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Research Paper

AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE HETEROGLOSSIC LANGUAGE IDENTITY OF BUP STUDENTS: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY

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Abstract

This paper aims to investigate the heteroglossic nature of the language of a group of young students studying at a public university of Bangladesh named Bangladesh University of Professionals (BUP) analyzing their daily conversations. In Bangladesh, Bengali with its several dialects is the most dominant language. English has become the most popular foreign language and has been already accepted as the medium of instruction in several tertiary level institutions in this country. Additionally, young people here are also getting exposure to several other cultures and languages for the availability of internet. All these linguistics resources undoubtedly put some influence on the linguistic identity of these young adults. They can borrow several meaning making resources from the cultures available to them, and that reflection can be observed by analyzing their daily language practices. This paper explores the normal and informal conversations of everyday life of the students of BUP using the Heteroglossic theory of Bakhtin for unknottting different voices and perspectives in a single utterance and shows how meaning changes and new meaning is created based on its social, political, and historical reality. This paper mainly explores the Anglicisation of English and Banglisation of Bangla through the lens of heteroglossia. It is a qualitative study based on the conversation analysis of 4 groups of BUP students including 17 participants. The result shows that the nature of everyday language of these people is heteroglossic and people use language in novel and different ways frequently; alongside, they must negotiate their identity several times in their diversified conversations.

Keywords: Heteroglossia, dialogism, multivocality, double-voicing, identity

1. Introduction

Heteroglossia means different glossaries, it is a part of dialogism; different people come from different places, their languages, styles, accents are different; besides, the meaning of a word is not constant, the meaning comes based on the political, social, cultural background; the meaning of a word also depends on whether a person is older or younger, whether she is female or male etc.; the ultimate meaning comes from considering all these matters while a conversation or dialogue is going on (Miracle English Language & Literature Institute, 2017). This was the idea of the theory of Heteroglossia given by Mikhail Bakhtin. Most of the people in Bangladesh have positive attitude towards English language (Chowdhury, 2010 cited in Sultana, 2014) and the younger people can be

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observed talking in Bengali but with English accent (Chowdhury, 2010, para 2 cited in Sultana, 2014). According to Talukdar (2016), English in Bangladesh has reached such a level that most of the educated people tend to use it even mixing it with Bengali; her research shows that 90% code switching happens so spontaneously and without any notification, even people are not aware of it. According to Hosain's (2014) one of the findings, code-mixing is neither detrimental nor beneficial, but it has an inevitable effect on the languages of the developing countries.

Therefore, in Bangladesh both code-switching and code-mixing have become a common factor. The growth of satellite TV, which is a Cultural Revolution, is very popular among the mass people, chiefly for the third world countries like Bangladesh; and it is known to all that, countries like Bangladesh lagged behind from first world countries both culturally and technologically, so this can be one of the reasons behind it (Cohen and Kennedy, 2000 cited in Tanvir et al, 2013). However, for having exposure to different cultures through satellite TV, there is a possibility that people make diverse repertoire that can be very different from each other and for the significance of English in this country, the nature of language has the possibility of getting heterogenous or diverse. This nine-month study (from July 2020- March 2021) tries to investigate this nature of language of young people based on historical, social and political reality, when they come together in a conversation and the voices underneath their utterance clash; and how they negotiate different language identities.

Most of the Bangladeshi people have an attraction towards English (Chowdhury, 2010 cited in Sultana, 2014). Thus, it can be stated that English has an important position in Bangladesh; moreover, most of the textbooks are written in English (Rahman, 2007 cited in Sultana, 2014). For these reasons, English has become an important part of people's daily life. So, people take elements from English culture and language. The younger generation (T. Chowdhury, 2010 cited in Sultana, 2014) are thought to be responsible for corrupting Bangla (Sultana, 2014) but young adults' voices are not controllable (Sultana, 2014, p. 54) so this study addresses this problem and states that young people should not be made responsible for polluting Bangla. This study does deep analysis of everyday language of young people that code switching, code mixing, multilingualism, bilingualism do not (Sultana, 2014). It follows the recent trend in sociolinguistics research that shifts its focus toward a heteroglossic perspective from the variationist approach in sociolinguistics (Androutsopoulos, 2011; Deumert, 2014 cited in Zhang, 2017).

