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Call for Papers

East West Journal of Humanities (EWJH) (ISSN 2074-6628) is a fully refereed journal published by East West University Center for Research and Training (EWUCRT), East West University, Bangladesh, one of the leading private universities of the country. EWJH invites submissions for Volume 8. As the official publication of a university that offers courses in the humanities and social sciences, it invites original submissions (4000-8000 words) in areas such as English language and literature, other literatures, linguistics, applied linguists/English language teaching, the history of ideas, philosophy, culture and society, film and media, as well as information studies. We also intend to publish scholarly papers on issues relating to class, gender, and race. Additionally, we will be happy to consider book reviews (500-800 words). We look forward to publishing academic articles that are theoretical in nature as well as papers that employ textual analysis.

Each article submitted will be evaluated through a three step procedure: initially it will be checked with Turnitin, a plagiarism detection software, then by internal review committee to see whether technical specifications are met, and finally it will be sent to reviewer(s). Since the author's name is not revealed to reviewers, a submission should not have the writer's name anywhere in the manuscript. Author should clearly write his/her name, designation(s), affiliation, addresses, telephone number(s), e-mail addresses and fax number(s) on the cover page. The article should also include an abstract (within 200 words), four to five key words, and a very brief biographical statement (within 50 words) of the author. Manuscripts must meet professional standards, and should be computer-composed and double-spaced in Times New Roman 12 point font on A4 paper; table, diagrams, and illustrations (if any) must be camera ready. All submissions must conform to the requirements of academic publication of the American Psychological Association 6th edition (the APA Style Guide). It is important for manuscripts to cite updated and recent sources, preferably after 2011. Manuscripts submitted for review must not have been published previously or simultaneously submitted elsewhere. The Editor reserves the right to make editorial changes in any manuscript accepted for publication to enhance clarity and/or style.

Submissions, prepared specifically according to the format described above, should be submitted to the Editor, *East West Journal of Humanities,* East West University Center for Research and Training (EWUCRT) at ewjh@ewubd.edu for consideration in the next issue.

Professor Muhammed Shahriar Haque, Ph.D.
Editor, *East West Journal of Humanities (EWJH)*
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Editorial

East West University Center for Research and Training (EWUCRT) promotes and fosters research and publication by providing research grants, organizing workshops, seminars, symposiums, roundtable discussions, conferences and training. Furthermore, it publishes all the regular academic publications of East West University. I would like to acknowledge the contribution of EWUCRT for its relentless support towards paving the way to achieve a sustainable research-oriented environment at East West University.

The Special Issue of East West Journal of Humanities (EWJH), Volumes 6 and 7, 2016-2017 commemorates the 10th anniversary of EWUCRT. The journey over the last decade has been, though arduous at times, exciting and invigorating. This special issue comprises topics from linguistics, literature, translation studies, library science, online education, to film and media studies.

Muhammed Shahriar Haque, Ph.D.

Editor
East West Journal of Humanities (EWJH)

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Legitimization in Phishing: A CDA Perspective

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Abstract

This paper mainly aims at analyzing how various discursive strategies legitimizing different requests and assertions in phishing emails are exploited to exercise the social power abuse and influence cognitive knowledge of the users. This study attempts to interlock Van Leeuwen and Wodak's (1999) four legitimization strategies and Van Dijk's (1998, 2001, 2006) 'triangulation approach' of discourse-society-cognition cycle in order to analyze the legitimization strategies in phishing from a critical discourse perspective. The discursive approach includes the discursive strategies in legitimation, the social approach shows the social power abuse engaged in legitimization, and the cognitive approach presents the manipulation of the user's beliefs influencing their actions. In order to conduct this study, qualitative method is applied in randomly selected 25 phishing emails as textual data.

Keywords

Legitimization, discourse, power, cognition, phishing.

Introduction

Bose & Leung (2008) define phishing email as a deceptive email where an executor (phisher) attempts to masquerade the form of email in such a way that it appears to the recipient as a legitimate request for personal and sensitive information (as cited in Vishwanath, Herath, Chen, Wang & Rao, 2011). Moreover, according to the Anti-Phishing working group, phishing is a kind of online identity theft trick which tries to deceive consumers by filching their information on personal identity and financial account credentials through the use of social engineering and technical maneuvers (Vittal, 2005). They exploit some credible identity or name, show their associations with renowned organizations, and use some persuasive techniques to establish their claims, advices, requests as valid and legitimate to the recipients. These seem trustworthy to many and lead them to follow the actions instructed in the emails. Because of these fraudulent activities, people are losing their confidence on online interfaces, and in the long run, it augments the economic loss every year (Belanger et al., 2006, cited in Vishwanath et al., 2011). There are many studies conducted from different perspectives regarding the question how these phishing emails make others entrapped. Consequently, this paper concentrates on the analysis of phishing strategies from critical perspective. Among all the strategies, legitimization is one of the most significant tactics to enable phishers earning people's trust, and convincing them to respond. It usually comes in the form of a request, an advice, a command, an instruction, or an assertion which is as legitimized as possible through many different tactics in order to make it more credible and trustworthy to the recipients.

By applying Van Dijk's (1998, 2001, 2006) 'triangulation approach', this study shows how social power is abused through legitimization in order to deceive the recipients. Moreover, four strategies of legitimization promoted by Van Leeuwen & Wodak (1999) are applied in order to illustrate the discursive strategies used in phishing. The legitimization strategies are incorporated in the 'triangulation framework' as discursive strategies to show how legitimization is considered as a power tool to exercise control over individuals, and to manipulate their beliefs, opinion and actions. Moreover, cognitive approach shows how individuals evaluate and process legitimization, and how this evaluation, in-turn, affects the individuals' susceptibility in phishing (Vishwanath et al., 2011). Not many researches are done on the discursive strategies of legitimization and their manifestation in social power control and social cognition.

Concept of Legitimization

Legitimacy and legitimization are crucial to operating social action in general and organizational action in particular (Vaara, Tienary & Laurila, 2006, p 789). According to Weber (1964), "Every system of authority attempts to establish and to cultivate the belief in its legitimacy" (as cited in Van Leeuwen, 2007, p1).

Suchman (1995) states, legitimacy is a major concept in institutional theory, and it is defined as a generalized concept or theory of the acceptance, desirability and appropriateness of any actions of an entity by the norms, values, beliefs and definitions of any social structures (as cited in Whittle, Carter & Mueller, 2014). Also, Suchman (1995) adds that legitimacy or sense of legitimacy is based on pragmatic, moral and cognitive analyses. The pragmatic one refers to the estimation of egotistical meaning; the moral refers to the social acceptance of norms and rules, and the cognitive part relies on 'comprehensibility' and 'taken for grant-ed-ness' (cited in Vaara et al., 2006, p 791). Moreover, according to Berger and Luckmann (1966), Legitimation provides the 'explanations' and justifications of the salient elements of the institutional tradition. (It) 'explains' the institutional order by ascribing cognitive validity to its objectivated meanings and (...) justifies the institutional order by giving a normative dignity to its practical imperatives. (as cited in Van Leeuwen, 2007, p 92).

Therefore, justification, acceptance and explanation provide a pragmatic standard and rationale to accord with the institutional order (Krause & Nielsen, 2014). The organizations which are highly dependent on the support and resources of other actors, requires legitimacy to a higher degree for their organizational actions (Oliver, 1991, cited in Whittle et al., 2014).

Furthermore, Van Leeuwen (2007) has illustrated language as the most important tool for carrying such legitimization attempts. Therefore, institutional vocabularies are considered a fundamental tool for legitimization explanations (Berger and Luckman, 1966, cited in Van Leeuwen, 2007; Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005), and these 'vocabulary of motive' vary from situation to situation apt to institutional-pertinent attitudes (Mills, 1940, cited in Whittel et al., 2014)

Phishing emails are also called a kind of 'pastiche', a form of imitation of the legitimate style or structure of a particular genre, especially business emails of banks, financial organizations or other well known international organizations (Blythe & Clark, 2010). There are apparently credible, trustworthy attempts to persuade or manipulate the recipients through the fake legitimacy in discourse.

Another significant phenomenon which is brought in this paper along with legitimacy that Rocco, Finholt & Herbsleb (2000), Bose et al. (2002) & Ridings, Gefen & Arinze (2002)

emphasize is 'trust', a social keystone for computer-mediated communication (CMC) which augments social collaboration, cooperation and lubricates information exchange (as cited in Vasalou, Hopfensitz & Pitt, 2008). Moreover, Corritore, Kracher & Weidenbeck (2003) delineate that online trust refers to a confident approach to a vulnerable online context believing that it does not threat one's susceptibility (as cited in Vasalou et al., 2008). Among two types of trusts, cognitive trust, that Rocco et al., (2000), Corritore et al., (2003), Riegels-berger, Sasse & McCarthy, (2005a) define as a change in belief and attitude because of rationalization of reliability factors (as cited in Vasalou, et al., 2008), is focused in phishing to form user's social cognition. Therefore, factors that construct and engender cognitive trust are reliability, authenticity, competence and responsibilities. Moreover, shared group identity reputation system enhances the trustworthiness of online interfaces more, especially in anonymous environment (Vasalou et al., 2008). Thus, phishers' strategy is being preten-tious of possessing these features, and legitimizations work as a trust indicator for the users in this case.

Theoretical Framework

Critical discourse analysis is based on the concept of how discourse plays a significant role in legitimizing the inequality, injustice and dominance in the society (Van Leeuwen, 2009). Accordingly, this paper is based on two major theoretical ideas: Van Dijk's 'triangulation approach' of critical discourse analysis (CDA) (1998, 2001, 2006), and Van Leeuwen and Wodak's (1999) concept of 'legitimization'. In this paper, the former theory includes the latter for attending to the research questions.

Triangulation Approach

Van Dijk's (2001) multidisciplinary approach of CDA concentrates on socio-cognitive interface of discourse analysis. It focuses on various forms of social power abuse, dominance and inequality which are reflected through various discourses in different contexts (1998). His theoretical 'discourse-cognition-society' triangle or 'triangulation approach' describes these three terms in broader sense:

> 'Discourse' is here meant in the broad sense of a 'communicative event', including conversational interaction, written text, as well as associated gestures, facework, typographical layout, images and any other 'semiotic' or multimedia dimension of signification. Similarly, 'cognition' here involves personal as well as social cognition, beliefs and goals as well as evaluations and emotions, and any other 'mental' or 'memory' structures, representations or processes involved in discourse and interaction. And 'society' is meant to include both the local, microstructures of situated face-to-face interactions, as well as the more global, societal and political structures variously defined in terms of groups, group-relations (such as dominance and inequality), movements, institutions, organizations, social processes, political systems and more abstract properties of societies and cultures" (Van Dijk, 2001, p 98).

Thus, CDA indicates the integration of these three approaches into the critical analysis of any social problems. First, society is analyzed in CDA at micro-level e.g. social interaction, social situations, and at macro level e.g. group, organization or social structure. The macro notions of power exercised in the broader realm of the social structure and institutions is accountable for the apparent domination and subjugation, and internalization of that dominated behavior observed into the micro level of social discourses and practices.

Therefore, every discursive interaction, a part of a specific social structure (Van Dijk, 1998), reflects the social asymmetrical relationship between different social groups and represents

social hierarchies. Moreover, the central focus of CDA is the discourse of power, e.g. social power of groups or institutions. By power he refers to social power which is realized in terms of the control social actors or groups exercise over others. According to Max Weber (1946), power is a capability of a person or a group to compel its will on others against their interests (as cited in Servaes, 2013). Therefore, a specific group or institution exercises social power by controlling other's actions, beliefs and mental cognition based on the scarce resources in the society, such as money, knowledge, status, fame, force, information, culture or forms of public discourse or communications (1998). Van Dijk adds, "Those groups who control most influential discourse also have more chances to control the minds and actions of others" (1998, p 355). All types of power are not equally exercised. Power control can be more or less depending on the situation and domain, and even it can appear in an accepted, legitimated or natural form to the dominated (1998).

Second, Van Dijk (2001) talks about social cognition, which is a set of mental abilities, such as knowledge, attitudes, ideologies, norms and values. He adds that social representations are particularized in mental models, and it is through the mental models of every day discourse that we construct our knowledge, social attitudes and ideologies and fundamental norms and values, and finally social representations. This is how social power affects our cognition. Controlling people's knowledge and belief is also a fundamental way to reproduce dominance and hegemony. This is called 'mind control', e.g. control of people's belief and actions by Van Dijk (1998, p 356). There are contextual and discursive conditions to construct such 'mental model'. Authoritative, trustworthy and credible sources of knowledge, specific situation of knowledge, lack of alternative sources of information and ignorance of appropriate knowledge work as contextual conditions to influence one's cognition. Moreover, structural strategies of text and talk as discursive conditions exercise control over others' 'mental model'. In other words, "given a specific context, certain meanings and forms of discourse have more influence on people's minds than others" (Van Dijk, 1998, p 357). This cognitive dimension involves the persistence process of information evolving from various types of discourse structures effecting the basic understanding process in short term memory to the formation, activation and enhancement of 'mental model' in episodic memory of LTM (long term memory), and finally, leading to more stable, permanent construction of social representation, such as knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, ideologies, norms and values (Van Dijk, 2006). This is how someone perceives and comprehends a specific kind of text and talk.

Third, it is obvious that all the power control and cognitive advancement are accomplished through the means of discourse. There are various kinds of discursive features Van Dijk talks about, such as word selection, the structures of propositions, and coherence and other relations between propositions, topic selection, ideological polarization, positive self representation, legitimization, structures of text, rhetoric features, features of spontaneous talk like turn taking, repairs, pauses, hesitation, and so on. Discourse having a strong connection to legitimacy always provides the 'frame' for the establishment of legitimacy which helps people to interpret particular issues around them (Van Dijk 1998, Van Leeuween & Wodak, 1999). In this paper, the discursive strategies include the legitimization strategies significantly in order to show how these legitimizations exercise power and constructs cognitive trust in one's 'mental model' to influence one's actions.

Legitimization Strategies

According to Van Leeuwen & Wodak (1999), there are four types of 'legitimizations' based on the form and content: (i) authorization, (ii) moral evaluation, (iii) rationalization, and (iv) mythopoesis. They can occur in isolation or in combination. These four categories are explained as:

1. *Authorization,* that is, legitimation by reference to the authority of tradition, custom and law, and of persons in whom institutional authority of some kind is vested;
2. *Moral evaluation,* that is, legitimation by (often very oblique) reference to value systems;
3. *Rationalization,* that is, legitimation by reference to the goals and uses of institutionalized social action, and to the knowledge society has constructed to endow them with cognitive validity;
4. *Mythopoesis,* that is, legitimation conveyed through narratives whose outcomes reward legitimate actions and punish non-legitimate actions (1999, p 92).

There are some sub categories of these major categories. Five legitimization strategies derived from these four categories are developed into a model by Vaara et al. (2006). These are: (1) normalization, (2) authorization, (3) rationalization, (4) moralization, and (5) narrativization (p 790). This paper connects the micro level of discursive strategies used in legitimization in deceptive emails to the macro level of deception and power abuse study in the society.

Methodology

Research Questions

This study is based on two major research questions:
a. What are the discursive strategies used as legitimization strategies in phishing emails?
b. How are the social power abuse and the cognitive trust construction connected to discursive legitimacy in phishing?

These two questions are interlinked with each other and thus, addressing these two questions together adjoins two theoretical approaches in this study. First, the 'triangulation approach' includes the area of discursive strategies in the study of the social power abuse and cognition construction. Second, the study of legitimization strategies mainly cover the discursive strategies.

Data Collection

In order to address these two research questions and conduct this study, 25 phishing emails are chosen as textual data. These emails are selected randomly from www.millersmiles.co.uk- an anti phishing service which archives phishing emails. Among these emails, there are 15 bank emails, 3 payPal emails, and 7 yahoo and facebook emails. The topics of these emails are mainly account verification, account re-activation, money transfer, problem in payment, account updating or upgrading.

Data Analysis

Qualitative methodology is applied in order to analyze the data. In order to identify the legitimization in the emails, the vocabularies, sentence structures, the beginning of the email, the suggestion for the solution, the statement of the problem are analyzed. Moreover, narrative analysis approach is used in order to examine the texts of the emails, and to create

a connection between the propositions of this study and the narratives of the emails. This analysis is believed to open a gateway to a better understanding of this topic. Furthermore, the analyses are done at three levels: discursive, social and cognitive. At first level, the discursive strategies used in these 25 emails are analyzed and identified under the category of four legitimization strategies promoted by Van Leeuwen & Wodak (1999). At second level, the analysis elucidates the connection between legitimization and social power abuse. It analyzes what kind of power this legitimization possesses, and how it exercises the power in the narratives. At the final level, legitimization, social power and cognition become intertwined. The analysis illustrates how the power control of legitimization influences the knowledge and belief of individuals, and how constructing new knowledge and trust leads one to respond to the phishers' commands.

Analysis and Results

Discourse & Legitimization

All the discursive features which are applied to legitimize the narratives are analyzed under four categories of legitimizations:

Authorization

"Authorization is legitimation by reference to authority" (Vaara et al., 2006, p 799). These authorities can be vested in a person based on their institutionalized role or expertise, or it can be in the form of impersonal authority of law, rules and regulations (Van Leeuwen, 2007). The selected materials of this paper have used a great amount of references to the authority of various recognized institutions (banks), established laws or rules, the high officials, the experts of the industry, etc. for establishing the legitimacy of their claim in the text.

First, the analyses of the texts reveal that the impersonal authority legitimization is prominently employed in order to make the requests or claims trustworthy and valid. Therefore, the names of various banks, organizations are used in order to establish legitimization, such as the *Federal Reserve Bank Board, First Community Bank, Transfer Laws of United States of America, First Quarter Annual Audit, Sterling Bank PLC, Yahoo Mail, Facebook.* In example 1, the reference of two banks and two institutional terminologies are used in order to legitimize their activities so that the users trust them easily.

    1. The Federal Reserve Bank have called off your payment file from Africa and have it sent to the newly government approved bank for international debt cancellation (Sterlink Bank PLC). (Federal Reserve Bank, 23 April, 2012).

Moreover, these applications show how the impersonal laws or rules are personified in the selected texts by associating human attributes with them to establish their authoritative function. For example:

    2. Fifth Third Customer Service requests you to complete Commercial Banking Online form. (Fifth Third Bank, 28 February 2008)
    3. The system will automatically send you a new notification message. (Fifth Third Bank, 13 January 2009)
    4. Nigerian Financial Intelligence Unit sends and requests…. (First National Bank, 20 April 2011)

Second, the names of the high officials of any big organization along with their designations are employed as the senders of the emails, such as *Dr. Benny Okoh, (Director of Financial Intelligence/Operations), Alex Bennet, (Senior Digital Marketing Manager).* These names

along with the designations may enforce the recipients being cautious straight away even if the names do not sound familiar to them. These names and designations imply their power and status which do not require any further justifications (Van Leeuwen, 2007) in the texts. Moreover, logos, slogan embedded in the emails or spoof website instill trust in the users as these often provide a mirror image of legitimate email or site (Wright & Marret, 2010). The confusions and arguments regarding the requests, the assertions or the service offered in the emails are resolved automatically through such impersonal authority references. Therefore, a whole message from such an authority containing 'some forms of obligation modality' is adequate itself to legitimize the text (Van Leeuwen, 2007, p 94).

Third, in some messages, the expert authority is also referred. For example, *carbon trust standard* is an expertise of *First Security Bank* through which they claim to provide the most secured service. Here, the *carbon trust standard* feature is personified as an expert whose expertise can take care of one's security issue. This is a kind of an assurance in the form of 'verbal process clause' or 'mental process clause' to legitimize the advice specified in the email (Van Leeuwen, 2007, p 95).

Fourth, the authority of conformity is also used in some cases in order to convince the recipients that s/he is not the only one who has to go through the specific process suggested in the email. "Contemporary law makers increasingly believe that, if most people are doing it, it cannot be wrong, and should be legalized" (Van Leeuwen, 2007, p 97).

5. Every Fifth Third Direct customer has to complete a Fifth Third Direct Customer form. (Fifth Third Bank, 13 January 2009)
6. The instruction has been sent to all bank customers on same issue. (First Direct Bank, 20 July, 2001)

So, these sentences in example 5&6 convey the message that "Everybody else is doing it, and so should you" (Van Leeuwen, 2007, p 97).

Moralization

'Moralization' or moral evaluation mainly refers to the moral values which are manifested in specific moral discourses. These are mostly implicit in the text, and cultural knowledge is required in order to understand such references of loyalty and morality. Evaluative adjectives, abstraction and analogies are significantly applied in the texts to establish moral legitimization (Van Leeuwen, 2007). It is quite natural that 'moralization' easily can create a sense of trust among the recipients about the claims in the emails which can easily control people's beliefs and actions consequently. The selected phishing emails contain a range of examples of 'moralization' or moral evaluation in the forms of references associated with diverse practices or qualities which are allied to the discourse of moral values (Van Leeuwen, 2007). For example:

7. We wish to let you know that all difficulties have been removed for the success of this contract fund to be credited into your personal account. (Federal Reserve Bank, 10th September 2009)
8. The information provided will be treated in confidence and stored in our secure data base. (Franklin Bank, 13 April 2008).
9. In order to protect your sensitive information, we temporarily have suspended your account for further investigation. (First Merit Bank, 18th September 2005).
10. For security purpose and clarity, we advise that you keep your winning information confidential until your claims have been processed and your money remitted to you. (British Lottery Headquarters, 6 August 2005).

11. ….our continuing commitment to protect your account and to reduce the instance of fraud on our website. (PayPal, 3 February 2011)

We can see above, using appropriate analogy is a common method of expressing moral evaluation which has a legitimatory function (Van Leeuwen, 2007). In the above examples (7-11), the phishers tried to establish that their intention and attempts are always for doing something good to the users; even it is done in the form of temporary account suspension or identity verification. Therefore, they want to 'protect', 'advise', or 'secure', and thus these chosen analogies provide the recipients with a situation where they compare it with the situation which is unprotected, and insecure. Thus, this 'moralization' legitimizes their actions and claims which receive a moral identity through this process of establishing and enhancing the trust and credibility. The recipients' responses are attracted mostly because of the reference of moralized attempts.

Rationalization

'Moralization' and 'rationalization' are closely connected to each other. No 'rationalization' is possible without 'moralization' (Van Leeuwen, 2007). Also, he mentions two types of 'rationalizations': (i) instrumental, in reference to goals, uses and effects, and theoretical, in reference to natural order of things or practices (2007). The materials of this study mostly have applied instrumental rationalization as the phishers have purpose construction with an element of 'moralization'. Therefore, the 'instrumental rationalization' focuses on the benefits, purposes, functions, or outcomes (Vaara et al., 2006) that the phishers create in order to legitimize and validate their actions. Habermas (1976) characterizes the institutions that regulate different kinds of social actions in terms of the validity claims, or 'kinds of truth' which underlie and legitimize them (as cited in Van Leeuwen, 2007, p 101).

12. We wish to let you know that all difficulties have been removed for the success of this contract fund to be credited into your personal account. (Federal Reserve Bank. 28 June 2009)
13. We noticed irregular activity on your Barclays debit card. For your protection, you are required to answer the verification questions correctly as the primary owner before we can re-open your debit card for use. (Barclays Bank Plc, 14 August 2013)
14. We have also received information to re-route the fund to your bank account immediately. (First National Bank, 20 April 2011)
15. The Classic version of BT Yahoo! Mail will be replaced by our new version on 16 Aug 2013. So, it's time to upgrade, before you lose your email access. (BT Yahoo, 14 August 2013)

All these purposes in the above examples (12-15) are based on moral and ethical behaviors. These show the purposes of the actions taken by the phishers which are a tool to legitimize the texts. Apparently, the phishers want to establish that their main objectives in the emails (12, 13, 14 and15) are to take the steps for the smooth transfer of the money to their account, or account verification or upgradation. It is user's money, user's account or user's protection; however, it seems to be the sender's moral purpose to address them all. Their rationales coated with moral values sound legitimized enough to the account users to attend to their (phishers') advices.

Mythopoesis

Van Leeuwen (2007) mentioned that storytelling can be a good criterion to legitimize the message that one wants to convey. He shows how telling a story can make someone's message or assertion acceptable, appropriate and preferable to others (Vaara et al., 2006). There are two kinds of stories in legitimization: moral tale, where the central characters are rewarded for his/her noble engagement in lawful social practices, and refurbishment of social order, and cautionary tale, where they suffer because of their deviant engagement against the social practices. These are shown in order to convey the message for the consequences of going against the social practices and laws (Van Leeuwen, 2007). Therefore, the selected materials of the study mostly tell the cautionary tale to make the recipients vigilant about their negative consequences of what if they do not follow the way showed by the content of the emails. Though the stories told in these emails are not like the conventional storytelling, the phishers mostly come up with a problem in the form of warnings indicating the consequences, for example, account deactivation, or suspension if the recipients ignore the suggested solutions or advices. Moreover, these narrativizations mostly have quite dramatic openings. They fabricate their openings with either 'congratulations' or 'attention' or 'beware' or 'warning' note which has a dramatic impact on the recipients. Therefore, the phishers can attract the recipients' attentions even if they are kind of aware of the 'phishing'. The dramatic openings often become the only one option for the recipients to consider. Consequently, failing to understand the intention of the sender, and attending to the story's call, the recipients often find themselves hooked up at phishers' baits.

16. Subject line: "Your online service is expired"
Dear First United Bank & Trust Cardholder,
Your online service is expired. You must renew it immediately or account will be closed. If you intend to use this service in the future, you must take action at once! To continue click here, log in to your online banking and follow the steps.
Thank you.
First United Bank and Online Center. (First United Bank, 7 April 2007)

This email has started with the consequence of something that is the expiration of the recipient's bank account. So, the problem arises with a 'warning' if he does not renew the account immediately, it will be closed, and s/he will not be able to get his/her access to this anymore. Later on, the solutions are provided with which he can renew the service. There is always a link leading the person to a spoof website which requires some personal information. This kind of 'narrativization' with such alert makes the message legitimized to those who have accounts with them. So, being convinced, most of them automatically follow the instruction as it appears to be a valid and trustworthy message. Thus, they become the victim.

