

Aklima Nahar

Placing Bangladeshi English on the Map of World Englishes



University
of Bamberg
Press

57 Schriften aus der Fakultät Geistes- und Kulturwissenschaften der Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg

Schriften aus der Fakultät Geistes- und Kultur-
wissenschaften der Otto-Friedrich-Universität
Bamberg

Band 57



University
of Bamberg
Press
2026

Placing Bangladeshi English on the Map of World Englishes

Aklima Nahar

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.dnb.de> abrufbar.

Diese Arbeit hat der Fakultät Geistes- und Kulturwissenschaften der Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg als Dissertation vorgelegen.

Gutachterin: Prof. Dr. Julia Schlüter

Gutachter: Prof. Dr. Manfred Krug

Tag der mündlichen Prüfung: 24. April 2023

Dieses Werk ist als freie Onlineversion über das Forschungsinformationssystem (FIS; <https://fis.uni-bamberg.de>) der Universität Bamberg erreichbar. Das Werk – ausgenommen Cover, Zitate und Abbildungen – steht unter der CC-Lizenz CC BY.



Lizenzvertrag: Creative Commons Namensnennung 4.0
<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/deed.de>

Herstellung und Druck: docupoint, Magdeburg

Umschlaggestaltung: University of Bamberg Press

University of Bamberg Press, ubp@uni-bamberg.de, Bamberg 2026

 <https://ror.org/004fa0x02>

ISSN: 1866-7627 (Print)

eISSN: 2750-848X (Online)

ISBN: 978-3-98989-126-5 (Print)

eISBN: 978-3-98989-127-2 (Online)

URN: [urn:nbn:de:bvb:473-irb-115724x](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:bvb:473-irb-115724x)

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.20378/irb-115724>

To my husband

who always wishes me to succeed in whatever dreams I choose to pursue

Acknowledgement

I want to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Dr. Julia Schlüter – a wonderful human being and a great mentor – for her remarks, engagement and prompt responses to my queries and questions throughout the whole process of this thesis. Each time I was on the brink of losing my motivation to continue, she was there to pull me out of the confusion. She has guided me profoundly also during the preparation of the published revision of the thesis, by spending hours in finding improvement options, adding comments and suggestions, in addition to discussing the issues at length.

Thanks to Prof. Dr. Manfred Krug for his constructive discussion and feedback on selecting grammatical features. I am overwhelmed and greatly appreciate that he has agreed to be my second reader. Dr. Lukas Sönning introduced an excellent display method, Dot Plot, to me for analyzing and visualizing data. I am deeply grateful to him for his hours of sessions in teaching me the tool. I am indebted to Dr. Mehbubur Rahman, a family friend, who has taken the time to proofread this document carefully, despite his hectic schedule. Another family friend, Mr. Abu Shahadad Mohammad Shoyeb, has significantly assisted by providing references related to the history of Bangladesh. Special thanks go to my colleagues in the Research Seminars and the Linguistische Werkstatt. They listened to my presentation several times and offered insightful comments and suggestions. Needless to say, all remaining inadequacies are entirely my own.

My sincere gratitude goes to my department for providing me with the opportunity to teach a seminar course at the University of Bamberg, which has enriched my knowledge of the different topics on language variation. In addition, the DAAD program IPID4all has funded my research trip to Bangladesh, which has helped me to collect the research data used in this thesis.

My appreciation also goes to the university authorities of Bangladesh, the informants and their class teachers for their contribution to my work. Without their sincere support, obtaining data would not have been possible for this study. The seven Bangladeshi universities that have provided me with the support to collect data are ASA University Bangladesh (ASAUB), Ahsanullah University of Science and Technology (AUST), Dhaka University (DU), BRAC University (BRACU), Daffodil International University (DIU), East West University (EWU), and Green University of Bangladesh (GUB). I would like to express my special gratitude to Dr. Rahmat Ullah Khan, Ms. Serajum Munira (MPhil) and Dr. Asifa Sultana for their cooperative communication in arranging the meetings with the respondents. I appreciate working with Mr. Subrata

Ghosh, an MA student from Green University, who has assisted me during the data collection.

And last but not least, I am deeply indebted to my husband, Dr. Mohammad Ullah Khan. Without his tremendous understanding, patience and encouragement in the past few years, it would have been impossible for me to complete my study.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgement	i
Table of Contents	iii
List of Tables	v
List of Figures	vii
Abbreviations and Glosses	ix
1 Introduction	1
2 History and Use of English in Bangladesh	9
2.1 Establishment of English in Bangladesh	9
2.1.1 British Colony (1757 - 1947)	9
2.1.2 Pakistani Regime (1947 - 1971)	10
2.1.3 Independent Bangladesh (1971 – present)	11
2.2 Use of English in Bangladesh	13
2.2.1 English as a Second Language	13
2.2.2 English in the Administration	14
2.2.3 English in Education	14
2.2.4 English as the <i>Virtual</i> Native Language	15
2.3 Summary	15
3 Research Focus and State of the Art	17
3.1 Research Focus	17
3.1.1 Factors Influencing L2 Acquisition and Creation of English Varieties	17
3.1.1.1 History	17
3.1.1.2 Social Background	18
3.1.1.3 Gender	18
3.1.1.4 Educational Background	19
3.1.1.5 Distance to the Native Language	20
3.1.1.6 Media	21
3.1.2 The Dynamic Model of Postcolonial Englishes	21
3.1.3 Research Topics	26
3.2 Insights from Related Work	28
3.2.1 L1 Influence and Existence of Bangladeshi English	28
3.2.2 The Role of Gender in Second Language Acquisition	36
3.2.3 Bangladeshi English in Schneider's Dynamic Model	45
3.3 Significance of the Work	50
3.3.1 Discovery of BngE	51
3.3.2 The Gender Gap in Learning English in a Developing Region of the World	51
3.3.3 Acceptance and Place of BngE in the Dynamic Model	52
3.3.4 Input to the eWAVE Language Atlas	52
4 Research Materials and Methodology	55
4.1 Research Materials	55
4.1.1 The eWAVE Language Atlas	55
4.1.2 Responses from Survey Participants	56
4.1.2.1 Aspects Influencing the Selection of Survey Participants	57
4.1.2.2 Justification of the Selection of Survey Participants	60
4.1.3 Questionnaire	61
4.1.3.1 Grammatical Examples and Distribution of Features	62
4.1.3.2 Demographic Information of the Participants	63

4.1.3.3	Consent Form	65
4.2	Research Methodology	66
4.2.1	Survey Procedure	66
4.2.2	Selection of Feature Groups.....	69
4.2.3	Selection of Language Features	72
4.2.3.1	Language Features Selected from the Pronouns Group	73
4.2.3.2	Language Features Selected from the Noun Phrase Group.....	83
4.2.3.3	Language Features Selected from the Tense and Aspect Group	97
4.2.3.4	Language Features Selected from the Agreement Group	102
4.2.3.5	Language Features Selected from the Discourse and Word Order Group	109
4.2.3.6	Special Cares and Considerations	116
4.3	Summary	117
5	Survey Data and Statistical Computations	119
5.1	Survey Data.....	119
5.2	Processing of Survey Data	121
5.2.1	Assigning Numerical Values to the Responses.....	121
5.2.2	Computation of Average Usage Levels	123
5.2.3	Calculation of Standard Deviation	124
5.2.4	Computation of Student's t Values.....	125
5.3	Presentation of Survey Results.....	127
5.4	Statistical Caveats	128
5.5	Summary	130
6	Results and Interpretations.....	133
6.1	Existence of Bangladeshi English.....	133
6.1.1	Criteria to Establish the Existence of BngE.....	133
6.1.2	Results Obtained and Evidence of Existence or Non-Existence of BngE	134
6.1.3	A Deep Dive into the Data – Inspection of Individual Items	150
6.1.4	Probable Explanation of the Observed Behavior	158
6.2	Gender Influence on Founding BngE	160
6.2.1	Criteria to Differentiate Between the Groups	160
6.2.2	Results Obtained	162
6.2.3	Probable Explanations	165
6.3	Bangladeshi English in the Dynamic Model	167
6.3.1	Evaluation Criteria	167
6.3.2	Evaluation of English in Current Bangladesh	168
6.3.2.1	Sociopolitical Background	168
6.3.2.2	Identity Constructions.....	170
6.3.2.3	Sociolinguistic Conditions	172
6.3.2.4	Linguistic Effects	175
6.3.2.5	Overall Picture.....	178
6.4	Summary	181
7	Conclusion	183
	References	193
	Appendix – A: Questionnaire	205
	Appendix – B: Government Notification on Using Bengali	221
	Appendix – C: Summary of Statistical Computation	223

List of Tables

Table 1: Research questions and hypotheses of the study	27
Table 2: No number distinction in reflexives	75
Table 3: Plural forms of interrogative pronouns: reduplication.....	77
Table 4: Subject pronoun drop: referential pronouns.....	79
Table 5: Insertion of <i>it</i> where StE favours zero.....	81
Table 6: Deletion of <i>it</i> in non-referential <i>it is</i> -constructions	83
Table 7: Regularization of plural formation: extension of -s to StE irregular plurals	86
Table 8: Absence of plural marking only after quantifiers	87
Table 9: Plural marking generally optional: for nouns with human referents ...	89
Table 10: Two types of determiners	90
Table 11: Double determiners	91
Table 12: Use of definite article where StE has indefinite article	93
Table 13: Use of zero article where StE has definite article.....	95
Table 14: Use of zero article where StE has indefinite article	96
Table 15: Wider range of uses of progressive <i>be</i> + V- <i>ing</i> than in StE: extension to stative verbs	99
Table 16: Levelling of the difference between present perfect and simple past: simple past for StE present perfect	100
Table 17: Loosening of sequence of tense rule	102
Table 18: Deletion of auxiliary <i>be</i> : before progressive	104
Table 19: Deletion of auxiliary <i>be</i> : before <i>gonna</i>	106
Table 20: Deletion of copula <i>be</i> : before NPs.....	107
Table 21: Deletion of copula <i>be</i> : before AdjPs.....	109
Table 22: Other possibilities for fronting than StE.....	111
Table 23: Inverted word order in indirect questions	113
Table 24: No inversion/no auxiliaries in <i>wh</i> -questions	114
Table 25: No inversion/no auxiliaries in main clause <i>yes/no</i> questions	116
Table 26: Sample response from a single participant for feature 56	120
Table 27: Numerical rating added to the sample response from a single participant for a particular feature	122
Table 28: Usage levels and corresponding frequencies of a particular feature.	123
Table 29: Frequency of NStE usage by male and female students for feature 56	124
Table 30: NStE average and standard deviation of both groups for feature 56.	126
Table 31: Sample table for presenting Student's t values	128
Table 32: Defining ranges of influence of BngE on English spoken by Bangladeshi students	134
Table 33: Item-wise averages of article-related features.....	139
Table 34: Item-wise averages of auxiliaries related features.....	144
Table 35: Comparison of BngE with neighboring Englishes	148
Table 36: Item-wise averages of StE and NStE use for each feature.....	151

Table 37: Examples of Feature 48 - Regularization of plural formation: extension of -s to StE irregular plurals.....	154
Table 38: Examples of Feature 62 - Use of zero article where StE has definite article.....	155
Table 39: Examples of feature 224 - Other possibilities for fronting than StE ..	156
Table 40: Item-wise examples of feature 43 - Subject pronoun drop: referential pronouns.....	157
Table 41: Item-wise examples of feature 99 - Levelling of the difference between present perfect and simple past: simple past for StE present perfect	158
Table 42: Averages of NStE use by male and female student groups combining all the features together	163
Table 43: Student's t values for NStE usage between male and female informants	164
Table 44: Level of influence of sociolinguistic conditions on some features to exemplify the deviation of spoken English from StE.....	174
Table 45: Summary of characteristics of Bangladeshi English fitting the template of Schneider's Dynamic Model of Postcolonial Englishes	178
Table 46: Detailed result of the statistical computation. Columns represent the contents as follows: Feature# = the feature concerned, M_NStE_f0 = number of 0 responses for this particular feature for NStE variant for male participants, M_NStE_f1 = number of 1 response for NStE for male and so on. F_ denotes the same values for female participants. (F/M)_NStE_Avg = (female/male) average value of NStE use, (F/M)_NStE_SD = (female/male) standard deviation, t = Student's t value between male and female respondents for particular features.....	223

List of Figures

Figure 1: An overview of the Dynamic Model of Postcolonial Englishes.....	22
Figure 2: Dot plot corresponding to the data entered in the template.....	127
Figure 3: Averages of responses for the features in the pronouns group	135
Figure 4: Averages of responses for the features in the noun phrases group ..	137
Figure 5: Averages of responses for feature 60 after separating NStE and BngE	139
Figure 6: Averages of responses for the features in the tense and aspect group	141
Figure 7: Averages of responses for the features in the agreement group	142
Figure 8: Averages of responses for the discourse and word order group	143
Figure 9: Average usages of StE and NStE for all the features employed in this study, arranged in ascending order of NStE usage	146
Figure 10: Average NStE usage levels of male and female students	162
Figure 11: Usage levels of the NStE variant for different features.....	176
Figure 12: Notification of the Government of Bangladesh imposing the importance of using Bengali in official activities - dated 12. March, 1975.....	221

Abbreviations and Glosses

ADJ	Adjective
ASAUB	ASA University Bangladesh
AusE	Australian English
AUST	Ahsanullah University of Science and Technology
BRACU	BRAC University
BngE	Bangladeshi English
BrE	British English
ButlE	Butler English
CL	Classifier
CLT	Communicative Language Teaching
DET	Determiner
DIU	Daffodil International University
DU	Dhaka University
DUP	Duplicate
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
EMP	Emphasis
ESL	English as a Second Language
eWAVE	The Electronic World Atlas of Varieties of English
EWU	East West University
FRIAS	Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive
GUB	Green University of Bangladesh
IDG	Indigenous Strand
IndE	Indian English
IndSAfE	Indian South African English
INF	Infinitive
IP	Imperfect Participle
IPA	Indefinite Anterior Perfect
IPF	Imperfect
LOC	Locative
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
MalE	Malaysian English
NP	Noun Phrase
NStE	Non-standard English
OBJ	Objective

PC	Pro-copula
P-HABIT	Past Habitual
PL	Plural
PL-CL	Plural Classifier
POSS	Possessive
PP	Present Participle
PR	Present
PR-C	Present Continuous
PR-PRF	Present Perfect
P-PRON	Personal Pronoun
PR-PRF	Past Perfect
PR-S	Present Simple
P-S	Past Simple
PTCL	Particle
QU	Quantifier
QW	Question Word
RJ	Radio Jockey
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
SOV	Subject–Object–Verb
SrLE	Sri Lankan English
StE	Standard English
STL	Settler Strand
SUB	Subject
TA	Transnational Attraction
TL	Target Language
VN	Verbal Noun
1	First Person
2	Second Person
2F	Second Person Familiar
2H	Second Person Honorific
3	Third Person Ordinary
3H	Third Person Honorific

1 Introduction

English is by far the most widespread language in the world, in terms of the number of countries and regions in which it has been adopted, either as the primary language or as a co-official language alongside one or more other languages. In the beginning, it attained its place around the globe mainly because of widespread British colonization. In the course of time, the English language has gained its strength in all five continents through other means, e.g., industrialization, science and education. However, it is evident that English is not treated or used the same way everywhere around the globe. New patterns of language contact and varieties in terms of different language aspects, e.g., grammar, syntax, pronunciation, and vocabulary, have emerged. Bangladesh is a former British colony, and English has been used for centuries. Although there is no extensive and satisfying study on the variety of English in Bangladesh, it has been mentioned in a few models that depict the spread of the English language in the world; e.g., McArthur's (1987) *Circle of World English*, Kachru's (1985) *Three Circle Model of Englishes*.

McArthur's (1987) *Circle of World English* presents the unity and the diversity of the English-speaking world in a multi-layered circle, which is very similar to a two-dimensional representation of the earth in different layers, like the core, the mantle, and the crust. The core of McArthur's circle is named World Standard English, representing what is commonly acknowledged as Standard English throughout the world. The next layer employs eight regional and national boundaries to present their respective standards of English, which are either already established (Standard) or becoming established (Standardizing). Examples are American Standard English, British and Irish Standard English, South Asian Standardizing English, East Asian Standardizing English, Caribbean Standard English etc. The outermost layer consists of a number of localized varieties corresponding to each regional Standard or Standardizing English. At this layer, the regional South Asian Standardizing English consists of localized varieties such as Indian English, Pakistani English, Bangladeshi English, Nepalese English and Sri Lankan English (ibid.). Thus McArthur recognizes the existence of Bangladeshi English as a local variety, although much detail about Bangladeshi English has not been provided.

Braj Kachru's (1985) *Three Circle Model of Englishes* also uses a geographical and historical approach to create a visualization of World Englishes similar to a two-dimensional adaptation of the layers of the earth. He uses three concentric circles, namely the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle,

which present how English has been diffused around the world because of the roles played by English in particular regions. The Inner Circle represents the traditional, historical and sociolinguistic bases of English in regions where it is now used as a primary language, e.g., the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand. The regions included in the Outer Circle acquired English mainly through imperial expansion by Great Britain. Although English is not the native language of the people in these regions, they use it extensively as a *lingua franca*, as well as in higher education, legislature, judiciary, commerce, and media. Alongside the Englishes of India, Nigeria, Pakistan, Malaysia, Kenya etc. Bangladeshi English also falls in this category. The Expanding Circle represents Englishes in regions where it does not play any historical or governmental role; however, it is widely used as a medium of international communication. This includes Englishes in territories such as China, Nepal, Russia, Japan, the Netherlands, South Korea, and Egypt. Evidently, the existence of Bangladeshi English is recognized in Kachru's model as well. However, any detail on the extent of Bangladeshi English is absent.

The models mentioned above demonstrate that English is not distributed homogeneously around the world; hence it is not spoken in the same way everywhere. The presence of the English language is seen very clearly in various countries in different forms and with varying importance, e.g., as a native language, as the second language, as a foreign language, and as an associate language. Moreover, for many countries like India and Nigeria it is used as a *lingua franca* since they have many different and mutually unintelligible languages (cf. Ithemere 2007: 36). Thus, they use English as a general means of communication among the people of different languages from different regions within the same country. Such wide variation in the sociolinguistic contexts among English speakers results in different English varieties. Differences in all language domains are observed among different varieties – the extent of the differences being small or large. The difference may be in lexical choice, e.g., whether one says *puppy* or *whelp* to name a 'very young dog'. It might be morphological or grammatical, e.g., the choice of the prepositions *to*, *in*, or *at* in the phrase 'sick ____one's stomach'. One may also consider the pronunciation, e.g., [dɪf] vs. [dɛf] for *deaf*; realization of the initial consonant of *who* ([hw]-, [w]-, [h]-, [Ø]-), etc. (cf. Kretzschmar 2013: 56).

Varieties of English are a product of diverse sociolinguistic variables, e.g., age, gender, ethnicity, history, and geographical backgrounds – often a combination of all of these factors. According to Milroy (1987: 10), a sociolinguistic variable is

a linguistic element which co-varies not only with other linguistic elements but also with a number of extra-linguistic independent variables such as social class, age, sex, ethnic group or contextual style of a particular society. In the same vein, Gumperz (1982: vii) says, "[s]ociolinguistic variables are themselves constitutive of social reality and can be treated as part of a more general class of indexical signs which guide and channel the interpretation of intent."

For example, people living in the same region but with different social classes and educational backgrounds often speak a specific language differently. Such factors create different speech communities that share the same set of norms and expectations regarding the use of language (cf. Trudgill 2003: 126).

The distance between different geographical locations is one of the essential variables for language differences and changes. For instance, there are notable differences between British English (BrE), Australian English (AusE), and Indian English (IndE). Another variable that influences the variation and learning of English is the distance between two language families, i.e., the family of the speaker's native language and that of the foreign language. Lado (1961, as cited in Corder 1981: 95) proposes that "[...] the greater the degree of differences/distance, the larger the learning task, or to put it another way, the longer the learning path to be traversed between L1 and L2."

The distance between two languages refers to the similarities and dissimilarities of their linguistic elements or structures. While Kellerman (1977) investigates this distance as the *transferability* between two languages, Corder (1981: 96) terms it the *borrowability* of forms of a learner's native language to a target language (TL). Lightbown and Spada (2006: 83) mention in their book *How Languages are Learned* that a study on morpheme acquisition reveals that the first language of a learner influences the morpheme sequences of a target language. They find out that German and Danish speakers are more likely to get a hold of the English possessives than the speakers of French and Spanish. In the same way, the distance between English (West Germanic Family) and Bengali (Indo-Aryan family) is larger than that between Hindi (Indo-Aryan language) and Bengali. Therefore, it is more difficult for native Bengali speakers to learn and get accustomed to using English than Hindi. The acquisition of a foreign language often incurs deviations in various aspects of the language, usually influenced by the learner's native language. This leads to the acquired language differing substantially from its native or standard variety. Therefore, the distance between English and the native language of a group of learners may contribute to the emergence of a new variety of English.

Based on the above discussion, it can be anticipated that there are several varieties of English worldwide with variation in different linguistic areas. Investigation on English language varieties has been going on for a long time. Hans Kurath launched the first *American Linguistic Atlas Project* in 1929 (cf. Kretzschmar 2007: 1). A number of projects on collecting and preserving data have been going on for decades. These efforts include LL-Map, LAP, TELSUR PROJECT, LAMSAS, eWAVE etc.

Like other countries on the Indian subcontinent, e.g., India and Pakistan, Bangladesh was also a British colony for almost two centuries. India and Pakistan have their varieties of English, namely Indian English (IndE) and Pakistani English (PakE). These varieties are relatively well-investigated in different research works and well-acknowledged across the globe. For example, the language atlas eWAVE (cf. Kortmann et al. 2020) presents Indian English, Butler English, Pakistani English, and Sri Lankan English in their map of world Englishes from the Indian subcontinent. However, Bangladeshi English is absent there. Kachru and McArthur have mentioned the possible existence of a Bangladeshi variety of English in their models of World Englishes. A few works have touched on the term Bangladeshi English; e.g., Hossain et al. (2015) have investigated English in Bangladeshi print and electronic media to find words and expressions inherited from Bengali. However, to the best of my knowledge, no in-depth research has been performed focusing on the actual existence and characteristics of a distinct variety of English in Bangladesh. I intend to collect information directly from university students through in-person surveys to gain insights into this topic. Thus my study – involving a group of genuine English users of current Bangladesh – would paint a realistic picture of the extent of the existence of such a variety, which can be named Bangladeshi English (BngE). I consider a number of language features in my investigation. To some extent, I also intend to elucidate the reason behind the observed existence of BngE among the considered set of English users.

Another essential objective of this study is to investigate whether and how English language varieties differ between groups of people separated by gender, which is a social variable that influences language variety, especially in the context of a developing and socially conservative country like Bangladesh. Gender difference has entered into English studies as a sociolinguistic variable for a long time. Some studies demonstrate that female learners acquire grammatical morphology and syntax (Slavoff and Johnson 1995), comprehension, grammar usage, spelling, and vocabulary (Lynn and Wilson

1993) relatively quickly compared to their male counterparts. However, no difference between Spanish-speaking boys and girls in English (L2) oral proficiency and reading has been found. In the same vein, gender difference has not displayed any variance in English (L2) reading achievement in the study of Thomas and Collier (2002), where most of the sample students have Spanish and French-speaking heritage.

The factors that influence the acquisition and learning of the English language interact in many ways; thus, they are usually not mutually exclusive. What a female speaker talks about and how she expresses herself can be a mirror of the society in which she has been growing up (cf. Finch 2003: 37). Gender may account for noticeable differences in different aspects of the language, e.g., pronunciation, vocabulary, syntactic structure and style etc. Therefore, each of these linguistic elements demands deep investigation. However, my study is limited to morphosyntactic elements of the English language. It is worth mentioning that this study focuses on speakers of similar age, social background and tertiary level academia in Dhaka, the capital city of Bangladesh. They may not represent the common people of the country as a whole. However, they represent the educated part of its young generation, having relatively closer contact with English and the modern world, compared to the common population. Thus the study subjects – male and female – do not differ much in other social aspects except gender. Therefore, it is interesting to investigate whether their English is also influenced by the social factor of possible gender inequality in the context of Bangladesh.

A language variety is not a constant phenomenon. A particular variety goes through different transitions. For example, in Kachru's *Three Circles of English* model, although Singaporean English is currently a part of the Outer Circle, it is drifting towards the Inner Circle, because English is often used as the home or native language in current Singapore (cf. Buschfeld 2025: 122). However, the Circle-based language models proposed by Kachru and McArthur are mostly focused on geographical and historical differentiations than on the dynamicity of the language over time. Another aspect of languages is that they provide language-based identities to their speakers. More recently, Edgar Schneider (2007) has proposed a Dynamic Model of English, which addresses these issues, and plots the timeline of any postcolonial variety of English. This model (more details are provided in section 3.1.2) reveals five fundamental evolutionary phases, starting from the outset of English in a colony, till the settlers and their subsequent generations acquire a new identity in the context of their new home

(colony) detaching them from their British identity. The phases are termed Foundation, Exonormative Stabilization, Nativization, Endonormative Stabilization, and Differentiation. At each phase, the structure of the settler strand (STL) and the indigenous strand (IDG) of English are characterized by four sets of parameters, namely, socio-political background, identity construction, sociolinguistic conditions, and linguistic developments. This model assists in evaluating these parameters of any past or present colonial country in order to understand the dynamicity of its English as it evolves over time.

The case with the Indian subcontinent as a former British colony is different from the cases of Australia or New Zealand, because the British settlers left India after the independence. The history of Bangladesh in terms of language and identity has gone through a more colorful journey than those of India or Pakistan. The people of Bangladesh achieved political independence twice: once (as part of the Indian subcontinent) from the British rule and again from Pakistan. The linguistic independence also involved two languages, namely English and Urdu, before they attained the freedom of using their native language, Bengali for all purposes. So, it is complicated to draw any conclusion—even from related research on India or Pakistan – regarding the place of Bangladeshi English at present in Schneider’s Dynamic Model. This topic will be investigated as well in my research.

The thesis is organized as follows: Chapter 2 sketches the historical timeline of Bangladesh starting from the early days as part of the British colony. Moreover, it provides a brief introduction to the use of English in different sectors in the country at present. Chapter 3 discusses the research focus of this study. In doing so, it highlights a number of factors that influence L2 acquisition and creation of new English varieties, as well as Schneider’s Dynamic Model of Postcolonial Englishes. The discussions pose three distinct research questions. An in-depth presentation of related works on these research questions is provided, along with the significance of this work, especially in comparison with related works. Chapter 4 addresses the research methodology devised and applied in this thesis, containing justifications of the research materials chosen, survey participants, language features, and the survey procedure. Chapter 5 consists of a description of the procedure in order to obtain readily interpretable numerical and graphical results from the collected data using statistical methods and tools. Those survey results are presented in detail in Chapter 6. The presentation, accompanied by the interpretation of the results, is organized

in a way that facilitates answering the three research questions addressed in the thesis. Chapter 7 concludes the work providing a summary of the outcome of the thesis, its applicability to the practical world in addition to the related field of research. The limitations of the work and the scope for further research are also briefly mentioned.

2 History and Use of English in Bangladesh

Being a part of the Indian subcontinent, Bangladesh was a British colony for almost two hundred years. The people of this region have tried to resist the cultural and the linguistic invasions by the British. However, at the same time, they have learnt the English language and acquired the British culture as a means to embrace career opportunities, in addition to becoming a part of the *elite* society. In this section, I present a historical background of the English language, its origin and its expansion in Bangladesh.

2.1 Establishment of English in Bangladesh

English became a means to gain economic and social advantages for the natives in the British colony of India. In West Pakistan (current Pakistan) English was used as a *lingua franca*, while in current Bangladesh (former East Pakistan) English is perceived as the second language and a tool to communicate with the world. The history of present day Bangladesh can be divided into the following major periods in terms of socio-political developments, which played prominent roles in the expansion of English in this region:

1757 to 1947: British Colony

1947 to 1971: Pakistani Regime

1971 onwards: Independent Bangladesh

2.1.1 British Colony (1757 - 1947)

The English language arrived in South Asia along with the *Christian missionaries* in 1614 (Kachru 1986, as cited in Hickey 2004: 539), followed by colonization in a similar mechanism as was the case with the Caribbean. In the early 1600s, within a few years after their arrival, the British established trading posts in a number of cities in Bengal, Bihar and Odisha under the control of the East India Company. Afterwards, the East India Company actively interfered in the politics of the Indian subcontinent. They defeated Sirajuddoula, the Nawab of Bengal and his French allies in 1757 (Hickey 2004: 538). This battle paved the way for the British rule in India for the next 190 years. The first 100 years are termed the *Company rule*; however, after the Indian Rebellion of 1857 the Indian subcontinent was ruled directly by the *British Crown* till 1947.

With the political upper hand, cultural and linguistic invasion also gained momentum. However, the acceptance of English was not homogeneously distributed all over the Indian subcontinent. One major factor that influenced the acceptance or the rejection of English was religion. Most Muslims used to associate the Arabic, Urdu and Persian languages with their religion. They used

to view English as an invasive tool of Western culture, which is aimed at derailing Islamic religious identity. In fact, the Muslims were always suspicious that the British wanted to disrespect their religion with every possible effort. For example, one of the triggering reasons for the Indian Rebellion of 1857 was the use of a new kind of rifle cartridge that had to be bitten open. Muslims believed that these cartridges had pig fat in them, and since it is forbidden to eat pork in Islam, it was a conspiracy against their religion. English was perceived as just another *evil* means for the same purpose. Therefore, they were reluctant to accept English. West Bengal had a Hindu majority, while East Bengal (current Bangladesh) had a Muslim majority. However, the effect of religious belief on accepting English was less prominent in East Bengal (Bangladesh) than in Pakistan. This is because of the fact that the two parts of Bengal were connected strongly by their culture. Moreover, unlike Pakistan, in East Bengal there was still more than 28% of Hindu population (Vyas 2015). Thus, in Bangladesh (East Bengal), English faced much less religious obstruction compared to Pakistan.

2.1.2 Pakistani Regime (1947 - 1971)

After independence from the British in 1947, the provinces were partitioned into the dominions of India with a Hindu majority and Pakistan with a Muslim majority. Because of its Muslim majority (cf. Dasgupta 1970: 127), Bangladesh was politically part of Pakistan, and it was named East Pakistan. English in Pakistan experienced “a roller coaster ride”, as Mahboob and Ahmar (2004: 1003) observe. They mention that after independence, religious leaders intensified their opposition to the use of English since they considered English a symbol of colonization. As a result, the political leaders also began the implementation of Urduization and Islamization. They attempted to implement a united Pakistan using religion as the major binding force. With religion also came the languages they used to associate with Islam, i.e., Urdu, Arabic, and Persian. The alphabet employed in Persian was a derivative of Arabic. Urdu also uses a derivative of the Arabic/Persian alphabet in the written form, although it shares a common Indo-Aryan vocabulary base like Hindi. Urdu was the native language of less than 10% of the Pakistani population. However, it was associated with Islam, mainly by using a derived form of the Arabic alphabet in writing. The Pakistani leaders even attempted to impose the Arabic alphabet for writing Bengali, although Bengali has its own rich alphabet. As a consequence, the Bengalis vehemently opposed the attempt, which resulted in numerous conflicts.

Dasgupta (1970: 28), in his book *Language Conflict and National Development*, mentions that despite numerous changes in the constitutional and political arrangement in East Pakistan (today's Bangladesh) and West Pakistan, Urdu remained the official language. Additionally, he reveals that although some non-Urdu speakers in West Pakistan showed interest to learn Urdu as a second language, there was no attempt to popularize Urdu among East Pakistani speakers. They did not want to *reconcile* this policy with the Pakistani leaders. In 1948 Muhammad Ali Jinnah declared that *only Urdu* would be the state language of Pakistan:

Let me make it very clear to you that the state language of Pakistan is going to be Urdu and no other language. Anyone who tries to mislead you is really the enemy of Pakistan. Without one state language, no nation can remain tied up solidly together and function. Look at the history of other countries. Therefore, so far as the state language is concerned, Pakistan's shall be Urdu. (Jinnah 1948)

This declaration was not entertained by the people of Bengali-speaking East Pakistan; however, the leaders continued their effort to push Urdu, discarding Bengali. In 1952 the people of East Pakistan organized an uprising, known later as the Language Movement, against the push for Urdu. As a result, the language distance between the two parts of Pakistan increased day by day. In order to keep the connection between East and West Pakistan, political leaders began to use English "as the operative language of official transaction" (Dasgupta 1970). English was practically used as a *lingua franca*. English certainly became more important as the push for nationwide Urdu use failed. However, the language movement actually did not make the situation of English much better in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). The people of East Pakistan developed more apprehension about the existence of their native language Bengali. It was ultimately viewed as a battle between Bengali and other foreign languages including Urdu. Bengali was considered a symbol of patriotism. So, the expansion of English also suffered from the language movement.

2.1.3 Independent Bangladesh (1971 – present)

The independence of Bangladesh can be attributed to a combined result of a number of social, economic, and political oppressions, in addition to the obvious attempt to forcefully impose the language Urdu on Bengalis. From the very beginning of the formation of Pakistan, liberated from the British ruling, political power was concentrated in West Pakistan; and East Pakistanis or Bengalis were exploited by the West Pakistan-dominated central government. Linguistic, cultural, and ethnic differences also contributed to their separation.

Bangladesh got independence from Pakistan in March 1971 on the verge of atrocities and genocide started by the Pakistani army in Bangladesh. The Bangladesh-India combined force ultimately defeated the occupying Pakistani army in December 1971. In 1972, shortly after the victory, the Constitution of Bangladesh declared Bengali the sole official language of Bangladesh. It became the medium of instruction in all schools and colleges (cf. Al-Quaderi and Mahmud 2010: 124). The Father of the Nation as well as the President of Bangladesh, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, strongly ordered in a government notification on the 12th of March 1975 that all activities in courts and government offices must be conducted only in Bengali. English can be used alongside Bengali only for communication or contracts with foreign governments. The notification (cf. the screenshot in the Appendix - B) reads,

গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকারের রাষ্ট্রভাষা বাংলা। ... তবুও অত্যন্ত দুঃখের সাথে লক্ষ্য করেছি যে স্বাধীনতার তিন বৎসর পরেও অধিকাংশ অফিস-আদালতে মাতৃভাষার পরিবর্তে বিজাতীয় ইংরেজি ভাষায় নথিপত্র লেখা হচ্ছে। ... এ আদেশ জারী হওয়ার সংগে সংগে সকল সরকারী, স্বায়ত্বশাসিত সংস্থা ও আধা সরকারী অফিস সমূহে কেবলমাত্র বাংলার মাধ্যমে নথিপত্র ও চিঠিপত্র লেখা হবে। ... (তবে) বিদেশের কোন সরকার বা সংস্থার সাথে চুক্তি সম্পাদনের সময়ও বাংলার সাথে সাথে অনুমোদিত ইংরেজী বা সংশ্লিষ্ট ভাষায় প্রতিলিপি ব্যবহার করা চলবে।

(Translation: The official language of the government of Bangladesh is Bengali. Yet, with great sadness we are observing that most courts and offices are writing documentations in the foreign language English instead of Bengali. ... With this notification it is ordered that in all government, non-government and semi-government organizations all documents and letters will be written only in Bengali. ... (However), in case of writing a contract with a foreign government or organization it is allowed to create a copy in Standard English or the concerned language in addition to Bengali.)

Clearly, the government was pushing to increase the use of Bengali in its activities. The use of the native language was being portrayed even as a symbol of patriotism. However, a closer look at the above notification also reveals that the courts and government offices were comfortable in using English. Laws used in the courts were primarily written in English, and therefore, it was the preferred language in court proceedings as well as in writing court orders. Moreover, English was perceived as a symbol of elitism, which could differentiate the literate group of the population from the common people in a country with a very low literacy rate.

After the assassination of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in 1975, the military took over the power in Bangladesh. English faced much less obstruction from the new government, at least until 1987, when the *Bengali Language Implementation Act* (see section 2.2.2) was created. However, the importance of English was

already well-established, and the effort to increase Bengali usage could not derail English from its course. At present day Bangladesh, some lower courts use Bengali in their verdicts. However, the Supreme Court still uses English despite repeated suggestions from the current Prime minister (as of 2022), Sheikh Hasina to deliver them in Bengali. In education, a huge number of English medium schools and private universities have been established during the past several decades. Thus, English is used not only in education but also in administration, government, and media to an ever-increasing extent in present Bangladesh.

2.2 Use of English in Bangladesh

In Bangladesh almost everyone speaks Bengali including a number of (indigenous) minority populations such as Chakma, Garo, Murong, Marma, Rakhain etc. Although they have their own mother tongues, they speak Bengali from a very early age. Therefore, English is not needed as a lingua franca in Bangladesh. Euromonitor (2010, as cited in Mishra 2013: 187) estimates that there are approximately 30,108,031 English speakers in Bangladesh (including 29,398,158 speakers who have English as an additional language), which corresponds to 18 percent of the total population. This is a large number considering the relatively low literacy rate of the country. It is noteworthy that the mentioned statistics is more than ten years old. In Bangladesh today the numbers are expected to be much higher. Different aspects of the Bengali language are provided in more details in section 4.2.2. In the following a glimpse of the status of English in Bangladesh is provided, especially in the administration and the education system where English is used to a great extent.

2.2.1 English as a Second Language

Quirk et al. (1985: 4) formulate a categorization of English usage, namely as a native language, a second language, and a foreign language. According to their categorization, English is the second language of Bangladesh, since it is used for *intranational* purposes. It is used in the education system, for communicating with other nationals, and for occupation both *intranationally* and *internationally* (ibid.). However, for some inhabitants in northern and south-eastern Bangladesh, English might seem to be a foreign language since these indigenous people speak a variety of native languages (cf. Hossain and Tollefson 2007: 243), notably Chakma, Garo, Khasia, Shantali etc. and Bengali may be termed their second language. However, they also speak Bengali since their childhood, and therefore, they can be considered Bengali native speakers as

well. Thus in reality, they also learn English as a second language like any other Bangladeshi.

2.2.2 English in the Administration

As an aftermath of the language movement in 1952, the Pakistani regime used to conduct administrative activities in the English language (Dasgupta 1970: 28). As discussed earlier, after independence, the government of Bangladesh led by the Awami League decided to replace English with Bengali in such activities. In 1975, after the assassination of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the leader of the Bangladesh Awami League and the head of the government, the process came to a halt. Since the military was in power, English was considered an aristocratic way of communication for the rulers (ibid.).

During the rule of Ershad (1981-1990), the *Bangla Bhasha Procholon Aeen* (বাংলাভাষা প্রচলন আইন, Bengali Language Implementation Act, 1987) was created and implemented. Historically, laws were written in English and were not translated into Bengali until 1987. According to this act, it was instructed that all records and correspondences, laws, proceedings in court and other legal actions must be written in the Bengali language in all courts, government or semi-government offices, and autonomous institutions in Bangladesh. However, at present, the constitution of Bangladesh and all laws are written both in English and Bengali. As a result, although the lower courts carry out their activities mostly in Bengali, higher courts tend to employ English. The tendency to use English is increasing in this sector day by day.

2.2.3 English in Education

According to the Ministry of Education of Bangladesh, there are three kinds of educational streams in Bangladesh, i.e., Public (mainstream), Private and Madrasah. In most public schools, education is provided only in Bengali medium with the mandatory requirement of learning English as a regular subject in every class throughout the school years. Only a few public schools offer education in English as an option in addition to the Bengali medium (cf. Haque and Abedin 2011: 185). On the other hand, private schools follow the Edexcel Syllabus or the Cambridge Syllabus (ibid.) and thus education is usually conducted in English medium. The third stream, i.e., the Madrasah education, has an emphasis on religious studies. Madrasahs use Arabic and Urdu as mediums of instruction in addition to Bengali. English is taught as a mandatory subject, although to a lesser extent compared to even the public schools.

At the tertiary education level, the medium of instruction is supposed to be English, except in some programs like Bengali Literature. Although private universities maintain this policy, public universities are considerably more flexible about it. Even in engineering universities, some teachers prefer to deliver their lectures in Bengali. However, most of the books are in English, and the examinations are also written in English. In fact, the rise of private universities has increased the importance and practice of English in Bangladesh. According to Eduicon (2015), there were 85 private universities in Bangladesh, while this number has increased to 103 as of September 2020 as per the University Grants Commission of Bangladesh, and the official medium of education in all of them is English.

From the above discussion, it is clear that in the general education system of Bangladesh, English plays a very significant role. English is by far the second language as almost all the students have to study it as a compulsory subject for a total of twelve years, i.e., five years of primary education, five years of secondary school obtaining the secondary school certificate, and two years of college education achieving the higher secondary school certificate. It is widely used in many parts of national life as well. People watch English television channels, read English newspapers, and use the Internet, consisting of contents mostly in English. Not only the students take extra English courses for higher education (e.g., TOEFL, IELTS, GRE), many older men and women have begun taking English lessons to make their lives easier and keep themselves up to date.

2.2.4 English as the *Virtual* Native Language

For the vast majority of people of Bangladesh, English remains a second language; but at the same time it is *virtually* a native language for a fraction of educated Bangladeshis. Their educational background works as the main catalyst for this strong association with English. In Bangladesh, students from English medium schools speak English not only in schools and workplaces but also in their everyday lives. They are more comfortable in using English than the native Bengali language with their friends, colleagues and family members. Although their ethnic identity suggests Bengali as their mother tongue, from the perspective of their actual usage, English can be considered their *virtual* native language.

2.3 Summary

To sum up the contents of this chapter, it is evident that Bangladesh has undergone various phases of development with regard to the English language.

During the British rule, only the wealthy and elite class could reach the English language. In the course of time, the British rulers and the Sub-continental subjects felt the necessity of English for their mutual advantages, e.g., survival and prosperity respectively. This part of the world has gone through a number of political transformations; the British rule ended in creating Pakistan, and after another 24 years Bangladesh became an independent state. Consequently, the importance of English has gone through a number of transitions. However, it has always existed in the region either as the second language, a lingua franca or as a foreign language.

The Modern day Bangladesh also encourages learning English. The education system of Bangladesh has made learning English mandatory. The administration uses English to a great extent. Learning English is perceived as acquiring a valuable skill. The use of English is increasing in almost every aspect of life in Bangladesh. However, the level of English knowledge – specially spoken English – varies considerably depending on the educational background of different people. Thus, in Bangladesh we find a huge population with English knowledge demonstrating considerable variation. In my research work I target university students, because quite clearly, they fall in the group of active English users.

3 Research Focus and State of the Art

In this chapter, I point out the research focus of this thesis along with a number of probable factors that may influence the acquisition of a second language. The discussion particularly emphasizes the usage of spoken English among the educated group of Bangladeshis. Based on that argument, I derive a number of research questions which are addressed in this work. In connection with those research questions, I discuss a number of related works presenting the state of the art in this area of research. Those related works are presented to an extent such that their contribution, similarities and differences with my work become evident. Afterwards, the significance of the research work in perspective of Bangladesh and Bangladeshi English is briefly discussed.

3.1 Research Focus

In this section, I introduce a number of factors that can influence the acquisition of a second language. Later I mention the areas that are focused in the context of this thesis.

3.1.1 Factors Influencing L2 Acquisition and Creation of English Varieties

Second Language Acquisition (SLA) is an intricate interplay of a number of crucial factors that a learner comes across. Ellis (1986: 4) states that it is “a complex process, involving many interrelated factors. It is the product of many factors pertaining to the learner on the one hand and the learning situation on the other.”

Those can be broadly categorized as internal and external (Lightbown and Spada 2013) factors. Internal factors can be the age of a learner, the type of personality, intrinsic motivation, cognitive abilities, gender, and the distance of the language from the learner’s mother tongue etc. External factors like the educational background of a learner, her experience with the language, the history of the target language with her native language, the use of the language in the media that the learner comes in contact with, social status, and extrinsic motivation also play vital roles in second language acquisition (*ibid.*). A detailed description of those factors and their influences is out of the scope of this thesis. However, in the following sub-sections I briefly present some of the factors that I consider important in the context of Bangladeshi English learners.

3.1.1.1 History

Many parts of the world have their own Non-standard varieties of English, e.g., Australia, Singapore, India, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. As discussed in section 2.1, English is not just another foreign language; it is a

language with an extended historical relationship with Bangladesh. As Schneider (2007) shows in his dynamic model of postcolonial Englishes, English evolves over time based on contact with original English speakers and the native population. Therefore, it is expected that when the country under consideration has a historical connection with English, its learners are already in some kind of contact with the language. Thus they are more likely to acquire and use it with more freedom, which often gives birth to a new variety. Due to the postcolonial history of Bangladesh for almost two centuries, it is expected that Bangladesh has its own variety of English.

3.1.1.2 Social Background

The social background of a learner plays a vital role in the acquisition of English. In Bangladesh, English is often associated with the *elite* society. Moreover, wealthy people can afford the relatively higher cost of education in the English medium. They often plan the future of their children with the aim of obtaining higher education and settling abroad afterwards. On the other hand, the vast majority of the people of Bangladesh plan their future in their native land (cf. Banu and Sussex 2001: 130). They also learn English, but with lesser priorities and different aims. The people of the *elite* society use English in their everyday lives, although Bengali is officially their native language. Common people use it only as a second language, sometimes even as a foreign language, i.e., only when English is explicitly needed. Thus the level and the style of the spoken English are influenced by the social background of the speaker.

3.1.1.3 Gender

In developing countries, where gender discrimination is omnipresent to various extents, girls need to overcome social obstacles in many aspects; language being one of them. They need to prove that they are *good* at English to proceed further with their academic career in the process of defying early marriage. This motivates them to have different learning strategies than their male counterparts. Compared to boys, they are more inclined to learn and use grammatically 'correct', i.e., Standard English. Such trends are evident also in IELTS tests (e.g., 2014-2015 by the British Council), where girls from Bangladesh and Pakistan did better than the boys. In a developing and conservative country like Bangladesh, boys are more exposed to the outside world, which makes them more frequent users of spoken English. This may sound like a contradictory observation, but it is actually in line with the previous remark. Being more in contact with English, boys are more likely to use English daily, which eventually makes them less careful about grammatical standards.

Girls are less familiar with spoken English and more used to learning English for the purpose of examinations, and therefore, they are more concerned about their language being grammatically correct. With these assumptions, it can be supposed that girls are less likely to create new English varieties, although they do better in English language tests. Moreover, many social factors influencing language acquisition, e.g., age of marriage, employment opportunities, participation in sports and outdoor activities etc., are often shaped by gender. Hence the effect of gender in the context of a society cannot be ignored in the case of L2 acquisition.

3.1.1.4 Educational Background

As mentioned in section 2.2.3, there are mainly three types of educational systems, namely, Bengali Medium, English Medium and Madrasah in Bangladesh. Students from English medium schools and colleges are used to speaking English in their daily communication to a much higher extent than their native language, Bengali. They are more in contact with the English speaking world, as they tend to foresee their future outside Bangladesh. Although they are not native speakers of English, they adopt English as their major language of communication.

On the other hand, most of the students from Bengali medium schools speak English only on demand, i.e., as the second language or as a foreign language. They learn English grammar from primary to high school level. Unlike English medium schools, they are taught in Bengali. So, they do not have the opportunity to speak English as their first language. They are not used to speaking English in their everyday lives as well. Whenever they need to use English, they are usually more concerned about the grammatical correctness of the language. Most often, they exercise literal translation from Bengali to English. However, the case with the university students is slightly different. They need to use English in their examinations. For example, in the case of engineering students, almost all the textbooks are in English. Therefore, it is natural to use the same language in writing. However, many of the teachers prefer offering their lectures in Bengali. The students also speak Bengali with each other and with the teachers. Although the students achieve high proficiency in written English, they do not feel comfortable in speaking the language. In the case of Madrasah students, the situation with English is even worse. Besides Bengali, they need to learn other foreign languages like Arabic, Persian, and Urdu to pursue religious studies. The emphasis on English remains very low. In general, frequent English users are more likely to create

new English varieties, while those that use English only on demand tend to stick to the rules of Standard English (StE).

3.1.1.5 Distance to the Native Language

Szmrecsanyi and Kortmann (2009) have argued that a term like 'vernacular universal' does not exist in practice; i.e., not everything that is recurrent in particular varieties of English must necessarily be universal or pervasive cross-linguistically. A particular feature may be strongly present in a Non-standard English (NStE) variety, while it might even be completely absent in another region of the world, which can be characterized by having a native language distant from the local language of the previous region.

The distance between the native language and the target language may influence the assimilation and accommodation pattern in a learning situation (Corder 1981: 95). Lightbown and Spada (2006: 83) mention that studies on *morpheme acquisition* prove that a learner's native language has influences on the target language acquisition phase. They observe that if a learner's native language has a possessive form that matches that in English, they are more likely to catch the possessive of English quickly compared to other learners who do not have this feature in their mother tongues. In the same way, for Bangladeshi learners it is easy to acquire Hindi or Urdu, because they belong to the same language family (*Indo-Aryan*). Therefore, distances between those languages are very small. The distance between English and Bengali is much larger. In order to reach their common ancestor, the *Indo-European* family, English has to traverse through Anglo-Frisian, West Germanic and Germanic families, while Bengali can reach there through traversing another long path; i.e., Sanskrit, Indo-Aryan and Indo-Iranian language families.

Generally, it is difficult for Bengali speakers to learn Arabic, English or French because of their linguistic distances, characterized by aspects like vocabulary, pronunciation, grammar and orthographic transparency. The larger the linguistic distance between a first language (L1) and a second language (L2), the lower the L2 learnability is (Schepens, Van der Slik, and Van Hout 2013). As a practical example, there are plenty of Nepalese students in the universities of Bangladesh, mainly in the engineering and the medical sectors. They learn to speak Bengali within a few weeks of their arrival in Bangladesh. On the other hand, international students from Nigeria, Iran, and the Middle East do not learn Bengali at all, even though they stay in Bangladesh for 4 to 5 years. The distances between their mother tongues from Bengali play an important role in

learning Bengali. The same effect is also expected with Bangladeshis in acquiring and speaking English.

3.1.1.6 Media

The media play an important role in making people familiar with a foreign language. In Bangladesh, most of the newspapers are, as expected, in Bengali. However, there are some English newspapers, e.g., the Daily Star, the Independent, the New Age, and the Financial Express. They also have a regular group of readers. Moreover, the boom in the information technology sectors has made the internet easily accessible to many Bangladeshis of all ages and professions. There are online versions of numerous newspapers and social communication media like Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and YouTube. They not only offer a massive amount of content in the English language but also allow interactions in English at the global level. Such interactions may even be in the form of listening to sports commentaries, participation in science and math competitions etc. Thus media play an increasingly important role in getting people accustomed to using the English language. Since most of these people predominantly use Bengali, the more naturally they employ English in their daily activities, the higher is the probability of their English being influenced by Bengali and thus contributing to the formation of a new English variety.