However, the general Objective was to investigate the heteroglossic language identity of BUP students from the perspective of sociolinguistics. The specific objectives were (a) to examine the Banglicisation of English and Anglicisation of Bengali through the lens of heteroglossia and (b) to investigate how the students of BUP negotiate their identity in a heteroglot environment.

2. Theoretical Framework

Robinson (2011) explains Bakhtin's ideas of dialogism, monologism and heteroglossia in both literature and society. He says that the idea of heteroglossia comes from dialogism which is quite opposite of monologism. Dialogism in literature identifies the entire social world, as according to Bakhtin the human life is an open-ended dialogue and the world thus is integrated with a dialogical, open-ended, multi-voiced whole. On the contrary, a monological world expresses a single consciousness. Other subjects or consciousness have value only in relation to the transcendent or authoritative perspective, thus they are basically reduced to the status of a mere object. They are not considered as "another consciousness" or as having rights. Monologism pretends to be the ultimate world and the ultimate truth. In a monological novel, characters exist only to transfer the author's ideology, that's why according to Bakhtin, a monological novel is a failure to regard the autonomy of the other's voices. On the other hand, dialogism regards the multiplicity of perspectives and voices which is known as 'double-voiced' or 'multi-voiced'. Therefore, dialogical works are more 'objective' and 'realistic'. In a dialogical novel, it can be observed that, the words and phrases have a connection with the history of past and everything is uttered in response to anticipation of future as well. According to Bakhtin, this type of phenomenon of language use is similar to the reality of everyday language-use. The social world and a person's personal world are similarly formed of multiple voices and perspectives. To exist means to engage in dialogue; and through a free discursive act, so many

things can be actualized from a person that is not possible in a pre-defined context. Bakhtin expands the study of dialogism through the idea of heteroglossia in *The Dialogical Imagination* (1975). According to him, there can be noted multiple voices and perspectives within a single voice as people use the language that is borrowed from others. The social world is also marked by heteroglossia and Bakhtin denounces those who consider language as a closed system. This viewpoint is the creation of a unified language which is basically the centralized power. In a society, the standard language is basically the language of the elite people, for example English is considered the language of elite people. This kind of preferment of a specific hegemonic language can subvert the heteroglossia of diverse speech-types. However, it can give new inflections and nuances when someone understand other's discourse and incorporates other's perspective in his/ her own frame. Dialogue in this way connects to other's perspectives, thus it introduces new elements and creates newness in a language (Robinson, 2011). The glossia of heteroglossia focuses on voices and variability in speech, not on languages (Dovchin et al., 2017) and separateness of languages (Sultana 2015; Sultana et al. 2015 cited in Dovchin et al., 2017). According to Bailey (2007, p. 272), heteroglossia deals with the social meaning of talk 'rather than in terms of formal systems, such as codes, that can veil actual speakers, uses and contexts' (cited in Dovchin et al, 2017). "Our speech, that is all our utterances," are "filled with others' words" (Bakhtin 1986, p. 89 cited in Dovchin et al., 2017). This idea of Bakhtin is followed here. This paper will try to show how young adults often take up or borrow the voices and words of others that have significant cultural as well as linguistic implications (Dovchin et al., 2017).

Heteroglossia basically deals with concrete economic and historic forms of use of language rather than language as a universalized abstraction (Wertsch, 1991 cited in Kiramba, 2016, P.3.). Bakhtin has given importance on the dialogic nature of language; that means language fundamentally is formed out of dialogues by constantly unfolding in interaction and conversation; "The internal dialogism of the word finds expression in a series of peculiar features in semantics, syntax, and stylistics" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 279 cited in Sultana, 2014, P.42.). Rampton (1995) says that different viewpoints, feelings, and consciousness of people are embedded in those linguistic features (cited in Sultana, 2014, P.42.). Bakhtin has found out some other terms in dialogic process; such as: multivocality and double-voicing (Sultana, 2014, P.42), his heteroglossia is also marked with tension, indexicality, situatedness of language etc. (Kiramba, 2016, P.3.). Nesari (2015) mentions in his paper that the term Heteroglossia by Bakhtin is created in the essay "Discourse in the Novel" that was published in English in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, edited by Michael Holquist and translated by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (University of Texas Press, 1981). It deals with the part that language performs in putting people in a variety of social situations. Every meaning inside a speech or a text emerges in a social context, in which several opposing meanings remain, and exhibits its social meaning out of its relationships with those alternative meanings (P. 644.). The tension in language is apparent mostly between the centralizing or 'centripetal' pull and the de-centralizing or 'centrifugal' push in utterances (Kiramba, 2016, P.3). The centripetal force fastens the ideas together, for example our inclination to grammatical structures or our recognition of social values and system or cultural standards, the cohesion of the words which help people to create and perceive meaning from other's utterances and discussion. The other pulling away force creates and forms new ideas, for instance, it helps us make new words to express new ideas (Nesari, 2015, p.644).