Moreover, some of the emails convey this caution implicitly. The risk and the insecurity of the issue are mentioned repeatedly, however, the type of risk is not explicitly mentioned. This kind of message employs positive self representation that Van Dijk (2001) mentioned as one of the discursive strategies to manipulate others in which there are a great amount of emphasizes on the positive images of the self representations. These often work to make the messages acceptable and trustworthy. These emails always come with specific solutions though these start with problems at the very beginning. In the middle, they try to portray a positive image of themselves through series of legitimized motives.

17. Confirmation of your Apple ID gives you easy access to a variety of Apple services, including the iTune Store, Apple Online Store, iChat, and more. We will not share your information with anyone else unless you authorize us to do so. (Apple Alert, 22 August 2013)

18. What we do to keep you safe… (First Direct Bank, 6 May 2011)

In example 17 & 18, the senders try to show how many good features they can offer in service, and how trustworthy (17) and moral (18) they are.

Legitimization & Social Cognition

Discursive legitimization is a tool of manipulation, and persuasion influencing how the recipients' beliefs, opinions, knowledge, evolve into a new cognitive knowledge or belief and constructs cognitive trust which, in turn, makes them perform or act accordingly. In other words, the cognitive analysis shows how understanding can be influenced or manipulated by various contextual forms of legitimization in discourse. This process involves three stages: short term memory, long term memory and social cognition or social representations.

Legitimization in Short Term Memory

According to van Dijk, discourses generally "involve processing information in short term memory (STM), basically resulting in 'understanding' (of words, clauses, sentences, utterances and non-verbal signals) for instance in terms of propositional 'meanings' or 'actions'" (2006, p 365). This hypothetical understanding includes some guesses and shortcut comprehension. Using some specific discursive strategies can control such understanding in STM:

First, the subject line (Headlines or titles) of the emails, the sender information and the topic as conventional text category can function to express the 'semantic macrostructure' that represents what the discourse is all about (Van Dijk, 2001, p 101-102; 2006, p365). The global meaning of the text is comprehended in STM, and thus the main idea of the text can be recalled later. Some subject lines of phishing are 'Information regarding your fund', 'Fifth Third Bank: Confirmation required', 'First Community Bank update', 'About you online service', 'DEAR BENEFICIARY WE HAVE RECIEVED YOUR TRANSFERRED FUND', 'New Member $90 Reward Survey, 'VERY URGENT CONGRATULATIONS' which are better represented in short term memory, and recalled later. Moreover, bold fonts, the salient position of the title in the text attract more attention and require more time to process. Second, the legitimized reference to the authority (Yahoo mail, Federal Reserve Bank, First Merit Bank) as a sender or a contact person functions in the same way. Third, the imitated structure of a business email, logo, slogans used in phishing and the spoof website for legitimization draw the attention of the reader more than others as the visual representation always has a greater effect (Van Dijk, 2006). All of these morphological and syntactic strategies in discourse are used to influence the understanding process in STM and to gear towards the more efficient understanding. The phishers as a dominant group in phishing want to control the understanding of the information provided in the emails in favor of their interest and try to deviate the readers' comprehension against their interest. In order to achieve that control, they employ these discourses based legitimization strategies which exploit STM based understanding.

Legitimization in Episodic Memory

Understanding a text involves the construction of a subjective 'mental model' in episodic memory by the recipients. This understanding does not mean only the meaning The positive self representation by moral superiority is a significant discursive strategy to manipulate episodic memory (Van Dijk, 2006, 2001). Therefore, presenting themselves as an authoritative trustworthy figure or a part of a renowned organization is nothing but an effort to portray their positive self-representation. Usually, there are some descriptions or

explanations of the phishers' good intentions or objectives to 'rescue', 'advise', 'protect' or 'secure' the recipients from some negative consequences in the emails. The 'moralization' strategies applied by referring to their intentions or activities to some moral values are actually 'the positive self-representation' which are consistent with the positive 'mental model' of the recipients. If the legitimacy of the moralization process in phishing resembles the users' personal opinions and emotions, they try to reconstruct the 'mental model' through the existing knowledge. Moreover, the phishers usually intend to create an authentic image of their actions, and portray apparently a moral support by providing a solution. For example:

19. As part of our drive to offer you better banking, we've rolled out a new Online Banking service. The new service is packed full of helpful features and functionality making it even easier and secure. (Halifax, 14 May 2012)
20. In order to protect your sensitive information, we temporarily have suspended your account. (First Merit Bank, 18 September 2005)
21. What we do to keep you safe….(First Direct Bank, 6 May, 2011)

Positive self representations are also done in the form of referring to a role model authority (Bill Gates, Sultan of Brunei) in the text (22) which the recipients comprehend corresponding to their positive mental model. Nesler & Fivush (1994) state, "Recipients tend to accept beliefs, knowledge, and opinions (unless they are inconsistent with their personal beliefs and experiences) through discourse from what they see as authoritative, trustworthy, or credible sources, such as scholars, experts, professionals, or reliable media" (cited in Van Dijk. 2006, p 200).

22. Note: ALL participants in this lottery program have been selected randomly through a computer ballot system drawn from over 20,000 companies and 30,000,000 individual names, email addresses from all search engines and web sites. This promotional program takes place every year, and is promoted and sponsored by eminent personalities like the Sultan of Brunei, Bill Gates Have Microsoft Inc, Multi Choice- China site and other corporate organizations. This is to encourage the use of the internet and computers worldwide. (British Lottery Headquarters, 6 August 2005)

Moreover, the threats or the cautions implied in 'attention', 'beware', 'flagged as spam', 'It is time to upgrade before you lose your email access' in emails create a sense fear for losing money, or losing access to the account or losing a big offered fortune/opportunity.

23. Warning!!! Account owner that refuses to update his/her account after receiving this warning will lose the account permanently. (Yahoo Alert, 4 November 2009)

This message (23) with an exact logo legitimizes the 'warning', and evokes a true sense of fear, and that leads the recipients to interpret it the way the phishers want them to do. So, legitimacy and fear are connected, and thus controlling people's action is a consequence of this connection.

Cognitive Trust in Social Representation

The formation of 'mental model' is not the only goal here, rather the target is to influence more general and abstract belief and knowledge that will lead to perform the actions according to the phishers. The new belief and stable knowledge of a recipient allow him/her to act, interact and communicate accordingly. After the positive correspondence of the personal 'mental model' of opinions and beliefs of the users with the legitimacy of the

emails, the phishers target to control or develop cognitive trust, which make them to act or interact consequently. The 'rationalization' of the legitimacy presented in the discourse finally earns and constructs a shared belief of cognitive trust in the society among the recipients (social actors) which make them to follow the instructions in the email.

Legitimization & Social Power Abuse

Rojo & Van Dijk (1997) argue, in CDA, discursive legitimization is associated with power relation (as cited in Vaara & Monin, 2010; Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999) and the connection between legitimacy of specific actions and the power status of social actors are significantly discussed (as cited in Vaara & Monin, 2010). In these emails, the ability to control the recipients' actions and decisions presuppose a power base of knowledge and information in the word of providing security and fortune. Mostly power control appears in the form of abusive acts. Legitimization is a working tool for the phishers as a dominant group to control the acts and beliefs of the recipients, and the power abuse is related to the concept of controlling people's action in taking some detrimental steps against their best interest. According to Van Dijk (2006), if peoples' knowledge or opinions can be influenced, the indirect control over their actions is also possible. This control is reflected in these phishing emails. Among all the strategies, legitimization is the most influential as it makes the text or message credible and acceptable to others. For example:

> 24. Dear Valued Customer,
> YAHOO ACCOUNT VERIFICATION ALERT!!!
> (KMM69467VL055834KM)
> Yahoo mail has discovered series of illegal attempts on your yahoo account from a bad IP location and will shut your account as it has been flagged as a spam account. You are immediately required to secure your online access by manually filling the form below by clicking on the Reply-To button on your page, filling correct information carefully and sending to yahoo alert center: (Yahoo Alert, 4 November 2009)

First, power lies in group membership, institutional position, profession, material or symbolic resources and other factors. So, a high official from an institution, or a group from an institution can have power control in phishing emails. Here, the phishers are in the power role by faking the power position, and authoritative legitimization has validated it. Moreover, getting access to one's inbox provides the phishers a base for nurturing the power control and dominance. Being unaware of the intention of the phishers and authenticity of the emails, the recipients become a victim if they respond to their instructions. The phishers exercise the power control here in the form of manipulation which violates social norm and rules. Through these 'special' kinds of emails, the phishers are controlling their illegitimate power over the recipients by legitimizing their discourses of claims and actions. These appear in an authentic and legitimate form of institutional communication to the recipients and some of them who are connected to the organizations find it authentic and logical to follow their instructions. An alert from yahoo mail in (24) says, the recipient's account security is in danger that creates a fear in the recipient's mind as it sounds and appears legitimized to him/her. The structure, logo, analogies ('secure', 'illegitimate', 'verification') of the email legitimize every single claim here. Moreover, the moralization along with rationalization (identifying the illegal attempts to log in from alien location that might close the account and providing a solution to that problem) and the impersonal authorization (Yahoo Mail Alert Center & verification code) legitimize the alert made in the email as well. Furthermore, using fake request and claim (suspension of account), forging one's identity (Yahoo mail),

providing counterfeit instruction (filling the form in a provided link), using spoof website and capturing user's personal information are parts of the social wrong doings considering these illegal attempts of manipulation and deception. These illegal attempts produce inequality and domination in the society which make the less powerful group (users as victim) suffer, and serve the interest of the more powerful group (phishers).

Discussion

Addressing the research questions, few issues have been made clear in this paper through the incorporation of legitimization strategies into the 'triangulation approach' of Van Dijk:

First, the phishing emails have one main intention which is to grab the attention of the recipients and make them respond to their requests. It is not that everybody responds to their requests but even if one or two attends to their emails, their purpose is served. Only clicking into the link may disclose the user's personal information, and cause identity theft.

Second, the connection between discourse and legitimization is established through the strategies applied in phishing. Discourse is the main tool to legitimize the claim. Authorization, moralization, rationalization, and mythopoesis are analyzed in the phishing emails and shown through some examples included in the texts. Application of one or two strategies may legitimize the text.

Third, the legitimization is found as a social lubricant in the 'discourse-power-cognition triangle' which exercises a power control over the people's beliefs and actions. The analysis shows how legitimization strategies can be medium of social power abuses and cognitive manipulation in phishing discourses. The phishing email business is a part of social illegitimate actions which fakes the legitimacy, and deceives people. An overview of the entire analytical process has been shown in table 1.

Table 1: Legitimizing Strategies

Legitimization	Discursive strategies	Social Power control	Cognition-constructing trust and response
Authorization	Reference of various organizations, institutions, laws, committees, meetings as impersonal authority;	These references indicate inherent power of their statuses and roles. No other justifications are required, and all the arguments are resolved by such references.	Primary influence on people's knowledge and opinion is operated by the power implied in this authorization.
	Reference of famous personalities, experts, conformity action		
Moralization	By using some analogies which have some moral implications;	Moralization of the texts has more power of manipulating user's beliefs and activities.	Positive self- representation of the phishers constructs positive mental model of knowledge and belief in episodic memory.
	By referring the actions or motives of the phishers to some moral activities;		
Rationalization	By providing the moral purposes of their requests and claims, phishers rationalize their discourses;	Power of rational behavior and claim is stronger to exercise its control over the recipients.	Combination of moralization and rationalization construct stable mental model and cognitive trust.
Mythopoesis	Narrating the negative consequences of not following the steps shown by the phishers often legitimizes the message.	The story teller phishers appear here as a dominant group and the listener recipients as dominated.	The trust on the narratives leads them to follow the phishers.

Conclusion

To summarize, this paper analyzes the phishing email discourse from critical discourse analysis perspective to show how legitimization of the discourse in the emails can exercise the power abuse of manipulation and develop a new attitude or belief in social cognition to trust the claims made in the emails. This represents the illegitimate power abuse exercised by

shown here at the micro level discussion of phishers' deceiving the users. This whole process, from legitimization to response making, has been explained through the 'triangulation framework' of Van Dijk (2001). The framework also includes the legitimization categories or strategies of Van Leeuwen & Wodak (1999). This framework discloses how legitimization constructs cognitive trust to entrap the users in their deceptive actions through the empirical data analysis.

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Learning English as a Second Language: Bangladeshi English-major Learners within intra-cultural Power Relationship

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Abstract

Deficiencies in English-major learners' academic participation lead to question whether intra-cultural power relationship is responsible for learning English as a second language. Here different kinds of influences within an English L2 society like Bangladesh have been investigated which was previously analysed by researchers from inter-cultural perspective. This paper aims at explaining the possible connection of power relations and influence of society by analysing the position of English language among Bangladeshi English-major learners as a program of higher education and its interrelation with the idea of knowledge. This process will show how an individual is bound to think about English language positively in the process of their growing up within intra-cultural power relationship. As learners are interviewed individually to express and share their views and experiences, classroom practitioners for tertiary level learners will get an internal reinforcement of learners in learning English as second language, and, as a part of reflective practice, they will be able to create situations for increasing learners' academic participation.

Keywords

Introduction

It is important to explore the subtle views of individuals in learning English in an L2 community since these views are not only constructed by the intra-cultural structure of a country but also scaffold to construct it. This paper investigates how 'top-down structural view of domination' (Philipson1992; cited in Basu, 2013) is practiced within an L2 culture and how it underpins English learning creating an emerging desire of holding power in society. Intra-cultural power relationship refers to the relations among different components of a society, and it practices several forms of dominance, which in one way or other, influence learners to learn English in Bangladesh. To uphold their position within the social web, learners need to learn English, no matter what they think personally. Philipson supports that English is an instrument for social upward mobility and power (cited in Basu, 2013). A question may arise from the title, and that is whether English is the second language of Bangladesh. Sarwar (2013) answers it mentioning English as 'an unofficial second language in Bangladesh'. The position of English language can be described from three different

perspectives: English as a program of higher study, English in comparison with the level of knowledge, and the position of English language in social structure. The way we treat English in our society makes us believe that English language can take someone to the higher level of society, and also can help to keep him/her above the 'other' people. When intra-cultural power relationship is the air of a society, it helps uphold English language in society.

Statement of Problem

Students of English department need to prove their level of English proficiency through several rigorous testing systems (i.e. high stake placement tests, achievement tests etc.) of education boards and University Grants Commission (UGC). However, all students do not attain expected results in this department. In addition, from my own experience of observing several peers and other students of DU, many of them are less interested in the course materials provided by the department. So, the problem addressed in this study is what made them choose this program for their higher study and why they continue in the program even after being less interested in the content.

Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to explore, from learners' perspective, the factors in society that influence them to select this department, and attract them in future to continue with this program. Here the focus is on English as a language in English department, not English as a subject. As most of the students do not feel comfortable sharing their stories with teachers, or in other words it is not possible for teachers to know learners' personal stories and set learning objective according to their needs, the objective of this paper, the researcher being one of the students, is to make teachers more aware of students' social background and future goal, and, as a result, they will be able to motivate learners by connecting the content of study and their expectation from it. Thus, English major students' interest in classroom content can be enhanced, in one hand. On the other, teachers can help them reflect critically on the stereotypical social norms. Sarwar (2013, p.157) supports this idea stating, "as it is clear from the socio-political context in which students study English, it is important to motivate them by making them explicitly aware of the history of manipulation and control to which it has been historically linked". So, this research aims at the attention of both teachers and future researchers of this area. The purpose of this study is to investigate the influence of intra-cultural power on learning English for English major DU students. Three research questions this study addresses are:

1. What are the social influences behind selecting English as a subject of higher study?

2. How does society influence to learn English relating it with gaining power?

3. How is proficiency of English language compared with knowledge or intelligence in society?

Literature Review

The central phenomenon of this research is 'intra-cultural power relationship'. To understand the term, it is important to know how power works within a society. According to Philipson (1992), "Linguistic imperialism refers to a particular theory for analyzing relations between dominant and dominated cultures, and specifically the way English language learning has been promoted" (P. 15). The first thing needed to be considered here is the individual members of society. Foucault (1978) explains that to understand his concept of power, one

must look into how it acts upon the 'sphere', or the immediate social circle around the individual. He also explains that power comes from different sources and relates to each other in many ways. It does not simply work in a hierarchal way, from top to bottom; rather there are relationships between all the forces acting upon an individual. Like a net, Foucault's concept of power works through different channels, which are connected to each other.

When social influence is all around a learner, be it explicit or implicit, and achievement is gauged on the basis of the criterion of social position, it becomes difficult for a learner in Bangladesh to resist learning English as second language. Chowdhury explains the powerful internal mechanism by saying, 'The principle of power operate not so much in an individual as in a certain network of bodies and agencies forming an arrangement whose internal mechanism produce the relation in which individuals are inevitably caught up' (Chowdhury, 2008, p.13). Here the research focuses on three different perspectives: position of English as a subject, position of English within the social structure, and interrelation of English language with knowledge.

English as a Program

This paper investigates social contexts of the English-major participants from the University of Dhaka. Though learners mostly study several genres of English literature here, from my own experience I found that most of them do not learn English to study the literature. Rather they learn literature to get more exposure in English language. While reminiscing the ways of acquiring English language through different literary books in his childhood, Alam (2017) supports the phenomenon by saying,

> Not surprisingly, such an education made me quite fluent in English and rather weak in my own mother tongue Bengali. But my middle-class parents must have felt that this was as it should be, since the best jobs would go to people who were most fluent in English, and since I would eventually pick up Bengali from the world I lived in, automatically. (p. 375)

While expressing his parents' probable concern of 'best job' and connection of it with English language, Dr. Alam could not circumvent the state of being in 'middle-class' family. Thus, social position in future profession makes people think English as one of the best and prestigious subject to study. In other word, social power is a component that influences learners to learn English through literature.

English in Social Power Structure

Chowdhury (2008) explained from international perspective that

> English is commodified as a product in a market where demand for it is always on the rise, and on the other, consumers, acting as secondary agents, further legitimize and normalize this demand through an unconscious, spontaneous adoption of its discursive maxims. (p. 12)

The picture is same when we look inside an English L2 community like Bangladesh as people set themselves on the global scale. In an independent country like Bangladesh, English language is not influencing officially to bring a change in society. However, English has been operating as an instrument for lifting position in the social structure. Milton (2005, p.115) states that 'an imperial authority or any privileged social class looks toward peacefully establishing indirect control by invoking consent'. People of all aspects of life have a consensus that English can be their powerful sword when they are seeking social identity.

Interrelation of English Language and Knowledge

Not only does knowledge help the attainment of power but also power motivates the acquisition of knowledge. The knowledge of language is playing an integral role in attaining social and economic power. To be more specific, knowledge of English in its L2 community is helping to get economic solvency and fulfilling goals, in other word, to get 'power'. Chowdhury (2008:13) states, "it is through power that voices are silenced but it is also through power that voices manifest most effectively". In that sense, English language serves as a scaffold to acquire a powerful and confident voice through which people can convey their knowledge. As this research focuses on Bangladeshi context, an English L2 community, Sarwar (2013) explains the problem from similar point of view. She states,

> Socio-cultural and socio-economic influences are certainly key issues influencing L2 motivation for students in Bangladesh. Unlike those students in the educational mainstream, students from affluent families attend private schools which leave English as a medium of education. It is this small segment of society who will dominate the job market in the future and this in turn will enable them to afford expensive private education for their children. Thus, a vicious circle is created privileging a particular class because of their knowledge of English…under these circumstances, students in the Department of English, the majority of whom have passed through the state education system, are acutely conscious of the need to master English in order to attain social and economic success. (p.155)

Thus the researchers represent the binary of English-knowing and non-English-knowing people. Philipson (1992: 55) also mentions the similar term considering as 'linguistic binary', and Calvet (1987) refers this as 'linguistic racism' which is synonymous to Philipson's 'linguistic imperialism' (cited in Philipson, 1992: 56). English-major learners are aware of learning English in its communicative form as they can use their identity as English-knowing individual to throw their voice and influence the society in any form of power. This study adds to knowledge how linguistic imperialism is practised in Bangladesh and how learners are forced to act within this social dominance.

Methodology

This study aims at intra-cultural power relationship to influence learners as a gradual social process. The methodology employed a qualitative research methodology to gain insight into the learners' personal views about their own position and role of English language within intra-cultural power relationship. For this reason, the analysis of the participants' opinions needs to be seen within this context.

Participants and Site

In order to gain a better understanding of English-major learners' perception in Bangladesh, this study employed an grounded theory based methodology, interviewing a representative group of English-major students in order to offer a picture of their perceptions on English language and it's relation to society. Department of English at University of Dhaka was the site of the research. In total, 12 people were interviewed One-on-One, 6 male and 6 female participants with an age range of 19 to 28. All participants were undergraduate students. These participants were chosen in order to represent a broad cross-section of people in terms of the following variables: social class, gender and religion.

Instruments

The researcher conducted semi-structured face-to-face interviews for five days being present in the site. Their insights on several other cultural issues that learners face in society were also recorded, a few of which the researcher could not previously assume to include in the structured questionnaire. The researcher had a list of possible questions for participants, which she used as a guide. These guides were flexible enough to accommodate situations where participants wanted to elaborate on a certain topic or illustrate with their personal experiences. They were encouraged to continue the interview in an informal setting like a regular conversation. In addition, participants were allowed to speak in both Bangla and English. An android cellular phone was used to record the interview with the participants' permission.

Data Collection

The researcher followed homogeneous sampling since all of the participants were selected as being English major learners at University of Dhaka. All the questions were kept open-ended so that the participants' views did not get restricted. While interviewing the learners, the researcher initiated each interview in Bangla with the intention that language barrier could not hamper the flow of information. As all learners were from Bangla medium background, most of them preferred to speak in Bangla. Their opinions were recorded with their permission. Besides, some notes were taken without interrupting the flow of conversations. They were appreciated with a chocolate at the end of each interview.

Data Analysis

This research followed "bottom-up" approach to data analysis. The recorded data were transcribed and translated. Then it was analyzed, as mentioned by Creswell (2015), through qualitative hand coding and computer based analysis using Microsoft Word Document 2007. The theme emerged from the interviews had been layered under three sections. The statements provided by the participants were kept unchanged, and participant numbers have been used instead of using their names to protect participants' anonymity. After completing the research, two of the participants were asked for authenticating the interpretation of the findings. This form of member-checking (Creswell, 2015) occurred once the data were interpreted.

This research has few limitations in terms of the number of participants and the site of interview. A further research can be done to get learners' views from more than one university which will include more variations of participants' social position and experiences.

Findings

The study has explored how English is a prestigious program in higher education, how it works in social structure and how knowledge or intelligence is measured through the competency of English.

Position of English in a Higher Education Program

Most of the academic programs are chosen purposefully. Either learners or their families determine which way is the best option for the future. Milton (2005:116) stated, "Gradually it [English department] acquired a semi-divine status- a way of spiritual salvation as well as a means of climbing the social ladder". While taking interviews, participants were asked about their subject choice priority and reason behind choosing English as a subject of their higher study. If the position of English is calculated among all other subjects, most of the participants put it among first three subjects of their compatibility. As this participant said,

I didn't like law, and couldn't have mathematical skills to study Economics. So, I had only choice to study English. (Participant 8)

To some extent, it was not always the participant's own choice to study in English. When social outlook influences their parents, their parents influence them in the most convincing way. One of the participants mentioned,

Though both of my parents are from DU, they told me "you know how people will react when they will hear you study English in DU? It's a prestigious subject. They will look at you twice before believing this truth"… My parents feel proud to say that I study in English. (Participant 4)

However, a few of them are not aware of the prestige of English language itself, for learning this language was a quiet natural process gradually among the educated members of their family. Still they have a belief that they are learning something through English language that will be helpful for their future. In their view,

Knowledge of English will help…it is not a language for me…as I want to work for United Nations (UN), if I be bold to say, I need to learn more languages other than English…but what we learn here in English that will help me to get a different outlook.(Participant 2)

Besides, the best students of the entire country apply for getting admission in University of Dhaka. Until 2014-2015 sessions, the minimum requirement for English department was 20 marks out of 30 in the admission test. Unfortunately, only two students could obtain the required mark for English department in 2014-2015 sessions' examination. Since then many students who are enrolling in this program are considered more prestigious than before. One participant shared the same view,

In 2014-2015 sessions, only two students got chance to study in English at DU. That is why I thought it prestigious to come and study in English here. (Participant 6)

It is very clear that English is a leading subject among learners and their parents in comparison to other subjects. If I sum up the interviews, the learners have a concept that they will not remain unemployed in this competitive world as they have a tag of English around their neck. Philipson believes that English as a language is dominating other languages creating 'anglocentricity and professionalism as the central ELT mechanism operating within a structure in which unequal power, and resource allocation is effected and legitimated' (Philipson, 1992: 54)

As society has high demand of English as a language, English department is considered powerful. The more society accepts the language as a prestigious component, the more individuals grab it to get hold of powerful positions. Foucault supports that power is employed in a 'net-like organization' and that individuals 'circulate between its threads' (Foucault, The History, 95,102; cited in anonymous, Foucault-Said comparison).

English Language and Influence of Society

Learners learn English language as society influences them in different forms. As they are influenced by others, they try to get such position to flip the situation and get hold of powerful positions. Milton (2005:117) asserts that

> Everything is determined by society's power structure that inevitably stands upon its economic structure. In "The Rise of English," Terry Eagleton, a Marxist critic, charts the emergence of English as an academic discipline, illustrating its connection with politics and class relationships. In order to prove that the English department is more an offspring of the need felt by the ruling class than of an apparently voluntary enlightenment programme, Eagleton points out the key factors leading to the rise of English studies: the growth of capitalism, the rise of the middle and working classes, and the decline of religion. (Milton, 2005:117)

This section will reveal how external pressure influences an individual's psyche to accept English language learning positively in the process of their growing up within intra-cultural power relationship, since it is a social necessity, a way of eradicating personal crisis, survival tool in competitive world, stair to uphold position and weapon to behold power.