3.1.2 The Dynamic Model of Postcolonial Englishes

English started its journey in the Indian subcontinent through colonization. In the course of time, the use of English has been diversified because of particular sociolinguistic aspects of different areas of the region. During the two centuries when the British settlers were still present, English was being used as a lingua franca, in commerce, politics, education, as a second language, as a foreign language and so on. However, only the indigenous or native people decided how to accept and use English after decolonization (Schneider 2014: 9). Even after the settlers left the Indian subcontinent, English gradually established its status as a very important means of communication in those countries. However, the process of this establishment of English was not the same in different regions. In Pakistan and Bangladesh, English faced resistance from religious views as well as nationalistic sentiments. English has overcome that resistance to a great extent and at present it is used all over the Indian subcontinent. Interestingly, English does not maintain its adherence to grammatical correctness in postcolonial setups; rather it goes through evolution and new varieties of English emerge. For example, India has developed a well-acknowledged home

grown form. Indian English has its own accent and numerous grammatical deviations from Standard English, especially in oral discourses. Being the neighbor of India, sharing much of the same history with English, it is expected that Bangladesh would bring its own flavor to the English language as well.

In order to analyze how English evolves in a postcolonial context, Edgar Schneider (2003, 2007, 2011) outlines a *Dynamic Model* that provides a “deepened theoretical understanding” of these emergences. He depicts the model as follows:

It builds upon earlier developmental schemes and argues that emerging varieties of English in postcolonial contexts have typically followed an underlying, fundamentally uniform evolutionary process caused by the social dynamics between the two parties involved in a colonization process. (Schneider 2011: 33)

Figure 1 presents an overview of Schneider’s *Dynamic Model of Postcolonial Englishes*, depicting the main actors that interact together to drive the evolution, different evolutionary phases that a postcolonial English may proceed through, as well as the parameters that define the characteristics of the phases¹.

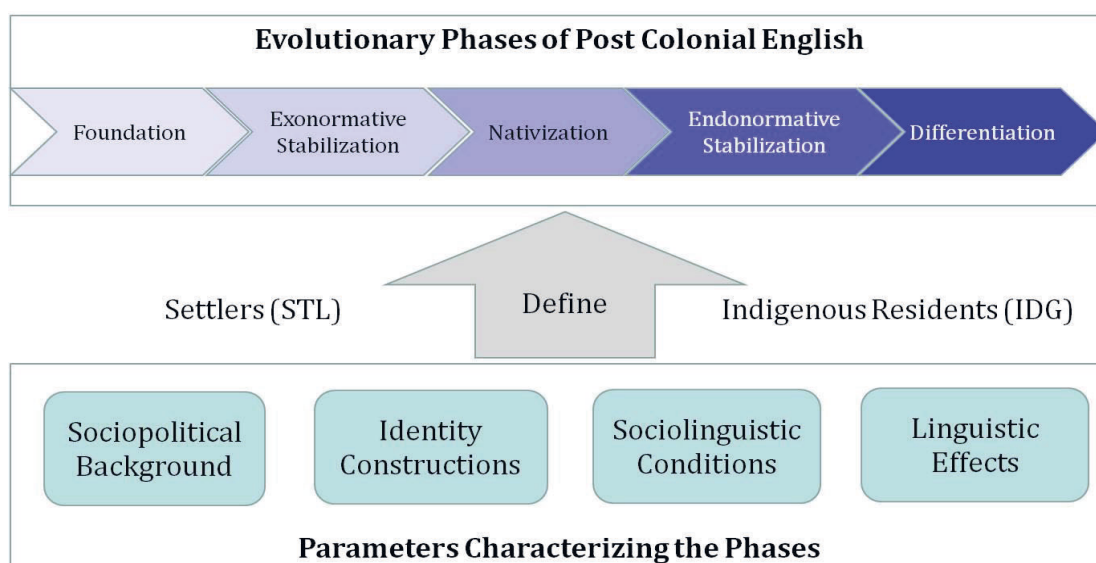


Figure 1: An overview of the Dynamic Model of Postcolonial Englishes

There are two types of actors in this model: the settlers (STL) who are the English speaking migrants, and the indigenous residents (IDG), i.e., the original habitants of the colony. English evolves through the *contact* between these two sets of actors. The contact between the two groups is governed by the political,

¹ This figure, depicting a simplified overview, is not directly adopted from any source; rather it is composed based on my understanding of Schneider’s Dynamic Model.

business, military, and religious motives of the STL strand and social factors like history, economy, laws, politics, values, and priorities of the IDG strand. The IDG strand starts acquiring English, and at the same time, the STL strand also develops some level of bilingualism, using names and references from the local context in its English. The stronger the contact between the two groups, the higher is the effect of such bi- or multilingualism. The STL strand employs mechanisms like code-switching, code alternation, passive familiarity etc., and the IDG strand uses a feature pool, selection and competition, diffusion etc., which triggers the evolution of English in this colonial setup.

With time the distance between the two strands decreases and the STL strand may become completely disconnected from their British identity and find a new identity in its new home, i.e., the colony. The colony may also get independence by this time. However, the English exercised in such former colonies often varies from its origin. In fact, throughout the history, starting from the early days of colonization, English in this part of the world continued evolving, and new English varieties have emerged. Schneider has addressed this dynamicity of English in former colonies using his *dynamic model*. According to the dynamic model, English evolves through five major stages, namely Foundation, Exonormative Stabilization, Nativization, Endonormative Stabilization, and Differentiation. These stages are characterized by a number of parameters, which can be categorized as socio-political background, identity constructions, sociolinguistic conditions, and linguistic effects. The Socio-political background addresses the social context of the colony along with the political phases like establishment of the colony by force, struggles, independence etc. Identity constructions deal with the identities of both the STL and the IDG strands, e.g., at the early phase of the colony, the people of the STL strand often think of themselves as *British*, while this identity loosens with time and over generations, and at some point, they may assume that they belong to the new territory with a new identity. Sociolinguistic conditions refer to how English is perceived in the social context of the colony; e.g., English may be used only on demand in the early phases, while in later phases, it may have a wider acceptance and use among the people. Through the evolutionary process of English, its linguistic features may also transform. For example, English in a colony may accept words, expressions, accents and other grammatical features from the native languages of the colony. At different stages of evolution, the extent of such effects varies. In the early phases, we may only observe limited effects like koineization (dialect mixing) or lexical borrowing. In contrast, the new variety of English may develop more lexical and grammatical specialties in later phases.

A brief outline of the evolutionary phases (cf. Schneider 2007: 33-55) is presented below:

Foundation

In this phase, English arrives in a country or territory, which was not English-speaking before, mostly by colonial expansion, trade, military outposts, missionaries, settlement etc. Initially, neither the STL nor the IDG strand is able to speak each other's language, and therefore, they keep their distance from each other. Traders believe they still belong to their land of origin and their stay is meant only for a short period of time. In order to communicate for a utilitarian purpose, both strands develop marginal bilingualism. Typical linguistic effects of this phase are toponymic borrowing and incipient koineization. Some members of the IDG strand, who hold a higher position in trade, and therefore, are more likely to have further contact with the British, learn a certain amount of English.

Exonormative Stabilization

Settlers stabilize in this phase in the new territory, although they are still connected to their British origin. Communication increases between them and the local people. The dominant party, primarily British, establishes the norms of linguistic behavior. English is regularly spoken and formally established as a language of administration, education and legislation. Indigenous residents speak English as a second language. Some of them consider English as a language of elites; therefore, they consider it as an asset. Eventually, mixed marriage takes place, and the IDG strand develops bilingualism. Lexical borrowing - especially, in fauna, flora and cultural terms - occurs; i.e., the STL strand also starts using some words from the IDG vocabulary. Thus, code-switching and syntactic transfer takes place, especially in the spoken forms of both English and the native language of the local population.

Nativization

In this phase, settlers' ties with their countries of origin weaken, and they further accept the territory as their new home. Distances between the descendants of two groups reduce, and hence contact between English and the native language(s) also speeds up. Settlers spread their involvement in important sectors of the colonized countries. As a result locals feel pressure to learn English, be it due to direct government rulings or indirect incentives in terms of better economic opportunities. They bring their L1 interference with

them, and the settlers also accommodate special features of the indigenized language. In this phase, heavy lexical borrowing between English and the local languages occurs, variety of accent emerges, and changes in phonology and morphology appear. By this time, the colony often strives toward political independence from the British rule.

Endonormative Stabilization

This phase starts after political independence. Therefore, the newly independent state also becomes culturally and linguistically independent of British influence. However, this phase is achieved if linguistic independence does not fossilize its English at the Nativization phase or even de-nativize it going backwards. Both the descendants of the settlers and the indigenous population identify themselves as members of the newborn state. It is marked by the stabilization of the new English variety, which is homogeneously spread over the state. Such new varieties of English may be used in daily functions as well as in the literature. Codification of a new variety of English, in terms of lexis and grammar occurs at least to some extent. Thus, new dictionaries – often mini-dictionaries – and grammars of the new English variety are documented.

Differentiation

This is the final stage of the evolution of postcolonial Englishes. At this stage, the nation is already well-established and thus completely free from British influence – politically, culturally and linguistically. Differentiation among the people within the country can be observed. Thus, they are not bound to use the same variety of English; instead, their dialects develop. People start defining themselves as belonging to smaller ethnic, gender, and locality-based groups, and their dialects may be used as linguistic markers for such small groups. In fact, at this stage, the English of the former colony attains a state similar to Britain, where many dialects of English co-exist. However, in this case, the dialects are usually rooted back to a variety of English different from their British origin.

The five stages described above define an ideal case, where linear progression through different stages is assumed. In practice, the actual situation may vary considerably, although the general trend still holds. Moreover, as Schneider (2014: 10) also points out, it is not always possible to discern a clear-cut difference between the phases; rather there are grey areas, and sometimes these stages even overlap.

3.1.3 Research Topics

The discussions of sections 3.1.1 and 3.1.2 help to identify a number of possible aspects that influence English language acquisition in Bangladesh. However, the scope of this study is limited, and therefore, not all of them are covered. The research performed in this thesis concentrates on the following topics:

- The existence of Bangladeshi English
- The influence of gender on the acquisition of English and thus, formation of the Bangladeshi variety of English
- The phase of Bangladeshi English in Schneider's Dynamic Model

In section 3.1.1, we have seen that Bangladesh, like its neighbors, has a long history with English. Thus we can assume the existence of a Bangladeshi variety of English. As the first research topic in this work, I will investigate this issue. Non-standard Englishes like Indian English (IndE), Pakistani English (PakE), Malaysian English (MalE), Sri Lankan English (SrLE) etc. are well documented. However, to the best of my knowledge, no extensive effort has been made to identify the Bangladeshi variety of English. Therefore, my investigation will seek to attest to the existence of such a variety, called BngE, in Bangladesh.

The second research topic focuses on the influence of gender on spoken English among a particular group of Bangladeshi English users. Gender is one of the most likely influential factors on English language acquisition. The pervasiveness of particular language features and a general picture of English usage may be dependent on the gender of the language user. I will investigate this aspect in the context of Bangladeshi university students.

The third topic addressed in my thesis deals with the stage of Bangladeshi English from the evolutionary perspective. Schneider (2003, 2007) has proposed a dynamic model of postcolonial Englishes in order to address how a particular language variety evolves as a result of contact among different languages, socio-cultural identities, and the selection of different linguistic features by particular language varieties. From the perspective of the four parameters; i.e., sociopolitical background, identity constructions, sociolinguistic conditions, and linguistic effects, the state of a language among a particular set of agents in a country with colonial history can be placed in one of the five evolutionary phases, namely Foundation, Exonormative Stabilization, Nativization, Endonormative Stabilization, and Differentiation (see section 3.1.2 for details). In the context of this thesis, I consider Bangladeshi English users, especially University students, as the agents in order to derive an idea of the evolutionary

phase of English in present-day Bangladesh. They use their ‘own’ English with a marked local accent and with lexical borrowing of words from their native language (Bengali). Moreover, the STL strand is absent in Bangladesh. Therefore, I assume Bangladeshi English has attained the maturity of being in the Nativization phase.

Based on the above discussion I formalize my research topics in terms of research questions and the probable outcomes as hypotheses, as presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Research questions and hypotheses of the study

Topic	Research Question	Hypothesis
Bangladeshi variety of English	RQ1: Is Standard English (StE) practiced in Bangladesh, or does the country have its own variety of English?	H1: Bangladesh has its own variety of Non-standard English, which can be termed Bangladeshi English, BngE.
Gender influence on spoken English	RQ2: Is there any influence of gender on the formation of the Bangladeshi variety of English?	H2: Male students attest stronger influence of the native language (Bengali) on their English, contributing more to the formation of BngE.
Stage of Bangladeshi English in the Dynamic Model	RQ3: At what stage of Schneider’s dynamic model can Bangladeshi English be located?	H3: In regards to most of the characterizing parameters, Bangladeshi English is placed in the Nativization phase.

I perform my research based on field data which I collected from 340 students of seven different Bangladeshi universities from December 2016 to January 2017. The investigation focuses on 23 language features taken from five grammatical areas. The collected data is analyzed using statistical methods, and these hypotheses are tested against the results obtained from that analysis. It is to be mentioned that a particular hypothesis might be supported or rejected by the results obtained in this thesis.

3.2 Insights from Related Work

References to numerous research works are provided throughout this document in various contexts, e.g., in the introduction of the problems addressed in this thesis, the discussions on the survey data, and in the conclusions of my research. However, in this section I present discussions on a number of works, directly related to my three research questions. In doing so, I provide some details on the focuses and methods of those works, the reasons why I consider them essential inputs to my research, and a brief comparison identifying the common goals and observations as well as differences and limitations, whenever possible. In the process, I also indicate how my work is expected to advance the state of the art in the research areas concerned.

3.2.1 L1 Influence and Existence of Bangladeshi English

English sowed its seed in Bangladesh at the same time as it did in India. In Bangladesh, the use of English is increasing day by day in every sector of life. The number of English medium schools and universities is going up rapidly. Not only the history with British colonization, but also the socio-economic benefit exerted by the globalization of the modern world is influencing Bangladeshi people to use English even in their daily duties. In Bangladesh, English is used more as a second language than as a foreign language and it is widely used in administration, education, and media. A small fraction of the population, mainly with English as their educational background in schools, even prefer using English in daily conversations, although Bengali is their native language. However, like English in all other parts of the world where it is learned as a second language or as a foreign language, Bangladeshi English is also expected to be influenced by the native language.

Odlin (2008) discusses how the acquisition of a second language is influenced by the similarities and differences between the target (second) language and any other language that has been previously acquired (e.g., the native language). Such differences do not necessarily have to be the grammatical features of the languages; instead, they can result from the differences in the social contexts of the users. Even all the native speakers of a particular language do not speak it in the same way. This fact also governs their acquisition of a second language. Two groups of learners, where one of them consists of a homogeneous set of speakers of the native language, and the other consists of a set where individual speakers speak the same native language differently (e.g., differences in dialect, pronunciation, educational level, social contexts etc.), exhibit different patterns in acquiring a second language. The historical language contact situation also

plays a role in second language acquisition. For example, in countries like Ireland, India and Nigeria, English was once spoken by a small but dominant group of people; while in the Netherlands, English has never played such a role. This most likely explains the fear of using same or similar idioms by the Dutch native speakers (Kellerman 1977), while Indian speakers are seen transferring idioms in English based on their native languages (Sridhar and Sridhar 1986). Identities based on the conventions of the native language may influence the style used in the target language. Odlin mentions the work of Shen (1989: 465), where he strongly demonstrated that while writing English he had to forget about his identity in terms of using different words and styles in the Chinese language. However, Odlin (2008) makes it clear that Shen (1989) is probably an exception; not all writers in a second language may have such a strong sense of changing language identities.

In my research, the subjects are a homogeneous set of people, i.e., university students with similar connections with their native language. So, within this group, I expect and assume a homogeneous behavior in their acquisition of English. They may differ from another set of people from Bangladesh, and thus they cannot be claimed to be perfect representatives of the common people of the country. Historically Bangladesh has a similar contact with English as India. So, I expect the study participants to transfer the characteristics of their native language in English. Although Bengali is a different language with a different identity, the study participants may consciously try to avoid using the features of the Bengali language in their English. However, it is very unlikely that they would change their identity with such strong consciousness. Therefore, based on the transfer or cross-linguistic influence discussed by Odlin, I expect a *moderate* influence of Bengali on the English acquired by Bangladeshi speakers.

Alahmadi and Lahlali (2019) investigate the effect of the native language, Arabic, on the acquisition of English. They also inspect whether gender plays a role in that matter. They designate the effect as an *error*, because an error is caused by the negative influence of a native language on second language acquisition. They are aware of different types of errors, e.g., interlingual errors, intralingual errors, errors due to overgeneralization of linguistic rules, as well as ignorance and incomplete application of the target language rules. In their research, they focus on interlingual errors, which basically refer to the influence of L1 on learning L2. My first research question is quite related to this aspect because such interlingual *errors* are the main catalysts in developing a language variety. The second aspect of their research, i.e., gender gap in producing errors, is also

very much in line with my second research question. I also investigate whether gender plays any role in the formation of a Bangladeshi variety of English.

Citing a number of related works such as Corder (1973) and Keshavarz (2008), Alahmadi and Lahlali (2019) mention four distinct processes that result in interlingual errors in L2 acquisition, namely, substitution, omission, addition, and permutation. A learner may substitute the correct rules of the target language by the rules of her native language, especially if the corresponding rules are different in the two languages. For example, a learner with Arabic mother tongue may use *we walk from the super market until our house* (the preposition *to* is substituted by *until*). Omission refers to leaving out some language elements; e.g., *what you studying?* (omitting *are*). Sometimes errors are a result of adding unnecessary elements; e.g., *I must go to home* (unnecessary addition of *to*). Permutation usually refers to employing the wrong word order; e.g., *study the students in the college* employ a word order similar to Arabic, while the correct word order in English should be *the students study in the college*.

Alahmadi and Lahlali (2019) explore these four error processes, taking a sample of 15 male and 15 female postgraduate students from the University of Leeds, all of whom have Arabic as their mother tongue. They received scholarships to study in the UK, while their English proficiency is considered to be at the intermediate level. The study finds that female students tend to employ substitution the most in their errors. When they are not quite familiar with a particular rule of English, they tend to apply their knowledge from their native language. Male students employ addition the most; i.e., they add language elements where those are not necessary. Errors resulting from other processes are also present in both groups. On the whole, female students produce more errors compared to their male counterparts.

Although this study was performed taking only 30 participants into consideration, it clearly shows that the English of university students even studying in an English-speaking country is heavily influenced by their mother tongue, Arabic, which has significant differences with English in terms of linguistic features. As far as language family and language features are concerned, there is a large distance between Bengali and English too. Therefore, I expect a similar effect on the English spoken by my study participants who are university students as well. In the case of the gender gap, the study of Alahmadi et al. provides a very interesting result. In most of the works in this area, girls perform better in English language tests, while here, we observe an opposite picture. Although the authors did not mention any probable reason for this

outcome, I envisage that it is a consequence of the extremely male-dominated society of Saudi Arabia. I presume that in the context of Bangladesh gender difference is not so prominent, although Bangladeshi society is also conservative to certain extent.

The acquisition of English is greatly influenced by how it is taught in classrooms, and language coaching centers. Archvadze (2012) shares her experience as a teacher how a learner's first language influences second language acquisition. She argues that the problems (influences) are mainly caused by the lack of substantial knowledge of lexical and grammatical structures of the target language. In such cases, learners are more likely to *transfer* their knowledge from the native language to the target language. She identifies a number of different influence types while putting much emphasis on grammatical interference. Such interference can be a result of the differences between the two languages in terms of grammatical aspects like word order, use of pronouns and determiners, tense and mood. She has observed that in Georgian language, syntax and meaning of a sentence is derived by inflections and not by strict word order; and Georgian native speakers often forget to pay much attention to the word order in their English. They often mix past simple and present perfect forms and struggle to form subordinate clauses involving time and conditions. They are often confused while using prepositions, sometimes omitting prepositions where these are actually required, while at times using unnecessary prepositions. They find it more natural not to use plurals after *one of*; e.g., they would use *one of my friends* instead of *one of my friends*. All these *errors* imply a direct influence of the features of their native language in their English.

Besides grammatical interference, Archvadze also mentions lexical and orthographic interferences. In lexical interference, words are borrowed from the native language and used – sometimes slightly converted – in the target language. Orthographic interference addresses the issue of changing the spellings of some words in the target language as they are spelt differently in the native language. The extent of such negative interferences is proportional to the differences in the features of the two languages.

In addition to the above cases, interference can be positive as well. Positive interference facilitates learning a target language depending on its similarities with the native language. It can result in assimilation or concurrence of linguistic behavior or features between the target and the native language (cf.

Brown 1994: 102). For example, word order similarities can assist in learning target language syntax.

In line with Archvadze's work, I also expect Bangladeshi English learners to transfer their knowledge of Bengali grammatical and lexical features in their English, and thus to contribute to the enrichment of BngE. The questionnaire that I have used in my survey addresses most of the grammatical aspects mentioned by Archvadze. However, in my work, I consider only negative transfer because Bengali and English belong to two distant language families with many differences in their grammars and vocabularies. Moreover, I expect negative transfer to be the main contributor to creating new language varieties.

Rahman and Pandian (2018) look into the issues that hinder English teaching in Bangladesh to satisfy the need to become a global citizen. Bangladesh has taken the strategy of moving from the traditional grammar-translation method towards communicative language teaching to produce more proficient English speakers, who not only learn the grammar of the language but also are able to use it in their daily business. They mention that the major problem with English teaching in Bangladesh is the lack of proper training for the teachers. Instead of making the students *use* English, these untrained teachers still follow the traditional chalk-and-talk method. As a result, most of the students in Bangladesh learn the grammar; however, they do not speak it in their schools with classmates and teachers, as well as at home with friends and family.

The problems identified by Rahman and Pandian in teaching English in Bangladesh may contribute to the formation of BngE. The students who focus more on the grammar while learning English as a second or foreign language are expected to exhibit certain characteristics. At a low proficiency level, I expect them to utilize translation very often while they try to speak English. Thus their spoken English is expected to show considerable effects of Bengali. On the other hand, those with higher proficiency in terms of grammar – but lacking daily use in conversations – would most likely stick to the rules of English and thus demonstrate minimum L1 influence. However, if their English proficiency is based on the use of English in their daily conversations, then I expect them to become much more independent of hard and fast grammatical rules, and thus to contribute to a greater extent towards the creation of BngE. Most of the participants of my survey emanate from this system. They are regular English users in terms of educational requirements. However, their expertise in regular English conversation is a mixed bag. Therefore, it might be interesting to look deeply into their spoken English, as is the case in my thesis.

The journey of English in Bangladesh was not a smooth one. It faced direct and indirect resistance from nationalism connected to the native language, government policies, and religious interpretations. Sukanto Roy (2017) discusses the factors that obstruct English acquisition in Bangladesh. Presenting a historical timeline of events and government acts as the factors providing the emotional and practical background of the use of English in the country, Roy mentions that even in this era of globalization English faces significant resistance from various sectors of the country. English is still viewed as a competitor of the native language, Bengali, and thus there exists a widespread perception that learning English reduces the importance of Bengali. English speaking Bangladeshis are singled out as local *elites*. Most policymakers in education refrain from prioritizing English over the native language. There has even been petition in the Supreme Court to enforce the *Bengali Language Implementation Act* of 1987 (see section 2.2.2). However, Roy also mentions that despite all this resistance, English in Bangladesh is thriving mainly because of its importance in ensuring a better economic perspective.

The recent trend of mixing English words and accents while speaking Bengali – for example, by the FM radio jockeys – faces strong criticism. Roy mentions that such *horrendous* mixing of languages is perceived as a distortion of the mother tongue and thus unpatriotic. However, despite criticisms, this trend is never abated. This is a very important input for my work. Although mixing English with Bengali is considered a distortion or contamination of the native language, it is probably a very effective tool in creating a new BngE variety. When a speaker becomes accustomed to mixing two languages frequently, in her mind the differences between those languages diminish day by day. Such speakers are expected to feel more confident and natural in using Bengali features, e.g., expressions, words, and other grammatical aspects while speaking English in a different context. My study encompasses the young English speakers who are often exposed to such language mixing phenomena, and therefore, they are possibly the best set of the Bangladeshi population to create the BngE variety.

Based on the historical events and policies that have influenced the status of English in Bangladesh, Islam and Hashim (2019) provide an account of how English is employed in education at present. Like Rahman et al. (2018), they mention that despite the government's policies implementing communicative language teaching (CLT), the effort was unsuccessful, because it faced strong opposition by the teachers themselves. Rahman et al. (2018) mention the lack of proper training for teachers as the reason behind it, while Islam and Hashim

(2019) reveal that the teachers are reluctant to accept changes, and they prefer sticking to the traditional grammar-translation method. Thus, the learners are not well-equipped for using English in real-life situations in terms of reading, writing, listening and speaking, although they may learn the grammar of the language.

For a long time, English was not taught with much importance at the primary level of education in Bangladesh. Recently the strategy has changed, and English is now taught as a separate subject starting from class one. Islam and Hashim (2019) mention that the general skills of English that the students acquire at this level are limited to simple activities like greetings, farewells, reading signboards and addresses, and writing ordinal numbers such as first, second, third etc. At the secondary level, the students acquire reading and writing skills in English because that is all they need to do well in the examinations. Higher secondary level is, in fact, a continuation of the secondary level, by the end of which the students are expected to acquire a vocabulary of about 2600 to 2800 words along with more than 20 structural patterns. However, the case with English medium schools is quite different. The students in those schools are frequent English users in terms of both speaking and listening. At the tertiary level, the use of English differs considerably depending on the subjects that the students study at universities. If English is required in their studies, the students need speaking and listening skills as well, in addition to reading and writing. Although most of them still use Bengali in their daily communication, Islam and Hashim confirm that English is their most widely-spoken language after Bengali. Thus, they can be considered regular English users.

My study participants are students of this tertiary level. Therefore, I can assume that they are users of English as a second language as long as spoken English is concerned. Therefore, they are the ideal candidates for founding and exercising a BngE variety. The same cannot be expected from the vast majority of school students, whose English is mainly limited to reading and writing only.

In-depth research works focusing on the existence of a distinct variety of English in Bangladesh are practically absent in the state of the art. Hossain et al. (2015) investigate the existence of a Bangladeshi variety of English within a very limited context. They use textual and audio inputs from print and electronic media and conversations with people working in the media sector. Citing some references to other research works like Kachru (1994) and Faquire (2010), they try to provide some sort of definition for the Bangladeshi variety. A Bangladeshi variety of English is a localized or nativized form of the language which adopts

some unique features like sound, intonation patterns, words, and expressions from the native language, Bengali. In the process some locally intelligible English pronunciation may be also developed. In my work, I also adopt a similar definition for BngE. Hossain et al. mention that some other researchers name Bangladeshi English *Banglish*. However, I do not accept this term because Banglish actually refers to the *Bengali* language containing many English words and expressions. Therefore, Banglish is *not* at all English influenced by Bengali; rather, it is an English-influenced version of Bengali, and therefore, not a new English variety.

From focus group conversations with five media professionals, Hossain et al. (2015) observe that they use many political words like *hartal* (strike), *lathicharge* (baton charge), *aborodh* (blockade), as well as religious and festival-related words like *Eid* (festival of Muslims), *Puja* (festival of Hindus), *Baishakhmela* (festival of first Bengali month) etc. in their spoken English. The interviewees also mention that these words are used not only in the local newspapers and electronic media but also in the international media like the BBC and the CNN. The authors have also collected data from FM Radio Jockeys (RJ), who opined that radio shows are impossible for them without code-switching and mixing from Bengali to English and vice-versa. In practice, they mostly use Banglish, i.e., speak Bengali while mixing words, expressions and accents from English. Although the authors did not directly mention its effect in creating BngE, this behavior probably makes the RJs confident in using Bengali expressions when they speak English. With frequent mixing of Bengali and English, they most likely experience diminished differences between the two languages.

Hossain et al. (2015) mention another important aspect, namely pronunciation based on regional accent. Bengali is not spoken the same way all over Bangladesh. There are differences in the pronunciation of the same word in different regions of the country. For example, /p/ is pronounced as [f] in Noakhali, /s/ as [ʃ] in Thakurgaon etc. Such regional effects are expected to be observed in their spoken English as well. In my research, I have investigated a wide range of language features instead of looking merely into some words and expressions to test the existence of BngE. I have not investigated the influence of regional accents on spoken English. Hossain et al.'s research contributes to the lexical aspect of BngE and its codification to some extent. It does not provide a broad coverage in terms of grammatical features. However, they correctly conclude that a Bangladeshi variety of English is at the *emerging* state and its reservoir is still very small.

3.2.2 The Role of Gender in Second Language Acquisition

Language acquisition, be it the native or a second language, is a complex process which involves numerous socio-linguistic factors. Many researchers have conducted investigations on the role of gender, among other factors, in the acquisition of L1 and L2. Decisions have often been made based on the language test results of both groups. In this section, I look into several works in this area, both from the theoretical perspective and practical data-based conclusions, in contexts similar to Bangladesh.

Feery (2008) provides an overall picture of many pieces of research and theories employed in gender-related studies for second language acquisition. She mentions a lack of research where gender alone is investigated as an influencing factor in L2 acquisition. Gender often comes as a part of a long list of social and psychological variables like age, race, ethnicity, personality, sex (gender), motivation, attitude, cognitive style and learning strategy. Moreover, its effect is often examined from the perspective of overall language learning (L1) ability. Feery quotes Asher and Simpson (1994: 3,723) in order to identify four key areas that play a role in L2 acquisition, namely, the target language, the input received by the learner during the learning process, prior knowledge of the learner that aids the learning task, and the learning mechanism or context. The learning mechanism is often shaped by the socio-psychological factors; gender being one of them. Feery has referenced Polanyi (1995) to express the experience of some students who were on a study-abroad program in Russia. Female students, being repeatedly harassed sexually by Russian men, became much less communicative, which eventually affected their language learning. However, language teaching is often a *female business*, as pointed out by Loulidi (1989: 202) – and referenced by Feery – in the context of the UK. Interestingly, Feery quotes Julé (cf. 2003: 42) as evidence that both male and female teachers tend to pay less attention to female students in a language classroom. Thus, a difference in opportunities is created based on gender.

It is worth noting that despite some social disadvantages, female learners tend to show better performance in learning a second language. Among other things, this may result from the broader range of learning strategies used by female students, as mentioned by Oxford (1993: 81). Feery also references Kettemann et al. (1998: 14) as indicating performance-related differences between learners of different genders. In most cases, girls are shown to perform better in second language tests in several European countries. Kettemann et al. point out three aspects influenced by gender in language learning, namely, the popularity of

language subjects amongst boys and girls, the kinds of learning strategies used by both genders, and the differences in their overall attitudes towards learning a foreign language (cf. Feery 2008: 38).

Feery's paper provides a vibrant collection of studies addressing the relationship between gender and SLA (second language acquisition) from some different perspectives. However, it does not explicitly offer any findings based on actual field data, specifically fitting a social context similar to Bangladesh. Gender alone is not a universal variable that influences L2 acquisition; rather the behaviors of learners of a particular gender are shaped by their social contexts. Therefore, when considering the influence of gender in creating BngE, the research should be performed in the context of Bangladesh. The scope of my research as part of this thesis does not allow me to perform an in-depth analysis of SLA based on gender covering the full context of Bangladesh. However, I can still employ and analyze real field data collected from my survey participants to draw a conclusion in the context of Bangladeshi university students. Therefore, the results based on that data are expected to be realistic, being applicable at least to this particular set of English learners.

From a theoretical perspective, Sunderland (2000) provides a detailed account of the state of the art in the field of gender influence on second language acquisition. Citing Labov (1990), she suggests that women use more standard forms as well as incoming forms than men. Women are more sensitive to new language forms and more likely to use them in their speech. However, once they become aware of such use, they tend to reject it and return to the stable form. This poses an exciting challenge as far as the creation of a new variety like BngE is concerned. Women may use Bengali features in their spoken English; however, once they become aware of it, they search for the grammatically correct form, and from that point onwards they will not contribute much to creating a new variety.

Analyzing the work done in this area in detail, Sunderland criticizes some deterministic views based on presuppositions that female learners are in a disadvantageous situation. She emphasizes that disadvantage is context-specific and I expect the same observation to be true in the case of my study participants. When taking the whole Bangladesh as the context, girls may have some social disadvantages in learning a second language; but when universities are considered as the context, the female learners concerned have already overcome those disadvantages, and they are on a par with their male classmates.

Al Ghabra (2015) focuses on two social factors, namely age and gender, to investigate their influences on L2 acquisition. She does not conduct any field study by herself; rather she looks into some existing works, their results and then provides some explanations where appropriate. Citing Ellis (1994), she distinguishes between the terms *sex* and *gender*, where sex refers to a biological feature of human beings, and gender provides a social distinction. Female (gender) learners demonstrate greater success in L2 learning in classroom settings, most probably because of their more positive attitudes compared to male learners. Al Ghabra refers to Gascoigne (2002: 83) to differentiate between language devices predominantly used by learners of each gender. Males often use directives, and sentence-initial conjunctions, while females are more accustomed to using questions, justifiers, intensive adverbs, personal pronouns, and sentence-initial adverbs. Men often dominate conversations, and therefore, they receive more speaking practice. Their *output* of an L2 is thus superior. On the other hand, women obtain more *input* of L2 and therefore, they exhibit superior performance in language tests. She also mentions another important aspect where men differ from women in the social context, i.e., contact with the second language. For example, she observes that Asian men in Britain generally attain higher levels of proficiency in L2 English than Asian women, because their jobs bring them into contact with the English-speaking majority, while women are often *enclosed* at homes.

Although not in much detail, Al Ghabra's work provides insights into some social factors that influence the people's behavior based on their genders, which ultimately influence L2 acquisition. My study participants of both genders do not differ in the context of educational background. I also do not investigate the gender gap in the usage of any individual grammatical aspect; rather I focus on the total contribution of gender in creating BngE. There is a stark difference with Al Ghabra's work in that I employ real field data collected by myself, while her observations are based on existing literature.

Beiser and Hou (2000) investigate the effect of gender on second language acquisition for Southeast Asian refugees in Canada over a period of 10 years. Gender itself is not a self-contained factor that influences SLA; rather, the main deciding factor is how other socio-economic factors contribute to gender-based discrepancies. For example, younger refugees in Canada – compared to older ones – may be willing to make a larger initial investment to learn English in order to enjoy a longer payback period through better employment opportunities. Pre-immigration factors like marital status and education play a

vital role in SLA. For example, a married couple is more likely to continue using their mother tongue after immigration. Beiser and Hou cite Dicker (1996) to mention that highly educated immigrants are usually superior in learning the new language because of their meta-linguistic skills that were acquired through advanced learning in their first language. Post-immigration factors, e.g., provision of employment opportunities, owning a home, obtaining citizenship, presence of a large ethnic community etc., also play vital roles as far as SLA is concerned. There is a direct relationship between participation in the labor market and language proficiency. The presence of a sizable ethnic community often provides a socio-economic environment and leisure activities where they can use their mother tongue, and thus SLA is negatively affected.

Through interviewing 1349 adults and collecting their self-reported language proficiency Beiser and Hou observed that at the initial stage, female refugees lag behind their male counterparts in English acquisition mainly because they are considered less human capital as far as the labor market is concerned. Compared to male refugees females were more likely to get married before migration, had less formal education before and after migration, were less likely to take ESL classes, and more likely to have ethnic co-workers. The combined result was their lower proficiency in English. The authors collected data once after 2 years (1169 participants of the original set) of the initial interview (the original number of 1349 participants) and again after 10 years (647 participants from the original set). Clearly, both groups improved their English; however, the initial linguistic disadvantage still persisted among the women.

The work of Beiser and Hou is an excellent example explaining that the role of gender in learning English is actually shaped by socio-economic contexts. In the case of my study participants, English is required for their future employment and current education and this is equally true for both female and male students. Although I have not surveyed their marital status, I assume that both groups are unmarried. Moreover, unlike the participants of Beiser and Hou, they are placed in a Bengali-speaking context. Therefore, the main factors in SLA that are addressed in their work are mostly absent in my case. Therefore, I do not expect any significant difference between my male and female participants as long as these factors are concerned.

Another work dealing with the gender gap in second language acquisition among immigrants is provided by Schepens et al. (2015). They employ a large-scale database containing information on 27119 adult learners of Dutch as a second language. All of the learners have an immigration background, while

they originally come from 88 countries with 49 different mother tongues. They find that irrespective of country of origin and mother tongue, female learners outperform male learners in terms of speaking and writing. However, there is no significant gender-based difference in the listening comprehension of Dutch, while male learners perform better in the case of reading. In their analysis, they consider other influencing characteristics like education, age at arrival, length of residence in the Netherlands, number of language lessons attended, country of origin and mother tongue. Comparisons are mainly drawn between learners who differ only in genders; but otherwise have the same or similar background in terms of other social aspects. One interesting observation is that the more educated the subgroup considered is, the more female learners outperform males in all aspects of the language, i.e., speaking, reading, writing and listening.

Like the work of Beiser and Hou (2000), Schepens et al.'s (2015) research is based on an immigrant context. They use a huge database and consider many other influencing factors alongside gender to portray a substantial gender gap in L2 learning. In my work, I take into account a smaller set of subjects in the context of their native country, although they require English in their education. I do not consider all other possible factors to filter out the gap only due to gender differences; rather, I assume an overall influence of gender. Moreover, for my work, the *grades* in language tests are not the main concern; the influence of their mother tongue in their spoken English is the point of investigation.

Zeynali (2012) addresses the issue of language learning, be it the first language or the second language, from the perspective of learning strategies. She adopts the taxonomy provided by O'Malley et al. (1985), who divide learning strategies into three categories, namely cognitive, metacognitive and socioaffective strategies. Cognitive strategies address specific or concrete learning tasks and involve direct manipulation of learning materials through repetition, resourcing, translation, pattern formation, note taking, visual and auditory representation, contextualization etc. Metacognitive strategies involve more general and abstract executive functions like planning for learning, continuous monitoring of and thinking about the learning process, and evaluating learning tasks when they are finished. Socio-affective strategies employ social contact and transaction with others; e.g., co-operation and question for clarification during the learning process.

Zeynali uses a questionnaire to collect information from 149 English learners located in Iran. She finds that male and female learners do not differ in their cognitive or metacognitive strategies. However, female learners tend to use socio-affective strategies in learning a language to a greater extent than their male counterparts. She cites Oxford (1989) to explain that –

the gender difference may have been associated with women's greater social orientation, stronger verbal skills, and greater conformity to norms, both linguistic and academic.

In the context of Bangladesh, I also expect my female survey participants to be more co-operative and socially more active while learning English. However, the exact extent of this effect in contributing to the creation of BngE can be a mixed outcome, because they may stick more to the norm and follow the rules of Standard English (StE) more strictly, and thus prevent the influence of Bengali in their spoken English.

Zoghi et al. (2013) present one small but interesting study in terms of gender difference for second (foreign) language acquisition in the context of Iranian school students. They collected data on language tests of 50 male and 50 female students, aged between 12 and 14 years, from the Iran Language Institute. With the help of some statistical computations, they analyze the data and conclude that the female learners are better achievers in English language learning.

Their study is an important related work for my thesis due to the fact that Iran – being a Muslim majority country – has a relatively conservative society like Bangladesh. The authors also deal with real data like my study. However, they employ an equal number of female and male students, who are much younger than my study participants. Interestingly, even at this tender age those female students show superior performance in their English test results. So, their strengths in L2 acquisition have already overcome their disadvantages imposed by the society. For my study participants, I expect even fewer social disadvantages for female students compared to male students, since they have already overcome gender-related social disadvantages to be able to study at universities. The authors mention English in Iran as a foreign language – and not a second language – while for Bangladesh, English is the second language, at least among the educated part of the population. Their research only looks at the scores in a language test, and they do not investigate whether it contributes to the existence of an Iranian variety of English.

Arshad et al. (2013) explore whether gender differences affect learning English in Pakistan. They conducted a survey among 430 school students – an equal number of males and females – from both rural and urban areas. The survey participants provided feedback on several aspects like support from society and their families, parents' economic conditions, motivation, and their perception of gender difference in the case of learning English. The combined effect of all these factors was subsumed under the *social attitude* towards learning English. Their study shows that female students agree to a greater extent than male students that they perceive a positive and supportive attitude from society and their families in learning English. Rather surprisingly, female learners are in a relatively better situation in Pakistan as far as learning English is concerned. In support of this research result, the authors also present some statistical data showing female students of that age group getting higher grades in their intermediate level education.

The outcome of their research is quite interesting from the perspective of my work. The central obstruction to girls' education in a country like Pakistan or Bangladesh comes from the misinterpretation of religion, where traditionally *Fatwas*² are provided regarding women's roles being limited to raising children and not undertaking remunerated employments. So, they do not need higher education and consequently English. The study result paints a different and undoubtedly bright picture. The authors mention that Pakistani lawmakers have correctly identified the connection between female literacy and economic development, and thus they have taken active steps in encouraging female education. Bangladesh has also taken similar steps; girls are given scholarships during their school education in addition to other support like free books and free of cost education.

Both Pakistan and Bangladesh have gone through similar historical events for centuries as far as English is concerned. There are cultural differences between the countries; however, on account of most of the population exercising the same religion, the general perception expects both the countries to be conservative in allowing girls higher education, jobs requiring spending long hours outside home, and being connected to the rest of the world. Arshad et al. (2013) argue that spending more time at home has actually enhanced the

²*Fatwa* is an Arabic word, which means 'interpretation of religious rules'. In the current context, the term refers to deliberate misinterpretation of religious rules in order to oppress a particular group of people.

motivation of the female students; they have also received more support from the family environment. One significant difference between Bangladesh and Pakistan from the perspective of English is that Bangladesh is more or less a one language country, while Pakistan has many different languages, and therefore, in addition to Urdu, English may be used as a lingua franca.

In my study I have also used a comparable number of study participants, although no conscious effort has been made to ensure equal number of male and female students. Being university students they are of a higher age group. Moreover, they represent a homogeneous group in terms of their English background unlike the participants of Arshad et al. My study does not directly focus on the English proficiency; rather it investigates whether gender plays a role in constructing BngE. A high level of English proficiency – as long as performance in English tests is concerned – can be counterproductive from that perspective.

Interestingly among the Muslim-majority countries, girls showed worse performance in SLA learning only in the case of Saudi Arabia (cf. Alahmadi & Lahlali 2019) as presented in section 3.2.1, while for Iran and Pakistan they are clearly the better performers in English tests.

Although at a very small scale, Ishrat Akhter (2014) has conducted important research in an area almost directly related to the second research question of my thesis. She investigates the gender-based difference between male and female students in the context of Bangladeshi university students. She collected survey responses from 50 students of 5 different private universities in Dhaka in order to investigate whether male and female students use English differently at university level. Her survey incorporates 12 very simple questions – each having only two options: true and false – asking them directly whether they use formal or informal English in their conversations, how they talk, whether they use some specific words and expressions etc. Akhter finds that boys tend to use informal English more frequently than girls. Almost two thirds of the male participants acknowledged using informal language in their conversations. She also finds that boys use slang and taboo words more frequently. My study subjects are similar university students with the same background. Therefore, if Akhter's observation is considered in my research, I may expect a strong existence of BngE – assuming informal use of English contributes to BngE – and male students to be the stronger influencers in creating that.

In other questions of her investigation, e.g., the use of certain words and expressions, Akhter finds a mixed result; e.g., girls prefer indirect language, supportive expressions, minimal responses, and adjectives like *adorable*, *charming*, *sweet* etc. On the other hand, boys are more likely to interrupt others during conversation, talk loudly, use direct language, and employ words like *pretty* and *quite*. However, this information is not directly related to BngE, and therefore, is not of much significance for my research.

Rivas (2017) provides an overview of gender effects on L2 acquisition. She brings into play a number of related research works to conclude that gender aspects in connection with second language acquisition are often oversimplified or lost within the other factors affecting SLA. Most research works in this area take adult middle-class western women in a classroom environment as a reference, ignoring other situations like ethnic minorities or migrant communities. She argues that actual L2 acquisition does not occur in classrooms but through interactions within a more powerful society and language that needs to be mastered for the survival of the groups under consideration.

Rivas also mentions that although learning materials and dominance in discourse in the classroom settings favor males, female learners exhibit better performance in test results and proficiency. Women are more likely to seek social approval, and therefore, more cautious in attaining native-like adequacy in their second languages. They have a stronger integrative motivation, a more positive attitude in collaborative tasks, and towards the target language and culture. They tend to enhance accuracy, performance and proficiency through more exposure and efforts to practice the language. Rivas also points out that the gender gap in second language acquisition is gradually diminishing as far as western society is concerned.

Interestingly, Rivas mentions that women tend to ensure more exposure to the second language. On the other hand, the common perception is that males, more outgoing and more involved in career activities requiring more contact with the second language, are better accustomed to get in touch with English. In my opinion, both of these seemingly contradictory perceptions are correct; everything depends on the context incorporating the set of women and their socio-economic situations. For example, unemployed migrant women who spend their time mostly at home certainly experience lesser exposure to the second language. On the other hand, employed women working outside home are likely to possess more enthusiasm to improve their second language skills

through higher exposure. My research subjects – both male and female students – have more or less equal opportunities to use English in their education and daily work. Taking Rivas' conclusion into consideration, I would expect the female students to attain a higher proficiency in Standard English. It is interesting to see how – positively or negatively – this trait contributes to the formation of BngE.

3.2.3 Bangladeshi English in Schneider's Dynamic Model

Schneider's Dynamic Model has been adopted by a number of linguists to investigate evolutionary characteristics of English varieties, especially having a postcolonial history. Schneider (2014: 12) mentions that Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (2005) have applied this model to American English; Moore (2008) uses it for Australian English and Setter et al. (2010) for Hong Kong English. Moreover, Seargeant (2012) and Evans (2014) have applied this model to their research work. A number of linguists contribute 27 linguistic studies in *The Evolution of Englishes: The Dynamic Model and beyond*, edited by Buschfeld, Hoffmann, Huber and Kautzsch (2014). Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017) is a more recent effort, which adopts Schneider's Dynamic Model as the basis to extend it by introducing the model of Extra- and Intra-territorial Forces (EIF model) to meet the aim of a joint approach to Englishes that have been treated independently of each other.

Unlike countries like Australia or New Zealand, the British settlers more or less completely left the Indian subcontinent after independence. Thus the English in this part of the world has experienced a different history and struggle afterwards. I look into some related works on countries like Nigeria and India, where English went through similar stages after political independence. Pakistan has walked a longer distance with Bangladesh after its independence from the British; but to the best of my knowledge, no research work explicitly addresses the position of Pakistani English in the dynamic model.

Ugorji (2015) investigates where Nigerian English stands in perspective of the dynamic model of Schneider. He refers to Schneider to establish that Nigerian English has progressed deeply into phase 3; i.e., Nativization, and it is still proceeding rapidly towards further phases. Schneider (2007: 210-212) also mentions that for Nigerian English some indicators characterizing phase 4 can already be identified, although shakily. For example, Nigerian Pidgin and English are already employed in literary creativity, demonstrating an African flavor. Ugorji adopts this observation as the background and investigates from

the perspective of sociolinguistic conditions and linguistic effects whether Nigerian English has proceeded further.

He mentions that Nigerian English has achieved locally rooted linguistic self-confidence; for example, the Nigerian President Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, expressed the Nigerian ownership of Nigerian English in terms of “our own”. This is a strong indication of Nigerian English achieving the Endonormative Stabilization phase from the sociolinguistic conditions point of view. The Nigerian variety is recognized as an independent member in the *canon of world Englishes*. Moreover, consistent patterns of structural and non-structural properties are typical characteristics of Nigerian English. While Schneider mentions the lack of explicit codification, Ugorji cites Jowitt (1991) as evidence of codification because it includes a glossary of lexical elements. He also mentions Igboanusi’s (2002) dictionary of Nigerian English to claim that a Nigerian English dictionary has been around for some years now, even though it is a mini-dictionary. Therefore, from the linguistic effects point of view, Nigerian English has achieved the Endonormative Stabilization phase without any reservation.

Ugorji finds some evidence for placing Nigerian English even in the Differentiation phase. He observes that closer social ties and interactions among people from the educated and elite class have formed across the country. From the perspective of sociolinguistic conditions, in phase 5 (Differentiation) an individual’s contacts are strongly determined by the individual’s social networks. Nigerian English plays a role in this case, although the effect is limited within the communities holding better jobs and possessing higher social status. As far as linguistic effects are concerned, phase 5 is characterized by increased internal sociolinguistic diversification, which is observable in accents, lexical expression, and structural patterns that carry a diagnostic function only within the new country. According to Ugorji, diversification has been around much earlier than homogeneity, thus Nigerian English has attained phase 5 even before phase 4. He concludes that in the case of Nigerian English both phase 4 and phase 5 have merged.

Like Nigeria Bangladesh also has the required colonial past; however, Bangladesh always had only one predominant language, Bengali. During the formal unification of Nigeria in 1914, there were diverse contact-ecologies characterized by different cultures and more than 400 indigenous languages. In the case of Bangladesh, having a common culture and a single native language, I do not expect the same level of evolution of English after the independence.

Mukherjee (2007) applies Schneider's Dynamic Model in investigating the evolutionary characteristics of Indian English and where it currently stands. He presents a historical perspective starting from the first Englishman (Father Thomas Stephens) setting foot on Indian soil in 1579. He mentions that English remained in its foundation phase in the first 150 years of English engagement in India. Despite various contact situations between the STL and the IDG strands, the STLs still considered themselves genuinely British people, and obviously, the IDGs remained firm on their Indian identity. Mukherjee marks 1760 as the beginning of the Exonormative Stabilization phase of English in India. This phase lasted for the next 75 years. Indian words like *curry*, *bamboo*, *mango*, *veranda* etc. entered the English language in this phase. However, the standards and norms of English still remained British. There were efforts of pushing English culture as superior to Indian culture and an urge to create English speaking loyal Indian civil servants. At this time, English became the sole language of instruction in many schools and universities.

Mukherjee adopts 1835 as roughly the year marking the first step towards the beginning of the Nativization of English in India. By this time, English was used not only in administration, the military and jurisdiction, but also in higher education to a great extent. With more extensive use of English, Indians became familiar with Western ideas and ideals like democracy, enlightenment, and self-determination. Thus the English language contributed substantially to achieving national integration of the Indian subcontinent consisting of people having many different native languages. In the mid-nineteenth century, the STL and the IDG strands began to become intertwined, and thus a local English-based identity emerged among the British settlers and the native Indians. The failed mutiny in 1857 prompted the British to establish their presence firmly. More British people came to India; English was given an even higher status in terms of social and economic advantages. The IDG strand was increasingly accepting English as a communicative device in India. At this stage, the variety of English, namely *Indian English* or *Standard South Asian English*³ was widely accepted.