The language use of young people is analyzed through contextual, pretextual, subtextual, intertextual and post-textual interpretation. Here contextual refers to physical location and participants, pretextual refers to the historical trajectory of texts, subtextual refers to ideologies mobilized by texts, and intertextual refers to meaning that occurs across texts. Post-textual interpretation indicates how texts are studied, interpreted, resisted and appropriated (Sultana et al. 2015 cited in Sultana, 2015, p. 210).

2.1. Multivocality

Multivocality means "simultaneously present and consecutively uttered plurality of independent and unmerged voices and consciousness" (Nikulin, 1998, p. 382 cited in Sultana, 2014, p. 42). It deals with individual's attention, meaning, socio-ideological contradictions and conflicts in speech. It

reveals a speaker's unmerged and autonomous voices that vibrate underneath the clean-cut symmetric blending of languages. (Sultana, 2014, P.42).

2.2. Double-voicing

Sultana (2014) mentions that double-voicing alludes to the words of others inculcated by speakers into their own speeches the way it seems that those words prevail in the speech 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 cited in Sultana, 2014). Parody, stylisation, reported speech, ironic statements, quotations etc. are specimens of double-voicing (Bauman & Briggs, 1990 cited in Sultana, 2014).

3. Literature Review

Park-Fuller (1986) has said that deconstructionist theory is unable to answer all questions and to address the interests of individuals. Mary S. Strine (1986), said that a necessary framework for the study of individual texts and their possibilities for performance were offered by the writings of Mikhail Bakhtin which also acknowledges the social, cultural, and political characteristics of all texts, and the primacy and priority of context to textual meaning. His dialogic theory addresses the socio-political fact of literary performance and offers analytical tools related to the act of performing literature as this theory is founded upon the knowledge of the inherent correlation between ideology and utterance. (Park-Fuller, 1986, p.1). However, heteroglossia comes from two Greek words, hetero (different) and glossia (language), the term was launched by Mikhail Bakhtin, a Russian linguist, to determine the multi-layered nature of meaning as well as the plurality of the categories of speech (Bakhtin, 1986; Bakhtin, 2000 cited in Bielenia-Grajewska, 2013, p.123). Kyratzis et al. (2010) mentions that Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia identifies the dialogic relationship between multiple and occasionally conflicting codes and the larger socio-historical and socio-political meanings that, by means of those linguistic forms, are negotiated. Research, based on heteroglossia, generally includes an investigation of how people hail socio-historical tensions and contradictions indexically in situated cases of language use that bring about the systematization of codes and corresponding notions of collective personhood and membership (Blommaert & Verschueren 1998; Hill & Hill 1986; Kroskrity 2000; Pujolar 2001; Schieffelin 1994; Silverstein 2003; Woolard 1998, 1999 cited in Kyratzis et al., 2010). Bielenia-Grajewska (2013) has noticed that heteroglossia is related inextricably to the linguistic dimension of social life of everyone; within our mother tongue there can be seen the use of more than one language like dialects, standard language (Wandruszka, 1979 cited in Bielenia-Grajewska, 2013, p. 125); basically, according to Buitenhuis, heteroglossia is the chaotic nature or state of languages (Halasek, 1999 cited in Bielenia-Grajewska, 2013, p.125). Crain (1994) has said that he was trying to solve a puzzle of a mysterious death of a person in Quimsa through the lens of heteroglossia; among the three possible reasons for the death, he has privileged the devil possession and placed the local devil lore in the sociocultural context. He analyzed how the relations of class, gender and ethnicity informed this subversive imagery. An ideology of resistance underlies in this devil lore as well as this kind of discourse holds a coded form which expresses the rage of them and accuses the large commercial farmers. Next it is expressed in rumour and gossip networks (Crain, 1994). This is something that Scott (1990) has termed "the hidden transcript" that contains murders of characters who are rich and powerful (cited in Crain, 1994). Bailey (2012) says,

"Heteroglossia encourages us to interpret the meanings of talk in terms of the social worlds, past and present, of which words are part and parcel, rather than in terms of formal systems, such as "languages," that can veil actual speakers, uses, and contexts." (P. 506).