English Learning as a Social Necessity

When a learner is in the second language community like Bangladesh, society provides him/her with external pressure no matter how much interest the individual has to learn that language. This external power works as the pushback from the earliest period of their life and present is as a necessity. Most of the participants said that they started learning English language because it was a part of their academic curriculum. Besides, family members pushed them forward to learn English and be aware of its use. The first participant said:

> I used to see in my childhood, when any guest came to visit us with their child who can speak well in English, my parents used to say, "You have to learn speaking in English like her". (Participant 1)

Two male participants were from lower economic background whose parents were not aware of their education. They shared their experiences saying,

> I used to work in a small cigarette-selling shop, in hotels and as salesman. I have learned how people treat others. You will get value till you can work for them. Self identity is the most important thing on earth. (Participant 6)

He was influenced by the negative attitude of his employers. The people who tortured him, made him realize his powerless and helpless position in society. Later on, he said how he felt the power of English, particularly speaking skill, helped him to dominate his peers and friends who were academically senior to him. The other participant was initially encouraged to learn English by his father, but after their economic downfall, his father stood against education and he had to study hiding from his family. More surprisingly, his parents do not let him go home now as he is studying, though he has outshined other members of his area. He said,

> When my father had his driving job, he was inspired by his car-owner and got me admitted into an English medium school. (Participant 10)

As he had initial exposure to English language, he used to practice English language by himself sitting alone in his poultry farm. As the elementary education was a pushback for him, he continued learning with his own will power. On the other hand, a female participant

from a financially affluent family tried to deny the particular role or need of English language in society. However, her explanation demonstrates how she is also influenced by social need to learn English. She stated,

> It's common that people know more or less English now-a-days…it shouldn't be parallel to what you know in English. If you just know English, you shouldn't be called a respectable person, and in this age of internet, everything is in English; Facebook is in English, Google app and everything is in English. To be a part of global village, English comes quite naturally. So, no, it does not uphold your status. (Participant 2)

Her statement may be right in her context as she learnt English language in her family quiet naturally without being conscious of it. Ansre (1979) states that "linguistic imperialism has a subtle way of warping the minds, attitudes, and aspirations of even the most noble in a society" (cited in Philipson, 1992: 57). Though she was never conscious of emphasizing English as a language, her parents used a subtle way to make her learn English. In contrast, her view of English contradicts with other participants. As my fifth participant said,

> I didn't want to study Bangla because everyone knows it. I wanted to be exceptional. (Participant 5)

Some parents, who are conscious of their children's education and future career, used to make them watch English cartoons and read English story books; two of them mentioned the name of Harry Potter. They tried to learn English for they felt the need to understand what their favourite characters were saying in English. It is quite clear how social pushback made them step towards learning English language, and how it makes them conscious of taking their own responsibility and feeling the urge of social need.

In learning context, learners start feeling the urge to learn English besides their academic study, even giving more emphasis on it. Few examples are given while illustrating pushback stage. In addition to those, learners get a feeling to survive in the competitive world. They feel like learning English to hold a prestigious position among peers and family members. The third participant shared his experience from early childhood memories,

> When I was in class one, I could say a word that starts with the letter T. I said 'Top', but our headmaster didn't know the meaning. I told him the meaning and that day I felt very proud of myself. (Participant 3)

Though the learner was very young, he could feel the prestige of English language. Now he is in tertiary level, and still he remembers the incident. It seems English has some sort of power which provides a sense of accomplishment and distinction from 'others'. Another participant said,

> When one can speak in English, others think, "WOW! The girl can speak nicely, she knows so many things." (Participant 1)

One of the participants mentions Charles Darwin's theory and shows how he is aware of the social circumstances. In another segment of his same interview he mentioned that he believes English language will help him to get a better position in society.

> I have to compete with the world, and if I mention the theory of Charles Darwin-'survival of the fittest', I would mention my goal to adjust with the world according to our social circumstances. (Participant 11)

When participant 10 used to live in his village, among several others the participant could communicate with foreigners and at that time he realized his own worth to have an exceptional identity in the society.

> Once two foreigners, along with a Bangladeshi researcher came to our village. They were looking for someone to talk with. Then I talked to them, and that inspired me more to learn English. (Participant 10)

After this stage, learners feel the urge to actualize their dream. When English language gets necessary motion while running on the runway of social context, it is ready to start flying. They, therefore, step towards the initial step of actualization with a former concept of social view and their internal urge to learn English language.

Learning English to Eradicate Personal Crisis

We can get the class division of society that pressures learners to learn English as L2. Lower pressure should be powerful enough to lift the position of the language. The lower pressure includes influences that come from the people around the learner, and who give the feeling of inferiority or a sense of identity crisis. Three examples below show how social crisis leads to personal crisis. The first example portrays how peer pressure created an identity crisis for the participant. She radically changed the situation over time by working hard and learning English. She said,

> I am from rural background. When I go back to home, students who are weak in English come to me for suggestions. It gives me a feeling that I can help others as well. But when I was in school, I was not good at English. My peers with good grade in English used to avoid me. That day I promised to myself that one day they will come to me because of English. (Participant 7)

Even gender issue plays an inevitable role in a patriarchal society like Bangladesh. English as a powerful component of society provides confidence to those who are caught up in a social web of politics, gender discrimination, financially backward position, etc.

> My father does not know English. He wants me to learn English and become someone influential in society. As I don't have any brother, there is no one to stand beside my father when he faces problem with village politics. He thinks if I can be an administrative cadre, no one will be able to disturb us. (Participant 8)

Even the educated and English-knowing people, i.e. teachers, influence learners to feel their inferior position in society only because of their deficiency in English.

> Our English teacher in college used to scold Humanities students saying we were not good students as students from science group could obtain A+ in English. That pushed me to do my best and get a good grade in English. When in 2014-2015 only two students got chance in English at University of Dhaka, I felt like studying in English here and uphold my prestige. (Participant 9)

Though these contexts are different, learners felt inferior because of social pressure. Their positions in society were not congenial. They chose English to lift their position.

Learning English to Survive in Society

In this stage, learners work hard to overcome their crisis and become conscious of their own individual identity. They grow the mentality of surpassing others, and this pressure is created in one way or other in the society, and can be overcome with the opposite powerful force of

English language. As they believe that their knowledge of English can help them to achieve social attainment, they start relying on it and surpass others. Participants opined what they think about the role of English in their life. Communication plays a great role in achieving success, and English is the first priority as the participant said,

> This is our reality. When you know English, you will be treated differently. It doesn't matter how it sounds, we don't have any other choice. Even if you have enough knowledge, you have to be able to communicate in English.   (Participant 3)

When society gives priority to English and people treat someone according to this scale of calibration, it is obvious that learners will prioritize English even if it does not help them directly. One participant shared her future vision on this matter by saying,

> There is no guarantee that I will be a BCS cadre if I know English, but it will keep me exceptional in comparison to others. If I can't show my English language skill, my status will fall. I need priority. (Participant 5)

Siblings and their position also create pressure in family. Proficiency in English can help to surpass others and attain priority among relatives. My fourth participant expressed her feeling in this way:

> My aunt (maternal uncle's wife) has come from abroad. My other relatives called my mother and asked to bring me there so that I can speak to my aunt, and they get someone reliable for smoother communication with her. It gives me a better feeling. (Participant 4)

While social pressure is making a turbulent air around, learners are relying on the opposite powerful motion of English language in their society and getting the required lift.

Learning English to Uphold Position

When learner can cope with English learning journey, willingly or not, they proceed towards the social achievement with their knowledge (both competence and ability to perform) of English language. Holding a powerful position becomes their cruising altitude. It makes them more confident to face the reality outside academic life. Again, they feel that they will be able to change their position and hold power in society. The fifth participant shares her thought in the following way:

> I always wanted to be a teacher as most of my family members are teachers. But, when I came to know about BCS (Bangladesh Civil Service), I can feel the power in doing such job. While I was tutoring, once I met an uncle who was a lieutenant colonel and his power of just one phone call attracted me more to go for an administrative and powerful job. (Participant 5)

Even one participant, who claimed herself as the most introvert girl and wanted to live peacefully being isolated from this society, said,

> I am too much possessive. I can never think of my father's house as mine. I need to have my own identity. I feel better to stay at hall. At least I am staying here as I have achieved this qualification myself…I want to lead a peaceful life though I know my family and society will not allow me to do so. I need to appear at BCS exam and be an administrative cadre. (Participant 8)

In contrast to most of the participants, one of them dreams to lead a peaceful life in reality coming out of utopian fantasy. He wants to hold a position that may not give him power

directly, but it will help him to produce many powerful people in future. He wants to enlighten people so that evil power cannot influence the social harmony. Though he is not conscious how powerful the position is that he dreams to achieve, he thinks his knowledge of English will help him to obtain that position in society.

> I want to be a teacher as I will be able to prepare more people to work for society. It will help me to dominate the evil practitioners and change the society through my students on whom I will be able to reflect my conscience and thinking power. Most of the students of our country lag behind for their deficiency in English. That's what inspires me to be an English teacher at University [tertiary] level. More importantly, I will get respect in society. (Participant 9)

These examples prove how learners progress with the aim of social achievement of power and to change their present situation in the social structure.

Learning English to Behold Power

All of the participants have a certain level of expectation regarding social achievement. They think in any way their knowledge of English language and ability to use the language will help them fulfill their dream. At that stage of life, they want to get stalled with financial solvency and dominant position in society. In this busy world, people need money and power to enjoy happy leisure time. When English language is leading them towards higher level job opportunity, it is attracting them to get stalled at a certain level as well. Likewise, fourth participant stated,

> When you want high level salary, you need high level job, and high level job highly requires English. (Participant 4)

Following her opinion, another perception can be added here:

> I want leisure time to enjoy. If I get powerful job along with money, only then it will be possible to get enough leisure time for me. (Participant 3)

Moreover, the concept of dominance is always their concern, be it conscious or subconscious. They are struggling to get freedom and get a peaceful life. As it is impossible to live outside this society, they need to get hold of the power. Even if they do not dominate other, they at least are reluctant to be dominated. As the participant who fought to breathe in the society said,

> I want a peaceful life, being a teacher, as no one can dominate me. I don't want to be dominated any longer. (Participant 6)

Another perspective of dominance over 'others' occurs when the participant is subconsciously trying to dominate others in future by outperforming and getting every possible attention of the superior ranked official. She foresaw her future and said,

> When I will go for any kind of job in future, whoever my boss will be, he/she will definitely notice my exceptional use of English language, and it will influence my position and social achievement (Participant 1)

It is known that men are born free but everywhere he is chained. Since it is impossible to break this chain, everyone tries to change the position in society by being the anchor and leaving others to follow. As everyone is conscious of it, the attainment of power is now an apple of discord.

English Language and Knowledge

Apart from the proficiency in English language, learners need to showcase their knowledge and other skills to keep pace with the highly competitive job market. Naturally, the next question comes for the researcher how proficiency of English language is compared with the level of knowledge in society. Though it was not a part of the predetermined questionnaire, this question was found relevant to ask after talking to one or more students. I asked them to give their opinion about the relation between English language and knowledge since power has relation with knowledge. Power directly influences the truth of 'ideas'. Foucault (1980) said, "It is not possible for power to be exercised without knowledge; it is impossible for knowledge not to engender power" (P. 52). According to the context of Bangladesh, most of the students answered in the same way. They agreed that even in a setting where everyone else knows Bangla, they observed priority of English language more than any other language. If someone cannot express himself/herself in English, he/she becomes isolated from the crowd. Capability of using English language determines the level of knowledge the person has. According to the participant, we need to speak out what we know, and English is one of the most eye-catching medium in this regard.

> It is a concept of our society that the people who know English language are talented. If one can communicate properly in English, that message is more easily accepted. Speaking is more important. (Participant 7)

In many contexts, speaking (English) is often the skill upon which a person is judged 'at face value' (McDonough and Shaw, 2013). Another participant clarifies the statement saying,

> People will assess your other skills gradually over time, but they will judge at first meeting whether you can communicate in English. (Participant 4)

One of the participants tried to distinguish between the positions of knowledge and English language. Though she affirmed with others, she said, "Knowledge is a matter of willingness, and English is a matter of prestige" (Participant-5). According to what the participants said, I find it clear to say that willingness in acquiring knowledge becomes easier when someone in this context knows English language. People prefer to express this knowledge in English as well. Even renowned intellectual people, most often, represent their status and level of knowledge through their use of English language. Dhaka Lit-fest is, for example, such an auspicious program where men of letters in different literary genres come together to share their experience and knowledge. One of my participants used to volunteer in that program. She said,

> In our Lit-fest, we get elite class people as our guests. They speak to us always in English though we are habituated to see them speaking in Bangla on television screen. When they are off-screen, they speak in English, even with Bangladeshi

Discussion

According to the findings, it can be stated that social influential power relationship is everywhere in a society like Bangladesh. Power is everywhere not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere (Foucault, 1978, P. 93). This concept of power is ruling from the highest level of society to within the learners' mind itself. In family, learners are trying to get prestige more than other members; in academic context, they are conscious of surpassing their peers; in professional context, they dream of getting priority; and in broader context, they are trying to be powerful in society not being dominated by anyone else. They are utilizing the power of English language to lift their position in society.

From the beginning of their social experience, they are dominated, no doubt, in any way by other people who are more powerful in relation to them. Those dominances helped to start the engine of their conscious mind. As engines are working themselves, they are relying on the intra-cultural air around to lift the plane and belong to the respected layer of troposphere. When English is considered as a subject, learners are not allowed to choose any other subject of their interest circumventing the market value of English. Learners are 'inevitably caught up' in the social web as mentioned by Chowdhury (2008). It can be assumed that the tag of English department gives the guarantee to live happily in the society. It is more a subject of prestige and instrumental attainment than something to study with interest. In addition, though other programs are offered in English, department of English provides certificate of being more polished with accuracy and fluency of English.

Nevertheless, when learners are out of academic arena without the tag of English department, use of English is still making them different with an identity in terms of class, gender, economic position and any kind of discriminative binaries. From their childhood, learners come to know how important it is to know English. When they start utilizing this language, they understand how they are rushing towards their goal. At the end, they demand respect in society. Even when they want to live peacefully, they need to be powerful in their social circumstances. A future goal is 'peacefully establishing indirect control by invoking consent' (Milton, 2005) of general people and raising the position of English as a language. Lastly, English language is helping an individual to gain knowledge as well as to spread individual's gained knowledge. As English is a powerful component in our society, the first knowledge that is assessed is the proficiency in English. If someone is proficient in English, the door of all other kinds of knowledge is considered to be automatically opened for that person. The same person will impose this influence in the same way in future to continue the 'vicious circle' (Sarwar, 2013).

Therefore, if a person has a tag of English department, he/she is considered to be an English-knowing person. He/she is already treated as privileged in the social binary. The same person is again considered as knowledgeable. As a result, he/she will obtain a powerful position in society from where it is possible to influence the intra-cultural structure. This is what attracts learners to learn English language in our society. For the participants of this study, the journey in society starts through the influence of power, and it ends at dreaming to influence in future. Foucault (1978) depicted power "as the process which, through ceaseless struggle and confrontations, transforms, strengthens, or even reverses them" (P. 92). This quotation depicts power as something that is dynamic and ever changing. It pushes and pulls within itself.

Limitations and Scopes of the Study

This study has few limitations that need to be taken care of when further research will be conducted. The small number of participants from undergraduate level of one university might make it difficult, indeed, to generalize the results obtained in this investigation. Besides, teachers' and parents' views and suggestions are not recorded to get a holistic insight. Yet, it is still possible to conclude that the results are consistent with the widespread idea that the subjects of this study feel the pressure of intra-cultural power relationship on English language learning. Likewise, from the answers, it can be seen that the subjects, though aware of the role of English as a language, are mostly conscious of getting a good position in the society. In terms of instruments, no other perspective is taken into account other than interviewing the students.

Therefore, further research is needed on more than one university, and, if possible, with more elaborate instruments. Though member checking has been conducted, to avoid researcher's subjectivity, some questionnaire can be given to participants to elicit their direct opinion on this matter. Further research can also be done in this department by including master's students. Moreover, some teachers can be interviewed to get their point of view regarding this problem. In that way, a more reliable result can be found and a more real picture of the scenario will be brought into light.

Based on this research, another niche can be focused in further research. This research investigated intra-cultural power working before and after learning English language. As influence of power is a continuous process, while-learning influence can also be focused in later research.

Conclusion and Recommendation

According to Said (1978), people of the East are influenced in various ways by the West, and he referred to what Gramsci called 'cultural hegemony'. That influence is again found within the structure of post-colonial English L2 community. In this case, individuals play the role of being influenced. Power relations are convincing them gradually to decide which language is to be preferred. Though Bangladesh has a rich historical background for her own language, English has been widely used and practised in official, semi-official and educational institutions which mark the dominance over Bangla language. If an individual is not aware of this fact, he/she is, implicitly and/or explicitly, forced to take the position of English for granted. At the same time, he/she is to keep pace with the social circuit. English as a means of higher education enhances the opportunities for further growth and knowledge persuasion. Similarly, English as a language is being considered a skill. For English-major learners, the combination of both knowledge and skill is giving them another dimension in society, which is again like getting opportunity to step on the next stair of social structure, and becoming English-knowing people to practise power and continue the vicious cycle.

I would like to mention one quotation from Pennycook (1998) who said,

> Unless we can work alongside each other to dislodge the discourse of colonialism from English and to generate counterdiscourses through English, colonialism will continue to respect itself…in many contexts around the world. (p. 218)

Therefore, we need to consider English as a medium of communication at international level. It should not get priority as much as to redeem the significance of our own language. Young learners can bring the torch of awareness to the society as part of their ethics to motherland. Since it is not their ethical duty just to assimilate and accommodate in the society, but to adapt and modify the emerging predominance.

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Appendix

Research Questionnaire

1. Social Background
    - What do you do besides your study?
    - How many earning members are there in your family?
    - What do they do?
    - How many members are there in your family?
    - Can you tell me an approximate range of monthly expenditure of your
      family and your own?
    - Do you have any financial contribution to your family?

2. Opinions about the English Language
    - What do you think about English language learning? Is it necessary? Why or why not?
    - To what extent is it beneficial?
    - How English as a second language is helpful in your life?

3. English Learning Journey
    - How was the English learning environment in your school and college?
    - How did your teacher motivate or demotivate you in learning English?
    - Who else influenced you learning English? Why?

4. Goal Setting
    - What was your goal before starting higher study?
    - Did it change over time?
    - What is the reason behind changing the goal?
    - What is your future goal now?
    - To what extent can English as second language help you to achieve that goal?

5. Lifestyle and Perception
    - What do you think of your present lifestyle? Are you satisfied or not?
    - What is your expectation of future life? How do you want to change your lifestyle?
    - What steps can help you to attain that type of lifestyle?
    - Do you think you can do it? Why or why not?
    - Do you think English a second language can help you to materialize your dream?

6. Do you think English as a second language is a powerful component in educated society?

7. Do you think English will help you to uphold your prestige and status in society? Why or why not?

8. Do you think people value your knowledge more when you speak in English rather than Bangla?

Implementation of Web 2.0 Tools in Dhaka University Library Website: The Attitude of Users and Information Professionals

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Abstract

Purpose
The purpose of this research is to measure the present satisfaction level of the users regarding the service provided by Dhaka University Library (DUL) and assess the attitude of users and information professionals towards implementing Web 2.0 tools in DULwebsite.

Methodology
The methodology includes a quantitative approach. The study was carried out through survey method based on a pre-structured questionnaire. The respondents include students of Dhaka University and information professionals from DUL. A random sampling method has been used to collect the data from the respondents.

Findings
The result of the study shows that DUL website don't have any web 2.0 tools and most of the respondents are disappointed with the present service status of DUL. This study also indicates that maximum users have agreed with the relative advantages and drawbacks in implementing web 2.0 tools in DUL. It also suggests that DUL should introduce and adopt Web 2.0 tools for providing better and up to date services to the users.
Research Implications: This study will reflect the timeliness and necessity of implementing web 2.0 tools in DUL and other academic library website.

Originality
Since there is no specific works on the use of web 2.0 tools in the academic libraries of Bangladesh, this can be a pioneer in understanding the necessity and user attitude towards this concept.

Keywords
Web2.0, Dhaka University Library (DUL), information professional, wikis, instant messaging.

Introduction

The term "Web 2.0" is a prevalent and well known espousal in every division of the society. Tim O'Reilly introduced the term Web 2.0. Mahmood & Richardson (2011) describedweb 2.0 as-

> The second generation of the World Wide Web (WWW), describing a series of technologies based on seven underlying principles, i.e. "the Web as platform, harnessing collection intelligence, data is the next Intel inside, end of the software release cycle, lightweight programming models, software above the level of single device and rich user experiences" (p. 366).

Linh (2008) considered last two decades as the radical implementation and transformation of information technology in libraries and information institutions. Web 2.0 like Instatnt Messaging (IM), Wikis, Socaial Networking Sites (SNS's) can be considered as a major tool or techlnology that can faciliate the communication between libraries and their patrons. Walia &Gupta (2012) argued that applying Web 2.0 technologies on library websites, librarians and information professionals can boost participation, partnership and seek feedback from the potential library users. Makori (2011) added thatWeb 2.0 can play significant role in spreading of information, knowledge and communication services in university librariesin participation with others. All the developed countries (i.e. USA, Australia, Britain etc.) including developing countries are using Web 2.0 in their academic libraries. DUL can also adopt these technologies in their website to improve their overall service qualitylike other academic libraries.Therefore, this paper has made an attempt to explore the attitude and behavior of the users and information professionals of DUL in adopting these Web 2.0 tools in its library website. However, the rest of the paperis organized as follows: the second section discusses the conceptual overview; The third section presents a short description of DUL; The forth section contains the literature review; The fifth, sixth and seventh sections explain the objectives, the research questions, and the methodology respectively; The eighth section reveals the results and discussion; and the recommendations and the conclusion with a brief summary have been noted in section nine and ten.

Conceptual Overview

Web 2.0

Virkus (2008) identified that the term "Web 2.0" became widespreadsubsequently the first O'Reilly Media Web 2.0 conference in 2004 and delivers over 76 million time searching in Google. The importance of these tremendous developments had been tinted at the fourth Web 2.0 Summit-2008 that took place in November at San Francisco, California. Web 2.0 introduces the World Wide Web pages from different perspective. The emphasis has been given to dynamic nature of websites with the help of modern tools and technologies rather than static pages of earlier times. Darcy DiNucci is considered the first person who introduced the term Web 2.0 in 1990 and later on it was promoted by Tim O'Reilly at the O'Reilly Media Web 2.0 conference in late 2004.Oberhelman (2007) noted that Web 2.0 denotes usually to web technologies and related tools thatactually offervarious types of website visitors to post their views, collaborate, and edit necessary information, making a more distributed system of authority in which the borders between website creator and visitor are extinct, rather than perform as a platform for authorities to impart information to a passive, receptive audience. Miller (2005) identified a set of principles and policies that clearly portray the features of Web 2.0 which includes the sharing and communication remix, built on trust, freeing of data, participatory, community building, user generated content and modular.

Web 2.0 Tools

The term Web 2.0 is a flourishing and promising concept of recent times for better service providing for different libraries and information institutions especially for academic libraries. The development of Web 2.0 offers massive opportunity to library and information professional for interaction. The followings are some Web 2.0 tools that could be adopted for academic libraries.

Rich Site Summery or Really Simple Syndication (RSS)

RSS is also popularly known as RDF (Resource Description Framework). Paramjeet and Monica (2012) considered it as one of the most prevalent, easy and popular tools among Web 2.0 technologies. It can be predominantly used as a tool for academic libraries for the purpose of information dissemination.

Social Networking Sites (SNS)

Barsky& Purdon (2006) identified that Social Networking Sites (SNS) offer a free and easy technique to generate own personal web pages and fill them with content such as media blogs, digital photographs, music, short videos and much more.

Podcast &Vodcast

A typical podcast is generally an audio file format and a vodcast is a video file. According to Paramjeet and Monica (2012), podcast and vodcast provides an opportunity to distribute information to users about diversified events and activity.

Instant Messaging (IM)

IM is one of the best practices in developed countries for providing Ready Reference Service (RRS). This tool can be used as a significant medium for real time interaction between patron and libraries and also has a great impact on the better service providing for the academic libraries.

Wikis

Boxen (2008) defined wikis asfree and open web pages that permitspotential users to add, improve and modify a page's content. Dickson & Holley (2010) mentioned that wikis encourage communication and cooperation among users which is a vital element for an innovative outreach tool.

Other Tools

Social bookmarking or tagging, photo sharing, micro blogging etc. are some other important and available web 2.0 tools which can be adopted for the academic library environment for better service providing.

Dhaka University Library (DUL)

DUL is the biggest library among the public university libraries in Bangladesh. It has great value to the researcher and scholars as a knowledge repository. It serves so many researchers and students with its huge amount of rich collection. No other library in Bangladesh has such rich collection. DUL was established in 1921 by an Act XVIII of 1920 which is properly known as Dacca University Act 1. Elahi & Islam (2014) in their study mentioned that at present, the library has 6 lacs 80 thousand books and magazines. They further added that, the library includes rare manuscript, old and rare books and large number of tracts, booklets, leaflets, pamphlets, and puthis, journal. Some rare books and documents have also been preserved in microform. An amount of US$ 20,000 has been paid as subscription to the Bangladesh Academy of Sciences (BAS) for online facilities of foreign reputed journals. As

a result, the teachers, researchers and students are able to read and download more than 20 thousand foreign journals of 46 publishers. DUL also subscribes to leading online journals.