It is difficult to identify precisely when the phase of Endonormative Stabilization started in the case of Indian English. Mukherjee suspects that the process

³ The term "Standard South Asian English" was used by Kachru (1983) in *The Indianization of English: The English Language in India* and mentioned by Mukherjee (2007: 167). Conceptually, it provides a collective name for the Englishes in South Asian countries, i.e., India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Maldives, Nepal and Sri Lanka. In this context the term is used synonymously to Indian English.

started even before the independence in 1947. After independence, the new nation-state was free to decide on its status of languages without British interference. In many cases, this may trigger de-nativization, especially if the STL strand leaves the country and the IDG strand firmly holds on to its original identity. However, in the case of India, there was a “language riot” between Hindi speaking North India and non-Hindi (Tamil, Telegu, Kannada, Malayalam etc.) speaking South India. This resulted in the Official Language Act of 1963, establishing English as an official language besides Hindi. Thus, English neither went back to de-nativization nor immobilized to fossilization. Rather its use was accelerated and began to show characteristics prevalent in the Endonormative Stabilization phase of the Dynamic Model.

In today’s India, English is used for communication in contexts like administration, education and academia, and in press and book publications. Many Indian writers have adopted English as their primary communication medium, demonstrating the *literary creativity* feature of phase 4. A new local form of English is observed at the levels of pronunciation, lexis, and grammar. There have been attempts at codifying the most salient features, e.g., in Singh, Nihalani, Tongue, and Hosali’s (2004) handbook of usage and pronunciation. Based on these observations, Mukherjee concludes that Indian English is currently at phase 4; i.e., Endonormative Stabilization. He also mentions that there are signs of the beginning of dialectal differentiation; for example, in the Mumbai region, the word *stadium* refers to men with a bald spot with hair all around. However, regarding most aspects of pronunciation, lexis, and grammar Indian English is relatively homogeneous all over India, and thus the regional speech variation required by Differentiation has not been achieved. Mukherjee also mentions that currently, Indian English remains in phase 4 – although it is not fossilized – due to two conflicting forces, namely progressive and conservative tendencies. Progressive forces try to put Indian English forward in all applications; e.g., use of innovative grammatical features, functional use in matrimonial advertisements, and attitudinal use of Indian English in fiction writing. On the other hand, the conservative forces try to prevent such an evolutionary process of full-fledged autonomy. They prefer native languages over English, and when English is needed, they choose its traditional or established form. Thus equilibrium is established through these two dynamic forces, which keeps Indian English in its Endonormative Stabilization phase.

Bangladesh has gone through the same evolutionary phases as part of India till 1947. As part of Pakistan, Bangladesh has also gone through a conflict based on

language between Urdu and Bengali. However, since 1971 independent Bangladesh has most likely followed a different path than India. Since Bengali is the sole native language of the country, English was not needed as an official language to ensure communication among different parts of Bangladesh. Therefore, it might be interesting to investigate more deeply where English in present-day Bangladesh stands in perspective of Schneider's dynamic model.

García-Castro (2019) investigates the position of present-day Bangladeshi English, considering its historical evolution. She mainly uses the Dynamic Model of Postcolonial Englishes (PCE) proposed by Schneider. However, she describes BngE as a non-prototypical PCE, because BngE does not completely follow the steps that a usual PCE goes through. The settler strand is absent in Bangladesh and modern Bangladeshi English is shaped by globalization. Therefore, she uses the *Extra- and Intra-territorial Forces Model* (Buschfeld & Kautzsch 2017: 117) as well to study the position of English in Bangladesh at present.

In my thesis, I use only the Dynamic Model of Schneider. However, like García-Castro, I traverse the historical timeline starting from the foundation of the British colony more than two and a half centuries ago. In addition to collecting linguistic data from the survey participants and using my experience and observations, I also consider different research works addressing the issue in the perspective of the Indian subcontinent to aggregate information on where English stood at different historical timelines. García-Castro (2019) finds that English was in the Nativization phase when Pakistan was created in 1947 and during the birth of independent Bangladesh in 1971. Concerning the English language during the creation of Pakistan, she draws a generalized conclusion for the Indian subcontinent as a whole. However, the opposition to English from the Muslims – the majority in Pakistan – has not been thoroughly considered, and therefore, such generalizations may be erroneous in realizing the actual situation. In my thesis, I take this practical factor into consideration.

García-Castro (2019) also mentions that language-based nationalistic policies adopted by the government after the independence of Bangladesh may have negatively contributed to the development of English. She adds that English in independent Bangladesh has reverted towards an earlier phase; i.e., from Nativization to Exonormative Stabilization, and therefore, English in Bangladesh is somewhat between these two phases. In contrast, I argue that despite such efforts from the government, English never lost its importance in Bangladesh and therefore, it did not go back to an earlier phase. Moreover, my

study participants are a good representative of the educated people of the country. They are active users of English, and therefore, they are expected to drive forward the English in Bangladesh towards phase 4; i.e., Endonormative Stabilization.

García-Castro mentions the lack of codification as one of the main factors for Bangladeshi English not being in Phase 4. This is only partially true. There is no documented grammar of BngE; however, Bengali words and phrases are often used not only among Bangladeshi English speakers but also in the Bangladeshi media and newspapers (Hossain et al. 2015). As far as Phase 4 is concerned, Bangladesh is certainly not there yet; however, a transformation towards that direction is evident. García-Castro explains it as a probable effect of globalization. The lack of enough research in the area of Bangladeshi English, as García-Castro also notices, is most likely the main reason for the invisibility of Phase 4 indicators, although they might actually be present to some extent. My thesis *indirectly* (without formal documentation) works on codification as well. Because the existence of BngE; i.e., spoken English shaped by aspects of the Bengali language among my survey participants, actually points towards using different sentence structures, and expressions in addition to mere words. So, it is expected to provide an idea regarding the extent of the transformation towards Phase 4. Compared to García-Castro, I have the advantage of collecting data directly from actual English users of present Bangladesh. Thus, my work depicts a more *contemporary* picture of where Bangladeshi English currently stands as a PCE.

3.3 Significance of the Work

While introducing the research topics in section 3.1.3, I have briefly mentioned some shortcomings in the state of the art. Those function as the foundation for identifying the significance of this thesis. The foremost of them is the lack of sufficient research on Bangladeshi English, as is evident from the discussion of related works (section 3.2). The most significant areas to which my work will contribute are as follows:

- Discovery of BngE
- Gender Gap in Learning English in a Developing Region of the World
- Pervasiveness, Acceptance and Place of BngE in Dynamic Model
- Input to the eWAVE Language Atlas

3.3.1 Discovery of BngE

Non-standard Englishes like Indian English (IndE), Pakistani English (PakE), Malaysian English (MalE), Sri Lankan English (SrLE) etc., are well documented. However, the term *Bangladeshi English* (BngE) is not familiar globally. Countries like India and Pakistan have gone through similar and often the same set of historical events as Bangladesh. Therefore, this study will open up the possibility of exploring the Bangladeshi variety of English.

The linguistic features considered in the study have been selected from eWAVE (2015), as described in detail in section 4.2.3. However, the way of conducting the study is different in many respects. Most often the data presented in eWAVE for a particular language feature in a particular geographic region represent ratings by one expert linguist in the field concerned. On the other hand, data for this study is collected directly by me from 340 participants of Bangladesh, employing 23 language features. The participants in this study have been selected from seven universities in Bangladesh. The universities include both public and private universities. Thus, the study participants are good representatives of all the university students of Bangladesh. However, the literacy rate of Bangladesh, 71% (*cri.org.bd* 2015: 3) is still low. The percentage of people taking university education is even much lower. Therefore, these students represent only the *educated* citizens. I do not claim that this study represents all the *common* people of Bangladesh; rather, the data should be representative of educated people with various backgrounds.

3.3.2 The Gender Gap in Learning English in a Developing Region of the World

Bangladesh, being a developing country, where women are still not treated *equal* in many aspects, including access to higher education, sport, employment and the outside world, the influence of gender on the English language acquisition would provide significant insight into how the educated part of the Bangladeshi young generation behave based on their gender in terms of using the international language. In my survey, out of the 336 participants, whose responses have been accepted, 231 are males and 105 are females. Thus they represent a good sample from both groups. Once again, all of them are university students; and therefore, they represent the young women that are already the *winners* of many of the gender-related obstacles in terms of access to higher education. They are a good representative of the educated portion of the Bangladeshi youth; but not the complete Bangladeshi young generation. In most of such gender-based studies in the case of English acquisition the researchers consider performances in English tests, while in my case I consider

how the two groups contribute to the creation of new English varieties. Women are in general disadvantaged in the Bangladeshi society and they are less exposed to the outside world. The creation of a new language variety requires more contact with the English speaking world, and courage to overcome the fear of being *incorrect*. The insight from my work should foster the emancipation of educated women in Bangladesh.

3.3.3 Acceptance and Place of BngE in the Dynamic Model

Like India and Pakistan, Bangladesh was under the colonial influence of the British rule for almost two centuries. However, in contrast to those countries, there is only one native language, Bengali, all over Bangladesh. Therefore, English is not practiced as a lingua franca. As already pointed out in section 3.2.1, English also faced some resistance after independence due to nationalistic consciousness and government policies. However, at present English is considered an asset, and it is widely used in many socio-political contexts; e.g., education, administration, legislation, sport, government and non-government institutions. Therefore, a deep analysis of this topic in perspective of the specific conditions holding in Bangladesh would provide a valuable picture of the developmental phase of an under-documented variety of English in Schneider's Dynamic Model. The survey participants of this thesis are university students, who use English in their education; but not so often in their daily life. Therefore, they seem to be good representatives of educated English users in Bangladesh, while the common people have much less contact with English.

3.3.4 Input to the eWAVE Language Atlas

I will process the study result with the help of statistical methods in order to calculate the average usage of Standard English (StE) and Non-standard English (NStE) variants of the selected features in Bangladesh. This will effectively demonstrate how pervasive each of those features is among the survey participants. This is expected to be a significant input to eWAVE, especially because no such data for Bangladesh is currently present in this language atlas.

It is important to mention that the scope of this study is limited. Therefore, it focuses on a number of grammatical features only, as they are used by the educated part of the Bangladeshi population. The adoption of English by the common people of Bangladesh is not focused in this work. Moreover, I am investigating mainly the three research questions mentioned in section 3.1.3. Other aspects may be superficially mentioned during my discussion; but they will not be covered in detail. Looking at the complete picture, I expect the thesis

to provide a significant contribution to the study of English in the context of Bangladesh, although the limitations of its scope must be kept in mind.

4 Research Materials and Methodology

The term *research materials* can be defined in many different ways, especially based on the type and context of the research. For example, the Contract for Research Funding documented by the Health Research Council of New Zealand (2019) defines research materials as –

... documents, records, software, information, data and other materials or work product in any tangible form created or developed during the course of, or in association with, the Research Activity.

The research materials involved in this study consist of the eWAVE language atlas, which provides the language features concerned, the questionnaire, and the survey responses obtained from the survey participants. Survey participants act as the *information sources* of the raw survey results (*information*).

A research methodology usually addresses *how* a particular research should be conducted, using the research materials. In this study, the methodology starts with describing a number of aspects of the Bengali language which differ to various extents from those of the English language. The interesting differences between the two languages help in choosing twenty-three language features from five different feature groups. An in-depth discussion on the rationale of selecting those features is provided. Then the methodology addresses the procedure of conducting the survey among the participants, taking care of aspects that might otherwise lead to unrepresentative or wrong results. The collected data must be statistically processed in order to interpret them easily and obtain answers to the research questions (section 3.1.3). However, those are covered in chapter 5, and not included in the methodology.

4.1 Research Materials

This research is performed using the following research materials:

- The eWAVE language atlas
- Survey responses from a total of 340 survey participants
- A questionnaire

The details about the research materials, along with the rationale of choosing them, are described in the following subsections.

4.1.1 The eWAVE Language Atlas

The *Electronic World Atlas of Varieties of English*, abbreviated as eWAVE(cf. Kortmann et al. 2020) collects and preserves data of varieties of spoken English;

i.e., Non-standard English (NStE). It is designed and compiled at the Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies (FRIAS), Germany. It provides an interactive database on morphosyntactic variation in spoken English, mapping 235 language features on different linguistic levels. As of November 2025 (eWAVE 3.0) it covers 51 varieties of English (traditional dialects, high-contact mother-tongue Englishes, and indigenized second-language Englishes), and 26 English-based Pidgins and Creoles in eight Anglophone world regions, which are Africa, Asia, Australia, the British Isles, the Caribbean, North America, the Pacific, and the South Atlantic.

The eWAVE facilitates investigating which features are most or least widespread across different varieties of English. It also helps to explore how many varieties of English share a specific feature, and which feature is restricted to a certain variety etc. It allows searching for morphosyntactic features with interactive maps, and lets its users explore in detail the distribution of features within and across different varieties of English and English-based Pidgins and Creoles. Thus researchers can get significant amount of data from eWAVE and perform analyses from different linguistic perspectives.

In the context of South Asia, eWAVE provides data on Sri Lankan English (SrLE), Indian English (IndE), Pakistani English (PakE) and Butler English (India). Among them Butler English is an English-based Pidgin, while the others are considered indigenized second language varieties. Bangladesh is another prospective country where a Non-standard variety of English is expected to exist. Notably, there is no information about the Bangladeshi variety of English (BngE) in eWAVE. To the best of my knowledge, no research has been performed with the aim of investigating the influencing aspects of the Bangladeshi variety of Non-standard English, especially using the eWAVE data. Since Bangladesh was part of the British colony in the Indian subcontinent, the existence of its own variety must be an interesting area for researchers. In doing so, the language features investigated in this thesis are selected from eWAVE, and the corresponding eWAVE terms and examples are also used, sometimes ‘as is’, and sometimes after modifications.

4.1.2 Responses from Survey Participants

Survey responses are characterized by their information sources, i.e., survey participants. Therefore, the selection of appropriate set of survey participants is of immense importance for the meaningful outcome of the research concerned. For this study I have recruited three hundred and forty students from seven

different Bangladeshi universities in order to obtain their responses to the usage of the language features concerned. The terms *informant*, *survey participant*, *participant*, and *respondent* are used synonymously throughout this document, and all of them refer to the students who have taken part in the survey of this study. I have chosen students from both public and private universities. Moreover, they come from various departments (except English). Therefore, I consider them as a representative set of English speakers among all Bangladeshi university students.

4.1.2.1 Aspects Influencing the Selection of Survey Participants

The following aspects are taken into consideration while selecting the informants:

- Compatibility
- Discarding specialists
- Age
- Homogeneity
- Representativeness of a community and peers

Compatibility

Deciding which informants to select is one of the most crucial aspects of conducting linguistic research. According to Krug and Sell (2013: 78), “[t]he outcome of a study is naturally determined by the choice of speakers.” Wray and Bloomer (2012: 166) suggest that one may either work with a random sample, or the participants may be a sample judged by representative criteria such as social class, age, gender and education. However, in this case one must consider two major things, namely, compatibility and representativeness. In order to ensure the compatibility of the informants, they suggest ensuring similar background information of the informants as much as possible. Since this study aims to find out the use of English grammar in oral discourse, it is necessary to target those speakers who are more likely to use English in informal settings. The university students in Bangladesh use English more frequently than the general population. Since these students have similar backgrounds in terms of using English in their academic activities, they can be considered a set of participants who are compatible with each other, as well as with my research objective. Therefore, I have chosen them as the survey participants of my study.

Discarding Specialists

In line with the suggestion of Krug and Sell (2013: 78), I have intentionally avoided informants who are teachers, linguists, politicians or broadcasters, because they can bring some “undesirable characteristic” with them. They (ibid.) explain that linguists may possess “less-than-ideal intuition” on behalf of the target community. They go on saying that teachers, politicians and broadcasters are specially trained to teach or speak, and therefore, they are likely to follow Standard English and do not represent general language users. University students are young, usually up-to-date with the trends of the world, and not professionally trained to speak English for the public audience. However, students at English departments of any university can also be considered ‘specialists’ in this context. Since they are doing their Bachelor degrees in the English language, they would be more likely to become aware of Non-standard variations of English and use the standard version intentionally. Therefore, I have excluded them from my study. Another interesting fact is that a minority of the students might have English as a quasi-first language. Being specialists, they do not fit into the target group for this study. The demographic information on the “Language(s) used at home while growing up” as recorded in the questionnaire identifies students who use predominantly English at home. However, in my collected data no such instance has been found.

Age

Age plays an important role in language acquisition and usage of a particular variety. A young person is likely to talk differently than an older person. People of each generation change their behavior in terms of language usage. Younger speakers, being more likely to welcome and adopt current language trends, are claimed to be highly representative of the vernacular (cf. Milroy 1987: 27). Moreover, they are prone to quickly catch up any trend of language, fashion-style etc. The targeted participants of this study are in their early twenties. They typically have taken English grammar lessons up to the advanced level in their schools and colleges for a total of at least 12 academic years. Besides, university students in Bangladesh are required to take one or more courses on English language during their early semesters. Therefore, they are more likely to use English to a larger extent than other population groups in Bangladesh, except specialist groups like linguists, broadcasters or teachers. Students of this age group enjoy keeping themselves up to date with the western world. They watch English movies, sports and TV shows, and get to know current affairs around the world. Besides, all of the selected survey participants are pursuing their

Bachelor studies in various disciplines (except English Language or English Literature), where English is the medium of instruction.

Homogeneity

The study has been conducted in seven well-known universities of Bangladesh. These are ASA University Bangladesh (ASAUB), Ahsanullah University of Science and Technology (AUST), Dhaka University (DU), BRAC University (BRACU), Daffodil International University (DIU), East West University (EWU), and Green University of Bangladesh (GUB). Among them, DU is a public university, while the remaining universities are managed privately. As far as English is concerned, pupils having received their school education in English are far more natural users of English compared to those that have received their school education in Bengali. In the context of current Bangladesh, where private universities are affordable not only by the rich people of the country but also by the middle class citizens, it can be safely assumed – and has been observed from the demographic data collected in this study – that most of the students from both private and public universities have received their school education in Bengali. Therefore, I do not focus on this difference – whether they are from private or public universities – as a sociodemographic factor. Practically they are a homogeneous set of survey participants in terms of their English background. The students come from different faculties; e.g., engineering, commerce, natural sciences etc. By selecting students from other faculties except English as my survey participants, I have ensured a homogeneous and representative set of general students of Bangladeshi universities.

Representativeness of a Community and Peers

As suggested by Krug and Sell (2013: 79), I have asked my survey participants not only what they use in the informal settings, but also what their friends – young people from the opposite sex are also considered friends in this context – use in an informal conversation. Thus, the obtained information is representative of not only the informants but also their “social (peer-) groups or regionally bound communities” (ibid.). This provides a broader picture of the language usage. At the same time, the “social desirability effect” (ibid.: 81), i.e., the tendency of research participants to give socially desirable responses, can be minimized. Survey responses may often suffer from biased responses due to the perception the respondents hold about themselves in comparison to what is perceived as desirable in the context they live in. For example, an informant may

be hesitant to choose grammatically wrong responses (e.g., *I see two **bird***), as well as responses that do not sound “cool” to them (e.g., *I **am** gonna watch cricket*).

Moreover, it is very common that informants might not be willing to provide personal information. For instance, they might think, “I or my family does not use these features at all”. Moreover, most of the Bangladeshi students do not use English during their conversations with friends (except a minority group of young people having English as their medium of school education, as mentioned in section 2.2.4). In this case, those informants can rate a feature to be used only scarcely, reflecting their own behavior. However, if informants are asked about not only their own usage of the feature but also their friends or people around them, the probability of obtaining representative responses becomes high.

4.1.2.2 Justification of the Selection of Survey Participants

The set of survey participants selected through considering the factors discussed in section 4.1.2.1 is motivated by the perspective of research question RQ1 of Table 1 (page 27). They need to use English every day for their academic purposes. Moreover, not being involved in any profession that requires sophisticated speaking skill of Standard English, they possess the characteristics of common English users of Bangladesh, especially the educated young generation. Thus, their experience should provide a representative picture with regard to the question of whether they use Standard English, or a Non-standard Bangladeshi variety.

The selection of these students as informants also conforms to the research question RQ2 of Table 1 (page 27). Schools in Bangladesh provide co-education; i.e., both the female and the male survey participants share the same overall academic experiences. As mentioned in section 4.1.2, I have recruited 340 survey participants, and out of them I accept responses from 336 (105 female and 231 male) as valid, since responses from 4 participants are discarded due to incompleteness. Although the number of participants from both genders is not equal, both groups have sufficient number of participants; and a required analysis – both quantitative and qualitative – is feasible based on their responses to the survey questions. Therefore, a comparison between the two groups would provide a good indication whether their genders influence the usage of Non-standard English.

As described in section 2.1, Bangladesh has gone through a number of historical changes in terms of English usage. After the British left the territory,

the importance of English has experienced a roller coaster ride. On the one hand, English has faced resistance due to nationalistic movements. On the other hand, the effect of globalization on the socio-cultural scenario has made English pervasive among the generations in the twenty-first century. The young people of present Bangladesh are frequent English users. Since I have involved this young generation, i.e., the university students in my study, their responses should provide a clear picture where Bangladeshi English currently stands in Schneider's Dynamic Model. Thus, I consider them the fitting candidates for the investigation of RQ3 of Table 1 (page 27).

4.1.3 Questionnaire

A questionnaire is a convenient means for collecting both quantitative and qualitative data from a large number of informants. As a result, a range of views can emerge and *a greater weight* for the investigation can be claimed (Wray and Bloomer 2012: 166). It is also possible to collect the desired data from informants through interviews. Those are usually more time and effort consuming; however, interviews are dynamic in the sense that based on the replies of a particular question the subsequent questions can be adapted. Since the candidate features of my investigation are predetermined and direct, questionnaires seem to be the easier option than interviews. Moreover, the intention of this study is to collect data from a large number of informants. For that purpose, a questionnaire is more feasible than a *face to face interview* or a *focus group survey* (cf. Krug and Sell 2013: 72). Besides, the questions addressed in this study do not need to be dynamic, because they have to remain identical for all informants.

Another option might be collecting information in the form of an online survey. However, I have not used an online survey, because it is necessary to explain clearly the purpose of the study to the informants. They are also given a limited amount of time so that their responses become intuitive rather than monitoring for the *correctness* of the response. Thus, conducting the survey in person has been considered the best option among these alternatives.

For this study, the template of the questionnaire is taken from the Bamberg questionnaire project, which has been used for investigating English language variation in Malta, Gibraltar, Puerto Rico and the Channel Islands (Krug and Sell 2013: 94-98). However, it has been adapted to serve the purpose of my study. The questionnaire is presented in the Appendix - A. It consists of three parts as mentioned below:

- Grammatical examples related to the language features concerned
- Demographic information of the participants
- A consent form

The contents of these parts are described in detail in the following subsections.

4.1.3.1 Grammatical Examples and Distribution of Features

The questionnaire consists of forty-six examples covering twenty three grammatical features. These examples are taken from five language feature areas, i.e., pronouns, noun phrases, tense and aspect, agreement, and discourse and word order. Since the difficulty level is kept similar for all of the examples, no order of easy and tough questions has been maintained. Moreover, examples are distributed randomly to prevent participants from answering according to putative rules; i.e., to avoid influence of one response to the next with the assumption that adjacent examples cover the same feature.

For each of the English features to be investigated, two sets of examples are provided. Each example used in the questionnaire presents the Bengali version of the test sentence as the starting point. In the case of twenty-two features, each Bengali sentence is associated with two English sentences, one corresponding to Standard English (StE) and the other corresponding to Non-Standard English (NStE). However, a twenty-third feature (feature 60as described in section 4.2.3.2) has a distinct BngE variant. Therefore, each of its examples adds one extra sentence representing an explicit BngE variant. A StE sentence involves the canonical version for the translation of a sentence from Bengali to English; an NStE sentence uses an informal translation that is often used in spoken English (maintaining similarities with eWAVE examples); and the special BngE sentence employs a translation applying rules of Bengali grammar to English sentences. For twenty-two features the BngE versions show the same characteristics as the NStE versions, and therefore, no demarcation has been made between the two. For a single feature BngE employs completely new characteristic, and therefore, both NStE and BngE versions are added to the questionnaire. However, during computation BngE and NStE responses are sometimes combined, because both of them express deviation from StE; i.e., indicative of a new variety.

Informants are asked to go by their initial feeling and rate every sentence individually without revising the responses according to four ranges or levels of usage, i.e., *always*, *most often*, *sometimes* or *never*. Moreover, each set of examples offers an *other* option with adequate space for optional comments in order to

add more information. This is done as an attempt to elicit if the respondents are thinking about any other version of an example for the particular feature except those that are provided in the questionnaire. However, it is necessary to mention that the aim of this study is to interpret collected data in a quantitative way. Therefore, respondents not providing any comments in the *other* option will not harm the purpose of the study. However, if they prefer to provide additional information through these comments, a different angle of interpretation will enrich the study and aid future work in related areas.

The four ranges or levels of usage are adopted from Krug and Sell (2013: 78) and then adapted for this study. They used a sixfold division in rating based on whether a “sentence could be said in COUNTRY/REGION in an informal conversation by ‘5=everyone’, ‘4=most’, ‘3=many’, ‘2=some’, ‘1=few’, ‘0=no-one’”. However, I used only four levels, because for this study these four levels of usage seem to be sufficient in obtaining a clear picture of usage of a particular example for a particular feature. Using too many levels may confuse the informants. Therefore, using only four levels would make it easier for them to focus on the purpose instead of thinking too much about too many levels of usage.

As mentioned above, the examples are randomized in a way that consecutive items do not express the same feature. Moreover, the order of StE and NStE translations of the Bengali sentences does not maintain any pattern. For some of them examples of the StE variant are put as the first option, while for some other sentences those are placed as the second option. The last option is always marked *other* and followed by an empty line so that the respondents can use it for any other sentence than the provided ones.

4.1.3.2 Demographic Information of the Participants

Research question RQ2 of Table 1 (page 27) investigates whether a significant difference in using NStE is observed between the male students and the female students. Clearly, this question cannot be answered without demographic information about the informants. In general, collecting demographic data is important for such studies, because they can be used for further research in order to analyze the possible reasons behind a particular outcome of the study. Moreover, classifying data according to specific categories is important because it allows researchers to compare collected data with other research projects. For example, a second researcher looking for an answer to the same or similar questions may find a completely different result. Demographic data can be used to find a possible explanation of such discrepancies in the results obtained.

The categories frequently used in sociolinguistic research are: age, sex or gender (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 34-35), ethnicity (ibid.: 28, 33, 44), nationality (cf. Tagliamonte 2006: 7), place, social class, origin or descent, mobility (cf. Milroy and Gordon 2001: 18, 31, 34, 44), style and register (cf. Tagliamonte 2006: 4). In my study, I include gender, age, nationality, mobility (timeline of demographic information), and descent in the questionnaire. Demographic information of the participants is collected in the second part of the questionnaire to avoid *questionnaire fatigue* (Wray and Bloomer 2012: 173). It is presented in such a manner that they can avoid spending much time and extra work on it. There are some closed and multiple-choice questions, which require only short answers or just tick marks.

Instead of using a random sample, I have chosen the informants according to the range of representative criteria, i.e., both male and female university students, and age. During the discussion and analysis of obtained results, the probable influence of some other demographic information, e.g., educational background, mother tongue, parents' native language, language while growing up and places of residence can be also taken into account. For example, an informant having parents whose native language is English, may already have a good command of English. This may influence her survey response. Moreover, some parents try to speak to their children in English while they are young, so that their children get used to the language and can do well at school. I did not exclude such students from the list of survey participants, because they are not 'specialist' English users; but such level of exposure to English is expected to make a difference in their responses. Therefore, the informants are asked about the mother tongues of their parents, and the languages they used while growing up. Another influencing factor can be determined through regional information; therefore, the informants are asked about the places they have lived since childhood till the time of the study. There must be an effect on their language if they spent the early stages of life in any English speaking country, or any country where English is used as a *lingua franca*.

Various investigations can be performed based on a particular set of linguistic data. Therefore, the questionnaire for this study is formulated in such a way that the same data can be used for other similar studies. Participants are asked to tick the gender they belong to. An in-depth analysis of this information aids me in answering the second research question of my thesis. Moreover, the demographic data can be analyzed for further research from different points of

view, e.g., informants' parents' languages, educational background, places of residence etc.

The informants are also asked to provide their email addresses for further contact in order to facilitate later clarification of any response. However, it is optional since respondents might feel reluctant to share this type of personal information wondering "where the information would end up" (Wray and Bloomer 2012: 171).

Although this study is not focused on investigating any individual informant, further analysis can be performed based on such social information. However, for this study, this demographic information is asked to divide the participants in two target groups based on gender. Their on-going educational status is asked to cross-check whether they are actually studying in a university or not. All of this information is asked to ensure that these variables do not confound the result.

4.1.3.3 Consent Form

It is very important that the survey participants are well informed about the purpose of the research, and whether any kind of risk is involved in participating in the survey. Moreover, the survey has been conducted in classrooms of seven universities. The participation of such a survey might be considered a violation of university regulations, and an unfair use of university resources. From that perspective, written or verbal contact has been made with the administration of every university asking for permission. They have also been asked for information regarding any "explicitly formulated guidance", as mentioned in Krug and Sell (2013: 71), which I have to maintain.

All of the details, i.e., who I am, what the survey is all about, what the purpose of my research is, how the participants can contribute to the research, who they can contact at my university etc. have been provided to them in order to have the research plan approved. It has been assured that *confidentiality* and *anonymity* will be strictly maintained. Besides, in the initial instruction during administrating the questionnaire, all participants were informed about the purpose of the study, what is asked from them, and how they are going to contribute to this research. If they agreed to participate, they had to do it with full consent. If they had any further question regarding this study, they could ask before starting to fill out the questionnaire.

At the end of the questionnaire, a consent form is included asking for signatures in order to obtain informed consents from all participants ensuring their “voluntary participation” (Krug and Sell 2013: 71, Wray and Bloomer 2012: 184).

4.2 Research Methodology

The research methodology followed in this thesis includes the following aspects:

- The survey procedure
- Selection of feature groups
- Selection of language features

The survey procedure describes how the survey is conducted along with the measures taken to avoid erroneous or unrepresentative results. The data input to the survey covers a number of aspects of Bengali, which is the native language of the survey participants. This provides a foundation for a basic understanding of some characteristics of Bengali grammar. It guides the selection of feature groups where the differences between Bengali and English are noteworthy. The language features along with examples, either directly adopted from eWAVE or constructed, are then described in detail. For each of the features, the corresponding situation in Bengali grammar is pointed out with fitting examples so that a reader can compare Bengali and English for that particular feature.

4.2.1 Survey Procedure

The outcome of a set of data depends on, among other aspects, how they have been collected. Wray and Bloomer (2012: 170-171) point out a number of inevitable risks that can happen while collecting data. Such risks include confusion about the aims of the questionnaire, concern whether the right person is filling it out without any help, spontaneous and intuitive responses etc. Keeping such factors in mind, the following step by step procedure was used for conducting the survey:

- i) Collect either written or oral permission from the authorities of the universities. Contact a class teacher of each of the target groups of students that participate in the survey.
- ii) Conduct the survey in person in the classrooms.
- iii) Conduct the survey in the written form using a questionnaire. The questionnaire has two parts. The first part contains the example

questions for the language features concerned, and the second part consists of the demographic information along with the option for signing it to provide consent.

- iv) Make the class teacher familiar with the purpose and contents of the survey.
- v) Instruct the survey participants in *Bengali* regarding the purpose of the survey, how to fill out the questionnaire, how the survey data will be used, whether any risk or privacy issue is involved etc.
- vi) Instruct the participants clearly that it is not an English language test. Therefore, they do not need to be grammatically correct. They should not revise their responses either.
- vii) Encourage the participants to choose options that are used not only by themselves but also by the people around them; e.g., friends, family members. Make them feel free to provide more options if they think none of the provided examples covers what they use for a particular sentence. Moreover, instruct participants to leave particular questions unanswered, e.g., because of time limitation or indecision, instead of randomly choosing an option without comprehension.
- viii) Instruct the informants to fill out the forms all by themselves without following the other students. Allocate 50 minutes for filling out the morphosyntactic part containing the examples. Afterwards, allow them a few more minutes to fill out the personal information.
- ix) Collect the filled-out forms, and ask the participants to feel free to contact the survey conductor in case they would like to provide further information related to the survey. Also mention that in rare cases the informants may be contacted again via email, if there is any need of clarification of their responses.

While formulating the procedure for conducting the survey, a number of factors were kept in mind. The questionnaires were not sent to the participants by post or electronically; rather I distributed them directly to the participants. The survey was conducted at the students' own universities. Participants of the specific university were expected to be present in the regular class hours. Since the survey conductor was present during the filling out of the questionnaires, with the help of the teachers it could be ensured that the right persons filled

them out without any external help. Conducting the survey in the students' own classrooms helps the participants feel comfortable and focus on the questionnaire.

The survey procedure considers another important aspect, i.e., the language to use while collecting data. Since both the survey conductor and the informants were native speakers of the same language, i.e., Bengali, the matter resolves itself. Using Bengali in order to provide survey instructions was expected to make it easier for the informants to avoid any confusion, and ask questions freely. This also helped to reduce the information gap and establish a comfortable atmosphere between the survey conductor, the class teacher and the participating students.

A questionnaire is not always sufficient to bring out what a researcher needs from the participants; rather a researcher needs to take steps to mitigate and reduce any misunderstanding or negative variables in order to conduct sound research. While explaining what to do, my target was to subconsciously guide and motivate the informants to provide the information I needed. Bangladeshi students are not much used to participating in this kind of questionnaires. Therefore, active effort is necessary to avoid the probability of any kind of *courtesy bias* (Wray and Bloomer 2012: 167). They might think that they have to be accurate in using English grammar, and thus they might concentrate on providing the *correct answers*. In order to avoid this bias, I needed to be truthful and straightforward to them about the purpose of conducting the survey.

Therefore, the participants needed to be told that it was not a grammar test; rather every version of each example is spoken or used in some corners of the world. This study is for finding out what we, Bangladeshi speakers, use in informal settings with friends and family. Therefore, there was no need to spend their time and knowledge in finding which one is *correct* or *incorrect*. Rather they were supposed to spontaneously choose the option that they thought they use during informal conversation. It was requested to leave boxes blank if any participant was not sure about which option to choose for any particular question. This was preferred to choosing options arbitrarily, which might have produced wrong results.

During the data collection, at least one of the teachers of every university was requested to be present, assuming that the students would feel more comfortable and confident having their teachers nearby and receiving instructions from them as well. The teachers were provided a clear idea

regarding the research target, survey procedure and the expectations from the informants. The allocated time of 50 minutes for the morphosyntactic part ensured that the students were neither in a hurry nor relaxed to think too much about choosing the options.

Another important aspect was the uncertainty about the privacy of the informants. In general, informants are reluctant to participate in surveys fearing that they might be exposed and vindicated because of expressing their opinions through such surveys. Such fears usually make them conservative, and therefore, any uncertainty must be removed beforehand. Thus, it was clarified to the informants that the survey data would be used only for scientific research, no private information would be published, and none of the informants would be exposed to the public in any capacity.

4.2.2 Selection of Feature Groups

The language atlas eWAVE groups the language features into twelve different categories, namely Pronouns, Noun Phrase, Tense and Aspect, Modal Verbs, Verb Morphology, Negation, Agreement, Relativization, Complementation, Adverbial Subordination, Adverbs and Prepositions, and Discourse and Word Order. Choosing language features from each of the groups would be too much for a single PhD thesis. The research questions investigated in my thesis are greatly related to the influence of Bengali on the Bangladeshi English speakers. Therefore, I focus only on a number of feature groups, where the differences between Bengali and English grammars are very prominent.

Bengali or *Bangla* (বাংলা /ben'go:li/) is the language native to the region of Bengal in South Asia, which comprises the present-day Bangladesh and the Indian states West Bengal, Tripura and Southern Assam. The Bengali language is a descendant of Sanskrit, which dates back as far as 1500 BC to 1000 BC. Sanskrit belongs to the Indo-Aryan language family. Thompson (2010: 9) compares the relation between Bengali and Sanskrit with the relationship between French and Classical Latin, in terms of grammar and vocabulary.

According to Ethnologue (2019), considering the number of speakers (265 million), Bengali ranks 7th among all the world languages. It is the national language of Bangladesh with a population of over 175 million (UNdata 2025). Moreover, it is one of the official languages of India with over 80 million native speakers in West Bengal. Besides these, there are substantial Bengali speaking communities in the USA, Europe, the Middle East and Australia.

During the invasion and colonization, Bengali has absorbed many words from various languages, such as Arabic, Persian, English, Portuguese etc., and these words have become very important for the language. These are no longer foreign words to any of the Bengali speakers (Thompson 2010: 14). Bengali is written in the Eastern Nagri script and it does not distinguish between lower and upper case letters. The script is characterized by many conjuncts, upstrokes, down strokes, and other features that hang from a horizontal line. The Bengali script has eleven vowels, thirty nine consonants and a number of conjunct letters formed combining two or more other letters.

Bengali grammar has many similarities, as well as differences, with English grammar. I have selected the following grammatical aspects (feature groups) of the two languages as the basis of my selection of language features, keeping in mind how the differences between the two languages would influence the Bangladeshi English speakers:

- Pronouns
- Noun Phrases
- Tense and Aspect
- Agreement
- Discourse and Word Order

In the following I provide a brief overview of the main differences between Bengali and English with regards to these aspects. A more elaborate comparison, consisting of appropriate examples, is provided later (in section 4.2.3) during the discussion of the selection of language features.

Pronouns

Pronouns are an important language aspect where Bengali differs significantly from English. Bengali pronouns do not differentiate between masculine and feminine genders (Thompson 2012: 52, 69, 76). They also encode distinctions of formality – a three-way distinction in the second person, i.e., honorific, familiar and intimate; and a two-way distinction in the third person, i.e., honorific and non-honorific. Bengali reflexive pronouns do not distinguish in terms of person (cf. David 2015: 81). Plural pronouns can also be followed by singular and plural reflexives (cf. Thompson 2012: 139). In Bengali, repetition of the interrogative pronouns is often used to indicate plural (ibid.: 59). All nouns and pronouns are inflected for case (ibid.: 62, 257). The highly inflected verb grammar results in often omitting subject and object pronouns in sentences (cf. Thompson 2010:

447). Because of these dissimilarities in pronoun usage between the two languages, I expect a prominent influence on the spoken English of my research subjects, who are native speakers of Bengali. I have selected five features that address such issues of the usage of pronouns.

Noun Phrases

Another important grammatical aspect is the usage of noun phrases (NPs), where Bengali shows a significant difference from English. Bengali also uses words in order to distinguish between definite and indefinite noun phrases. However, they are usually designated as classifiers instead of articles, and their usage involves more optionality compared to English. Numerals and count quantifiers use the same classifiers and treat these classifiers the same way. To indicate the plurality of words, plural classifiers are used in Bengali (Dasgupta 1983, 1985; Bhattacharya 1999, 2000, 2001; Ghosh 2010; Dayal 2012). If the noun is followed by a quantifier, it is obligatory to leave plurals unmarked (cf. Gangopadhyay 1990: 22, 36). Clause constituents are indicated by case-marking, i.e., nominative, objective, genitive, and locative (Thompson 2012: 62-66). The case marking pattern for each noun being inflected depends on the noun's degree of animacy. Moreover, Bengali has specific words to express the superlative (ibid.: 85). In my survey I use seven NP-related features from eWAVE in order to investigate their usage among Bangladeshi students.

Tense and Aspect

Bengali has flexible tense concord. There are three verb tenses, but their subdivisions make them eight (Thompson 2012: 270-280; David 2015: 191-217). There are two moods, indicative and imperative. Verb tenses are not strictly followed; rather a need-to-know realization influences the form of tense. Except very limited range of structures (e.g., conditional sentences), Bengali does not have a fixed sequence of tenses (Thompson 2012: 270). Therefore, a present tense sentence in a past tense context is perfectly normal. Because of such aspects of Bengali grammar in respect of tense and aspect, I have chosen three features to investigate in this work.

Agreement

In Bengali verbs are highly inflected. A verb is a combination of a verb root followed by (Person + Tense + Aspect) markers. The copula or the verb linking the subject and predicate are often omitted (Thompson 2012: 193). Auxiliary verbs are almost completely absent in the Bengali language (cf. David 2015:

198). In my thesis I consider four features in order to investigate such effects of Bengali grammar on the spoken English of the study subjects.

Discourse and Word Order

The word order in a Bengali sentence differs from that of an English sentence. A simple Bengali sentence usually follows the Subject–Object–Verb (SOV) word order, while sentences in English follow the SVO order. Moreover, noun heads are both initial and final. I have taken four features from eWAVE in my survey from this category, reflecting the effects of word order in Bengali grammar on the spoken English of my survey participants.

Besides the grammatical aspects as outlined above, there is another very important factor that may influence how English is spoken among the Bangladeshi students. Bengali exhibits a strong case of diglossia between the formal, written language and the vernacular spoken language. Thus, besides the written form of Bengali, where grammatical aspects are expected to be strictly followed, its spoken form also offers significant influence on the spoken English of Bangladeshi speakers. The survey language for this study is constructed in চলিত ভাষা /*cholito bhasha*/ (current language), or Standard Colloquial Bengali (SCB), which comprises the standard pronunciation of Bengali; and thus serves as the basis for the orthography of most Bengali writings today.

4.2.3 Selection of Language Features

After identifying the feature groups interesting for this thesis, as described in section 4.2.2, I proceed with describing the individual features selected from each of the groups. I have selected two examples (items) for each of the features under investigation in order to obtain statistically more representative results. In this section I describe the selected features and the examples used for each feature.

As mentioned, for each feature two examples are provided. These examples are in some cases (40, 45, 47b, 59, 60, 62b, 63b, 88, 175a, 176a, 177a, 224, 227) drawn from different varieties documented in eWAVE, including Indian South African English, Black South African English, Tanzanian English, Nigerian English, Hong Kong English, Scottish English, Welsh English, Singapore English, Malaysian English, Sri Lankan English, and Colloquial Singapore English. The remaining examples (14, 43, 47a, 48, 56, 57, 62a, 63a, 99, 113, 174, 175a, 176b, 177b, 228) were constructed by the author. Examples taken directly from eWAVE were selected on the basis that they closely correspond to direct

translations of particular Bengali grammatical features and are appropriate to the Bangladeshi linguistic context.

In general, the description points out the English grammar addressed in the concerned feature, NStE usages along with attestation and pervasiveness, the related characteristics of Bengali grammar, and the examples used in the survey. I also use additional examples both in English and Bengali, where appropriate.

4.2.3.1 Language Features Selected from the Pronouns Group

Pronouns are a special class of words that functions as nominal. A pronoun is used depending on the noun it replaces and its function within a sentence (cf. Quirk et al. 1985). Examples of pronouns used as subjects are *I, you, he, she*; as objects are *me, you, him, her*; as possessive determiners are *my, your, her*; as possessive pronouns are *mine, yours, his, hers*; and as reflexive and intensive are *myself, herself* etc.

Bengali has personal, inanimate, relative, interrogative, indefinite, reflexive and deictic (demonstrative) pronouns. Like nouns they do not have gender but inflect for number and case. They also encode distinctions of formality – a three-way distinction (honorific, familiar and intimate) in the second person (আপনি /apni/, তুমি /tumi/ or তুই /tui/ for *you*), and a two-way distinction (honorific and non-honorific) in the third person (তিনি /tini/ or সে /se/ for *she/he*) (cf. David 2015: 81). However, third person pronouns reflect the categorical distinction of human/non-human (সে /se/ and ইহা /iha/ for *he/she* and *it* respectively) (ibid.).

From the Pronouns group I have adopted the following eWAVE features, which are described in more detail below:

- [14]⁴ No number distinction in reflexives
- [40] Plural forms of interrogative pronouns: reduplication
- [43] Subject pronoun drop: referential pronouns
- [45] Insertion of *it* where StE favours zero
- [47] Deletion of *it* in non-referential *it is*-constructions

[14] No number distinction in reflexives

Reflexive pronouns can either be an object, a complement or a prepositional complement. In Standard English, since they are necessarily co-referential with

⁴ These numbers correspond to the feature number in eWAVE. For example, [14] indicates that in eWAVE this feature is numbered as 14.

the subjects, reflexive pronouns must agree with the subjects in terms of gender, number and person (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 356), as evident in the following sentences:

She voted for *herself*.

They allowed *themselves* a rest.

However, according to eWAVE, the tendency to use no number distinction in reflexive pronouns occurs in some High-contact L1 varieties, e.g., Aboriginal English, White South African English etc.; Indigenized L2 varieties, e.g., Malaysian English, Indian English, Hong Kong English etc.; and in some English-based pidgins and creoles. According to eWAVE the pervasiveness⁵ of the feature is 67% and the attestation or distribution⁶ of the feature is observed in 68% of the varieties.

In Bengali grammar, the most common reflexive pronoun is *নিজে* /nije/ (meaning: *self*). Its case variations *নিজের* /nijer/ (genitive) and *নিজেকে* /nijeke/ (objective) are used for reflexive structures (cf. David 2015: 10). Bengali reflexive pronouns do not distinguish person. The same forms, i.e., *নিজে* /nije/ (singular) and *নিজেরা* /nijera/ (plural), are used for first, second, and third persons. They have cases, but there is no locative case reflexive pronoun – not surprisingly –, given the rarity of locative suffixes on human nouns. However, in spite of having a plural version, *নিজেরা* /nijera/, the preceding noun or pronoun in Bengali reflexives is optional. As Thompson (2012: 139) says, “Plural pronouns can be followed by singular reflexives, though plural-plural combinations also occur.” This is explained in the following examples (ibid.):

⁵ As defined in eWAVE, pervasiveness provides a measure of how pervasive a feature is on average in the varieties in which it is attested. It measures to which extent the presence of a feature is observed in a particular language variety.

⁶ In eWAVE, distribution or attestation is defined as a relative measure of how widespread a feature is in the set of eWAVE varieties. Thus, attestation or distribution of a particular feature indicates its presence in language varieties as a percentage of the total number of varieties addressed in eWAVE.

Plural-Singular	Plural-Plural
Bengali: আমরা নিজে সব কাজ করি। IGT ⁷ : We self all work do.1.PR-S English: We do all the work ourselves.	আমরা নিজেদের নিজেরা কত যে ভালোবাসি! We self.PL:OBJ self.PL how.much love.1.PR-S How much we love ourselves!

In the above examples, a Bangladeshi student might tend to use *ourself* instead of *ourselves* as a translation of the corresponding Bengali sentences, if she is influenced by the characteristic of her native language, Bengali.

The examples I used in my questionnaire related to this feature are presented in Table 2:

Table 2: No number distinction in reflexives

Feature No.	Examples
14a	তারা নিজের জন্য অনেক বেশি চিন্তা করে। IGT: Theyself.GEN far too much worry do.3.PR-S BngE/NStE: They worry far too much about themself. StE: They worry far too much about themselves.
14b	আমরা নিজে সব কাজ করি। IGT: We self all work do.1.PR-S BngE/NStE: We do all the work ourself. StE: We do all the work ourselves.

I have chosen this feature in my investigation because in Bengali grammar it is quite common and correct to ignore number distinctions in reflexive pronouns, as explained above. This behavior is expected to influence the English speakers in Bangladesh. Since I argue that L1 influence is one of the main reasons behind the emergence of new Englishes, an investigation of this feature would help to establish the existence of a Bangladeshi variety of English, namely BngE.

[40] Plural forms of interrogative pronouns: reduplication

Who and *what* are interrogative pronouns in English. Of them, *who* is subjective and has personal gender. It falls into the category of indefinite interrogative

⁷ In the examples of this thesis, I use Interlinear Glossed Text (IGT) in order to present the structures of the Bengali sentences. This also helps to identify various language features like word order, plural markers, articles (or lack of them), pronouns etc. in the Bengali language. Where possible grammatical morpheme glosses follow the Leipzig Glossing Rule (updated on May 31, 2015).

pronouns. *Who* refers both to a singular person and to plural persons (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 369) as shown in the following sentences:

Who is your favourite writer? [one particular writer]

Who are coming tomorrow? [possibly more than one person]

What also functions as a subjective as evident in the following sentence:

What was she wearing? [refers to thing(s)]

It is also noteworthy that *what* does not distinguish number; i.e., it is applicable for both singular and plural.

In some new Englishes the usage of bimorphemic equivalents of *wh*-words has been observed, although it is mostly common in creoles (cf. Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008: 75). For example, IndSAfE speakers use words or phrases like *what thing* (what), *what time* (when), *for what* (why) (ibid.). Platt, Weber and Ho (1984: 127) have found that instead of *why*, English speakers in Singapore tend to use the forms *for what* and *what for* in their conversations. eWAVE reports the reduplication of *wh*- words (*who who*, *what what*, *where where*) mainly in Indigenized L2 varieties, e.g., Indian South African English, Indian English, Sri Lankan English, Malaysian English, and Cameroon and Nigerian pidgins. The following examples demonstrate such usage:

Who-who came? [Who (of several people) came?]

What-what they said? [What (different) things did they say?]

(from IndSAfE by Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008: 75)

What and what have you been doing?

Where and where did you go?

(from Sri Lankan English by Meyler 2013, stated in eWAVE)

According to eWAVE, this feature is attested in 9% of the English language varieties around the globe with a pervasiveness of up to 73%.

In Bengali, all question words start with ক্ /k/; however, their expansions and usages depend on the discourse. Repetitions of interrogative pronouns কে /ke/ (who), কী /ki/ (what), and কোন /kon/ (which) are used to refer to plural personal and non-personal pronouns (cf. David 2015: 155, Thompson 2012: 202). In general, reduplication is an important mechanism in Bengali, and it is considered an integral part of a sentence. Racova (2013) has performed extensive research on the “total reduplication in Bengali”, which means that the

reduplication has identical forms, i.e., বড় বড় /bodo bodo/ (large), কে কে /ke ke/ (who), দিন দিন /din din/ (gradually), আস্তে আস্তে /aste aste/ (slowly). She analyzed 45 titles (428 pages) of short stories, written by 44 authors, along with other genres, dictionaries and Bengali grammar books. She finds that reduplication occurs in all word classes, conjunctions and particles. Reduplication can refer to an expression of distributive plurality, intensity, multiplicity, approximation, and the expression of emphasis. In pronouns, reduplication commonly applies to indefinite, interrogative, reflexive, and relative pronouns, and in all grammatical forms (cases). In the following I present three examples of how reduplication is used in Bengali:

i) আগামিকাল কে কে আসবে?