Kiramba (2016) exhibits the chances of heteroglossic practices in multilingual classrooms and says that it can help to learn an additional language for English language learners by showing how a science teacher allowed heteroglossic practices that helped the students in content learning and language development (P.1). So many researches have proved that heteroglossic practices for linguistically diverse learners can recognize and maximize the meaning-making resources of multilingualism (cf. Merritt et al. 1992; Setati et al. 2002; García 2009; Banda 2010; Blackledge and

Creese 2010 cited in Kiramba, 2016, P.2). There can also be seen the use of heteroglossic strategies for curriculum access (Merritt et al. 1992, cited in Kiramba, 2016) and also for classroom management and interpersonal relations (Ferguson 2003 cited in Kiramba, 2016, P. 2). Sultana (2014) says in her paper that the university students that she observed, talk in stylized Bangla and English along with particular patterns of stress and intonation, exaggerated pronunciation, and paralinguistic attributes of voice for different intentions and meanings. These young people take Bangla that is the first language in Bangladesh, beyond its boundaries and present it linguistically unique with their innovative, strategic and playful utilization of different languages. They associate themselves with different linguistic and sociocultural worlds contested with multiple linguistic ideologies, by using linguistic features as a way of adopting others' voices. She tried to analyze the language practices by revealing the stories and voices of people that could not be comprehended with reference to only linguistic features as their voices were intertwined with the fabric of the society (P.40). She shows how the young people transgresses both English and Bangla by taking both the languages and identity beyond the essentialized boundaries of Bangla and Bangladesh (p. 53). Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) have told that to speak is to place someone in the social world, like to take part in identity practices (Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985 cited in Bailey, 2007, p. 257). Bailey (2007) has said the bilingual people usually have a large set of linguistic resources for the continual process of social negotiations and often they have a wider range of pertinent social categories to enact or compete (P. 257). He also notes that,

"Ways of speaking are constituted as distinct through contrast, rather than through any inherent characteristics, just as identities are constituted through boundary marking processes (or lack thereof)." (P. 259).

Lo (1997) argues that any analysis of code-switching must consider the local formation of identities and ideologies along with the multivocalic quality of language. Ethnic identity is contingent and fluxional based on different contexts, in Moerman's (1988) terms "situated, motile, shaded, purposive, consequential, negotiated" (p. 90. cited in Lo, 1997, P. 47). Sultana (2012) says that a shift is necessary from the focus on fixed language structure and stable fixed demographic identity to the focus on language and identity as more fluid (P.59).

Several researches have been done on heteroglossic nature of language. But there can be seen a few researches that have been conducted on the daily conversation of young people. Moreover, in Bangladesh, only a few works explored the heteroglossic nature of the young people's language. This study only focuses on the Banglicization of English and the Anglicisation of Bengali, employing Bakhtin's theory. Thus, in the context of Bangladesh, this endeavor is new.

4. Methodology

This is a qualitative study. Conversation analysis is used to analyze qualitative data. This method explains how people in a conversation maintain an interactional social order by investigating the 'technology of conversation' (Sacks, 1992, p. 339 cited in Bloor & Wood, 2006). It is a method that helps describe human behavior through careful observation or investigation of interactional practices of everyday life (Pallotti, 2007). Questionnaires and Zoom application recorders have also been used as research instruments for data collection. In the questionnaire, seven close-ended and 5 open-ended questions were given. This questionnaire was given to those whose voices are quoted in this study.

The total number of participants was 17. They are from different batches of the Bangladesh University of Professionals English department. Zoom recorder was used for interviews with the participants to know their views on their language. There were four groups, and every group's conversation was recorded separately. Then their voices are quoted to analyze their Banglicisation of English and Anglicisation of Bengali using the theory of heteroglossia. Those conversations are analyzed based on the interviews and their responses to the questionnaire so that the authors' and the participants' stances are given equal importance.

5. Findings and Discussion

The data analysis part has been divided into two parts. Those try to follow the process of Dr. Shaila Sultana's article named 'Heteroglossia and Identities of Young Adults in Bangladesh'. Those sections are titled as banglicisation of English and anglicisation of Bengali.

