and meaning, and hence becomes transglossic with their voices. In this ritualistic transgressive linguistic act, jointly created with recognition, appreciation, laughter, and physical tussles amongst themselves, they seem to establish bravado (Extract 7.6), power and hierarchies amongst themselves (Extract 7.7), and a strong masculine position in respect of their female classmates with whom they seem to fail to develop a romantic relationship (Extracts 7.8 and 7.9). The FB conversation given in Extract 7.10 also expresses their nationalistic feelings.

In Extract 7.6, Shamim grumbles that he will now have to walk in the scorching sun to a residential area close to his university, where he tutors a child. Arafat taunts him, asking why he needs to walk, when Arafat has already bought him a BMW car.

Extract 7.6: *akhon khali falamu ar uthamu.!!!*

Guide to languages: Bangla (regular font); English (**bold**)

		Casual conversation	Translation
1.	Arafat:	tarpore, tarpore? Shamim Hussain, tomake ami akta **BMW** kine dilam. tarporeo tumi ei kotha bolo?	What else? Shamim Hussain, I bought you a BMW. Even after that, you still complain?
2.	Shamim:	tomar HE::DA ase je tumi amare **BMW** kina diba? tomar CHODDO GUSHTIR shompotti bechleo **BMW** teha hoibore!!! Ashiq? ((asking Ashiq for reconfirmation))	Do you have the pussy ((literal translation)) to buy me a BMW? Would selling off all the wealth of your forefathers even fetch the price of a BMW? Ashiq? ((asking Ashiq for reconfirmation))
3.	Ashiq:	<thabra::ya ka:n ma:n jala::ya fala:mu bata::. chinos tui?>	I will slap you until your ears start to burn, you get it jerk?
4.	Arafat:	chat dekas?	Pouring out your wrath?
5.	Ashiq:	janos, KI loya:: hadi akhon? (Everybody laughs.)	Do you know what I carry with me nowadays?
6.	Ashiq:	abar da:t dehas bata! akhon khali FALA::MU ar UTHA::MU. MANUSH mone koros na!	Showing off your teeth (you pompous jerk)! Now I will just beat you to the ground. You don't think I am human.
7.	Abeer:	kire bhai, **crazy dog**.	What happened mate, crazy dog.

In line 1, Arafat calls Shamim by his full name and talks to him in SCB with an air of formality, sophistication, and distinction. His attempt seems purposive, similar to the Sylheti parent who speaks in SB to mock the inflated sophistication of the Bangla-speaking community (Blackledge & Creese, 2008), or the young Spanish-speaking woman who speaks in Catalan with the formal voice and discourse of a

teacher's to take control over her friends (Pujolar, 2001). Arafat is clearly and strategically teasing Shamim because this voice and the air and the grace he adapts here are not his: he is adopting them to show a certain level of authority over Shamim. He also cannot buy a BMW car, which in his mind, would be affordable to someone who speaks in SCB. Manipulating the fact that it is not his voice, Arafat makes his linguistic crossing obvious and uses the voice and modes of expression of the official formal domain to mock Shamim. The mocking use of SCB, even though used to tease, simultaneously serves to mark solidarity between him and his non-rich friends and indicates a non-SCB identity.

The unusual and unexpected use of SCB, and therefore, the irony caused by the 'out of frame' intervention, to use Pujolar's term (2001), is immediately understood by Shamim in line 2. Shamim's sarcasm in line 2 indicates that Arafat comes from a working class family who cannot, under any circumstances, afford to buy a BMW car. He reacts instantly with verbal aggression, which is displayed in his heavily accented stylisation of Bangla; he uses slang, such as *heda*, which means 'pussy'[107] in Barisalian Bangla; colloquial words, such as *amare* (me), *diba* (give), *bechle* (sell off), *teha* (taka), *choddo gushtir* (generations), *hoibore* instead of *amake*, *dibe, bikri korle, taka, bongshodhor,* or *hobe*; he places stress on these words, and uses an abrupt glide up at the beginning of the sentence and then a glide down with slight rise at the first syllable of important words, showing indignation. These prosodic features play a significant role in the stylisation of Bangla and in the creation of verbal aggression. In consecutive lines following, the choice of words increases the intensity of teasing (line 1), sarcasm (line 2), playful verbal duelling and face negotiation work (lines 3-7).

The stylisation of Bangla allows them to bring into the conversations a voice that is not theirs. The voice allows them to claim a powerful position in their verbal duelling and contrive a display of masculine character in its *transtexual* use. The verbal duelling is accentuated with words that allude to physical violence, such as slapping and kicking (lines 3 and 6). The verbal attack is also enacted with prosodic features, such as interrupted gliding and stress. In these lines, Ashiq utters each sentence with a rising intonation and abruptly glides down at the end of the

[107] The slang, contrary to the meaning, refers to strengths, as the context shows.

sentence with a slight stress on important words such as *jalaya* [burn - line 3], *chat* [wrath - line 4], *dat dehas* (showing off your teeth – line 6), and *falamu ar uthamu* (beat you to the ground – line 6). Ashiq also makes empty threats in lines 3, 5, and 6. He seems to claim that he carries a knife or gun in his bag in line 6; that he would slap Arafat until his ears started to burn, or beat him to the ground. The verbal frenzy in line 2 and onward makes Arafat's attempt to speak in SCB in line 1 weak and effeminate. While Arafat tries to tease Shamim with SCB in line 1, Shamim and Ashiq respond with aggressiveness in their stylisation of Bangla and thus *transtexualise* the linguistic resources. In line 7, Abeer comments that Ashiq is a crazy dog, and in this way, the verbal aggression combined with the harmless threat of physical aggression permits Ashiq to negotiate a strong position within the group.

While Extract 7.6 shows young adults' stylised use of Bangla in maintaining the nuances of bravado, Extract 7.7 shows its use in establishing power play and hierarchies. This specific transglossia with its extensive use of slang, abusive words and physical violence yields particular sorts of material effects – it allows the participants to sustain and nurture their social relationships and negotiate particular identities. In this extract, AA is hanging out with Ashiq and his friends because he needs Ashiq's help to liaise with the TA of a business course. He has not taken the mid-term exam for the course and expects the TA to convince the teacher to arrange a retake of the exam for him. Concerned about the possible consequence, AA seems unenthusiastic about participating in the discussion and remains quiet. Ashiq teases him that he must have been dumped by a girl (*chekha khaiso*) and now his face looks like an ass (*putkir moto banai roiso*). The fighting between Ashiq and AA starts when Ashiq and Arafat want to have a cigarette, but AA refuses to pay for it. Ashiq keeps threatening AA for the money until the exchange verges on a fight.

Extract 7.7: *tel maikkha aise*

Guide to languages: Bangla (regular font); Hindi (*italics*); English (**bold**)

		Casual conversation	Translation
1.	Ashiq:	**cigarette** KHAWA::.	Buy me a cigarette.

2.	AA:	are, poisha nai.	Come on, I don't have any money.
3.	Arafat:	AA, jao, biri niya: asho.	AA, go, get some ciggies.
4.	AA:	((giving 10 taka to Ashiq)) amar kase khali dosh teka ase.	((giving 10 taka to Ashiq)) I have only 10 taka on me.
5.	Akash:	aro de.	Give me more.
6.	AA:	ar nai.	I don't have anymore.
7.	Ashiq:	KHANKIR PUTH, CHOT MARANIR POLA::. <misa kotha:: kos. misa kotha:: kos tui.> de. teka:: bair kor. **moneybag** dekha:. cigarette khamu. teka nai.	Son of a bitch. Son of a fucker. You are lying. You are lying to me. Give. Bring out the money. Show me your moneybag (wallet). I want to smoke cigarette. I don't have the money.
		Ashiq tries to snatch the wallet from AA and they both tussle. Ashiq fails and ultimately surrenders.	
8.	Ashiq:	are bhai, amar sharir pura ghame bhija.	Oh brother, I am all wet from the sweat.
9.	AA:	((with a sound of indignation)) chaira dilam. JA::!	((with a sound of indignation)) I am letting you go. GO AWAY!
10.	Ashiq:	((challenging AA)) 'chaira:: dila::'? parona: SHALA!	((challenging AA)) 'You are not letting me go'? You just can't defeat me, brother-in-law ((a swear word))!
11.	AA:	((addressing Arafat)) HALA:R PUTEY, ghame … naile hath dhorle, hath BHAINGA:: falaitam.	((addressing Arafat)) BROTHER-IN-LAW ((a swear word)), he is all sweaty … if I could get hold of his hands, I would have BROKEN them.
12.	Arafat:	tel maikkha aise.	He has smeared his body with oil.

The *contextual* relations indicate that apparently Ashiq has the upper hand here because of his relationship with Shiraj bhai, a senior student at UOE who seems to be a powerful and influential figure on campus because of his involvement in subversive activities and connection with the 'right kind of people' in the administration. Shiraj bhai is going to introduce AA to the TA. In lines 1 and 3, Ashiq and Arafat are both bossy and their utterances are infused with a patently aggressive vocal performance. They perform it with a higher starting pitch at the

beginning of each sentence. However, AA seems unaffected by it, and refuses to pay more than 10 taka (line 4). Ashiq, threatened by the audacity of AA, becomes furious and uses a range of swear words, such as *khankir put* (son of a bitch) and *chot maranir pola* (son of a fucker) in line 7. It would appear that Ashiq uses the verbal abuse and exaggerated intonation to overpower AA, who at this point seems defiant. When he fails to get more than 10 taka, Ashiq tries physical force on AA, indicating that face-saving is an important dynamic of group member hierarchies. Participants need to involve themselves in physical violence, if needed, to assert their position.

A similar trend has been observed in a group of youths in the urban Scandinavian city of Trondheim, in which young adults speak 'pure Norwegian', 'broken Norwegian', and 'bad Norwegian' (Härstad, 2010). 'Bad Norwegian', which is mainly a variation in pronunciation from pure Norwegian, is considered to be unprofitable and harmful in the mainstream market place. Nevertheless, it has currency and value in the 'unofficial linguistic market', i.e., the urban streets of Trondheim. Youths prefer to use it for *gangsterity* or *gangsterness*. However, this *gangsterness* is harmless grouping based on a more global notion of streetwise community that gives importance to 'honour', 'creed', and 'respect'. According to the definition by Pujolar (2001), the enactment of identity with verbal aggression can be considered as 'simplified masculinity', i.e., the enactment of masculinity based solely on verbal aggression, such as hassling, bothering, and teasing.

Ashiq and his friends' verbal aggression, as shown in Extracts 7.6 and 7.7, is also a way of establishing power play amongst themselves. This is the form of their group dynamics. Harassing and teasing refer to a group culture, a common way of bonding, and a mandatory sign of group membership. For example, Ashiq taunts AA that AA could not tackle him physically (line 10), but after he has struggled and given up on the fight with AA. Arafat taunts Ashiq that he has oiled himself up, which alludes to the common practice of petty thieves and robbers in Bangladesh. They wear a small cloth, a *lungi* (sarong) folded like a loincloth, and oil their body, so that if they are caught by someone, they can easily slip from the grip and run away. With the *intertextual* references to the practice of 'oiling' the body by petty thieves (line 12) and the double-voiced discourses, Arafat, who has been supporting Ashiq in extorting money from AA, taunts him, as if Ashiq is the thief. Thus the

historical, local, and interpretive elements of ‘oiling’ allow Arafat to *transtextualise* the text into their own context in which he indirectly calls Ashiq a petty thief. Without engaging in a direct confrontation and subverting Ashiq’s hegemonic role in the group, Arafat makes an implicitly sarcastic comment through the analogy.

The previous Extracts 7.6 and 7.7 have unravelled that exaggerated pronunciation, aggressive tone, and swear words are best explored through transglossia. The following two Extracts, 7.8 and 7.9, indicate that transglossia is also effective in exploring various forms of stylisation, such as parody, reported speech, and ironic intonation. In their transglossic language practices, Abeer and Ashiq offer a set of possible subject positions for women with whom they have missed the opportunity for friendship or romance, and in the process of positioning women, they verbally negotiate positions for themselves.

Extract 7.8: *tarpore pockete bundle thakte hoibo*

Guide to languages: Bangla (regular font); English (**bold**)

		Casual conversation	Translation
1.	Abeer	hei arekta shomoshha, dosto. maiya posondo hoileo koite parina, dosto. heita ki korum? ha::?	There is one problem, mate. Even if I like a girl, I don’t have the guts to tell her, mate. What will I do about it? Yes (asking for opinion)?
2.	Ashiq:	ar amar shomoshha hoise, amar shaiddha shaiddha kotha koite bhalo lagena.	My problem is I don’t feel like wooing them ((girls)).
3.	Abeer:	heidaito beta **main** shomoshha!	This is the main problem, man!
4.	Ashiq:	eije akhone jaiya haidda kotha kowon lagbo. ((in meek feminine voice)) <“ei tomaar nam ki?”> **show**shami kora lagbo. ((meek feminine voice)) <“tumi kon **semestere**?” > dui tin din shomoi deya lagbo. amar edi bhallagena. ((Now in a very theatrical male voice)) <“a-m-a-a-r kase A-H-O-O” ((rising intonation)). “J-A-O-O” ((rising intonation)).>	You have to ask them out and talk to them. ((in meek feminine voice)) “Hey, what’s your name? I have to show off. ((meek feminine voice)) “In which semester are you now?” I will have to spend time with her. I don’t like this sort of stuff. ((Now in a very theatrical male voice)) “C-O-M-E t-o m-e-e ((rising intonation)). “G-O-O”

			((rising intonation)).
5.	Abeer:	**direct** aibo. ami jerokom koi - maiya aya nije koilo. heida bhalo.	Come directly to me. It's better if the girl asks me out. That's good.
6.	Ashiq:	oida ((with a tone of sarcasm))!!! hei bhaggo loiya amra jonmai nai. buchho! hei bhaggo niya jonmaite hoile akta gari lagbo! pattat mara lagbo onnorokom!	A girl asking us out!!! ((with a tone of sarcasm))!!! We haven't been born with that fortune. Understood! You need a car to have that! You will have to show off and stand out!
7.	Abeer:	>akta GARI lagbo. Akta **BIKE** lagbo. tarpore **pocket**e **BUNDLE** thakte hoibo<.	You will need a car. You will need a bike. You will need a bundle of notes ((money)) in your pocket.
8.	Ashiq:	maiyagore potaite chao, gia jorai dhorba.	If you want to woo women, go and embrace them right away.