Table 1: DUL Collection (Source: DUL Annual Report, 2010)

Collection Type	Numbers
Books and Magazines	6,80,000
Rare Manuscripts	30,000
Old & Rare Books	20,000
Journal Titles	Foreign-173, Local- 22 Gratis-70=265
Total	7,30,265

Literature Review

Oberhelman (2007) provided an overall idea about different Web 2.0 tools, their characteristics and usage. Craig (2007) describedthat the implementation of different modernized technologies and Web 2.0 services are converting the structure of the Web and their impact on Managed Learning Environments (MLS) and Learning Content Management Systems (LCMS). In this regard, Linh (2008) provided an overview of the application and practices of Web 2.0 tools and technologies in Australasian university library services. The author identified the features and purposes of Web 2.0 tools that were applied in those libraries. Chawner (2008) presents a conceptual issue about the application of Web 2.0 tools and communication technologies in different academic libraries of New Zealand. It revealed that Personal, technical, and organizational barriers discourage some people from being able to access Web 2.0 applications.Han & Liu (2009) provided a brief description on the present position and construction outlineof Web 2.0 technologies used in top Chinese university libraries, their features and different functionalities. Tripathi& Kumar (2010) gave an investigation of major academic libraries of USA, Canada, U.K. and Australia that have adopted Web 2.0 applications for enhancing user satisfaction. Eijkman (2010) presented the use of Web 2.0 tools (i.e. Wikipedia) in academic and libraries and educational purposes. Dickson and Holley (2010) summarized that social networking tools can be an active technique of students outreach in academic libraries if libraries and information institutions give their agreement to confidentiality of the students and provide equal subject coverage for all subject areas of knowledge. SaupiUdin (2010) provided an overview regarding the respondents' perception about web 2.0 tools.Mahmood& Richardson (2011) explored the type of Web 2.0 tools have been used in USA and their implication. Makori (2011) identified and illustrated the degree to which different university libraries in Africa are connectingpeople by removing the information gap through the use Web 2.0 tools including the possible challenges and relative advantages. Ram et al. (2011) described the application of Web 2.0 tools at JUIT (Jaypee University of Information Technology) with the vision to measure the prospects of the users and their consciousness and practice of such applications. Hicks & Graber explored the definition of Web 2.0 from intellectual point of view and provide a glimpse of its effectiveness on teaching and libraries. Garoufallou&Charitopoulou (2011) explained an overview of the use of Web 2.0 tools by the Greek Library and Information Science (LIS) students in their everyday life. Walia& Gupta (2012) described different Web 2.0 tools including RSS, SNS, blogs, Wikis, IM etc. and their implication in national libraries. Gardois et al. (2012) gave an overview of different aspects in implementing Web 2.0 tools academic, medical and research libraries. Ramos (2012) reported a scenario of implementation of Web 2.0 tools in providing reference services.

The above review of literature clearly depicts that many researches have been undertakenthroughout the world from different point of views. But there is an acute gap of literature about the attitude and behavior of users and information professionals towards the implementation of Web 2.0 tools in academic libraries of Bangladesh.

Objectives Research and Questions of the Study

In this digital age, the importance of Web 2.0 applications in providing right information to the right user at the right time is a must for all the libraries, particularly for the academic libraries like DUL. Therefore, the specific objectives of this study are to:

- Measure the present satisfaction levels of users of DUL.
- Examine the understanding regarding Web 2.0among users and information professionals of DUL.
- Assess the user attitude about the possible advantages and possible limitation of implementing Web 2.0 tools in DUL.
- Identify the applications of Web 2.0 best suited for DUL.

Research Questions

To fulfill the above research objectives, the following research questions (RQ's) have been formulated for this study-

RQ1: What is likely to be the understanding of users and information professionals about Web 2.0?

RQ2: What are likely to be the users' notion about DUL service quality?

RQ3: What are the relative advantages and possible drawbacks of implementing Web 2.0 tools in DUL?

RQ4: Which Web 2.0 tools will be best suited for DUL?

Methodology and Sample of the Study

The methodology of this study employed a quantitative approach. The research was conducted through survey method using a pre-structured questionnaire. The selection of the respondents was done using random sampling method. The respondents include users and information professionals of DUL. This study includes 20 information professionals and 80
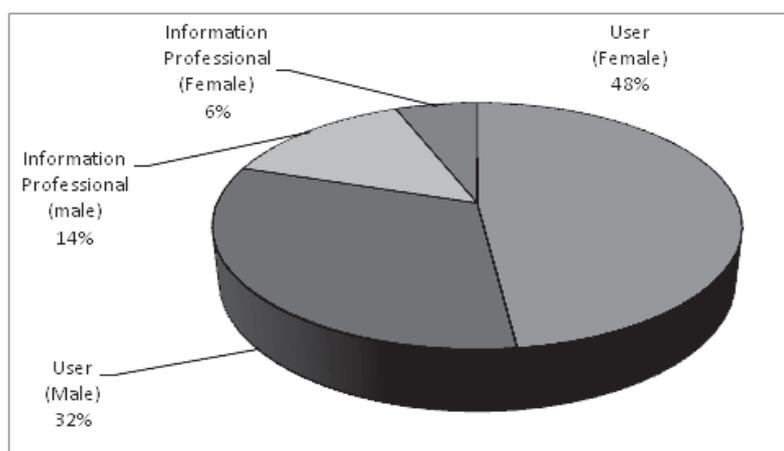
Figure1. Distribution of the respondents

users from DUL. Among the information professionals, all are graduated from Dhaka University (DU) in Information Science and Library Management. They are currently working at DUL in different sections like acquisition, processing, automation etc. Users were selected randomly from different departments of DU who are regular users of DUL. Fig. 1 depicts that among the respondents 54% are female (female information professional 6% and female users 48%) and 46% are male (male information professional 14% and male users 32%). 120 short and structured close-ended questionnaires were distributed and 100 filled up questionnaire were received among them. Therefore, the total number of respondents were 100 (n=100).

Results and Discussions

The Views of the Respondents about Web 2.0

Fig. 2 shows that 5% of the respondents first time heard about Web 2.0. Among all the respondents, 55% heard about this technology but have no clear idea about this topic. But after giving them a brief description they came to know about Web 2.0 tools. Other 25% of the respondents know very little about the topic and the rest 15% know the detail about the Web 2.0 tools and its features.
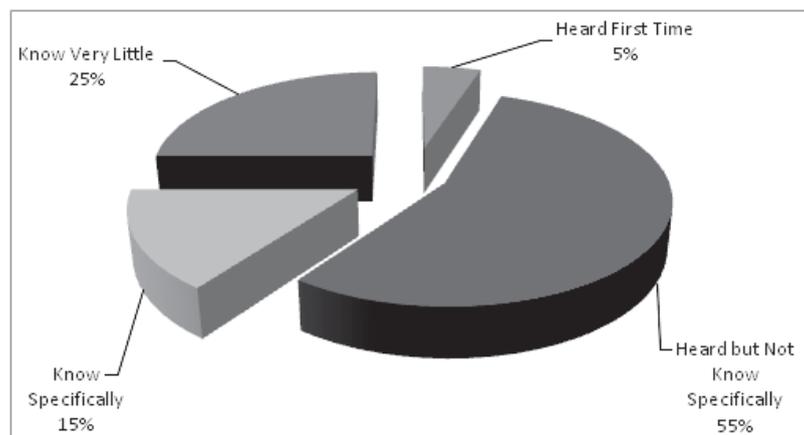
Figure 2. Views of the respondents about Web 2.0

The Views of the Respondents Regarding the Present Status of DUL

The present status of DUL is measured by four parameters in this study including service quality, satisfaction level, use of modern technology and training facilities. The respondents were requested to state their level of agreement on these specific points. 1-7 Likert scales have been used and based on the following scores the mean and standard deviation of their level of agreement were calculated:

1.00-strongly disagree, 2.00-disagree, 3.00-somewhat disagree 4.00-neutral,
5.00-somewhat agree, 6.00-agree, 7.00-strongly agree.

Mean generally represents the average results of a response while standard deviation provides an indication of how far the individual responses to a question vary or deviate from the mean.

DUL Services are up to Date in DUL

Table-2 reveals that the respondents somewhat disagree with a mean score of 3.00 on 1-7 Likert scales. It shows that DUL services are not up to date.

Table 2: Level of agreement of the respondents regarding the present status of DUL

Statements	N	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. Deviation
DUL Services are up to date	100	1.00	7.00	3.00	1.50
Satisfaction level is high	100	1.00	7.00	2.91	1.46
Modern technologies are used	100	1.00	7.00	3.05	1.58
Training facilities are not available	100	1.00	7.00	4.83	1.80
Valid N (list wise)	100				

Satisfaction Level is High in Using DUL

From table-2 it is clear that the respondents somewhat disagree with this statement with a mean score of 2.91 on 1-7 Likert scales. It indicates that the overall satisfaction level is not so high.

Modern Technologies are Used in DUL

The respondents somewhat disagree with this statement with a mean score of 3.05 (Table-2) that shows modern technologies are not used in DUL.

Training Facilities are not Available

With a mean score of 4.83 (Table-2) the respondents somewhat agree with this statement that training facilities are not available in DUL.

Views of the Respondents Regarding the Advantages of Implementing Web 2.0 tools in DUL

The level of agreements has been analyzed below on the basis of the following particular statements:

Accessing Information will be Easy

Table-3 reveals that the respondents somewhat agree with a mean score of 5.17 on 1-7 Likert scales. It shows that respondents think that implementing Web 2.0 tools in DUL will ease in access to information.

Users could be up to Date with Latest Information

From table-3 it is clear that respondents agree with this statement with a mean score of 5.63 on 1-7 Likert scales that indicate users could be up to date with the implementation of Web 2.0 tools in DUL.

Easy Communication Between Users and Information Professionals

Table-3 shows that respondents agree with this statement with a mean score of 5.82 on 1-7 Likert scales that indicate easy communication between users and information professionals will be enhanced with the implement of Web 2.0 tools in DUL.

Fast Service Providing is Possible

Table-3 reveals that the respondents agree with a mean score of 5.50 on 1-7 Likert scales. It shows that respondents think that implementing Web 2.0 tools in DUL will provide fast services to its users.

Table 3: Level of agreement of the respondents regarding the advantages of implementing Web 2.0 tools in DUL website

Statements	N	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. Deviation
Accessing information will be easy	100	1.00	7.00	5.17	1.53
Users could be up to date with the latest information	100	1.00	7.00	5.63	1.33
Easy communication between users and information professionals	100	1.00	7.00	5.82	1.22
Fast service providing is possible	100	1.00	7.00	5.50	1.39
Social interaction will be enhanced	100	1.00	7.00	5.73	1.18
Providing reference service will be more useful	100	1.00	7.00	5.82	1.13
Helpful in educational purpose	100	1.00	7.00	5.90	1.14
Useful for marketing or promoting DUL services	100	1.00	7.00	5.53	1.31
Helpful in acquiring information literacy	100	1.00	7.00	5.50	1.47
Valid N (list wise)	100				

Social Interaction will be Enhanced

Table-3 indicates that the respondents agree with a mean score of 5.73 on 1-7 Likert scales. It shows that respondents think that implementing Web 2.0 tools in DUL will enhance social interaction.

Providing Reference Service will be Easy

From table-3 it is clear that respondents agree with this statement with a mean score of 5.82 on 1-7 Likert scales that indicate providing reference service will be easy with the implement of Web 2.0 tools in DUL.

Helpful in Educational Purpose

The respondents affirmed with the highest mean score of 5.90 in table-3reveals implementation of Web 2.0 tools in DUL will be helpful in educational purpose.

Useful for Marketing or Promoting DUL Services

Table-3 reveals that the respondents somewhat agree with this statement with a mean score of 5.53 on 1-7 Likert scales. It shows that respondents think that implementing Web 2.0 tools in DUL will be useful for marketing or promoting DUL services.

Helpful in Acquiring Information Literacy

Table-3 indicates that the respondents agree with a mean score of 5.50 on 1-7 Likert scales. It shows that respondents think that implementing Web 2.0 tools in DUL will help in acquiring information literacy.

Respondents' Perception Regarding the Obstacles of Implementing Web 2.0 Tools in DUL

The respondents are requested to give their opinion on the basis of the following statements:

Scarcity of Budget

Budget scarcity is always a big problem for any project implementation especially in developing countries. From table-4 it is clear that respondents somewhat agree with this statement with a mean score of 4.85 on 1-7 Likert scales that indicates budget scarcity can be a possible drawback of implementing Web 2.0 tools in DUL.

Traditional Outlook of Information Professional

It is clear from table-4 that respondents somewhat agree with this statement with a mean score of 5.10 that traditional outlook of information professionals is a great problem towards implementing Web 2.0 tools in DUL.

**Table 4: Level of agreement of the respondents regarding the obstacles of
Web 2.0 tools implementation in DUL**

Statements	N	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. Deviation
Scarcity of budget	100	1.00	7.00	4.85	1.79
Traditional outlook of information professional	100	1.00	7.00	5.10	1.57
Lack of awareness about Web 2.0	100	1.00	7.00	5.33	1.60
Lack of professional staffs in DUL	100	1.00	7.00	5.26	1.62
Low bandwidth	100	1.00	7.00	5.52	1.25
Valid N (list wise)	100				

Lack of Awareness about Web 2.0

Table-4 indicates that the respondents somewhat agree with a mean score of 5.33 on 1-7 Likert scales. It shows that respondents think that lack of awareness among users and information professional about Web 2.0 is a big problem towards implementing Web 2.0 tools in DUL.

Lack of Professional Staff in DUL

Table-4 shows that the respondents somewhat agree with this statement with a mean score of 5.26 on 1-7 Likert scales. It reveals that lack of professionals in DUL would be a crucial challenge for implementing Web 2.0 tools in DUL.

Low Bandwidth

The respondents affirmed with the highest mean score of 5.52 in table-4 that implementation of Web 2.0 tools in DUL may be hindered by the low bandwidth problem.

The Views of the Respondents Regarding the best Suited Web 2.0 Tools for DUL

There are different tools of Web 2.0 which have different and diversified features. But among them which are best suited for DUL is a very critical matter. Fig. 3 shows that the respondents give highest 51 votes for wikis. Second highest 40 vote goes to IM according to the respondents. RSS got 39 and Social Networking Sites (SNS) got 21 votes. Podcast and
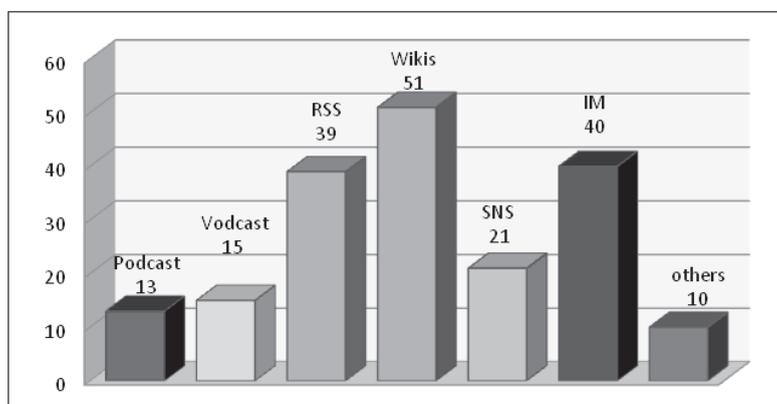
Figure 3. Views of the respondents regarding suitable Web 2.0 tools for DUL

Vodcast got similar importance with 13 and 15 votes. Respondents also suggest some other applications like blogs, mashups, bookmarking etc. for DUL. From the statistics shown in fig. 3, it is obvious that the Wikis and IM are best suited for the DUL according to the opinion of the users and information professionals.

Recommendations

The present study attempts to examine the present status of DUL and the opinion and notion of users and information professionals towards embracing Web 2.0 tools in DUL. The authors believe that the implementation of Web 2.0 tools in DUL is possible and through this the library can provide better services to the users. The followings are some recommendations for the successful implementation of Web 2.0 in DUL.

1.1 Assistance of Authority: The most important issue in this regard is that the authority should understand the necessity of implementing Web 2.0 tools in DUL and should patronize it for providing better services to the users.
1.2 Training Facilities:Intensive training facilities on modern tools and technologies should be provided to the staff of DUL on a regular basis.
1.3 User Orientation: User orientation regarding the proper usage and utilization of Web 2.0 tools in DUL should be introduced.
1.4 Increase in Budget: Budget should be increased to develop Web 2.0 tools in DUL.
1.5 Skilled Personnel:More IT skilled personnel should be appointed for the proper implementation and maintenance of Web 2.0 tools in DUL.
1.6 Promotional Activities: Awareness and promotional activities should be adopted by DUL for making the services more popular.
1.7 Changing the Attitude: Traditional outlook of the DUL staffs and users should be changed and should made adaptive mentality regarding the implementation of Web 2.0 tools.

Conclusion

The aim of the study was to assess the attitude of users and information professionals towards implementing Web 2.0 tools in DUL. The findings reveal that the users are dissatisfied with the present service quality of DUL. The result also shows that there are many advantages of implementing Web 2.0 in DUL including fast access to information, up to date with information, easy communication, enhanced social interaction, fast reference service providing, facilitate educational purpose, promote DUL services, helpful in acquiring information literacy etc. It also indicates that there are some drawbacks which are relative to the implementation of Web 21.0 tools in DUL. These are budget scarcity, traditional outlook, lack of awareness and professional staff, low bandwidth. It describes that most of the respondents thinks that wikis, RSS and IM are best suited tools for DUL. This study proves that users and information professionals have positive attitude towards implementing Web 2.0 tools in DUL.

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Behavioral Profile: Synonyms of 'Disagree

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Abstract

There have been some developments in the area of lexical semantics through corpus linguistics in recent time. As a result, it is now possible to focus on semantic dimension of lexemes from a usage-based perspective. This paper presents a Behavioral Profile of synonymous words of the verb disagree. The data for this paper is taken from the Global Web-Based English (GloWbE) corpus.

Keywords

Corpus linguistics, behavioral profile, synonyms, GloWbE.

Introduction

Empirical data bears semantic profiles of lexemes in utterances, which are affected by situational and cultural contexts. In other words, an utterance is constrained by the conventions or codes of a society. There are many approaches which linguists follow to study the lexemes in empirical data in order to find out the relevant semantic analysis of the lexemes. Behavioral Profile (henceforth, BP) is a recent development in corpus linguistics based on corpus-based data, which investigates distributional characteristics of lexemes. The approach of BP can be related to the works of Divjak and Gries (2009). In defining the BP approach, Dobrić (2010: 98) states that,

> ...behavioral profiling presents a combination of corpus methodology as a practical orientation and cognitive and sociosemantic theoretical oriental. The theoretical background of the procedure can be found in the combination of what is basically a (manual) cognitive approach to sense identification (in the initial steps of the procedure) and a sociosemantic, in its more diluted form, conception of meaning (regarding the observation of the context as generating sense recognition).

This paper aims to build the semantic understanding of the synonyms of the verb disagree (for BP of synonyms and antonyms, see Gries and Otani 2010). There have been several studies on the verb disagree, specially its conceptual definition (Koczogh 2013). Koczogh (2013: 213) states, "Disagreement and argument are the most frequently used terms in the area of conflict talk…" Thus, the verb disagree is related to the conflicting and argumentative context. The synonyms of disagree enables the speaker's power to be different in his/her action and opinion. Studies on other synonyms of the verb disagree used in this paper includes Kakavá (2002) on opposition and Kotthoff (1993) on dispute. This paper focuses on the distributional features of these lexemes with a detailed behavioral discussion through semantic and syntactic factors. The methodology of this research paper is described in §2 . In §3, I have presented a BP analysis based on a data frame prepared in the methodological stage (see §2). I have listed down the findings of this BP analysis in §4, which is followed by some conclusive remarks in §5.

Methodology

Following a BP approach, we need to go through several steps to build a dataframe before yielding an interesting result out of the dataframe. Three steps are prerequisite to build a dataframe for running a BP analysis (for more, see Gries, 2010: 226-228). The preparatory phases for a BP study include retrieving a sample of concordance lines from a corpus (§2.1), ID tagging (§2.2) and drawing a co-occurrence table (§2.3).

1. Concordance Lines

The first step in the BP approach entails taking a sample of concordance lines of the synonyms (for this study, the synonymous words are - contradict, disagree, dispute, oppose and reject) from the selected corpus. For this paper, I have randomly retrieved 100 sample concordance lines for each of the synonymous verbs from the Global Web Based English (GloWbE) corpus of 1.9 million words based on 1.8 million webpages of 20 English-speaking countries. I have used the data from webpages of Bangladesh. A sample of concordance lines of the investigated synonyms are given from a-c.

a. …on the topic of emancipation of women, but let me disagree about Asian women. Have you visited progressive countries in...
b. ...that the headmen of at least three Penan communities that have opposed logging have lost official recognition from Malaysian…
c. ...love of God and thus be sanctified. Therefore, he contradicted the dogmatic truth in the Council of Trent above that teaches the…

2. ID Tagging

Following the retrieval of 100 concordance lines for each of the verbs, we need to tag different properties of each concordance lines for respective lemmas. Different choices of

Table 1: ID tagging of the concordance lines

Type of factors	Factors	Levels
Morphological	Verb_Form	Present, Past, Infinitive (Inf), Present Participle (Prespart) and Past Participle (Pastpart)
	Mood	Indicative (IND), Subjunctive (SUB), Interrogative (INTRG), Imperative (IMP), Conditional (COND) and Optative (OPT)
Syntactic	Clause_Type	Main, Subordinate and Relative
Semantic	Sem_Sub	Animate, Inanimate
	Sem_Obj	Animate, Inanimate
Pragmatic	Genre	Media, Blog, Forum, Profsite (professional site) and Govserv (government sites)

morphological, syntactic and semantic ID tags could be taken into considerations. This step is manual. I have used the ID tags in Table 1 for the dataframe. Since the ID tagging is manual, sometimes our own judgment is required for tagging different properties of the lemmas in the concordance lines.

The selected corpus does not provide any genre for the sources of the concordance lines. Therefore, I had to go through the sources of each concordance line and decide the genre. I had to consider the over tagging of the data too; for that, I put different sources into one genre. The genre of Media includes web pages of newspapers, magazines, entertainment groups and political or personal information providers or promoters. The genre of Blog includes all personal and professional blogs, while the genre of Forum represents websites of any group for a cause, social welfare groups and non-government organizations (NGO). All the professional sites which promote any business or service are represented by the genre of Profsite, and lastly, the genre of Govserv represents the webpages of the government. I had to face another problem, when I started tagging based on semantic subject (Sem_Sub) and semantic object (Sem_Obj); the problem was about the animacity of the subject or the object. I have considered the lexemes such as the government, political party, etc. as inanimates. The rational for this choice lies in the fact that this type of lexemes represents the abstract entities (in Bangladesh) which are directed by certain ideals. Therefore, I have tagged them as inanimate subjects or objects, as in the sample sentences a and b.

   a. The opposition party has now found yet another point to disagree on, with the ruling government, and blame them for their…
   b. …over GMR 's development of the INI airport, which is opposed by all parties of the coalition government. # President Dr.…

The number of such lexemes is scarce in the data frame used for this paper. Therefore, it is fair to claim that the result is not misleading or biased. Table 2 represents a sample of tagged verbs.

Table 2: A sample table of tagged verbs

Verb	Genre	Clause_Type	Verb_Form	Mood	Sem_Sub	Sem_Obj
rejected	Media	Main	Past	IND	Animate	Inanimate
rejected	Forum	Main	Past	IND	Animate	Inanimate
rejected	Blog	Main	Past	IND	Animate	Animate
reject	Blog	Main	INF	IND	Animate	Inanimate
rejects	Media	Subordinate	Present	IND	Animate	Inanimate
rejecting	Forum	Main	PRESPART	IND	Animate	Inanimate
rejected	Forum	Main	Past	IND	Animate	Inanimate
reject	Media	Main	Present	IND	Animate	Inanimate
reject	Media	Subordinate	Present	SUBJ	Animate	Inanimate
rejected	Blog	Main	Past	IND	Inanimate	Inanimate

3. Co-occurrence table

The next step of the BP approach is to convert the data frame into a co-occurrence table. This co-occurrence table shows the number of occurrences for each verb for the levels with which they are tagged in the data frame.

Table 3: A selection of the co-occurrence table for the Genre factor

Verb			Levels of Genre		
	Genre_Blog	Genre_Forum	Genre_Govserv	Genre_Media	Genre_Prof
contradict	27	9	2	50	12
disagree	22	24	1	48	5
dispute	23	12	2	38	25
oppose	17	14	1	63	5
reject	19	20	4	43	14

The co-occurrence table in Table 3 shows the number of occurrences of each verb for each of the levels under each of the factors. Table 3 shows that the verb contradict has 27% occurrence in the genre of Blog, and the maximum percentage of use the verb contradict is in the genre of Media, which is 50%.

Data frame analysis

This section of the paper focuses on the analysis of our data frame based on different packages run in Rstudio. The packages used for this data frame provide a consistent analysis, which tells an interesting story about the synonymous lexemes I have investigated. There are two types of analysis– monofactorial and multifactorial. The monofactorial analysis (see §3.2) focuses on only one factor at a time, while the multifactorial analysis (see §3.3) is based on all the levels and factors used in the data frame.

1. Synonyms of 'Disagree'

The most synonymous words of the verb disagree are - contradict, dispute, oppose and reject. The entries of these lexemes in the Oxford Dictionary are given from a-e.

a. disagree: have or express a different opinion; No one was willing to disagree with him.
b. contradict: deny the truth of (a statement) by asserting the opposite; The survey appears to contradict the industry's claims.
c. dispute: argue about (something); The point has been much disputed.
d. oppose: disagree with and attempt to prevent, especially by argument; A majority of the electorate opposed EC membership.
e. reject: dismiss as inadequate, unacceptable, or faulty; Union negotiators rejected a 1.5 per cent pay award.

Each of the above definitions relays close affinity with the verb under investigation, but the true semantic profile can be studied through the analysis done by BP in the following sections.

2. Monofactorial Analysis

Monofactorial analysis reveals the relation of one single level with the investigated lexemes. Monofactorial analysis can be executed in various ways. By using the VCD package in Rstudio, we can extract a barplot, association plot, mosaic plot and sieve plot in order to demonstrate synonyms-level relation.