IGT: Tomorrow who who come.FUT?

BngE: Who who will come tomorrow

StE: Who will come tomorrow?

ii) তুমি কী কী খেয়েছিলে?

IGT: You what what eat.2.P-S.

BngE: What what did you eat?

StE: What did you eat?

iii) তুমি কোন কোন দোকানে গিয়েছিলে?

IGT: You which which shop.LOC go.2.PR-S

BngE: Which which shops did you go to?

StE: Which shops did you go to?

In example i), the repetition of কে means ‘who-all’; in example ii), the repetition of কী means ‘what-all’; and in example iii), the repetition of কোন means ‘which (various) things’. Thus they are used to express distributive plurality.

In order to collect information from the Bangladeshi students I have used the following examples in my survey questionnaire:

Table 3: Plural forms of interrogative pronouns: reduplication

Feature No.	Examples
40a	কে কে এসেছিলো? IGT: who who come.3.P-S BngE/NStE: Who who came? StE: Who came?

40b	তারা কী কী বলেছিলো? IGT: They what what say.3.P-S BngE/NStE: What what did they say? StE: What did they say?
-----	---

This is another aspect of the native language (Bengali) that I presume to influence the usage of English in Bangladesh, and therefore, responses on this feature would help to collect insight into the existence of BngE.

[43] Subject pronoun drop: referential pronouns

In traditional English grammar, a pronoun plays the syntactic role of a subject (cf. Matthews 1997: 388). Quirk et al. (1985: 335) describe it as “a varied class of closed-class words with nominal function”. A subject pronoun is a personal pronoun that is used as the subject of a verb. Every pronoun refers clearly to one particular noun; the noun that the pronoun is replacing is called its antecedent (ibid.). For example, in the following two sentences –

Sarah cooked rice and decided to take a shower afterwards.

She got into the bathroom and found there was no water supply.

she is the referential pronoun, which is referring to *Sarah*.

In many languages; e.g., Chinese, Korean and Japanese, omitting referential pronouns is very common. Subjects can be omitted if the form of the verb provides the information about the grammatical antecedent. Although in written English this would be considered incorrect, it appears in many spoken versions of English. According to eWAVE, the distribution of the feature is observed mostly among the Indigenized L2 varieties, e.g., Malaysian English, Indian English, Hong Kong English etc., and in some English-based pidgins and creoles. This feature is explained with the following example in eWAVE (IndE, Bhatt 2008: 557 as stated in eWAVE):

NStE: A: You got tickets?

B: No, Ø sold Ø already.

StE: A: Do you have tickets?

B: No, *I* sold *them* already.

This example shows that pronoun drop in both subject (I) and object (them) exists in Indian English. eWAVE reports the attestation of the feature as 51% with the pervasiveness of 58%.

Similar to the NStE variety of IndE, pro-dropping is quite common both in the written and the spoken forms in Bengali. If the subject or object is unambiguous, e.g., because of being mentioned once in the previous sentences, referential pronouns can be dropped (cf. Thompson 2010: 447). However, Thompson argues that the main reason behind this phenomenon is the characteristic of Bengali verbs. Finite verbs are fully inflected for person (first, second, third), tense (present, past, future), aspect (simple, perfect, progressive), and honor (intimate, familiar, and formal). All conjugated verbs in Bengali involve a clear reference to the subject. For example (cf. Thompson 2012: 194),

Speaker A:	Bengali:	চা খাবেন?
	IGT:	Tea drink.2H.FUT?
	BngE:	Tea drink?
	StE:	Will (you) have some tea?
Speaker B:	Bengali:	হ্যাঁ, খাবো।
	IGT:	Yes, drink.1.FUT
	BngE:	Yes, will drink.
	StE:	Yes, (I) will have (some tea).

In the case of Bengali sentences, the subjects *you* and *I* are inflected to the verb *drink*. Both the question (speaker A) and the answer (speaker B) have been made without mentioning the subject pronouns.

The examples used in my study for this feature are presented in Table 4.

Table 4: Subject pronoun drop: referential pronouns

Feature No.	Examples
43a	A. তোমার কাছে টিকিটগুলো আছে? B. না, ওগুলো বিক্রি করে দিয়েছি। IGT: A. You.GEN PATCL ticket.PL.exist? B. No, those sell.1.P-S BngE/NStE: A. Do you have tickets? B. No, sold them already. StE: A. Do you have tickets? B. No, I sold them already.
43b	A. শাহরিয়ার কি বিয়ে করতে রাজি হবে? B. সেটাই আশা করি। IGT: A. Shahriar QW marriage do.IP agree.be.3.FUT B. that.EMP hope do.1.PR-S BngE/NStE: A. Will Shahriar agree to getting married? B. Hope so. StE: A. Will Shahriar agree to getting married? B. I hope so.

Example 43a has been adopted from eWAVE. It is slightly modified so that the referential pronoun drop is limited to the single instance (subject position). The focus is only on the subject referential pronoun; therefore, the object pronoun (*them*) is kept as it is in the Standard English version of this example, and only pro-dropping in the subject has been taken into account. This would help the survey participants avoid confusions that may arise from dealing with more than one feature in a single sentence. Example (43b) is constructed by me.

In the above Bengali sentences, morphemes *ছি* and *রি* in the verbs *দিয়েছি* (43a) and *করি* (43b) denote the meaning of the subject *I*. Therefore, the subjects can be dropped in both sentences, still maintaining grammatical correctness. The non-standard version might be favored by the Bangladeshi English users, if they are influenced by their native language.

[45] Insertion of *it* where StE favours zero

To illustrate this feature, consider the following sentences:

- (i) *It* was a great pleasure to see you again.
- (ii) You must find *it* exciting working here.

In (i), the subject *to see you again* is moved to the end of the sentence, while the normal subject position is filled by the *anticipatory it* or *preparatory subject* (Quirk et al. 1985: 1391, Swan 1996: 296). This type of sentences contains two subjects. The real subject of the sentence is called *postponed subject* (Quirk 1985: 1391). This kind of sentence ends with a focal point. In (ii), the *preparatory it* is used as an object, moving the actual object (*working here*) to the end of the sentence.

According to Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008: 58), this phenomenon is not common in the oral discourse; rather it belongs to the *expository* style. It is considered on the borderline between standard and non-standard usage. For example, the Black South African English (BlSAfE) mesolect notably favors the retention of *it* in constructions.

The eWAVE atlas reports a 43% attestation of the feature with 58% pervasiveness. The feature is most prominent in L1 varieties like Philippine English, White Zimbabwean English; L2 varieties like IndE, Hong Kong English, Black South African English, Malaysian English; and pidgins and creoles like Butler English, Belizean Creole etc.

Notably, in the Bengali language *preparatory it* is absent both in the written form and in the spoken form. However, the widespread use of *preparatory it* along with the non-referential use (feature 47 as discussed later), where *it* is grammatically required, makes things complicated for an English learner in Bangladesh. So, it cannot be foreseen which form they would choose, and therefore, I find this feature interesting for my research.

In my survey, I used the examples of Table 5, adopted from eWAVE:

Table 5: Insertion of *it* where StE favours zero

Feature No.	Examples
45a	যেমনটা আমি আগে স্পষ্ট করে বলেছি, আমি সমাধানের ব্যাপারে কথা বলবো, সমস্যা না। IGT: As SUB.1 before clear do say 1.PR-PRF, I solution about talk.1.FUT problem not BngE/NStE: As I made it clear before, I am going to talk about solutions, not problems. StE: As I made clear before, I am going to talk about solutions, not problems.
45b	যেহেতু আফ্রিকার অন্যত্র এটিই ঘটনা, শিশুদের জন্য এখনও অনেক করা সম্ভব। IGT: As Africa.LOC elsewhere it.EMP case, child.GEN for still much do.INF possible BngE/NStE: As it is the case elsewhere in Africa, much can still be done for children. StE: As is the case elsewhere in Africa, much can still be done for children.

In this case, it is difficult to determine whether the NStE version is a direct result of the influence of the native language. Since Bengali does not use *preparatory it* at all, even the StE version might appear closer to the Bengali version. As depicted earlier, the influence comes from the students' familiarity with the Bengali language as well as from their focused learning of an English language feature, where a seemingly unnecessary *it* makes its way into a sentence. Thus they might prefer the NStE version as the *correct* one as well. These are opposing influences. Therefore, I would like to investigate this feature in order to see which of these two influences has the stronger effect on Bangladeshi English speakers.

[47] Deletion of *it* in non-referential *it is*-constructions

In English clauses, except imperatives, every sentence has a subject. Sometimes a dummy or empty or artificial subject is required, when there is no subject attached to the verb, and where the real subject is somewhere else in the clause (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 1391). Dummy pronouns are formal grammatical elements brought in to a structure in order to ensure that a grammatically correct sentence is produced.

The word *it* commonly functions as a pronoun. However, *it* functions as non-referential subject as well. The non-referential *it* occurs in non-imperative sentences and functions as the subject of the sentence. At the same time the non-referential *it*, being in singular form, will always be followed by the verb *be* in the singular. For example, in the sentence –

It has been snowing all day.

it is used as the dummy subject pronoun without referring to any agent, rather it is required for syntactic correctness. Generally sentences with non-referential *it* are used to talk about the weather, temperature, time, days of the week, holidays, distance, environment and situation (Cowan 2008: 132).

Dropping a pronoun is very common in some languages, e.g., Chinese, Japanese, and Hindi etc. Typically, null-subject languages express person, number, and gender agreement with the form of the verb in a sentence, and thus the subject noun phrase can be omitted. Langacker (2009: 173) explains the rationale for using the term *dummy it* as speakers having no clear conception of its referent. He also explains that the term *ambient it* comes from the fact that its meaning is taken from the ambience (or context) of the sentence. This phenomenon is rare in English-speaking countries, rather *non-pro-drop* is an areal feature of common European languages including French, German, and English (cf. Haspelmath 2001: 1500). However, eWAVE shows that some Indigenized L2 varieties of English, e.g., Indian English, Hong Kong English and Malaysian English, and English-based creoles like Gullah and Bislama carry this feature. eWAVE reports the attestation of this feature as 28%, while its pervasiveness is 60%.

Bengali is a pro-drop language, both in the written and the spoken formats. Omitting referential, non-referential and dummy pronouns is very common, and grammatically correct. While a typical English expression would be *It has been snowing all day*, in Bengali, instead of a dummy subject, the impersonal

subject (*all day* = সারাদিন) would act as the subject of the sentence. Thus, its literal translation would be *All day snowing* (সারাদিন তুষার পাত হচ্ছে). This is a notable difference between English and Bengali grammar. Therefore, English learners in Bangladesh usually learn this feature with additional focus. As mentioned during the introduction of feature 45, while they speak English there is a competition between two influences: the Bengali grammar where *dummy it* is absent, and this knowledge that in English it is a must. So, it is quite interesting to investigate which of these influences prevails among the Bangladeshi English speakers.

In my survey I used the examples of Table 6 in connection with this feature:

Table 6: Deletion of *it* in non-referential *it is*-constructions

Feature No.	Examples
47a	এখানে রিকশা থামানোর অনুমতি নেই। IGT: Here rikshaw stop.VN allow not. BngE/NStE: Here is not allowed to stop the rikshaw. StE: Here it is not allowed to stop the rikshaw.
47b	এখানে বেশীরভাগই কৃষিকাজ হয়। IGT: Here mostly farm.VN exist. BngE/NStE: Here is mostly farming. StE: Here it is mostly farming.

The first example originates from eWAVE, where *car* is replaced by *rickshaw* in order to adapt it to the more familiar social context of Bangladesh. The second example is directly adopted from eWAVE for Tanzanian English, but is equally representative of BngE.

4.2.3.2 Language Features Selected from the Noun Phrase Group

The difference between Bengali and English grammar becomes quite prominent when we focus on different aspects of the languages in the noun phrase group. English has highly differentiated patterns regarding the correct usage of articles. On the other hand Bengali grammar is much less invested in the use of articles. Another NP-related aspect is the usage of numbers. Unlike with articles, Bengali is quite concerned with the proper use of numbers. For example, in English NPs almost always take their plural forms after plural quantifier, while in Bengali the use of double plural is considered a grave mistake. Bengali uses double determiners for NPs, while in English there is no

acceptable way to do so. Taking such interesting differences in mind I have chosen the following eWAVE features in my thesis for further investigation:

- [48] Regularization of plural formation: extension of -s to StE irregular plurals
- [56] Absence of plural marking only after quantifiers
- [57] Plural marking generally optional: for nouns with human referents
- [59] Double determiners
- [60] Use of definite article where StE has indefinite article
- [62] Use of zero article where StE has definite article
- [63] Use of zero article where StE has indefinite article

Among them, features 48, 56 and 57 are related to number, 59 is related to the use of determiners, and 60, 62 and 63 are related to articles.

[48] Regularization of plural formation: extension of -s to StE irregular plurals

In prescriptive grammar, number is realized as singular and plural (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 297). Singular stands for *one* and Plural indicates *more than one*. For instance, *boys* and *toys* are plural for *boy* and *toy*, respectively. There are basically two types of plural in English, i.e., regular plural and irregular plural. Regular plurals are constructed by adding -s or -es, depending on whether the word ends in a sibilant. Examples are *kiss-kisses*, *clock-clocks*, *girl-girls*, *hero-heroes*. On the other hand, irregular plural nouns become plural by adding/replacing elements usually derived from older forms of English or through foreign borrowings. In addition, a number of nouns have identical singular and plural (zero inflection). Some examples of irregular plurals are *child-children*, *man-men*, *woman-women*, *ox-oxen*, *deer-deer*, *salmon-salmon*, *sheep-sheep*, and *shrimp-shrimp*.

Whether a noun phrase is singular or plural depends on its head, which is, typically, a noun (ibid.). In English grammar, quantifiers, e.g., *all*, *many*, *both*, *two* etc. come before nouns or noun phrases to determine the number or amount of the referent(s) it refers to (ibid.: 308). In the case of plural numbers, plural forms are used for both the determiner and the noun. For example, in the sentences –

I have *a car*.

My sister has *two cars*.

a and *two* play the role of quantifiers, determining whether the noun *car* will take singular or plural form. Plural marking is used with the noun, e.g., *two cars*, in order to make the sentences grammatically correct.

However, overgeneralization of English plural, e.g., *sheep-sheeps*, *wife-wifes* can be found in some of the NStE varieties. Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008: 53) report that this form occurs mainly in basilect and lower mesolectal speakers in Indian South African English. eWAVE exhibits a number of occurrences of this phenomenon, e.g., *peoples* (Hong Kong English), *womens* (IndE), *oxens* (Welsh English), *childrens* (Ugandan, Nigerian, IndSAf English) etc. eWAVE reports this feature with 46% attestation and a relatively moderate to high pervasiveness of 64%.

Mesthrie and Bhatt (ibid.) find this behavior in the intermediate stage of language learning and observe that some speakers are fossilized in their non-standard use of plural formation. One of the reasons behind this phenomenon, as they point out, might be the absence of a plural suffix in the substrate. For example, in Malaysian English plural marking is done by reduplicating the noun itself if there is no numerical indication. On the other hand, Chinese uses an extra morpheme denoting *multitude* to express the plural mark. However, they (ibid.) also mention that the rules about regularization of irregular plurals and absence of *-s* might seem contradictory and hence this feature requires an in-depth investigation.

Bengali has two ways to show the plurality of nouns. A quantifier is used either before a noun or after it as a plural inflection. Bengali has two plurality markers, i.e., *-gulo* (গুলো) and *-ra* (রা), considered as plural classifiers, as mentioned by Dasgupta (1983, 1985), Bhattacharya (1999, 2000, 2001), Ghosh (2010) and Dayal (2012). For example:

মানুষগুলো: Man.CL.P - Men

পাখিরা: Bird.CL.P - Birds

There is no distinction between regular and irregular plural formation in Bengali. Therefore, in case of irregular plurals, there might be a tendency to add the plural markers *-s*, *-es* to every plural in English. I would like to investigate this interesting feature in my thesis using the examples of Table 7.

Table 7: Regularization of plural formation: extension of -s to StE irregular plurals

Feature No.	Examples
48a	আমাদের সন্তানেরা স্কুলে যায়। IGT: Our children.PL-CL school.LOC go.3. P-S BngE/NStE: Our childrens go to school StE: Our children go to school.
48b	ভেড়াগুলো দক্ষিণ দিকে যাচ্ছে। IGT: Sheep.PL-CL south towards go.3.PR-C BngE/NStE: The sheeps are going to the south. StE: The sheep are going to the south.

In this case, the tendency influenced by the Bengali grammar is considered the NStE usage, and therefore, NStE examples directly correspond to the BngE variant.

[56] Absence of plural marking [only] after quantifiers

The absence of plural marking after a number of quantifiers, e.g., *few*, *both*, *ten*, *most* etc., can be found in some of the Non-standard variants of English. They are called zero plural marking and they indicate the complete absence of the plural markers -s and -es. In such cases, the quantifiers usually create specific obligatory contexts that are sufficient to determine whether the noun or noun phrase is singular or plural. Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008: 52) observe “a great deal of variability” in the marking of noun plurals in World Englishes. According to them, absence of plural marking, overgeneralization of the zero plural, phonological regularization, and other tendencies in mass nouns and count nouns occur in world Englishes. The eWAVE atlas reports that this phenomenon occurs mostly in Traditional L1 varieties, e.g., Southeast American enclave dialects, East Anglian English etc., and High Contact L1 varieties, e.g., Bahamian, St. Helena English etc. The eWAVE language atlas provides the following examples in order to explain the usage of plural marking:

NStE: We did all our *subject-Ø* in English; four *pound*; five *year*

StE: We did all our *subjects* in English; four *pounds*; five *years*

No plural mark has been used for the nouns *subject*, *pound* and *year* in the NStE version. eWAVE reports an attestation of 42% of this feature with a pervasiveness of 65%.

In Bengali, the plural marker is used either before the noun or after the noun as a plural inflection. If plurality is indicated by a quantifier, no other plural marker is needed (cf. Gangopadhyay 1990: 22, 36). Quantifiers like *many*, *much* and *all* occur before a nominal, and it is obligatory to leave out plural marking. This feature can be explained using the following examples with Bengali sentences:

তিনজন মহিলা আসবেন।

IGT: Three.CL lady.Ø come.3H.FUT

BngE: Three lady will come.

StE: Three ladies will come.

অনেকগুলো পাখি দেখলাম।

IGT: Many.CL bird.Ø see.1.PR-PRF

BngE: I have seen many bird.

StE: I have seen many birds.

In these examples, since the quantifiers *three* and *many* carry the meaning element of plural, there is no need in Bengali to mention it again at the end of the nouns *lady* and *bird* respectively. In fact, the use of double plural is not allowed in Bengali, and it is usually considered a grammatical mistake. I have considered this feature in my study, because it will provide a good indication of the influence of these clearly contradictory rules between Bengali and English grammars.

The examples used in the questionnaire for this particular feature are presented in Table 8 as follows:

Table 8: Absence of plural marking only after quantifiers

Feature No.	Examples
56a	গতকাল আমি বাগানে দশটা পাখি দেখেছি। IGT: Yesterday I garden.LOC ten.QUbird.Ø see.1.PR-PRF BngE/NStE: Yesterday I saw ten bird in the garden. StE: Yesterday I saw ten birds in the garden.
56b	আজকে অনেক তারা দেখা যাবে। IGT: Today.LOC many star.Ø appear.3.FUT BngE/NStE: Many star will appear today. StE: Many stars will appear today.

In this case as well, the BngE variant is considered the NStE variant, because the NStE example is directly in line with the behavior prescribed in the Bengali grammar.

[57] Plural marking generally optional: for nouns with human referents

In English grammar, a noun referring to a plural human noun also takes the plural form. For example, in the sentence (adopted from eWAVE and then adapted) –

My sisters are pretty girls.

the noun *girls* refers to *sisters*, and thus follows its plural form. The eWAVE atlas reports that in many NStEs, there is a tendency to avoid the second plural marking in the sentence if it already refers to a plural in the sentence. Sometimes, plural markings for both the nouns are considered optional, when it is clear from the context of the sentence; e.g., an NStE variant of the above sentence would be –

My sister-Ø are pretty girl-Ø.

Clearly, from the context (auxiliary verb *are*) it is obvious that we are talking about the plural versions of both *sister* and *girl*. In this case, plural markings are considered optional. Thus, one NStE speaker may use a sentence like *My sisters are pretty girl*, a second one might use *My sister are pretty girls*, while a third one might completely drop the plural forms for both, such as *My sister are pretty girl*. The sentence would still convey its meaning, indicating that we are referring to a number of sisters, not a single one.

This feature is noted mostly in a few L1 varieties like Singaporean English, Aboriginal English; some L2 varieties like Hong Kong English, Malaysian English; pidgins like Butler English, Nigerian pidgin; and creoles like Belizean, Bahamian, Jamaican and Trinidadian creoles. Overall, this feature is observed with an attestation of 41% and a significant pervasiveness of 62%.

Bengali also exhibits the same characteristic as depicted by the NStE variant. It is enough to mark plurality only once in the sentence, when the noun is preceded by a plural marked noun, a numeral or other quantifiers. For example, the previous example (*My sisters are pretty girls*) would translate into –

আমার বোনেরা সুন্দরী মেয়ে।

My sister.PL-CL pretty girl.Ø

In fact, the use of double plural is considered a mistake according to Bengali grammar. So, the following sentence, which uses the plural marker -রা with both the nouns, is grammatically incorrect in Bengali:

আমার বোনেরা সুন্দরী মেয়েরা।

My sister.PL-CL pretty girl.PL-CL.

In my study I used the examples of Table 9 in collecting survey data from my study participants:

Table 9: Plural marking generally optional: for nouns with human referents

Feature No.	Examples
57a	আমার খালারা মেধাবী ছাত্রী ছিলেন। IGT: My aunt.PL-CL brilliant student.Ø [exist].3H.P-S BngE/NStE: My aunts were brilliant student. StE: My aunts were brilliant students.
57b	আমার মামারা শিক্ষক ছিলেন। IGT: My uncle .PL-CL teacher.Ø [exist].3H.P-S BngE/NStE: My uncles were teacher. StE: My uncles were teachers.

In both the above examples, I dropped the plural marking in only one of the nouns in order to keep the examples less confusing. Instead of deriving the plural indication from the verbs, the participants would readily get it from the first noun, and I would like to investigate whether they still choose the second noun in its singular or plural form. The NStE variant of this feature is in line with the Bengali grammar, and therefore, I can directly consider the NStE variant as a representative of BngE.

[59] Double determiners

In English determiners are *closed-class items* that modify the preceding nouns in the context (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 253). Determiners play a key role in making the nominal a full Noun Phrase. Swan (1996: 147-149) distinguishes two classes of determiners, as depicted in Table 10.

Table 10: Two types of determiners

Class A	Class B
Articles: <i>a/an, the</i>	Quantifiers: <i>some, any, no, many, more</i> etc.
Possessives: <i>my, yours, his, her, its, our, your, their, one's, whose</i> etc.	
Demonstratives: <i>this, these, that, those</i> etc.	

In prescriptive English grammar, class A determiners cannot be put together (cf. Swan, 1996: 148). That is why, we do not find the usage of *the my house, this my house* or *my this house*. Rather, he suggests other structural variants in order to express the meaning of possession and determination. For example,

Determiner + noun + *of* + possessive: *I like **this** house **of mine**.*

The eWAVE language atlas demonstrates that in a number of Indigenized L2 varieties of English, e.g., IndE, NigE, Cameroon English etc. the usage of double determiners (possessive + demonstrative) is very prominent. This feature is attested at 30% with a pervasiveness of 59%.

In Bengali, the combination of possessive and demonstrative determiners is very common, as correctly claimed by Bhattacharya (1999: 3). He even points out that because of word order flexibility in Bengali, a Quantifier Phrase (QP) can also occur after double determiners; and it can be a part of Determiner Phrase as well. The following examples demonstrate the use of double determiners in Bengali:

তোমার এই নতুন শাড়িটা

IGT: Your this.DET new.ADJ saree.CL

BngE: Your this new saree

StE: Your new saree

Thus, we can see that the determiner *this* is omitted in StE, while it can be correctly used in the Bengali version. This is a very interesting feature, where Bengali shows a completely different characteristic than English. Therefore, I would like to investigate how Bangladeshi English speakers are influenced by this feature.

In my study I have used the following examples, as presented in Table 11:

Table 11: Double determiners

Feature No.	Examples
59a	আমাদের এই সচরাচর সমস্যাটা খুবই গুরুতর। IGT: Our this.DET common.ADJ problem.CL very serious BngE/NStE: Our this common problem is very serious. StE: Our common problem is very serious.
59b	আমাদের এই প্রথম বাড়িটা অনেক আরামদায়ক ছিলো। IGT: Our this.DET first.ADJ home.CL very comfortable [exist].P-S BngE/NStE: Our this first house was very comfortable. StE: Our first house was very comfortable.

None of these examples include the explicit *of* + *possessive* structure, and a speaker influenced by Bengali may very well find it natural to use the BngE version employing double determiners. This is another feature where Bengali grammar corresponds to the NStE variant, and thus I accept NStE directly as BngE for this particular feature.

[60] Use of definite article where StE has indefinite article

Articles in English are “the most common and typical central determiners” (Quirk et al. 1985: 253). In English grammar, *the* is used for referring to something definite, and *a* and *an* are used for referring to something indefinite. There are several rules and regulations in order to determine when these articles come before a noun or noun phrase. Sometimes, these rules can be quite complex as well. For example, there are a number of different rules and regulations for using articles for diseases. Usually no article is used for diseases like anaemia, appendicitis, diabetes, influenza, and pneumonia. However, *the* is used in more traditional style of speech, for some particular infectious diseases like the flue, the measles, the mumps, the chicken pox, the hiccups etc. (ibid.: 279). Interestingly, the indefinite article *a* is required for cold, fever and temperature. Headache is considered a countable noun; so the article *a* is allocated for it. On the other hand, illnesses, which are formed from *ache* and refer to a single attack of pain, can be considered both countable and uncountable nouns in British English. For example, both the following sentences –

I am suffering from *a backache*.

I am suffering from *backache*.

are grammatically correct.

In many Non-standard varieties of English both definite and indefinite articles are discarded, whereas in Standard English they are required. The example used in eWAVE in order to explain this feature by showing the use of different articles for the same noun is,

NStE: I had *the toothache*; ...when they'd get *the cold*...

StE: I had *a toothache*; ...when they'd get *a cold*...

It has been observed that this feature is typically found among the ESL and the EFL learners. eWAVE shows the same tendency reporting that this phenomenon is available in Indigenized L2 varieties, e.g., IndE, Hong Kong English etc. as well as in some traditional and high contact L1 varieties like Northern English dialects, Irish English, New Zealand English etc. eWAVE reports an attestation of 47% of this feature around the world, with a pervasiveness of 64%.

The use of articles, or rather their absence, is one of the most interesting features of the Bengali language. In Bengali, there is no hard and fast rule for using articles. In fact, Thompson (2012: 47) observes that there is no article in Bengali at all. She (2012: 60) further states that Bengali is perfectly capable of making a definite-indefinite distinction when the need arises. However, in many cases the distinction is not expressed, because the reference is clear from the context. Instead of articles, classifiers (CL) are used to convey the meaning of definiteness and indefiniteness of a noun. In Bengali, *একটি* (/ekti/) and *একটা* (/ektə/) are used to express the characteristics of indefinite articles and they are positioned before the noun phrase. On the other hand, *টি*, *টা*, *খানা*, *খানি*, *গুলো*, *গুলো* (/ti/, /tə/, /ka:nə/, /ka:ni/, /gu:lɔ/, /gu:lə/) etc. convey the properties of definite articles and they are placed after the nouns they refer to.

In order to illustrate the differences between Bengali and English in terms of article usage, we can take the example of the names of illnesses. The rule in Bengali is quite straightforward; i.e., names of illnesses are uncountable nouns, and therefore, no article is used before them, not even in the case of minor illness, like *common cold*, *fever* and *headache*. For example,

Bengali:	আমার জ্বর আসছে।
IGT:	I.OBJ fever[exist] 3.PR-PRF
BngE:	I have fever.
StE:	I have a fever.
Bengali:	আমার পেটে ব্যথা হচ্ছে।
IGT:	I.OBJ stomachache be.PR-C
BngE:	I have stomachache.
StE:	I have a stomachache.

These examples demand an indefinite article *a* in StE, while in Bengali no article is used. The examples used in the questionnaire in order to collect feedback from the survey participants are provided in Table 12.

Table 12: Use of definite article where StE has indefinite article

Feature No.	Examples
60a	আমার ঠাণ্ডা লেগেছে। IGT: I.GEN cold[be attached].3.PR-PRF BngE: I got cold. NStE: I got the cold. StE: I got a cold.
60b	গতকাল আমার দাঁতে ব্যথা ছিলো। IGT: Yesterday I.GEN toothache [exist].3.P-S BngE: Yesterday I had toothache. NStE: Yesterday I had the toothache StE: Yesterday I had a toothache.

Both the examples are constructed. It is worth noting that BngE differs from well-known NStE as well as from the StE variant in this case. Since Bengali prefers using no article at all, the change of indefinite articles to definite articles (StE to NStE) does not really apply for BngE. Therefore, this third option has been added for both of these examples, i.e., the use of a *zero article* for this feature. In line with eWAVE, I consider this variant also as an NStE variant⁸, and therefore, the responses for BngE and NStE can be combined together when investigating the existence of a Non-standard variant for this particular

⁸However, it should be noted that the version with a zero article is also not uncommon in British English.

feature. The effect of BngE alone can also be analyzed, in comparison to StE and usual NStE.

[62] Use of zero article where StE has definite article

In English the definite article is used to make a reference unique (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 265). Nouns pre-modified by superlatives (ibid.: 456), ordinals (ibid.: 270), and similar restrictive items such as *sole*, *best*, *main*, *only* will thus be made logically unique. In English, *the* is used before all types of references in order to make them unique. For example, in the sentence –

He is *the* most talented boy in the family.

the uniquely refers to the most talented boy in the family.

However, the speakers of some Non-standard varieties of English prefer using no article in such cases. This phenomenon is observed mainly in Indigenized L2 varieties, e.g., IndE, MalE, SrLE etc. along with some English based creoles, e.g., Roper River Creoles, Torres Strait Creoles etc. The examples used by eWAVE (for MalE) in order to explain this feature is as follows:

NStE: Ø main reason for their performance...

StE: *The* main reason for their performance...

This example shows that in the NStE form no article is preferred in cases where using the definite article is mandatory in StE. This feature is very dominant in world Englishes with an attestation of 58%, and a pervasiveness of 61%.

Bengali grammar exhibits the same characteristic as the NStE variant in the above example. In Bengali a basic rule is applied most of the times. For example, the word *main* serves the purpose of conveying the message that *the reason of their performance* is unique. Therefore, no classifier is required to make the reference definite once again. This characteristic can be illustrated with the following examples:

এটা সবচেয়ে ভালো।

IGT: This all.than good.

BngE: This is best.

StE: This is the best.

বাংলাদেশের আম সবচেয়ে মজার।

IGT: Bangladesh.GEN mango all.than delicious.

BngE: The mangoes of Bangladesh are most delicious.

StE: The mangoes of Bangladesh are the most delicious.

These examples are taken from Thompson (2012: 85). She mentions that in Bengali the adjective *সব* (/sɒb/, *all*) with a comparison word *চেয়ে* (/tʃeə/, *than*) expresses superlative. In both the StE examples, *the* is used before the nouns, which are pre-modified by a superlative (*best*) and a restrictive item (*most*). Another way to describe it is that the superlative degree is preceded by a definite article in Standard English. However, in those Bengali sentences no article is used before the references, because the adjectives *best* and *most* express uniqueness, and there is no need to use *the* in order to make the noun unique once more.

The examples used in the questionnaire for this feature are presented in Table 13.

Table 13: Use of zero article where StE has definite article

Feature No.	Examples
62a	আসিফ ক্লাসের সেরা ছেলে। IGT: Asif class.GEN best boy. BngE/NStE: Asif is Ø best boy of the class. StE: Asif is the best boy of the class.
62b	প্রাথমিক পর্যায়ে শব্দতালিকা খুবই গুরুত্বপূর্ণ। IGT: Elementary level.LOC vocabulary very important. BngE/NStE: Vocabulary is very important at Ø elementary level. StE: Vocabulary is very important at the elementary level.

Of the two examples, item 62a is a constructed sentence, whereas item 62b is adopted from eWAVE for Malaysian English. The choice of Malaysian English is not motivated by any specific linguistic reason; rather, the example was selected because it aligns well with the Bangladeshi context. However, it must also be mentioned that the adjective *elementary* is neither superlative nor restrictive, and therefore the use of the definite article is not obligatory in Standard English, particularly in British English. It mostly depends on the context. A deeper analysis of this and some other questionnaire items is provided in section 6.1.3.

[63] Use of zero article where StE has indefinite article

Like the case with the definite article, as described for feature 62, indefinite articles are also dropped in many NStE varieties. This happens to a similar extent; i.e., with an attestation of 53% and a pervasiveness of 65%. Typical

examples of NStEs which exhibit this feature predominantly are IndE, Hong Kong English, Cameroon- and Nigerian Pidgins, and Gullah Creole. A typical example demonstrating this feature, as adopted from eWAVE, is as follows:

NStE: Then he thought, what about getting Ø girl [to marry] from India?

StE: Then he thought, what about getting *a* girl [to marry] from India?

As mentioned earlier, the omission of articles, where British or American English require either a definite or indefinite article, is a typical feature of Bengali grammar. In Bengali a need-to-know basis rule is applied most of the time and the context is very important in Bengali conversation (cf. Thompson 2012: 60). In my thesis I have used the examples presented in Table 14 in order to collect feedback from Bangladeshi English speakers:

Table 14: Use of zero article where StE has indefinite article

Feature No.	Examples
63a	এরপর সে ভাবলো, বাংলাদেশ থেকে মেয়ে পেলে (বিয়ে করার জন্য) কেমন হয়? IGT: Then he think.3.P-S, Bangladesh from girl be.exist (to get marry) QW be PR-S BngE/NStE: Then he thought, what about getting Ø girl [to marry] from Bangladesh? StE: Then he thought, what about getting <i>a</i> girl [to marry] from Bangladesh?
63b	তুমি কি আরেকটু ভাত নিবে? IGT: You.SUB QW little more rice take.2F.FUT BngE/NStE: Will you have Ø little more rice? StE: Will you have <i>a</i> little more rice?

Of the two examples, the first one is adopted from eWAVE and slightly adapted, while the second one is directly adopted from eWAVE for Sri Lankan English, but can be seen as equally representative of BngE. In the first example the conversation is about getting married. For getting married a man needs only one woman. Therefore, having an *a* is totally optional here. In the second example, the term *little* clearly points towards a small amount of rice, and therefore, a typical Bengali speaker would not find any reason for adding an article before it.

4.2.3.3 Language Features Selected from the Tense and Aspect Group

Tenses and aspects are properties of verbs. Tense marking on verbs conceptualizes and encodes time. For example, *I go to school* and *I went to school* express present and past respectively. Aspects, on the other hand, demonstrate how actions and events can be viewed in relation to time, rather than when or how exactly they happened. For example, both of the sentences *I went to school* and *I was going to school* express past tense through the inflected verbs *went* and *was*, but the latter sentence also specifies the situation as being an ongoing event. In Standard English, different tenses and aspects have their own rules regarding the structure of sentences, and the verbs being used.

In Bengali grammar, all tenses can be mixed with each other. In fact, Thompson (2010: 591) claims that simple present and simple past tenses are often mixed together in Bengali conversation. The usage of tenses in Bengali is largely guided by the actual time rather than by the correlation between the tenses and aspects.

From the Tense and Aspect group I have adopted the following eWAVE features in order to investigate their usage among the Bangladeshi English speakers:

- [88] Wider range of uses of progressive *be + V-ing* than in StE: extension to stative verbs
- [99] Levelling of the difference between present perfect and simple past: simple past for StE present perfect
- [113] Loosening of sequence of tenses rule

[88] Wider range of uses of progressive *be + V-ing* than in StE: extension to stative verbs

In Standard English, the use of the progressive is typically not expected with a stative verb (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 198). Stative verbs are used to express a state or quality rather than an action. For example, the sentence –

The future *belongs* to those who believe in the beauty of their dreams.

is grammatically correct, while the sentence –

The future *is belonging* to those who believe in the beauty of their dreams.

is grammatically incorrect. The most frequently used stative verbs are *believe, doubt, know, understand, have, own, want, contain, hear, see, smell, love, hate, need* etc. They usually do not indicate a progress.

Although in Standard English an extension of the progressive to stative verbs is discouraged, this feature has been identified in many NStE varieties around the world. Platt, Weber and Ho (1984: 72) report that it occurs typically with the verbs *love*, *like*, *have*, *know* and *want*. The examples provided in eWAVE related to this feature are as follows:

NStE: I'm liking this.
What are you wanting?

StE: I like this.
What do you want?

The distribution of this phenomenon is mostly observed among non-native varieties and varieties of the British Isles. The eWAVE atlas confirms the existence of this feature not only in Asia and Africa but also in the British Isles, e.g., Irish English, Scottish English, and in the English dialects in the north of England. This feature is attested widely both in Indigenized L2 varieties and in the L1 varieties of English. This feature is attested in a considerable share of 63% of Non-standard varieties, while its pervasiveness is reported as high as 65%. Leech et al. (2009: 238) consider it “as an after-effect of the centuries-old grammaticalization.” On the other hand, Römer (2005: 173) argues that insufficient explanation and description of this feature in classrooms is responsible for this wider use. This might be the reason in the cases where English is learnt as a second (ESL) or foreign (EFL) language.

From another perspective, Giacalone (1997: 281) describes the use of progressives as “attention catching for its frequency in [native speaker] discourse”, which seems to be in concord with the statement of Haspelmath (1999: 1057). He claims that the speakers try to use language in an innovative or different way to draw the attention of others. Moreover, the effect of the media, e.g., the worldwide McDonald's advertisement *I'm loving it* in 2003 may also be considered an influential reason for the increasing usage of this phenomenon (Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008: 67).

It has been observed that similar usages exist among L2 speakers' own languages like Hindi and Tamil, which are typologically different from the English language. Thus, the grammatical structures of the speakers' own languages influence second language (English) production. The same thing happens in the case of native Bengali speakers. It is quite normal to use the progressive form of Bengali stative verbs. In traditional Bengali grammar, there is no difference between action verb and stative verb (cf. Gangopadhyay 1990:

61). In Bengali grammar progressive verbs do not only refer to doing something; rather they refer to actions like *becoming*, *having*, *belonging* etc.

The examples used in the questionnaire for this particular feature are presented in Table 15.

Table 15: Wider range of uses of progressive *be* + *V-ing* than in StE: extension to stative verbs

Feature No.	Examples
88a	আমার এটা ভালো লাগতেছে। IGT: IGEN it.OBJ like.PR-C BngE/NStE: I am liking it. StE: I like it.
88b	তুমি কি চাইতেছো? IGT: You QW want.2F.PR-C BngE/NStE: What are you wanting? StE: What do you want?

Both the examples used in this case are adopted from eWAVE. Interestingly, the Bengali sentence in example 88a (আমার এটা ভালো লাগতেছে) may refer to a permanent liking or a continuous process of liking. The actual meaning depends on the context; not exactly on the sentence itself. Example 88b also exhibits the same characteristic.

[99] Levelling of the difference between present perfect and simple past: simple past for StE present perfect

In Standard English the present perfect is used to indicate a link between the present and the past. The time of the action is earlier than the current instant, but not explicitly specified, and we are often more interested in the result than in the action itself. However, in NStE an overlap of simple past and present perfect, in terms of meaning is observed. While StE prefers the present perfect, many NStE varieties use the simple past. This behavior is also called Indefinite Anterior Perfect (IPA). It uses the past tense to refer to an incident that occurs at an unspecified time which leads to the present time (cf. Harris 1994: 308). This is one of the most common features in world Englishes. eWAVE reports that this feature is attested in 59% of the varieties. Some examples are *You went there before?* (Malaysian English), *They just came* (Sri Lankan English), *Were you ever at*

the Royal Show? (Manx English), *Did you ever buy the milk?* (White South African English) etc. Its rate of pervasiveness is reported as 61%.

The usage of tenses is flexible in Bengali. The simple past tense can occur in situations in which one might expect the present perfect, e.g., in sentences such as *Did you eat yet?* (তুমি কি এখনো খেয়েছো?), *Did you ever see that film?* (তুমি কি কখনো ওই চলচ্চিত্রটি দেখেছো?) the adverbs *yet* and *ever* semantically suggest a past event with current result. Thus it would seem more appropriate in terms of StE logic to use *Have you eaten yet?* and *Have you ever seen the film?*, respectively.

The examples I used in my survey are presented in Table 16.

Table 16: Levelling of the difference between present perfect and simple past: simple past for StE present perfect

Feature No.	Examples
99a	তুমি কি কখনও সাইকেল চালিয়েছো? IGT: You QW ever bicycle ride.2F.P-S BngE/NStE: Did you ever ride a bicycle? StE: Have you ever ridden a bicycle?
99b	আমি এর মধ্যে বইটি পড়েছি। IGT: I already book.CL read.1.P-S BngE/NStE: I already read the book. StE: I have already read the book.

In both of these cases, StE uses the present perfect tense, because the results (riding experience and reading effects) are still present, although the actual reading and riding actions happened in the past. However, an English speaker influenced by Bengali grammar, which does not have such a clear distinction between past and present perfect, might readily consider them as events in the past, and thus would tend to use the past (NStE) form. It is worth mentioning that what is considered as standard usage may vary between Englishes; for example, the sentence *Did you ever ride a bicycle?* may very well be considered as standard in spoken American English. However, in the formation of this questionnaire I have adopted it as the NStE variant which contrasts with written British English.

[113] Loosening of sequence of tenses rule

The tense of a verb in the subordinate clause depends on the tense of the verb in the main/principal clause (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 187-188). The rules of StE

regarding the use of tenses in both the clauses can be described by saying that if you are in the past, stay in the past. One exception is the case where the subordinate clause expresses a universal truth, forcing the verb to be in the present tense. As an example of the tense of the subordinate clause depending on the tense of the main clause, let us consider the following sentences:

He *informed* us that he *would buy* the car.

He *told* me that he *had seen* my father.

In these sentences the verbs of the main clauses, namely, *informed* and *told* are followed by a future in the past *would buy* and past perfect *had seen*.

Unlike Standard English, loosening the sequence of tense appears in some of the Non-standard varieties of English. eWAVE reports that the phenomenon exists in the Pacific and the Australian English based creoles and in Indigenized L2 varieties, e.g., Indian English, Malaysian English, Colloquial Singapore English (Singlish), Hong Kong English etc. The feature is widely present in the world with an attestation of 66%, and a pervasiveness of 65%.

There is a high probability of existence of this particular phenomenon among Bangladeshi English speakers, too. The reason behind this assumption is the structure of Bengali grammar. Except very limited range of structures (e.g., conditional sentences), Bengali does not have a sequence of tenses (cf. Thompson 2012: 270). All tenses can be mixed with each other. Bengali takes into account common sense, the *need-to-know principle* and *phonaesthetic* considerations (Thompson 2012: 271). Here is an example with a past continuous and a future tense verb:

Bengali: সে সিদ্ধান্ত নিয়েছে যে সে গাড়িটি কিনবে।

IGT: P-PRON.SUB decide.3.P-S that P-PRON car.CL buy.3.FUT

BngE: He *decided* that he *will* buy the car.

StE: He *decided* that he *would* buy the car.

Thompson mentions that Bengali verb endings are regular, and that is why, the use of the same tense in both clauses – only as a grammatical obligation– can sound quite monotonous. Therefore, flexibility in word order and mixing verb tenses can give the discourse an attractive sound.

The examples used in the questionnaire in order to obtain survey responses are presented in Table 17.

Table 17: Loosening of sequence of tense rule

Feature No.	Examples
113a	তানজিলা ঠিক করেছিলো যে সে উচ্চশিক্ষার জন্য জার্মানি যাবে। IGT: Tanjila.SUB decide.3.P-S that P.PRON higher education for Germany go.3.FUT BngE/NStE: Tanjila decided that she will go to Germany for higher education. StE: Tanjila decided that she would go to Germany for higher education.
113b	সুমাইয়া পার্টি দিয়েছে কারণ সে পরীক্ষায় পাশ করেছে। IGT: Sumiya.SUB party throw.3.P-S because P.PRON exam.LOC pass.do.3.P-S BngE/NStE: Sumiya threw a party because she has passed the exam. StE: Sumiya threw a party because she had passed the exam.

Example 113a uses future tense in both the Bengali sentence and the NStE version. Therefore, both BngE and NStE are equivalent. For 113b, the NStE sentence uses present perfect instead of past perfect in the subordinate clause.

4.2.3.4 Language Features Selected from the Agreement Group

The differences between Bengali and English are prominent in terms of subject-verb agreement as well. In English, auxiliary verbs are often a must in order to ensure the correctness of a sentence. English also employs the copula; i.e., the verb linking the subject and the predicate of a sentence. On the other hand, Bengali often omits the copula; and the use of an auxiliary verb is almost completely absent. Therefore, it is interesting to investigate how Bangladeshi English speakers use copulas and auxiliary verbs. From the Agreement group I have adopted the following eWAVE features in my investigation:

[174] Deletion of auxiliary *be*: before progressive

[175] Deletion of auxiliary *be*: before *gonna*

[176] Deletion of copula *be*: before NPs

[177] Deletion of copula *be*: before AdjPs

[174] Deletion of auxiliary *be*: before progressive

The verb *be* functions both as an *auxiliary verb* or *helping verb*, and as a *copula verb* or *linking verb* (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 129, David 2015: 252). When

functioning as an auxiliary verb, it accompanies a main verb and carries meanings of tense, aspect, mood, and voice. When it appears in a sentence it takes its form (e.g., *am*, *are*, *is*) according to the subject. One prominent use of auxiliary verbs is observed in expressing the progressive aspect. For example, in the following sentences –

I *am* cooking pasta.
They *are* going for a walk.
She *is* calling him now.

am, *are* and *is* are auxiliary *be* verbs used to indicate progression of the verbs *cook*, *go* and *call* respectively.

In the above sentences *am*, *are* and *is* could be dropped without changing their meaning. While the use of auxiliary *be* is a grammatical feature of StE, eWAVE reports a high frequency of auxiliary *be* deletion in progressives in Non-standard English. According to eWAVE, such behavior is observed in High-contact L1 varieties, e.g., Aboriginal English, Bahamian English, Singlish etc.; Indigenized L2 varieties, e.g., Malaysian English, Hong Kong English, Indian English etc.; and English-based creoles and pidgins like Gullah, Trinidadian Creole, Butler English, Nigerian Pidgin etc. This tendency is attested in 58% of NStE varieties around the world with a high pervasiveness of 75%.

In Bengali, tense, aspect, person and number are expressed by means of suffixes attached to the verb stem. An auxiliary verb is absent in Bengali. In order to express progression, an imperfect aspect, as marked by -চ্ছ/-ছ- (-cch/-ch-), is used. Dasgupta (2003: 372 in David 2015: 196) analyzes it as “a tight compound of the progressive stem of the verb with the light copula element /ch/.” A number of usages of such progressive actions as expressed in Bengali sentences are presented below through examples (a) to (d).

a) আমি সেলাই কাজ শিখছি।

IGT: I.SUB- sew do.VN learn.IPF-PR

BngE: I learning to sew.

StE: I am learning to sew.

b) তুমি কি আজকে রাতে আসছো?

IGT: 2F.S. QW today night-LOC come.2F.IPF-FUT

BngE: You coming tonight?

StE: Are you coming tonight?

c) সে দশ বছর ধরে গান গাইছে।

IGT: 3S. ten year during song do.3.IPF-PR

BngE: She singing for ten years.

StE: She has been singing for ten years.

d) সেখানে ওরা বসে গল্প করছিলো।

IGT: There they sit.PP talk.3.PR-C

BngE: They sitting there talking.

StE: They were sitting there talking.

Thus, the copula element -ছ- (/ch/) is used to express ongoing actions in the present (example a), the immediate future (as in b), as well as continuous actions that began in the past and are continuing into the present (as in example c), and an ongoing past event (as shown in example d) (David 2015: 198). The Bengali variants show that those sentences are quite capable of expressing progression without those auxiliary *be* verbs.

In my study I used the examples presented in Table 18 in order to collect survey responses:

Table 18: Deletion of auxiliary *be*: before progressive

Feature No.	Examples
174a	তো তুমি সবসময় তোমার কাজের ব্যাপারেই ভাবছো। IGT: So you always you.GEN work about.EMP think.2F.PR-C BngE/NStE: So you Ø always thinking about your work. StE: So you are always thinking about your work.
174b	তারা আগামিকাল রাতে আসবে। IGT: They tomorrow night come.3.FUT BngE/NStE: They Ø coming tomorrow night. StE: They are coming tomorrow night.

Examples (174a) and (174b) are taken from eWAVE, for Malaysian English and Indian English respectively. They exhibit the same characteristic as Bengali, and thus in this case the NStE variant is exactly the same as BngE.

[175] Deletion of auxiliary *be*: before *gonna*

Auxiliary *be* is used to form the *gonna* future structure as well. It is the relaxed pronunciation of the *going-to* structure. It is used mainly in spoken English, and

denotes an imminent future event. In Standard English, this idiom is used to express futurity in a semi-modal verb that consists of a form of the copula verb *be*. For example, the following sentences -

I *am going to* have my lunch now.

I *am gonna* have my lunch now.

denote the same semantic meaning. An NStE version of the second sentence would leave out the *be* verb as follows:

I *gonna* have my lunch now.

Although *gonna* is mainly used by native English speakers in informal conversations, and in the social media, it is very common in NStEs around the world. This feature is observed predominantly in high-contact L1 varieties like Aboriginal English, Liberian Settler English, and Bahamian English; in indigenized L2 varieties like Hong Kong English, Indian English, and Jamaican English; and pidgins and creoles like Norfolk Island/Pitcairn English, Butler English, Belizean Creole and Torres Strait Creole. The eWAVE atlas reports deletion of *be* before *gonna* with an attestation of 53% and a pervasiveness of 69%.

Bengali also has a frequent use of the verb *to go* (যাওয়া) in various and extensive forms. In the construction *going to + verb* form, the verb remains unaffected by person and intimacy. Like the infinitive form in English where the verb is preceded by *going to*, in Bengali –তে (-te) is added to the verb which is then followed by the appropriate tense of *to go* (যাওয়া). The structure takes the form: subject + verb (+ te) + tense (ja). For example:

আমি নাচতে যাচ্ছি।

IGT: I dance.VN go.1.IPF-FUT

BngE: I going to dance. / I gonna dance.