In lines 1 and 2, Abeer and Ashiq mention that they would like to have a romantic relationship, but cannot/do not act on it. Ashiq seems to negotiate a stronger position, when he assumes more control over it and claims that he does not feel like initiating the discussion first (line 2). In subsequent lines, he takes up several voices, and with *intertextual* references to these voices, he appears to strategically position himself on a higher plane than the females. In line 4, Ashiq mimics the female voice in his reported speech. The voice he enacts for the initiation of the courtship with a girl seems to be coy and bashful, and weak and tentative. With this voice, he implicitly suggests that the girls could be too sensitive and demanding in terms of time. A relationship with them requires someone to bring out the feminine side. It also requires an unnecessary demonstration of affection or 'showing off' (*showshami*).

The identity attributes of the girls that Ashiq performs in his parodic voice allow him to negotiate his own identity attributes. The presence of a meek feminine voice in *ei tomar nam ki* (hey, what's your name?) and *tumi kone semestere* (in which semester are you now?), and an elevated male voice with deliberately higher intonation and longer second syllable in *amar kase AH-O-O* (C-O-M-E t-o m-e-e) and *JAO-O* (G-O-O) side-by-side makes the contrast between the two voices even more noteworthy. His deliberate use of contrasting voices is intended to show two specific ways of dealing with females: one, soft and gentle and the other, strong and

masculine. Ashiq distances himself from the first way, portraying it as feminine. He also indicates that he is not ready to comply with the expected norm of courtship. Consequently, he manages to show that he is tough, resilient and strong.

In line 7, Abeer mentions a number of worldly possessions, such as a car, a bike, and bundles of notes (money) that are necessary to possess to have girlfriends. However, Ashiq's sarcasm in line 6 and Abeer's comment refer to a stereotypical image of women competing for rich men. To reinforce the image, Ashiq and Abeer use words with specific *intertextual* reference. For example, the word *showshami* in line 4, *pattat*[108] in line 6, and *potaite* in line 8 have a negative connotation. In *showshami*, *show* is derived from 'show off', indicating 'pretentious display of something' – in this case, riches. In *pattat*, *pat* is derived from Old Bangla and means, 'drama performances', which is then appropriated by the younger generation to indicate an 'affected performance' of identity attributes, such as being knowledgeable, educated, sophisticated, or classy, giving it a similar kind of meaning to that denoted by *showshami* - an artificial attempt to impress someone by showing off. The word *potaite* again indicates a 'conceited' way of charming someone, having the same resonance of meaning as the other two words mentioned above.

With the specific use of these words and their *intertextual* references, Ashiq and Abeer accentuate the fact that girls prefer 'attention' (in addition to cars, bikes, and money), even though it may be superficial and fake. Thus they mobilise a range of *subtextual* meaning with the use of particular words, relegating females to a compromising position. With their double-voiced discourses, they negotiate a set of identity attributes, such as 'they are honest in expressing their feeling' or 'they do not opt for money or wealth', or 'they are not willing to compromise their integrity for the attention of women'.

[108] While using these words, Ashiq uses alliteration in lexicalisation, which is a common feature in spoken form of Bangla, such as in *pat* (drama) *tat, brishti* (rain) *trishti, chobi* (photo) *tobi*, *ranna* (cooking) *banna*, in which the second words (*tat, trishti, tobi*, *banna*) in the compound words do not bear any meaning. Ashiq contextualises 'show' in *showshami* in which *shami* does not carry any meaning itself in this specific context. Similar trend has been observed language practices of across all research participants, 'meeting feeting', 'routine moutine' and so on.

Note that none of the research participants in this group has regular communication with their female classmates, except for Shamim. Their only encounters with girls are when they sit in the study hall or courtyard and flirt with them from the distance (see Extracts 7.1 - 7.3), or when female students walk past them. Based on their life trajectories, the *othering* they experience for their demographic, linguistic, and educational backgrounds, in other words, their limitations in terms of their 'symbolic capital' (Bourdieu, 1986), and the contextual relationships within which the interaction takes place, it would nevertheless be wrong to conclude that they feel marginalised, oppressed, or frustrated, or that they put themselves in a demeaning situation. In line 8, for example, Ashiq humorously suggests that Abeer should take a direct approach and forcefully conquer the girls he likes. Instead, they seem to come to terms with the feeling of inadequacy either in humour, as we see here or in verbal aggression (see the extract below).

In general, these participants' language is inundated with taboo terms and provocative words with strong sexual connotations, such as *putki* (ass), *khankir put* (son of a bitch), *chot maranir pola* (son of a fucker), *hallar put* (brother-in-law), *bainchot* (sister-fucker), and homophobic expressions, such as *shala hijra* (transvestite), *half-ladies* (sissie), *guwa marani* (ass-fucker), and so on. They also have set expressions, referring to different parts of the male and female body, such as penis, breasts and vagina, that they frequently refer to to show their manliness and make fun of women's supposed promiscuity. The intensity of the stylisation determined by the use of these words plays a significant role in the way they bring in voices and *transtextualise* the meaning of linguistic resources for the negotiation of their identity. This will be further demonstrated in Extract 7.9.

Extract 7.9: *ar aktar loge giya kothai koite paros na*!

Guide to languages: Bangla (regular font); English (**bold**)

		Casual Conversation	Translation
1.	Abeer	**same age**r maiyago loge prem kormu na.	I won't get involved in a relationship with the girls of my age.

2.	Ashiq	KHANKI::R POLA::, prem ki korbi? koidin <CHUIDA:: MUIDA::> chhaira dibi. shesh. prem to korbi chodar leiga. KHANKIR POLA::. biya korum BAP MAR ichha moto. <bap mar baddhogoto shontaner moto. ar magi LAGAMU:: **varsity**te ichha moto.> lagaite lagaite bhoira lamu.	Son of a bitch, why will you get involved? You just fuck them for a few days and then dump them. Done. You will be in love only to fuck them. Son of a bitch. We will marry the girls chosen by our parents. We will be obedient children of our parents. And fuck the girls in the university, as we want. We will fuck them to death.
3.	Abeer	ho (sarcastic)!! lagaite lagaite sesh korbi!! ar aktar loge giya kothai koitei paros na!	Yes!! You will fuck them to death!! And you can't even go up to them and talk!

In line 2, suggesting to Abeer that female university classmates are only worthy of short-term physical relationships, Ashiq comments that their wives, chosen by their parents, will deserve their respect and commitment. His assertiveness and contention arise with his explicit use of sexual terms and his evaluation of women with whom he has apparently failed to socialise (line 3). In this extract and also in other dialogic interactions, the exaggerated and enunciated pronunciation with prosodic features, such as abrupt rising and falling intonation, stress on important words, deliberate lengthening of the last vowels in *khankir pola, chuida muida,* and *lagamu* allow them to show indignation, protest, threat, and accusation, and consequently, they can negotiate 'simplified masculine identity' (Pujolar, 2001) inflecting other dimensions of their identification. In addition, the aggressive way of speaking seems to be accepted as a natural form of conversation, and hence there is no sign of discomfort or annoyance amongst the peer group as a result. Instead, the swearing and use of abusive words are recognised as norms, appreciated by laughter and indifference to the social impropriety of the words. The speech genres of swearing and dirty language are particular to their 'group culture'. Newon (2011, p. 151) with reference to a self-organised community of gamers, has identified

> how linguistic styles as ways of speaking/being specific to the community entail mutual and dialogic engagement in a common endeavour. As such, style is best understood as the dialogic co-construction of linguistic forms informed by shared beliefs, norms, and values giving meaning to the special world of the community – rather,

> that is, than seeing style as simply linguistic features according to particular social distributions.

The voices that these participants bring into their interaction through the stylisation of Bangla indicate that they *transtextualise* the linguistic resources and challenge the positions both in terms of their social class and demographic origin. For example, the voice with the deliberate stylisation of Bangla replete with slang, verbal aggression, taboo expressions and scatological images raises issues of class position, education, and demographic background. If considered within the broader realities of their life, Abeer and his friends' voice seems to constitute a transgressive act, invested with political purpose. When SB, SCB, and English are considered as privileged languages, and the regional varieties are associated with rural and lower or lower-middle class upbringing, these participants display and heighten the unsophistication in their voices: a ritual display of transgression which allows individuals to cross linguistic and social boundaries. It conforms to what Pujolar (2001) has shown: that young men find taboo expressions covertly attractive because they allow them to defy linguistic and social conventions. They can also show their ambivalence with their verbal aggression because they are very much aware of the broader social context that marginalises and disparages their linguistic, regional, educational, and class identities. Thus their language can be seen as political subversion (cf. Pujolar, 2001), showing that they are masculine enough to have total control over their language, over the women with whom they have failed to develop relationships, and their life. Consequently, when they linguistically produce masculinity in a specific context, they seem better positioned and feel more assertive and empowered in their local social arrangements. In addition, dysphemistic sexual expressions and verbal aggression towards women expressed in the voice seems to be an empowering strategy for them because they have the capacity to evaluate the women and at the same time, as mentioned in Extract 7.8, show that women hanker after money, enabling them to be at peace with the fact that they do not have girlfriends.

It would appear that on many occasions, the existence of the digital recorder and the possibility of being heard by me instigate the verbal frenzy of abusive words. The participants seem to consider the digital recorder and my identity as a researcher and teacher as a symbolic representation of authority, and they are thus

inclined to show that they are capable of defying the ‘social standards of demeanour’. For example, one of Ashiq and Abeer’s friends deliberately brings the recorder close to his mouth and utters amorously, “What does she record in the UOE? Ahh, uhhh, ahh, uh” (sounds of making love) [*ki record kore UOEte? Ahh, uhhh, ahh, uh*]. The sound of sex is their symbolic attempt to destabilise my authoritative position. Overall, this transglossic analysis illustrates that these research participants’ double-voicing expressed in parodic, ironic, and satirical voices, and linguistic and cultural resources expressed in stress, intonation, slang and swear words create transglossia within their *intertextual*, *contextual*, and *subtextual* references. In their transglossia, they mobilise a range of identity attributes.

In Extract 7.10, a similar name-calling trend is observed that reflects the students’ strong revulsion over an incident in which the Bangladeshi flag was disrespected in a South-Asian music competition arranged by an Indian television channel, *Tara*-TV. The floor of the stage where the singers stood and performed bore a red circle on green background that closely resembled the national flag of Bangladesh (see below). Even though the organisers strongly denied that it was deliberate, people in Bangladesh were agitated over the issue. This on-line protest written in Bangla was posted on FB accounts, leading eventually to this conversation between the participants. Both Shamim and Nayeem are furious because they consider the creation of the stage to have been a deliberate attempt to humiliate Bangladesh.

বাংলাদেশ
ভারতের তারা টিভিতে বাংলাদেশের জাতীয় পতাকা পদদলিত !

আক্ষরিক অর্থেই হতবাক হওয়ার মতো কান্ড। জানুয়ারি মাসে এক শনিবার ঢাকার দর্শকরা তারা টিভি চ্যানেলের গানের অনুষ্ঠানের মঞ্চের ওপর অঙ্কিত জাতীয় পতাকার ওপর দাঁড়িয়ে সঙ্গীত পরিবেশন করতে দেখেছেন। এরপরেও কি আমরা ভারতের চ্যানেলগুলো বয়কট করবনা ? আর কত? এই খবরটি সবাইকে জানান। শেয়ার করুন। মা-বোন বা যারা ভারতীয় চ্যানেল দেখে থাকেন তাদের নিরুৎসাহিত করুন এসব দেখতে। আপনারা দেখেছেন কিনা জানিনা ভারতের মানুষ আমাদের নিয়ে হাসি ঠাট্টা করে ফ্যান পেজ খোলে। তারমাঝে একটি ফ্যান পেজ" ভারত ছাড়া বাংলাদেশ শেষ " ! ভেবে দেখুন কি করবেন?

ওরা হয়ত বলবে যে, বাংলাদেশের পতাকার দৈর্ঘ্য-প্রস্থের অনুপাত তো সেখানে নাই, তাহলে ওটা বাংলাদেশের পতাকা হল কিভাবে? কিন্তু আমরা যারা বাংলাদেশি, আমরা জানি তারা আমাদের পরোক্ষ ভাবে হেয় করলো। এটা বুঝতে তো নিশ্চয় আইনস্টাইন হওয়া লাগে না।

[Translation of the above FB post:

<u>Bangladesh</u>
National flag of Bangladesh trampled on India's Tara TV.

The incident is bound to render all literally speechless! On a Saturday in January, the audience in Dhaka city saw singers performing in one of the music shows on the Tara TV Channel standing right on the national flag painted on stage. Shouldn't we boycott all Indian channels after this incident? What more do we need? Please let others know. Share. Discourage anyone, including your mothers and sisters, from watching Indian channels. I don't know if you have seen this, but the Indians have opened fan page to ridicule us. One of the fan pages was "Without India, Bangladesh is dead". Think – what will you do?

They might say that the actual ratio of the length and breadth of a Bangladeshi flag was not there, so how could it be a Bangladeshi flag? But we, the Bangladeshi, know that they have indirectly humiliated us. You do not need to be Einstein to comprehend it.]

Extract 7.10: *TO ALL INDIANS,,,,U ALL R SENSELESS ND STUPID*

Guide to languages: Bangla (regular font); English (**bold**)

		FB conversation	Translation
1.	Shamim:	**TO ALL INDIANS,,,,U ALL R SENSELESS ND STUPID,,,,,U ALL R RUBBISH,,,,,,U DONT KNOW HOW 2 RESPECT OTHER COUNTRIES,,,,,U**	TO ALL INDIANS,,,,U (YOU) ALL R (ARE) SENSELESS ND (AND) STUPID,,,,,U (YOU) ALL R (ARE) RUBBISH,,,,,,U (YOU) DONT KNOW HOW 2 (TO) RESPECT OTHER

		ALL R IDIOTS ND SOMETHING I DONT WANT 2 USE D WORD IN FB..... :p	COUNTRIES,,,,,U (YOU) ALL R (ARE) IDIOTS ND (AND) SOMETHING I DONT WANT 2 (TO) USE D (THE) WORD IN FB..... :p
2.	Shamim:	shalar indian ra kuttar baccha/..... ogula pakistanider thekeo kharap/........[	Brother-in-law, the Indian is the son of a bitch/ …. They are worse than the Pakistanis/….
3.	Nayeem:	hmmm....dosto 2uy ato dina busta parcos/**tnkz**/// Salara to sob danda & akada!!!bece nay!!!!!!!!	hmmm.... friend you have understood at last/ thankz/// those brothers-in law are all penis & uncircumcised!!! They don't have balls!!!!!!!
4.	Shamim:	ami dosto aga thekei jantam shalara shob k*****R pola,,,,,,kintu eirokom bainchodgiri korbe jantam na,,,,,,,,,, :P	Mate, I knew it that they are k*****R pola [son of a bitch],,,, but I didn't expect that they would turn into such sister-fuckers,,,,,,,,, :P
5.	Nayeem:	ora sob **complit** madar ch.o.d!	They are all complete mothers-f.u.ck.ers!