The plots in Figure 1 and Figure 2 tell us an important story about the synonyms of disagree and the levels that I have used for tagging. From the barplot in Figure 1, it is understandable that all the synonyms have most entries in the Media genre. This is true for newspapers and magazines, which target to draw readers into building their opinions on something. It functions as a brain teaser. The corresponding association plot in Figure 2 asserts the figure drawn in the barplot. The over-representation of the lexeme dispute is visible in professional sites, while disagree has over representation in the Forum and oppose is over-representational in the Media genre. The synonyms disagree and oppose are under-represented in professional sites.
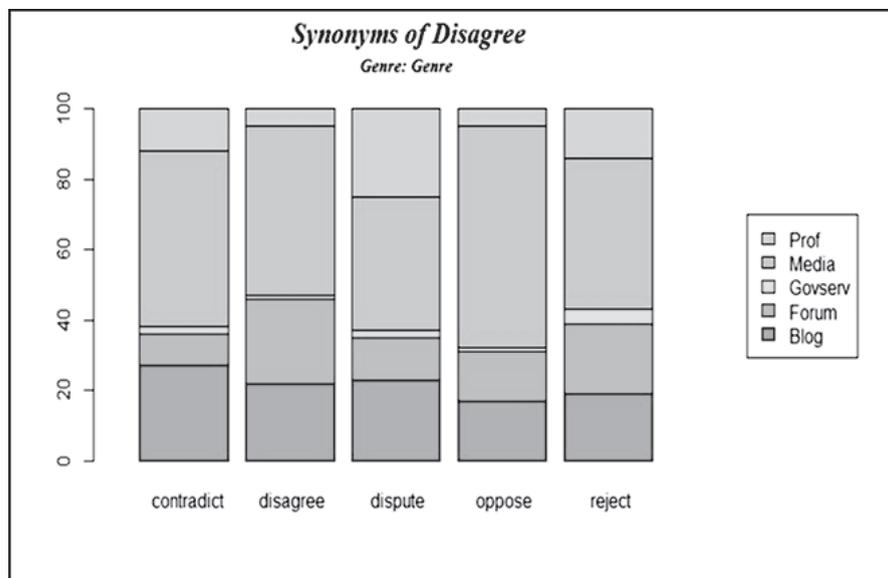
Figure 1: Barplot for the Genre factor and the synonyms
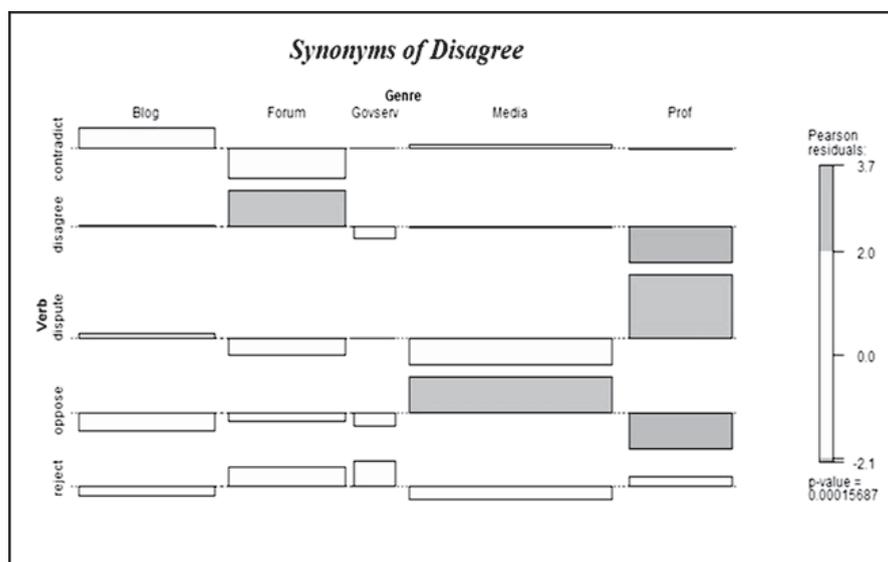
Figure 2: Association plot for the Genre factor and the synonyms

The plots in Figure 3 and Figure 4 reflect the mono-level relation of verbs with the factor Verb_Form. Both the plots show us that the verb *contradict* has most instances in the present form, and is therefore over-represented in the given plots. The synonym *dispute* is more instantiated in the infinitive form, while *oppose* is over-represented in the past form. The possible reason for over-representation of *oppose* in past form could be due to the fact that all the other verbs can have stative nominal forms, while the noun of *oppose* is more related to an entity than to the nouns of states. Therefore, it is likely that *oppose* is more instantiated in the past form.
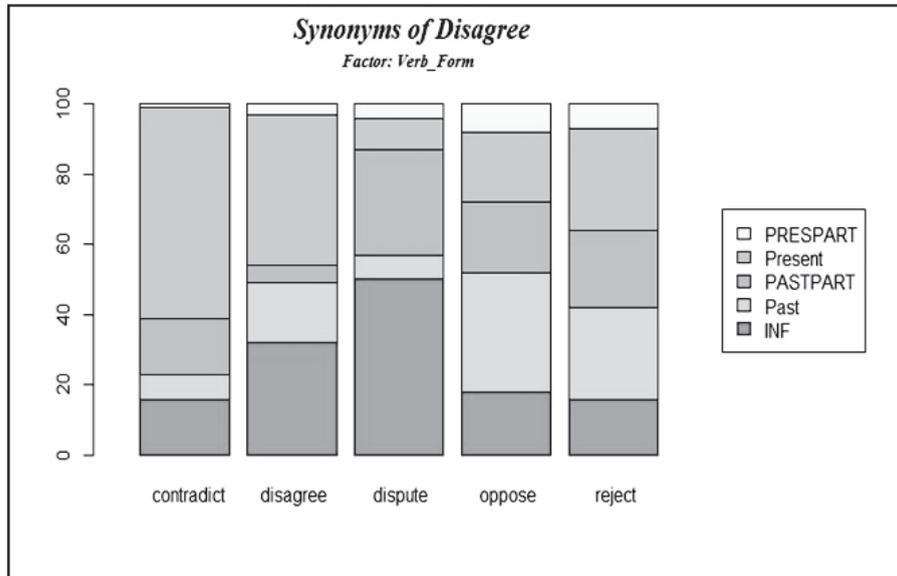
Figure 3: Barplot for the Verb_Form factor and the synonyms
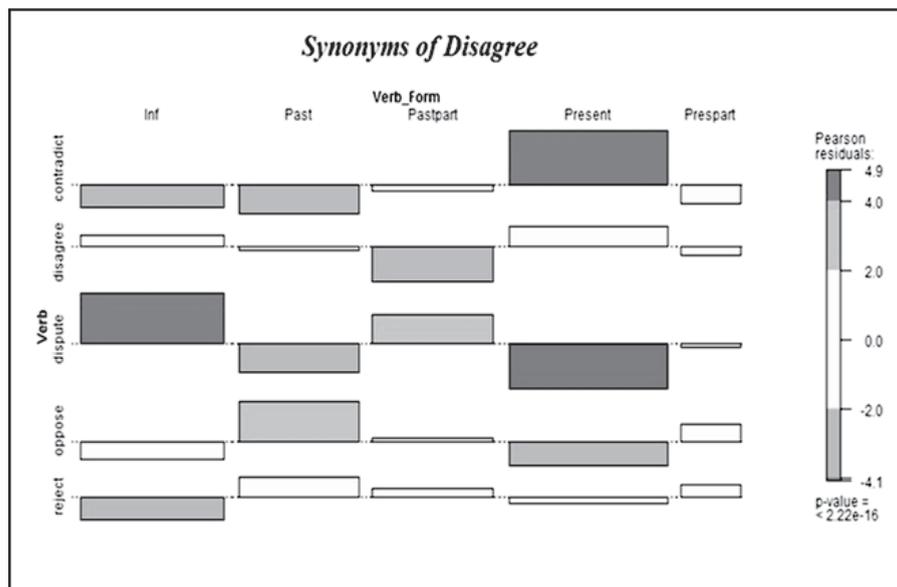
Figure 4: Association plot for the Verb_Form factor and the synonyms

Consider the sentences from Error! Reference source not found.-Error! Reference source not found.. If we look closely at sentence Error! Reference source not found., it seems that the lexeme opposition might represent two semantic meaning; one is the opposition party and the other is the opposition of something. Taking this inference into consideration, it is justifiable that the use of oppose is more instantiated in the past form. The semantic subject and semantic object are interesting factors in the sense that they show us the connection to

animacy with the synonymous words. These two factors help us to show the words from a different perspective.
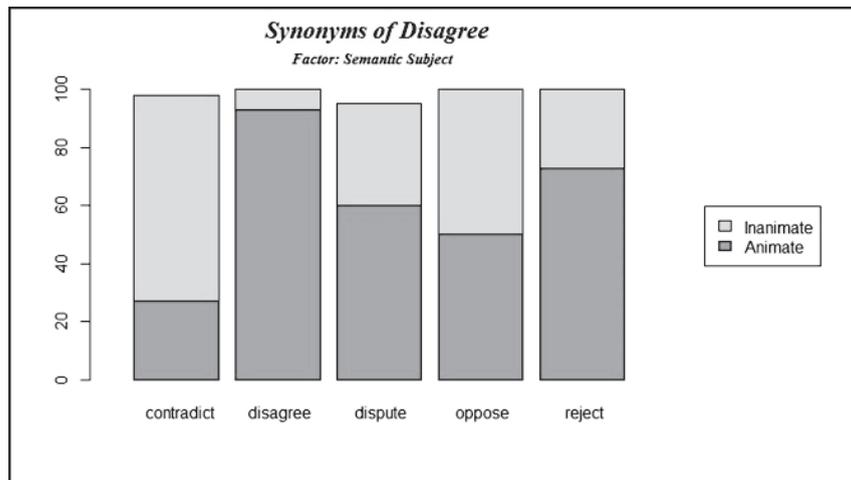
Figure 5: Association plot for the Sem_Sub factor and the synonyms
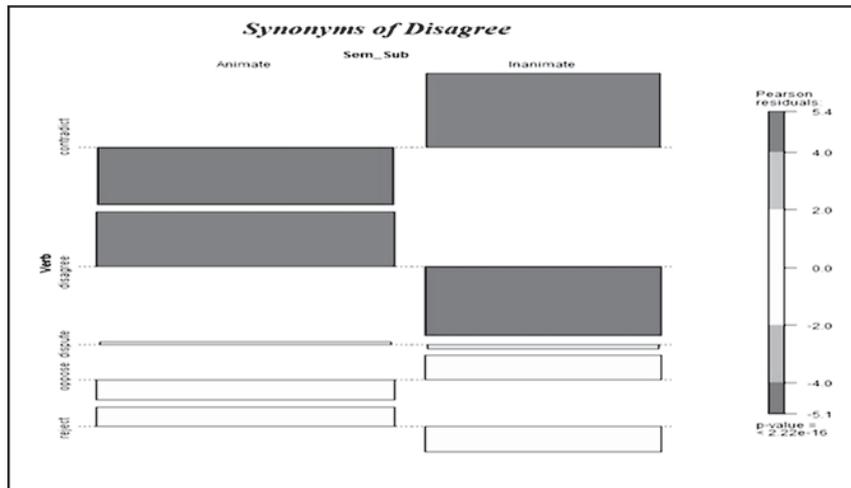
Figure 6: Barplot for the Sem_Sub factor and the synonyms

When it comes to the semantic object that these synonymous verbs take, the plots in Figure 7 demonstrate that the only over-representation is for the verb disagree, which instantiates more animate objects than expected.
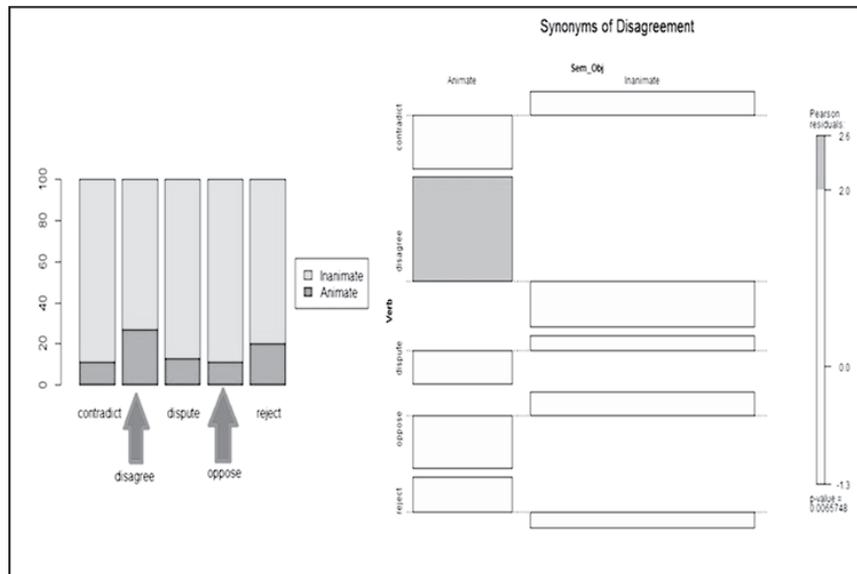
Figure 7: Barplot and Association plot for the Sem_Obj factor and the synonyms

3. Multifactorial Analysis

Monofactorial analysis gives us an overall picture of the lexemes based on the factors and levels that I have used to tag the different linguistic properties of lemmas. There are two types of results that we can extract using multifactorial analysis– two dimensional and multidimensional. In this paper, I am going to present multidimensional results through two different packages: configurational frequency analysis (cfa) and principal components analysis (pca).

Configurational Frequency Analysis (cfa)

CFA calculates the statistical importance of the co-occurrence of factor levels of our dataframe. This package shows us the result combining two or three factors. The more factors we will add, the less interesting the result will be. Thus, for each CFA analysis I have combined two factors so that I can extract an interesting analysis. I have combined the Genre and the Verb_Form factors, and the outcome is shown in **Error! Reference source not found.**

Table 4: CFA co-occurrence table for Genre and Verb_Form factor

			label	n	expected	Q	chisq	p.chisq	sig.chisq	z	p.z	sig.z
1	dispute	Prof	INF	16	3.2208	2.572410e-02	5.870416e+01	0.8864913	FALSE	7.1206852319	5.369039e-13	TRUE
2	reject	Forum	Past	11	2.8756	1.634279e-02	2.295377e+01	0.9999995	FALSE	4.7910098090	8.297201e-07	TRUE
3	oppose	Media	Past	23	8.8088	2.889140e-02	2.286238e+01	0.9999995	FALSE	4.7814624103	8.701227e-07	TRUE
4	contradict	Blog	Present	18	6.9552	2.240121e-02	1.753905e+01	1.0000000	FALSE	4.1879650108	1.407334e-05	TRUE
5	contradict	Media	Present	31	15.5848	3.182229e-02	1.524745e+01	1.0000000	FALSE	3.9847977739	4.715211e-05	TRUE
6	dispute	Blog	PASTPART	11	4.0176	1.407792e-02	1.213508e+01	1.0000000	FALSE	3.4835446135	2.474103e-04	TRUE

The marked rows reveal facts about the synonyms discussed in this paper. The results are also identical to the previously discussed monofactorial analysis. Row 3 in Table 4 shows that the verb oppose is used in the past form in Media for 23 instances. A few concordance lines from the corpus will help us to understand this statistic more conveniently.

a. Jamaat-e-Islami is the country's largest Islamist party and it opposed Bangladesh's independence from Pakistan at that time. Some of…

b. Last time, it was the political parties which opposed holding of upazila polls before the general elections. So the…

c. …as he was not fully prepared. Prosecutor Rana Dasgupta opposed the defense counsel and argued that the submission was meant to…

The above concordance lines from a-c show that the verb oppose is used for the decisions which were already taken. We can also relate our previous assumption of using oppose as a verb in the past form. The verb contradict is instantiated in the present form in the Media genre, which was also reflected in the monofactorial analysis. The statistic in Table 5 shows the diplomatic function of this word along with inanimate subjects in Media.

Table 5: CFA co-occurrence table for Verb_Form and Sem_Sub factor

		label	n	expected	Q	chisq	p.chisq	sig.chisq	z	p.z	sig.z
1	contradict	Present	Inanimate	45	12.181081	6.825645e-02	8.842350e+01	4.877654e-12	TRUE	9.40337716	0.000000e+00	TRUE
2	dispute	PASTPART	Inanimate	24	6.683837	3.560680e-02	4.486188e+01	1.457240e-04	TRUE	6.69790088	1.057177e-11	TRUE
3	dispute	INF	Animate	41	15.396278	5.360872e-02	4.257851e+01	3.233276e-04	TRUE	6.52522103	3.395062e-11	TRUE
4	oppose	Past	Inanimate	19	7.113792	2.446295e-02	1.986029e+01	2.265793e-01	FALSE	4.45648812	4.165661e-06	TRUE
5	disagree	INF	Animate	32	16.206609	3.312418e-02	1.539071e+01	4.962298e-01	FALSE	3.92309955	4.370850e-05	TRUE
6	disagree	Present	Animate	37	19.821929	3.630361e-02	1.488685e+01	5.329408e-01	FALSE	3.85834838	5.707793e-05	TRUE
7	reject	Past	Animate	23	11.344626	2.419858e-02	1.197463e+01	7.457241e-01	FALSE	3.46043841	2.696483e-04	TRUE
8	dispute	Present	Inanimate	1	11.808113	2.246113e-02	9.892800e+00	8.721662e-01	FALSE	3.14528223	8.296334e-04	TRUE
9	reject	PRESPART	Inanimate	6	1.797991	8.554543e-03	9.820335e+00	8.758408e-01	FALSE	3.13374131	8.629647e-04	TRUE

The genre of Media uses inanimate subjects in the present form to avoid any direct confrontation with readers. That is, the media talks about things rather than humans. Moreover, oppose can use animate subjects (sentences from a-c), as the action has already taken place in the past. Table 5 also shows that dispute and disagree are instantiated with animate subjects in the present and infinitive forms. We can see a clear distinction between disagree and contradict; disagree is semantically used with an animate subject and contradict with an inanimate subject.

Table 6: CFA co-occurrence table for Sem_Sub and Sem_Obj factor

		label	n	expected	Q	chisq	p.chisq	sig.chisq	z	p.z	sig.z
1	contradict	Inanimate	Inanimate	70	31.639957	0.0831455676	46.587422648	1.931166e-09	TRUE	6.81963508	4.563572e-12	TRUE
2	disagree	Animate	Animate	26	9.973298	0.0331797442	25.754289315	3.546723e-05	TRUE	5.07486840	1.938821e-07	TRUE
3	contradict	Animate	Inanimate	17	50.457406	0.0756026790	22.185008940	1.841208e-04	TRUE	4.71009649	1.237998e-06	TRUE
4	disagree	Inanimate	Inanimate	6	32.285671	0.0570541638	21.400716541	2.636894e-04	TRUE	4.62609085	1.863159e-06	TRUE

Table 6 also confirms the abductive inference that Media uses the inanimate subject and object significantly in the present form in order to avoid any kind of debate and to present neutrality of opinions.

4. Principal Component Analysis

For the Principal Component Analysis (henceforth, PCA), I have used the FactoMineR package in Rstudio. The PCA performs with supplementary individuals, supplementary quantitative variables and supplementary categorical variables. The PCA map in Figure 8 shows the position of the synonyms in a two dimensional graphs based on the tags I have used.
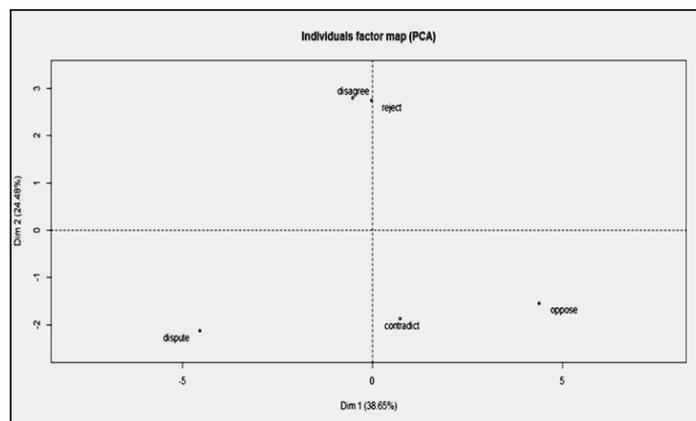
Figure 8: Individual factor map

The PCA map in Figure 8 illustrates that on the X-axis, contradict, oppose and reject are on the same side of the graph while disagree and dispute are on the opposite side. On the Y-axis, dispute and reject are on the opposite side of the other synonyms. This map is based on the closely shared levels by the synonymous verbs of disagree. The previous sections show that at least for some levels contradict and disagree are different semantically, which is also represented in the PCA map. The variables factor map is more detailed in reflecting the levels which put certain lexemes on the same axis of the graph. The following variables factor map in Figure 9 shows us the significant variables by long arrows which are representations of the commonly shared levels among the investigated lexemes.
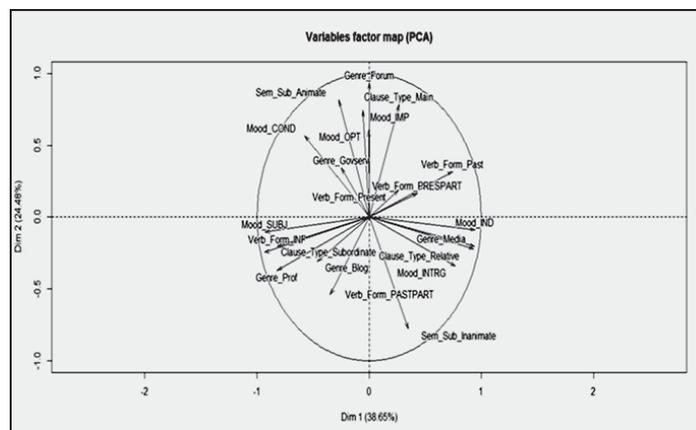
Figure 9: Variables factor map

The variables factor map in Figure 9 should be read in relation to the two dimensional map presented in Figure 8. The long lines of levels for the verbs contradict and oppose are Sem_Sub_Animate, Mood_INTRG, Genre_Mood and Mood_IND. Thus, contradict and oppose share these common levels. The significant factors and levels for the verb disagree are Sem_Sub_Animate, Mood_COND and Genre_Forum. These readings are identical to the previous analysis in this paper.

Findings

Based on the analysis given above, it is clear that using the BP approach, we find out more than our intuitions. We have seen that the synonyms of disagree slightly differ in the real usage. Speakers' selections of the synonyms are based on different sociolinguistic factors, and these factors are not easily foreseen. The lemmas of contradict and disagree reflects interesting facts, which are consistent throughout different analysis presented in this paper. Not only do these two verbs but also the verb *oppose* shows us insightful semantic properties. I have summarized the findings of this investigation from a-e.

a. Professional sites display more instantiations of the verb *dispute* in the infinitive form than in any other genres and forms.

b. The verb *oppose* is found to display more instances in past form in Media. The possible motivation for this reveals that other synonyms can take the nominal forms to be used in the past without any ambiguity in semantic representation.

c. The verb *disagree* is found to have significant percentage of animate subjects and the highest percentage of usage is in the genre of Forums. It is plausible that Forums have a lot of direct human interactions. Thus, the websites which belong to Forums instantiate the verb *disagree* more often than other synonyms.

d. The verb *contradict* is used in sentences where the subject is mainly inanimate. This verb is used in Media in present forms, which shows the effectiveness of the word being used as neutral in strictly pragmatic sense. It also does not reflect any direct confrontation and debate with any living entity. Hence, the use of this verb with inanimate subjects in Media is well justified. *Contradict* has also a significant percentage of combination of inanimate subjects and inanimate objects.

e. The verbs *dispute* and *reject* are also found significantly with animate subjects in the websites which belong to Forums and Blogs, where there is a lot of human interactions.

Conclusion

The Behavioral Profile approach helps us understand the semantic differences of the near-synonymous or synonymous words. The recent work in this area includes discussion of polysemys and synonyms. I have focused on the synonyms of *disagree* in this paper to investigate the linguistic differences that they bear in the real context within the GloWbE corpus. This corpus-based distributional approach to study near-synonymous words is a great tool, which can reveal the sociolinguistic conventions attached with the lexemes. This study is based on 100 concordance lines for each synonymous word from the corpus. A larger dataframe will restate the facts revealed in this paper.

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Mass Media and Eco-awareness of Bangladesh

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Abstract

Awareness edifice and dissemination plays deep-seated role from general public, local farmers, scientists, policy makers, planners and politician in the government. On the subject of the environment and development inconsistency, environmental wakefulness in the developing countries like Bangladesh is one of the current topics. Environmental awareness helps social groups and individuals to acquire familiarity and sensitivity about the total environment and its allied problems. As the general people of Bangladesh explores information of nature, environment and biodiversity through television, newspaper and radio -mass media can take part in a vital role to enlarge the apprehension about the challenges, problems, eco-friendly technologies, laws and policies and even development aspects of environment among them.

Keywords

Environment, awareness, mass media, development.

Introduction

Polluted environment endangers the human race by threatening its survival on the planet earth. Boundaries of any country cannot limit environmental problems particularly but its impact is global one. This large scale environmental degradation has caused a global concern about the conservation and protection of the earth's environment. Over the last twenty years, Bangladesh has accelerated economic growth in order to meet the demands of fast growing population with limited space and natural resources since her independence in 1971. Now, the country has attained a consistent growth in different sectors such as industrialization, infrastructure development, health care, food productivity, tourism, social safety net etc. Such sector centered development merely embraced protection of natural resources and environmentally sound management practices in the development history of the country. Historical trends of environmental movement in Bangladesh was initiated by the national commitment of the country at Stockholm Conventions in 1972 which preceded the formulation of first Water Pollution Control Ordinance in 1973 followed by Environment Pollution Control Ordinance in 1977(Reza & Dilruba, 2016). In 1985, Department of Pollution Control Ordinance was established which subsequently renamed and structured as Department of Environment (DOE). The idea of environmental protection through national efforts was first recognized and declared with the adoption of the Environmental Policy 1992. Since the beginning of such interventions very few of the Environment Policy directives and guidelines have been translated into action. Till to date, Bangladesh Environment Conservation Act (ECA) 1995 serves as the only legal basis for Environment Conservation Rules (1997) that specifically deals with conservation and improvement of research studies have noted that the implementation of such policy initiatives and legislative

measures have been hindered due to some institutional and functional limitations (Khan, and Belal 1999, Hanchett, 1997).Bangladesh has been grappled with a series of environmental deterioration by means of deforestation, destruction of wetlands and inland fisheries, surface and groundwater pollution, soil nutrient depletion, coastal salinity intrusion, natural calamities like floods, cyclones, tidal surges and tornadoes have resulted in severe socio-economic and environmental damage (MoEF,1992) by a combination of natural/anthropogenic factors. Our country is making some efforts to resolve some of these environmental issues. Efforts are being made for inculcating environmental awareness among the masses. It is a system which can make the human being mindful and knowledgeable about environment and environmental problems. No efforts so far adequate to face these challenges without identifying the underlying causes nationally and addressing them locally.