StE: I am going to dance. / I am gonna dance. (spoken)

As seen in the above example, there is no auxiliary verb before the *going to* (*gonna*) form in Bengali.

In my study I used the examples of Table 19 in order to investigate this feature:

Table 19: Deletion of auxiliary *be*: before *gonna*

Feature No.	Examples
175a	সোহান দুজন বন্ধুর সাথে খেলা দেখতে যাচ্ছে। IGT: Shohan.SUB two friend with game watch.3S.IPF-FUT BngE/NStE: Shohan gonna watch game with two friends. StE: Shohan is gonna watch game with two friends.
175b	আমি এখন এটা করতে যাচ্ছি। IGT: I.SUB now it do.1.IPF-FUT BngE/NStE: I gonna do it now. StE: I am gonna do it now.

The first example is constructed by me, while the second one is adopted from eWAVE for Nigerian English. There is no specific reason for selecting an example from Nigerian English. In this case as well, BngE is exactly the same as NStE, because NStE (including Nigerian English) exhibits the same characteristics as the Bengali sentence. After the questionnaire had been conducted, it turned out that the version of feature 175a that was meant to represent StE lacked an article before *game* and therefore cannot be considered as fully standard-like. However, since the same was the case in the BngE/NStE version, any differences between the two versions in participants' ratings can be attributed to the variable use of auxiliary *be*. Indeed, as indicated by Table 36 in section 6.1.3, there were no major differences in the ratings between 175a and 175b.

[176] Deletion of copula *be*: before NPs

In addition to being an auxiliary verb, the verb *be* is used as a copula as well. It ties together two grammatical components in a clause, i.e., subject and predicate. For example, the word *is* in the sentence *He is a good boy* is the copulative verb, used before an NP. It is often called a linking verb too. The use of the verb *be* as a copula is a common practice in Standard English. There are only very few instances where it allows the copula to be dropped, e.g., headlines of English newspapers, comparative correlatives (*the more, the merrier*), casual statements (*enough already*) etc.

The eWAVE atlas reports that in Non-standard varieties of English, the copula can be dropped before Noun Phrases and Adjective Phrases, which does not

conform to the Standard English grammar (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 129). Some examples involving a missing copula before NPs are as follows:

She Ø good girl one. (Malaysian English)

That Ø a real issue. (Trinidadian Creoles)

But this one Ø not your car. (Singlish)

According to eWAVE, a missing copula is very prominent in high-contact L1 varieties like Aboriginal English, Singlish etc.; Indigenized L2 varieties like Pure Fiji English (basilectal FijiE), Hong Kong English, Malaysian English etc.; and pidgins and creoles like Pitcairn English, Cameroon English, Bislama etc. Copula omission before Noun Phrases is attested in eWAVE in 39% of the varieties of English and this feature is up to 68% pervasive.

There are a number of languages like Russian, Indonesian, Turkish, Hungarian, Arabic, Hebrew etc. where copula omission occurs. Bengali is also one of them (cf. Thompson 2012: 141, 188, 193). According to Thompson (cf. 2012: 188), Bengali differs from most Indo-Aryan languages in using zero copulas, where the copula or connective *be* is often missing in the present tense. She (ibid.: 226) reports that the subject and the complement in copular sentences can range from single pronouns to complex noun phrases and adjective phrases. For example,

এই কামরাটি আমার কাছে স্বর্গ।

IGT: This room.CLI.GEN near heaven.

BngE: This room heaven to me.

StE: This room is heaven to me.

Here the copula *is* is dropped before the NP *heaven to me*; and it still conveys the proper meaning. In fact, the Bengali sentence does not need this copula verb at all.

In my study I presented the examples of Table 20 to the survey participants in order to record their preferred usages:

Table 20: Deletion of copula *be*: before NPs

Feature No.	Examples
176a	কিন্তু এটা তোমার গাড়ি নয়। IGT: But this you.GEN car not. BngE/NStE: But this one Ø not your car. StE: But this one is not your car.

176b	আমি বারোজন অতিথী দেখেছি, প্রত্যেকেই একজন ডক্টর। IGT: I.SUB twelve.CL guest.Ø see.1.PR-PRF, each.EMP a doctor. BngE/NStE: I saw twelve guests, each Ø a doctor. StE: I saw twelve guests, each is a doctor.
------	--

The first example is taken from eWAVE for Colloquial Singaporean English and the second one is constructed. Since copula *be* is dropped for both NStE and Bengali, the NStE examples reflect BngE as well.

[177] Deletion of copula *be*: before AdjPs

In Standard English the copula *be* is used before adjective phrases as well. For example, in the sentence *Anamoy is very intelligent* the word *is* is used as a copula verb before the adjective phrase *very intelligent*.

This feature is distributed mostly in English-based pidgins and creoles. The eWAVE language atlas reports it in many NStEs like Aboriginal English, Butler English, Singlish, Ghanaian Pidgin, Hong Kong English, Gullah, Jamaican Creole, Nigerian Pidgin, Trinidadian Creole etc. Some examples explaining this feature are as follows:

He very tall. (Gullah English)

I Ø also scared. (Singlish)

My baby very healthy now. (Hong Kong English)

According to eWAVE this phenomenon is attested in 51% of varieties and it is pervasive up to a massive 82%.

Bengali usually does not need the copula *be* verb before adjective phrases, as is the case with noun phrases too. Let us consider the following example:

পরস্পরের ভালোবাসায় এখনও তারা আত্মহারা।

IGT: One.another.GEN love.LOC still they self-obsessed

BngE: They Ø still wrapped up in their love for each other.

StE: They are still wrapped up in their love for each other.

In this case, the BngE version drops the copula verb *are* before the adjective phrase *wrapped up in their love for each other*. I used the examples presented in Table 21 in my survey questionnaire demonstrating this feature:

Table 21: Deletion of copula *be*: before AdjPs

Feature No.	Examples
177a	আমার বাচ্চা এখন অনেক সুস্থ। IGT: I.GEN baby now very healthy. BngE/NStE: My baby Ø very healthy now. StE: My baby is very healthy now.
177b	শাহরিয়ার একজন উচ্চশিক্ষিত রাজনীতিবিদ। IGT: Shahriar.SUB a highly educated politician. BngE/NStE: Shahriar Ø a highly educated politician. StE: Shahriar is a highly educated politician.

The first example is adopted from eWAVE for Hong Kong English and the second one is constructed. The choice of an example from Hong Kong English has been made because it seems to fit the context of my research. Since Bengali drops copula *be* before AdjPs, the NStE examples are representative of BngE, too. I must acknowledge that example 177b fits better as an example of feature 176, because *a highly educated politician* is an NP. My first assumption was that the respondents would focus on *highly educated* (AdjP) while making their choices. However, comparing the ratings of both sentences representing feature 177 in Table 36 of section 6.1.3, it will be seen that they were judged very similarly by the participants. Thus, this mistake probably does not affect the results in a significant way.

4.2.3.5 Language Features Selected from the Discourse and Word Order Group

Word order is another important aspect where Bengali differs significantly from English. English usually follows strict word orders in order to formulate grammatically correct sentences. Almost always the position of the verb in relation to subject and predicate is rigid. This rule is usually obeyed both in written and oral discourses. However, in Bengali the form of the verb in a sentence is often inflected, and thus it can clearly indicate which subject it is used for, irrespective of word order in the sentence(cf. Thompson 2010: 189, 200). Often it is even possible to completely drop the subject. Such practices are used not only in the spoken form but also in the written form of Bengali. It will be very interesting to examine how strongly that flexibility in Bengali word order influences Bangladeshi English speakers.

From the Discourse and Word Order group I adopted the following eWAVE features:

- [224] Other possibilities for fronting than StE
- [227] Inverted word order in indirect questions
- [228] No inversion/no auxiliaries in *wh*-questions
- [229] No inversion/no auxiliaries in main clause *yes/no* questions

[224] Other possibilities for fronting than StE

Traditional English grammar follows the SVO (Subject + Verb + Object) sequence. The subject normally occurs before the verb in the declarative clauses (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 724). However, in many NStEs a violation of this sequence is observed to a considerable extent. The eWAVE atlas exhibits variants where adjective phrases, adverbials, and even objects – instead of subjects – can appear before verbs in sentences. The following examples illustrate such uses:

- Too small the table (Palmerston)
- Dying to go to the toilet I am. (Welsh)
- Alone you came? (Indian South African)
- To town every Saturday I drive. (Ugandan)

According to eWAVE, this feature is observed predominantly in High-contact L1 varieties like Maltese English, Welsh English etc.; Indigenized L2 varieties like Black South African English, Hong Kong English, Indian English etc; and pidgins and creoles like Belizean Creole, Cameroon Pidgin, Jamaican Creole, Saramaccan etc. The phenomenon is attested in 43% of the NStE varieties around the world, and the pervasiveness of this distribution is measured to be up to 64%.

In Bengali grammar, the canonical word order for an active sentence is SOV (Subject + Object + Verb). However, the positions of sentence components such as subjects, verbs, adverbial phrases and objects can be shuffled (cf. Thompson 2010: 189). Because of unambiguous endings of Bengali verbs, the meaning of a sentence does not become confusing even in the case of a different word order. Thompson (ibid.) adds that this flexible word order might help to get rid of monotonous similar Bengali verb endings. Thompson (2010: 190) provides an example of the possibility of several word order arrangements of the sentence *I will go tomorrow*:

- S + Adv + V: আমি কালকে যাবো। => I tomorrow go.1.FUT
- Adv + S + V: কালকে যাবো আমি। => Tomorrow go.1.FUT I
- S + V + Adv: আমি যাবো কালকে। => I go.1.FUT tomorrow
- V + S + Adv: যাবো আমি কালকে। => Go.1.FUT I tomorrow

In addition, more variations can be obtained by noun/pronoun dropping, as the subject is inflected to the verb in Bengali. For example,

∅ + Adv + V: কালকে যাবো। => Tomorrow go.1.FUT

∅ + V + Adv: যাবো কালকে। => go.1.FUT tomorrow.

In my survey I used the examples presented in Table 22 in order to collect the participants' feedback:

Table 22: Other possibilities for fronting than StE

Feature No.	Examples
224a	আমার বোনের সাথে মাঝে মাঝে আমি ইংরেজিতে কথা বলি। IGT: I.GEN sister.GEN with sometimes.DUP I.SUB English speak do.1.PR-S BngE/NStE: To my sister sometimes I speak English. StE: Sometimes I speak English to my sister.
224b	ঐ ছেলেটি কোন স্কুল থেকে আসছে? IGT: That boy.CL which school from is.3.P-S BngE/NStE: That boy is from which school? StE: From which school that boy is ⁹ ?

I have adopted these examples from eWAVE. The first one is taken from Singaporean English and the second one from Malaysian English. Bengali also exhibits similarly flexible word orders. Therefore, the NStE versions of the examples are good representatives of BngE.

[227] Inverted word order in indirect questions

In English grammar, a question can occur as part of another question or a statement. This is called an embedded question or indirect question. It occurs as a subordinate clause rather than as the main clause of the sentence. For example:

Normal question: *What is his name?*

Indirect question: *Could you tell me what his name is?*

Indirect question in a statement: *I do not know what his name is.*

⁹ The correct StE example should have been *From which school is that boy?*. This error was unfortunately not noticed during the preparation of this questionnaire, and the presented example was used for data collection. The discussion in section 6.1.3 will come back to this potential issue.

In order to form indirect questions (as shown in the second and third examples above), Standard English follows normal word order (subject + verb) in a sentence. In such cases, no subject-auxiliary inversion occurs, unlike in the non-embedded question (first example). Therefore, a fourth example, as shown below, is unacceptable in Standard English.

I do not know what is his name.

However, in many NStEs, eWAVE exhibits usage of inverted word order in indirect questions. The following examples illustrate such uses in a number of NStE variants:

He asked why is Wong's working so different. (Malaysian English)

I don't know what time is it. (Welsh English)

He asked what would I like to do. (Indian South African English)

She asked me do I know her name. (White South African English)

In these sentences the verb *be*, auxiliaries and *do* (as the operator) are inverted, since it is the rule for constructing normal sentences. The research of Wolfram and Schilling (2016: 388) states that –

[...] the use of inverted word order in indirect questions, as in *She asked could she go to the movies*, is becoming just as much a part of informal spoken American English as indirect questions without inverted word order, as in *She asked if she could go to the movies*.

This feature is observed strongly in L1 varieties like Newfoundland English, Philippine English, Singlish etc.; L2 varieties like Malaysian English, Hong Kong English, Indian English etc.; and pidgins and creoles like Butler English, Bajan and Torres Strait Creole. According to eWAVE, this tendency is attested in 61% of varieties and the pervasiveness is up to 66%.

Like many of the NStE varieties, Bengali has word order flexibility. Because of inflected verb endings and the rising intonation of the question there are no specific rules and regulations for word order inversion in Bengali. For example:

সে কি কাজ করে আমি তাকে প্রশ্ন করি নি।

IGT: He QW work do.3.PR-SI he.OBJ question do.1.PR.PRF.not

BngE: I did not ask him what work does he do.

StE: I did not ask him what work he does.

মা জানতে চায় তুমি খাবে কি না।

IGT: Mother know.IP want.3.PR-S you eat.2F.FUT whether.not

BngE: Mother wants to know whether will you eat or not.

StE: Mother wants to know whether you will eat or not.

In both of these sentences there is no specific word order or subject-auxiliary inversion but the question marker *কি* /ki/ (*what*) is inserted to form the question. This marker may occur in multiple positions without changing the core meaning of the sentence (David 2015: 254).

In my study, I used the following examples (Table 23) in order to collect responses from Bangladeshi English speakers:

Table 23: Inverted word order in indirect questions

Feature No.	Examples
227a	আমি ভাবছিলাম তুমি এখন কি করবে। IGT: I.SUB think.1.P-IPF you now QW do.2F.FUT BngE/NStE: I was wondering what are you going to do now. StE: I was wondering what you are going to do now.
227b	আমি জানিনা তুমি কি বলছো। IGT: I.SUB know.not you QW say.2F.PR-C BngE/NStE: I don't know what are you talking about. StE: I don't know what you are talking about.

[228] No inversion/no auxiliaries in *wh*-questions

In order to form a *wh*-question, a *wh*-word or *wh*-element and subject and verb (operator) inversion (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 807, 818) occurs. For example, a *wh*-question for *I am reading* would be *What are you doing?* In this sentence, the main verb *be* has been used as an operator in order to formulate the sentence with a question. Quirk et al. further mention that if the statement lacks an operator, *do* is used as the operator in the question. For instance, the *wh*-question form of the sentence, *They live in Dhaka* would be *Where do they live?*

However, in Non-standard English the lack of inversion and the lack of auxiliaries are quite common. A big number of creoles and pidgins, e.g., Bislama, Butler English, Cameroon English, Gullah, Nigerian Pidgin etc., host this feature along with some Indigenized L2 varieties, e.g., IndE, MalE, PakE etc. High-contact L1 varieties like Aboriginal English, Colloquial American English, and Singlish also exhibit this feature to a great extent. The examples used by eWAVE in order to illustrate this feature are:

NStE: What you doing? What he wants?

StE: What *are* you doing? What *does* he want?

It is evident from the above examples that NStE speakers do not use any inversion or auxiliaries to form a question in English. According to eWAVE this feature is attested in 72% of NStEs with a very high pervasiveness of 79%.

Bengali grammar also exhibits this property, and the non-existence of auxiliary verbs in Bengali can influence the spoken English of Bangladeshi speakers. In Standard English, subject-verb inversion is mandatory in *wh*- questions, whereas in Bengali a separate word is used from a set of various *wh*- words, i.e., *কি* /ki/ (*what*), *কেন* /kenəʊ/ (*why*), *কোথায়* /kʰθeə/ (*where*), *কবে* /kʰbə/ (*when*), etc. (cf. Thompson 2012: 202-209). Moreover, no subject-verb inversion occurs. It can be illustrated using the following examples:

Bengali: তুমি কোথায় যাও?

IGT: You QW (where) go

StE: Where are you going?

Bengali: এই দিনে কি হয়েছে?

IGT: This day.LO CQW (what) happen.P-S

StE: What happened on this day?

In the above sentences no inversion occurs, rather two question words *কোথায়* /kʰθeə/ (*where*) and *কি* /ki/ (*what*) clearly express the inquiry.

The examples used in the questionnaire of this study for this particular feature are presented in Table 24.

Table 24: No inversion/no auxiliaries in *wh*-questions

Feature No.	Examples
228a	সুজন কি চায়? IGT: Shujon.SUB QW want.3.PR BngE/NStE: What Shujon wants? StE: What does Shujon want?
228b	তুমি ঢাকায় কোথায় থাকো? IGT: You Dhaka.LOC QW live.2F.PR BngE/NStE: Where in Dhaka you live? StE: Where in Dhaka do you live?

Both of these examples are constructed by the author.

[229] No inversion/no auxiliaries in main clause *yes/no* questions

In order to form *yes/no* questions in English grammar, an operator exchanges its place with the subject (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 807). This can be formed in a number of ways, as illustrated in the three pairs of sentences below:

She is happy.	<i>Is she happy?</i>
You can solve the problem.	<i>Can you solve the problem?</i>
He likes fishing.	<i>Does he like fishing?</i>

As shown in the first pair of sentences, if the verb *be* is used as the main verb of the sentence, simply the verb *be* is inverted in order to obtain the sentence expressing a question. The second pair of sentences contains a main verb and an auxiliary verb. In this case, the first auxiliary verb (*can*) should be inverted. The third option clarifies the situation where no item in the verb phrase functions as an operator. In such cases, *do* is inserted as the operator (ibid.).

However, the lack of inversion and auxiliaries is quite common around the world. This feature exists in 40 NStE varieties as obligatory and in 33 other NStEs to various extents, which results in its attestation of a massive 92%, with a very high pervasiveness of 81%. Among the neighboring countries of Bangladesh this feature is obligatory in NStEs like IndE, MalE and PakE. The examples used in eWAVE in order to demonstrate how lack of inversion occurs are presented in the following:

NStE: You get the point? You liked India?
StE: Do you get the point? Did you like India?

In Bengali, the word order (SOV) does not change in order to form questions (cf. Thompson 2012: 200). Rather, a question marker *কি* /*ki*/ (*what*) is used right after the subject; and sometimes *কি* is moved to the end of the sentence. Interestingly, it can even be omitted in spoken Bengali in particular situations. Declarative order with rising intonation is the main characteristic of Bengali questions. Moreover, the lack of a question marker does not change the meaning if the speaker replaces the low tone of the final syllable in the utterance with a falling (HL) tone. A glimpse of *yes/no* question formation in Bengali can be obtained in the following examples:

Bengali:	সে পড়াশোনা করে।	সে কি পড়াশোনা করে?	সে পড়াশোনা করে?
IGT:	He study do.3.PR-S	He QW study.3.PR-S	He study.3.PR-S
English:	He studies.	Does he study?	Does he study?

Bengali:	তুমি তাকে চেনো।	তুমি কি তাকে চেনো?	তুমি তাকে চেনো?
IGT:	You him	You QW him	You him
	know.2F.PR-S.	know.2F.PR-S	know.2F.PR-S
English:	You know him.	Do you know him?	Do you know him?

It is evident from the above examples that Bengali does not need to use the verb *do* in order to form a *yes/no* question. It is also worth noting that the QW can be even completely omitted, still making the sentence grammatically correct. The examples used in the questionnaire of this study for this particular feature are described in Table 25.

Table 25: No inversion/no auxiliaries in main clause *yes/no* questions

Feature No.	Examples
229a	তুমি কি ক্রিকেট পছন্দ করো? IGT: You QW cricket like.2F.PR-S BngE/NStE: You like cricket? StE: Do you like cricket?
229b	তুমি কি মিরপুর থাকো? IGT: You QW Mirpur.LOC live.2F.PR-S BngE/NStE: You live in Mirpur? StE: Do you live in Mirpur?

Both of these examples are constructed. The NStE variants of the examples exhibit the same characteristic as Bengali, and therefore, they can be directly considered BngE examples for this feature.

4.2.3.6 Special Cares and Considerations

In order to make it easy and intuitive for the survey participants I have taken a number of special cares and considerations during the formulation of the examples representing the features. The most important considerations are as follows:

- A great amount of effort has been employed to make the questions clear and unambiguous. Each example is aimed at investigating only one morphosyntactic feature of Non-standard English.
- At least two variants, i.e., Standard English (StE) and Non-standard English (NStE) of the same feature have been provided. For twenty-two features, the NStE examples clearly represent a similarity with Bengali.

However, feature 60 shows a different usage in NStE than what is used in Bengali. In this case, an extra option representing a probable Bangladeshi English (BngE) variant has been added as well. Thus, for all the examples the informants will most likely find a familiar option – akin to their mother tongue – to choose.

- For every feature two sets of examples have been formed to obtain statistically more reliable data.
- While formulating the wording of each example, I considered the aspect of “language-external knowledge” as Krug and Sell (2013: 76) mention. The examples taken from eWAVE are adapted, if necessary, and those constructed by me consider the context of Bangladesh. For example, in the first example for feature 47 (Table 6), the sentence *Here (it) is not allowed to stop the rikshaw* contains *rickshaw* instead of *car*. Thus, the survey participants can focus on the real issue (presence or absence of *it* in this case) while visualizing a more familiar context.

4.3 Summary

Using correct tools and efficient methods is almost always the pre-requisite of successfully performing any research in order to achieve research goals. The main goal of my thesis is formulated as three research questions, as presented in Table 1. The research materials and methodology chosen was designed to help me attain that goal.

The language atlas eWAVE provides a rich set of well-organized information related to the existence of Non-standard varieties of English around the globe. Among other things, it provides a huge number of language features, their existence in NStEs, and pervasiveness. Thus, using it as a basis for choosing my language features I could clearly identify the prime candidates among the features, and I obtained information on their existence in localities with historical backgrounds similar to Bangladesh.

The participants chosen can be considered the representatives of current Bangladeshi youth. As pointed out in section 4.1.2.2, they are the fitting *research subjects* corresponding to all three research questions of my thesis. A questionnaire is a more appropriate means than, for example, a face-to-face interview for collecting information with a fixed set of questions from a large number of survey participants. I have formulated the questionnaire in a way that the participants can focus on the purpose, while avoiding fatigue. Thus, they are

not burdened with too much unnecessary information. At the same time, I have ensured to collect all the information necessary for my research. The questionnaire is prepared and deployed in line with ethical guidelines through adding the consent form.

I have chosen the set of features keeping the research questions in mind. Since covering all the features and topics presented in eWAVE is not possible within the scope of the thesis, I have analyzed aspects of Bengali grammar that conflict heavily with English grammar. Such analysis instead of blindly selecting some features facilitates establishing the existence of BngE, if any. Each feature contains two examples to make it statistically more reliable. The examples are usually gender-neutral, and represent the modern world, also in the context of Bangladesh. Therefore, the features selected alongside the examples used are expected to obtain *correct* answers to the research questions.

The survey procedure provides a clear and efficient guideline on how to conduct the survey to obtain unbiased information from the participants.

The information collected through the survey must be statistically processed to obtain representative *numbers* and *graphs* that will ensure an easy and intuitive presentation of the results. The research questions can be answered by analyzing such results.

5 Survey Data and Statistical Computations

The research questions of this thesis, as presented in Table 1, are answered using real world data obtained directly from survey participants. The data are collected at a very granular level. They cannot be used in their raw form to answer the research questions clearly. Therefore, the raw survey data must be processed using a number of statistical methods in order to obtain a clear picture.

In this chapter I adopt a sample of survey data collected from a single participant in order to describe the details of the collected information. Then I briefly describe how sets of such data can be statistically processed in order to obtain a meaningful insight towards answering the research questions based on the responses of the survey participants. The raw data collected from the survey participants are in textual form; e.g., whether they use a particular sentence or expression in the frequency of *always*, *most often*, *sometimes*, or *never*. These are first assigned numerical values; higher values indicating higher frequency of use. Then those are statistically processed to obtain the cumulative results, which are still numerical values, representing all the participants. Afterwards I present the statistically processed results in a graphical form. The purpose is to provide a clear and readily conceivable view of the results to the readers.

5.1 Survey Data

In this survey I have collected data from a total of 340 students. As mentioned in section 4.2.3, the survey addresses 23 language features, each of them having two examples. In general, each example has two sentences – with the exception of feature 60, which has three sentences– in English, perceived as possible translations of the provided Bengali sentence, representing the StE and the BngE/NStE usages. The participants can respond in four different levels of usage; namely *always*, *most often*, *sometimes* and *never*, representing how frequently they use that particular sentence in English as a possible translation for the corresponding sentence in Bengali. For example, if a survey participant always uses the StE variant, she should select *always* for the corresponding answer and *never* for the NStE sentence. It is also possible that the participant *most often* uses the StE sentence, while she *sometimes* uses the NStE sentence. Also, there is the possibility of a survey participant choosing the *other* option, if she prefers any other sentence than the presented StE and NStE examples. However, various combinations are possible; e.g., a participant might even choose the combination of *sometimes* for both StE and NStE examples. In general, the NStE variant retrieved from the eWAVE is identical with the variant

that would result from Bengali influence. However, it is also possible that the effect of Bengali is different from the customary NStE variant presented in eWAVE. Therefore, it requires a third sentence, which corresponds to the BngE variant. Among the 23 features, this has been required for only one feature (feature 60).

I have created an Excel table consisting of the data collected from all the students. In Table 26 I present a sample representing the data collected from a single participant for a particular feature.

Table 26: Sample response from a single participant for feature 56

ID	gender	universit y	ag e	item	featur e	feature_are a	variant	rating
S_3	male	Green	21	bird s	56a	NP/plural	standar d	always
S_3	male	Green	21	bird	56a	NP/plural	non- standar d	never
S_3	male	Green	21	star s	56b	NP/plural	standar d	sometime s
S_3	male	Green	21	star	56b	NP/plural	non- standar d	sometime s

The information in the above table is interpreted as follows:

ID is the identification number of the survey participant. In this case S_3 indicates the third participant.

Gender is the gender of the survey participant. In this case, S_3 is a male student.

University is the name of the educational institution of the participant. In this sample, S_3 is a student from the Green University of Bangladesh.

Age is the age of the participant. In this example, the participant is 21 years old.

Item represents the grammatical element in a sentence that is the focus of this particular survey question. In this case the usage of *bird/birds* is the focus of the first example, and the usage of *star/stars* is the focus of the second example.

Feature provides a reference to the eWAVE feature number. This particular question addresses eWAVE feature 56. Corresponding to each feature, I have used two examples. The letters *a* and *b* represent the first example and the second example, respectively. Feature 60 has a third example denoted by *c*.

Feature_area is the grammatical aspect addressed in this feature. For this example, the usage of NP/plural is addressed.

Variant represents the StE and the NStE variants of the English sentences used as the translation of the provided Bengali sentence. In this case, the use of plural forms; i.e., *birds* and *stars* indicate the StE variant, while the absence of plural marker -s; i.e., *bird* and *star* represent the NStE variant.

Rating indicates how often a particular variant of the provided sentences is used according to the particular survey participant. In this sample, the participant, a male student, opines that he (and ideally, a representative sample of his friends) *always* uses the StE variant (and *never* the NStE variant) of the English sentence for the first example, while for the second example, he uses both NStE and StE sentences *sometimes*.

The task of data entry to the Excel table has been performed manually. I have taken extra care in order to avoid any error, because erroneous inputs at this step would produce wrong results in later stages of data processing. The complete excel sheet contains data from 336 students (discarding data collected from 4 participants because of incompleteness), identified as S_1, S_2, ..., S_336. It is a huge sheet containing 31584 rows of data (94 rows for each of the 336 respondents). Thus, in its raw format it is not able to provide any meaningful insight into the answers of the research questions of this thesis.

5.2 Processing of Survey Data

The survey data entered into the Excel sheet is further processed statistically through providing a numerical value to each response (rating) corresponding to the level of usage of the example sentences. Afterwards averages over the responses of all students are computed. Furthermore, standard deviations and Student's *t* values are calculated in order to compare responses of two groups of participants, differentiated by gender.

5.2.1 Assigning Numerical Values to the Responses

A survey participant can use a particular English sentence as a translation to the corresponding Bengali sentence at four different levels; namely *always*, *most*

often, *sometimes*, and *never*. These provide enough indication about a particular response; however, when we need to statistically combine and process a huge number of responses, those levels need to be assigned some numerical values. This is done as follows:

always: 3
 most often: 2
 sometimes: 1
 never: 0

In this assignment, I assume that a response of *always* refers to a 100% usage of that particular sentence, while *most often* indicates a 67% usage, and *sometimes* specifies that that sentence is used only 33% of the cases. If a particular sentence is never used (0%) by the concerned participant and his/her friends, then its level of *never* is represented by the number 0. It must be kept in mind that these assignments of percentages or numerical values are only assumptions, and they are not considered to be precise. A more theoretically correct statement would be the consideration that the answer with *always* for a particular example is a strong positive choice by the participant, while *most often* is not so strong, *sometimes* is a weak positive choice, and *never* is considered a strong rejection to using that example sentence. I adopted a similar strategy as followed by Krug and Sell (2013: 76-78). Although Krug and Sell used six different levels, I used only four of them in order to make the choices easier for the respondents without losing much granularity.

The assignment of such numerical values contributes to an update to the Table 26, where a new column named *rating_numeric* is added. Thus that table results in the form of Table 27, as presented below:

Table 27: Numerical rating added to the sample response from a single participant for a particular feature

ID	gender	university	age	item	feature	feature_area	variant	rating	rating – numeric
S_3	male	Green	21	birds	56a	NP/plural	standard	always	3
S_3	male	Green	21	bird	56a	NP/plural	non-standard	never	0

S_3	male	Green	21	stars	56b	NP/plural	standard	sometimes	1
S_3	male	Green	21	star	56b	NP/plural	non-standard	sometimes	1

5.2.2 Computation of Average Usage Levels

The average usage level of each of the StE and the NStE variants for a particular feature over all the survey participants indicates how often that variant is practiced among them. In order to compute the average, I use the arithmetic mean $\bar{x}$ employing the following equation:

$$\bar{x} = \frac{\sum_{i=0}^n f_i x_i}{N} \quad (\text{Eq. 1})$$

where,

x_i is the level of usage (rating_numeric), namely 0, 1, 2, or 3.

f_i is the frequency; i.e., the number of responses for a particular level of usage

$$N = \sum_{i=0}^n f_i = \text{the total number of responses}$$

During the computation I combine both the examples *a* and *b* for a particular feature. For feature 60, which contains distinct BngE sentences, I have combined NStE and BngE responses, because both of them represent deviations from StE. The averages are calculated separately for StE and NStE usages. For example, after going through the Excel sheet as prepared in section 5.2.1, I find the following numbers (Table 28) for feature 56:

Table 28: Usage levels and corresponding frequencies of a particular feature

Usage level, x_i	3	2	1	0
Usage frequency of StE, f_i	325	134	89	124
Usage frequency of NStE, f_i	124	72	150	326

The average level of usage of the StE variant for this feature is given by,

$$\bar{x}_{StE} = \frac{\sum_{i=0}^3 f_i x_i}{N} = \frac{325*3+134*2+89*1+124*0}{325+134+89+124} = 1.982 \quad (\text{Eq. 2})$$

and the average level of usage of the NStE variant of this feature is obtained as,

$$\overline{x_{NStE}} = \frac{\sum_{i=0}^3 f_i x_i}{N} = \frac{124*3+72*2+150*1+326*0}{124+72+150+326} = 0.991 \quad (\text{Eq. 3})$$

These numbers provide a quick indication that the informants prefer the StE variant over the NStE variant for feature 56. The higher the average of NStE, the higher they contribute to creating BngE.

I used the *PivotTable* tool provided by Microsoft Excel in order to obtain the computed results quite easily. A *PivotTable* provides support for interactively summarizing large amounts of data in order to obtain a quick and user-friendly representation.

5.2.3 Calculation of Standard Deviation

Standard deviation indicates how uniformly a set of data is distributed. It is often used along with average values while comparing statistical data. A higher standard deviation indicates a higher dispersion among different values of a data set. This is often caused by the presence of extremely low or high values that influence the average of a data set. Thus, a low standard deviation is often perceived as an indicator that the average value is a good representative of the data set.

Standard deviation is calculated as,

$$s = \sqrt{\frac{\sum_{i=0}^n f_i (x_i - \bar{x})^2}{N}} \quad (\text{Eq. 4})$$

where, the variables have the same meanings as in Eq. 1.

In my thesis, I use the standard deviation in order to calculate t values, which are eventually used to compare the male and the female respondents in their usage of NStE variants. Therefore, f_i indicates the number of responses for different levels of NStE usage by male or female students. For feature 56, I have the following input data for NStE responses, as presented in Table 29:

Table 29: Frequency of NStE usage by male and female students for feature 56

Usage level, x_i	3	2	1	0	$\bar{x}$
Usage frequency by male, $f_{i(\text{male})}$	91	49	96	226	1.010822511
Usage frequency by female, $f_{i(\text{female})}$	33	23	54	100	0.947619048

Using the equation (Eq. 4) and the data from Table 29, standard deviations of NStE usage (of feature 56) by male and female students can be calculated as,

$$S_{male} = \sqrt{\frac{91 * (3 - 1.010822511)^2 + 49 * (2 - 1.010822511)^2 + 96 * (1 - 1.010822511)^2 + 226 * (0 - 1.010822511)^2}{(91 + 49 + 96 + 226)}} = 1.1760101$$

and

$$S_{female} = \sqrt{\frac{33 * (3 - 0.991)^2 + 23 * (2 - 0.991)^2 + 54 * (1 - 0.991)^2 + 100 * (0 - 0.991)^2}{(33 + 23 + 54 + 100)}} = 1.100700663$$

I used Microsoft Excel to compute standard deviations for all features for both the male and the female groups using the above equation.

5.2.4 Computation of Student's t Values

Average (mean) values can be used to compare the male and female groups as to the extent to which they use the NStE variants for different features. However, in statistics it is still difficult to conclude that two mean values are *significantly* different from each other. A different sample might produce a different result. Therefore, it is necessary to perform further computations in order to claim, at least with a certain level of probability, that two mean values are statistically different. Student's t-test (cf. Social Science Statistics 2022), developed by William Sealy Gosset under the pseudonym *Student*, is one such method.

Student's t-test involves a null hypothesis, which postulates that two values are not significantly different if the *calculated t value* is below a *reference t value* obtained from a t distribution graph/table for a particular probability of correctness and with a certain degree of freedom. Thus, in my study I have adopted the following –

Null Hypothesis: If $|t| > t_{p=0.95}$, the two mean values are significantly different,

where $t_{p=0.95}$ is the reference t value obtained from the t distribution graph/table for a confidence level of 95%, considering the appropriate degrees of freedom. The confidence level expresses that with a 95% probability it is correct to claim that the two values are significantly different if the calculated t value exceeds the reference t value obtained from the table.

$|t|$ is the calculated t value for two samples of data. It can be obtained using the following equation,

$$|t| = \left| \frac{\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2}{\sqrt{\left(\frac{(n_1-1)s_1^2 + (n_2-1)s_2^2}{n_1 + n_2 - 2} \right) \left(\frac{1}{n_1} + \frac{1}{n_2} \right)}} \right| \quad (\text{Eq. 5})$$

In equation (Eq. 5),

$\bar{x}_i$ = the mean value of the i-th sample

s_i = the standard deviation of the i-th sample

n_i = the number of frequency of the i-th sample

Here, $i = 1, 2$ for the first (male) and second (female) samples respectively. Well-accepted values are: the degree of freedom, $df = (n_1 + n_2 - 2)$, and the confidence level = 95%, i.e., $p = 0.95$. The tables for obtaining reference t values are available online in many sources. In my calculation, I have used the Stat Trek (2022) website for obtaining reference t values for the involved degree of freedom and 95% confidence.

In order to illustrate the calculation of the Student's t values, let us consider the data sets of the NStE variants of feature 56 for male and female students as follows:

Table 30: NStE average and standard deviation of both groups for feature 56

Gender Group	$\bar{x}$	S	n
Male	1.010822511	1.1760101	462
Female	0.947619048	1.100700663	210

Then, Student's t value is calculated as,

$$|t| = \frac{1.010822511 - 0.947619048}{\sqrt{\left(\frac{(462-1)*1.1760101^2 + (210-1)*1.100700663^2}{462+210-2} \right) \left(\frac{1}{462} + \frac{1}{210} \right)}} = 0.658628058$$

In this case, the degree of freedom, $df = n_1 + n_2 - 2 = 462 + 210 - 2 = 670$.

Using the online t value calculator from Stat Trek (2022) for $df = 670$, the reference t value is found to be,

$$t_{.95} = 1.647.$$

Clearly, $|t| < t_{.95}$. Therefore, it can be stated that the two average values do not differ significantly. From our research point of view, it can be said that in

perspective of feature 56, there is no significant difference in adopting NStE variant between male and female students.

5.3 Presentation of Survey Results

Calculated averages over all the responses for each feature provide representative numeric values. For all features they are listed in Appendix – C. However, these values are not user-friendly enough when the question of intuitive comparison among different variants and features arises. A graphical presentation of those average values fills that gap between the numerical values and its easily perceivable appearance to the users.

I have used dot plot as the graphical format to present the averages. Dot plots are widely used for presenting statistical information, because of their simplicity, clarity, and powerful expressiveness. In my work I have used a template provided by Sönning (2016) to automatically obtain dot plots by manually entering the feature text along with the averages obtained from a PivotTable in Excel, as calculated following the instructions in section 5.2.

After entering the variants Non-standard and Standard, along with their average usage values; i.e., 0.991 and 1.982 respectively for NStE and StE variants, as calculated in section 5.2.2, we obtain the dot plot of Figure 2:

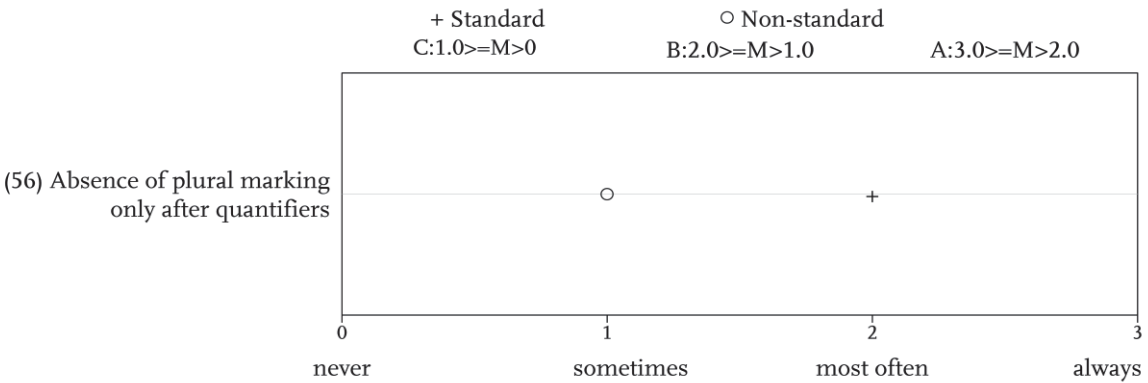


Figure 2: Dot plot corresponding to the data entered in the template

The numbers representing average usage levels appear as + and O for StE and NStE variants respectively. Three different ranges, namely A, B and C are defined based on the average usage level or mean value, M (for details, please refer to section 6.1.1). Thus from Figure 2 it is easily recognizable that for this particular feature the survey participants use the StE variant more often than the NStE variant.

I also use tables in order to summarize some information; e.g., t values and factors related to Schneider's dynamic model. An example of a table for presenting the t values is as follows (Table 31):

Table 31: Sample table for presenting Student's t values

Feature No.	Student's t Test (male vs. female of NStE usage)		
	t	$t_{.95}$	Difference Significant? $t > t_{.95}$?
1	...	...	...
...	...	...	...
7	0.658628058	1.647	NO
...	...	...	...

This table readily shows that for feature 56, there is no significant difference between male and female groups of participants in adopting NStE variant. Therefore, both groups contribute in similar extent to the creation of BngE, as far as this particular feature is concerned.

5.4 Statistical Caveats

The following potential limitations must be kept in mind regarding the data processing involved in this study:

- In the survey, information was collected from a total of 340 students. However, 4 of them were discarded because of incomplete responses. I assume that the discarded number of responses is insignificant, and therefore, it does not influence the outcome of the answers to the research focus of this thesis.
- In every question there is an *other* option, which provides some freedom to the survey participants, if they want to use any other sentence than the provided sentences for StE and NStE variants. However, during the analysis and statistical calculation I have either discarded or merged the responses mentioned in this option. First of all, only a few of the participants chose this option. Some of them only used the tick mark without specifying anything, while a few of them wrote an answer that can be accepted as an existing response from the grammatical structure point of view. For example, if one question has the options *I like it* and *I am liking it*, then the responses *I love it* and *I am loving it* in the *other* option are counted as *I like it* (StE) and *I am liking it* (NStE), respectively.

- For statistical calculations, NStE and BngE are combined for feature 60. This is done mainly to facilitate the comparison between StE and *any* non-standard variant. BngE is also an NStE variety, and therefore, the combination is justified.
- Sample size is always a big concern when statistical computations are involved. In this study I have collected data from 340 informants, and eventually 336 of them have been used in statistical calculations. In the field of linguistic study, this is neither a huge nor a small sample size. I consider it as a good enough sample size for the scope of a PhD thesis.
- Another important aspect of this study is the difference in the sample sizes between male and female students. Out of the 336 participants there are 105 females and 231 males. Thus, the number of male students is more than double the number of female students. In the case of the research question RQ2, the difference between these two groups is investigated. I assume that the average values obtained for both groups provide a good representativeness in spite of the difference in their sample sizes. Moreover, to a great extent the *t* test irons out such errors due to differences in sample sizes.
- In my statistical calculations, I assigned numerical values to the four levels of responses, namely, *always* = 3, *most often* = 2, *sometimes* = 1, and *never* = 0. However, the distances between two consecutive levels may not be exactly the same as the difference between those consecutive numbers. Usually a higher granularity is expected to become more representative of the survey participants' ratings. For example, I could have asked participants to rate the usage of the examples as percentage values. However, that might hamper the intuitiveness of the responses, as the participants might get caught in calculating the *numbers*. In order to answer the research questions, I do not need numbers with such high precision; rather an approximation or tendency of usage suffices.
- Theoretically, the average values of usage of StE and NStE – ignoring the responses in the *other* option – should add up to result in a perfect 3.0. However, that is usually not the case, as is revealed in the example used in this chapter. The sum of StE (1.982) and NStE (0.991) usage is 2.973. In reality, a respondent may actually select options like *most often* for StE and *never* for NStE, *sometimes* for both StE and NStE etc., while in ideal cases combinations like *always-never*, *most often-sometimes* etc. are

expected. This is also demonstrated in the example 56b of Table 26, where both the ratings have the value *sometimes*. I have accepted the responses as they are, instead of trying to fit them in order to make them perfectly complementary. This is evident also from Table 36, which shows that the sums of StE and NStE averages are very close to 3.0.

- I have used two items for each feature in order to obtain statistically more reliable results. It is assumed that the increase in the number of items for a particular feature makes the result more reliable. However, it is also possible that individual items exhibit significantly different results. This issue will be briefly addressed in section 6.1.3. However, in the largest part of this study such fine-grained differences between the individual items of each feature are ignored.

5.5 Summary

This chapter has provided a brief description of the survey data and the procedure of their statistical computation so that they can be presented in a visually accessible way to draw conclusions regarding the research questions. The information provided in this section can be summarized as:

- The survey data collected from 336 participants have been manually entered in an Excel sheet, resulting in 31584 rows. This entry process was quite tedious and error-prone. It was performed with extra care, because erroneous inputs would produce inaccurate results in further processing.
- Usage levels are assigned numerical values; i.e., 3, 2, 1, and 0 for *always*, *most often*, *sometimes*, and *never* respectively. Afterwards, arithmetic means are calculated for each feature and for each of its variants.
- t values have been calculated for NStE usage by male and female participants for each feature in order to investigate whether a significant difference is observed in perspective of genders of the English users in Bangladesh.
- The arithmetic means are presented in the graphical form using dot plots. I used the data collected for feature 56 in order to explain the procedure. However, it is possible to present a number of features collectively in a dot plot. The interpretation of such plots will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6 while answering the research questions.

-
- Detailed results of the computation; i.e., arithmetic means, standard deviations and t values for the NStE variant of all features for both male and female participants are presented in Table 46 (Appendix - C).

6 Results and Interpretations

The survey results of my research have been collected following a systematic methodology, as presented in Chapter 4, and they have been processed using statistical methods and graph-generating tools, as described in Chapter 5. In this chapter I present the research results in a way that helps to derive answers to the research questions listed in Table 1 of section 3.1.3. I follow a common strategy in my presentation. First of all, I describe the criteria that can be applied to the research results in order to answer the research questions. Then I present the results in the form of dot plots and tables. Afterwards, I provide an interpretation of the results, a comparison with my initial hypotheses to decide whether they are supported or rejected, and a possible explanation for the observed result.

6.1 Existence of Bangladeshi English

This section is dedicated to answering the first research question, RQ1 (Table 1). A set of criteria can work as a guideline to identify the influence of Bengali (L1) on the spoken English among the university students of Bangladesh. The obtained results, in graphical form, are presented separately for each of the feature groups, as well as collectively for all the features. Afterwards, a detailed discussion provides insight from the results in keeping with the first research goal; i.e., investigation on the existence of BngE. I also point out some reasons that might have influenced the observed results.

6.1.1 Criteria to Establish the Existence of BngE

The existence of BngE is established through the usage of NStE variant of the concerned language features. In general, the English used by the participants is shaped not only by their native languages but also by NStEs that have a global reach and influence. This is particularly true when the participants concerned are in close contact with the world media. However, for all but only one of the features considered in my work the BngE variants depict more or less the same characteristics as the NStE variants. In the absence of any influence of the native language Bengali, the spoken English of Bangladeshi students should perfectly reflect the usage of the StE variant, at least for these features. Therefore, a zero influence; or non-existence is indicated by a 0% (*never*) usage of the NStE variant, and consequently 100% (*always*) refers to the existence of only the NStE variant. Any average usage level of NStE greater than 0% indicates some kind of influence. The higher is the average, the higher is the influence, and consequently the higher is the possibility of the presence of BngE.

In the graphical presentation using dot plots like Figure 2 of chapter 5.3, the location of the symbol of the Non-standard variant (○) is closely observed. In case of zero existence of BngE, it should reside at the left extreme of the plot (at 0 value). The more it moves towards the right, the presence is higher. If ○ moves further than + (symbol for StE variant), we can say that the BngE variant not only exists but also dominates the StE variant.

The level of influence is discussed as a qualitative aspect looking at the position of the symbol for NStE (○). However, in my discussion I roughly use the following ranges to discuss the level of influence of BngE:

Table 32: Defining ranges of influence of BngE on English spoken by Bangladeshi students

Average Value	Level of Influence	Range Marker
0	no influence	C
0+ to 0.5	minor influence	
0.5+ to 1.0	minor to moderate influence	
1.0+ to 1.5	moderate influence	B
1.5+ to 2.0	moderate to strong influence	
2.0+ to 3.0	strong influence	A

The quantification in different ranges is my own approximation in order to provide some sort of comparative characteristics among the L1 influences of different features. They should not be expected as a hard and fast rule. For example, someone else could perceive the location of the ○ symbol (NStE average) anywhere between 0.5 and 2.5 as a *moderate* influence. Moreover, the extent to which structures in Bengali grammar directly influence the structures of spoken English likely varies from one grammatical phenomenon to another, and in some cases, the influence might be minimal. There are factors like individual learners' cognitive abilities, and general principles of language acquisition, e.g., overgeneralization, learning difficulties, learning habits etc. also play vital roles. However, the features selected in my study have notable structural similarities with the grammatical rules of Bengali. Therefore, I assume that these ratings represent the influence of BngE, although this is not the only factor that creates a new language variety.

6.1.2 Results Obtained and Evidence of Existence or Non-Existence of BngE

The grammatical features considered in this thesis are divided into five groups, namely, Pronouns, Noun Phrases, Tense and Aspect, Agreement, and Discourse and Word Order. The results are presented and discussed group-wise

in order to readily compare the behavior of different features within the same group.

Pronouns

In the group concerning the usage of pronouns there are five features. The average usage levels of both StE and NStE variants of these features are presented in Figure 3.

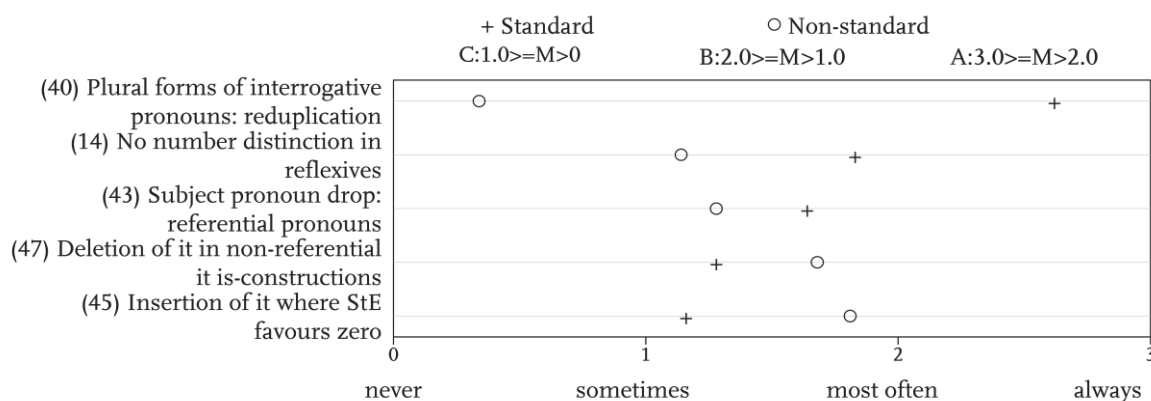


Figure 3: Averages of responses for the features in the pronouns group

In this presentation I have arranged the features in an ascending order of NStE usage from the top to the bottom of the plot.

For feature 40 it is evident that there is minor usage of the NStE version of the translation. Since it is still greater than zero, I consider it as an L1 influence; however, the influence is minimal. The survey participants overwhelmingly prefer the StE variant compared to the NStE variant. For example, for the Bengali sentence *কে কে এসেছিলো?*, they are much more likely to use the grammatically correct variant; i.e., *Who came?* instead of the sentence *Who who came?* In Bengali, reduplication of pronouns is widely used to indicate plurals, while in English pronouns like *who* and *what* indicate both singular and plural. It looks as if the survey participants are well aware of this particular rule, and therefore, the L1 influence can be considered only minimal among the survey participants.