5.1. Banglicisation of English

In this section, there are given how the research participants use English words like they use Bengali. There are also given discussions about how code-switching and code-mixing are used, while they are talking in Bengali, to express different meanings, intentions. Multivocality, double-voicing are also traced in their language along with how these two features are responsible for creating multiple identities and how they negotiate those several identities.

Excerpt 1:

1. Nigar: Accha Fahim.....	Nigar: Accha Fahim...
2. Fahim: Hae bol.	Fahim: Yes say.
3. Nigar: Ekbar try. Big fan. Please.	Nigar: Try once. Big fan. Please.
4. Fahim: Ei ami gaan gaite pari naki?	Fahim: Do I know how to sing!!
5. Sayma: Bhai, Rabbi to gaan gaoar mood e chole geche. Someone, turn this off. (Song continues)	Sayma: Guys, Rabbi has gone in the mood of singing. Someone, turn this off. (Song continues)
6. Fahim: Ora hashe. (To Ashif)	Fahim: They are laughing (To Ashif)
7. Ashif: Hashuk na. bondhubandhob e to hashtech. Tumi to bondhu Nobel er moto amare treat kortacho. Tumio emnivabe amake dure thele dichcho.	Ashif: Let them laugh. Our friends are laughing. My friend, you are treating me like Nobel did. You are also maintaining distance from me like him
8. Nigar: Ajibon tor kache rini thakbo Fahim, ajibon rini thakbo.	Nigar: I'll be grateful to you forever Fahim, forever.
9. Fahim: Keno keno keno? Keno rini thakbi?	Fahim: Why why why? Why will you be grateful?
10. Nigar: Rabbir gaan gaoar mood off korchis.	Nigar: You have turned off Rabbi's mood of singing.
11. Fahim: Etokkhon to amare onek blame kortechili. Egulai korba tomra. Amare, amare dosh dao shobai. Amare tomra beiman bolcho.	Fahim: You were blaming me before. You always do that. You all blame me. You people called me a traitor.
12. Nigar: Na. hundred out of ten. Joss. Fan hoye gelam. Erokome effort to bof (bf) rao dey na. Shera.	Nigar: No, hundred out of 10. Joss. I have become your fan. A boyfriend even doesn't give such effort. Great.
13. Fahim: Oh!Really!!!	Fahim: Oh! Really!!!

The conversation given above is basically the segment of the conversation of 4 people. In this conversation we can see the use of both code mixing and code-switching. Banglicization of English happens here. The real pronunciation of "please", "mood" and "of" are respectively /pli:z/, /mu:d/ and /v/ or /əv/. But they pronounce them as /pliz/, /mud/, /v/. In the word please, short /i/ is used instead of long vowel /i:/; this also happens in case of the word mood where short /u/ is used; in "of", /f/ is used instead of /v/. Along with that, all /p/ and /t/ phonemes are used unaspirated. So, heteroglossia happens here at phonemic level (Sultana, 2014), they are adjusting English according to the accent of Bangla. When they were asked why they use English in their daily conversation, Nigar says that she does it unintentionally, Ashif says that he does it because sometimes a specific English word can define a long Bengali sentence, Fahim says that he does it to put emphasis on something and Sayma says that she does it because "some words are just easy to comprehend in English"

The girl named, Nigar, here requesting to his friend Fahim, to sing a song, "Ekbar try. Big fan. Please". Here she is acting like a fan of a famous person. The phrase "Big fan" is an English phrase it refers to a person who is very passionately devoted to a particular subject or activity (The Free

Dictionary, n.d.). So, people claim to be a big fan if they are fond of any writer's work, singer, actor or anything. In western movies, this phrase has been seen a lot. For example:

"I'm a big fan of computer games."

The Sun (2009)

"I'm a big fan of the scattergun approach."

Times, Sunday Times (2011). (*Collins English Dictionary*, n.d.)

Here, she is acting like a sweet girl and talks like a fan of someone, that is Fahim, but actually, she is not. The pretextual history is that in the interview with her, she said that she used it to mock Fahim and Fahim doesn't sing well at all. So, we can observe the double voicing in her utterance. She has taken the voice of a sweet female fan asking some famous person to do something, a common phenomenon in English movies, so intertextual reference is present here as they borrow elements from popular culture. Though, her friend Fahim is not a famous person, he cannot sing well as well; she is talking to her friend like a fan talks to a famous person in English; and she intends to know the result of her friend's long day practice. Thus, the phrase "big fan" has been used here for mocking purpose, so, her utterance is doubled-voiced that implies different meaning in this context. Moreover, her identity is also negotiated as she is using the language of English and talking like a sweet woman, a fan of some singer, to request his friend to sing a Bengali song.