We know mass media is a prime mover of development and powerful organization. The watchdog of a society, mass media can play vital role to identify the causes and consequences of environmental problems, observe implementation ways and make people aware as it is an important instrument to erect a progressive, democratic and developed society. In order to make govt. environmental laws, policies, strategies, institutional capacities more effective towards sustainable environmental development, the current situation calls for participation of mass media. The objective of this study is to connect the role of mass media in eco-awareness or environmental awareness among the people through integration of environmental concerns into all the socio-economic development practices in Bangladesh.

Methodology of the Study

It's a thought basis study. Data has been collected primarily from secondary sources. Secondary data has been collected by studying and reviewing the different journals, periodicals, articles, textbooks, newspapers and websites. Besides, the information of this paper covers informal conversation with experts (Atique Rahman, Prof. Anu Muhammad, Prof. Golam Rahman, and Prof. M M Akash) who comprehend the pros and cons of link between mass media and environmental awareness.

Environmental Issues and Challenges of Bangladesh

In order to understand the salient and subtle features of the existing environmental management practices of Bangladesh, it is necessary to have an overview of some of the major environmental issues and challenges of the country.

Water pollution: In Bangladesh, quality of water is decreasing day by day due to the different factors. These factors include large and rapidly growing population; unplanned industrial pollution; improper use of synthetic fertilizer and pesticides in Agriculture; indiscriminate disposal of municipal, industrial and agricultural wastes enter into the inland water systems, poorly designed flood control, drainage and irrigation system, lack of adequate regulatory measures and institutional setup for proper monitoring and control etc. Recently, it has been observed that leather industries are trying to avoid the governmental decision of relocating the(Financial Express, March 21, 2017) plants from Hazaribag in Dhaka to Hemayetpur in Savar, thus ignoring legal directives of the country. At present, around 250 industries are discharging chemical pollutants into Buriganga and Sitalakka River.

Land Encroachment and Forest Biodiversity: Land is a scarce resource and forested areas have become vulnerable in Bangladesh. Out of 46,000 acres in Madhupur Sal forest, 7,800

acres have been given out to Commercial plantation, 25,000 acres has given into illegal possession (Reza, 2017). At hilly forest area, tobacco farming is increasing rather than the mainstream crops. About 10 national and international companies are involved in tobacco farming. In 2000, about 300 hectares land was used which has increased 4232 hectares in 2010(Reza, 2017). Now the farming area is about 10,000 hectares. On the other hand, shrimp farming has increased the rate of land encroachment more than double from 45,596 hectares in 2000 to 96,283 hectares in 2010 at Mangrove forest area (Reza, 2016). Commercial plantation and illegal possession in Sal forest and inappropriate jhumming, illegal logging, stone exploitation, brick fields, Bengali expansionism in Hill forest as well as apiculture, shrimp by catching and animals hunting in Mangrove forest area − all issues are raising a concern about conservation of forest biodiversity. In resulting, land encroachment by local elites or corporate grabbers in the name of agricultural development and industrialization, affects the totality of genetic potential, species and ecosystem stability, degrades the humus and topsoil, changes the food chain, decreases the capability of hydrological cycles and circulation of nutrients as well as the aesthetic value of forest in Bangladesh.

Air Pollution: For any industrialized country, incidences of air pollution are far more widespread in the urban areas than in the rural areas. In Bangladesh, the level of air pollution is highest in Dhaka followed by Chittagong and Khulna, the two other industrial cities. Incidence of air pollution is not an isolated event but is a continuous process as the sources of pollution operate throughout the year. The ambient air quality of Dhaka city with respect to CO, SO2, NOx, CO2 and PM10 is given below:

Location	Pollutants concentration				
	CO ($\mu g/m3$)	NOx ($\mu g/m3$)	SO_2 ($\mu g/m3$)	PM_{10} ($\mu g/m3$)	CO_2 (ppm)
Mohakhali	2519	376	trace	547.66	435
Farmgate	7730	752	trace	289.92	590
Mogbazar	5726	339	trace	383.53	475
Sonargaon	3435	75	trace	161.93	500
Science lab	5726	113	trace	169.64	500

(Source: Ahmed et al, 2010)

Industries	Average Noise level (dB)	Hospitals	Average (outdoor) Noise level(dB)	Traffic place	Average Noise level (dB)
1.ARM Knit Fabrics	93.73	1.Dhaka Medical College	73.57	1.Azimpur bus stand	102.22
2. SK Fashion limited	83.96	2.LabAid Hospital	68.94	2.Mohammadpur Bus stand	99.83
3.Abedin Garments	83.51	3. Popular Diagnostic Center	69.22	3.Shahbag Bus Stand	100.6
4. Agaco Fashion	87.16			4.Mohakhali Bus stations	100.5
Average (dB)	87.09	Average (dB)	70.58	Average (dB)	100.79

(Source: Reza. S, 2015)

Noise Pollution: The source of most outdoor noise worldwide is transportation systems, including motor vehicle noise, aircraft noise and rail noise. The average noise level of selected industries, hospitals and traffic places is respectively 87.09 dB, 70.58 dB, 100.79 dB which crosses the standard level(Reza, 2015). The noise level of traffic place was higher than hospital and traffic places because vehicle horns make more noise intensity. Present status of average level among various selected industries, hospitals and traffic places at Dhaka city.

Outline of Environmental Policies and Frameworks of Bangladesh
The government has adopted a number of policies where environment and development issues have been addressed. Such as, Environment Policy (1992), the Forest Policy (1994), the Water Policy (1998), Energy Policy (1995). Besides these policies, the National Conservation Strategy (NCS) and especially the National Environmental Management Action Plan, 1995 (NEMAP) have been formulated to provide action plans to respond to environmental issues and promote sustainable development. The National Environment Policy (NEP), 1992 embraces fifteen different sectors including agriculture, industry, health & sanitation, energy and fuel, water development, flood control and irrigation, land, forest, wildlife and bio-diversity, fisheries and livestock, food, coastal and marine environment, transport and communication, housing and urbanization, population, education and public awareness, science, technology and research, legal framework and institutional arrangements with a view to cover overall environmental issues of the country. However, some goals, objectives and targets need to be assigned for each of these sectors. Then the necessary guideline/action plan should be stated for each sector in order to develop strategies to achieve these goals and targets in the environment policy of Bangladesh.
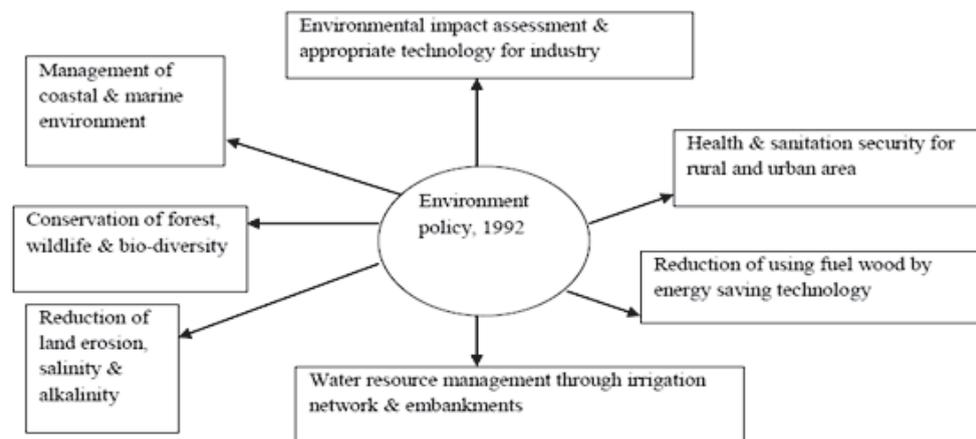
Figure 1: Different Sectors of Environment Policy, 1992 (Source: Author)

The National Forestry Policy (1994) has been formulated in the light of National Forestry Master Plan. The policy provides scope for bringing about 20% of the country's land under the forestation programs of the govt. and private sector by the year 2015 through the coordinated efforts of GO-NGOs and active participation of the people. The National Water Policy, 1999 was enacted to ensure efficient and equitable management of water resource, proper harnessing and development of surface and ground water, availability of water to all concerned and institutional capacity building for water resource management. The National

Energy Policy, 1996 provides for utilization of energy for sustainable economic growth, supply to different zones of the country, development of the indigenous energy sources and environmentally sounds sustainable energy development programs. The policy highlights the importance of protecting the environment by Environment Impact Assessment for any new energy development project. These policies call for both precautionary and cross sectorial approach to minimize impact from other sectors like industry, transportation, urbanization, flood control etc.

The Bangladesh govt. has introduced different techniques to protect the environmental elements in Bangladesh. The govt. has enacted National Environment Management Action Plan and National Biodiversity Conservation Strategy; their main aims are to maintain environmental balance; protection of the country against natural disasters and undertaken environmentally sustainable development projects.

The ecosystem approach is an essential system in Bangladesh where it integrates the management of land, water and living resources that promotes conservation and sustainable use in equitable way. Some principles are management of land, water and living resources are a matter of societal choice; management should be decentralized; ecosystem managers should consider the actual as well as appropriate spatial and temporal scales; consideration of actual and potential impacts and It needs to seek appropriate balance and integration between biodiversity conservation and environmental sustainability.

Mass Media and Environmental Awareness Programs of Bangladesh

According to Wilber Straum, mass media, the great multipliers, are a nation's best hope for filling in some of its informational lags and keeping its timetables for national development. Therefore, a developing country needs to look hard and carefully at the use it is making of these tools of modern communication. There are two types of media in Bangladesh– print media and electronic media. Print media can be daily, weekly, monthly, quarterly etc. Daily papers publish nationally or from division, district or sub-district level. Electronic media means television or radio. Bangladesh Betar and Bangladesh Television are national mass media. There are about 31 satellite television channels in our country. Television channels telecast program on agriculture and environmental development or degradation, water quality, tree plantation, soil and air health management etc. Here some programs titles are given below:

Channel	Title of program
BTV	Mati o manus,
Channel I	Prokiti o jibon, ridoye mati o manus
Bangla Vision	Shamol bangla
ATN Bangla	Matir subas
ATN News	Prokiti pat
GTV	Shabuj bangla
Ekattor	Pran-prokiti
RTV	Krishi o krishti
Deepto TV	Deepto krishi
NTV	Adventure man
Massranga TV	Poribesh songbad

Bangladesh Betar telecasts many programs on environmental awareness and agriculture. Some lists of the programs are given below:

Center of Betar (Radio)	Title of program
Dhaka	Sonali fasal, krishi samachar
Chittagong	Krishi khamar
Khulna	Chasabad
Rangpur	Khete khamare
Rajshahi	Krishi samachar
Sylhet	Shamol sylhet
Rangamati	Khamar bari
Barishal	Krishi kotha
Coxs Bazar	Sonali prantor
Thakurgaon	Kishan mati desh

Daily or weekly or monthly newspapers or magazines have started to publish different articles on environment. It helps to introduce environmental innovation for sustainability. A list of newspapers and their environment and agricultural publication are given below:

Name of Newspapers	Pages name
Daily ittefaq	Ridoye mati o manusher krishi
Daily prothom alo	Khet khamar
Daily jugantor	Krishi kotha
Daily nayadiganta	chasabad
Daily amar desh	chasbas
Daily janakantha	Bichitro bonoshodhi
Daily samakal	donodhanno
Daily ajker kagos	Jibon sutro
Daily songbad	Somvabona
Daily Star	Environment

It is known to all that, listeners like to listen more than watch from mass media as selectivity. Basically, listeners enjoy glamour world program more than development program. So, it is essential to air drama, songs while it can accelerate the agriculture and environmental development news. For example, we can remember Asian pop singer chris vilonker who just sings environmental song. His songs play a vital role of environmental conservation in Philippines. Setting assessment is essential regarding the functionalities of mass media. Mass media airs social, economic, environmental, cultural analyses and their advantages or disadvantages, which are assessment functionalities of media. It's a watchdog of a society which provides heath advices, news of stock market, and advertisement of new products which influences the peoples living status. It is important to mention that, Bangladeshi mass media telecast very surface news on environmental management and agriculture which cannot touch mass people. It's urgent to inform people about the problems, challenges, different aspects of impact on environment.

Role of Mass Media in Enhancing Eco-awareness of Bangladesh

Radio: Radio is an ancient media and it is the part of cultural landscape around the world. Radio can telecast different dramas and advertisements about environmental awareness to educate people. Through such programs mass people can be informed about eco-friendly technology, innovation of agricultural tools, new pattern of rice, impacts of fertilizers & pesticides, integrated pest management etc.

Television: This medium can aware general people by informing agricultural budget, environmental budget, water management budget, forest and wildlife management budget etc. It can educate people by broadcasting information of importance of mushroom cultivation, negative impacts of commercial cultivation, tobacco farming, aware people about environmental laws and policies, water policies, forest policies, agricultural policies as well as disaster management etc.

Newspapers: Through newspapers, people can access essential information. Newspapers easily create awareness among the people by asserting special features on environmental pollution, air pollution, water connects, quality and security, land encroachment, commercial cultivation induced climate change, riverbank erosion, wildlife management, food security and adulteration, eco-tourism etc.

Film: By using this, it is possible to aware people about the contemporary environmental issues and problems. But their functions still not enough in Bangladesh although mobile film unit under the ministry of information exhibits awareness program on environment and agriculture at rural areas in Bangladesh. Some of the environmental films are – the tree of life, rango, swimming with killer whales, star wars etc.

Internet: Due to the revolution of information technology, it shows as an effective mass media. Its popularity is increasing day by day. Specially, young generations are very much interested in internet. Bangladesh telecommunication regulatory commission, ministry of science & technology, ministry of information & technology can make some environment and agriculture related apps which can resolve environmental curiosity of young people of Bangladesh.
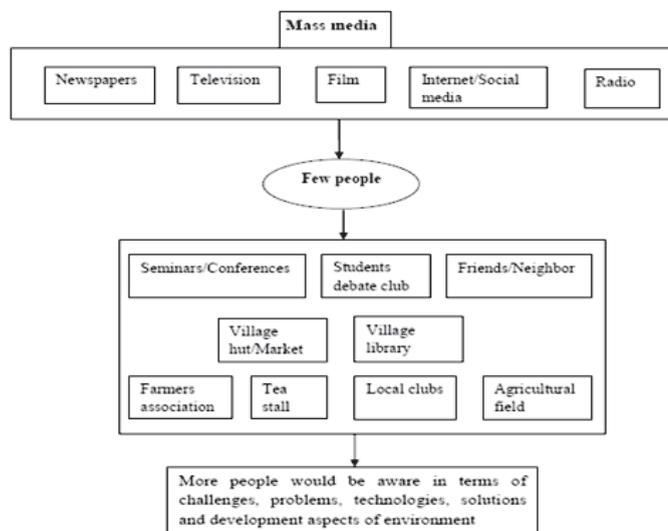

Figure 2: Environmental Awareness Dissemination Model (source: Author)

Mass media can increase wakefulness in the middle of the people by emphasizing some environmental issues, techniques, challenges which are given below:

Importance of Bio-fertizers: Mass media can investigate the artificial syndicate or price hiking of chemical fertilizers. Newspapers can inform the people about the environmental and economic importance of bio-fertilizers. Such as the ingredients of bio-fertilizers can be water hyacinths, cow dung, products of wood, vegetable materials, stool of livestock's, weeds of big tree etc. Joshef Jenkins, an American farmer, in his book, "the humaniure handbook" shows the importance of eco-toilet while human faces can be an useful bio-fertilizers through 3 to 6 months by using proper heat and temperature.

Concept of Seeds, Fertilizers, Pesticides and Agricultural Instruments: Mass media can provide information how to use pesticides, fertilizers, seeds in a proper way on land, land conservation and development. Mass media can inform people that inimical pesticides kill either beneficial or harmful pests which are essential for pollination or crop production. Every year, Rural Development Academy (RDA) and Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development (BARD) makes some new agricultural & eco-friendly instruments to save land, pests and crops. To disseminate this information among the farmers and urban, media can play key role regarding this case.

Experiences from Developed Countries in Environmental Management: We know the innovation of green house and the crop management in Korea. Cultivation of floating vegetables is increasing in Vietnam day by day. The common environment development philosophy in Japan is decentralization & pollution control agreement. Local government in Japan is liable on sewage collection, treatment, material recycling, disposal and sanitation. Mass media can instruct mass people in such a way that, in Bangladesh, rural people are deprived of their basic environmental services, Paurashava, Union Parishad can arrange seminar or workshop in rural area to create environmental awareness. Besides, In Bangladesh, different companies such as BEXIMCO or SQUARE limited, they can negotiate with City Corporation. It can be that different industries will follow the city corporation rules and regulations on several environment friendly practices such as, limiting disposal of accumulated wastes in nearby water body, use of less harmful chemicals, boosting production without harming public and environmental health and paying compensation to the environmentally affected people. There are about 40% Roof-top gardening in Japan. By observing that, people of Dhaka, Rajshahi, Khulna has started this gardening.

Information on Climate Change: Climate change is considered as one of the most serious threats to the world's environment with its potential negative aspects on human health, food security, biodiversity, water, damage to infrastructure and financial property, negatively impacts on lives and livelihoods, also affected agricultural sector (Haque, 2006). In Bangladesh, 60 percent of the country is already flood prone. Sea level rise will have a significant impact on the low-lying coastal systems and islands.Mass media can inform mass people about the climatic seasons, climatic parameters such as maximum & minimum temperature, humidity, maximum & minimum rainfall and their impacts on biodiversity and wildlife, river ecosystem, agro ecology, cropland and water sectors etc.

Awareness on Natural Disasters: Bangladesh has been affected by natural disaster every year due to the geo-graphical location. Floods, tropical cyclones, storm surges and draughts are likely to become more frequent and severe in our country. Recently, earthquake has

created a new dimension. Flood disrupts the local economy by destroying occupancy, livestock's, and croplands of general people. Mass media can inform mass people about the government capacities on disaster management, institutional capability for disaster recovery programs, carrying capacity of cyclone centers, water related diseases during hazards, functionalities of local government regarding relief, what step people can take before, during and after the different disasters by studying an effective disaster management cycle.
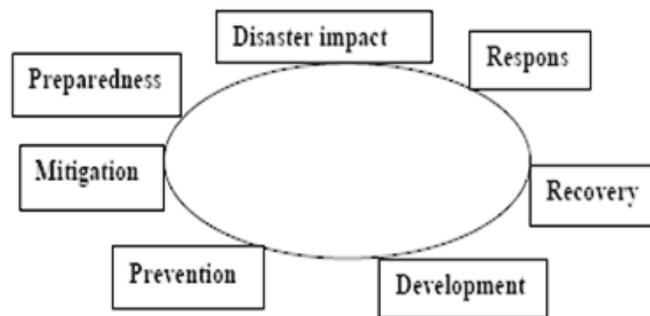
Figure 3: Disaster Management Cycle (Carter, N. 1992)

Water Quality and Diseases: Mass media can create awareness among mass people about the basic requirements of drinking water, effect of impurities present in water, water-borne diseases and responsible pathogens.

A range of activities will be included under each of these genres. However, in all settings serious attention will be given to the stages of the writing process: drafting, revising, editing, and presentation. Students will be expected to keep a reading/writing journal.

Water-borne diseases	pathogens
Viral diarrhoea	Rotavirus
Gastroenteritis	Enteric viruses
Poliomyelitis	Polivirus
Typhoid	Bacillus typhi
Shigellosis	Shigella spp.

(Source: Ahmed & Rahman, 2003)

Commercial Cultivation in Forest: Forest areas are not out of intensive cultivation because of land encroachment and growing population rather forest areas are going under the suppression of commercial cultivation because at Sal forest, native plant species like kumbi, koroi, banza, sheura, jalpai, amloki, bohera are being replaced by alien species like rubber, acacia, eucalyptus, pine apple, teak etc. Similarly at Hill forest, native plant species like telsur, garjan, koroi, chapalish, dhundal are being replaced by tobacco, sugarcane, cotton, turmeric, groundnut, maize, teak etc (Reza. S, 2016). Mass media can inform government officials and mass people that, through the supreme power of national, international companies and contracting firms, all alien species are disrupting the food chain, making forest soil more toxic, changing the occupancy of wild animals, degrading the genetic potentials that effects on the stability of the present status merely the forest ecosystem at both Sal and Hill forest. Newspapers can publish special feature to aware people.

Conclusion

Environmental and social inclusion are impossible without economic development, on the other hand, economic development will not be sustainable without environmental consideration. We people are now enjoying the taste of lower middle income and by 2021 the government of Bangladesh envisaged to become middle income country. In this context, we need a creative and industrial workforce as well as proper and effective integrated approach to address economic growth and upcoming environment challenges together. Mass media can be a significant part of collective approach to inform government and aware mass people in terms of our technical capacity of environmental institution, environmental justice, climate change, land & river encroachment, alien species at forest, commercial cultivation induced food insecurity, exploration and management our natural resources with minimum environmental footprints at local, regional and national level. Environmental awareness through mass media will provide accepted wisdom for 21st Century workforce. We are passing on complicated environmental problems regarding the environment and development conflict. Mass media can endow with a solid understanding of these problems and the basic gear to overcome environment & development conflict through creating environmental awareness among the present and future generation. We believe environmentally literate workforce will make Bangladesh, environmentally sustainable, economically viable and socially acceptable to face real-world challenges.

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Bollywood Lyrics: Stereotypical Miss-Representation

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Abstract

This paper examines some of the popular songs of the Indian Film Industry where the roles of men and women are fixed stereotypically. Some of these lyrics are written by legendary Indian lyricists such as Gulzar (Sampooran Singh Kalra), Jatin-Lalit and so on. Despite of having clear evidences of gender biased language, almost all of these songs became exceedingly popular throughout the decades and the legacy of using such stereotyped lyrics is going on in the present times as well. The paper goes through some of those lyrics and explores the representations of men and women in them. If analyzed carefully, one would realize that in more or less every song, women are portrayed doing household chores, getting dolled up and waiting for their men, while men are mostly represented as women's saviors and voyeurs. With references to the cultural theorists such as Morag Shiach and Naomi Wolf, this paper deals with the complex question of gender representations in Bollywood songs and shows how such lyrics have the capacity to influence the listeners as well as having an impact on their ideas eventually. While searching for the reasons behind these redundant stereotypes, the paper also delves into feminist theorists like Gilbert and Gubar to show the impact of the imbalance in male-femalelyricists ratio in the industry. The purpose of this paper is thus twofold; firstly it exhibits that Bollywood industry has still been using the same stereotypical framework throughout the last 100 years and secondly itanalyzes the gender insensitive traits that are working as a perpetuating tool of patriarchy.

Keywords

Stereotype, gender, lyricist, representation, object, beauty.

Though Bollywood started its journey in 1913, the first Indian talkies film with music and dialogues is Ardeshir Irani's *Alam Ara* (1931). "All Talking, Singing & Dancing"("Image," n.d.)were the words imprinted on the poster of that film. Therefore, since its inception, Indian Film Industry has evidently thriving on the "singing and dancing" part. With the passage of time, this part has eventually gone deep into the industry and has emerged as the root of the Bollywood. During the 90s, these songs and dance were ridiculed by the international film society but the situation has changed from early years of the 21st century. Nonetheless, with the advancement of promotional activities, booming commercial aspects of the 1.28 billion population and a growing number of Non Residential Indians (NRI), the songs and dances have become the signature of the Indian Film Industry. Nowadays, the world cinema audience knows the Indian Film Industry by the blend of Eastern and Western dance moves, stunning outdoor locations and extravagant designer costumes. Bollywood songs are ruling everyday lives in the four dimensional drawing space as well as the cyber

spaces like YouTube and Facebook. However, the lyrics of the songs are not getting the same attention as the visuals of physical and scenic splendour. If the lyrics are being analyzed carefully, a severe trait of patriarchy and gender stereotyping with problematic ideology will be noted.

Gender Stereotype

The representations of women in the Bollywood songs are mostly stereotypical and rarely an account of actual portrayal of women in the society. Therefore, this can be referred as the misses who are misrepresented or more accurately miss-represented. According to *Oxford Dictionary of Sociology*, the definition of gender stereotype is –

> ... one-sided and exaggerated images of men and women which are deployed repeatedly in everyday life. They are found commonly in the mass media because part of the process by which children are socialized into sex roles and by which adults and children are denied opportunities for more individually varied development(Scott, 2014, p. 275)

In the lyrics of almost all the Bollywood songs, the women are stereotyped mostly in the following criteria-

- An ideal house wife, who resides in the house and do household chores, does not have any emotional rights
- A dependent, powerless entity who is entirely dependent on her beloved/husband
- A beautiful individual (who seemingly donot have any intellectual participation in the relationship) whose only aim or plan is to do shopping and look pretty to her beloved
- A "Madonna" figure, who is treated almost like a deity and is worshipped
- Prostitute, who is devalued and ruthlessly regarded only as a sex object

This paper will examine several samples that deal with all the above mentioned criteria and dissect them with a feminist approach.