The influence of Bengali on the spoken English of Bangladeshi students is observed to a much higher extent in case of feature 14, which addresses the issue of ignoring number distinctions in reflexive pronouns in NStE. The level of usage of the NStE variant almost catches up with that of the StE variant. People still use the StE variant to a greater extent than the NStE variant, implying that the L1 influence is still not very strong, although it is certainly

present. For example, as a translation of the Bengali sentence আমরা নিজে সব কাজ করি, the survey participants are almost equally likely to use both the standard variant; i.e., *We do all the work ourselves*, and the non-standard variant that reflects similarity with the grammar of Bengali; i.e., *We do all the work ourself*. It can be concluded that the L1 influence for this feature is neither negligible nor very strong.

A similar level of influence is observed also for feature 43. In Bengali, subjects are often induced from the verb and the context, and therefore, they can be dropped without sacrificing the grammatical correctness of sentences. Bangladeshi university students are almost equally likely to use the grammatically correct variant of standard written English, and the variant influenced by Bengali in the case of dropping referential pronouns. For example, some of them will use *Do you have tickets? No, I sold them already* and some others use *Do you have tickets? No, sold them already* as the translation of the Bengali sentence pair তোমার কাছে টিকিটগুলো আছে? না, ওগুলো বিক্রি করে দিয়েছি. Thus, this feature also exhibits a moderate L1 influence, although StE influence is still slightly more prominent.

Feature 47 shows a more pronounced L1 effect on the spoken English of Bangladeshi speakers. This feature addresses the deletion of *it* in non-referential *it is* constructions. While English needs to borrow the dummy pronoun *it*, dropping such pronouns is very common in Bengali. In fact, going by the result presented in Figure 3, we can conclude that a Bangladeshi English speaker is more likely to use the NStE/BngE sentence *Here is mostly farming* than the StE version *Here it is mostly farming* as a translation to the Bengali sentence এইখানে বেশীরভাগই কৃষিকাজ হয়. In this case the L1 effect is observed to be moderate.

Notably the effect is even stronger for feature 45, which demonstrates the use of an extra *it*, where in StE such *its* are not needed. Bengali uses টা/এটা (*it*) as an identifier similar to a definite article. However, Standard English favors dropping *it* in such cases. For example, a Bangladeshi English speaker might prefer using *As I made it clear before, I am going to talk about solutions, not problems* instead of *As I made clear before, I am going to talk about solutions, not problems* as a translation to the Bengali sentence যেমনটা আমি আগে স্পষ্ট করে বলেছি, আমি সমাধানের ব্যাপারে কথা বলবো, সমস্যা না. A glimpse at Figure 3 substantiates the hypothesis that the L1 effect in this case is moderate to high.

Noun Phrases

In Figure 4 I present the dot plot for the seven features taken from the Noun Phrase group.

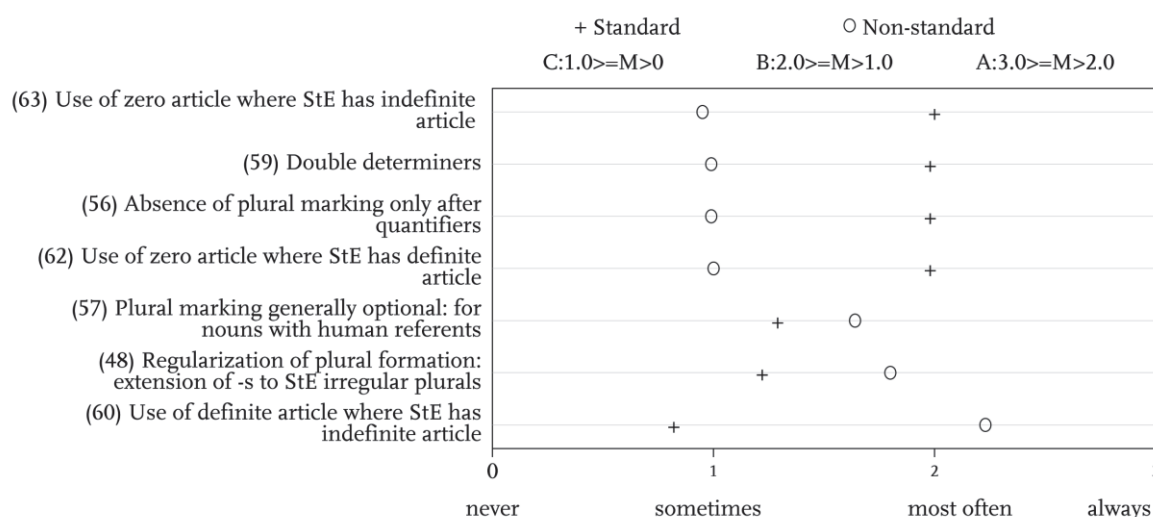


Figure 4: Averages of responses for the features in the noun phrases group

The features have been arranged in the order of ascending NStE levels. Four out of the seven features exhibit a very similar level of L1 influence. Although the StE usage is higher than the NStE usage, the L1 influence cannot be neglected; rather it is almost at the moderate level. Two features show moderate to strong L1 influence, while one of the seven features exhibits a high level of incidence of BngE.

Feature 59 concentrates on the use of double determiners. In Bengali the combination of possessive and demonstrative determiners occurs very often, while it should not happen in StE. Figure 4 demonstrates that a moderate number of Bangladeshi English speakers, influenced by their mother tongue, use the sentence *Our this common problem is very serious* instead of its StE version *Our common problem is very serious* as a translation for the Bengali sentence *আমাদের এই সচরাচর সমস্যাটা খুবই গুরুতর*.

Features 48, 56 and 57 address the use of plurals. Regarding feature 56, English requires plural marking even after quantifiers, while in Bengali such usage is considered a grammatical error. The L1 influence for this feature is observed to be almost at a moderate level. Thus, a considerable number of Bangladeshi English speakers use the sentence *Many star will appear today* as a translation of the Bengali sentence *আজকে অনেক তারা দেখা যাবে*, although the majority of the speakers would prefer the StE variant *Many stars will appear today*.

In the case of feature 57, which addresses the use of plural markings for human referents, L1 influence is more prominent. Thus more speakers would prefer using the NStE variant; e.g., *My aunts were brilliant student* than its StE variant *My aunts were brilliant students* as an equivalent of the Bengali sentence আমার খালারা মেধাবী ছাত্রী ছিলেন.

Feature 48 focuses on the over-generalization of plural marking. There are some irregular nouns that do not need plural marking with -s, -es etc. to express number. However, their corresponding Bengali words require plural markings with রা, গুলো etc. According to the result presented in Figure 4 the L1 influence is moderate to strong for this feature. Bangladeshi English speakers are likely to use the sentence *The sheeps are going to the south* more often than its StE variant *The sheep are going to the south* in order to express the Bengali sentence ভেড়াগুলো দক্ষিণ দিকে যাচ্ছে. This feature attests to a prominent presence of BngE among the survey participants.

Articles in English are central determiners. In contrast, Bengali is claimed to be an article-free language (Thompson 2012: 47). Definite-indefinite distinctions can be inferred often from the context, and sometimes using classifiers (see section 4.2.3.2 for details). For features 62 and 63, StE expects definite and indefinite articles, respectively. However, the NStE variant would involve dropping the articles completely, as is the case in Bengali grammar. Taking Figure 4 as the reference, it can be concluded that a moderate portion of the Bangladeshi English speakers would use the sentence *Asif is best boy of the class* instead of *Asif is the best boy of the class* for the Bengali sentence আসিফ ক্লাসের সেরা ছেলে (feature 62), and the sentence *Will you have little more rice?* instead of *Will you have a little more rice?* as a translation of the Bengali sentence তুমি কি আরেকটু ভাত নিবে? (feature 63). Whether it is a definite article or an indefinite article, Bangladeshi English speakers are likely to drop it at almost the same rate.

Feature 60 is a special case, where usual NStEs – according to eWAVE – employ the definite article where StE requires the indefinite article. However, a Bengali-influenced English speaker would use no article at all. Thus, for the Bengali sentence আমার ঠাণ্ডা লেগেছে, which can be correctly translated as *I got a cold*, many NStE speakers would use *I got the cold*. However, a Bangladeshi English speaker, who exhibits her L1 influence, would use *I got cold*. The overview in Figure 4 is obtained by adding up the NStE and the BngE numbers, and it shows a strong L1 influence. Figure 5 presents those numbers for StE and BngE separately.

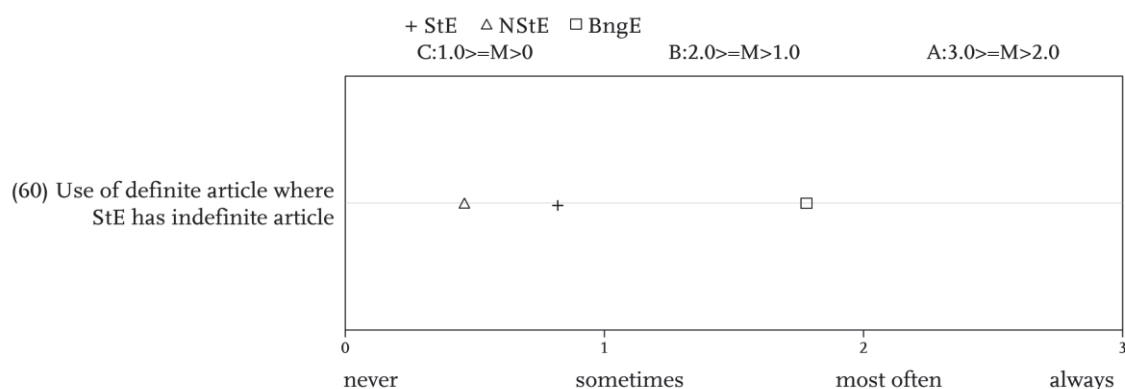


Figure 5: Averages of responses for feature 60 after separating NStE and BngE

Clearly, for feature 60 the study participants show much stronger affinity to using the BngE variant than either the StE or the usual NStE (eWAVE) variant. This indicates an undeniable and strong presence of BngE as far as this feature is concerned.

All the features selected in this study involve grammatical differences between Bengali and English. However, articles are one set of features where these differences are very prominent. It can be simply stated that Bengali does not use articles at all. Features 60, 62 and 63 capture the responses related to articles. Figure 4 shows that in the case of features 62 and 63 the respondents prefer the StE variant; i.e., use of no article at all. On the other hand, for feature 60, they overwhelmingly prefer the NStE variant; i.e., either the use of the 'wrong' article or no article at all. Therefore, I investigated these features further by considering the item-wise responses as presented in Table 33.

Table 33: Item-wise averages of article-related features

Features and Items	Variant of English		
	BngE	NStE	StE
60	1.774	0.451	0.821
10a	1.943	0.560	0.554
I got a cold.			0.554
I got cold.	1.943		
I got the cold.		0.560	
10b	1.604	0.342	1.089
Yesterday I had a toothache.			1.089
Yesterday I had the toothache.		0.342	
Yesterday I had toothache.	1.604		

62	0.997	1.961
12a	0.501	2.478
Asif is the best boy of the class.		2.478
Asif is best boy of the class.	0.501	
12b	1.491	1.446
Vocabulary is very important at elementary level.	1.491	
Vocabulary is very important at the elementary level.		1.446
63	0.949	2.000
11a	0.783	2.188
Then he thought, what about getting a girl [to marry] from Bangladesh?		2.188
Then he thought, what about getting girl [to marry] from Bangladesh?	0.783	
11b	1.116	1.812
Will you have a little more rice?		1.812
Will you have little more rice?	1.116	

The two items *12a* and *12b* for feature 62 differ significantly in their responses. As discussed later in section 6.1.3, a probable reason for using the definite article before *best boy* is that it is evident that this definitely refers to a particular student in the class, while respondents might be confused whether or not to use any article before *elementary level*. However, since *elementary* is neither a superlative nor restrictive, the article is not obligatory in StE, either. In case of feature 63 the respondents prefer using an indefinite article before *girl* probably because marriage involves one girl, while it is not so obvious whether to use any article before *little*. When averaged over two items, the combined result advocates for a preference for the StE variant. However, the exact preference may very well depend on the choice of example sentences.

The result with feature 60 is different. In this case the respondents overwhelmingly show their preference to drop the article for both the items. If we look closely at the examples used, both *cold* and *toothache* refer to diseases or physical discomfort. In this sense both the items are similar. The responses are also comparable to each other, indicating that the frequent use, in Standard British English, of the zero article with *toothache* in contrast to *cold*, does not have an effect on the order of preference of the three variants in *10a* and *10b* (see also Table 36). If a learner knows that an indefinite article is required for diseases that fall in the category of countable nouns, she will use the indefinite

article. Otherwise, she will omit it. There are differences between American and British English as well. For example, in American English most *aches* are countable nouns, while in British English they can be both countable and uncountable. To conclude the topic, I would take the stance that the exact response of choosing the StE or NStE variant depends on the particular example. If the learner knows the grammatical rule, she will choose the StE variant; otherwise she is more likely to omit the article. In the context of research question 1, this however means that for Bangladeshi English speakers, a significant L1 influence is expected, and thus a Bangladeshi variety of English is present as far as *articles* are concerned.

Tense and Aspect

The dot plot summarizing the results for the Tense and Aspect group is presented in Figure 6.

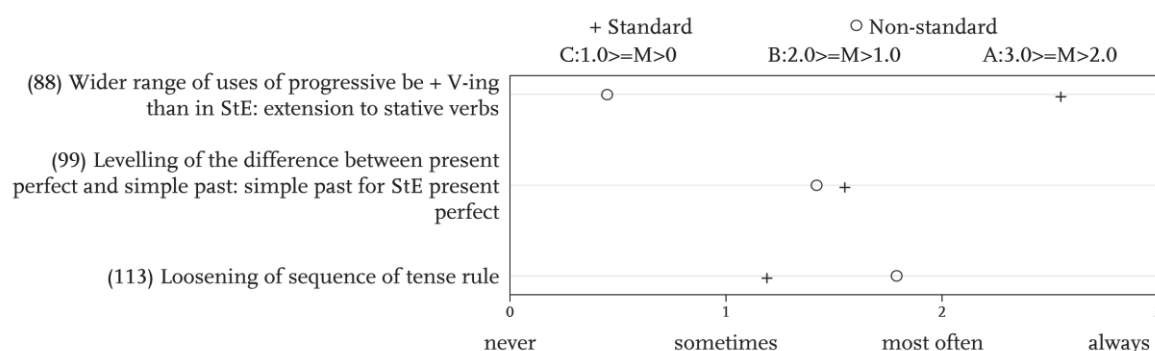


Figure 6: Averages of responses for the features in the tense and aspect group

Feature 88 is concerned with the use of the *be* + *V-ing* form with stative verbs. Since a stative verb expresses a state or a quality instead of an action, the StE variant does not require progressive use. However, using the progressive form is very common in Bengali even in the case of stative verbs. Figure 6 suggests that the influence of Bengali on Bangladeshi English speakers is not very prominent in this respect, although it is not completely absent either. Thus a small portion of Bangladeshi speakers are likely to use *What are you wanting?* instead of *What do you want?* as a translation of the Bengali sentence *তুমি কি চাইতেছো?*

Feature 99 illustrates a case with a moderate level of presence of BngE. StE prefers using the present perfect instead of the simple past for events that happened in the past, but whose results are still present. In Bengali such differences are leveled out. When influenced by L1, Bangladeshi English speakers would use both versions equally. Figure 6 indicates that almost half of

the students prefer using the NStE version (past form); e.g., *I already read the novel*, while the remaining half would prefer the StE version *I have already read the novel* for the Bengali sentence আমি এর মধ্যে বইটি পড়েছি. Looking at the position of the NStE symbol (○) the L1 influence is considered to be moderate. However, considering the fact that Bengali does not differentiate strongly between present perfect and simple past in this case, speakers influenced only by the Bengali grammar would exhibit almost equal probability of using both versions. So, arguably I can consider this result as a strong presence of BngE for this particular feature.

Feature 113 addresses the tense correspondence between the principal clause and the subordinate clause in a complex sentence. Unlike English, Bengali is not strict in imposing this correspondence. In fact, in most cases the form of tense depends solely on the individual clause itself. Figure 6 shows a moderate to strong presence of BngE regarding this feature. Thus, more Bangladeshi English speakers are expected to use the NStE variant *He decided that he will buy the car* than the StE variant *He decided that he would buy the car* as a translation for the Bengali sentence সে সিদ্ধান্ত নিয়েছে যে সে গাড়িটি কিনবে.

Agreement

The average usage levels of NStE and StE variants for the four features taken from the Agreement group are presented in Figure 7.

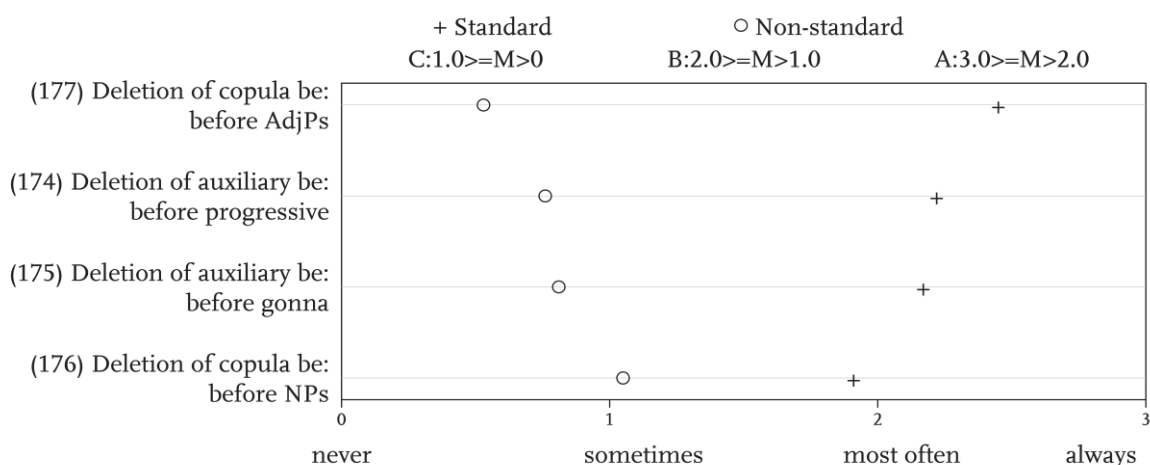


Figure 7: Averages of responses for the features in the agreement group

All the features in this figure concern the dropping of the verb *be* in case of NStE usage. For feature 174, the deletion of auxiliary *be* in the progressive can be demonstrated by the NStE usage *They coming tomorrow night* instead of the StE version *They are coming tomorrow night* for the Bengali sentence তারা আগামীকাল

রাতে আসবে. Feature 175 addresses the omission of the verb *be* before *gonna*. Thus, for the Bengali sentence আমি এখন এটা করতে যাচ্ছি, which can be translated as *I am gonna do it now*, an NStE user would prefer using *I gonna do it now*.

For feature 177, the deletion of copula *be* before adjectives can be observed in the NStE usage *My baby very healthy now* instead of the StE version *My baby is very healthy now* for the Bengali sentence আমার বাচ্চা এখন অনেক সুস্থ. The NStE sentence leaves out *is* before the adjective *very*. Feature 176 addresses the same issue; but before a noun phrase instead of an adjective. Thus, a speaker influenced by BngE would translate the Bengali sentence আমি বারোজন অতিথী দেখেছি, প্রত্যেকেই একজন ডক্টর as *I saw twelve guests, each a doctor*, while a possible StE translation would be *I saw twelve guests, each is a doctor*.

Figure 7 clearly shows that for all four features in this group there is a low to moderate level of L1 influence. However, most of the Bangladeshi speakers would still use the grammatically standard versions. Clearly a BngE usage exists for these features, although the presence is still not very strong.

Discourse and Word Order

The results for the four features in this group are presented in Figure 8.

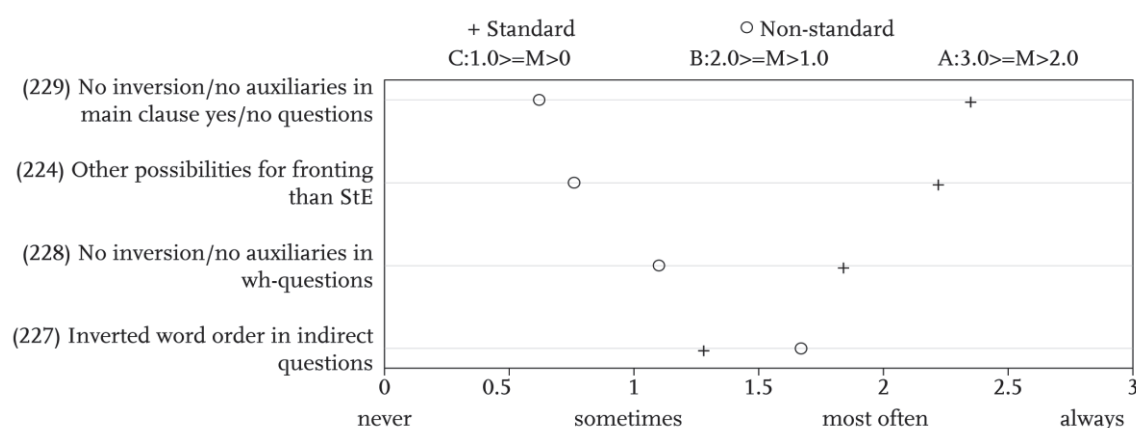


Figure 8: Averages of responses for the discourse and word order group

The features have been arranged in an ascending order of L1 influence. Feature 228 addresses the issue of dropping or not inverting auxiliaries in *wh*-questions. While in Standard English, auxiliaries must be brought before the subject to form a *wh*-question, such behavior is absent in many NStE varieties as well as in Bengali. Thus, a Bangladeshi English speaker might use *What he wants?* (NStE/BngE) instead of *What does he want?* (StE) for the Bengali sentence সে কি চায়?. Feature 229 addresses the same issue in the case of *yes/no* questions. The

Bengali sentence *তুমি কি ক্রিকেট পছন্দ করো?* would translate into *You like cricket?* instead of the grammatically correct version *Do you like cricket?* by a Bangladeshi speaker influenced by her native language. According to Figure 8, this influence is at a minor to moderate level.

Since in Bengali the use of auxiliaries is completely absent, features 228 and 229 deserve special attention. Therefore, I would like to investigate the item-wise responses for these features, as presented in Table 34.

Table 34: Item-wise averages of auxiliaries related features

Features and Items	Variant of English		
	BngE	NStE	StE
228		1.098	1.844
22a		1.077	1.872
What does Shujon want?			1.872
What Shujon wants?		1.077	
22b		1.119	1.815
Where in Dhaka do you live?			1.815
Where in Dhaka you live?		1.119	
229		0.621	2.344
23a		0.551	2.402
Do you like cricket?			2.402
You like cricket?		0.551	
23b		0.690	2.286
Do you live in Mirpur?			2.286
You live in Mirpur?		0.690	

The sentences used in both items for each feature are comparable to each other. Feature 228 addresses the use of auxiliaries in case of *wh*-questions, while 229 addresses the problem with the formation of questions without having *wh*-elements. Bangladeshi learners become aware at the elementary level that a question requires an inversion or an auxiliary verb in such cases. This awareness helps them to largely overcome the effect of their native language for these features. However, if we inspect the results closely, features 228 and 229 are notably different in the level of this awareness. In the case of 229, the absence of any *wh*-question word forces respondents to choose the StE variant to a larger extent compared to 228, where the presence of a *wh*-question word likely eclipses the need of an auxiliary verb. Thus a BngE variant for both of these features exists, although not very prominently.

A similar level of L1 influence is observed for feature 224 as well. This feature addresses word order in a sentence. In English, the sequence of sentence constituents is observed in most of the cases. However, like many NStE varieties, Bengali exhibits numerous possibilities of word order within a sentence. For example, a Bangladeshi English speaker might use the NStE variant *That boy is from which school?* besides the variant *From which school that boy is?* for the Bengali sentence *ঐ ছেলেটি কোন স্কুল থেকে এসেছে?*. It is worth mentioning that even this particular Bengali sentence itself can take a number of grammatically correct word orders; e.g., *কোন স্কুল থেকে এসেছে ওই ছেলেটি?* (Which school from is.3.P-S that boy.CL) is equally correct. According to Figure 8, this feature exhibits the presence of BngE; but not strongly. Since none of the two versions is a good representative of StE, however, the item will come under closer scrutiny in section 6.1.3.

A much stronger L1 influence is observed in the case of feature 227, which also addresses word order; however, in the case of indirect questions. In English the order of subject and verb does not need to be inverted. For example, the Bengali sentence *সে কি কাজ করে আমি তাকে প্রশ্ন করি নি* can be correctly translated in StE as *I did not ask him what work he does*, while a speaker exhibiting NStE/BngE characteristic may use *I did not ask him what work does he do*. The results presented in Figure 8 suggest that a BngE usage exists at a moderate to strong level in the case of this feature.

Overall Situation

Figure 9 provides an overview of the overall picture in the perspective of all the features considered in this study.

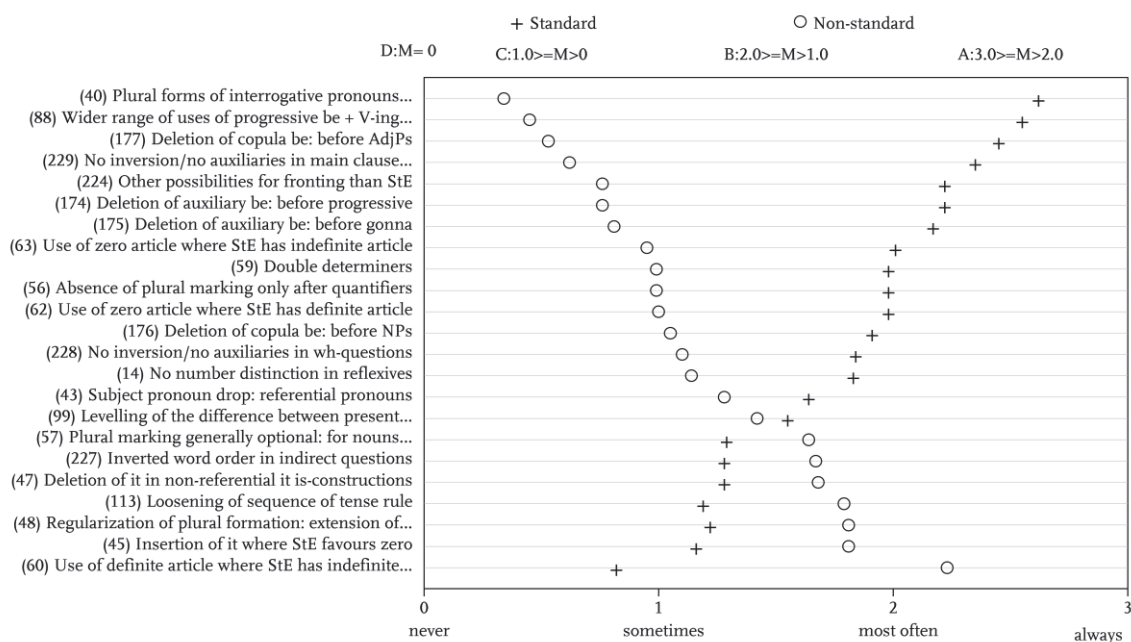


Figure 9: Average usages of StE and NStE for all the features employed in this study, arranged in ascending order of NStE usage

Evidently, each feature exhibits the existence of BngE usage among Bangladeshi English speakers. However, the level of influence varies between different features. Two features show very minimal influence, while a majority of the features, i.e., thirteen of them, demonstrate the influence at a moderate level. The existence of BngE is observed at a higher than moderate level for six of the features. The remaining features, i.e., 99 and 60 exhibit strong evidence of the existence of a BngE. Recall the earlier discussion that although the NStE and StE usages for feature 99 are almost equal, I consider it a strong influence because the exact behavior is in line with the Bengali language. Feature 60 is also a special case, where the total NStE number is hugely influenced by the direct grammatical rules of Bengali. Even if we separate the responses of NStE from BngE, it is observed that the survey participants overwhelmingly prefer the BngE variant. Thus, Bangladeshi speakers prefer completely dropping articles (features 60, 62, and 63) instead of using either correct or wrong ones.

Comparison with Englishes of Neighboring Countries

In order to obtain a comparative picture of BngE with some of the neighboring Englishes, I consider the pervasiveness ratings of the features surveyed in IndE, ButlE, IndSAfE, PakE and SrLE according to eWAVE. IndE, PakE and SrLE are influenced by the dominating native languages in those countries, e.g., Hindi, Urdu and Singhala. Like Bengali, all of them are Indo-Aryan languages. Moreover, Bengali, Hindi and Urdu share a common Indo-Aryan vocabulary

base and very similar phonology and syntax, making them mutually intelligible in colloquial speech. More precisely, the nearest common source of these languages is Sanskrit.

ButlE is a pidgin spoken in India. ButlE is considered an early fossilized interlanguage. Although it originated during the British Empire in India, its speakers are not limited to one section of the society. Rather, Butler English is spoken by other speakers of India, like tourist guides, hotel boys etc. Quoting eWAVE (Varieties 54 -> Butler English),

ButlE is spoken by generally uneducated bilinguals knowing some English, such as guides showing foreign visitors around, market women selling wares to foreigners frequenting Indian markets, domestic staff of hotels, catering to tourists and upper-class Indians, domestic staff of prestigious clubs and other recreation centers, and domestic staff employed in racially mixed or westernized Indian households. And it is spoken in a very restricted set of domains: the domestic work-sphere domain, fixed locales like those of hotels, clubs and households, during fixed working hours to indicate the role-relationship of master and servant and to discuss limited topics.

The sources of IndSAfE are Asian/Indian migrants to South Africa. When slavery in the colonies was abolished, Asian migrant labor filled the gap caused by the emigration of formally enslaved people. India itself is a country with a vast number of languages. Therefore, those migrants did not have a common language to communicate among themselves. They did not have enough knowledge of English or any African language either. Due to the policy of apartheid, those Indian migrants or their children were not allowed to get in regular direct contact with first-language speakers of English descent. Under these circumstances, a Pidgin English has arisen, possibly influenced by many Indian languages.

Since the native speakers of both ButlE and IndSAfE are mostly Indian, I have taken these varieties into account, besides IndE, PakE and SrLE, to find varieties comparable with BngE. eWAVE indicates pervasiveness in order to describe to which extent each feature of NStE is used in the respective language variety. Pervasiveness ratings are provided by the eWAVE experts and contributors. However, there is no hard and fast rule for its calculation, and the contributors have used many different criteria in assigning a rating to the features. For example, Szmrecsanyi and Kortmann (2009) simply collected estimates from the writers of the survey articles in the Handbook of Varieties of English (Kortmann & Schneider 2004). The handbook contains survey articles by about 100 specialists, covering 60 Non-standard varieties of English. Szmrecsanyi and

Kortmann asked them how they would rate each of the 76 features for 46 varieties – those are the focus of Szmrecsanyi and Kortmann (2009) – in terms of pervasiveness. In my case, I consider the usage level of the selected NStE features as equivalent to pervasiveness as follows:

NStE Average	Pervasiveness
Avg = 0	D – attested absence of feature
$0 < \text{Avg} \leq 1.0$	C – feature exists, but is extremely rare
$1.0 < \text{Avg} \leq 2.0$	B – feature is neither pervasive nor extremely rare
$2.0 < \text{Avg}$	A – feature is pervasive or obligatory

Applying the above definition and using data from eWAVE, I obtain Table 35, which presents a comparative picture of the features that I have addressed in my thesis. The features are listed in ascending order of pervasiveness as obtained in my study.

Table 35: Comparison of BngE with neighboring Englishes

Feature No.	Grammatical Aspect	Pervasiveness					
		<i>BngE</i>	<i>IndE</i>	<i>ButlE</i>	<i>IndS AfE</i>	<i>PakE</i>	<i>SrLE</i>
40	Plural forms of interrogative pronouns: reduplication	C	A	A	A	D	B
88	Wider range of uses of progressive <i>be</i> + V-ing than in StE: extension to stative verbs	C	A	A	C	B	B
177	Deletion of copula <i>be</i> : before AdjPs	C	D	A	D	D	D
229	No inversion/no auxiliaries in main clause <i>yes/no</i> questions	C	A	A	A	B	B
224	Other possibilities for fronting than StE	C	A	B	A	?	D
174	Deletion of auxiliary <i>be</i> : before progressive	C	B	A	B	C	D
175	Deletion of auxiliary <i>be</i> : before <i>gonna</i>	C	B	B	D	D	D

63	Use of zero article where StE has indefinite article	C	A	B	B	B	B
59	Double determiners	C	A	B	D	C	C
56	Absence of plural marking only after quantifiers	C	B	D	B	D	D
62	Use of zero article where StE has definite article	C	A	B	B	B	B
176	Deletion of copula <i>be</i> : before NPs	B	C	A	D	?	D
228	No inversion/ no auxiliaries in <i>wh</i> -questions	B	A	A	A	B	D
14	No number distinction in reflexives	B	B	B	A	C	D
43	Subject pronoun drop: referential pronouns	B	A	B	B	B	B
57	Plural marking generally optional: for nouns with non-human referents	B	A	B	D	D	D
227	Inverted word order in indirect questions	B	A	A	A	B	C
47	Deletion of <i>it</i> in non-referential <i>it</i> is-constructions	B	B	B	D	C	C
113	Loosening of sequence of tenses rule	B	A	B	A	C	B
48	Regularization of plural formation: extension of -s to StE irregular plurals	B	A	A	A	?	D
45	Insertion of <i>it</i> where StE favours zero	B	A	B	C	B	C
60 ¹⁰	Use of definite article where StE has indefinite article	A	A	B	D	B	D

¹⁰ The actual realization of this feature in my collected data is a zero article, because Bengali drops the article completely instead of using the nonstandard article.

99 ¹¹	Levelling of the difference between present perfect and simple past: simple past for StE present perfect	A	D	C	A	B	B
------------------	--	---	---	---	---	---	---

The sign ? indicates that no information on this feature is available for the particular variety.

Looking at Table 35, one can readily conclude that for most of the features, BngE has higher pervasiveness ratings than PakE and SrLE, while IndE, ButLE and IndSAfE tend to surpass BngE in pervasiveness. As mentioned earlier, the assignment of pervasiveness rating depends on the eWAVE contributors; and achieving a precise comparison is difficult. However, it certainly provides an overall picture. Interestingly, even PakE and SrLE are well-recognized English varieties and are also present in the eWAVE maps. Although BngE tends to show more pervasive features, it is still not well-known worldwide, mainly due to the lack of research data. It is also absent from the eWAVE atlas. My work can be a cornerstone in putting at least the 23 language features considered on the eWAVE map, and thus introducing the BngE to the map of world Englishes.

6.1.3 A Deep Dive into the Data – Inspection of Individual Items

As mentioned in section 4.3, in this study I used two examples (items) for each feature to make the analysis statistically more reliable. This serves the purpose of the study; i.e., establishing the characteristic of BngE for that particular feature by minimizing the effect of any particular item. However, in the process of averaging over multiple items for the same feature we lose the details of individual items. For example, if the two items vary – which they can for various reasons –, then the combined result may not always depict the true picture. They might mask important differences, and even lead to the wrong conclusion. From that perspective, I will present the averages obtained for individual items of each feature in Table 36.

¹¹Although the average value of NStE falls in the range for B, the pervasiveness is listed here as A for the reason explained earlier in this section. The observed behavior almost perfectly fits the expectation from a major influence of BngE.

Table 36: Item-wise averages of StE and NStE use for each feature

Features and Items	Variant of English		Standard	Total
	BngE	Non-standard		
14		1.134	1.826	2.960
1a		1.033	1.920	2.952
1b		1.235	1.732	2.967
40		0.336	2.619	2.955
2a		0.429	2.500	2.929
2b		0.244	2.738	2.982
43		1.277	1.640	2.917
3a		1.089	1.827	2.917
3b		1.464	1.452	2.917
45		1.782	1.158	2.940
4a		1.656	1.281	2.937
4b		1.907	1.036	2.943
47		1.662	1.282	2.943
5a		1.645	1.301	2.946
5b		1.679	1.262	2.940
48		1.780	1.216	2.996
6a		1.423	1.571	2.994
6b		2.137	0.860	2.997
56		0.991	1.982	2.973
7a		0.946	2.027	2.973
7b		1.036	1.938	2.973
57		1.624	1.349	2.973
8a		1.500	1.470	2.970
8b		1.749	1.228	2.976
59		0.988	1.970	2.958
9a		1.176	1.779	2.955
9b		0.801	2.161	2.961
60	1.774	0.451	0.821	3.046
10a	1.943	0.560	0.554	3.057
10b	1.604	0.342	1.089	3.036
62		0.997	1.961	2.958
12a		0.501	2.478	2.979
12b		1.491	1.446	2.938
63		0.949	2.000	2.949
11a		0.783	2.188	2.970

11b	1.116	1.812	2.928
88	0.443	2.536	2.979
13a	0.497	2.488	2.985
13b	0.390	2.583	2.973
99	1.417	1.549	2.966
14a	1.557	1.408	2.964
14b	1.277	1.690	2.967
113	1.769	1.183	2.952
15a	1.774	1.182	2.955
15b	1.765	1.185	2.949
174	0.760	2.212	2.972
16a	0.958	2.000	2.958
16b	0.561	2.424	2.985
175	0.801	2.162	2.963
17a	0.857	2.092	2.949
17b	0.744	2.232	2.976
176	1.039	1.905	2.943
18a	0.821	2.116	2.937
18b	1.256	1.693	2.949
177	0.522	2.443	2.966
19a	0.463	2.496	2.958
19b	0.582	2.391	2.973
224	0.753	2.199	2.952
20a	0.358	2.609	2.967
20b	1.150	1.787	2.937
227	1.656	1.279	2.934
21a	1.666	1.245	2.910
21b	1.646	1.313	2.958
228	1.098	1.844	2.942
22a	1.077	1.872	2.949
22b	1.119	1.815	2.935
229	0.621	2.344	2.964
23a	0.551	2.402	2.952
23b	0.690	2.286	2.976

In this table *a* and *b* denote the two items (examples) used for each feature. Evidently the average for any particular feature is calculated as the mean value of the items corresponding to that feature. For example, feature 14 has two

items, namely *1a* and *1b*. Each item has two – with the exception of feature 60, which has three – sentences corresponding to the StE and NStE variants (and feature 60 has an additional BngE variant). The NStE average for items *1a* and *1b* are 1.033 and 1.235, respectively. Thus the average NStE use for feature 14 is calculated as the arithmetic mean of these two values; i.e., 1.135. The same procedure applies for the StE variant. The *Total* column should ideally have a value of 3. Although these values are close to 3.0, these are not perfect 3.0, because survey participants do not always use complementary values like {*always*, *never*}, {*sometimes*, *most often*} for NStE and StE variants, as explained in section 5.4.

Based on the results presented in Table 36 the features can be divided in three categories, namely,

- 1) Features with similar responses
- 2) Features with significantly different responses
- 3) Features with StE/NStE reversed¹² responses

In this case, categories 1 and 2 are mutually exclusive, while category 3 includes items from category 1 or 2.

Features with similar responses:

Features with similar responses exhibit comparable StE and NStE averages for both items *a* and *b*. As a measure of ‘similarity’ I have adopted the arbitrary number of 0.5; i.e., features which have averages with a difference of less than 0.5 for both the items fall in this category. Inspecting Table 36 we can list such features; e.g., 14, 40, 43, 45, 47, 56, 57, 59, 60, 63, 88, 99, 113, 174, 175, 176, 177, 227, 228 and 229. Thus this category comprises 20 out of 23 features, which supports the assumption that for most of the features the items are comparable to each other, and the combined result is a good representative of individual items. It may be argued why the tolerance of 0.5 has been chosen and not something smaller or larger. However, this is an arbitrary number adopted to accommodate a reasonable difference while neglecting minor differences. Since these items are in pair-wise accordance, a deeper analysis is not deemed necessary for the purpose of this study.

¹² This category refers to the features for which the StE usage dominates in one example (a), while the NStE usage is more prominent in the other example (b).

Features with significantly different responses:

More interesting are the three features, namely 48, 62 and 224, where we find significant differences in the averages of the two items. In the following these features will be investigated in further detail, presenting also the associated examples used for them.

Table 37: Examples of Feature 48 - Regularization of plural formation: extension of -s to StE irregular plurals

Average of rating_numeric	Variety of English		
Features and Items	BngE	Non-standard	Standard
48	1.780		1.216
6a	1.423		1.571
Our children go to school.			1.571
Our childrens go to school.	1.423		
6b	2.137		0.860
The sheep are going to the South.			0.860
The sheeps are going to the South.	2.137		

Table 37 shows the examples used in collecting data for feature 48, where the rightmost column shows the StE averages and the next one presents the NStE averages like Table 36. The StE averages of items 6a (1.571) and 6b (0.860) differ by a significant value of 0.711. It is evident that the survey participants tend to use the grammatically correct (StE) variants “Our children go to school” rather than “The sheep are going to the South“. In this case, both of the words *children* and *sheep* are irregular plurals. Moreover, both of them are used in most, if not all, standard varieties of English. However, there is a notable difference in the construction of these irregular plurals. The word *sheep* refers to both singular and plural, while the word *children* refers to the plural of *child*. Therefore, the plural marker is easily recognizable in the case of *children*, although a novice learner may still look for *childs* as the plural marker of *child*. The situation is trickier in the case of *sheep*. If a learner does not explicitly know that *sheep* is used for both singular and plural forms, the auxiliary verb *are* will force her to look for a plural form, and *sheeps* will become the obvious choice. This probably explains why a vast majority of respondents chose *sheeps* over *sheep*, while their choice between *child* and *children* was almost equally balanced.

Feature 62, as shown in Table 38, indicates a massive difference of StE (and eventually NStE) responses between the two items.

Table 38: Examples of Feature 62 - Use of zero article where StE has definite article

Average of rating_numeric Features and Items	Variety of English	
	BngE	Non- standard Standard
62		0.997 1.961
12a		0.501 2.478
Asif is the best boy of the class.		2.478
Asif is best boy of the class.		0.501
12b		1.491 1.446
Vocabulary is very important at elementary level.		1.491
Vocabulary is very important at the elementary level.		1.446

In this case, respondents strongly prefer the StE sentence “Asif is *the* best boy of the class” to the sentence that omits the definite article before *best*. In case of item 12b the participants do not show any particular preference to use the definite article before *elementary level*. In general, Bangladeshi students experience considerable difficulties learning and using appropriate articles, mainly because their mother tongue, i.e., Bengali, does not have articles. The examples used in this particular feature for the two items differ significantly, although both of them exhibit the use of definite articles. Bangladeshi English learners are quite aware that *best* is the superlative of the adjective *good*, and it denotes a distinct person or object. In case of this sentence there is no doubt that Asif is definitely the superior one among the students in the class. Thus they readily use the article *the* before *best boy*. This is demonstrated through the StE to NStE preference ratio of 2.478 to 0.501. However, the case with item 12b is notably different. A Bangladeshi English learner may very well be confused whether or not to use an article before the word *elementary* in this particular sentence. In particular, both options – with or without the article – can also be used in StE. Therefore, the response might be quite random, which is evident from the choice of StE and NStE variants by relatively close numbers of 1.491 and 1.446, respectively. Another notable observation for this particular item is that the total averages of StE and NStE account for only 2.938 (see Table 36). This indicates some kind of hesitancy among the survey participants in choosing a particular level (always, most often, sometimes, never) for a

particular sentence (StE or NStE). It might also indicate that they preferred a third option (other) besides the two provided examples. However, in this computation the *other* option was not taken into account, and this might be a possible source of this deviation from a perfect 3.0.

The third feature in this category is feature 224 as presented in Table 39 along with the examples used.

Table 39: Examples of feature 224 - Other possibilities for fronting than StE

Average of rating_numeric Features and Items	Variety of English		
	BngE	Non- standard	Standard
224		0.753	2.199
20a		0.358	2.609
Sometimes I speak English to my sister.			2.609
To my sister sometimes I speak English.		0.358	
20b		1.150	1.787
That boy is from which school?		1.150	
From which school that boy is?			1.787

This feature exhibits the influence of flexible word order in Bengali on spoken English by the survey participants. For item *20a* the StE version is preferred over the NStE one. I would hypothesize that the reason for this choice lies in the relative positions of the word *sometimes* and the phrase *to my sister*. *Sometimes*, being an adverb, is a qualifier of the verb *speak* and not of the object. Therefore, using it after *to my sister* might provide a sense of ‘mistake’ even to a Bangladeshi student, although word order is very flexible in Bengali. The difference between the responses to the items in *20b* is less prominent. This is probably due to an error that happened in the construction of the item, which was only noticed afterwards (see footnote 9). The question *From which school that boy is?* lacks the subject-auxiliary inversion that would be required in Standard English. As a result, participants had a choice between two non-standard variants, which led to less differentiated reactions. To account for the slight preference for the second item, my assumption is that the respondents expected the *wh*-question items at the beginning of a sentence, and therefore they considered the sentence starting with *From which* as more appropriate. The tendency for both items *20a* and *20b* is a more or less stable preference for the first versions (labelled ‘NStE’) in both cases. Therefore, the effect of this error on the evaluation of the data is only minimal.

Features with StE/NStE reversed responses:

There are some features for which the responses to the individual items differ in a way that one of the items shows more use of the StE variant and the other shows more use of the NStE variant. They belong to either of the above categories. I mention them separately in order to find the reasons for the discrepant answers to the research question “which variant – StE or NStE – is prominent for that feature?”, although any rating of the NStE version higher than 0.0 would attest to the influence of BngE according to the assumption of this study.

There are four features, namely 43, 48, 62 and 99 that fall in this category. Among them features 48 and 62 suffer from the examples used in them, as explained earlier in this section. For them the NStE averages differ significantly (by >0.5), which eventually reverses the trend to use StE to NStE and vice versa.

The item-wise result of feature 43 is presented in Table 40.

Table 40: Item-wise examples of feature 43 - Subject pronoun drop: referential pronouns

Average of rating_numeric Features and Items	Variety of English		
	BngE	Non- standard	Standard
43		1.277	1.640
3a		1.089	1.827
A. Do you have tickets? B. No, I sold them already.			1.827
A. Do you have tickets? B. No, sold them already.	1.089		
3b		1.464	1.452
A. Will Shahriar agree to getting married? B. Hope so.	1.464		
A. Will Shahriar agree to getting married? B. I hope so.			1.452

Dropping subject pronouns is very common in Bengali. However, when the Bangladeshi students learn English they get familiar with this difference, and thus they are expected to use the subject pronouns in their written English. Most of them practice the same also in their spoken English. This is evident from the response of 3a. In the case of 3b they almost equally prefer both StE and NStE variants. One notable difference between the two NStE examples is

that in *3a* the sentence starts with *No* before the subject drop occurs, while in *3b* the subject is dropped at the beginning of the sentence so that it starts with the verb *hope*. I would like to hypothesize that the use of subject drop in the middle of a sentence is less likely than at the beginning.

Feature 99, as shown in Table 41, shows the StE/NStE reversing characteristic at a minor level.

Table 41: Item-wise examples of feature 99 - Levelling of the difference between present perfect and simple past: simple past for StE present perfect

Average of rating_numeric Features and Items	Variety of English		
	BngE	Non- standard	Standard
99		1.417	1.549
14a		1.557	1.408
Have you ever ridden a bicycle?			1.408
Did you ever ride a bicycle?	1.557		
14b		1.277	1.690
I have already read the book.			1.690
I already read the book.	1.277		

In general Bangladeshi English speakers do not differentiate much between present perfect and simple past. Therefore, the use of both StE and NStE hovers around 1.5. In case of feature 99, the NStE averages for *14a* (1.408) and *14b* (1.69) are not far away from 1.5; but they are simply on both sides of this middle value. It is difficult to propose any possible reason for this minor difference.

The above discussion in this section certainly helps to look deeper into individual items. However, it does not change the main objective of this investigation. Despite the differences between the items of some of the features, all of the features point towards the influence of BngE on the spoken English of my study participants.

6.1.4 Probable Explanation of the Observed Behavior

The results discussed in section 6.1.2 demonstrate the existence of BngE, and thus it confirms the hypothesis of the first research question, RQ1. The effect is observed in all five feature areas. However, the extent of BngE influence varies considerably among different features. It certainly requires a detailed analysis of various factors like history, socio-economic conditions, educational background etc., in order to explain the reasons behind the behavior. Here I only present my

view from my experience with the education system of Bangladesh. Students in Bangladeshi schools are very much focused on learning grammar at a very early age. In fact, learning English is often synonymous to learning English grammar. In Bangladeshi schools, students rarely speak English, although they must learn grammatical rules and write examinations in English. Thus, it can be assumed that they become conscious of grammatical rules in their early phase of English education. This tends to guide them towards using the StE variant more often, even in their later lives, e.g., when they move to universities.

If the above assumption were unconditionally true, we would have seen similar stages of StE – and eventually NStE – variants for all the features. Practically that is not the case. One important reason is that not all grammatical rules are easy to learn. Many of them do not display a clear contrast with the native language Bengali. If the rule is transparent, there is a greater probability of the response being closer to StE. For example, grammatical rules like the avoidance of double interrogative pronouns, and the necessity of a verb after the subject are very easy to learn; and they also differ quite clearly from the Bengali grammar. Therefore, the students grasp them easily and thus use them in their conversations in later phases of their lives. This is probably the reason why a low NStE usage is observed for features 40 and 177. On the other hand, the use of appropriate prepositions or relevant articles is governed by complicated grammatical rules. Although the students know that their usage differs from Bengali grammar, they often become confused about using the *correct* preposition or articles. Their written English also contains related errors to a relatively large extent. When they start a conversation in English, they tend to either drop the usage or use the wrong article or preposition. This eventually would result in higher NStE usage in their spoken English. This behavior explains the high BngE value for feature 60. Another aspect of Bengali grammar with a big contrast with English is word order. It is very flexible in Bengali; while in English, word order is relatively strict. In the case of simpler sentences, students can easily apply the correct word order, while in the case of relatively complicated sentences, they do not find it so easy. This probably explains the low level of NStE responses for features 229 and 224, while NStE dominates StE in the case of feature 224.

Besides learning habits at an early age, English usage is shaped by the influence of the open world. Modern day students can be considered as *global citizens*. As the students come closer to the world media, the internet, and a wider range of peers, their English acquisition is also greatly influenced. Receiving input from NStE media not only makes them accustomed to listening to NStE but also

confident in using it in their conversations. This certainly pushes them away from the urge for grammatical correctness. However, among the Bangladeshi university students, the effect of learning grammar during their school days is so strong that it cannot be pushed away significantly. That is a probable reason why the StE variant still dominates in the case of feature 175, i.e., dropping *be* before *gonna*.