The 'national symbol' of a flag seems to evoke conflicted feelings for Shamim and Nayeem. Their strong reaction to the event on Tara-TV indicates that Bangladeshi nationality, Bangladeshi nationalism, and Bangladesh as a nation state do have relevance for them, and that the 'flag' of Bangladesh indicates their affiliation and typifies their national belonging. As Blackledge and Creese (2009a, p. 455) have mentioned, "flags are routine symbols of nationhood, not usually noticed, usually banal, but nonetheless a reminder of nationality and the reproduction of nationalism". The recurring enforcement of the significance of nationalism and the national symbol for the reification of nationalism in everyday 'banal' words does make it a 'signia' of nationalism. The photographic image of a singer standing on the flag of Bangladesh and the provocative and powerful nationalistic discourses uploaded with the photo have made the virtual space a complex ideological context, a site of contestation, where these participants negotiate a strong nationalistic identity which usually remains latent in their everyday discourses.

In this extract, participants are involved in several instances of name-calling with which they contextualise their relations with the political history of the country, and

in the process, show a different facet of their identity. The data *pretextually* refers to the history of the nine-month long liberation war of Bangladesh (then East Pakistan) in 1971 against Pakistan (then West Pakistan) which committed genocide with massacres, killing, rape, and the strategic and organised eradication of the intelligentsia and the religious minority, Hindus, with an estimated death toll of one to three million people (Akmam, 2002). While Pakistan's actions left a deep scar in the relationship between Bangladesh and Pakistan, India, played the role of a 'friend', supporting the liberation movement (Marwah, 1979). Even though there is speculation as to why the Indian Government helped Bangladesh, the Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi allowed the exiled Bangladeshis into the refugee camps on the border of Bangladesh and India and assisted the exiled East Pakistan Army officers and *mukti bahini* (freedom fighters) to train and fight against the West Pakistani Army in its fight against West Pakistan. However, since independence in 1971, the constant feud over the 198 political enclaves along the northern section of the border between India and Bangladesh (R. Jones, 2009a, 2009b), and the violation of the water-treaty agreement made between India and Bangladesh for sharing common waterbodies (M. Rahman, Rahman, & Asaduzzaman, 2010), has led to the role of India becoming disputed over the years. This FB conversation indicates the common ambivalence found in public discourse regarding India.

In line 2, Shamim's comment refers *pretextually* to the history in 1971, and with the use of a comparative term *thekeo* (than), he problematises the position of both countries. Even though he does not mention the nature of the violation of national rights committed by the private Indian channel Tara-TV, with the *intertextual* references to the genocide done by the Pakistanis, he defines the intensity of the crime the channel (indeed, the country) has committed. Positioning both countries on the same plane, he *subtextually* refers to the ideological roles both countries have in terms of political, historical, and socio-cultural significance. He refers back to the atrocities both countries have inflicted on Bangladesh.

The voices that Shamim and Nayeem borrow connect the past to the present, and they refer to political and historical contexts with these voices, *trantextualising* the linguistic resources. In line 3, Nayeem refers to the religious history of India and Pakistan, a context of confrontation, when he dissociates Bangladesh and Bangladeshis from others. With his specific reference to *danda* (penis) & *akada*

(uncircumcised), he brings to the fore the religious differences between Muslims and Hindus (the dominant population of India). *Subtextually*, this line refers to the ideological role that religion has played in the political and historical context of South Asia. On the one hand, Muslims consider themselves the ‘saviour’, having introduced the spirit of Islam into Indian territory with the seizure of the Delhi region circa 1200 C.E. and the establishment of the Islamic dynasty, collectively known as the Delhi Sultanate. On the other hand, Hindus consider Muslims to be ‘demon-like barbarians’ who invaded their land, forced the Brahmins to “abandon their sacrificial rites”, and confiscated temples to construct mosques (Akmam, 2002, p. 697). With an *intertextual* reference to Muslim power during the era of the Delhi Sultanate and the representation of their religious identity extending far back in time, Nayeem claims the superiority of Bangladesh, which as a nation is an Islamic country. He foregrounds his Muslim identity, showing his reservation about Hindu identity, and seems to indicate that the Tara-TV authority does not have the balls (*bece nay)* because it is run by Hindus and consequently surreptitiously dishonoured the flag of Bangladesh. In other words, the TV authority, representing the Indians, does not have the courage to confront the Bangladeshis directly. In the 21st century, these participants are reacting to an event in the present with their construction of an imagined past with the *transtextual* use of linguistic resources, showing that identity is negotiated anew in the past and the present, both collectively and individually.

Note that these participants do not always conform to nationalistic discourses. When Bangladeshi nationalism is regularly produced and reproduced in the collective memory with the reiteration and reinforcement of national events, such as the Language Movement in 1952, Liberation War in 1971 and narratives of martyrdom, some participants mention that they are mere celebrations for them. They have been curiously silent in FB about national political movements, such as the Shahbag Movement, 2013 (mentioned in Chapter 4, Extract 4.2) or the genocide and killing that occurred in 2013. Some of them seem too keen to give up on the Bangla language because of the importance of the English language. With their comments in the interviews, they seem to present themselves as nonchalant about national identity, similar to the young adults in Britain who show themselves to be a ‘non-national generation’ (Fenton, 2007). Nayeem, for example, referring to the

significance of Bangla in relation to English, asks, *Bangla bhashar dorkar ki? kono dorkari nai* [why do we need Bangla? We don't need it] (080711). On a similar note, Abeer mentions that, *akhone keo jodi, mani, upore shiri beye uthte chai, take* ***English****e bhalo hoitei hobe. ... Bangla na janleo kichhu jai ashe na.* (*laughing*) *tarmane Banglar to dorkar nai* [If someone wants to climb the ladder, he must be good at English. Knowing Bangla is not necessary. … In other words, there is no need for Bangla] (062211). The discursive construction of Bangladeshi identity and linguistic expressions, *amar bhasha* (my language) with reference to Bangla are a representation of Bangladeshi nationalism. Nevertheless, this disparities in what people say about and what people do with language indicate that a language-centred view of identity falls short in addressing the momentary negotiation of identity which emerges in individual and collective mediation of language within the spatial realities of life.

Given the pull in two different directions, at times these participants sometimes resist nationalistic discourses and Extract 7.10 indicates their ambivalence about it. For example, in Chapter 5, I have shown that contradicting the nationalistic discourses, these participants treat language more as a resource and a commodity in an economic sense, rather than in a political or cultural sense; they consider the language to be both a product and process, as well as an "economic activity" (Heller, 2005, p. 1) – or, to extend Heller's (2010) metaphor – a necessity for social mobility. Hence, they prefer English to Bangla. They also show much reservation about Bangladeshi identity. However, Extract 7.10, even though meshed with the codes of both English and Bangla, displays significant traits of different voices, values, and identities[109]. Here, affiliation to the national flag is momentary, but strong and they separate themselves from the Indian and Pakistani based on their national and religious identifications. Hence, this extract shows that identity is

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[109] Participants are aware of the emotional, social, cultural, and political significance of Bangla and in general align themselves with Bangladeshi linguistic and cultural activities. Bangla is a symbol of pride when it is compared with regional varieties of language and indigenous languages, and is consequently given status as the language of the educated class. It is also imposed vertically in a top-down fashion on the indigenous communities, placing their languages on the verge of endangerment (cf. K. Chowdhury, 2008; Mohaiemen, 2012; Mohsin, 2003; N. Uddin, 2010). When the Government tries to impose Bangla as a symbol of pride and national and cultural identification in a top-down fashion, however, the participants, standing at the bottom, seem to assess its potentiality as a commodifiable and measurable skill. They judge whether Bangla can be translated into tangible measurable worldly achievements.

continually contested and renegotiated in language practices which are influenced by temporal and social realities of everyday life.

7.7 Summary

A close analysis of casual conversations indicates that the language of Nayeem and his friends is by no means limited to mixing identifiably different language resources, i.e., Bangla, English, or Hindi. These young participants take up varied voices borrowed from different varieties of Bangla and the genres of popular culture, and in the process, traverse linguistic and semiotic modes and codes. If language is perhaps inherently heteroglossic, always containing more than one voice with varied desires, intentions, meanings, ideologies, histories from the past and present, it becomes particularly so in such youthful discourses. The voices we hear in the language practices of these young participants are not so bounded only by bilingual code use. Even when they are speaking predominantly in one or two languages (as the accepted definition of 'language' indicates), there are layers of emerging meanings: a transgressive transformation of the language and the meaning itself. They make meanings in the complexity of *translocal*, *transcultural*, and *transtextual* relations of communication.

This chapter has shown that Nayeem and his friends' transglossic practices are distinctly different from those of Ria and her friends, even though the processes of languaging and identification that occur in *translocalisation* and *transculturation* are the same. The differences lead to three observations.

First, the language practices of both groups, as described in Chapters 6 and 7, are closely intertwined with their mobility in space. Nayeem and his friends, for example, have diverse exposure to different time and space: from rural/provincial towns to urban space; their transition from the least privileged education system in rural/provincial towns to an English-medium education system of the private university; their need to accommodate not only SCB, but also SB and English into their life; and their attempts to adjust to the new milieu of the university which includes students from different demographic, educational, and socio-economic backgrounds. In general, it seems that their movement in space brings them to a radically different space which becomes a source of friction and tension (cf. Roth-

Gordon & Woronov, 2009). Their language exhibits the socio-cultural dynamics of *Sheng* (a combination of English, Swahili, and Kenya's ethnic languages, such as Kikuyu, Luo, and Luyha) – the language of the urban youth in Kenya that evolves in the process of youth distancing themselves from the older generations, the rural traditional population and lifestyle, and from upper social classes and the rest of the society, as a way to bridge their ethnic differences in urban spaces (Karanja, 2010). In these extracts, Nayeem and his friends, coming as they do from different demographic backgrounds, develop their own stylised Bangla which is fluid in terms of accents and lexicalisation, even when Bangla provides its grammatical framework. The transglossia allows them to create their own niche in the UOE. Gender also seems to be a dominant motif, making a case about the causal effects of gender. While the participants in Chapter 6 seems to verbally go beyond female gender identity with a reference to imagined western women, the participants in Chapter 7 tend to accentuate their maleness not only by ritualised verbal aggression, but also by treating females deprecatingly. Thus the ways in which the participants in Chapters 6 and 7 negotiate the attributes of their gendered identity differs.

Second, while the popular discourses disregard the inherent diversity in the Bangla language spoken by regional varieties of speakers, and the research participants with privileged urban-centric upbringing stereotype them as 'uneducated' and 'hick' (they self-define themselves as 'uncultured'), their language is enriched with linguistic and cultural resources that they have accumulated in their life trajectories. The filmic way of speaking, different varieties of Bangla, the invention of new words, catch-phrases from TV advertisements, rudimentary expressions in English, the awareness of intertextual references (i.e., the possible appropriation of 'babe' for 'eve-teasing'), and their negotiation of identities within the ideologies implicit in language practices make their language transglossic. With careful manipulation of available linguistic and cultural resources, they "negotiate meanings to co-construct situated new norms" (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 106). Similar to bilingual speakers in other multilingual contexts (Jørgensen et al., 2011; Rampton, 2002), they take advantage of various linguistic and cultural resources to come up with novel expressions and develop their own style of communication. It is in fact the

social and linguistic ideologies that make the diversity in their language invisible (cf. Blommaert et al., 2005; Blommaert et al., 2006; Blommaert & Huang, 2009).

Third, linguistically disadvantaged positioning, both ascribed by others and defined by the research participants themselves and the construction of imagined communities (Chapter 5), do not mean that individuals will negotiate identities to become the *others* or members of the imagined communities. The participants construct images of *others* and position them in different spaces in the social landscape, and these constructions and positioning epitomise socially, culturally, and politically constructed meanings, presuppositions, values, and ideologies. They negotiate a broad range of multidimensional identifications beyond those images when they manipulate various accents, genres, registers, words, and sentences from different languages and varieties of Bangla. Participants are strategic in terms of their use and the kinds of affiliation, disaffiliation, inclusion, and exclusion they develop in their language practices. "As is evident …, social categories, their linguistic indexes, and the ways individuals fit into categories are not static and predetermined but are negotiated and constructed at the local level (Bailey, 2001, p. 214). Thus Nayeem's identity is structured and subjective, shifting and fluid, but ideologically infused with social histories, circumstances, and individual experiences. Transglossia also reveals that they are 'reflexive language users', creating, constructing, and negotiating their identities on the basis of the ideological role of the regional varieties of Bangla. When they find themselves socially or linguistically disadvantaged, they strengthen their positions, constructing urban streetwise identities. They linguistically minimise the possibility of being marginalised within the group for their linguistic and demographic backgrounds.

This does not mean, however, that these participants are free agents, ready to perform whatever identity they want through their language practices. Neither does it mean that they enjoy strong and privileged identity attributes like Ria and her friends. They enact different facets of their identification discursively within the broader ideological framework of a society that is stratified by class, language, education, and demographic background. As Rampton (2011a, 2013) has shown, even in the late capitalist society, class-based hierarchy still exists in a society in which individuals act on the linguistic resources available to them. The subject positions negotiated by these participants occur in the nexus of structure and agency

– very much lived and sustained in the moment of dialogic interaction, and hence momentary, performative, and chaotic. The varied ranges of identity attributes that are unleashed in their language are not stable, but are shifting and transitory. We may develop an emerging feeling about these attributes and we may hear different voices if we listen to them closely, but these voices are continually changing in time and space. That is why identity is not something they have, but something they make of themselves with the available linguistic and cultural resources.