After a while, when Ashif/ Rabbi starts singing the song named "Neela" and does not stop, Sayma requests others to stop him. "**Bhai, Rabbi to gaan gaoar mood e chole geche. Someone, turn this off.**" Here, Sayma is code-switching. She was talking in English to emphasize her statement to mean that it is important now to stop him, as he was singing one song after another. So, the reason behind her switching to another language is to put emphasis and it was the demand of the situation. Sometimes to give more emphasis on something people use English and in the response of one of the questions in the questionnaire, Fahim said that he uses English while talking in Bengali to put more emphasis and in this case, it is happening. However, when Fahim could stop him, Nigar says to Fahim, "**hundred out of ten. Joss. Fan hoye gelam.**" Here she is talking like a teacher or a judge who is giving someone number for his/ her performance. She says here that for what Fahim did, if she could give Fahim marks, she would give him hundred out of ten. This score "hundred out of ten" implies that someone's performance is extraordinarily remarkable. Though someone cannot give hundred out of ten but she is making this phrase to express her excitement and for the purpose of fun. This statement is basically an irony here. And after changing the semantic potentiality of voices, this statement 'reaccentuates' them the way the speaker desires (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 89, cited in Sultana, 2014). Here Nigar is basically exaggerating what Fahim has done; as Fahim actually did not do anything great, he just stopped his friend from singing at that time; Nigar's utterance is double voiced here. And she has put on the identity of a teacher or a judge who gives marks to the performers and this other's voices create many identities.

After that, Nigar said, "**Erokom effort to bof (bf) rao dey na. Shera.**" She means that for Valentine's Day, two of her friends sang them a wonderful famous song; even some boyfriends do not show such friendly gestures to their girlfriends on that day. Here code-mixing can be seen and Nigar has used the word "bof" the pretextual history of this word is that it originates from "bf". Bf is the short form of boyfriend (Acronyms and Abbreviations, n.d.). The word "bof" is- it is composed of Bangla /b/ and /f/ phoneme, the young generation has made the Bengali version of the word bf. While using the Avro keyboard, people can write Bengali by using or typing the English alphabet (Omicron Lab, n.d.). Therefore, while someone types English alphabets B and F, in Bengali, it becomes /bof/, with the combination of Bengali /b/ and /f/ phoneme.

Thus, a new word is created by the young generation. Boyfriend is a western word and the concept is also western. A boyfriend is a male person with whom somebody has a sexual or romantic relationship (*Oxford Learner's Dictionary*, n. d.). When asked why she used this word, she said it was the short form of "bf". So, they have made the short form of an English word in Bengali. Nigar is comparing Fahim's effort to stop Rabbi or Ashif and give her other friends some relief from Rabbi's song to a boyfriend's efforts to impress his girlfriend. According to Nigar, in the context of

Bangladeshi culture, the idea of a boyfriend is foreign, so it is taken from western culture. So, they have taken the ideology of the west. Here Nigar uses the Bengali version of "bf" in a mocking sense and the word "bof" to mock the idea of boyfriend and his role. So, there is multivocality in Nigar's utterance as she uses the western idea of a boyfriend but expresses it in the Bengali form that mocks the idea of a boyfriend. The idea of a boyfriend is used for different meanings and purposes. Here, Nigar is thanking her friend for helping them but has taken the idea of the identity of a western boyfriend. Thus, through her use of language, Fahim's identity is negotiated.

Moreover, in the reply of Nigar's statement, Fahim says, "**Oh...Really!!!!**" surprisingly. This is noted as an abrupt remark of interest, surprise or irritation in response to a statement of someone (Acronyms and Abbreviations, n.d.). It is an idiom used by western people. And Fahim dramatically says this copying the tone of a native speaker of English. Thus, Fahim puts on the identity of an English native speaker to reply to their ironic statement of Nigar. Though he copies the tone of a native speaker, this tone is only for giving a mocking reply to Nigar. If the tone was normal, it would mean surprise or irritation. But, Fahim is here to make fun of Nigar's funny comment. So, he brings many voices through "accent-switching" (Sultana, 2014, p.47). Thus, his utterance is double-voiced here.