Thus the observed behavior is a collective result of the students' English learning behavior at an early age, complexities of different grammatical features, and their exposure to the open world. How these factors influence a particular student certainly depends on the socio-economic condition in which he/she grows up. In my thesis, I focus on the attestation of BngE, and an in-depth analysis of the probable sociolinguistic reasons for its existence is beyond the scope of this work.

6.2 Gender Influence on Founding BngE

The second research question, RQ2, as presented in Table 1, addresses the influence of gender on the creation of BngE among Bangladeshi English speakers. Like the first research question, I present the criteria that are used to provide an answer to this question in the perspective of the survey results. In this case, I consider the usage of the NStE variant as equivalent to the contribution to founding BngE. All the features are presented together instead of dividing them into separate groups. Only the NStE variant is chosen because it demonstrates the existence of BngE, which I consider equivalent to English acquisition. Traditionally English acquisition refers to using the grammatically correct version, i.e., StE. However, I argue that a higher acquisition level liberates the language users from hard and fast rules, and thus they contribute more towards creating a new variant. They take ownership (appropriation) of this new variant and therefore, this process of English acquisition results in nativization of English.

6.2.1 Criteria to Differentiate Between the Groups

Writing down a set of factors that would decide whether English acquisition, which is effectively nativization of English through creation of BngE, varies between genders has been the most challenging part for me regarding the investigation of this research question. One may argue that someone who has acquired the English language at a sophisticated level would use Standard English even in the spoken form. However, my experience suggests that people

put extra emphasis on maintaining grammatical rules during the early phases of acquiring a new language. Once one has a good control over the language and uses it more frequently, one will most likely enjoy more freedom in spoken English. One might still maintain a high standard of grammatical correctness in the written form of the language, but the spoken form would experience much deviation.

For my research, I have collected data from university students regarding their spoken English. They are not news presenters, representatives in multi-national companies or any world organization. Therefore, it is very likely that the more they make English their own, the more they deviate from StE in their daily conversations. A higher level of usage of NStE would therefore indicate a higher level of English ownership.

Unlike the first research question, where I compared the usage levels of StE and NStE, here I focus on differentiating between male and female students. Moreover, the sum of StE and NStE averages would be approximately 3 (100%). A group of people that use the NStE more would eventually use the StE to a lesser extent. Thus it is sufficient if I consider and compare only the NStE averages of the male and the female participants.

Summarizing the above discussion, I have drawn on the following criteria in order to answer the research question concerned:

- The higher level of English appropriation or contribution to founding BngE is indicated by the higher level of NStE average.
- The survey participants are divided into two groups: male and female. Then the averages of NStE usage of each group are calculated separately. The results of all the features are presented in a single graph. The averages for male students are indicated by the cross symbol (x) and that for the female students are indicated by the square symbol (□). If both groups have exactly the same acquisition level, the two symbols would coincide. The relative position of the two symbols for a particular feature would instantly indicate which group has a higher level of appropriation or more contribution to founding BngE for that feature. The more a symbol moves towards the right (higher average), the better contributor the corresponding group is.

- A rough estimation of a significant difference between the two groups is indicated by the difference between the corresponding symbols by 0.5 or more. I have made this assumption in order to get a glimpse of the difference without complicated statistical measurements. A difference of 0.5 in the average NStE usage is an estimation, which would avoid overinterpretation of smaller contrasts.
- A more precise decision on the difference between the two groups is taken based on the Student's t values calculated for the two groups. A significant difference is governed by the t value between the two groups.

6.2.2 Results Obtained

The average NStE usage levels of the male and the female student groups are presented in Figure 10.

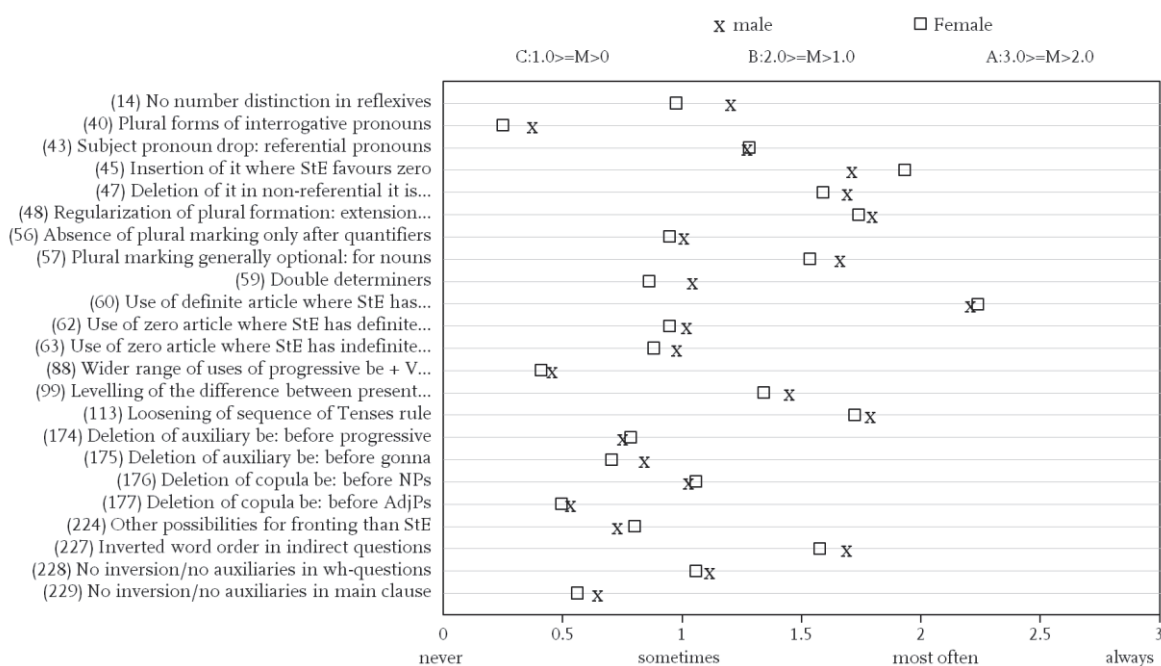


Figure 10: Average NStE usage levels of male and female students

Figure 10 readily reveals some clear and interesting observations. For more than two-thirds of the features, the crosses (x) almost coincide with the rectangles (□). Thus, this plot shows practically no difference in English appropriation between male and female students in Bangladesh. Both groups contribute equally to the foundation of BngE as far as these features are concerned. The remaining features also do not present much of a different picture. The crosses follow the rectangles closely, while the maximum distance between the two is observed for feature 14. Even this difference does not exceed the tolerance limit of 0.5, which

I adopted in the decision criteria for a rough estimation. So, there is no single feature indicating any major difference between the two groups.

Next, I observe whether a pattern could be found in the perspective of all the features if I put emphasis on differences even less than the initially adopted limit of 0.5. For fifteen out of the twenty three features, the crosses appear towards the right of the rectangles; i.e., for them, the male students use NStE slightly more than their female counterparts. For features 45 and 224, the female students show slightly more affinity towards NStE usage, and six of the features show no difference at all.

If we combine the total effect of all the features, we obtain the following result, as presented in Table 42:

Table 42: Averages of NStE use by male and female student groups combining all the features together

Row Labels	Count of feature	Average of rating_numeric
female	9863	1.443993094
BngE	210	1.904761905
non-standard	4826	1.03403902
standard	4827	1.833782943
male	21721	1.451223446
BngE	462	1.714285714
non-standard	10630	1.101318267
standard	10629	1.789716546
Grand Total	31584	1.448966654

This indicates that the male students are slightly more (1.101 vs. 1.034) inclined to use the NStE variant. However, the difference is only 0.067, which is not significant enough to be considered as a defining dissimilarity between the two groups. Moreover, in the single feature (60), where a distinct BngE variant is provided as the third option, the female students tend to use it slightly more (1.905 vs. 1.714). Since this is also considered part of the NStE in the big picture, that minuscule difference of 0.067 reduces further, and this brings the two groups even closer in terms of using NStE.

In order to obtain a more precise decision, I calculated Student's t values¹³ for all the features, which are presented in Table 43.

Table 43: Student's t values for NStE usage between male and female informants

Feature No.	Student's t Test (male vs. female of NStE usage)		
	t	$t_{.95}$	Difference Significant? $t > t_{.95}$?
14	2.315062165	1.647 (df = 670)	YES
40	2.052815541	1.647	YES
43	0.067919528	1.647	NO
45	2.414104949	1.647	YES
47	1.068851158	1.647	NO
48	0.568956567	1.647	NO
56	0.658628058	1.647	NO
57	1.22927541	1.647	NO
59	1.927187178	1.647	YES
60	0.132411453	1.646 (df = 1342)	NO
63	1.173013599	1.647	NO
62	0.778773468	1.647	NO
88	0.70195118	1.647	NO
99	1.105046962	1.647	NO
113	0.685180909	1.647	NO
174	0.385781807	1.647	NO
175	1.57650589	1.647	NO
176	0.293702441	1.647	NO
177	0.558095738	1.647	NO
224	0.847857979	1.647	NO
227	1.216097097	1.647	NO
228	0.660758807	1.647	NO
229	1.158997176	1.647	NO

Considering the t values presented in Table 43, out of the four features where a statistically significant difference is documented, the plot of Figure 10 shows that the male participants again exceed the female participants by a number of

¹³Table 46 in Appendix - C presents detailed results for averages, standard deviations and t values.

three (features 14, 40, 59) to one (feature 45). Therefore, counting the number of features, it can be claimed that the male participants slightly outperform the female students using NStE.

So, based on such fine-tuned observations, a little gender influence on language acquisition (appropriation) can be claimed from the perspective of the Bangladeshi university students. It may seem that the male students are slightly more prominent contributors to the foundation of BngE. However, if we look at the bigger picture, only four out of twenty-three features, i.e., only 17%, show any significant difference between the two groups. Moreover, it is not the case that only one group dominates the other in all four features. Therefore, I do not consider this trifle difference good enough to separate the two groups as far as their overall English appropriation is concerned. Moreover, a male or female student may have friends of the opposite sex. Since the questionnaire prompted participants to consider not only what the student himself or herself would use but also his or her friends' usage, it is impossible to quantify that effect. The decision has to be taken based on the statistical definition of a 'significant' difference. Thus it can be concluded that gender plays practically no role in the acquisition, meaning the nativization through appropriation, of English among Bangladeshi university students. Both male and female students contribute equally to the formation of BngE.

6.2.3 Probable Explanations

In my hypothesis, as presented in section 3.1.3, I assumed that there would be a significant difference in English appropriation between male and female speakers in Bangladesh. I have opted for male students to be the better contributor group to creating BngE. However, the survey results do not really conform to my initial assumption. The two groups have appropriated English at similar levels. The minor differences in some of the features cannot also be explained from the perspective of gender effect. It is possible that females tend to use some grammatical features more often compared to males. However, in the case of my survey, it is not clear why males would prefer using the NStE version of double determiners (feature 59) more often compared to females. Similarly, I do not find any convincing reason why males would ignore number distinctions (feature 14) and reduplication of interrogative pronouns (feature 40) at a slightly higher rate than females. On the other hand, there is no clear justification for why females prefer using an unnecessary *it* (feature 45) in complex sentences. Those minor glitches for a few individual features can be

more or less neglected when we look at the complete picture in perspective of all the features, which in the case of this thesis is assumed to be representative of spoken English as a whole for these participants. From this point of view, it cannot be confirmed that either males or females show a dominating influence of using NStE compared to the other group.

My initial assumption was based on the thoughts that females might be more conservative in nature, and therefore, they would stick more to grammatical rules and use the StE variant to a higher extent. The IELTS results also show that the girls in South Asia are doing better than the boys. I also expected the Bangladeshi girls to be less outgoing and hence lack exposure to language contacts required for English appropriation. Bangladesh is a developing country, which still has a male-dominated society despite its prime minister being a female politician. These facts had also contributed to my thoughts.

I might have overlooked some other factors that apply to the females in Bangladesh in general and to this particular group of study participants. The government of Bangladesh has been putting considerable effort in recent decades in the advancement of female education. Education at the school level is free; moreover, the female students are provided with scholarships, although the economic support may not be sufficient. Many female students fight hard against traditional drawbacks, and those that win the battle go to university.

Since my survey participants are university students, the females concerned are among those winners. Many of the participants are from private universities. Education in those universities is expensive, and thus the students that can afford it are usually from well-off and educated families. Therefore, the female participants in my survey are less likely to face social hindrances compared to common girls in Bangladesh. They grow up almost with the same exposure to the outer world as their male counterparts.

It is true even for university students that males in Bangladesh are more outgoing compared to females. However, thanks to the modern blessing of information technologies, contact with English happens more often through the media than in person with English speakers. A male student might go to the stadium to watch a cricket match; however, a female student can get in touch with English through television commentary. News presenters may use StE; sports commentators are from different countries; e.g., Australia, India, the UK, New Zealand, Bangladesh, South Africa, the West Indies in the case of Cricket, and they very much use NStEs in their commentaries. In effect, both males and

females among the concerned group of Bangladeshi students experience more or less the same level of exposure to English.

The above-mentioned factors may be the probable reasons for the outcome of my research result. I have not specifically collected enough demographic data consisting of all the influencing parameters in order to come to a well-researched conclusion of the observation. Moreover, an in-depth discussion on other factors contributing to BngE is out of the scope of this thesis.

6.3 Bangladeshi English in the Dynamic Model

The Dynamic Model, devised by Edgar Schneider, describes how Postcolonial English evolves through a sequence of characteristic stages of identity rewritings and associated linguistic changes, often guided by the interactions between the English speaking settlers and the indigenous people. As presented in detail in section 3.1.2, the model identifies five evolutionary phases: Foundation, Exonormative Stabilization, Nativization, Endonormative Stabilization, and Differentiation. It also suggests four categories of parameters that characterize these phases. Since these phases represent the evolution of language over time, it is often difficult to impose firm rules on whether the English of a particular postcolonial region can be classified as being in a particular phase. Different parameters may point towards different phases. However, the collective effect should provide at least an adequate approximation. Keeping this in mind, I will consider different parameters, based on the study results combined with my own observation and experience, to evaluate the current phase of Bangladeshi English. It is worth mentioning that Schneider's Dynamic Model itself has gone through improvement by authors like Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017), who have proposed an Extra- and Intra-Territorial Forces (EIF) Model in order to mainly bridge the gap between postcolonial and non-postcolonial Englishes. However, in my work I focus on the original model for postcolonial English as proposed by Schneider.

6.3.1 Evaluation Criteria

The evaluation criteria to place Bangladesh in an appropriate stage in the dynamic model require both qualitative and quantitative discussions. Qualitative discussions can be based on history, media, and personal observations; while the survey results can provide inputs for quantitative discussions. I have set the evaluation criteria based on the four parameter types that characterize the evolutionary phases, as follows:

- **Sociopolitical Background:** I will discuss the parameters of this category based on historical facts, and my observations regarding current Bangladesh from the media and my experience.
- **Identity Constructions:** I will use the history, the media and my observations on this aspect as well.
- **Sociolinguistic Conditions:** While evaluating the parameters from this category, I will primarily use information sources like media, magazines, newspapers, historical accounts, and my observations. I will also use some examples from my survey results to analyze the participants' responses. This should provide some indications of the sociolinguistic conditions of present-day Bangladesh.
- **Linguistic Effects:** In this category, I will mainly focus on the survey results to see the linguistic effects on the survey participants. I will analyze a number of individual examples and the overall picture in order to depict where English in Bangladesh (or Bangladeshi English, since a BngE exists already, according to section 6.1) stands at present.

6.3.2 Evaluation of English in Current Bangladesh

6.3.2.1 Sociopolitical Background

The sociopolitical background of Bangladesh and the Indian subcontinent with regards to the English language is different from that of countries like Australia and New Zealand. In India the British created a group of local elites sandwiched between the settlers and the indigenous strands to perform managerial duties on behalf of the settlers. This group of local elites was taught English as a means of communication between the settlers and the local people. However, with time English became widespread on the Indian subcontinent and reached the middle class and even the lower middle class as a means to gain economic and social prosperity.

Usually, the political independence of a colony from the British rule indicates the maturity of English at the Nativization level. Bangladesh, along with the Indian subcontinent, gained political independence from the British in 1947. However, the Indian subcontinent is not a settlement colony. The British also left with political independence, and the STL strand became more or less absent since then. Looking at Schneider's Dynamic Model from the sociopolitical background view, this is akin to the Foundation phase, where a few settlers have

just arrived. However, that would be a wrong conclusion because from the perspective of the language itself, English is no longer a newcomer; rather it has already been a widespread language among the local people. Although English has gradually been detached from the British rule since the 1900s, it never lost its importance. As was the case in India (Kachru 2007), it has also turned from a foreign language to a second language in Bangladesh.

However, this process did not continue smoothly after the independence of the Indian subcontinent. The vast majority of East Pakistani (current Bangladesh) Muslims supported the creation of Pakistan, breaking Bengal into two parts. It was a political decision, influenced by economic and social aspects, but not intended to dump either English or the native language, Bengali. In independent India, Hindi was promoted as the country-wide universal language. However, the effort was unsuccessful because the Southern part of India did not accept it. On the other hand, the people of north India did not accept any Dravidian (South Indian) language like Tamil or Telegu as the universal Indian language. And thus the importance of English was never reduced. Similar incidents can be observed in the case of Pakistan. West Pakistani rulers' effort to impose only Urdu as the official language was protested vehemently by the East Pakistanis (Bangladeshis). In the process, English – instead of Urdu – gained importance as a *lingua franca*.

Present day Bangladesh is a sovereign state, independent of both Britain and Pakistan. However, Bangladesh is a member of the Commonwealth of Nations, which is still a reminder of its colonial past. English is taught as the mandatory second language all over Bangladesh, starting from the early stages at the schools. Although there is always an ongoing active effort to use Bengali for various purposes, English has never been replaced. It is used as a language of administration, education and legislation to much higher extent than usual in an Exonormative Stabilization phase.

I have also noticed a reverse flow or *export* of Bangladeshi English to English speaking countries like England and the United States. An appreciable number of Bangladeshis learn English in an effort to ease their migration to English speaking developed countries. Their English is mostly neither British nor American English; it is rather a Bangladeshi version of the English language. I do not envisage a huge influence of this English on the British or American locals from these economic migrants. However, the migrants develop small to midsize communities and come in contact with other migrants in those

countries. When they communicate among themselves in English, they use this Bangladeshi version. Thus a reverse flow of English can be perceived, although the effect or its diffusion might be relatively slow. My intention in mentioning this phenomenon in connection with this discussion is to point out the fact from the sociopolitical point of view. Bangladesh is no longer dependent on Britain or any other English speaking nation; rather its English is at such a mature level that it is even capable of being exported. Summarizing the whole effect, I can safely say that English in current Bangladesh is placed well at the Nativization level.

6.3.2.2 Identity Constructions

The nature of sociopolitical events, which the Indian subcontinent has gone through with respect to the British colonization and the English language, has contributed to the identity constructions of the people in India and Bangladesh. The demarcation between *us* and *others* never diminished to any considerable extent in the Indian subcontinent. At present, the STL strand has more or less left the region, and they could not change the identity of the IDG strand. Thus, in practice, the STL identity is absent in the Indian subcontinent or Bangladesh.

Like India, the identity of Bangladeshis has remained stable despite centuries of influence from English speakers. The so called *White Babus* have left the Indian subcontinent; the *Anglo-Indians* are also absent in Bangladesh. The elites, created by the British, used English to gain economic and administrative advantages over common people; but they were also never uprooted from their inherent identity. For the Indian subcontinent as a whole, this is correctly expressed also by Krishnaswamy and Burde (1998: 12), e.g., “they will use English for certain purposes, but their identity remains rooted in their cultural heritage”.

Even in present-day Bangladesh, we find some elite societies, who prefer sending their children to English medium schools and speak English within their groups. However, the reason is primarily economic, i.e., to enhance the children’s chance of receiving higher education in an English-speaking country in the future. English medium schools have long been seen as a symbol of social elitism. However, with the financial advancement of the country, and the business opportunity that high cost English medium schools offer, the number of such schools has increased considerably. At present many middle class families also send their offspring to such schools with an effort to gain a career advantage, while a sense of higher *social status* comes as an extra motivation.

The problem with elitism or higher social class is that when the number of people with such status increases, the elitism itself remains no longer an elite entity; instead, it becomes commonplace. The case with private universities is very similar, although the speed with which those lost their flavor of elitism is relatively rapid. When they started their journey in Bangladesh in the early 1990s, they were associated with high costs, which were affordable only by the wealthy part of the society. The teaching staff was advertised as having higher educational degrees from North America or England. An English-speaking environment was created, giving a pseudo-sense of exclusiveness, connected to the sense of imperialism by the former colonial superiors. In reality, it was more of an economic venture than an identity defining endeavor. Therefore, private universities also expanded rapidly, and in current Bangladesh, even students from the lower middle class can afford the education. The teachers are mostly of local origin, teaching in a mixture of Bengali and Bangladeshi English. Therefore, a new identity was never created through this form of educational institution. Throughout the whole process, the students were never detached from their origin and their cultural identity.

Unlike India and Pakistan, Bangladesh has gone through a more turbulent historical journey, which has also contributed to its strong sense of identity. During the independence of the Indian subcontinent from British ruling, a vast majority of Muslims in Bengal opted for Pakistan, dividing Bengal into two parts. Pakistan and India were created on the basis of religious majorities, Pakistan belonging to the Muslims and India consisting of the Hindu majority. However, the reason the Muslims in Bengal supported being a part of Pakistan is not their religious identity but rather an economical choice. They were strongly loyal to their cultural heritage. The Pakistani rulers also knew it, and therefore, they wanted to uproot the Bengalis from their cultural identity to transform them into so called *Saccha* Muslims ('Real' Muslims). They tried to ban the Bengali script, and instead promote Arabic in order to write Bengali. The effort failed. As the next step, they tried to impose only Urdu as the national language of Pakistan, although the majority of people (about 54%, both parts of Pakistan combined) were native Bengali speakers, while Urdu was native to only about 10% of all Pakistanis. This attempt faced strong resistance and ultimately Bengali was recognized as one of the official languages of Pakistan. Among the local people in Bangladesh, Urdu was the language of imperialism and English was the language of colonization. Bengali-based identity got strong impetus from the language movement in 1952 and that attitude holds even in present Bangladesh. In my opinion, English also reaped the benefit of the language

movement. Although people were connecting more strongly with their cultural identity consisting of the Bengali language, distaste for Urdu automatically created an opportunity for English, especially as lingua franca in Pakistan. Since then, it has established its strong position as the second language, even though Bangladesh is a land of a single language (Bengali), which almost all the people speak. English is not required as a lingua franca within the country; rather, it is necessary for economic advantage within the territory and the outside world.

To summarize, the identity of the Bangladeshi English speakers (L2) and the Bengali speakers are well-defined. They all take pride in their same cultural identity; the diminishing presence of pseudo-elitism here and there has a very negligible effect. There is only *us* (IDG strand) to whom the country belongs, and their identity is completely established. English in Bangladesh is taught by the local teachers, mostly independent of British or American identity-defining characteristics, and thus it also acquires a local identity. Therefore, English in current Bangladesh has reached the Nativization phase regarding parameters associated to identity constructions. Although the confidence in Bangladeshi English in terms of accent and mixing some Bengali words in English sentences might provide a feeling of *our English*, which eventually indicates an early stage of Endonormative Stabilization, BngE is still not quite placed in that phase. There is certainly no presence of a BngE-based national identity.

6.3.2.3 Sociolinguistic Conditions

The sociopolitical ride Bangladesh has gone through after its independence from the British rule in 1947, alongside maintaining its cultural identity, has contributed to its sociolinguistic blueprint. Bengali, the language is one of the most important and integral parts of the cultural identity of Bengalis¹⁴. Bengali has always been the supreme language of this region. Its importance can be illustrated by the statement of the Nobel prizewinning Bengali Poet Rabindranath Tagore (1940),

“আগে চাই বাংলাভাষার গাঁথুনি, তারপরে ইংরেজি শেখার পড়ন।” (গল্প: ছেলেবেলা)

(Translation: “First we must ensure a strong construction of the Bengali language, and afterwards the foundation of English.”)

¹⁴Bengali refers to the ethnic and linguistic heritage of the Bengal region, which is spread over Bangladesh and India. *Bangladeshi* refers to the citizenship of Bangladesh.

Although Rabindranath Tagore stated it while the British were still in the Indian subcontinent, the above sentiment has been shared among Bengalis throughout decades and even today.

One fact from the above statement, which is often overlooked, is the importance of English. Clearly, it is also considered an important language, which must be learnt as the second language. Thus the people in this region achieved bilingualism long ago. In current Bangladesh, English is taught in the schools from very early classes, irrespective of Bengali medium or English medium. Thus every Bangladeshi, even with minimum education, is familiar with English. However, a number of aspects make their English very special. First of all, English in the schools is taught mainly by the local teachers, and therefore, the learners rarely get the chance to learn standard (e.g., British or American) English accents. Their pronunciation of English is very much in line with that of Bengali. Secondly, Bengali is spoken all over the country; therefore, English or any other language is not required as a lingua franca. This results in a lack of practice of spoken English among Bangladeshis. Despite having Bengali as the medium of instruction, Bangladeshi school students need to learn English as a subject; however, they very seldom need to speak English in schools (except in English medium schools, which is a minority). The trend is valid even in universities. Most universities in Bangladesh have English as the medium of instruction on paper; however, here the *medium* often refers to the written part of the procedure. Many teachers prefer teaching in Bengali, even for subjects having the books in English. The students also need to write their examinations in English. The motivation behind this choice is the assumption that the students would learn more quickly if the knowledge is transferred in their mother tongue. There are, of course, exceptions to this scenario. Some teachers at public universities and many at private universities deliver their lectures in English. This most likely makes the students more accustomed to speaking English; however, the issue with accent is rarely addressed. Any teacher delivering her speech with a Bangladeshi accent is completely accepted as normal.

Bangladeshis come in contact with spoken English mostly through the media. With the advancement in communication technology, media outlets of the world are readily available to many Bangladeshis. Different news presenters around the world bring in some formal English to the Bangladeshi news consumers. Another source of English is sports commentary. Bangladeshis are very fond of cricket and football. The associated television commentaries,

however, very rarely follow the formalities of Standard English. For example, cricket commentators mainly originate from India, Australia, England, South Africa, West Indies, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and almost all have their *own* English. So, listening to such commentaries make Bangladeshi listeners more accustomed to English. However, it cannot help them much to get rid of the influence of their native language on English.

The collective experience gathered from the education and media results in two different forms of English among Bangladeshi English users. The written form mostly follows Standard English, as they learn the grammatical rules starting at a very early age at schools. However, the spoken form deviates from StE in terms of accent, expression and grammatical construction. Many language purists view this as a kind of contamination or corruption of the language. In order to quantify the aspect to some extent, I consider a number of examples covering different language features to show how the spoken form of English is influenced by the sociolinguistic condition in Bangladesh among university students. A snippet of the results obtained from my survey is presented in Table 44.

Table 44: Level of influence of sociolinguistic conditions on some features to exemplify the deviation of spoken English from StE

Feature Nr.	Description	Example of NStE/BngE	NStE Average (0.0 to 3.0)
56	Absence of plural marking only after quantifiers	I see ten <i>bird</i> in the garden.	0.991
60	Use of definite article where StE has indefinite article	I got <i>cold</i> . [no article, BngE] I got <i>the cold</i> . [wrong article, NStE]	2.225
113	Loosening of sequence of tense rule	Tanjila decided that she <i>will</i> go to Germany for higher education.	1.769
174	Deletion of auxiliary <i>be</i> : before progressive	You always thinking about your work.	0.760
175	Deletion of auxiliary <i>be</i> : before <i>gonna</i>	I gonna do it now.	0.801
229	No inversion/no auxiliaries in main clause <i>yes/no</i> questions	You like cricket?	0.621

Table 44 depicts that NStE defining influence in all of the considered features has been observed in the spoken English of Bangladesh. However, the influences are not the same for each of them. Expressions like *I gonna do it now* (feature 175) or *You like cricket?* (feature 229) occur mainly because of the media effect, connecting to the outer world and borrowing the NStE from different spoken forms. The effect is not very prominent among Bangladeshi speakers. On the other hand, the examples *I got cold* (feature 60) and *Tanjila decided that she will go to Germany for higher education* (feature 113) share the same characteristic as the Bengali language. Thus, they are the direct product of L1 influence. They are used to a great extent, showing a strong influence of Bengali on spoken English. This is still seen as a means of *corrupting* English by the purists; e.g., many teachers. Most likely, the relatively low level of NStE adoption for the examples *I see ten bird in the garden* (feature 56) and *You always thinking about your work* (feature 174) are the product of the high emphasis put on the grammatical differences between the two languages by the teachers. However, it is evident that their effort is not enough to prevent such language ‘corruption’. This is a strong indication of Bangladeshi English being currently in the Nativization phase.

Another important aspect is how English as a language is considered a social symbol of status among the people of the region concerned. As mentioned in the sections related to the sociopolitical background (6.3.2.1), and identity constructions (6.3.2.2), a minority part of the Bangladeshi people are still more accustomed to speaking English among themselves, even trying to replicate the ‘proper’ accent, asserting some kind of elitism. However, with the rapid improvement of the literacy rate, and the expansion of English medium schools and private universities, the ability to speak English, even with some British or American accent, is no longer widely accepted as a symbol of elitism. Nowadays, English is considered as belonging to *all*, not to a particular group of people. Thus from the perspective of sociolinguistic conditions, today’s English in Bangladesh has been able to mature from the Exonormative Stabilization phase to the Nativization level.

6.3.2.4 Linguistic Effects

In order to evaluate the linguistic effects of English in present Bangladesh, let us take a closer look at the graph obtained from the survey data of this thesis. These features represent various morphological and syntactic changes triggered by the effect of Bengali on Bangladeshi English. The plot of Figure 11 shows the

usage levels of the NStE variant, which roughly represents the L1 influence on the Bangladeshi English speakers.

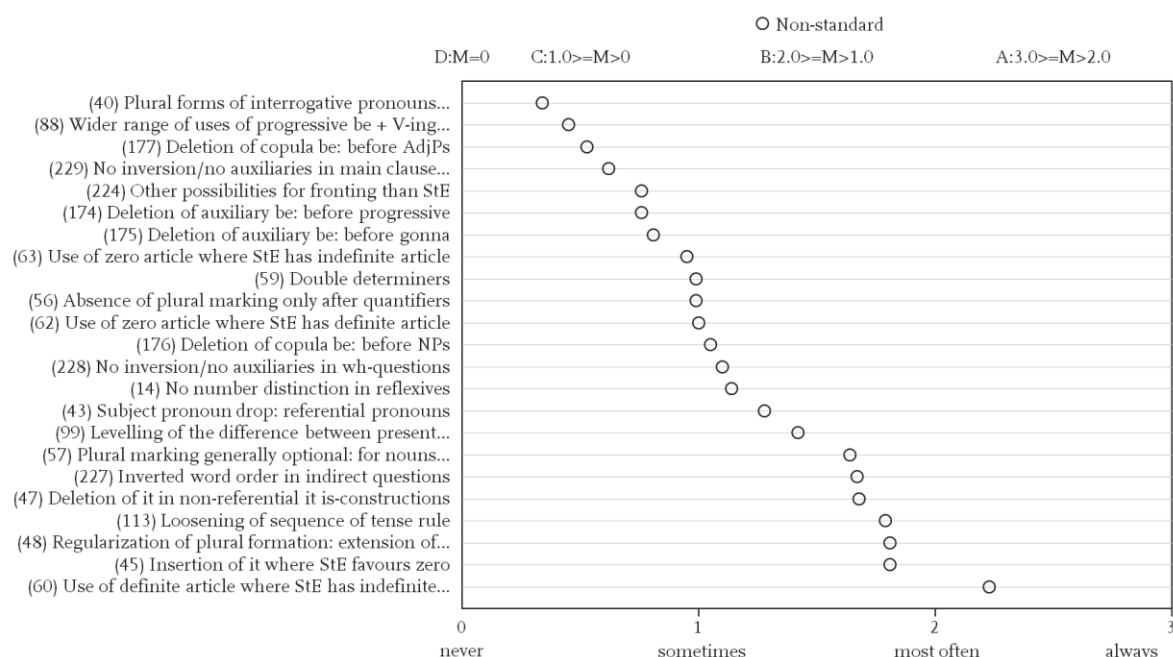


Figure 11: Usage levels of the NStE variant for different features

All of the twenty three features exhibit some level of L1 influence. This is prominent in more than two-thirds of the features, with seven features even exhibiting an NStE use of greater than 1.5; i.e., dominating trend of the use of NStE in spoken English. Traditionally, Bangladeshi English teachers make great efforts to teach grammatical rules with a very high importance. Many structural differences between Bengali and English are thus taught with high emphasis. This effort works as a force against the creation of a new English variety, although the issue of local accent cannot be addressed much by most Bangladeshi English teachers because of their background. The plot of Figure 11 shows that such effort of the language teachers has not been able to prevent the students from creating a new variety of English, namely Bangladeshi English (BngE), which is very much influenced by their local language, Bengali. Considering that the local accents are highly accepted all over Bangladesh, and understood by most English speaking parts of the world, we can safely claim that current Bangladeshi English has attained the Nativization phase from the structural point of view of the language.

In addition to political independence from the British rule in 1947, current Bangladesh is linguistically independent as well. Despite some resistance from purists, Bangladeshi English speakers enjoy a significant amount of freedom in

their spoken English. This happens in many ways, e.g., lexical borrowing of words and expressions from Bengali in addition to morphological and syntactic changes. Adoption and adaptation of words from sub-continental languages are a well-known phenomenon, which has been happening for centuries. That process is still ongoing. Besides the well-known words like *rickshaw*, *guru*, *loot*, *bungalow*, *veranda*, current Bangladeshi speakers and even renowned newspapers feel free to use a Bengali word like *hartal* instead of *strike* in English sentences. Names of places, which the British changed to their own wish, have been changed back in current day Bangladeshi English. *Dacca* has long been changed into *Dhaka*, while Calcutta and Chittagong have got back their Bengali name *Kolkata* and *Chattogram* in the English language. English has become such an integral part and ‘own’ language that the modern young generation mixes Bengali and English very often, even in the same sentences. Such *Banglish* is discouraged heavily by the people that believe in language purity. It is still perceived as *error-ridden* in a formal language context, especially in the written format. However, it is used heavily in informal contexts like conversations, radio and social media. In this way, current Bangladeshi English speakers are not merely passive recipients of linguistic forms drawn from the input varieties, but act as language builders.

Bangladesh has never adopted the identity of the British. Nothing like a compromise between the STL and the IDG identity has ever occurred. The language, Bengali, is one of the main pillars of the cultural identity of Bangladeshis. However, they have adopted English, and impregnated it with their own linguistic features. My study in this thesis points towards the existence of a new variety of post-colonial English, namely Bangladeshi English (BngE). The creation of such a new variety of PCE anticipates the Endonormative Stabilization phase. However, we are not there yet, because BngE still has not gained the required linguistic homogeneity all over Bangladesh. Codification of BngE has not happened either. There is still no formal grammar of BngE. Moreover, the survey participants in this thesis represent the educated group of people of the country, not necessarily all the English users of the country, let alone the common people. Considering all these aspects, I can claim that Bangladeshi English among this set of students is at the Nativization phase, while it is slowly moving towards the Endonormative Stabilization phase as far as linguistic effects are considered.

6.3.2.5 Overall Picture

Based on the discussion presented in sections 6.3.2.1 through 6.3.2.4, a glimpse of English in present day Bangladesh is presented in Table 45, in line with Schneider's Dynamic Model (2003: 255).

Table 45: Summary of characteristics of Bangladeshi English fitting the template of Schneider's Dynamic Model of Postcolonial Englishes

	Foundatio n	Exonormati ve Stabilizatio n	Nativization	Endonormati ve Stabilization	Diffe renti ation
Sociopoliti cal Backgro und	STLs, which played a role in the Foundation phase, are now almost absent	English is used in administration, education and legislation; however, probably to a greater extent than this phase requires	Bangladesh has gained political independence and become a member of the Commonwealth of Nations Very weak ties or almost no cultural association with Britain Reverse flow of English from Bangladesh to English speaking nations		
Identity Construc tion	STL identity is virtually absent Only IDG identity is prevalent; there is only <i>us</i>	Slight elitism based on English, though negligible	Identity is deeply rooted in cultural heritage English is widely used as the second language; but not as an identity defining language	A very early stage of <i>our English</i> , which may establish a variety of English defined by the Bangladeshi	

				identity	
Sociolinguistic Conditions			Widespread bilingualism among educated Bangladeshis English is taught by local teachers, and thus Bangladeshi accent is common Notable difference between written and spoken English ‘Corruption’ of English due to L1 influence and contact with the media The fight between innovative and conservative approaches is still going on, although innovative speakers are winning the battle in the spoken English		
Linguistic Effects			In addition to prominent local accent, spoken English in Bangladesh	Existence of Bangladeshi English (BngE) Codification	

			experiences structural influence of L1 (Bengali) to a high extent Heavy lexical borrowing of words and expressions started during the British rule and that trend still continues Names of many places are reversed to their Bengali names Even the newspapers use Bengali terms though an English word is present; e.g., <i>hartal</i> instead of <i>strike</i> <i>Banglish</i> is very common in the spoken mode and the social media, despite active effort by teachers and purists to prevent it	of BngE is not documented. More research on BngE; i.e., shaping English as influence of Bengali may contribute to codification in the future BngE has not gained linguistic homogeneity yet. Also, there is no formal grammar of BngE. So, Bangladeshi English is not yet in this phase, although it is probably crossing the boundary between Nativization and Endonormative Stabilization	
--	--	--	---	--	--

Looking at different characteristics expressed in Table 45, it can be safely claimed that Bangladeshi English at present is firmly in the Nativization phase,

while for the educated group (e.g., students who participated in the survey of my thesis) the spoken English is at a very early phase of Endonormative Stabilization. Thus for this research question my initial hypothesis is confirmed.

6.4 Summary

In this chapter I have discussed the survey results and my observations, both quantitatively and qualitatively to find answers to the three research questions of the thesis. The first research question addresses the existence of a BngE variety. My initial hypothesis was that Bangladesh would have its own variety of Non-standard English. The evaluation criteria consider the usage of NStE as an indication of the existence of BngE. The survey result substantiates that for each of the features considered some influence of Bengali is observed on the spoken English of Bangladeshi university students. Out of 23 features, the influence can be categorized as follows:

minor influence:	2
minor to moderate influence:	9
moderate influence:	4
moderate to strong influence:	6
strong influence:	2

On the whole, the existence of a BngE variety is ascertained, and thus it validates my initial hypothesis.

The second research question inquires whether there is any difference between male and female student groups in using BngE/NStE in their spoken English. My initial hypothesis was that male students would exhibit this behavior to a greater extent than their female counterparts. The evaluation criteria, first of all, consider an average usage difference of 0.5 in order to define a roughly significant difference. No feature exhibits such a difference. As a second statistical approach, I used Student's *t* values to compare the two groups more precisely. It confirms differences in only 4 out of 23 features. Having a closer look at the details, it is observed that male students exhibit slightly more NStE usage in some features, while girls tend to dominate in a few of them. Overall, it cannot be deduced that a particular group distances the other group significantly. Thus my initial hypothesis is not supported, although a little tendency towards it is observed.

The third research question concerns the state of Bangladeshi English from the perspective of the Dynamic Model of Postcolonial Englishes. My initial

hypothesis was that English in Bangladesh is currently placed in the Nativization phase. The evaluation criteria employ both qualitative and quantitative analysis. It can be concluded that this hypothesis is also confirmed; i.e., BngE is placed at the Nativization phase, although there are early signs of Endonormative Stabilization.

7 Conclusion

Bangladesh has a long history with English, mainly because of the colonization for almost two hundred years. The history of English in Bangladesh can be divided into three distinct periods, namely 190 years as a British colony, 23 years as East Pakistan, and since 1971 as an independent Bangladesh. Each period is characterized by different socio-political factors that shaped the place of English in this part of the world. During the British period, English was mostly used by a certain group of people in order to gain economic advantage. Many of them actually worked as local allies or communication mediums between the British and the locals. During the Pakistan era, language became an essential sentimental and political tool for Bengalis. They resisted Urdu, and viewed Bengali as a symbol of patriotism. In the process, English became the second language and a lingua franca between the two parts of Pakistan. In independent Bangladesh, English was no longer required any more as a lingua franca. However, it remained the second language. Its importance has increased over time as the literacy rate in the country has also increased. Nowadays English is used in education, administration, media, and even among some small elite groups as their *virtual* native language. The widespread application of English has been a mechanism for gaining social and economic advantages in many sectors of the lives of most Bangladeshis.

Countries like India and Pakistan also possess similar histories with the English language. In those countries, English is used to such an extent that the existence of non-standard varieties like the Indian English (IndE) and Pakistani English (PakE) is a well-known phenomenon. However, there is a lack of research on the existence of such a variety in the context of Bangladesh (BngE). As the first focal point of this thesis, I have worked on testing the hypothesis of the existence of BngE. The second research topic of my work focuses on gender influence on English acquisition. I have argued that a higher level of English appropriation is demonstrated by the presence of BngE features to a greater extent. Another focus of my work is the evolution of Postcolonial English (PCE) in Bangladesh. Edgar Schneider devised a model which explains the dynamicity of PCE over time, characterized by a number of socio-political factors. In my research, I investigated where English in current Bangladesh stands in the perspective of this Dynamic Model.

Based on the above focus, I formulated three research questions, along with the corresponding hypotheses, in an effort to test those hypotheses against study data. For each research question, I provided an in-depth discussion on related

works. The discussion of related works has been intentionally made detailed so that it can provide a clear insight into the research questions concerned from the perspective of World Englishes, Englishes in the Indian subcontinent, and English in Bangladesh. I have not come across any in-depth research addressing these questions for Bangladeshi English. For each of the related works, I mentioned the contribution of my thesis to state of the art, especially in comparison to that work. A few of the works directly focus on Bangladeshi English; e.g., the challenges with English teaching by Rahman and Pandian (2018), the factors that resist English acquisition in Bangladesh by Sukanto Roy (2017), the use of English in present-day Bangladesh by Islam and Hashim (2019) etc. However, they do not actually address the creation of BngE. I have taken some basic insights from their works, especially in identifying factors and mechanisms that may contribute to creating a Bangladeshi variety of English influenced by the native language.

Works related to gender influence on BngE are even rarer. I looked into related works based on societies which have some similarities in their socio-economic contexts with that of Bangladesh. Some of them address the English acquisition of Asian immigrants (e.g., Beiser and Hou 2000), some of them investigate English of students in conservative societies like Iran (e.g., Zoghi et al. 2013) and Pakistan (e.g., Arshad et al. 2013) etc. Besides these, I also gained insights from other related works in this area to understand how gender might influence English acquisition. The work of Ishrat Akhter (2014) addresses gender issues in the case of Bangladeshi English. However, the scope of her work is very limited. She collected data from only 50 university students using a very simple questionnaire. For both the research questions, none of these works addresses Bangladeshi English directly from the perspective of grammatical features, as presented in eWAVE. My work also has a limited scope, but I can confidently claim that my sample data is big enough to answer these research questions.

In order to provide a precise understanding of the third research question, I outlined a brief description of the Dynamic Model of Postcolonial Englishes. There is a relatively greater availability of related works on this topic. For example, Ugorji (2015) investigated Nigerian English, Mukherjee (2007) worked on Indian English, and García-Castro (2019) addressed Bangladeshi English in order to place them at different evolutionary phases of the Dynamic Model. In my work, I gained background information and insights from all these works. However, the differences and advancements compared to their works have been pointed out explicitly in the discussion of related works. For example, García-

Castro argued that English in independent Bangladesh has gone slightly backwards, i.e., from Nativization (Phase 3) to Exonormative Stabilization (Phase 2) due to language-based nationalistic policies, which promote the native language against English. In my work, I pointed out the shortcomings in her observations in a number of areas. The advancement of English has never halted in independent Bangladesh; rather it is moving towards Endonormative Stabilization (Phase 4).

I devised and followed a systematic methodology in order to perform investigations on the research questions. The methodology requires study participants and a questionnaire to collect information from them. The study involves 340 students from seven Bangladeshi universities. The participants were provided with a questionnaire consisting of 46 examples related to 23 language features. The questionnaire containing features and examples were constructed taking eWAVE as the basis. After filtering out incomplete replies, 336 responses were accepted and used for statistical calculations and further discussions.

The methodology provides an in-depth discussion on the selection of features. The selection of these features was motivated by the grammatical differences between Bengali and English. I assumed that the influence of Bengali on English would be more obvious in the case of significant differences between the grammatical rules of the two languages for the particular feature. Those features (from eWAVE) were chosen from five different feature groups. They comprised 5 features from the Pronouns group, 7 features from the NP group, 3 features from the Tense and Aspect group, 4 features from the Agreement group, and 4 features from the Discourse and Word Order group. The rationales behind the selection of particular features, along with the grammatical difference between the two languages, were explained in detail using appropriate examples.

The methodology also developed instructions on conducting the survey. Proper care was taken while conducting the study in order to avoid negatively influencing factors. The questionnaire was not sent by post or electronically to the participants; rather, I, as the research conductor, distributed printed copies directly to the participants. The survey was conducted in students' own universities. The informants were properly instructed not only to express their thoughts but also to include which variety of English their friends and family members might also use. This is expected to indirectly widen the effective number of informants, making the study result more representative of a similar

set of participants. Moreover, it was clearly communicated that the survey was not a *grammar test*; rather, they should choose the responses spontaneously based on what they used in their spoken communications without being concerned about grammatical correctness.

I used a number of statistical methods in order to process the survey data and find meaningful and well-founded answers to my research questions. Such methods involved simple calculations for finding arithmetic means as well as the relatively complex task of computing Student's *t* values. A number of assumptions were made in the process of that computation. For example, the response options *always*, *most often*, *sometimes*, and *never* were replaced by the numerical values 3, 2, 1, and 0, respectively. The reasons behind each of these assignments were provided as necessary. I used Excel and Pivot Tables in order to ease the computation and obtain graphs to facilitate visual presentation and comparison.

The survey results, presented in a visually accessible form, complemented with my observations and input from related works, helped me formulate three research questions addressed in this thesis. In perspective of the first research question, the result easily testifies to the existence of the BngE variety of World English. I defined different levels of influence based on the arithmetic means of the NStE usage by the survey participants. Out of 23 features, 19 features demonstrated moderate to strong influence, while only 2 features exhibited minor influence. Two of the features exemplified a very strong influence of the lack of articles in Bengali on the spoken English of Bangladeshi university students and the leveling out of the differences between past and present perfect tenses. I took those language features from five different feature groups. However, it could not be concluded that the effect is strong for any particular feature group. I argued that the effect of BngE in the case of a particular feature is shaped by the grammatical complexity, a clear difference between the rules of the two languages, learning habits and access to the open world. For example, in the case of a particular feature, which has a clear difference between Bengali and English and also the grammatical rule is easy to learn and apply, the students are less prone to making grammatical 'mistakes', and thus they would rarely use the NStE/BngE variant. Therefore, a Bangladeshi student is more likely to use *I am healthy now* instead of *I healthy now* (feature 177: deletion of copula *be* before AdjPs). On the other hand, even if the students know the differences between Bengali and English, but it is difficult to understand the grammatically correct version, they would continue using the NStE variant. This

probably explains the case with features involving articles (60, 62 and 63). A Bangladeshi English learner is usually aware that there are differences in article usage between Bengali and English. However, it is very difficult to determine the 'correct' (standard) article. So, most often they tend to either drop the article or use the 'wrong' (non-standard) one. This is attested by the relatively high usage of NStE responses for these features. From the perspective of this thesis, however, I am not strongly advocating any particular reason for the results observed for different features. It certainly requires an in-depth study of the demographic and socio-linguistic backgrounds of the study participants. In line with the research goal of my thesis, I can confidently confirm that there exists a significant level of influence of Bengali on the spoken English of Bangladeshi university students. Thus it validates my initial hypothesis for the first research question.

However, my initial hypothesis is not validated in the case of research question 2. I assumed that male students were more frequent users of NStE English, mainly due to their higher access to the open world. Thus I expected them to contribute to a higher extent than their female counterparts to founding the Bangladeshi variety of English. All the students, both male and female, get English lessons in their classrooms equally from an early age. Unlike many other studies that defined English acquisition as synonymous to using more StE, I took the opposite stance. Since there is practically no difference in English acquisition at the context of classrooms, I assumed that the main difference between the two groups would stem from their access to the open world, like the news media, sports commentaries, participation in science and math competitions, peer groups, social media etc. The English acquired through such interactions is mostly NStE. I assumed male students to be more outgoing, and thus they would exhibit higher NStE usage. In practice, my initial hypothesis has been proved wrong, because the survey result does not show any significant difference between the two groups.

Looking at the minuscule differences, I see that male students lead the NStE average in more features than female students do. The total taken over all the features also shows a slightly higher NStE average for male students. However, the difference is negligible, and no decision can be drawn that a group is notably superior to the other. I also employed Student's t-Test in order to find whether a statistically significant difference could be observed between the two groups. t values indicated only 4 features out of 23 where some *significant* difference was shown. Out of the 4 features, male students led in 3, while female students used

NStE to a greater extent in the remaining one. Thus, I was not able to declare one group the dominating one as far as the extent of NStE usage was concerned. I probably overlooked the background of this set of survey participants. All of them were university students; therefore, the female students were already winners against the social restrictions that are usually imposed on them in a seemingly conservative Bangladeshi society. They often come with a background from the wealthy and educated part of the society. Since their parents are also mostly educated, the female students also enjoy the freedom of getting access to the outside world. Nevertheless, the detailed study of the socio-economic and linguistic reasons of this behavior is not within the scope of my thesis. Based on the results, I can attest that both male and female university students of Bangladesh contribute equally to the foundation of Bangladeshi English.

Finding an answer to the third research question has been quite tricky. Unlike the first two research questions, it is not possible to take a decision based on the survey results alone. In my hypothesis, I assumed that Bangladeshi English is currently placed in the Nativization phase. However, that is a conclusion only on the overall view. In practice, there are four different aspects, namely socio-political background, identity constructions, sociolinguistic conditions, and linguistic effects that are used to judge the position of the English variety in the Dynamic Model. I was able to use the survey results in analyzing the linguistic effects and partially the socio-linguistic conditions. For the remaining aspects, the decision was taken based on my own experience and insights from the history and related works. From a socio-political background point of view, STLs are absent in current Bangladesh. English is used to a great extent in administration, education, media, and legislation, although English is not spoken among general people for daily communication or as a lingua franca. Bangladesh has gained political independence from the British rule, and besides being a member of the Commonwealth of Nations, it does not have any significant political or cultural ties with England. From my own experience, I have also seen a reverse flow of English, i.e., BngE to English speaking countries, brought by expats. All these factors indicate that Bangladeshi English is in the Nativization phase as far as socio-political background is concerned.