Fourth, the transglossic language practices of both groups indicate that popular culture, similar to the socially accepted stratification markers such as language, nationality, class status, and demographic background, has become a relatively stable social marker for young adults. Research has identified the role of popular culture in youth language practices (Shankar, 2004, 2008a, 2008b), but the language practices of these two groups of participants indicate that popular culture is not only the origin of linguistic and cultural resource. For example, Abeer and his friends find immense pleasure in South Asian popular culture. In contrast, students like Luna or Ria (081811) bluntly state that they cannot relate to those students who find Bangladeshi or Indian films entertaining. Thus popular culture, which is stratified in their mind, enables people to differentiate between 'us' and 'them' based on their affiliation. For some participants, stylised Bangla and South Asian popular culture allow them to exert authority and assertiveness and show subversion; for others, they are simply the hicks. The realisation of similarities and differences in terms of social categories, inclusivity and exclusivity indexed in language and popular culture consumption, as Bailey (2001, p. 214) has identified, "is the basic realization of identity, marking who counts as the same and who counts as different".

The chapter has also shown that English is not always the only language in the powerplay in the post-colonial context, even though both the groups in Chapters 6 and 7 are aware of them and manipulate them. While SB in the written form dominates the written discourses and SCB dominates the spoken discourse, the research participants' stylisation of Bangla in Chapter 7 becomes a powerful tool for a further negotiation of identities for them. Transglossia that occurs in the stylisation of Bangla is emblematic of the participants' flouting the social standards of demeanour and transgression of the linguistic and social boundaries. They seem

to retain their authority and assertiveness in informal situations, even when they suffer from insecurity and embarrassment for their linguistic and educational background. Their novel transglossic language allows them to bring multiple voices into their discourses and to negotiate alternative social roles. These social roles become even more effective because of the double-voiced discourses expressed in their role-playing and the verbal frenzy of slang, abusive words, and dysphemistic expressions towards women. The voices that they appropriate from popular culture reflect their location and mobility in and through time and space. With these voices, they construct different facets of identity in different situations for different purposes which indicate the non-monolothic, contextually-situated, and unpredictable phenomenon of their identity.

This chapter brings this thesis to a close. In Chapter 8, the concluding chapter, the implications of the research both in the context of the international applied linguistics field and Bangladesh will be discussed, based on the findings presented in Chapters 4 - 7. A deliberate extended focus on Bangladesh is necessary because it has been literally unexplored in terms of sociolinguitics research.

Chapter 8 Transglossia in Applied Linguistics

8.1 Introduction

I have suggested in Chapter 7, that participants' language transglossic practices need to be explored with reference to their individual life trajectories, specifically their educational, linguistic and socio-economic backgrounds, the nature of their exposure to popular culture, and their mobility in space, whether rural, urban, or virtual. Only then insights into the process of identity, which is constantly negotiated in transglossic language practices that occur in mixed codes, modes, genres, and stylisation, and various voices from the past and present, can be gathered. I have also shown that the presence of *others* and individual locatedness in space are significant in the way individuals engage in the identification process.

In this final chapter, these findings are summarised and then discussed in terms of their implications for language and identity research, first in the context of the international field of applied linguistics and then Bangladesh.

8.2 Transglossia –Implications for Applied Linguistics

The research presented in this thesis is timely because it has theoretical and methodological implications for applied linguistics in general. On a theoretical level, the thesis contributes to the recent *trans-* movement that suggests the reconceptualisation of language (Canagarajah, 2013; Creese & Blackledge, 2010b; García, 2013; Jacquemet, 2005, Pennycook, 2007a). I have argued throughout the thesis that it is difficult to address the diversity of language with a focus on discreet linguistic systems, such as English, Bangla, or Hindi. When young adults speak, they do not limit themselves to identifiably different language resources; instead, they traverse linguistic and semiotic modes and codes to arrive at a transgressive transformation of language and identity. In other words, meanings occur through the transglossic mixture of various linguistic/cultural resources associated with explicit and implicit sociocultural, historical, and spatial relationships.

Based on the findings of the thesis, I recommend that *transgression* should be the locus of future language and identity research. Transgression offers a way to better understand the boundaries and limits which are confirmed by the very act of

transgression and transcendence. Transglossia unravels the critical moments when individuals deny and affirm structures and limitations. For example, if it is expected that Nayeem and his friends (cf. Chapters 5 & 7), because of their educational background, social class, and perceived weakness in English, will be marginalised in an English-medium university space, we will fail to recognise the critical points at which they negotiate their position and identity to reconfigure the meaning of 'self'.

I also suggest that the transgression observable in transglossia should be explored with reference to individual and collective imagination. Underlying the transgressive linguistic acts is the desire of young adults to be like an imagined someone. They construct an image of *others*; they imagine the world of *others*; they desire to see themselves in the world of *others*. As a result of prescriptive forms of language and accepted uniform attributes for certain identifications based on demographic and educational backgrounds, and ethnicity and nationality, such as *noakhailla*, 'Bangla-medium student', 'Chakma' or 'Bangladeshi', for example, there are also real and imagined *others* with different identity attributes who do not share the character attributes of these stereotypes. That is why Ria and Toma imagine a pristine Western world in which women are liberated. They engage in transglossia with a desire to be like them (cf. Chapter 6). By contrast, Tomal imagines the *others* – the English-medium students – to be *fast* and less-conservative, and he declares that he has become 50% like them (cf. Chapter 5). Ashiq acts like a hero from a Bangla and Hindi films, when he tries to draw attention of female students (cf. Chapter 7). Thus transgression involves imagination – a desire to be like someone who is linguistically advanced, professionally successful, or inspired by 'Western values'. The working of transgression and imagination needs to be addressed in applied linguistics research.

A focus on transgression in future research would appear to be more effective in addressing the dilemma between structure and agency, because transglossia is not about tokenistic border crossing. It is a deeply reflexive act of denial and affirmation that increases the scope of individual language and identity. For example, when Toma and her friends break the norm of gender in their language practices in the virtual space (cf. Chapters 4 & 6), or Nayeem and his friends disrupt the disciplinary rules of the University in the courtyard (cf. Chapters 4 & 7),

they are aware of the extent to which they can bend the normativity of being a woman in Bangladesh or being a student in a private university. Everyday acts of linguistic transgression thus open windows for understanding young adults' denial, the affirmation of linguistic and social boundaries, and the subtle understanding of the complexities involved in the process. The thesis has demonstrated that bringing transgression in language and identity to the fore does not minimise the urgency and reality of issues of power, struggle, disparity, and inequality caused by post-colonial politics, gender or language differences. Instead, as I have shown in this thesis, transgression explored through a transglossic framework creates opportunities to look at the realities, boundaries and structures, as individuals engage with them in their day-to-day life.

The incorporation of transgression in language and identity research will also render it possible to consider the other side of coin – the pleasure of transgression. As Pennycook (2007a, p. 41) has mentioned, transgression is "always connected with forms of pleasure and desire, and forms of pleasure and desire are dependent on transgression" and intricately intertwined with the "pleasure of doing things differently" (p.42). Sometimes in academic research, we become so keen to identify the critical issues in relation to power or gender that we miss those moments of pleasure. Young adults at times engage in transgression, regardless of whether they are disadvantaged and marginalised because of their life trajectories, educational backgrounds, linguistic and cultural capital, or gender. With the playful and creative use of language both on-line and off-line, they bring new meanings to their spaces – new spaces for transcendence – an embodiment of not only semiotic meaning but also of new spatial meaning. The reinvention of spatial meaning in pleasurable transgressive activities warrants further attention.

Transglossia thus allows a better understanding of individual reactions to norms and boundaries. With a proper integration of these factors in language and identity research, applied linguistics practitioners will be better equipped to address some of the structure and agency dilemma identified by Block (2013) without losing sight of the pleasure in transgression. I have already shown how language and identity emerge in the complexities of relationships between historically embedded and individually embodied habitus and transglossia. There is scope to address more of the issues raised by Block (2013) in longitudinal ethnographic studies; for example,

to what extent are individuals capable of reproducing or transforming the existing sociocultural order? In what ways do they engage with the sociocultural order so that their historically embedded and individually embodied habitus may change as a result of the new experience? The integration of transglossia in language and identity research will enable the exploration of these issues.

At the methodological level, transglossia addresses concerns about the *trans*-movement in recent applied linguistics research and contributes accordingly. In his critique of languaging and supervernacular, Makoni (2012, p. 194) suggested that although these notions have been introduced recently in applied linguistics to address the "rapid and complex" variation in language that cannot be captured with traditional norms of language analysis, it is also often the case that "traditional linguistic conventions are reintroduced into the analysis". The notion of *transglossia* and *transglossic framework* in the thesis are more effective in unravelling the integration and transgression of semiotic resources in language and the negotiation of identity (cf. Sultana et al., 2014).

These notions transglossia and transglossic *framework* have enabled me to analyse language, with reference to the unmerged voices of the speaker influenced by socio-ideological conflicts and contradictions in the past and present, and also with reference to *transculturalisation*, *translocalisation*, and *transtextualisation* by transgression between and within modes, codes, genre, and stylisation. Combining "the processual and socially infused concept of heteroglossia", i.e., "the irreducibly sociohistorical and ideological bases of language meaning and use" (Bailey, 2012, p. 506) with the transanalytical framework that looks at "texts and signs within the historical, local, discursive and interpretative elements of context" (Pennycook, 2007a, p. 44), I have developed the notion of transglossia and transglossic framework.

The transglossic framework thus offers a multilayered account of language, capturing the integration in the complexity of relations of the translingual practices of these participants and the diverse cultural resources on which they draw, with equal attention being paid to their historical, political, and ideological associations. Consequently, bringing the notion of transglossia to the fore rather than privileging notions such as code-switching and code-mixing, I have shown that a focus on

trans- analyses is by no means merely a valorisation of heterogeneity or hybridity. The transglossic framework with proper integration with ethnographic research will be effective for applied linguistics research in exploring explicit and implicit ideological, sociocultural, historical, and spatial relationships.

8.3 Transglossia and transgressive applied linguistics

With an excellent *trans*- turn in language and identity research, this thesis suggests that it is appropriate time to promote applied linguistics as a transdisciplinary field of inquiry. This confirms that applied linguistics needs to traverse conventional disciplinary boundaries and develop a transgressive applied linguistics stance. For example, I have developed the theoretical and methodological frameworks of the thesis with insights drawn from literary theories (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986), cultural studies (S. Hall, 1990, 1993), critical geography (Lefebvre, 1991; Soja, 1996), sociology (Bourdieu, 1991; Foucault, 1982, 1986), media studies (Hoek, 2010; Morcom, 2007), and applied linguistics. Consequently, with a transdisciplinary approach, as suggested by Elder (2004), Rajagopalan (2004), and Pennycook (2007a), I have been able to address the complexities and messiness of young adults' transglossia and identities more rigorously with sociolinguistic and cultural sensitivities.

A *trans*- theoretical framework with immediate focus on a more spatial domain rather than the temporal, while acknowledging the ethos of post-structuralism and post-colonialism in applied linguistics, indicates the necessity of transgressing the boundaries set by the 'post' movement. As I mentioned in Chapter 2, I accept the intricate relationship between language and identity but, based on the thesis, I also suggest going beyond the logocentrism of post-structuralism to see how individuals use signs and other semiotic resources in the real world, in the disordered complexity of their spatial realities. The spatial realisation of language and identity in the thesis, rather than the temporal realisation, also indicates the need to take applied linguistics discussions beyond the notion of post-colonialism. The post-colonial stance, because of its constant reference to the colonial past and absolute ties to it, allows only a narrow understanding of language and identity. By focusing on what is happening in the immediate time and space, I have problematised the over-dependence on and frequent reference to colonial history (cf. Chapters 4 & 5).

In escaping the binaries of the colonial and post-colonial, applied linguistics will be sensitive to the ways in which post-colonial young adults are responsive to the contingent nature of the social landscape, and the critical moments in which they defy the power-play. Applied linguistics will also identify the tensions in the way post-colonial young adults negotiate their identity as separate from 'post-colonial' beings, yet struggle to emancipate themselves from the colonial aftermath to become reflexive beings, strategically engaging with languages based on their pragmatic value and suspending the language-based and temporally defined identity with more flexible identity attributes.

I also recommend that applied linguistics should look at the other side of the coin, that is, the role of non-English popular culture in the life of young adults, with particular mindfulness of the Americanisation of world culture. The thesis indicates that it is impossible to proceed with research on language, identity, culture, or globalisation without paying adequate attention to popular culture. This also highlights the need for extensive research into the role of popular culture in young adults' transglossic language practices, to capture the infinite possibilities open to young adults to transgress linguistic and cultural boundaries. It is through this combination of resources that these participants engage in the processes of stylisation, presenting particular constructions of themselves, their interlocutors, their language resources, and their chosen cultural forms. The findings of this thesis strongly suggest that applied linguistics should take up the ethos of 'transgressive applied linguistics' (Pennycook, 2007a), which is flexible and yet sophisticated enough to conduct research on language and identity with rigour.

8.4 Transglossia and post-colonial Bangladeshi young adults

In this thesis, I have provided a counter narrative to claims about the Bangla language and the post-colonial Bangladeshi identity found in governmental and popular discourses in Bangladesh. I have identified a disjuncture between the claims and the realities of young adults' lives, showing the necessity to address the state- and nation-centric monolingual orientation. I have identified a gap in the academic discourse in the context of Bangladesh and in applied linguistics in general, providing a nascent understanding of a group of young adults engaged in transglossic language practices in the peripheral South Asian post-colonial context

of Bangladesh. This is the first work to date, either in English or Bangla that provides information about a group of young adults' language and identity practices in the context of Bangladesh and their opinions and views about these practices.

The thesis reveals that the group of young adults creatively, strategically and pragmatically use diverse linguistic and semantic resources from English, Bangla, and Hindi (Sultana, 2012a, 2012b). Young adults make meaning in the transgressive mixture of various codes, modes, genres, and stylisation within and beyond their cultural/linguistic boundaries. In other words, linguistic and cultural resources do not make meaning in isolation as separate local and global entities, but in the complexity of *transcultural* (drawing on multiple cultural resources), *transmodal* (operating across different modalities) and *transtextual* (deploying a range of meaning-making practices across languages) relations of communication. They are better understood as 'resourceful speakers' (Pennycook, 2012), whose linguistic practices are skilfully crafted by sophisticated modern technologies and the flow of elements of modern popular culture. As these young adults transgress various linguistic and semiotic modes, not only do they borrow, mimic or repeat certain resources, but they also relocalise those various available global linguistic and cultural resources. This process produces new linguistic possibilities, based on the particular individuals' reflexive engagement with the 'translanguaging' process.