Ideal Housewife/ Homemaker

At the onset of the paper, I will look into the category of lyrics which portrays women as ideal housewives or homemakers. Even though the world is going through the "fourth wave" of feminism, such example of gender stereotyping is present in almost every Indian film song in an explicit manner. The problem of generalization does not only prevail among the new lyricists but alarmingly in most cases, the renowned lyricists are also guilty of gender stereotyping; one such example is presented in the following part-

In 2013, a movie named Ek Thi Daayan (Kannan Iyer, 2013), was released. Noted film director, music composer Vishal Bhardwaj composed its music, and the lyrics were written by Gulzar, one of the most celebrated lyricists in India. Gulzar has been writing lyrics from 1956 to till date; won 34 awards along with the Grammy award. One of his lyrics of the aforementioned film follows:

Hum cheez hain bade kaamki, Yaaram,
Humein kaam pe rakh lo kabhi, Yaaram,
Ho suraj se pehle jagayenge, Aur akhbaar ki sab surkhiyaan hum gungunayenge,
Pesh karenge garm chai phir
Ho munh khuli jamhaaipe, Hum bajaayein chutkiyaan
Dhoopna tum ko lage Kholdenge chhatariyaan,
Peechhe peechhe din bhar, Ghar daftar mein le ke chalenge hum

Tumhaari filein, tumhaari diary, Gaadi ki chaabiyan, tumhaari enakein
Tumhaara laptop, tumhaari cap, phone
 Aur apna dil, kanwaara dill (lyricsmint, 2013)
(I am a very useful thing, O dear!
 Put me to some work sometimes, O dear!
 I will wake you up before the sun rises,
And hum all the headlines of newspaper,
Then I will present you with a hot cup of tea,
When you open your mouth to yawn, I'll tap my fingers in front of it,
So that you don't feel the heat of sun, I'll open umbrella for you,
I'll keep walking behind you with one at home and in office,
Your files, your diary, keys of the car, your spectacles,

Your laptop, your cap, and my heart, this single heart, this poor, lost-in-love heart ("Hamara Bechara Pyar mein Haara Dil/ Yaaram Lyrics Translation," n.d.)

The intro of this song is overtly offensive to the representation of the women in which the women herself is pointing to her as an "useful thing' and implores her beloved to put her "to some work". Then in the following verses, she gives a detailed amount of the "house hold chores" that she has to offer to show her love towards him, and after all the long list of chores, at last it seems the lyricist remembers that this girl has a heart to offer, as well; therefore finally, the female point of view goes on to offer her heart to her beloved. Though this movie is set in the 2013's cosmopolitan Mumbai, the lyric overwhelmingly carries the Victorian notion of "angel in the house" or "the traditional image of homemaker and wife"(Wolf, 2002, p. 01).

On the contrary, when it was the lover's (male) turn to pour his heart down in the same song, he speaks about the ways he would adorn her and the ways he would treasure her smell, footsteps and accessories. The underlining idea is that a male is completely alienated from the house hold chores. Lyrics like these donot offer anything new to the sociopolitical scenario and the mentality of the audience, but rather they seem to reiterate the modern version of the Greek playwright Aeschylus' echo, where he wrote,

"Let women stay at home and hold their peace" (Aeschylus, 1935, p. 07).

The idea of 467 B.C. thus still persists in the society and hence the question of mass' consciousness arises when this song gets the nomination of Best Female singer in the "IBN Live Movie Awards" in 2013. Though it did not win the award, getting the nomination shows the reluctant behavior from the part of the jury board as well as the audience who failed to read between the lyric. This sort of lyric suggests the "social control" (Naomi Wolf, 2002, p. 01) that media wants to have on women, and without even realizing, the women are falling for such ambush, trying to create an idealized version of housewife/homemaker and therefore unknowingly entering into the center of stereotypes.

Dependent and Emotionally Immature Individual
Another criterion of viewing woman as a dependent and brainless entity is another age old domain. When the physically powerful male counterpart asks about the demand of his fragile beloved, the emotionally immature beloved usually wants trifles such asbangles/chundri(scarf) and so on. In 1931, Bangladeshi born female activist and writer, Begum Rokeya criticizes women, who instead of being serious, always end up asking for trivial things to their male counterparts(Begum Rokeya Sakhawat Hossain, 2010, p. 15). As a result, an ideal romantic conversation would go nowhere and ends up with frivolous ideas

like getting a new cloth or jewelry; that is, woman fails to recognize the depth of the rhetoric and romantic discourse and talk about insignificant matters. Surprisingly this trend is still diligently carried on by the lyricists of 21st century.

The popular Bollywood song of 2015, "Chittiya Kalaiyaan", from the movie, Roy (Vikramjit Singh, 2015), is a perfect example of how women are stereotyped as a dependent entity. The title of this song is, "Chittiya Kalaiyaan (White Wrist)", where the girl is "requesting" her beloved for buying her movie tickets, colorful bangles, "pink" chundri (scarf) etc., and when the man speaks, he is full of praise of his beloved's "white wrists" and claiming that none in the world has as milk white wrists as she has. To the vigilant thinkers, such lyric to woo a person and such response, in this 21st century might seem unreal, but this doesnot seem to bother the contemporary audience as this song was in the 1st position for more than 18 weeks on the Radio Mirchi's Top Chart (Radio Mirchi 98.3 Fm is one of the "leading" Fms of India); it has also grabbed a place in the Jubilee List of the Radio Mirchi's playlist.

If we revisit the chronology of Bollywood songs in the 1990s, interestingly we will be able to trace almost the same lyrics in the movie Aj Ka Arjun(K.C. Bokadia,1990), which was casted by the then popular contemporary actors like Amitabh Bachchan and Jaya Prada. And one of the most famous lyric of this movie "Gori hain kalaiyaan,Tu la de mujhe hari hari chudiyaan..." (White is my wrist, Am requesting you to bring me green bangles…; translation from BollyMeaning.com) stormed the contemporary film industry and remained on the top chart for a prolonged period and it had won several awards.

Now, if the entire scenario is analyzed closely, the readers will see a time difference of 25 years, which is more than two decades; but throughout these years, the Hindi cinemas' lyrics have remained the same; the only change is, the advanced cinematography and western dance moves with a stylish costume display. So, on one handwhile some critics have pointed out that from the "third wave feminism", the current era is experiencing the "fourth wave", but the "gaze" (Laura Mulvey, n.d., p. 14)of media has not changed up to now, at least not in the facets of Bollywood lyrics.

The Idea of Being Beautiful
The question of beauty and being beautiful has always played a pivotal role in almost every film song. There is a whole cluster of songs, where the woman's only task is to look attractive tofor her lover; looking pretty or being dolled up becomes her only objective. In this section, a chronology of some of the most popular Bollywood songs will be listed and analyzed.

In 1973, the famous lyricist Ravindra Jain wrote-

Sajna hai mujhe, sajna ke liye
Zara uljhi latein sanwaar loon(Lyrics of Sajna Hai Mujhe Lyrical by Asha Bhonsle from Saudagar - 1973 - LyricsMasti.com Lyricals, n.d.)
(I want to make myself beautiful for my lover,
Let me comb my tangled hair…; translation from BollyMeaning.com)

The song was an immediate hit. Remarkably, the appeal of this song did not wane with time, but rather it was remixed in 2007 and re-remixed in 2011. Despite of its utter stereotypical lyrics, the remixed version ruled the top-chart for quite a long time. While being beautiful is portrayed as a major activity, the lyrics of the songs define the concept of beauty, as well. For example:

In 1952, the then popular lyricist Shailendra (Shankardas Kesarilal) wrote, "Paatli kamar, chikni kamar, tirchi nazarhain…" (Slim waist, slender waist, seductive looks…; translation from BollyMeaning.com).

The aforementioned portrayal of beauty was also carried by Farooq Qaiser in 1987, where he wrote, "Paatli kamar, lambe baal…" (Slim waist, long hair…; translation from BollyMeaning.com).

Within a span of seven years of span, the same pattern was repeated by Sameer in 1994; in his most celebrated song, he put his words: "Gore gore mukhre pe kala, kala chashma…" (On your white skin, there's black sunglasses; translation from BollyMeaning.com).

Starting from 1952, the reiteration of the exact same words went on in 2000 as well, where Anand Bakshi wrote:"Paatli kamar, chikni badan, Tirchi nazar hain…" (Slim waist, chiseled body, seductive looks…; translation from BollyMeaning.com).

This redundant idea of beauty becomes more problematic, when we see the same pattern has been used for more than six decades; that is the "standardized version of being beautiful which implies having a slim waist, long hair and more importantly white skin. In their book, What Women Want: An Interpretation of the Feminist Movement, Forbes and Hale point out "…Man the Romancer has spoken for them(women), clothing them with the garments of his own fantasy" (1914, p. 227). Through such representations, the "male gaze" is fixated and the media is working as a constant voyeur for women. Not only the physical beauty, the songs often keep on imposing ideas on how a woman should dress. In 2014, Amitabh Bhattacharya wrote a song titled "Dance Basanti":

…Kisi hit gaane pe jo kamar matka degi to
Phateechar se ye dil ban jayega shahzada
Oonchiwalee heel pahenke tu, Dance Basanti…(lyricsmint, 2014)
(…If you shake your waist to some hit song;
 From a pauper, this heart will become a prince,
With your high heels, Dance Basanti…; translation from BollyMeaning.com).

This song suggests that a girl has to wear "high heels" to move any beloved's heart. These ideas gradually permeate the society, andhave the influence on the teenage girls' mind with the notions like being beautiful means having fair complexion and chiseled body. In her book, The Beauty Myth: How Images of Beauty Are Used against Women, Naomi Wolf writes: "…ideals did not simply descend from heaven, that they actually came from somewhere and that they served a purpose. That purpose, as I would then explain, was often a financial one, namely to increase the profits of those advertisers…" (Wolf, 2002, p.23); through these songs and portrayal the media creates the image of ideal body shape among the consumers. The cases of these songs boost the capitalist market of skin whitening creams, slimming points, gyms and other "beauty" products in India as well as in South Asia. They are the ones who get the benefits without any contest. The demand of being fair and slim increases with the top charts' hits, and the women as well as the young girls are thus caught in the vicious circle of being beautiful even if that costs both their health and pocket and they fail to realize that the standardized version of beauty is set by the patriarchy. Wolf writes-

> Beauty' is a currency system like the gold standard. Like any economy, it is determined bypolitics … best belief system that keeps male dominance intact. In assigning value to women in a vertical hierarchy according to a culturally imposed physical standard, it is an expression of power relations in which women must unnaturally compete for re-sources that men have appropriated for themselves(2002, p.18).

Subversion of Woman's Entity

There is another criterion of women in the lyrics where women are portrayed in such a way that they seem to exist only because of their male counterparts, and these women are only eligible if the males think so. In 1962, Raja Mehdi Ali Khan wrote the famous lyric, sung by the South Asian singing legend Lata Mangeshkar in the movie Anpadh (Mohan Kumar,1962) :

Aapki nazro ne shamjha, pyaar ke kabil mujhe
Dilki ye dhadkan thaherja, milgayi manzil mujhe…("Lata Mangeshkar - Aapki Nazron Ne Samjha Lyrics | MetroLyrics," n.d.)
(Your eyes have found me worthy of your love! Now, my heart, please stop beating, I have found my destiny…; translation from BollyMeaning.com)

Lyric like this implies that women become worthy only when their male counterparts love them; otherwise they donot have any value. Words like these can alarmingly have crippling impact on the audience.In 2014, lyricist Jiwan Mann repeats almost the same words with a code mixing lyrics-

Main lovely ho gayiaan
Naam tera padhke, naam tera padhke…
(I have become beautiful only after reading your name…; translation from BollyMeaning.com).

    Once again the time frame is more than six decades but the lyrics are still the same, i.e; because of men, women become beautiful and flourished. Without the male in her life, her existence does not mean anything, nor can she have any life of her own.In her essay "Feminism and Popular Culture", Morag Shiach points out: "Popular culture as an institutional space, and as a political concept, embodies definitions of class identity, historical change and political struggle which are often BLIND to questions of feminism"(1991, p. 45) .If this statement is analyzed critically, then it would be very clear that through such kind of stereotypical lyrics, the entertainment industry is encouraging to turn blind eye to the consciousness of the mass; therefore as a result the masses fall into a prey to the encroachment of such aspect of popular culture, that per say Bollywood lyrics.

Objectified Representation

Indian Item songs have become so much popular that open content online encyclopedias offer articles that provide lists for the Bollywood Item songs dated from 1954 to present. Earlier, the trend was to have a seductive song, played by the "vamp/ cabaret dancer/bad girl" or the "prostitutes" where her focus was to lure the hero; but from 1990 and onwards, lead female actors started to play the seduction songs. This trend underwent another change during 2000, when popular female actors started to appear in only one single song in the entire movie and then that song is popularly called an "item number." The name itself is objectified and demeaning where the actor is diminished as an "object/item" rather than a person. Moreover, in most of the cases, these songs are completely irrelevant to scripts and at some time seem almost forcefully imposed upon. These lyrics are full of sexual innuendos, choreography is sensual and the performers are barely dressed. Some of the very popular lyrics somewhat look like the following:

My name is Sheila, Sheila ki jawani,
I am too sexy for you, main tere haat na ani (lyricsmint, 2010).
(My name is Sheila, at my prime youth,
I am too sexy for you,

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I won't come to you…; translation from BollyMeaning.com).
With full of sensual words and tempting physical descriptions, in 2012, Amitabh Bhattachariya wrote:
Bichhoo mere naina badi zehereeli ankh mare
Kamsin kamariya saalii ek thum ke se lakh mare…
Husn ki teeli se beedi chillam jalaane aayi(lyricsmint, 2011).
(My eyes are like scorpions,They give a very poisonous wink, with the moves of my waist, Thousands are killed, I've come to light cigarettes and pipes with the fire of my beauty; translation from BollyMeaning.com).

Around 2013-14, Indian Rap star Yoyo Honey Singh produced some very offensive lyrics, replete with obscenity and objectification of women. In 2013 he wrote-
Blue eyes hypnotize teri kardiai menu
 I swear! chhoti dress mein bomb lagdi menu…("Yo Yo Honey Singh - Blue Eyes Lyrics," n.d.).
(Your blue eyes hypnotize me; I swear you look like a bomb shell in that small dress…; translation from BollyMeaning.com).

Filled with sexual innuendoes and seductive words, the endless list goes on with labeling the women as "Baby Doll", "Pink Lips" etc., and these lyrics portray the explicit mortifying of women, leaves them as a sex symbol/object, and eventually evokes an inclination of natural disrespect towards women.The lyrics do not stop by itemizing the women; they often justify the eve-teasing and show the ways of teasing women through their words in glamorous ways. In 1996, lyricist Anand Bakshi wrote a song, where a girl is happy that a roadside boy is teasing her, and winks at her; this celebrated lyricist writes, "Aankh mare o ladkaaankh mare"

(The boy winks at me, oh, he winks at me…: translation from BollyMeaning.com).
The same pattern repeated in 2010, when Amitabh Bhattachariya wrote a song - "Ainvayi Ainvayi". In that song, the girl complains about the teasing, but subtly taking credit for being teased. In response to this, the boy stubbornly says that he does not care about her consent.

Girl: Kyun meri gali mein aake wait karda,
harkat down market karda,
Dekhoon jo hata kekhid ki ka parda, Seeti veeti maar irrirate karda oye
Boy: Ho chhad attitude kabhi maan kudiye(Lyrics of Ainvayi Ainvayi Lyrical by Salim Sulaiman from Band Baaja Baaraat - 2010 - LyricsMasti.com Lyricals, n.d.).

(Girl: Why do you keep waiting in front of my lane?

Why are your actions so cheap?

Whenever I see through the window, you whistle and irritate me
 (Boy: Leave your attitude and agree, girl!; translation from BollyMeaning.com).

These lyrics are not only disregardful, but also problematic. They not only hint on eve-teasing, but also in a way approve of gender violence. The words are offensive as well as severely disquieting; without thinking of the consequences, only for the sake of popularity and consumer culture the lyricists bring out the words. Hearing these words in the media and public places, and being lip-synched by the favorite media personalities, the audience loses the sense of right and wrong, and the wrong seems right option to them, and gradually become a trend. According to Marshall MacLuhan, "Media affects people's lives, by shaping

opinions, attitudes and beliefs" (1964, p. 23), and thus with such kind of representations, the lyrics promote eve-teasing and violence in a massive scale. Since the audience receive these messages through media as a continual procedure and as an "ideological state apparatus" media reinforces such ideas, the receivers often resulted in oblivion of the harmful effects. As a result the audience eventually becomes the conduit of menacing eve-teasing without any sense of guilt as such behavior seems usual to them due to the widespread usage of media representation.

Madonna/Whore Complex
Alongall these above mentioned attitudes, another approach is also prevalent in the lyrics which are the "pure, angelic" form of women, in which her stature is at the pinnacle of every living creature. She is a "Madonna"; she is a deity. Male is the worshipper; he worships her with all his life and breaths. He offers 'Sajdah' to his beloved. This approach raises the question of Freudian "Madonna/Whore" situation where women are stuck between the dichotomy of either a deity or a prostitute. Therefore, according to these lyrics, there is no in between for the women, there is no humanly approach for them. Itseems that Gilbert and Gubar's ideas presented in their book, Madwoman in the Attic are not outdated yet. The article says: "Either woman is pure, angelic or monstrous and evil, rebellious, uncontrollable (contrary to Victorian societal belief)" (35). There is no place for a humanly representation of woman in these lyrics. A woman either has to be conformed as an angel or a witch. Either she will be placed at the pedestal, or she will be treated as a sex symbol with all possible sexual innuendoes. This ideology was speeded in the early 80s, and feminists such as Gilbert and Gubar protested against it. It was the time of second wave feminism; 36 years have passed, but it seems nothing has changed much till date. In 2016 too, the beloved (woman) is treated either a Madonna or a whore.

Impending Impacts:
These lyrics are gradually permeating the consciousness, life style and professional life of people without even giving the slightest idea of analysis or criticism, and thus creating "the way of life of any particular social or national group" (in this case, it is the worldwide consumers of Bollywood industry).The lyrics mentioned in this paper are only a very few examples to show how the trend of stereotyping the gender roles have been going on with the same pace since the inception of Bollywood. Interestingly this "gender blindness" (Shiach 337) through the lyrics (both for the item songs and the romantic songs) is never addressed in the serious type of discourse. But, if these issues are continually addressed "to challenge the hierarchies" then there might be some hope to "fracture" the scenario in the future.

In Bollywood's 100th birthday (in 2013), a number of Indian dailies and film magazines analyzed the growing worldwide popularity of the industry, to show the cross cultural access that Indian cinema is getting day by day and its rapid popularity not only among the huge diasporas but also the nonnative speakers as well; while this is undoubtedly good news for the Indian industry but alarming for the world audience because with their cultural "hegemony", they spread the biased labels of the gender roles through their melodious lyrics.

Lyricists: Male or Female? :
For this research, it was necessary to look at the list of the lyricists of Indian Film Industry. Among more than 70 lyricists, only four female lyricists are found. This number is something serious to ponder upon. It probably hints to the Gilbert and Gubar's claim, "is pen a metaphorical penis?"(Sandra Gilbert and Susan Guber, 1979, p. 27) with that pen, male lyricists objectify and represent women. In this context, Lerner's imagery of patriarchy would be relevant-

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> Men and Women live on a stage, on which they act out their assigned roles, equal in importance. The play cannot go on without both kinds of performers. Neither of them "contributors" more nor less to the whole; and is neither marginal nor dispensable. But the stage set is conceived, painted, defined by men. Men have written the play, have directed the show, interpreted the meanings of action. They have assigned themselves the most interesting, most heroic parts, giving women the supporting roles (1986, p. 23)

Amidst these biased contests, recently Bollywood is having two potential female lyricists: Kausar Munir and Anvita Dutt Guptan.Though they have written a few numbers of songs, both of them are doing exceedingly well in the field. In an interview, when asked about the pressure of being a female lyricist in male dominated industry, Kausar Munir said:

> I don't think it's a gender thing-it is more about perception, language and personality. If someone comes to me for an item song, I too immediately think of all those raunchy words since we are conditioned to think like that. But maybe, because I am a woman, I step back and think there is a better way of doing this. That's when the gender difference comes in("'In Bollywood, lyrics have always played second fiddle to music,'" 2014)

Her interview perhaps reflects Cixous' claims, "…Her (woman's) speech, even when "theoretical" or political, is never simple or liner or "objectified", generalized: she draws her story into history"(1976, p. 887). Unlike the lyrics by their male counterparts, the lyrics Guptan and Munir have so far offered do not show "gender blindness". Munir's creation, the anthem of Pradeep Sarker's Maardani (2014) was a very exceptional lyric. It sounds almost like the anger that Woolf once mentioned in her Room of One's Own. Even if the fury and the bubbling rage go with the script; they also go well with the contemporary situation where Delhi is known as the city of rape, and thus the words become motivating as well as very timely. Though the picture of the fearful Kali and Durga are presented here, the self-empowermentcomes out of the shell of hyper feminism and omnipotent image of women. If we look closely, we would understand that perhaps it was easier for Kausar as she is a woman and also since she has lived through the everyday experience as a woman both in the industry and in her regular life.

While I was writing my paper, one of the limitation was to filter through an enormous resource of the Bollywood songs because almost every song reverberates the same objectified and stereotypical version of women throughout their lyrics. While choosing the songs, the timeframe and the popularity were the two criteria that I have mostly focused upon. The reason of taking this research was in most of the cases, the academia talks about the visualization and voyeurism in media but the linguistic discourse remains unnoticed. Therefore, this research tries to address the stereotypical approach from another perspective which is song lyrics.

After the research I have come into a conclusion that the representation of women in Bollywood through the song lyricsfails to present the humanized version of women. The entire industry is laying out an extremely problematic objectified version of women andrecreating their portraits with fantasy, ideology and patriarchal hegemony. The call for androgyny, according to Woolf, while writing is necessary but in some places the perspective of the women is also important, especially where there is an urgency for expressing one's self, and hence comes the necessity of having more female lyricists because people have always been listening to the one side of the story only. Perhaps, it is time to have an inclusive spectrum while walking in the same path at this hour of the present century.

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Katherine Mansfield: The Horror of Femininity

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Abstract

This paper focuses on the theme of femininity, in the short stories of Katherine Mansfield (1888 – 1923), as causative for horror in a Modernist mood. As Mansfield disseminates gender-performance from its periphery towards a thematic whole within the reality of domesticity during the fragmented modern period, she focuses on how feminine consciousness works in an individual, and how that consciousness germinates a self that voices itself in adverse circumstances. By propagating the self, she unveils a darker realization of it: horror. This horror works as a dismantling force in the female characters of her stories that tell of their suffering, experience, and helplessness, which eventually reveal the horror they encounter throughout their existence. Mansfield's can be treated as an exposure of her own experience in the modernist environment. The shock she went through as an author is also exemplified in her writings. The characters unearth their observance, which is the attenuation of self through horror. In this way, Mansfield gleans the topic of femininity as an individual experience of horror. This paper aims to find how Mansfield presents the horror of femininity as a comprehensive mood of modernism in her short stories.]

Keywords

Modernism, katherine mansfield, horror, mood, short stories.

Katherine Mansfield's short stories can be divided primarily into two groups: stories with New Zealand background, and stories with European setting – in England, France, and Germany. Her narrative focuses not on the plot, but on the characters. Mansfield constructs a story by emphasizing the inner, psychological world of the participants, although they remain passive in the development of the story. Thus, she distinguishes between the outside world and the interior of a character, and explores that character's self as it faces numerous uncertainties in that external world. The exterior world in her story becomes less significant than the inner world. She creates space within the individual, and expands this inner spatial world focusing on memory and consciousness, a process which is not limited within one time-frame. By creating two worlds, she brings the inside out, and nurtures it within the liminal space of short story.

Horror can be defined as a feeling of extreme fear or shock or disgust. Philip Nickel emphasizes on two components of horror: a mien of the monstrous, and an intentional evocation of fear (as cited in Fahy, 2010, p. 15). Virginia Woolf, in her novel Mrs Dalloway (1925), uses horror four times as a mood to express Clarissa's shock of pragmatics. Mansfield, with her colonial background, was not received well within English writing circles. London turned out to be a challenging place for her literary exposure. Her life-style, clothes, thoughts, and creativity were thought unworthy of Englishness (Smith, 2000, pp.

1-3).She underwent horror and injustice in this treatment, which belittled her both as a woman and as a writer. Her instincts encountered the problem of her feminine way of life. As a result, she developed a sense of alienation, uncertainty, and a forceful penetration inside a new culture, which gave her the strength of emerging as a modernist writer. Thus, her colonial background and the resistance she encountered in London encouraged her in rebellion, and the form that rebellion took was a concern with feminine and feminist ideals.

I aim to explore how feminine consciousness works in an individual in threeof Mansfield's stories: "The Little Governess" (1915), "Miss Brill" (1920), and "Life of Ma Parker" (1921).Each story has one central female character. They are alone, and forced to be so in a world, which is not unknown to them, but which threatens them with the sense of loss of their individual identity. Mansfield looks deeply into the sufferings of these women, and subtly uses the stories to show how they are able, to some extent, through momentous anguish, to be conscious of themselves. The author uses the capacity of the genre in order to explicate an inevitable awareness in life, that is, being conscious of one's individuality.

Mansfield's coming to London to explore her creativity as a writer (Smith, 2000, pp. 9-10) had two edges: she was a woman, and she was a colonial personality. At a time when male modernists were dominating in the literary world, it was difficult for her to establish herself as a promising writer. Her gender identity was an important matter. Moreover, in that literary domain, the colonial background of a writer was not a welcome issue. Mansfield needed two types of shelter under one parasol. She had to feel safe, and she needed someone who could sustain her authorship. Scott says that Mansfield is a marginal writer, doubly disadvantaged, and from the beginning of her career she searched for male confidants whocould be her safeguard against sexual exploitation and promote her work (Scott, 1990, p. 299). Finding herself thus cornered, Mansfield paradoxically benefited from her situation. With the ingenuity of writing stories, she could easily realize the extent of her transplantation in the new place with all its adversities. Europe introduced alienation to her from a broader perspective. She accepted that challenge of becoming a role-player. Difficult though it was to the extreme, she prepared herself for getting a clear image of the surroundings – people, culture, place, and psychology. She was thus able to uncoil that realization – the new consciousness within – in a new light, and that in her timeless short stories.