Excerpt 2:

1.	Raida: Ami tokhon sober. Duh..!!	Raida: I was sober then. Duh..!!
2.	Ashik: Notun style shikhche!! Office e jaya posh hoi che.	Ashik: She has learned new style!! She has become posh after joining office.
3.	Raida: Semi posh	Raida: Semi posh.
4.	Ashik: Duuuuh..	Ashik: Duuuuh..
5.	Shahariar: Quarter posh.	Shahariar: Quarter posh.
6.	Ashik: Duuuuuuh..	Ashik: Duuuuuuh..

In this conversation, /p/, /t/ and /k/ are also not aspirated and Shahariar pronounces /*'kwɔrtɔr*/ as /*'kwɔrtɑr*/ as /ə/ is absent in Bengali. Here, Raida says that she was sober in their Cox's Bazar trip and after it she says "Duh..!!!". Then Ashik was satirizing her for using this word and expression. He says she has recently learned that expression and word after joining her office and has also mentioned that she has become posh. It means the people who are posh use that word; moreover, it indicates that this is the word of posh people; thus, they categorized this word in a high class. The pretextual history of using this word is, in the interview, Ashik says that Raida uses expressions and words after watching every series or movie. So, she might borrow it from some movie. And when he was asked why people use this type of expression from western culture, he said that nowadays, in this society, people use it to maintain a standard and to present themselves as different from others. However, the word "duh" is used when someone wants to show that someone's statement is stupid or something is obvious (*Cambridge English Dictionary*, n.d.). Therefore, Raida's use of this word indicates that they use this word in her office as everyone is posh. But as she is not as posh as they are, her use of this word implies negotiating her identity among those posh people in her office as she has taken the voice of those posh people. Thus, there can be seen multivocality in her utterance in line 1 as this use of "Duh" got multilayered implications in that context.

However, when Ashik says that Raida has become posh, Raida says "semi- posh" that implies she has not become fully posh, she is trying and has become half-posh. Then Shahariar says "**quarter-posh**" implying she has not become half- posh but even less than that. That's how they are modifying a word according to the context. When Ashik was mocking her repeatedly saying "duh" in lines 4 and 6, Raida uses the word "half-posh" to mean that she has not completely become posh. She has created this version of the word 'posh' to negotiate her identity among those posh people. According to Raida, the meaning of "posh" is "It is supposed to be someone from an aristocrat background but the scenario has changed. Today posh are those who do ridiculous stuff to pretend that they belong to a higher class." Shahariar says, "I think when people try to show off their standard (including language, accent) in a broader way that they are the most elite people or intellectuals of our country. Overreacting is also related here. Using a better English accent, speaking is always highly appreciated, but one cannot

judge others by this standard. So, these are the things that can be relatable with posh people." According to Ashik, posh in the Bangladeshi context means, "this is a practice of high culture in our country. People who belong to the higher class are considered posh in our society." Subtextual interpretation of it can be that the use of this word has political implications. Politically it can be said that in this society, posh people are those who try to prove themselves superior because of their expertise in English language and accent. Moreover, "good pronunciation" in English is a sign of privileged identity, and those people can survive better than others in an urban setting (Sultana, 2014, p. 48). Thus, the meaning of posh is different from the real meaning, and here, everyone has different meanings of this single word based on their contexts. That's how the meaning changed based on the societal and political aspects, and there are multiple purposes behind using this word. Resistance against this hegemonic notion underlies their utterances. There are different voices of resistance and perspectives in their voice of them. So, their speech is full of multivocality.

5.2. Anglicisation of Bangla

This part explores how people use Bengali with English accents and how several voices are present in a single utterance.

Excerpt 3:

1. Akila: Accha, ei chelera. Tumra ajke lal payjama, Punjabi or holud payjama punjabi pore eshe chobi dita.	Akila: Hey, boys. You people could have worn red pajama, punjabi or yellow pajama Punjabi and taken pictures.
2. Itha: Ei lal payjamar sathe lal Punjabi porle shoytan er moto lagbe.	Itha: Red pajama with red Punjabi would have made them look like devil.
3. Akila: Jai hok ekta kichu, just ekta valo pose dita or something like that.	Akila: Whatever, you guys could have given a good pose while taking pictures or something like that.
4. Showrov: Something like thaaat.. (imitating the accent of her)	Showrov: Something like thaaat.. (imitating the accent of her)
5. Ratul: Tumi dila na keno "something like that"?	Ratul: Why didn't you do "something like that"?