The young adults are better understood as being actively and powerfully engaged with different languages and popular culture, resisting and recontextualising these languages and popular cultural texts (Sultana et al., 2013). They use an already-mixed code of Bangla or English as an expressive means of "creative synthesis" to perform their modern "pluralistic … identities" (Nilan & Feixa, 2006, p. 5). What is perhaps more significant than this mixed code is the cultural borrowing and cross-referencing of cultural practices, and the fact that English may be equally employed to achieve this. In other words, the impromptu use of multiple voices allows young adults to serve 'double-edged' purposes: to transgress linguistic and cultural boundaries and to develop peer bonds by sharing their interest in similar kinds of entertainment, and engaging in stylised performances. The use of popular culture here is not "symptomatic of cultural levelling", as suggested in relation to the global spread of popular culture. Instead, popular cultural resources are being used in "radically different ways" with creativity and agency (Bucholtz, 2002, p. 543).

That is to say, when young adults borrow popular cultural resources, they produce novel meanings which have never been used before.

Young adults' transglossic language practices and negotiation of identity are also ideological, epitomising socially constructed presuppositions and values. For example, their stylisation of language, as observed in banglicised English and anglicised Bangla, occurs in their affiliation and disaffiliation, and inclusion and exclusion with/from different imagined *others* and *imagined communities*, reflecting, sustaining and nurturing a large-scale social system as accepted collectively in the social landscape. In addition, the discursive construction of *others*, the 'sameness' and 'difference', or 'inclusivity' and 'exclusivity' based on stylisation, is significantly important for young adults' self- projections. Engaging in transglossic language practices, the young adults in the research accentuate their Dhaka-centric upbringing and differentiate themselves from the recently-arrived students from provincial towns and rural areas; they also enact a classed or gendered identity with the extensive use of Western linguistic and cultural semiotic resources (cf. Chapters 6 & 7).

By contrast, some participants tend to hide their regional linguistic background in order to be accepted in the urban-centric university. They enact different facets of their identification discursively within the broader ideological framework of a society that is stratified by class, language, education, gender, and demographic background (cf. Chapters 6 & 7). As Rampton (2011a, 2013) has shown, even in late capitalist society, the class-based hierarchy still exists in society, within which individuals act on the linguistic resources available to them. These young adults' subject positions are influenced by these social dynamics, even though they seem to have the ability to negotiate them with their language practices. Entangled in multiple voices, these language practices indicate that the extreme polarised positions of English and Bangla (as propounded in governmental and popular discourses) is inadequate in appraising the complexity of young adults' lives.

Young adults' transglossic language practices also bring forth the alternative roles of English and Bangla not identified in governmental, popular, or academic discourses. On the one hand, while reconfirming that the historical presence of English is heightened by the educational practices in the university, through

information technology, and popular culture – and most importantly, the promise of upward social mobility – this thesis shows that in this organic process of imposition and rejection, English provides an alternative choice for speakers of indigenous languages. They consider English to be a more neutral language than Bangla. This indicates that English creates avenues for further negotiation of identification for educated indigenous young adults. They can show their resistance to Bangla with an appropriate use of English (cf. Chapter 5). On the other hand, while Bangla has more prestige than the regional varieties, it works as a driving force for the emergence of stylised Bangla. Young adults who consider themselves disadvantaged in terms of their linguistic competence in English, SB and SCB strengthen their position by constructing urban streetwise identities in stylised Bangla (cf. Chapter 7). With the stylisation of Bangla and various unlawful activities in the courtyard, they negotiate alternative social roles individually and collectively to minimise the possibility of being marginalised for their linguistic, demographic, and educational backgrounds. These young adults retain their authority and assertiveness in informal situations when they experience insecurity and embarrassment in formal classroom situations. In other words, neither SCB nor English is always the language in the power play.

Showing transglossia as a spatial practice, I have identified the fragmentary, momentary, performative, and chaotic nature of young adults' identification in the immediate and virtual spaces, negotiated in their dialogic interaction. I have shown that even in the same social landscape, young adults come with different spatiotemporal experiences and they reinvent their new sense of self in relation to the new spatiotemporality in which they find themselves. The complexities of transglossia and young adult identity are explained better when they are considered in terms of spatiality – activities, material arrangements, symbolic and social artefacts, and the presence of other social actors. In their transglossic practices, the participants also create a *third space,* reinventing a smaller space in the university with a new meaning in subversive activities, making it "a location of radical openness and possibility" (hooks, 1990, p. 153). It is not only the immediate space that impacts on their language and identification, but also the presence and linguistic, social, and cultural significance of *heterotopias*, that is, *other* spaces. These may be symbolically represented in popular culture, for example, or the

liberated life-style of Western women, or created in the virtual space, and may impact on the ways in which they engage in transglossic language practices and negotiate identities in their immediate spaces (cf. Chapter 4).

Virtual space provides new avenues for transglossia and identity for young adults who have access to the space. Virtual space becomes the embodiment of not only the semiotic meaning but also of new spatial meaning. An orchestrated array of semiotic resources renders their language practices in the virtual space 'transmodal', and a new kind of socio-semiotics emerges. They are the "intertextual operators" (Androutsopoulos, 2010, p. 205), constantly involved in semiotic reconstruction in transcultural flows, interacting across different genres of popular culture, borrowing, bending and blending them into new modes of expression. Thus they transgress the possibility of the writing mode and increase the meaning-making potential of the virtual space - the transmodally entangled 'intertextual' interface. With an apt use of these various modes, they enjoy the flexibility of taking up different identity attributes in *transmodal* language practices. Hence, their identities here are not stable, but shifting and transitory. It is possible to develop an emerging feeling about these identities and different voices if they are listened closely, but these voices are continually changing in time and space. Identity is not something they possess, but something they make of themselves with the available linguistic and cultural resources within the affordances of space.

Young adults' language as a spatial practice problematises the current governmental discourses regarding language and identity in two ways. First, their interactional construction of multiple identities and shifting alignments, as Bailey (2001, p. 192) has identified with reference to a group of Dominican Americans, "belie reified dichotomies, monolithic identities, and the one-to-one correspondence between linguistic code and social affiliation". This understanding of language and space questions the uniform and essentialised Bangladeshi category based on language prompted by the Government and popular discourse. Young adults' languages problematise and weaken the discourses of one uniform Bangladeshi identity, showing the necessity of the reconceptualisation of the language and nation-based identity. It also indicates that too much preoccupation with linguistic features will ignore the relational and emerging nature of language and identity.

Second, this understanding of language and space draws attention to the spatial realities rather than the historical events. Nationalistic discourses in Bangladesh are deeply embedded and realised in the valorisation of Bangla, commemoration of wars, narratives, and memories of 1952 and 1971, the contributions of two national figures, President Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and President Major Zia, and the movement against the 1971 war-criminals. The thesis indicates that young adults' experience of nationalism is not always strongly tied to these historical events; neither do they always negotiate their identity with reference to these events. They long for dynamic and organic ways of being, promised in the present and in the future. Because of their mobility in virtual space and their engagement with different time and space beyond their immediate boundaries of nationalism, the bounded, segmented, linear time of local and national space becomes just one dimension of the multifaceted time and space they experience in their day-to-day lives. They come to terms with the varied identity repertoire collected from multiple temporalities and spatialities, even though nationalism is an essential dimension of who they are.

In summary, the thesis has immense significance at the micro- and macro-level in the context of Bangladesh. At the micro-level, these young adults are transgressing both languages, English and Bangla, and taking the languages and identity beyond their essentialised boundaries of Bangla and Bangladesh. An ethnographic understanding of ***their*** agency in ***their*** language practices reveals that they are not non-agentive subordinated colonised subjects ready to be subjugated. Instead, they are "postcolonial speakers of English, negotiate[ing] the place of English in their lives" (Canagarajah, 2006, p. 200). The English language provides them with new metalinguistic and indexical opportunities, and they take advantage of their knowledge (Sultana, 2012a, 2012b). Based on these research data, it can be said that for these young adults, English is not only the language of the coloniser or 'globalony' (Hussain, 2007): it is the language of 'post-colonial performativity' (Pennycook, 2004). With the strategic use of English, they recontextualise their own languages and their sense of who they are. At the macro level, these participants, with their mixing and blending, challenge the idealisation or *fictio juris* of the illusion of one language or one identity. There is futility in any conviction that Bangla can be compartmentalised as a separate entity from English,

considering its colonial past and hegemonic global role. It is comprehensible that these young adults' voices are unrestrainable and unsuppressible, when they are nurtured by the ideological role of English in the society and nourished by the enticing and exotic ideas and images of the Western media.

Overall, young adults' transglossic language practice is far more complicated than *linguistic pollution*. Defining the messiness and chaos that evolve in the mixing of codes, modes, and genres as *language pollution* (cf. Chapter 1) and the young adults – the reflexive language users – as victims of neocolonisation, will undermine the sociolinguistic significance of language and identity. The thesis strongly indicates the importance of going beyond the linguistic pollution and imperialism that foresees the English language and American popular culture as the homogenising force imposed on the young adults.

8.5 Future research: Bangladesh

On the basis of the findings of the thesis, I foresee the need for further research studies at both the micro and macro level.

At the micro level, there should be more intensive research on Bangla as a local practice. Historically, Bangla has always been placed at a lower level than Persian, Sanskrit, English, and later on, Urdu (cf. Chapter 1). Musa (1989) for example mentions that Bangla played a significant role in the 1952 Martyr Day, but it was in the 1969 *gono obhhutyan* (Massive Movement) against West Pakistan that Bangla became part of the political agenda. In independent Bangladesh, it has been again elevated to a high position. There are plenty of academic research studies that point to the consequences of that elevation, namely, the marginalisation of indigenous languages and the violation of the linguistic rights of indigenous language speakers (S. Ahsan & Chakma, 1989; K. Chowdhury, 2008; Mohsin, 2003; M. Uddin, 2010; N. Uddin, 2010). However, no applied linguistics, anthropological, or cultural studies have so far undertaken on how speakers of regional varieties of Bangla and speakers of indigenous languages suffer from social and cultural humiliation, both in their day-to-day life and in the media, literature and popular culture. The thesis has given only a glimpse of this.

With a process-oriented approach to national identity in future, i.e., how nationalism is practised at the grass-roots level, specifically in everyday language practices, research studies will, first, promote a better understanding of the individual, collective, spatial and temporal realisation of nationalism, national identity, and nation-centric discourses, and the mechanisms used by young adults in the reconstruction of national identity. Second, further research will reveal the politics, if any, behind the overwhelmingly and over-powering nationalistic discourses prevalent in the context of Bangladesh, and the strong nationalistic stance taken by the Government. While being respectful of the history of the making of Bangladesh, this will lead to constructive ways to fight deceptions, political purposes and vested interests in the manipulation of historical events and the collective Bangladeshi sentiment.

The significance of popular culture and the localisation and deglobalisation of global resources in young adults' transglossia in Bangladesh need to be addressed in applied linguistics research. This will lead to a better understanding of language learning processes. Without intensive exposure to Hindi, Japanese, and Korean languages in day-to-day interactions, many young adults acquire some level of linguistic competence in these languages. Following the recommendation of Lin and Martin (2005 as cited in Creese & Blackledge, 2010b, p. 113), I see the necessity of finding "teachable pedagogic resources" beyond prescriptive pedagogic practices. Based on their transglossia, it is now important in the area of language policies, language in education policies, and materials development to decrease the dependency on a language epistemology that promotes divisions and singularisms in the form of monolingual instructional approaches and 'anglophone' ideology that promotes English monolingualism in the private tertiary education system or separates bilingualism with equal but discreet emphasis on English and Bangla in the primary to the higher secondary Bangla-medium education (cf. Blackledge & Creese, 2008; Creese & Blackledge, 2010a, 2010b; García, 2009, 2011, 2013, 2014).

While acknowledging the significance of the nationalist fervour in favour of Bangla, I suggest that the vibrancy and vigour observable in the transglossic language practices in virtual space of the new generation of young adults in Bangladesh demand attention in applied linguistics research. More

sociolinguistically informed research, particularly in terms of those who are restricted by sociocultural ideologies in real time and space, is needed. This will lead to a better understanding of how individuals reconstruct their supposedly unified and stable identities within the fluidity of space. Further research, with the appropriate use of a transglossic framework and a focus on transmodality, will untangle the complexities of the meaning-making process observable in the virtual space. There is clearly potential for more research on the relationship between transglossia and gender as a result of mobility in the virtual space, as well as the significance of computer mediated languages and the interaction between young adults' linguistic, cultural, and political ideologies, and identification processes.

At the macro level, the thesis highlights specific areas worthy of further research. Attention should be paid to the "societal bilingualism in a globalized world: a stable, and yet dynamic, communicative network with many languages in *functional interrelationship,* instead of being assigned separate functions" (García, 2009, p. 78; 2013; emphasis original). I have already mentioned that the academic discourses define the Bangladeshi linguistic situation as 'diaglossic' (cf. Chapter 1) with *sadhu bangla* (Standard Bangla, SB) enjoying greater prestige than *chalit* (Standard Colloquial Bangla, SCB) (Dil, 1986, p. 452). Banu (2002) has described the linguistic situation as triglossic according to the functional distribution of languages in which Bangla occupies the status of both High and Low variety. The transglossic language practices shown in this thesis challenge the suitability of this type of demarcated use of languages, even though the references to specific language and associated prestige are a constant point of reference in the way these young adults position themselves in the social landscape. More research would problematise the simplicty and viabilities of these notions.

Greater effort to bring academics and policy-makers onto the same platform in the context of Bangladesh would be beneficial. For example, language policy and medium of education are areas that, unlike sociolinguistics, have received research attention; the disparities and differences between public and private education systems and the social dynamic of *othering* in constructing social stratification and hierarchies have already been identified by Hamid (2011), Hamid et al. (2013); A. Rahman (2007a); S. Rahman (2009); Sultana (2003, 2008, 2014b). Nevertheless, the scenario has not changed, illustrating the commonly found disjuncture between

academic research, policy-making, and practices whereby scant attention is paid to the practical implications of the findings, with policy-makers and stake-holders being more interested in the implementation of policies than their viability and evaluation. It is necessary for academics to take bolder steps to make their voice audible to policy-makers and the Government.