The same phase can also be concluded from the perspective of identity constructions. Only the IDG identity is prevalent, which is deeply rooted in the cultural heritage. English is used only as the second language. These facts are usual characteristics of the Nativization phase. However, there is an early phase

of the feeling of *our English*, which is indicative of a (still premature) phase of Endonormative Stabilization. When sociolinguistic conditions are concerned, Bangladeshi English is firmly placed in the Nativization phase. Deviation from Standard English, e.g., in the form of mixing Bengali words and phrases with English, pronunciation influenced by Bengali etc. of English, is quite obvious, which starts from an early age of English learners because teachers are also Bangladeshis delivering the lessons in a local accent. Widespread bilingualism is common among the educated Bangladeshis. There is a major difference between written and spoken English, and the fight between innovative and conservative approaches towards languages is quite evident. My survey result also testifies that Bangladeshi university students do not use Standard English in their conversations; rather the presence of NStE at a considerable level indicates that English in Bangladesh has certainly achieved the Nativization phase.

The strong influence of L1 on the spoken English, as is evident from my survey, also validates the position of Bangladeshi English in the Nativization phase from the linguistic effects point of view. In current Bangladesh, lexical borrowing of Bengali words into English occurs even in the media. It is more customary in Bangladeshi English newspapers to use words like *hartal*, *rickshaw*, *loot* etc., instead of looking for their appropriate Standard English words. From the linguistic point of view Bangladeshi English is probably crossing the boundary between Nativization and Endonormative Stabilization. The existence of BngE supports it. However, as in Table 35 I presented a comparison using information from eWAVE, the presence of BngE is still weaker than that of IndE, ButlE or IndSAfE. BngE seems to be placed in a similar phase as PakE, and in a more mature phase than SrLE. This comparison is, however, difficult, mainly due to the lack of research on Bangladeshi English. In my work, I investigated only 23 features, and the conclusion drawn based on them may not present the total picture, when all the features presented in eWAVE are considered. To the best of my knowledge, the codification of Bangladeshi English is not present yet. Moreover, BngE has not yet achieved the linguistic homogeneity required for the Endonormative Stabilization phase. In perspective of research question 3, I can safely claim that Bangladeshi English is firmly placed in the Nativization phase, although there are some early signs that it is moving towards the Endonormative Stabilization phase. From this perspective, my observation differs slightly from García-Castro's (2019), who suggested that Bangladeshi English might be going backwards towards phase 2; i.e., the Exonormative Stabilization phase, although it is currently nativized.

Based on the above discussion, the main contributions of this thesis can be pointed out as follows:

- a) **A research methodology** that provides an easy-to-follow guideline for researchers working in this area, especially in the context of Bangladesh. This is complemented by the statistical computations performed in this thesis. This ensures transparency of the work, as well as replicability of the process by future researchers.
- b) **Survey data**, which can be used not only for this thesis but also for further studies on Bangladeshi English.
- c) **The existence of a Non-standard Bangladeshi variety of English (BngE)** is attested by this research effort. It has been present in all of the features considered to varying extents.
- d) **Gender influence among Bangladeshi English learners** has been addressed as the second research point of this thesis. The result can be used in different socio-linguistic studies as well.
- e) **The evolution of Bangladeshi English** as a post-colonial English has been studied in this thesis. It can point toward the dynamicity of English in Bangladesh. The research result can be an input not only to language-based research; but also in sectors like education, business, and media in order to identify the trends, especially those preferred by the educated young generation of Bangladesh.
- f) **The pervasiveness of linguistic features in Bangladesh** can be an input to the eWAVE atlas. This is especially important because no such data is currently available on eWAVE for Bangladeshi English. Although my thesis addresses only 23 language features, the results are robust and representative of the young English speakers of Bangladesh. Further research can fill the gap by investigating the remaining features and adding more data to the features addressed in this thesis.
- g) **The reasoning effort** spent in this thesis on the study result opens up further research opportunities in areas concerned about all three research questions.

The work performed in this thesis has a number of limitations, stemming from the assumptions and the scope of the work. I would like to point them out as well:

- The thesis involves university students as the subjects of the study. Therefore, they represent only the Bangladeshi young generation with access to higher education. They do not represent all the Bangladeshi people, even of that particular age group, let alone the whole population.
- In this thesis, I have considered 23 language features. In my Master's Thesis (Nahar 2016), I have worked on 11 features, out of which 8 are addressed once again in this work too (in an aim to obtain more representative results). Another feature addressed in my Master's Thesis is not present in eWAVE, and it was constructed by me. Therefore, I have worked on the existence of BngE on 26 features in total. On the other hand, eWAVE consists of 235 features as of February, 2026. My work can pave the way for Bangladeshi English in eWAVE. However, it certainly requires a considerable amount of work to put Bangladeshi English completely in eWAVE.
- The work involves statistical calculations. Subsequently, I have made some assumptions that can be considered statistical caveats. For example, assigning numerical values 0, 1, 2, and 3 may not actually represent the exact level of usage a participant wants to mention. I have also defined some arbitrary ranges for NStE influence as moderate, weak, strong etc. In order to find the gender difference in creating BngE I have once again assumed some arbitrary values indicative of the difference. My definition of the levels of pervasiveness also incorporates my own assumptions, which might differ from many other eWAVE contributors. I have provided the rationale for my choices. Nevertheless, those are assumptions only and thus I cannot claim them to be perfect.
- I have focused on finding the answers to my research questions. However, the detailed reasoning on the observed results requires extensive studies of social, political and economic variables. Such studies are out of the scope of this thesis. I have presented my reasoning based on my experience and available related works, without spending much effort on diving into socio-political contexts.

Based on the research results and discussions of my work, I would like to recommend a number of aspects for further research. In Bangladesh many of the students continue their after-school education (after HSC) in colleges under the guidance of the National University of Bangladesh. It would be interesting to find their behavior in using NStE or BngE. Combining their responses with

those of the university students would provide a more complete picture of the students of the particular age range. There is also the obvious topic of extending the research in the case of other language features. A researcher can use the methodology presented in this thesis, employ the calculations, as well as the criteria for decision making equally effectively for other features as well.

The topic of gender influence in English acquisition has been a prolific area of research in different parts of the world. To my surprise, the case is completely different for Bangladesh. I have addressed the issue only in the case of university students. The female students in this sample most certainly are not representative of common female population in Bangladesh. Further work involving male and female participants from different age groups, educational and social backgrounds would provide a clear picture in terms of the restrictions applying to women in a conservative society.

The position of Bangladeshi English in the Dynamic Model of Schneider can be used in order to observe the trend of the language among the Bangladeshi people. Research in this area is mostly qualitative. Focused research collecting field data would make decisions more robust. For example, some researchers might focus on the codification of BngE, which would push BngE forward in the Dynamic Model. Another interesting area would be using the position of Bangladeshi English for practical purposes. For example, the popularity of mixing English words and expressions, which is indicative of Bangladeshi English in the Nativization phase, has motivated radio jockeys to use them in their presentations. Research results from this area might provide an idea of what the young generation is passionate for, and such information can be used in sectors like education, media and business.

References

- Akhter, I. 2014. *Differences in Language Use by Male and Female Students in Tertiary Academia in Dhaka City*. BRAC University (Doctoral Dissertation).
- Alahmadi, N. S. & Lahlali, M. 2019. The Role of Learners' Gender Differences in L2 Inter-Language Errors of Intermediate-Level Saudi Language Learners. *Journal of Arts and Humanities*, 8(11), 63-74aa.
- Al Ghabra, H. 2015. *The Influence of Gender and age in SLA*. University of Debrecen,
https://www.academia.edu/12657019/Gender_Age_and_Second_Language_Acquisition (accessed 2019-08-16).
- Al-Quaderi, G. & Al Mahmud, A. 2010. English Literature in English Medium Schools in Bangladesh: The question of post-colonial pedagogy. *Asiatic*, 4(2), 121-154.
- Archvadze, E. 2012. The Problems of First Language Interference in the Process of Teaching Second Languages. *English Education Journal (EEJ)*, 6(4), 469-483.
- Arshad, M. & Ali, A. & Chaudhary, N. 2013. Does Gender Difference Matter in Learning English in a Culture. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Contemporary Research in Business*, 5(3), 409-419.
- Asher, R. E. & Simpson J. M. Y. 1994. *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistic*, Vol. 7. Oxford.
- Banu, R. & Sussex, R. 2001. English in Bangladesh after Independence: Dynamics of Policy and Practice. In B. Moore (Ed.), *Who's Centric Now? The Present State of Post-Colonial Englishes*, 122-147, South Melbourne, Victoria: Oxford University Press.
- Beiser, M. & Hou, F. 2000. Gender Differences in Language Acquisition and Employment Consequences among Southeast Asian Refugees in Canada. *Canadian Public Policy*, 26. 311-330. 10.2307/3552403.
- Bhattacharya, T. 1999. Specificity in the Bangla DP. In R. Singh, (ed.), *Yearbook of South Asian Languages and Linguistics 2*, Sage Publications, New Delhi/London, 71-99.

- Bhattacharya, T. 2001. Numeral/Quantifier-Classfier as a Complex Head. In H. van Riemsdijk & N. Corver (eds.), *Semi-Lexical Heads*, Mouton de Gruyter.
- Bhattacharya, T. 2000. In Search of the Vague 'One.' In T. Cambier-Langeveld, A. Lipták, M. Redford & E. Jan van der Torre (eds.) *The Proceedings of ConSOLE 7*, SOLE, Leiden, 33-48.
- Brown, D. B. 1994. *Principles of Language Learning and Teaching*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall Regents.
- Bruce, M. 2008. *Speaking Our Language: The Story of Australian English*. Oxford Press.
- Buschfeld, S. & Hoffmann, T. & Huber, M & Kautzsch, A (eds.). 2014. *The evolution of Englishes: The Dynamic Model and beyond*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Buschfeld, S. & Kautzsch, A. 2017. Towards an integrated approach to postcolonial and non-postcolonial Englishes. *World Englishes*. 36. 10.1111/weng.12203.
- Buschfeld, S. 2025. The Pluricentricity vs. Pluriareality Debate. In Meer, P & Durgasingh, R. (eds.), *Pluricentricity AND Pluriareality: Building the Case for Complementarity*.” *Pluricentricity and Pluriareality* 122-127
- Comrie, B. & Haspelmath, M. & Bickel, B. 2015. The Leipzig Glossing Rules: Conventions for interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses. <http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php> (accessed 2019-08-12).
- Contract for Research Funding: *Health Research Council of New Zealand*, 2019. <https://www.hrc.govt.nz/sites/default/files/2019-10/HRC%20Research%20Contract.pdf> (accessed 2025-11-09).
- Corder, S. P. 1973. *Introducing applied linguistics*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Corder, S. P. 1981. *Error Analysis and Interlanguage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- CRI. 2015. The Centre for Research and Information. <https://cri.org.bd/> (accessed 2020-12-23).

- Cowan, R. 2008. *The Teacher's Grammar of English: A Course Book and Reference Guide*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Dasgupta, J. 1970. *Language Conflict and National Development: Group Politics and National Language Policy in India*. University of California Press.
- Dasgupta, P. 1983. On the Bangla classifier Ta, its Penumbra, and Definiteness. *Indian Linguistics* 44, 10–26.
- Dasgupta, P. 1985. On Bangla Nouns. *Indian Linguistics*, 37–65.
- David, A. B. 2015. *Descriptive Grammar of Bangla*. Ed. by Connors, Thomas J. / Chacón, Dustin. Amsterdam: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Dayal, V. 2012 Bangla Classifiers: Mediating Between Kinds and Objects. *Italian Journal of Linguistics*.
<https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.297.600&rep=rep1&type=pdf> (accessed 2020-03-22).
- Dicker, S. J. 1996. Languages in America: A Pluralist View. Clevedon: *Multilingual Matters Ltd*.
- Edu.icon: 2015 *edu.com*
http://www.eduicon.com/Institute/More/?page=university.php&Type_ID=2 (accessed 2015-08-09).
- Ellis, R. 1986. *Understanding Second Language Acquisition*. Oxford.
- Ellis, R. 1994. *The Study of Second Language Acquisition*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.
- Ethnologue. 2015. *Languages of World*. <http://www.ethnologue.com/statistics/> (accessed 2019-08-09).
- Evans, S. 2014. The Evolutionary Dynamics of Postcolonial Englishes: A Hong Kong case study. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 18(5).
- eWAVE Kortmann, B. & Lunkenheimer, K. & Ehret, K. (eds.) 2020. The Electronic World Atlas of Varieties of English. Zenodo. <http://ewave-atlas.org>.
- Faquire, R. K. 2010. Language Situation in Bangladesh. *The Dhaka University Studies*, 67(02).

- Feery, K. 2008. Current Perspective on the Role of Gender in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) Research. *The ITB Journal*: Vol. 9(1), Article 4.
- Finch, G. 2003. *Word of Mouth*. Palgrave.
- Gangopadhyay, Malaya. 1990. *The Noun Phrase in Bengali: Assignment of Role and the Kāraka Theory*. Motilal Banarsidass Publ.
https://books.google.de/books?id=2l7DkPEmUBUC&dq=Plural+markers+in+Bengali+grammar&source=gbs_navlinks_s (accessed 2015-7-13).
- García-Castro, L. 2019. Bangladesh's Position in the Dynamic Model of Postcolonial Englishes and in the Extra-and Intra-Territorial Forces Model. (Paper Presentation at the University of Bamberg, 26-28 September).
- Gascoigne, C. 2002. The Role of Gender in L2 Interaction: Socialization via L2 materials. *Encuentro Revista de Investigación e Innovación en la Clase de Idioma* 13/14, 81- 89.
- Ghosh, R. 2010. *Some Aspects of Determiner Phrase in Bangla and Asamiya*, LAP Lambert Academic Publishing, Saarbrücken, Germany.
- Giacalone, R. A. 1997. Progressive Periphrases, Markedness, and Second-Language Data. *Language and its Ecology*. Eds. S. Eliasson & F. H. Jahr. Berlin: Mouton, 261-285.
- Gumperz, J. J. 1982. *Discourse Strategies*. Cambridge University Press.
- Haque, M. S. & Abedin, Z. 2011. The discursive construction of (a)moral Names: Religion versus Language. *Multilingua*. 30 (3-4), 377- 390.
- Harris, J. 1984. Syntactic Variation and Dialect Divergence. *Journal of Linguistics* 20(2), 303–327.
- Haspelmath, M. 1999. Why is Grammaticalization Irreversible? *Linguistics* 37, 1043-1068.
- Haspelmath, M. 2001. Non-canonical Mark-ing of Core Arguments in European Languages. In: Aikhenvald, Alexandra & Dixon, R. M. W. (eds.) *Non-canonical subjects and objects. (Typological Studies in Language)* Amsterdam: Benjamins.

- Hickey, R. 2004. South Asian Englishes. In: R. Hickey (eds.) *Legacies of Colonial English*. Studies in Transported Dialects. Cambridge: University Press, 536-558.
- Hossain, T. & Tollefson, J.W. 2007. Language Policy in Education in Bangladesh. In A. B. Tsui and J. W. Tollefson (eds.), *Language Policy, Culture, and Identity in Asian Contexts*, 241-258. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Hossain, M. M. & Hasan, M. M. & Meraj, A. A. 2015. Redefining Bangladeshi Variety of English: Print and Electronic Media Perspective. *International Journal* 3(6), 1280-1286.
- Igboanusi, H. 2002. *A Dictionary of Nigerian English Usage*. Ibadan, Nigeria: Enicrownfit.
- Ihemere, U. K. 2007. *A Tri-Generational Study of Language Choice and Shift in Port Harcourt*. Universal-Publishers.
- Islam, M. N. & Hashim, A. 2019. Historical Evolution of English in Bangladesh. *Journal of Language Teaching & Research* 10(2).
- Jinnah, M. 1948. Speech at a Public Meeting in Dhaka. In Quaid-I Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: *Speeches and Statements 1947-1948*. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1989.
- Jowitt, D. 1991. *Nigerian English Usage: An introduction*. Lagos: Longman.
- Julé, A. 2003. *Gender, Participation and Silence in the Language Classroom: Sh-Shushing the Girls*. New York.
- Kachru, B. B. 1983. *The Indianization of English: The English in India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press
- Kachru, B. B. 1985. Standards, Codification and Sociolinguistic Realism: The English language in the Outer Circle'. In Quirk, R.& Henry W. (eds.). 1985. *English in the World: Teaching and Learning the Language and Literatures*. Cambridge University Press, 11-30.
- Kachru, B.B. 1994. World Englishes in Contact and Convergence. *Special Issue of World Englishes* 13(2), 131–287.
- Kachru, Y. & Nelson, C. 2006. *World English in Asian Contexts*. Hong Kong University Press.

- Kellerman, E. 1977. Towards a Characterization of the Strategy of Transfer in Second Language Learning. *Interlanguage Studies Bulletin* 21, 58–145.
- Keshavarz, M. H. 2008. *Contrastive analysis and error analysis*. Tehran: Rahnama Press.
- Kettemann, B. & Cossée, M. & Kerschbaumer, M. & Landsiedler, L. 1998. Fremdsprachen Mädchensache, Geschlechtsspezifische Aspekte des Fremdsprachenerwerbs in der Schule. In: *Moderne Sprachen: Zeitschrift des Verbandes der Österreichischen Neuphilologen* 42, 11-25.
- Kortmann, B. & Schneider, Edgar W. 2004. *A Handbook of Varieties of English: A Multimedia Reference Tool. Volume 1: Phonology*. Walter de Gruyter & Co.
- Kortmann, B. & Lunkenheimer, K. & Ehret, K. (eds.) 2020. *The Electronic World Atlas of Varieties of English*. Zenodo. <http://ewave-atlas.org> (accessed 2022-09-12).
- Kretzschmar Jr., W. A. 2007. *Linguistic Databases of the American Linguistic Atlas Project (ALAP)*, University of Georgia.
<http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.23.4952&rep=rep1&type=pdf> (accessed 2015-01-12).
- Kretzschmar Jr., W. A. 2013, Computer Mapping of Language Data. In Krug, M. & Schlüter, J. (eds.), *Research Methods in Language Variation and change*. Cambridge University Press, 53-68.
- Krishnaswamy, N. & Burde, Archana. 1998. *The Politics of Indians' English: Linguistic Colonialism and the Expanding English Empire*. Oxford University Press.
- Krug, M. & Sell, K. 2013. Designing and conducting interviews and questionnaires. In Krug, M. & Schlüter, J. (eds.), *Research Methods in Language Variation and Change*. Cambridge University, 69-95.
- Labov, W. 1990. The Intersection of Sex and Social Class in the Course of Linguistic Change. *Language Variation and Linguistic Change* 2, 205 – 251.
- Langacker, W. R. 2009. *Investigation in Cognitive Grammar*. Mouton de Gruyter.
- Leech, G. & Hundt, M. & Mair, C. & Smith, N. 2009. *Change in Contemporary English. A Grammatical Study*. Cambridge University Press.

- Lightbown, P. & Spada, N. 2002. *How Languages Are Learned*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lightbown, P. M. & Spada, N. 2006. *How Languages are Learned: Oxford Handbooks for Language Teachers*, 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lightbown, P. & Spada, N. 2013. *How Languages Are Learned*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Loulidi, R. 1989. Is Language Learning really a Female Business? *Modern Languages* 70 (4), 201-208.
- McArthur, T. 1987. The English Languages? *English Today* 11(3), 9-13.
- Mahboob, A. & Ahmar, N. 2004. *Pakistani English: Phonology*. A Handbook of Varieties of English: CD-ROM. Edited by E. W. Schneider. & B. Kortmann, Clive Upton Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Matthews, P. 1997. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics*. Oxford University Press.
- Mesthrie, R. & Bhatt, R. M. 2008. *World Englishes: The Study of New English Varieties*. Cambridge University Press.
- Milroy, L. 1987. *Observing and Analyzing Natural Language: A Critical Account of Sociolinguistic Method*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Milroy, L & Gordon, M. 2003. *Sociolinguistics: Method and Interpretation*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Talig.
- Mishra, U. K. 2013. Learning English for Development and Economy in India: A Socio-Cultural Perspective. Eds. Gunashekar, P. and Powell-Davies, P. *English Language Teacher Education in a Diverse Environment*. https://www.britishcouncil.in/sites/default/files/tec_13_publication_final_version.pdf (accessed 16-01-2019).
- Mukherjee, J. 2007. Steady States in the Evolution of New Englishes: Present-day Indian English as an Equilibrium. *Journal of English Linguistics*, 35(2), 157-187.

- Nahar, A. 2016. Grammatical Variation in Informal Usage - A Questionnaire-based Study of English in Bangladesh, Master's Thesis at the University of Bamberg.
- Nihalani, P. & Tongue, R. K. & Hosali, P. & Crowther, J. 2004. *Indian and British English: A Handbook of Usage and Pronunciation*. 2nd ed. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Odlin, T. 2008. 15 Cross-Linguistic Influence. In C. J. Doughty & M. H. Long (eds.). *The Handbook of Second Language Acquisition* 27, 436-485.
- O'Malley, J. M. & Chamot, A. U. & Stewner-Manzanares, G. & Kupper, L. & Russo, R. P. 1985. Learning Strategies Used by Beginning and Intermediate ESL learners. *Language Learning* 35 (1), 21-46.
- Oxford, R. L. 1989. The Use of Language Learning Strategies: a Synthesis of Studies with Implications for Strategy Training. *System*, 17(2), 235-247.
- Oxford, R. 1993. Instructional Implications of Gender Differences in Second/Foreign Language (L2) Learning Styles and Strategies. In *Applied Language Learning* 4, 65-94.
- Platt, J. & Weber, H. & Ho, M. L. 1984. *The New Englishes*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Polanyi, L. 1995. Language Learning and Living Abroad: Stories from the Field. In Freed, B. (ed.). *Second Language Acquisition in a Study Abroad Context*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 271-91.
- Quirk, R. & Greenbaum, S. & Leech, G. & Svartvik, J. 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London: Longman Group Ltd.
- Rahman, M. M. & Pandian, A. 2018. A critical investigation of English language teaching in Bangladesh: Unfulfilled expectations after two decades of communicative language teaching. *English Today* 34(3), 43-49.
- Ráková, A. 2013. Reduplication of Verbal Forms in Bengali. *Asian and African Studies* 22(2).
- Rana, S. 2010. Reduplication in Bengali Language. In *Language in India. Strength for Today and Bright Hope for Tomorrow*, Volume 10, 88 – 95.

- https://www.researchgate.net/publication/281318711_Reduplication_of_verbal_forms_in_Bengali (accessed 2021-09-14).
- Rivas, M. 2017. Gender and Second Language Acquisition.
https://www.academia.edu/36329921/GENDER_AND_SECOND_LANGUAGE_ACQUISITION (accessed 2020-03-23).
- Römer, U. 2005. *Progressives, Patterns, Pedagogy: a Corpus-Driven Approach to English Progressive Forms, Functions, Contexts and Didactics*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Roy, S. 2017. English in Bangladesh: Resistance versus Utility. *Language in India* 17(5).
- Schneider, E. W. 2003. The Dynamics of New Englishes: From Identity Construction to Dialect Birth. *Language* 79(2), 233–281.
- Schneider, E. W. 2007. *Postcolonial English: Varieties Around the World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schneider, E. W. 2011. *English Around the World: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schneider, E. W. 2014. New Reflections on the Evolutionary Dynamics of World Englishes. *World Englishes* 33(1), 9-32.
- Seargeant, P. 2012. *Exploring World Englishes: Language in a Global Context*. London: Routledge.
- Setter, J. E. & Wong, C. S. P. & Chan, B. H. S. 2010. *Hong Kong English*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Shen, F. 1989. The Classroom and the Wider Culture: Identity as a Key to Learning English Composition. *College Composition and Communication* 40, 459–466.
- Slavoff, G. R. & Johnson, J. S. 1995. The Effects of Age on the Rate of Learning a Second Language. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 17, 1-16.
- Social Science Statistic 2022.
<https://www.socscistatistics.com/tests/studentttest/default.aspx> (accessed 2022-06-02).

- Sönning, L. 2016. The dot plot: A graphical tool for data analysis and presentation. In H. Christ & D. Klenovšak & L. Sönning & V. Werner (eds.), *A blend of MaLT: Selected Contributions from the 2015 Methods and Linguistic Theories Symposium*. Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press, 101–129.
- Sridhar, K. & Sridhar, S. N. 1986. Bridging the Paradigm Gap: Second Language Acquisition Theory and Indigenized Varieties of English. *World Englishes* 5, 3–14.
- StatTrek 2022. <https://stattrek.com/online-calculator/t-distribution.aspx> (accessed 2022-09-02).
- Sunderland, J. 2000. Issues of Language and Gender in Second and Foreign Language Education. *Language teaching* 33(4), 203–223.
- Swan, M. 1996. *Practical English Usage. Grammar Book*. Cornelsen Verlag.
- Szmrecsanyi, B. & Kortmann, B. 2009. Vernacular Universals and Angloversals in a Typological Perspective. In Filppula, M. & Klemola, J. & Paulasto, H. (eds.), *Vernacular Universals and Language Contacts: Evidence from Varieties of English and Beyond*. London/New York: Routledge, 33–53.
- Tagliamonte, S. A. 2006. *Analysing Sociolinguistic Variation*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Tagore, Rabindranath. 1940. ছেলোবেলা. গল্পগুচ্ছ. Batighor, India.
- The European Linguistic Area: Standard Average European. Available from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/247869081_The_European_linguistic_area_Standard_Average_European (accessed 2022-09-13).
- Thomas, W. & Collier, V. 2002. A National Study of School Effectiveness for Language Minority Students' Long-Term Academic Achievement. <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED475048> (accessed 2025-03-17).
- Thompson, H. R. 2010. *Bengali: A Comprehensive Grammar*. London: Routledge.
- Thompson, H. R., 2012. *Bengali*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Trudgill, P. 2003. *A Glossary of Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ugorji, C. U. C. 2015. Nigerian English in Schneider's Dynamic Model. *Journal of English as an International Language* 10(1).

- UNdata, A World of Information, General Information and Population Data for Bangladesh 2025 <https://data.un.org/en/iso/bd.html> (accessed 2026-03-22)
- van der Slik, F. 2010. Acquisition of Dutch as a Second Language: The explanative Power of Cognate and Genetic Linguistic Distance Measures for 11 West-European first Languages. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 32(3), 401–432.
- van Der Slik, F. W. P. & Schepens, J. J. & Van Hout, R. W. N. M. 2013. *Approaches to Measuring Linguistic Differences*. De Gruyter Mouton.
- van Der Slik, F. W. P. & Schepens, J. J. & Van Hout, R. W. N. M. 2015. The Gender Gap in Second Language Acquisition: Gender Differences in the Acquisition of Dutch Among Immigrants from 88 Countries with 49 Mother Tongues. *PloS one* 10 (11), e0142056. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0142056> (accessed 2026-03-22).
- Vyas, S. 2015. Hindu Genocide in East Pakistan.
http://www.hindunet.org/hindu_history/modern/hindu_bangla.html
(accessed 2025-03-17).
- Wolfram, W. & Schilling-Estes, N. 2005. *American English: Dialects and Variation*. Sussex: Wiley Blackwell.
- Wray, A. & Bloomer, A. 2012. *Projects in Linguistics and Language Studies: a Practical Guide to Researching Language*. 3rd ed. London: Routledge.
- Zeynali, S. 2012. Exploring the Gender Effect on EFL Learners' Learning Strategies. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies* 2.
- Zoghi, M. & Kazemi, S. A. & Kalani, A. 2013. The Effect of Gender on Language Learning. *Journal of Novel Applied Sciences* 2 (4), 1124-1128.

Appendix – A: Questionnaire

Date: ____/____/2017 (day/month/year)

Please rate every sentence individually and do not revise your answers once you have checked a box! Go by your initial feeling.

How often do you and your friends use the following expressions in an informal conversation in English for the corresponding expressions in Bangla?

1.	শাহরিয়ার একজন উচ্চশিক্ষিত রাজনীতিবিদ।	Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
a	Shahriar a highly educated politician.	☐	☐	☐	☐
b	Shahriar is a highly educated politician.	☐	☐	☐	☐
c	Other:	☐	☐	☐	☐

2.	আমার খালারা মেধাবী ছাত্রী ছিলেন।	Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
a	My aunts were brilliant students.	☐	☐	☐	☐
b	My aunts were brilliant student.	☐	☐	☐	☐
c	Other:	☐	☐	☐	☐

3.	A. শাহরিয়ার কি বিয়ে করতে রাজি হবে? B. সেটাই আশা করি।	Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
a	A. Will Shahriar agree to getting married? B. Hope so.	☐	☐	☐	☐
b	A. Will Shahriar agree to getting married? B. I hope so.	☐	☐	☐	☐
c	Other:	☐	☐	☐	☐

৪ এরপর সে ভাবলো, বাংলাদেশ থেকে মেয়ে পেলে (বিয়ে করার জন্য) কেমন হয়?		Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
a	Then he thought what about getting a girl [to marry] from Bangladesh?	☐	☐	☐	☐
b	Then he thought what about getting girl [to marry] from Bangladesh?	☐	☐	☐	☐
c	Other:	☐	☐	☐	☐

৫ কিন্তু এটা তোমার গাড়ি নয়।		Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
a	But this one not your car.	☐	☐	☐	☐
b	But this one is not your car.	☐	☐	☐	☐
c	Other:	☐	☐	☐	☐

৬ এখানে রিকশা থামানোর অনুমতি নেই।		Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
a	Here is not allowed to stop the rikshaw.	☐	☐	☐	☐
b	Here it is not allowed to stop the rikshaw.	☐	☐	☐	☐
c	Other:	☐	☐	☐	☐

৭ তুমি কি কখনও সাইকেল চালিয়েছো?		Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
a	Did you ever ride a bicycle?	☐	☐	☐	☐
b	Have you ever ridden a bicycle?	☐	☐	☐	☐
c	Other:	☐	☐	☐	☐

8.	তুমি কী চাইতেছো?	Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
a	What do you want?	☐	☐	☐	☐
b	What are you wanting?	☐	☐	☐	☐
c	Other:				
9.	তুমি কি আরেকটু ভাত নিবে?	Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
a	Will you have a little more rice?	☐	☐	☐	☐
b	Will you have little more rice?	☐	☐	☐	☐
c	Other:	☐	☐	☐	☐
10	আমি ভাবছিলাম তুমি এখন কি করবে।	Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
a	I was wondering what are you going to do now.	☐	☐	☐	☐
b	I was wondering what you are going to do now.	☐	☐	☐	☐
c	Other:	☐	☐	☐	☐
11	যেমনটা আমি আগে স্পষ্ট করে বলেছি আমি সমাধানের ব্যাপারে কথা বলবো, সমস্যা না।	Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
a	As I made clear before, I am going to talk about solutions, not problems.	☐	☐	☐	☐
b	As I made it clear before, I am going to talk about solutions, not problems.	☐	☐	☐	☐
c	Other:	☐	☐	☐	☐

12	ভেড়াগুলো দক্ষিণ দিকে যাচ্ছে।	Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
a	The sheep are going to the South.	☐	☐	☐	☐
b	The sheeps are going to the South.	☐	☐	☐	☐
c	Other:	☐	☐	☐	☐
13	এখানে বেশীরভাগই কৃষিকাজ হয়।	Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
a	Here is mostly farming.	☐	☐	☐	☐
b	Here it is mostly farming.	☐	☐	☐	☐
c	Other:	☐	☐	☐	☐
14	তুমি ঢাকায় কোথায় থাকো?	Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
a	Where in Dhaka do you live?	☐	☐	☐	☐
b	Where in Dhaka you live?	☐	☐	☐	☐
c	Other:	☐	☐	☐	☐
15	আমাদের এই প্রথম বাড়িটা অনেক আরামদায়ক ছিলো।	Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
a	Our this first house was very comfortable.	☐	☐	☐	☐
b	Our first house was very comfortable.	☐	☐	☐	☐
c	Other:	☐	☐	☐	☐
16	তুমি কি মিরপুর থাকো?	Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never

a	Do you live in Mirpur?	☐	☐	☐	☐
b	You live in Mirpur?	☐	☐	☐	☐
c	Other:	☐	☐	☐	☐

17	আমি জানি না তুমি কি বলছো।	Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
a	I don't know what are you talking about.	☐	☐	☐	☐
b	I don't know what you are talking about.	☐	☐	☐	☐
c	Other:	☐	☐	☐	☐

18	আমার বোনের সাথে মাঝে মাঝে আমি ইংরেজিতে কথা বলি।	Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
a	Sometimes I speak English to my sister.	☐	☐	☐	☐
b	To my sister sometimes I speak English.	☐	☐	☐	☐
c	Other:	☐	☐	☐	☐

19	প্রাথমিক পর্যায়ে শব্দতালিকা খুবই গুরুত্বপূর্ণ।	Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
a	Vocabulary is very important at elementary level.	☐	☐	☐	☐
b	Vocabulary is very important at the elementary level.	☐	☐	☐	☐
c	Other:	☐	☐	☐	☐

20	সুমাইয়া পার্টি দিয়েছে কারণ সে পরিক্ষায় পাশ করেছে।	Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
a	Sumiya threw a party because she passed the exam.	☐	☐	☐	☐
b	Sumiya threw a party because she had passed the	☐	☐	☐	☐

exam.

c *Other:*

	Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
21 কে কে এসেছিলো?				

a Who who came?	☐	☐	☐	☐
-----------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

b Who came?	☐	☐	☐	☐
-------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

c <i>Other:</i>	☐	☐	☐	☐
-----------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

	Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
22 আমি বারোজন অতিথী দেখেছি। প্রত্যেকেই একজন ডাক্তার।				

a I saw twelve guests. Each is a doctor.	☐	☐	☐	☐
--	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

b I saw twelve guests. Each a doctor.	☐	☐	☐	☐
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

c <i>Other:</i>	☐	☐	☐	☐
-----------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

	Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
23 তারা নিজের জন্য অনেক বেশি চিন্তা করে।				

a They worry far too much about themselves.	☐	☐	☐	☐
---	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

b They worry far too much about themselves.	☐	☐	☐	☐
---	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

c <i>Other:</i>	☐	☐	☐	☐
-----------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

	Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
24 তারা কী কী বলেছিলো?				

a What did they say?	☐	☐	☐	☐
----------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

b What what did they say?	☐	☐	☐	☐
---------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

c <i>Other:</i>	☐	☐	☐	☐
-----------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

25	তারা আগামিকাল রাতে আসবে।	Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
a	They coming tomorrow night.	☐	☐	☐	☐
b	They are coming tomorrow night.	☐	☐	☐	☐
c	Other:	☐	☐	☐	☐
26	আজকে অনেক তারা দেখা যাবে।	Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
a	Many stars will appear today.	☐	☐	☐	☐
b	Many star will appear today	☐	☐	☐	☐
c	Other:	☐	☐	☐	☐
27	আমি এরমধ্যে বইটি পড়েছি।	Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
a	I already read the book.	☐	☐	☐	☐
b	I have already read the book.	☐	☐	☐	☐
c	Other:	☐	☐	☐	☐
28	আমার ঠাণ্ডা লেগেছে।	Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
a	I got the cold.	☐	☐	☐	☐
b	I got a cold.	☐	☐	☐	☐
c	I got cold.	☐	☐	☐	☐
d	Other:	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
29 আমাদের এই সচরাচর সমস্যাটা খুবই গুরুতর।				
a Our this common problem is very serious.	☐	☐	☐	☐
b Our common problem is very serious.	☐	☐	☐	☐
c <i>Other:</i>	☐	☐	☐	☐
30 আমাদের সন্তানেরা স্কুলে যায়।				
a Our children go to school.	☐	☐	☐	☐
b Our childrens go to school.	☐	☐	☐	☐
c <i>Other:</i>	☐	☐	☐	☐
31 যেহেতু আফ্রিকার অন্যত্র এটিই ঘটনা, শিশুদের জন্য এখনো অনেক করা সম্ভব।				
a As is the case elsewhere in Africa, much can still be done for children.	☐	☐	☐	☐
b As it is the case elsewhere in Africa, much can still be done for children.	☐	☐	☐	☐
c <i>Other:</i>	☐	☐	☐	☐
32 তানজিলা ঠিক করেছিলো যে সে উচ্চশিক্ষার জন্য জার্মানি যাবে।				
a Tanjila decided that she will go to Germany for higher education.	☐	☐	☐	☐
b Tanjila decided that she would go to Germany for higher education.	☐	☐	☐	☐

c *Other:*

	Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
33 আমার এটা ভালো লাগছে।				
a I am liking it.	☐	☐	☐	☐
b I like it.	☐	☐	☐	☐
c <i>Other:</i>	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
34 আমি এখন এটা করতে যাচ্ছি।				
a I am gonna do it now.	☐	☐	☐	☐
b I gonna do it now.	☐	☐	☐	☐
c <i>Other:</i>	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
35 A: তোমার কাছে টিকিটগুলো আছে? B: না, ওগুলো বিক্রি করে দিয়েছি।				
a A: Do you have tickets? B: No, sold them already.	☐	☐	☐	☐
b A: Do you have tickets? B: No, I sold them already.	☐	☐	☐	☐
c <i>Other:</i>	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
36 তো তুমি সবসময় তোমার কাজের ব্যাপারেই ভাবছো।				
a So you are always thinking about your work.	☐	☐	☐	☐
b So you always thinking about your work.	☐	☐	☐	☐
c <i>Other:</i>	☐	☐	☐	☐

37	গতকাল আমি বাগানে দশটা পাখি দেখেছি।	Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
a	Yesterday I saw ten bird in the garden.	☐	☐	☐	☐
b	Yesterday I saw ten birds in the garden.	☐	☐	☐	☐
c	Other:	☐	☐	☐	☐

38	আমার বাচ্চা এখন অনেক সুস্থ।	Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
a	My baby is very healthy now.	☐	☐	☐	☐
b	My baby very healthy now.	☐	☐	☐	☐
c	Other:	☐	☐	☐	☐

39	গতকাল আমার দাঁতে ব্যথা ছিলো।	Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
a	Yesterday I had a toothache.	☐	☐	☐	☐
b	Yesterday I had toothache.	☐	☐	☐	☐
c	Yesterday I had the toothache.	☐	☐	☐	☐
d	Other:	☐	☐	☐	☐

40	সোহান দুজন বন্ধুর সাথে খেলা দেখতে যাচ্ছে।	Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
a	Shohan gonna watch game with two friends.	☐	☐	☐	☐
b	Shohan is gonna watch game with two friends.	☐	☐	☐	☐
c	Other:	☐	☐	☐	☐

41	আমরা নিজে সব কাজ করি।	Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
a	We do all the work ourself.	☐	☐	☐	☐
b	We do all the work ourselves.	☐	☐	☐	☐
c	Other:	☐	☐	☐	☐

42	সুজন কি চায়?	Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
a	What does Shujon want?	☐	☐	☐	☐
b	What Shujon wants?	☐	☐	☐	☐
c	Other:	☐	☐	☐	☐

43	তুমি কি ক্রিকেট পছন্দ করো?	Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
a	You like cricket?	☐	☐	☐	☐
b	Do you like cricket?	☐	☐	☐	☐
c	Other:	☐	☐	☐	☐

44	আসিফ ক্লাসের সেরা ছেলে।	Always	Most Often	Sometimes	Never
a	Asif is the best boy in the class.	☐	☐	☐	☐
b	Asif is best boy in the class.	☐	☐	☐	☐
c	Other:	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Always	Most often	Sometimes	Never
45 ঐ ছেলেটি কোন স্কুল থেকে আসছে?				
a That boy is from which school?	☐	☐	☐	☐
b From which school that boy is?	☐	☐	☐	☐
c <i>Other:</i>	☐	☐	☐	☐
46 আমার মামারা শিক্ষক ছিলেন।				
a My uncles were teachers.	☐	☐	☐	☐
b My uncles were teacher.	☐	☐	☐	☐
c <i>Other:</i>	☐	☐	☐	☐

Personal Information

Age	Location(s) lived at from age 0-25
	Please indicate: city and state or country, if abroad
birth	
1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	
10	
11	
12	
13	
14	
15	
16	

Age: _____ 17

Gender: M / F (circle one) 18

Mother's native language: _____ 19

Father's native language: _____ 20

Language(s) used at home 21

while growing up: 22

☐ Bengali (___ %) 23☐ English (___ %) 24☐ Hindi (___ %) 25☐ Urdu (___ %) 26☐ Other (please specify): _____ 27**Academic Profile:**

S.S.C

☐ English ☐ Bengali ☐ Madrashah

Medium Medium

H.S.C

☐ English ☐ Bangla ☐ Madrashah

Medium Medium

Name and place of your University:

Qualifications (completed or ongoing):

☐ Bachelor_____☐ Master's _____☐ PhD_____☐ Other(please specify below):

Email address:_____

Consent Form

Dear prospective participants,

Thank you very much for your participation. Your responses are voluntary. Data will be used only for academic purposes and will be reported only in a collective form. Individual participants will not be identified.

If you are well-informed about the participation and wish to contribute to my study, please sign the form and return it to me.

Thank you for your time,

Sincerely,

Aklima Nahar

I understand what is involved in this research and I agree to participate in the study. [*I have been provided necessary information about the research.*]

Signature of participant

Date

I believe that the participant is giving informed consent to participate in this study.

Signature of researcher

Date

Appendix – B: Government Notification on Using Bengali

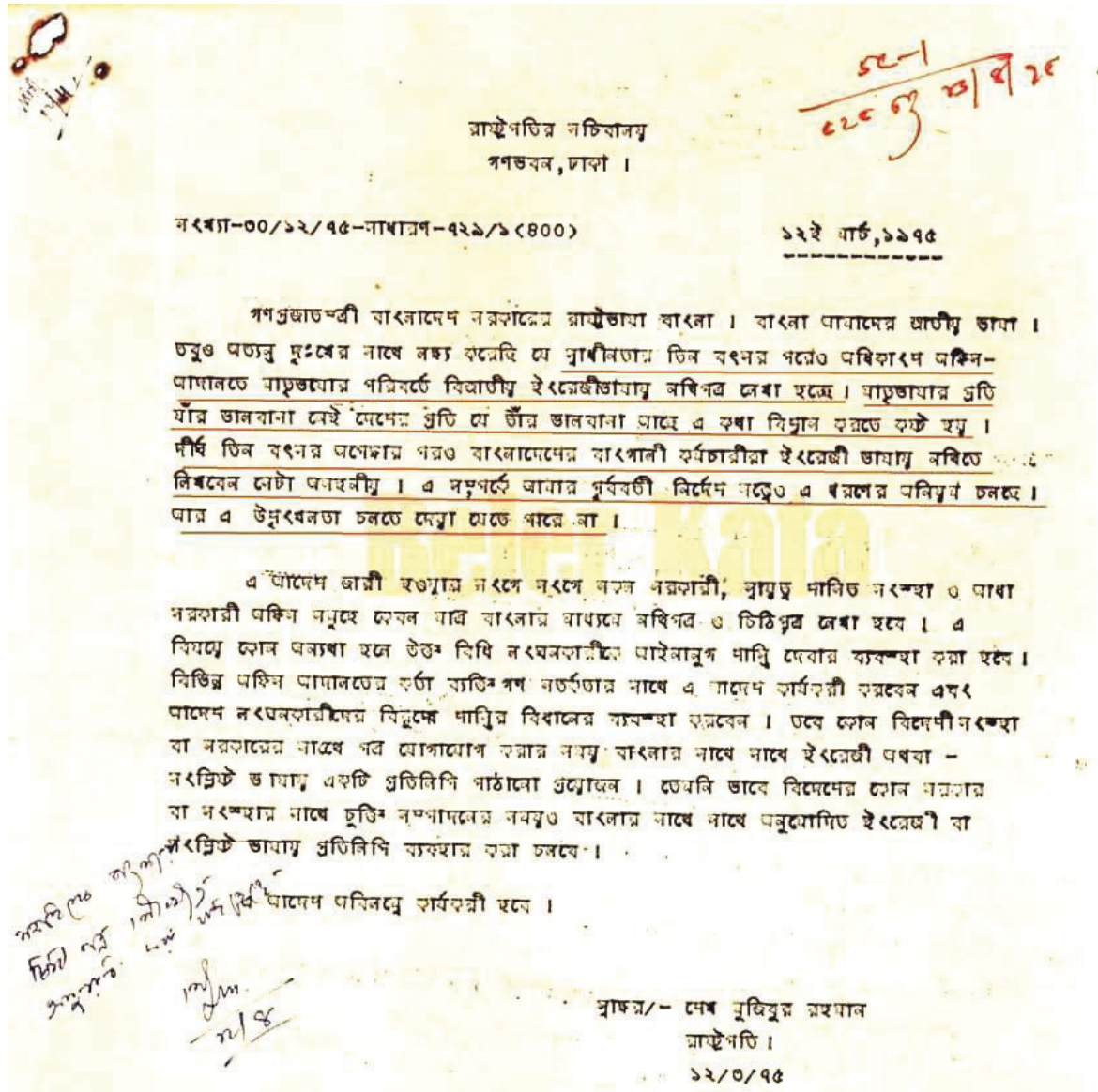


Figure 12: Notification of the Government of Bangladesh imposing the importance of using Bengali in official activities - dated 12. March, 1975

Appendix – C: Summary of Statistical Computation

Table 46: Detailed result of the statistical computation. Columns represent the contents as follows: Feature# = the feature concerned, M_NStE_f0 = number of 0 responses for this particular feature for NStE variant for male participants, M_NStE_f1 = number of 1 response for NStE for male and so on. F_ denotes the same values for female participants. (F/M)_NStE_Avg = (female/male) average value of NStE use, (F/M)_NStE_SD = (female/male) standard deviation, t = Student's t value between male and female respondents for particular features

Feat ure #	M_ NSt E_f 0	M_ NSt E_f 1	M_ NSt E_f 2	M_ NSt E_f 3	M_NSt E_Avg	M_NStE_ SD	F_NS tE_f0	F_NS tE_f1	F_ NSt E_f 2	F_ NSt E_f 3	F_NStE_A vg	GNStE_ SD	t_raw	t t_raw	=
14	191	101	58	114	1.20474 1379	1.2155153 31	98	50	27	33	0.9759615 38	1.11130 512	2.32	2.31506 217	
40	356	64	22	22	0.375 15	0.7833807 15	169	30	5	4	0.25 007	0.59242 007	2.05	2.05281 554	
43	139	137	106	80	1.27489 1775	1.0711574 28	64	59	51	36	1.2809523 81	1.07442 966	-0.1	0.06791 953	
45	81	122	106	152	1.71366 5944	1.1023578 6	28	38	62	80	1.9326923 08	1.04939 931	-2.4	2.41410 495	
47	103	101	91	166	1.69414 3167	1.1744516 3	45	63	35	67	1.5904761 9	1.14388 842	1.07	1.06885 116	
48	130	43	79	210	1.79870 1299	1.2777476 3	61	25	32	92	1.7380952 38	1.28469 978	0.57	0.56895 657	
56	226	96	49	91	1.01082 2511	1.1760101 2511	100	54	23	33	0.9476190 48	1.10070 066	0.66	0.65862 806	
57	122	91	68	180	1.66377 4403	1.2382944 61	66	41	26	76	1.5358851 67	1.26789 744	1.23	1.22927 541	
59	216	99	55	91	1.04555 3145	1.1727596 76	110	48	23	29	0.8619047 62	1.08011 295	1.93	1.92718 718	
60	440	162	103	219	1.10930 7359	1.2344092 46	211	61	35	113	1.1190476 19	1.28364 03	-0.1	0.13241 145	
63	197	135	70	59	0.98047 7223	1.0443778 78	92	70	29	19	0.8809523 81	0.96120 908	1.17	1.17301 36	
62	209	110	66	76	1.01952 2777	1.1205285 15	96	62	19	33	0.9476190 48	1.08325 745	0.78	0.77877 347	
88	337	68	27	30	0.45887 4459	0.8687935 29	156	30	16	8	0.4095238 1	0.78915 552	0.7	0.70195 118	
99	141	105	83	133	1.45021 645	1.1973590 87	61	58	49	42	1.3428571 43	1.09829 8	1.11	1.10504 696	
113	94	83	111	174	1.79004 329	1.1515415 97	49	37	47	77	1.7238095 24	1.18317 763	0.69	0.68518 091	
174	253	117	45	47	0.75324 6753	0.9955204 1	115	52	16	27	0.7857142 86	1.04507 266	-0.4	0.38578 181	
175	246	104	50	62	0.84415 5844	1.0738723 28	128	41	16	25	0.7047619 05	1.03669 631	1.58	1.57650 589	
176	198	129	58	77	1.03030 303	1.1044731 54	89	54	31	35	1.0574162 68	1.11387 724	-0.3	0.29370 244	
177	304	95	32	29	0.53478 2609	0.8753179 28	135	57	7	11	0.4952380 95	0.79431 084	0.56	0.55809 574	
224	264	104	46	47	0.73101 9523	1.0039471 13	106	56	25	20	0.8019323 67	0.98999 641	-0.8	0.84785 798	
227	101	95	110	155	1.69197 397	1.1505542 41	47	56	46	61	1.5761904 76	1.12816 951	1.22	1.21609 71	
228	181	126	75	80	1.11688 3117	1.1104465 7	77	73	31	29	1.0571428 57	1.03121 354	0.66	0.66075 881	
229	276	109	41	36	0.64718 6147	0.9345361 86	122	63	20	5	0.5619047 62	0.76124 972	1.16	1.15899 718	



Bangladeshi English remains one of the least explored varieties within the field of World Englishes, despite Bangladesh's long-standing contact with English throughout its colonial and postcolonial history. While considerable research has been conducted on other South Asian Englishes, particularly Indian English and Pakistani English, the linguistic features and sociolinguistic status of Bangladeshi English have received limited scholarly attention. This study seeks to address this gap by examining the extent to which Bangladeshi English has been shaped by contact with Bengali, the country's dominant native language. In addition, the study investigates the role of gender as a sociolinguistic variable and explores its influence on English language use among young Bangladeshis.

Drawing on data collected from approximately 340 university students, the research employs a mixed-methods approach that combines quantitative and qualitative analyses. The study examines patterns of English language variation, identifies features associated with language contact and nativization, and evaluates the sociolinguistic characteristics of Bangladeshi English within its historical and socio-political context. Furthermore, the findings are interpreted through the framework of Schneider's Dynamic Model of Postcolonial Englishes to assess the developmental stage of Bangladeshi English.

By providing a systematic description of this under-researched variety, the study contributes to the broader understanding of postcolonial Englishes and World Englishes. The results are expected to support the classification of Bangladeshi English as an emerging localized variety and to facilitate its inclusion in the Electronic World Atlas of Varieties of English (eWAVE).



ISBN 978-3-98989-127-2



9 783989 891272

www.uni-bamberg.de/ubp/