Here, in the above conversation, it was observed that Akila was talking in Bengali using an English accent. When she said "panjabi" and "pore", she used the phoneme /p^h/. This aspirated phoneme is absent in Bengali but present in English. They are talking about the dress code for that day. When Akila was saying they should wear a yellow or red dress and take pictures, she switched to English saying "**something like that**". Then, both Showrov and Ratul imitated her using a mocking tone. Four are studying English literature, but Akila is more proficient in speaking English than them. The pretextual history of mocking Akila is that Akila cannot continue talking in Bengali for a long time and always talks in a different way using an English accent like English native speakers. It can be said that Showrov told in an interview that Akila couldn't speak Bengali properly, but she spoke English very well. So, in class and presentation in classrooms, she might seem to be superior. But while talking to friends in casual conversations, she sometimes feels inferior because she can't continue speaking in Bengali. He said that it depends on the majority; that's why in this conversation, the majority can speak Bengali properly but cannot speak in English as Akila. So, in these lines, she is the one who is being othered. There is multivocality in the voices of Ratul and Showrov in the form of hidden intentions and views which they have used here to satire and other Akila the way they felt othered in the previous English dominated context in which Akila had the superior position because of knowing better English than them.

However, Valentine's Day and Boshonto Boron were on the same date; they were talking about the outfit of that day. Though Akila was speaking like the English people, she mentioned that her friends should have worn red punjabi as an outfit for Valentine's Day. Punjabi is a traditional dress for Bengali men in Bangladeshi culture (*Punjabi- Traditional Dress for Bangladeshi*, 2016). Thus, though they are celebrating western festival, Akila is talking about wearing traditional Bangladeshi outfits at the western festival in Bengali using the accent of native English people. That's how her identity is

negotiated as she is following both cultures' perspectives and her voice is multivoiced as in her voice there are perspectives of both Bengali and English traditions.

6. Recommendations

- a) Language cannot be confined to any system. This is the nature of language. So, people should not be judged based on their language practice.
- b) Our language and culture need to be promoted more so that young people and the next generation do not forget their roots.
- c) There is huge scope for sociolinguistics and applied linguistics to work on heteroglossic nature of language. Classroom practices, language practices in multinational companies in Bangladesh, Language practices on social media etc. can be explored.

7. Conclusion

This paper explored how the young people use English in the accent of Bengali and Bengali in the tone of English; and their accent, style, tone etc. are described in relation to their inclination to code switching and code mixing, multivocality and double voicing etc. and the analysis of these features has been done based on the context of broader socio-cultural and political background. In addition to that, how they negotiate their linguistic identity has been discussed as well. As nowadays, young people are given exposure to multiple cultures, those multiple ideologies are expressed through their language practices in several ways and it creates multiple identities in them which they can be seen negotiating. In addition, this study reveals how English has become an inseparable part of these people's language. Though they code switch and code mix between English and Bengali, underneath the use of these two codes there are perspectives of both cultures as well. In a single utterance, there can be observed multiple voices full of different perspectives that can be analyzed based on the social, cultural and historical background of people. People use language based on the need of the context and their background information; that's how in a conversation or in a dialogue the meaning is created; however, as there are different perspectives in a single person's single utterance, when they come together in a dialogue those perspectives and voices clash and meaning is created in relation to all those voices and perspectives according to the theory of heteroglossia. Furthermore, it has been found that people speak Bengali in the accent of English and English in the accent of Bengali and how the social, cultural and historical factors influence this phenomenon has been explored showing the innovativeness of the young people in using language. Though there can be seen a considerable influence of English in the language of young people they are not going away from their Bengali identity. They negotiate both identities. Moreover, according to many people, as the young generation is thought to be responsible for corrupting Bangla but one of the striking findings of this study is- this is very unscientific notion regarding language as language develops like this and every language has taken different elements from other languages, Bengali language itself is the mixture of so many other languages. And it has its own grammar so there is no way this language can die out; it can only take turns which has been happening since a long time ago. So, this is the nature of language and language cannot be limited to any system. It has been changing and it is the nature of a language. Therefore, this paper shows how language flourishes analyzing the conversation through the lens of heteroglossia; and the nature of language and identity is not rigid, it tends to flow and take shapes based on the needs, context and background of the users according to Bakhtin and so many linguists.

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