On the basis of the findings of the thesis, I also see of the possibility for longitudinal and cross-national research. I have observed that young adults' use of English in Bangladesh is strikingly similar to that of first and second generation Bangladeshi bilingual immigrants in the UK, even though demographically the users are located in two distinctly different contexts. Some of the participants in this study pronounce Bangla voiceless stops like /p/ t/ k/ with aspirations, as do second generation bilingual immigrants in the UK (Al-Azami, 2006). They also use Bangla suffixes with English root words, like first generation speakers, as in 'friend*er*' 'family*r*' or 'feeling*ta*' and frequently code-mix and code-switch within English and Bangla. Interestingly, even though these participants are the same age as the second generation UK immigrants, their linguistic manipulation is more like that of first generation immigrants, i.e., they use English phonemes, morphemes, words, and phrases in Bangla syntaxes, whereas the second generation uses Bangla phonemes, morphemes, words, and phrases in English syntaxes. This finding suggests that there is scope for a comparative sociolinguistic study on the nature of linguistic manipulation by bilingual Bangladeshis at home and abroad.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Flyer for Student Notice Board

FLYER FOR THE STUDENT NOTICE BOARD

Hi there! My name is Shaila Sultana and I am a doctoral candidate in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (FASS) at the University of Technology Sydney (UTS), Australia.

I am conducting a research and I would appreciate your participation.

WHY DO I NEED YOUR PARTICIPATION?

The focus of my research is YOU – the YOUNG ADULTS. My objective is to explore how you use languages, i.e., Bangla, English, or Hindi in your day-to-day activities at the university. I also want to know about YOUR experiences, opinions and attitudes regarding the impact of these languages on your life.

WHY WILL YOU AGREE TO PARTICIPATE?

In daily and weekly newspapers and magazines, editors, columnists, regular contributors write in detail about the impact of English and the global culture on the Bangla language as well as Bangladeshi identity. On many occasions, the young generations have been considered responsible for the current distortion of the Bangla language. Their Bangla with one or two English or Hindi words in between have generally been harshly critiqued.

Only with your own voice, YOU can address this issue. Only with your own experiences, YOU can help people understand the role of these languages in young adults' life in Bangladesh.

WHAT WILL YOU HAVE TO DO?

In fact, not much. I will be on your campus during the summer semester this year (May – September, 2011). I will talk to you and your friends about the situations when you prefer to use English, Bangla, and Hindi and why. I will ask your opinions about popular culture, globalisation, history and culture of Bangladesh, Bangladeshi identity, and so on. I will ask you to fill up a form for information on your personal, demographic, and educational background. If you are willing, I will accompany you during your class breaks and see for myself how you use these languages in your social activities within the university premises.

WILL YOUR CONTRIBUTION STAY PRIVATE?

Of course! Your identity, that is, your personal details will not be revealed to anyone else. I will use another name (i.e. pseudonym) for you and your friends.

WHAT WILL YOU DO NOW?

If you agree to participate in the research, please email me (shaila.sultana@student.uts.edu.au) as early as possible. I will send you an information sheet with more details on the research.

Waiting to hear from you soon,

Shaila Sultana, Doctoral Candidate, FASS, UTS
Phone: + 61 2 9514 9025

Appendix 2: Information Letter for Students

INFORMATION LETTER FOR STUDENTS

TRANSGLOSSIC LANGUAGE PRACTICES: YOUNG ADULTS TRANSGRESSING LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY IN BANGLADESH

WHO IS DOING THE RESEARCH?

My name is Shaila Sultana and I am a student at UTS. My supervisor is Professor Alastair Pennycook.

WHAT IS THIS RESEARCH ABOUT?

The purpose of the research is to explore your social practices, your uses of different languages, such as Bangla and English in your day-to-day life and their impact on your identities.

IF I SAY YES, WHAT WILL IT INVOLVE?

I will accompany you outside your classroom, for example, in student cafeterias or your favourite hangouts within the university premises for about 3 to 4 days per week over 2 to 3 months (May to September, 2011). I will ask you to participate in individual interviews and focus group discussions that will take about 4 to 6 hours of your time over a period of three months. During these sessions, I will want to know about your personal opinions and experiences about English, Bangla, and Hindi and when you prefer to use these languages and why. I will ask you whether your perception of yourself changes with the use of these languages. I may also request access to Facebook and SMS messages that you are comfortable to share with me.

WHY HAVE I BEEN ASKED?

I believe that there are lots of misconceptions around the issues of language uses and identities of young adults. Only your views about English, Hindi, and Bangla and your experiences with these languages in your everyday life may readdress these issues.

DO I HAVE TO SAY YES?

You don’t have to say yes.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF I SAY NO?

Nothing. I will thank you for your time so far and won’t contact you about this research again.

IF I SAY YES, CAN I CHANGE MY MIND LATER?

You can change your mind at any time and you don’t have to say why. I will thank you for your time so far and won’t contact you about this research again.

WHAT IF I HAVE CONCERNS OR A COMPLAINT?

If you have any concerns regarding this research, you may communicate with my supervisor, Professor Alastair Pennycook by email or telephone:

Professor Alastair Pennycook, FASS, UTS

Email: Alastair.Pennycook@uts.edu.au

Telephone: + 61 2 9514 3067

If you would like to talk to someone who is not connected with the research, you may contact Professor or the Research Ethics Officer at UTS on 02 9514 9772.

WHAT DO I NEED TO DO NOW?

If you agree to participate in the research, please complete and sign the enclosed consent form.

Yours sincerely,

Shaila Sultana
Doctoral Candidate
FASS, UTS
Phone:
Email:

Appendix 3: Information Sheet

QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear students: This questionnaire is a part of the research that I am conducting for my doctoral dissertation at the University of Technology, Sydney, Australia. Your responses in this questionnaire will enable me to identify participants for the research which intends to identify the ways young adults use English, Hindi, and Bangla for their social practices within the university and what impacts these languages have on their identities. I appreciate your taking time to fill this questionnaire. Thank you in advance.

Shaila Sultana

Ph. D Candidate, Faculty of Social Sciences and Arts, University of Technology, Sydney, Australia

shaila.sultana@student.uts.edu.au

Direction: Put a tick mark (√) in the box that says what you want to say. You may use **eithe**r English, Bangla or both for answering the questions.

PERSONAL INFORMATION

1) Name: _______________ Department: _________ Semester/year: _________
2) Gender: ☐ Female ☐ Male
3) Where were you born? ____
4) How long did you live in the place of your birth? ________________________
5) How long have you lived in Dhaka, Bangladesh?________________________
6) Which places outside Dhaka have you lived so far for a considerable period of time? ____
7) Who do you live with in Dhaka now, i.e., parents, brothers and sisters, or friends? ____
8) Your father's profession, i.e., farming, small business, established business, private or government service, doctor, engineer: _________________________
9) Your father's academic qualification, i.e., SSC, HSC, BA, MA: ____
10) Your mother's profession, i.e., farmer, small business, established business, private or government service, doctor, engineer: _________________________
11) Your mother's academic qualification, i.e., SSC, HSC, BA, MA: ____

12) Which school did you go? Name of the School: ___________________
Location ____

13) What type of school was it? ☐ Bangla-medium ☐ English medium

14) Which college did you go? Name of the College: __________________
Location ____

15) What type of college was it? ☐ Bangla-medium ☐ English medium?

LANGUAGE USE

16) What languages do you speak? _______________________________________

17) Do you speak any dialect of Bangla, i.e., Sylheti, Chatgaya, or Noakhali, at home? If yes, which one? _____________________________________

18) Do you speak a language other than Bangla, such as English or Hindi at home? If yes, which one? ____

19) Do you speak a language other than Bangla, such as English or Hindi with your friends? If yes, which one? ____

20) Do you speak a language other than Bangla in the university? ____

21) If you are willing to participate further in this research, please give your email address and telephone number in the blank given below.

Email address: ______________________________

Phone Number: ______________________________

Thank you for answering all the questions.

Appendix 4: Semi-structured In-depth Individual Interview

Interview Session 1

For Participants Born and Brought Up Outside Dhaka

- How is your life in Dhaka? How did you feel when you first came to Dhaka?
- Tell me something about your initial experiences at UOE.

Role of English as a Compulsory School/College/ University Subject in Your Life

- English has been a compulsory subject in your school and college. What did you usually do in your classes and tutorial sessions?
- In what ways do you think that the English you learnt there prepared you for the academic and social activities at university?
- To what extent have the English courses at university been beneficial to your education here? In what ways have they developed your English skills?
- Is it very important to learn English as a compulsory subject? If yes, why?

Practices in the Lives of Young Adults at a University in Bangladesh

- What do you usually do every day? What languages do you use for your day-to-day activities?

Use of English in Your Social Practices

- To what extent do you need English for the following social practices at your **university**?
  - Understanding class lectures
  - Answering questions or oral presentations in class
  - Writing answers in examinations
  - Talking to teachers
  - Talking to friends
  - Reading course books and notices from the university authority, teachers, or university clubs
  - Participating in university clubs
  - Dealing with the university administration

- To what extent do you need English for the following social practices in your **personal life**?
  - Talking to family members
  - Talking to your friends
  - Sending text messages to your family and friends
  - On the Internet
  - On Facebook
  - Listening to music (sources?)
  - Watching TV dramas and films (Korean dramas/Japanese anime?)
  - Reading books for entertainment

- Is there any specific social practice which you prefer to do only in English? Why?
- You need to use English a lot on campus. How have you changed since you needed to use English so much on campus?

Use of English in Your Social Practices

- How do you feel when you speak in English? Do you feel different, fashionable, or 'cool' when you speak in English? Why?
- Why is it fashionable or 'cool' when you mix English with Bangla?
- Do you mimic a specific accent that you hear in English films, songs, or TV shows?
- Tell me about any social practice in which you felt good about yourself because you could communicate in English.
- Tell me about any social practice in which you felt bad about yourself because you couldn't communicate in English.
- Which English words do you prefer to use in your Bangla conversations? Where did you learn these words? Why do you use them?
- Is there any relationship between being popular and being a competent speaker of English?
- What significance does English entertainment have for your social life and social networking?
- Has English developed your interest in English culture or history, or any other culture or history?
- Tell me your opinion regarding statements such as "A better command of English will help me to make more friends at university" or "A better command of English will help me to be more sophisticated".

Use of Hindi in Your Social Practices

- Hindi doesn't have any official role in our life. What functions does it have in your and your friends' life?
- Are you interested in Hindi music or films? What are your sources for accessing them? Do you download them or buy them?
- Has Indian entertainment developed your interest in Indian literature or history?
- Do you use Hindi words while talking in Bangla? Which Hindi words do you prefer to use in your Bangla conversations? Where did you learn these words? Why do you use them?
- Do you feel fashionable or 'cool' when you mix Hindi with Bangla? Why?
- What is your opinion about the statement, "The young generations are corrupting the Bangla language with their frequent use of Hindi"?

Interview Session 2

Use of Bangla and Bangladeshi Identity

- Which Bangla, i.e., Cholito Bangla, Shadhu Bangla, Sylheti or Noakhailian, do you use for social practices at home? At university?
- How do you feel when you switch to Standard Bangla from your regional Bangla? Different?
- How would you define the relationship between being a Bangladeshi and the use of the Bangla language?

- How would your use of English or Hindi words in Bangla affect your sense of being a Bangladeshi?
- Many youngsters nowadays prefer to speak in a stylised Bangla rather than in the accepted Standard Bangla. We also find FM radio hosts doing the same. What is your opinion about it? Is it fashionable or 'cool'?
- Do you think Bangla becomes more global or international when it is mixed with English or stylised?
- What is your opinion about the statement "English is corrupting the Bangla language"?
- Do you or your friends speak in stylised Bangla?
- Do you participate in social and cultural practices around national or cultural events, such as Martyr Day, Independence Day, or Bangladeshi New Year?
- Does you participation make you feel Bangladeshi?
- Are you interested in the Bangla language, Bangladeshi music, entertainment, literature, or history?
- Do you celebrate Valentine's Day, New Year's Day, or Father's/Mother's Day? Do you think you become global when you do so?

Popular Culture

- Why do you think certain students become popular on campus? Do they have different spaces at the University where they spend time during class breaks?
- Do they have access to more peer groups or university clubs?
- Who do they hang out with?

Ownership of Languages

- To what extent do you feel emotionally attached to the Bangla language? Why?
- Do you think you 'own' Bangla when you mix English with it?

The World Outside Bangladesh

- Do you have contact with your family and friends abroad? What is the medium, e.g., letters, emails, sms, Facebook? Which languages do you use?
- To what extent do you depend on the Internet for your studies and entertainment?
- Do you feel you belong to the world? Why or why not?
- Do you feel you are a citizen of the world?

Globalisation

- Private universities in Bangladesh follow the North American education system. To what extent do you think that is appropriate for students in a developing country like Bangladesh?
- Do you think you have been properly groomed for this kind of education system?
- What impact does the education system of UOE have on you? How do you see yourself in 10 years' time? In what ways are the day-to-day activities within the university preparing you for that situation?
- Has globalisation changed your social practices? If yes, in what ways?
- How do you differentiate yourself from older generations in terms of your use of English, Hindi, or use of modern gadgets and technologies?

- How would you prefer to define yourself: a 'Bangladeshi citizen', 'a global citizen' or someone else?
- How has globalisation increased the popularity of English and Hindi in Bangladesh?

Appendix 5A: Summary of Factual Information Sheet

Sl No.	Name	Place of Birth	Gender	Years outside Dhaka	Places lived so far	Year in Dhaka	Education background	Linguistic background	Parents' Education	Parents' Profession
1.	Abeer	Shariyatpur	M	2	Shariyatpur	17	Bangla	Shariyatpurian Bangla	No literacy	F: Rickshaw Puller M: House maid
2	Ameen	Oman	M	19	Oman Dhaka	4	English	Bangla	F: MA M: MA	F: Business M: HM
3.	Anik	Nilfamari	M	17	Nilfamari Panchagarh	3	Bangla	Colloquial Bangla	F: BA M: BA	F:Gvt M: Gvt
4.	Arafat	Shirajgonj	M	11	Shirajgonj	6	Bangla	Colloquial Bangla	F: BA M: BA	F: Gvt M: HM
5.	Arish	Saudi Arabia	M	2	Saudi Arabia Dhaka	21	English	Bangla	F: PhD M: PhD	F: Business
6.	Ashiq	Pabna	M	12	Pabna	11	Bangla	Pabnaya Bangla	F: BA M: SSC	F:Small Business M: HM
7.	Bonya	Dhaka	F	7	Dhaka Sharda Magura Kaghrachhori Kishorgonj	16	English	Bangla	F: MSc M: HSC	F: Business M:
8.	Ehsan	Dhaka	M	0	Dhaka	21	English	Bangla	F: BA (hon) M: SSC	F: Retired businessman M: HM
9.	Habib	Khulna	M	18	Khulna	8 months	Bangla	Khulna Bangla	F: MA M: MA	F: Teacher M: HM
10	Imran	Dhaka	M	0	Dhaka	20	Bangla	Colloquial Bangla	F: BA M: BA	F: Gvt M: HM
11	Jasmine	Narsingdi	F	17	Narsingdi	2	Bangla	Narsingdian Bangla	F: SSC M: SSC	F: BM M: HM

12	Joy	Comilla Brahmonbar ia Sylhet	M	17	Sylhet	2	English Version SSC & HSC	Chakma	F: MSC M: BA	F: Engineer M: HM
13	Luna	Sylhet	F	19	Sylhet	3	English	Sylheti	F: BA M:MA	F: Business M: ex-journalist
14	Nakib	Dhaka	M	12	Dhaka (did not answer)	11	Bangla	Bangla	F: B. Sc M: MA	F: Gvt M: HM
15	Nayeem	Noakhali	M	18	Noakhali Jamalpur Tongi	1	Bangla	Noakhailla/ Noakhalian Bangla	F: BA M: SSC	F: Business M: Hm
16	Nikita	Dhaka	F	0	Dhaka	21	Bangla	Bangla	F: B.Com M: MA	F: Small Business M: Small Business
17	Rahman	Chittagong	18	19	Chittagong	1 month	English	Chattgaya/ Chittagonian Bangla	F: BA M: BA	F: Business M: HM
18	Ria	Dhaka	F	0	Dhaka	24	English	Tangaili	F: MA M: HSC	F: Business M: HM
19.	Rima	Rangamati Chittagong	F	16	Chittagong	4	Bangla	Chakma Bangla	F: HSC M: HSC	F: Gvt M: HM
20.	Saima	Comilla	F	12	Comilla	9	Bangla	Colloquial Bangla	F: Engineer M: MA	F: Rt. Engineer M: HM
21.	Saud	Kushtia	M	5	Kushtia	15	Bangla	Colloquial Bangla	F: Lawyer M: MA	F: Lawyer M: HM
22.	Shamim	Chittagong	M	18	Chittagong	3	English Version SSC & HSC	Chattgaya/ Chittagonian Bangla	Father (F): BA Mother (M): HSC	F: Small Business M: HM

23.	Shohag	Rangamati Chittagong	M	18	Chittagong	2	Bangla	Chakma, Chattgaya/ Chittagonian Bangla	F: Diploma Engineer M: HSC	F: Rtrd Gvt M: HM
24.	Shuvo	Sylhet	M	15	Sylhet	3	Bangla	Sylheti	F: HSC M: below HSC	F: farming M: HM
25.	Tahura	Dhaka	F	3	USA Dhaka	15	English	Bangla	F: M. Sc. M: M. Sc	F: Banker M: HM
26.	Tamara	Dhaka	F	3	USA Dhaka	15	English	Bangla	F: M. Sc. M: M. Sc	F: Banker M: HM
27.	Tia	Comilla	F	17	Comilla	2	Bangla	Colloquial Bangla	F: MA M: SSC	Gvt M: HM
28.	Toma	Dhaka	F	4	UAE Dhaka	15	English	Bangla	F: MA M: HSC	F: GVS M: HM
29.	Tomal	Dhaka	M	0	Dhaka	19	Bangla	Colloquial Bangla	F: BA M: BA	F: Teacher M: Teacher

Abbreviation

SSC: Secondary School Certificate (Year 10 qualifying exam)
HSC: Higher Secondary Certificate (Year 12 qualifying exam)
BA: two year bachelor’s degree in arts from college accredited by university
BSc: two year bachelor’s degree in science from college accredited by university
BCom: two year bachelor’s degree in commerce from college accredited by university
BA (hon): three-year bachelor’s degree with honours
MA/ MSc: one year master’s degree
Gvt: government serive holder
HM: home-maker

Appendix 5B: Participants' Background

Abeer, a Bachelor of Business Administration (BBA) student, was born in a village in Shariyatpur. His father is a rickshaw puller and his mother is a housemaid, and both parents are illiterate. He left the village at the age of two when the family moved to Dhaka, and he had to earn his living by working in the household where his mother was a maidservant. He, his mother and sister were provided with food and shelter in the household. He looked after the three-year old son of the family from 3pm to 8pm and also ran errands; in return, he was allowed to attend a foreign-aided free Bangla-medium school in the mornings. He studied in a reasonably good college free of charge, as the Principal was kind-hearted and was moved when she heard about his background and his desire for education. His application for admission to the University of Excellence (UOE) was supported by one of the members of the university governing body who happened to be a family friend of the household where he and his mother used to work. When he gained admission to the university, two philanthropists came forward and paid his initial tuition fees. The local mosque supported him in meeting expenses for books. The university later on sponsored his tuition fees, considering his disadvantaged socio-economic background. When I met him, he was under a lot of stress because he could not maintain the minimum Cumulative Grade Point Average (CGPA), i.e., 2.75 out of 4, to continue the student sponsorship of the university. In an English-medium university, where classes and exams are conducted in English, he considers his lack of competence in English to be the main hurdle to achieving the minimum CGPA.

Arish, an Electric and Electronic Communication Systems (EECS) student, son of medical practitioner parents (doctors), was born in Saudi Arabia. He left Saudi Arabia at the age of two with his parents and since then has lived in Dhaka, Bangladesh. He went to an English-medium school before he gained admission to UOE. He is fluent in spoken Bangla, but has limited literacy in it, i.e. he cannot read or write much. Being a member of the executive committee of two clubs, he has a good rapport with members of other clubs. A sociable and humorous person, Arish gets involved in various social events on campus arranged by clubs at the university. He does not have an interest in Bangladeshi or Indian entertainment, but he has a strong liking for Japanese, Korean, and American entertainment, so much so that he can talk bits and pieces in Korean and Japanese that he has learnt from manga and drama. He is an avid watcher of Japanese manga, Korean drama, and American sit-coms, reality shows, and films. His favourite pastime is playing online video games, such as *Ninja Saga*, *Command and Conquer*, *Tetris Battle*, and *Epic Battle for Moonhaven*. He is also active in social networks for mobile gamers and is connected to other gamers around the world.

Ashiq, a BBA student, was born and brought up in a village in Pabna. His childhood memory of the rural setting is still an important aspect of his life. He misses the lush greenery of the village and the emotional bonding he had there with friends and relatives, and he visits his native land whenever there are festivals, weddings, or semester breaks. He is keenly aware that his lack of competence in English is mainly caused by his early education in a rural school. According to him, his youngest brother, who now goes to a school in Dhaka, has better competence in English than he does. Similar to Abeer, he is struggling to maintain a minimum

CGPA in all the courses. He received a CGPA of 1 out of 4 in one course in the last semester. He feels troubled about the English courses too, specifically Eng 103, an advanced and compulsory English course across disciplines in the university that he will have to take at some point. A gregarious and fun-loving person, Ashiq wants to affiliate himself with a club. Knowing for sure that he may not have access to these clubs, he is now trying to affiliate himself with a group of students, Firoz, Shiraj, and their friends, a powerful student group on campus, both for their delinquency and strong connection with the right people in the administration. Ashiq expects to be a member of the club which Firoz and Shiraj are planning to set up with the permission of the university authority.

Ameen, born and brought up in the Sultanate of Oman, came to Bangladesh at the age of 19 and gained admission to EECS. Having been a student in a British school (Years 1-10) and then in an American international school (Years 11-12) in Muscat, he initially found it very difficult to adjust to the lifestyle in Bangladesh and the education system in general. He was not good at Bangla, but managed to learn spoken Bangla from a former girlfriend. Even after four years in Bangladesh, he feels out of place when he finds himself surrounded by students who speak only in Bangla: *I am the odd one out; like, they are all elephants and I am the only giraffe* (080111). Nevertheless, he prefers Bangladesh because of its liberal environment, compared to Oman, which is run by strict Muslim Shariah law and codes of conduct in terms of relationships with women. He also enjoys the attention that he receives for his competence in English in Bangladesh. He became the president of the Club run by the EECS department. He participated in the Battle of Minds arranged by British American Tobacco Ltd., and the British Airways Speaking Competition in English, and won a ticket to visit the UK for two weeks. He also feels empowered because of his competence in Arabic and French, which he learnt in the international school in Muscat. Every now and then, he uses Arabic slang, such as ‘hanith’ (fuck yourself) or ‘ummakh (fuck your mom) to his friends or utters in French ‘Je vous trouve très séduisant’ (I think you are sexy) to beautiful female students on campus, just to impress them.

Ehsan, an environmental science student, was born and brought up in an affluent well-known family in Dhaka. He also studied in a reputable English-medium school and college. Considering UOE as the best private university in Bangladesh, he has always wanted to study there. He considers himself to be a late bloomer, only coming to terms with his passion for arts and popular culture in his late teens. A multi-talented person with ability in creative writing, photography, drawing, and graphic design, he has become the General Secretary of the English Club and a valued member of the university Photography Club. While his father has a passion for exotic bird collection from all around the world, Ehsan has an immense interest in Collectors’ Action Figures. He maintains a separate Facebook (FB) page and blog, dedicated to his action figures, and whenever he travels abroad, he buys new figures. He has recently involved himself with the activities of Comic-Con, a yearly event that recently started in Bangladesh – a worldwide pop-culture display that celebrates comics, films, manga, anime, and related popular art forms.

Bonya, a student of BBA, has lived in Dhaka for the last 16 years. She has travelled extensively in Bangladesh and has lived in Sharda, Khagrachhori, Chittagong, Magura, Kishorganj, Barisal and two other places she could not remember, because her father was a government officer. When they settled in Dhaka, Bonya started

attending an English-medium school. However, she feels that she has limited literacy in Bangla because of her educational background (see Chapter 4, Extract 4.2). Nevertheless, it has not been a significant hurdle for her, because she does not need Bangla much beyond spoken forms. She has an immense interest in popular culture and her intense engagement with Japanese and Korean entertainment has given her an extra edge as a conversationalist. Most of her interactions during the class break deal with popular culture from Japan and Korea. Her favourite manga include *Naruto*, *Fairy Tale*, *One Piece*, *Bleach*, *Magi – the Labyrinth of Magic* and *Code Break*. Some of her favourite Korean dramas are *Daisy*, *Running Man*, *Dad – Where are you Going?*, *Pretty Boy*, *The Suspicious Housekeeper* and *Two Weeks*. Her recent passion is for Tamil films dubbed in Hindi, and she watches them for sheer comedic entertainment (FB correspondence 122613) and she has found *Dadagiri, Sabse Bada Don, Arya Ek Diwana, King No-1*, and *Doduku*, worth mentioning. Her common catchphrases in everyday conversation are *jatil* (Bangla young adult lingo) and 'honto' (Japanese), both of which mean 'awesome'.

Jasmine, a BBA student, born and brought up in a small suburb in Narsingdi, where she lived for 17 years, is the first one in her family to leave the native suburb for higher education and study at a university in Dhaka. For the last two years, she has been living in Dhaka for her studies at UOE. She shares an apartment very close to the university with five other female students from the university, who are cared for by a senior sister or *apa*. None of her family members lives in the city and she therefore sometimes feels lonely. She uses only Bangla for all kinds of personal communication with family and friends, except in some circumstances at the university where she is required to use English, such as compulsory class presentations. However, she is not at ease with the language and has problems understanding lectures and question-and-answer sessions in class, and she struggles with exams conducted in English. Because of her upbringing in a conservative religious environment with little exposure to entertainment or popular culture, she identifies herself as an outsider in the progressive environment of the university. However, she is optimistic that she will eventually achieve a grasp of the language and feel at ease in class.

Joy, a student of the BBA department, majoring in Management**,** is from the indigenous Chakma community in the mountainous south region of Khagrachhari and Rangamati districts, Chittagong. However, he was born and brought up in the 'plain land', a term commonly used in Bangladesh to refer to land inhibited by non-indigenous Bangladeshis in contrast to the 'hilly area' of the indigenous communities. Before coming to Dhaka two years previously, he had lived in Comilla, Brahmonbaria, and Sylhet, provincial towns in Bangladesh. Living away from the Chakma community, he has not been able to develop sound competence in Chakma, although he has learnt *najrul shangeet*, *polli geeti*, *rabindrashangeet*, *bhaoyaia*, *bhatiali gan* (different genres of Bangladeshi music). Having been raised amongst Bangladeshi Muslim communities, he has adopted both Bangladeshi and Muslim cultures. Instead of going to the temple for Bangla New Year's Eve and Spring Festival, he goes to Ramna. He also observes Eid, wears *panjabi* (a style of clothing) and visits his Muslim friends. Even though he is well-integrated, however, he finds it difficult to accept Bangla as the national language or Bangali as his ethnicity, as promoted in the Government discourse. He never defines himself as a 'Bangali'. Because he is aware of the unequal status of Chakma in the

social landscape, Joy has decided to be pragmatic in his language choice and gives priority to English, then Bangla, at the expense of Chakma.

Luna, a student and Teaching Assistant (TA) in the English department, and Vice-President of the English Club, comes from Sylhet. Even though she was not born and brought up in Dhaka, she does not feel disadvantaged like other participants who come from outside Dhaka. Because of her locatedness in the upper echelon of society, her affluent upbringing and privileged education in English-medium education, she has had the opportunity to develop a various linguistic repertoire. Her experiences in terms of language are also diverse, even though she lived in Sylhet for 19 years before her arrival in Dhaka. Her English, as she perceives it, approximates a British accent. Friends and relatives from the UK visited her family regularly in Sylhet and she also had a British English teacher for a while in her school. She learnt written Standard Bangla as an academic subject at school and spoken Standard Bangla from media items, such as the news or drama, and from her mother who was a newscaster in Sylhet for Bangladesh Radio and spoke standard Bangla. Her father is a journalist, and his colleagues from Dhaka would visit them in Sylhet. When Luna first came to Dhaka, she was not accustomed to speaking Standard Colloquial Bangla or the more accepted form of American English spoken by her classmates, who would pick on her and make sarcastic comments. Luna is also aware of the social and cultural values of Bangla in the linguistic market and accordingly prefers to use Bangla rather than Sylheti in front of others, unless they are very close friends like Ria and Toma. However, as a student in the English department, majoring in TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages), she did several presentations on Sylheti and Sylheti interference into English, for which she was praised by both teachers and classmates. Luna thus has been in a favoured position in terms of language and negotiated subjectivities because of her linguistic repertoire and is in a position to decide what to accentuate and what to soften according to time and space.

Nayeem, a student in the BBA department, spent his early childhood in the poor rural environment of a village in Noakhali. He received his early education in non-privileged Bangla-medium schools at primary, secondary, and higher secondary levels. In the absence of his father, who works in Kuwait, Nayeem had to travel with his maternal uncle to live in provincial districts such as Tongi and Jamalpur. Recently, his mother and siblings moved from Noakhali to Tongi to stay with him. Like many other students migrating to a cosmopolitan city from a rural background, Nayeem suffers from a sense of displacement. He is conscious of his Noakhalian linguistic background and keenly aware of his lack of competence in English. Even though he feels marginalised at present for his linguistic ability, he perceives that he will be better positioned in his future professional life compared to *others* from Bangla-medium universities because of his English education in UOE. He expects to outdo them, while being on par with his English–medium counterparts.

Ria, a student and TA in the English department and an executive member of the English Club, has lived in Dhaka all her life. Her father is a businessman and is also a postgraduate. A fluent speaker of English, Ria studied in a prestigious English-medium school in Dhaka, and mentions the agency that she has developed as a result of the many opportunities she has had in life in terms accessing world culture through satellite TV and the Internet. It is not her exposure to the information per se that makes her what she is today, but what she does with the information. She

appropriates it, along with other forms of information that she gathers from teachers and from the books she reads for her studies in the English department and her own experiences in daily life. Hence, she does not think that she is directly copying everything she sees or hears from popular culture. Because of the organic process of borrowing and appropriating, she says she cannot predict what kind of person she will eventually be in the future.

Rima, a Chakma student of Environmental Science, spent her early childhood in Rangamati, a mountainous area in Chittagong Hill Tract where the Chakma indigenous community lives. She later moved to the 'plain land'. Similar to her parents, she lacks literacy in Chakma, their first language. Rima, made the analogy that the more Chakmas are educated, the less literacy they have in Chakma, the language. According to Rima, this appears to happen for two reasons. First, there is no opportunity to learn Chakma in a formal education setting, which does not permit students and teachers to use Chakma; thus, they never receive formal instruction in Chakma. Second, Chakma people need to leave their community in the mountain and move into the plain land to access higher education. This minimises the possibility of learning Chakma from the elders. Rima also does not speak Chakma properly and she struggles to communicate with extended family members in her native village in Khagrachhari. She does not understand the 'real Chakma' and on many occasions finds herself staring at her relatives because she fails to comprehend their utterances. Linguistically she considers herself more competent in Bangla because she easily remembers the Bangla equivalents, whereas she struggles to remember the Chakma words. She predicts that Chakma is endangered because nowadays, Chakma books are written in Bangla script precisely because few Chakmas have literacy in Chakma script. Rima is also very critical of the UOE teachers and students who openly and socially humiliate Bangla-medium students. She has experienced deliberate marginalisation by her teacher and English-medium classmates for her limited fluency in English.

Nikita, born and brought up in Dhaka, has never lived outside the city and is a student of EECS. She went to a good Bangla-medium school and college. Like many Bangla-medium participants in the research, she does not regret her educational background, nor does she wish to emulate the English-medium students. She has no special admiration for the English-medium students either, and she considers herself privileged because of her competence in both languages. Nevertheless, she does not feel very emotionally attached to nationalistic discourses about *amar bhasha* (my language) and Bangladeshi nationalism, although she enjoys the public holidays commemorating historical national events, such as Independence Day (*bijoy dibosh)* or *jatiyota dibosh* (National Day) or *ekushey February* (Martyr Day), simply as holidays. The discourses around nationalism and the spirit of Bangladeshi nationalism sustained through linguistic and cultural activities are never practised explicitly in her household. Instead, she grew up with an intense engagement with Indian popular culture, because both her parents prefer Indian entertainment. At the age of three, she used to sing *Jumma, Chumma Dey Dey* [Jhumma, Give Me a Kiss], a famous Hindi song from a 1991 film *Hum* featuring Amitabh Bachchan – megastar of the Mumbai Film Industry, India. She likes to follow world trends in terms of fashion, and hence she prefers to wear skinny jeans and put on smoky eye-shadow in 60s retro style. Nonetheless, she tries to remain *authentic* in her overall representation of herself, as she mentions in the interview.

Saima, a student of BBA, spent her early years in Comilla (the place of her birth) and Sylhet. She has been living in Dhaka for the last nine years. She considers herself to be lacking competence in English and often feels helpless when she is pursuing a university course which has a large number of English-medium students. She feels that both the teachers and students marginalise Bangla-medium students in classroom practices. She specifically mentions one of the English courses in which students were frequently grouped by the teacher for composition writing. However, the English-medium students would dominate the group work, ignoring others' comments or suggestions. Saima regrets that she paid Taka 1,5000 for the three-credit course, but could not improve her writing – for her, the course was a waste of money. The teacher also never listened to the Bangla-medium students in terms of fixing the dates of quizzes or assignments, even when they had mid-term exams in other subjects. Instead, the teachers gave priority to the English-medium students, and they decided the dates. These experiences have made her more determined to improve her English.

Shamim was born and brought up in Chittagong, located in the southeastern part of Bangladesh. It is the second largest city and is considered to be the country's second capital city. He lived in Chittagong for 18 years before coming to Dhaka. He is from a privileged socioeconomic background compared to his friends, Nayeem, Ashiq, or Abeer. His parents were able to afford better education for him in a private Bangla-medium school, where he took the Secondary School Certificate (SSC) examination in English[110]. He completed his Higher Secondary Certificate (HSC) examination in a private Bangla-medium college in Dhaka. Consequently, he has better competence in English than his friends and faces less difficulty in academic activities at the university. He often helps Nayeem, Ashiq, and Abeer in Accounting and explains English class lectures, which they have difficulty following. He also works as a private tutor of a Year 1 English-medium student.

Shuvo, a student majoring in Finance in the BBA department, moved to Dhaka from Sylhet at the age of 19 to study at UOE. Shovo's father, a Higher Secondary School Certificate (HSC)-qualified agri-based businessman, grows rice in the *haor* (marshy wetland) in Sunamganj, a district in the north-eastern part of Bangladesh, an area prone to flash flooding because of the character of the rivers and the high rainfall compared to other regions in the country. His family have experienced major financial crisis several times when the crop has been submerged in floodwater. He feels lonely being away from his family and friends in Sylhet and does not have any friends from his home region in Dhaka. Even though both Shuvo and Luna come from Sylhet, their individual response to the geophysicality of Dhaka and UOE is distinctly different. Both are aware of the linguistic values bestowed on the Standard Bangla and the existing discrimination in relation to Sylheti. However, because of their different life trajectories, they have commodified Sylheti in contrasting ways. Shuvo feels cornered when students with higher competence in English, i.e., the English-medium students, receive better grades because they can write good English. He also mentions his first experience in class presentation. He stood at the front of the class to start his presentation, but because he was not accustomed to speaking in English, he became intensely

[110] There is an option to study and take the Secondary School Certificate (SSC) and Higher Secondary Certificate (HSC) examinations in English under the auspices of the National Curriculum and Textbook Board Bangladesh.

nervous. Forgetting the topic of his presentation altogether, he stood speechless for a few seconds, and then gave up, even before starting the presentation. His classmates laughed at him ruthlessly when he walked back to his seat. Shuvo felt ashamed, humiliated, and miserable, but he found and considered his classmates' reaction natural.

Tamara and **Tahura**, students of BBA, are twin sisters majoring in Accounting and Human Resource Management respectively. They lived for three years in Arizona, USA, and have lived in Dhaka for 18 years. They are members of the much-coveted club run by the BBA department, which most BBA students aspire to join. Having studied at a prestigious English-medium school and college in Dhaka, both of them are fluent speakers of English, which they speak with their friends and family members. These eloquent and confident women take immense pride in their competence in English, their presence of mind, and intellectual bent. They find it difficult to locate themselves only in terms of locale; instead, they consider themselves to be global citizens. When I ask Tahura about the influence of globalisation in her life, she identifies various facets, pointing out that globalisation is not only about transferring non-Bangladeshi cultural practices to her life. It is also about incorporating them into Bangladeshi culture and making Bangladeshi culture a part of the global paradigm. Hence, Father's Day and Mother's Day are taking root in Bangladeshi culture as these events are appropriated as *baba dibosh* or *ma dibosh.* Tamara similarly appreciates that she has the opportunity of being part of the global information flow.

Toma, a student and TA in the English department, and President of the English Club, was born and brought up in Dhaka. When she was younger, she lived in the United Arab Emirates for four years when her father was posted to the Bangladesh Embassy there. She has been actively involved in various clubs since her first day at university. By engaging in cultural activities and awareness programmes regarding health, human rights, and environmental issues, she has become a familiar face to teachers, students, and administrative staff alike. She gives credit to the prestigious English-medium school where she studied, where it was compulsory for students to be a member of at least one club. There was a wide range of clubs, such as sports, handwork, community service, drama, creative writing, and more. Toma feels that her extensive and intensive exposure to English literature brought her to a turning point in her life. The values instilled and imbibed in her before she became a student of the English department were highly conventional. She was a conformist and did not think *outside the box* in terms of male and female relationships, or religious or cultural practices. She now questions why 'living together', 'gay-lesbian' relationships, or 'divorce' are not accepted in Bangladeshi society, and why it is necessary to 'fast' during Ramadan, the month-long fasting period before the Muslim religious festival, Eid-ul-Fitre. She does not judge anything by societal, cultural, or religious values. Instead, she prefers to be objective in her approach to life and to extend herself beyond the bonds and shackles of what she sees as the confinement and narrow-mindedness of the Eastern way of thinking, as opposed to the liberal Western way of thinking.

Appendix 6: Data Analysed in the Thesis

Chapter 4	English Club	Casual Conversation	Extract 4.1: *You better join and be active.*
Chapter 4	University Café	Casual Conversation	Extract 4.2: *kotha theke ashche agula. bangla porte pare na!!!*
Chapter 4	Coutyard	Casual Conversation	Extract 4.3: *uporer lelvele jara, tarato thake office*
Chapter 4	FB	FB Conversation	Extract 4.4: *All my girlfriends are such cunts!*
Chapter 5	Library	Interview	5.2 Civilised vs. uncultured *others*
Chapter 5	Library	Interview	5.3 The 'obscure' rural vs. high-class *others*
Chapter 5	Library	Interview	5.4 Powerful vs. weak and vulnerable *others*
Chapter 5	Café	Focus Group Discussion	5.5 The *khat* vs. fast *others* FGD 5.1: *manush hishebei totally different.*
Chapter 5	Girls' Lounge	Focus Group Discussion	5.5 The *khat* vs. fast *others* FGD 5.2: *oder characteristics differrent. tara different.*
Chapter 5	Library Café	Interview	5.6 Colonial vs. neo-colonial *others*
Chapter 5	Library Wireless Club	Interview	5.7 Regular Hindi serial watchers
Chapter 5	Library Café English Club	Interview	5.8 Blurred boundaries between the local self and imagined global *others*
Chapter 5	English Club	Interview	5.9 The imagined Western

			woman *other*
Chapter 5	Library Girls' Lounge	Interview	5.10 Imagined Bangladeshi Community
Chapter 5	Library English Club	Interview	5.11 Bangla and Bangladeshi identity
Chapter 6	English Club	Casual Conversation	Extract 6.1: *Phor the time being, I am in the Cantonment.*
Chapter 6	English Club	Casual Conversation	Extract 6.2: *I HABH IT PHOR EBHAR*.
Chapter 6	University Café	Casual Conversation	Extract 6.3: *ami English aktu aktu pari.*
Chapter 6	University Café	Casual Conversation	Extract 6.4: *ami Eh`san`ke love ko`rii:*
Chapter 6	FB	FB Conversation	Extract 6.5: *me the happy to hears. party!*
Chapter 6	FB	FB Conversation	Extract 6.6: *tui khub beshi hole Jhony Gaddar hoite parbi* :P
Chapter 6	English Club	Casual Conversation	Extract 6.7: *Hip((s)) don't lie.*
Chapter 6	FB	FB Conversation	Extract 6.8: *kamar mein dard ho toh moov lagao!!!*
Chapter 6	FB	FB Conversation	Extract 6.9: *amar jawani te shobai deewani.*
Chapter 6	FB	FB Conversation	Extract 6.10: *Ontor Jala Sasha*
Chapter 6	FB	FB Conversation	Extract 6.11: *mon diye ki*

			korbo...deho pailei hoilo
Chapter 7	Courtyard	Casual Conversation	Extract 7.1: I am in L-O-B-H!
Chapter 7	Courtyard	Casual Conversation	Extract 7.2: It is four much!
Chapter 7	Courtyard	Casual Conversation	Extract 7.3: *ami baro mishali kotha koitesi*
Chapter 7	Courtyard	Casual Conversation	Extract 7.4: *hai Allah. Sachin*?
Chapter 7	Study Hall	Casual Conversation	Extract 7.5: *tumi jaionago bashore ghorer batti nibhaiya*
Chapter 7	Courtyard	Casual Conversation	Extract 7.6: *akhon khali falamu ar uthamu.!!!*
Chapter 7	Courtyard	Casual Conversation	Extract 7.7: *tel maikkha aise*
Chapter 7	Courtyard	Casual Conversation	Extract 7.8: *tarpore pockete bundle thakte hoibo*
Chapter 7	Courtyard	Casual Conversation	Extract 7.9: *ar aktar loge giya kothai koite paros na*!
Chapter 7	FB	FB Casual Conversation	Extract 7.10: *TO ALL INDIANS,,,,U ALL R SENSELESS ND STUPID*

Appendix 7: Transcription Guide

“…”	reporting statements of others
((…))	non-linguistic features and explanation of utterances or situations for readers’ comprehensibility
(…)	words omitted by speakers
[…]	translation
< >	slower pace than the surrounding talk
> <	quicker pace than the surrounding talk
CAP	loud utterances
: /::/ :::	sustained elongation of a syllable.
!!!/ !!!	dramatic exclamation
??/???	dramatic question

Language Guide

Regular New Roman	Bangla
Regular New Roman *Italics*	Bangla original data in interviews and focus groups discussions
Bold New Roman	English
Italics in Extracts of conversation	Hindi

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