"If we turn to modernist representations of domestic space," states Katherine Mullin, "we can perceive a self-conscious awareness in writers of both genders that the world of family, home, love, marriage, and romance has traditionally been labeled a female world" (as cited in Rooney, 2006, p. 144). Her interest lies in the women because of her own experience as a female author, and because of the modernist trend.The three stories are about three lonely women, 'femmes seules,' who find everything around them – space, culture, people – as threatening towards their individual socio-cultural existence. These characters become the ground of interior and exterior explorations for Mansfield. She refashions this world with a view to studying female psychology. For her, this psychology is to understand how the characters evaluate their surroundings and themselves. In other words, the female characters in her stories become sentient at a transfixed point of life.

The term "feminine" incorporates women's exploration of their own voice and identity into a set cultural background. It refers to an awareness at multifarious levels of individual attainment.Moi argues that femininity is a cultural construct, and feminine represents both nurture and female nature (Moi, 2002, p. 64). Femininity, being a cultural construct, is not immanent, but rather, it is an exteriority or external action. It can be explained as what Robert Connell calls "emphasized femininity," which is "soft, submissive, sexually coy, alluring or

flirtatious, concerned with domesticity and preoccupied with bodily appearance" (Bradley, 2007, pp. 47-48). Women are expected – in the patriarchal community – to have all these attributes, which may formulate their action, and which creates the idea of the 'feminine.' This external action is what Judith Butler defines as 'performativity' in Gender Trouble. According to Butler, gender is a cultural construct, and so, biology or biological difference does not have much to do with it. Gender is a free-floating artifice, and must depute the paraphernalia of creation whereby the very sexes are founded (Butler, 2006, pp. 8-10). Elsewhere, she suggests that gender is performative, that gender performance produces an illusion of an inward gender. In other words, gender performance instigates the effect of true or perennial feminine temperament (as cited in Salih & Butler, 2004, p. 253). So, it can be said that femininity is primarily an outcome of the performance of gender, which depends on social construction and action or performance.

According to Barbara Marshall, consciousness is an ongoing process, a continual renegotiation of the relationship between self and others (Marshall, 1994, p. 113). In other words, consciousness is a concept which is conscious of itself and delineates how it acts, reacts, and interacts within its enclosures while remaining central all the time. "Gender does not 'express' a self, a way of being, or a bodily difference, but rather is a performance or enactment of power," which, states Chris Beasley, "is productive and multiple. It provides the dynamic shaping of the self" (Beasley, 2005, p. 101).Therefore, it is the enactment, the performance, the power within gender, and the multiplicity that can create the proper shape of feminine consciousness.

Mansfield writes in her journal, "True to oneself! which self? Which of my many . . . hundreds of selves?"(Mansfield, 1962, p. 205). Once she is aware of the self's multiplicity, she is also aware that it is fragmented. As a modernist author, she deals with this fragmentation. Scott says that Mansfield's writing method is always one of extreme indirection and obliquity, which is feminine in nature, in comparison to the writings of male modernists like Eliot or Joyce. This fragmentary self seems to be feminine because the real self continues to outdo and evade any masculine attempt to label it, to give it the proper means regarding anyemblematicorder (Scott, 1990, pp. 301-302). Mansfield's symbolic authorship is not in harmony with the male modernists, but is filled with commonalities. One ordinary description of everyday life, any unenhanced action leads to the tension that lies within, hidden, and surfaces abruptly. When characters come close to accept that stress, they become conscious of their action, performance or power. Mansfield's 'femme seule' stories reveal this methodically. She injects her own experience into her stories, and manifests the horror of that experience.

"The Little Governess" (1915) presents an unnamed young girl travelling from France to Germany as a prospective employee. The story narrates her loneliness and anxiety regarding her feminine identity, and the threat through which she finally comes to discover the external world as well as her internal susceptibility. It is about the development of a young girl dwelling in a fantasized world from where she needs much strength to come to the real world, which is much deceptive. She loiters between fantasy and reality, and falsity and authenticity. Her sense of the horror of the time is coated with the pseudo-courage or self-deception in the masculine world. Unacquainted with the external world, the little governess must encounter a situation that will enthral and refurbish her true extent about living in that unknown and threatening world.

The story begins with two different approaches towards life: one of the ladies at the Governess Bureau, and the other of the girl. The contrast is obvious between innocence and experience regarding travel-time and safety. The governess has to travel, against her will, at night-time, which she comprehends as hazardous, which gives rise to the mood of horror in her. But the lady advises her with all the probable shields for her to use, and concludes her suggestion with a bold affirmation, "It sounds rather hard but we've got to be women of the world, haven't we?" (Mansfield, 2002, p.47). This challenge demands more attention to one's interiority than to the outside world. A hotel room is not as safe as the labelled compartment of the train, and it is the label which makes it safe. Inside it can only those people sit who are helpless outside that label. So, there is the vulnerability of women. The only way to remain safe is to be alert all the time. The lady means to say that she should be conscious of her surroundings and her self. Both the exteriority and the interiority of a person are the points of concern while she undertakes travelling, and that lady's assertion is an encouragement towards her self-estimation and self-guarding confronting her horror-mood of being in an unpredictable stage.

Mansfield harshly treats the governess through masculine agency for showing the contrast between reality and expectancy. A porter gives the girl the first blow by taking advantage of her stature and her belongings. The author uses the narrative as a determining deviance within the governess, "She had to run to keep up with him, and her anger, far stronger than she, ran before her and snatched the bag out of the wretch's hand" (Mansfield, 2002, p.48). What she feels inside cannot be executed properly because the cultural construct does not permit her to do so. The brawl about the payment shows the girl's apparent victory over an intruder in her condition. But here is how she misguides herself as she remains horrified, stiff, yet convinced that she can manage her situation, and then in the narrative, she "looked – like a woman wheeling a perambulator – up and down, up and down – with a sleeping baby inside it" (Mansfield, 2002, p.49). C. A. Hankin says that the governess is an immature character not to be able to differentiate between truth and wish-fulfilment. Childhood, showered with with emotion in a grown-up lady, is the theme here (Hankin, 1983, pp. 98-99). A sense of unsheltered emptiness works in her gradually, and what comes out is the deep corner, where she is merely an immature girl in the shell of a woman. Mansfield makes things worse for her as she faces other anxieties in the train, when she muses, "I wish it wasn't night-time. I wish there was another woman in the carriage. I'm frightened of the men next door." Her mood of horror eases when the imagined "grandpapa" (Mansfield, 2002, pp.50-51) arrives and settles.

The little governess beguiles herself once again when she looks forward to being sheltered by the old man. Her fantasy prevents her from being cautious about people and place. As a young starter in life, her dress, thoughts, class, and belongings ascertain her feminine normativity. Pamela Dunbar explicates that it is a story about a governess's personality, attitude, and plight. The image which most aptly marks her vulnerability, also painfully conveys her naïveté and as-yet unstructured identity. Because of her situation, she remains alone, and is forced to be so (Dunbar, 1997, pp. 63-64). The governess's idea about the old man and her indulgence in him ironically show that she is left within the threat of immaturity and loneliness. Her one-day stay in Munich for sight-seeing with him works as the most crucial event yet in her tender life. It is this person who manipulates her into fulfilling his sexual appetite, and thus diabolically offers her a lesson in the world-view. On her part, she acts the way she is expected to do. The world is not full of good people only; there are other people who roam round, wearing the mask of goodness, and prey upon their victims when opportunity offers itself. But this opportunity works only when one is not aware of one's internal and external conditions.

The governess is blinded not by the behaviour of the old man, but by her own estimation. Being unable to judge incidents precisely, she is forced to have a kiss from the pseudo-benefactor, and that, "On the mouth! Where not a soul who wasn't a near relation had ever kissed her before. . . ." (Mansfield, 2002, p.58). This is the moment when she looks at herself, portends and becomes herself. As he is not a relation, he cannot kiss her on the mouth. This is how the epiphany works in the story that the little governess becomes what she has been missing all this time: conscious of her instincts. The self is retroactive here. Horrified, she runs as she cries, violating the societal custom of not displaying emotion in the public, because of the ache of the revelation of her extent. Her fantasy is metamorphosed to reality, and likewise, her immaturity is converted into the consciousness of her position. The grandfather is not the concern anymore. The grandchild is now dead. She is forced to be free from her self-deception. "The abjectionof self," says Julia Kristeva, "would be the culminating form of that experience of thesubject to which it is revealed that all its objects are based merelyon the inaugural loss that laid the foundations of its own being" (Kristeva, 1982, p. 5). What comes out of the cocoon is a woman who has now learned how to be sheltered. Somewhat autobiographical regarding a lonely woman's travelling aboard, argues Sydney Kaplan, the story echoes Mansfield's concern as an author, and her vulnerability within the domain of men. She does it with the girl's self-division and her self-deception, and both her impulses toward freedom and her conditioned responses to self-denial (Kaplan, 1991, pp. 118-22). The governess's authentic journey is not from France to Germany, but from childhood to womanhood, from immaturity to maturity, from fantasy to reality, and most importantly, from gullibility to consciousness. Her experience begins with the porter, and ends with the waiter at the hotel, the old man being the principal artefact in making her aware of what she really is.

"Katherine Mansfield's fiction is important," says Marvin Magalaner, "for its ability to verbalize dramatically levels of consciousness seldom depicted effectively in English short fiction up to her time" (Magalaner, 1971, p. 130). Like "The Little Governess," "Miss Brill" (1920) is another story of a lonely woman at a foreign place. She is not young, and cannot be deceived by any imaginary might-be protector. But, like the little governess, she is also vulnerable, and beguiles herself until the penultimate moment. Dialogue is scanty; the narrative maintains a speechless psychological fluidity. An observer of her surroundings, the elderly spinster entertains herself as she watches people in the park where she comes every Sunday afternoon. She can find the limitations around, but misses those in her. Being self-confident, she, like the little governess, fantasizes her situation and herself. In 1921, Mansfield wrote to Richard Murry, "In Miss Brill I chose not only the length of every sentence, but even the sound of every sentence . . . to fit her on that day at that very moment" (Mansfield, 1984-2008, 4, p. 165). Mansfield quite unexpectedly – as a psychological study – reveals the harsh truth of internal ignorance, and hence the vulnerability, of this lady through mortification and pathos. In "Miss Brill", she fantasizes the horror she went through in England as a colonial author.

Miss Brill represents the typical life of a lonely woman. She uses "her 'special' seat" (Mansfield, 2002, p. 225) in the park as the centre of her world, which imbues her with amusement from her surroundings. This set time creates in her a sense of timelessness as she becomes the silent commentator of the ongoing events. This ephemeral time is static as she ponders, "Other people sat on the benches and green chairs, but they were nearly always the same, Sunday after Sunday, and . . . there was something funny about nearly all of them. They were odd, silent, nearly all old, and from the way they stared they looked as though they'd just come from dark little rooms or even – even cupboards!" (Mansfield, 2002, p.226).

She observes them through time's fixity within a non-spatial life. This is the birth of her consciousness, which remains unnoticed by her. She brings with her the past, and compares it to the present. An English teacher in France and a reading assistant by profession, Miss Brill's only companion is her mind, which she uses for evaluating others. And in her mind, she maintains an affinity with the fur as she treats it as animated, "Little rouge," which is "biting its tail just by her left ear" (Mansfield, 2002, p. 225). This is how, being lonely, she relies on her innerness for overcoming the void in life. Her life passes without any practical movement. Her apparently charmless life is the charm in the story. Mere observation is not enough; it is the revelation of the effect of that task that counts. Miss Brill comes here consistently, but misses that she herself is silent, nearly old, and comes here from her own little room.

Like "The Little Governess," "Miss Brill" also deals with inner ambivalence. Miss Brill is revealed,narrates Sylvia Berkman, through the interior monologue in association with external scene. Hyperconscious and semi-hysterical, this solitary figure is intensely absorbed in the limited happenings, which she explains through feverish examination in the running stream of feeling (Berkman, 1951, pp. 162-63). She interprets musical notes; she feels what and how other people may feel. She even finds how people are pretentious by following the incident of the girl with an ermine toque. When the girl is discarded, she "smiled more brightly than ever"(Mansfield, 2002, p. 227). Miss Brill is much compassionate about the whole incident, and follows the drum beat, "The Brute! The Brute!" But the derelict girl can pretend that "she'd seen some one else, much nicer, just over there, and pattered away" (Mansfield, 2002, p. 227). This girl feigns. She has to, because life's mutability is expected by the society. Here is a difference between the two ladies. The ermine toque knows what to do. Miss Brill can interpret the tune, but cannot understand her own position of being a passive onlooker, who fails to look at herself.

Miss Brill's voice is her psychic analysis, which makes her more active than others. She participates passively, unattended and unnoticed, "The air was motionless, but when you opened your mouth there was just a faint chill, like a chill from a glass of iced water before you sip, and now and again a leaf came drifting – from nowhere, from the sky." Like the chill inside, she is ignited through her participation: everything is as pre-arranged as the scenes in a play, and like a performer, she has her role of a spectator, "Yes, I have been an actress for a long time" (Mansfield, 2002, pp.225, 228). She lives within a false sense of personality that she is a controlled actress. Her feminine instincts are wrapped in this hyperreality, which she is unable to categorize until people from younger generation ravage her world. When a boy and a girl share her seat, they express that Miss Brill is the intruder in their way of life. This is the determinative moment in her entire life. Their behaviour unveils a truth, which she is not strong enough to uphold. Being horrified at the realization, her pseudo-consciousness shatters. Unlike the ermine toque, she cannot pretend, and being unable to tolerate it, "to-day she passed the baker's by," from where she regularly buys her Sunday treatment, "climbed the stairs, went into the little dark room – her room like a cupboard – and sat down on the red eiderdown" (Mansfield, 2002, p.229). Her feminine disposition has been given an unexpected shake. As it is not customary to demonstrate feelingin the public, she quietly returns home without carrying any sign that she has been demolished.

Thus, Miss Brill comes to her new consciousness at the expense of her consciousness. She has never found any similarity between other people's dwellings and her own. Now she comes to the point, and she finds her delimited space. She desperately needs the caring emotion she has nurtured for the ermine toque. But knowing that she cannot have it, she retreats to her own shelter. Fullbrook says that Miss Brill rigorously metamorphoses

into an exile from a participant. The story articulates a conscious yet discrete self, the realization of which is achieved through much agony but honour. This is a portrait of a woman caught by the contradictions of social preconceptions that she herself has internalised (Fullbrook, 1986, pp. 104-6). As she returns, she concludes how she has been treated and viewed by others. She puts back the fur inside the box, and hears the cry not of the fur, but of that which erupts from within. It is the cry of her inner self, her feminine impulse, not because she is looked down upon, but because her confidence of the performer has been thrashed by the fact that she must play a different role from now on, instinctively, one that she has not been prepared for at all. The momentary realization offers her a new world, where, inflicted with horror, she must accommodate herself from a new perspective. The fur's return into the box is, asClare Hanson says, "a release for more obscure and painful feelings, for an impulse towards self-destruction . . . is displaced onto an external object in the fantasy of killing the 'dear little thing'" (as cited in Kimber& Wilson, 2011, p. 121). Her failure in standing the young generation, the challenging and arrogant voice against tradition, unveils her vulnerability. In this story as well, the protagonist undergoes a transformation that is conclusive and pathetically comprehensive.Mansfield wrote in her journal in 1920, "At the back of my mind I am so wretched. But all the while I am thinking over my philosophy – the defeat of the personal" (Mansfield,1962, p. 195). Miss Brill acknowledges defeat and returns to her chamber, where she is confined with the horror of femininity.

"Life of Ma Parker" (1921) is a story of an elderly lady whose fate is wretched, and who faces defeat like the protagonists of the two previous stories. Ma Parker is an old charwoman working for a literary gentleman in London. Without much action, and hence without any fixed plot, the story depicts her struggling life through many constraining events. The narrative vacillates between past and present frequently in the manner of stream of consciousness. As the story begins, she joins her work after the latest blow in her life – death of her grandson. She does not expect much from life, and like her answer to the gentleman's question, she retreats to work silently. But with this visible silence, Mansfield introduces the contrasting psychology of the protagonist: her psychological consciousness in the concrete representation of stream of consciousness, bringing time into motionless spatiality.

A working woman her whole life,Ma Parker is evidently ignorant of Shakespeare. The narrative presents her as a person who repeatedly looks back while conversing with her employer and with herself. The fragmented representation of her past makes her life-story the broken perception of a pathetic character. She remembers, "there was something – a bush, there was – at the front door, that smelt ever so nice. But the bush was very vague. She'd only remembered it once or twice in the hospital, when she'd been taken bad" (Mansfield, 2002, p.252). The shape becomes rather a silhouette, and she confides to its essence. She juxtaposes her illness with a retreat to the past. She talks about it, the only pleasure in her early life. Coming out of the shelter of her mother, paralleled by the bush, and coming from traditional Victorian life-style, she finds life horrible. In fact, her life is blessed with renewed horror. As a working woman, her life has never been a pleasure until becoming a grandmother. Even in her married life, she bears the constant symbol of motherhood and nurture. This deplorable life lacks a proper place where she can have a room of her own. As Judy Giles says, "Women of all ages and classes continued to seek spaces in which they might negotiate the tensions between the necessary safety of mundanity and the need for individual fulfilment" (Giles, 2004, pp. 158-59). Ma Parker's feminine urge has always been hampered, as her psychic embodiment of the past reveals. She has never been able to feel the essence of the lost smell of the vague bush of her secured childhood.

As a caring woman, and as a caring mother in her sub-conscious mind, Ma Parker feels pityfor the gentleman. Her approach towards all – children, sister-in-law, grandson, her employer – is that of an all-encompassing benefactor, who swallows every bit of her sorrow. In doing so, that persistent yet suppressed mourning becomes visible to all. She is like the sky, "Out of the smudgy little window you could see an immense expanse of sad-looking sky, and whenever there were clouds they looked very worn, old clouds, frayed at the edges, with holes in them, or dark stains like tea" (Mansfield, 2002, p.251). Ma Parker and her sufferings are brought together in the same spatiality. Like clouds, her distress piles up without melting away. She knows this. Still, her awareness brings further devastation for her. In all these adversities, it is Lennie, the grandson, who has been her only consolation. Now that he is also gone – the story tells it at the beginning, and gradually yet randomly unfolds more information of her agony – she has lost the last refuse of life. Like the lonely sky that can bear stained clouds, Ma Parker has nothing left but the past to continue in the present. For her, time is static at a time of complete loss of her feeling, her happiness, her inspiration in life. Rhoda Nathan says that the memorabilia in this plotless story helps to understand an ordinary woman's piteous grief without much tragedy in it. The dual poignancy of the story reclines in Ma Parker's overall loss and seclusion. The centre of her life becomes empty, though her situation has not changed (Nathan, 1988, p. 95). As a caregiver, and not as a receiver, Ma Parker remembers her whole life up to the funeral of the grandson. The aftermath of it is what comes out as a fragmented form of her life-story, which is not tear-shedding, but heart-squeezing. It is so because the lack of expression of feelings, enforced by the socio-cultural construction, represses her all the more.

Little Lennie has been ill for quite a long time, and being his grandmother's only hope in a cruel world where there is nothing but pain, grief, humiliation, and his death works as Ma Parker'sinduction to a dark truth. Now that Lennie is gone, "what had she? She had nothing. He was all she'd got from life, and now he was took too. Why must it all have happened to me? she wondered. 'What have I done?' said old Ma Parker. 'What have I done?'" (Mansfield, 2002, p.255). Mansfield uses death as a decoy for all the despair of Ma Parker to come out. Death in the family has not been able to defeat her. Like an expected, caring woman, she has eluded other sorrows as well. But now, since this little hope for all her concentration, for a future world has passed away, her stoical strength has vanished at the same time. "Nothingness and meaninglessness," says Françoise Defromont, "these are the dead-ends to which Katherine Mansfield's approach to death leads. Actual death and death of the soul both point to an unbearable suffering and the implicit revolt it prompts in the sufferer's heart" (as cited in Michel & Dupuis, 1989, p. 160). The life-story of Ma Parker is not extraordinary. Yet, the hopelessness germinating from her whole life's experience not only breaks her inner strength but alsobrings the readers to a point from where they can visualize her.
Ma Parker'shelplessness is completed as she finds no proper space for mourning this loss. She finds no place "where she could hide and keep herself to herself and stay as long as she liked.

There was nowhere" (Mansfield, 2002, pp.255-56). The last three words conclude the story, but carry on her agony in a space where there is no relief for her. She has to go on like this, being deprived of spatial respite. Herself a realm of enormous nurture inside and outside house, from past to present, this old lady with all her consciousness cannot bring an end to her undisclosed misery. Since everyone has seen her tolerate grief, she has to carry on like this without ever getting relief of her true emotion. This is how she experiences the horror in her life. This harsh truth works against herself. She has to nurture her inner distress

the way she nurtures others. Her endless sorrow mounts; there is no place where she can shed tears over her sorrow. This spatial paradox is the conscious realization in her. It is the paradoxical space that she is limited to. That is how Ma Parker's ordinary life becomes a visionary symbol of her defeat in life, consciousness against consciousness, time against time.

All these three stories focus on three different-aged working-class women who, in the last phase of the narrative, come across an unexpected and destitute reality that they cannot bypass. Yet, this moment offers an enlightenment that tells them how to be unpretentious, showing respect to their inner selves at the same time. They have lived with affliction, which has been shaped by society and culture that expect and drive them to act in a certain way. Mansfield portrays them as primarily filled with the strength of life. Later, they face unprecedented changes, which reconstruct them with an inner awareness that empowers them, through suffering, in their ways to life. This new power prepares them for a new start. Their remodelled feminine instinct is the authority they now own. The stories end, but leave a mark on the reader's mind about how these women determine, and how they are determined. The little governess, Miss Brill, and Ma Parker, more or less, maintain the legacy of the Victorian period. But in the modernist time, their lives have become challenging in the changing setting. Mansfield unveils their vulnerability of challenging that challenge of being on their own, uninfluenced by the periphery. Their experience of horror and performance in the relevant space and society give rise to their feminine attributes, which help them formulate an individual inner consciousness. The femininity that these individuals have passes through repression and agony, and leads to a self, which cries with an inner, suppressed voice against social repression for the sake of its identity. It is an identity which is forced to lose itself. The women perform, and are performed later on. Either way, that performance brings an end to their conscious existence, and tends to begin a new start through the passage of horror in life.. In this way, Mansfield offers these deprived women the voice that they do not find anymore. These women do not fight, butrather admit defeat as they pass through excruciating horror in life. Through their helpless surrender to that oppression, they are in the path of creating an awareness that may speak for themselves. Mansfield does not directly speak for it, but presents the situation as it is so that the realization can surface in the minds of the readers.

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Leaked (Political) Telephone Conversation in Bangladesh: A Conversation Analysis

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Abstract

The paper analyses a selected number of 'leaked' telephone conversations by some political figures of Bangladesh. The analyses are rooted in the ideals of conversation analysis (CA), particularly in the CA of telephone interaction. Leaked conversations are politically sensitive, and thus are rarely discussed in the academia. The data for this study is, however, collected from an open source, i.e., YouTube on which the conversations were circulated. The aim of the study is to examine the organizational structure of the telephone conversations carried out by political figures, i.e., political telephone conversation (PTC). The paper explains how individual political actors conduct formal and informal interactions over telephone as they discuss different sensitive issues in relation to politics and society. The paper investigates how the politicians open and close their talk, maintain adjacency pairs, and construct topics as they legitimize their arguments within a conversation. The findings of this paper are expected to contribute to a better understanding of how we can analyze and comprehend the organization of political conversations through the mechanisms of conversation analysis, and at the same time to provide a helpful documentation for further research on this 'highly neglected' field.

Keywords

Conversation analysis (CA), political telephone conversation (PTC), politics in Bangladesh, topic construction, adjacency pairs, opening & closing.

Introduction

This paper offers a structural analysis of a selected number of leaked telephone conversations conducted by some renowned politicians of Bangladesh. Telephone conversation analysis is one of the largest areas within the field of conversation analysis (CA). Though a large body of studies has been carried out on telephone conversation (i.e., Kiss, 2003; Eggert, 2010; Pallotti & Varcasia, 2008), very limited studies have been done on political telephone conversation (PTC), let alone on a controversial sub-field like 'leaked' conversation.

Politicians spend their time to talk, argue, and persuade. They for instance, take part in meeting, dialogue, conference, interview, talk show, etc., almost every day. Like everyone else politicians also use telephone as a means of communication. Some of these conversations are open to everyone (e.g., when they participate in a live interview on the media) while some are private (which can be either formal or informal but are exclusively meant for a selected audience). However, the privately conducted political conversations can be leaked. In the era of Wikileaks perhaps no political interaction is private anymore.

Conceptual Framework

CA evolved as an approach to the study of social interaction in the 1960s through the writings and lectures of the late sociologist Harvey Sacks. The approach was strengthened further between the late 1960s and early 1970s when Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson joined Sacks, and in consequence, fundamental works had been published in this field. For all practical purposes, CA can be thought of as the study of talk in interaction while not excluding other forms of human conduct in interaction, for example, gaze, gesture, body orientations, and their combinations. The paralinguistic features are accommodated comprehensively within the transcription symbols used by the analysts.

The systematic study of conversation analysis focuses on the underlying organization of talks. This organization is assumed to be based on certain specific features, such as, turn taking and overlapping, repairing and silence, sequences of utterances, and adjacency pairs. The data collected for CA is in the form of video or audio recorded conversations. From the audio or video recording the researchers construct a detailed transcription (ideally with no details left out). After transcription, the researchers perform inductive data-driven analysis aiming to find recurring patterns of interaction. Based on the analysis, the researchers develop a rule or model to explain the occurrence of the patterns. The methods of CA have been detailed in countless publications since the 1970s. Recent publications include, Conversation *Analysis and Discourse Analysis* (Wooffitt, 2005), *Sequence Organization in Interaction* (Schegloff, 2007), *Conversation Analysis: an Introduction* (Sidnell, 2010), *Talk in Action* (Heritage & Clayman, 2010), and *The Handbook of Conversation Analysis* (Sidnell & Stivers, 2013) among others.

Political Conversation

In his *Analyzing Political Discourse* (2004), Paul Chilton claims that "politics varies according to one's situation and purposes [which is] a political answer in itself" (p. 4). He further describes that on the one hand, politics is a struggle for power, between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who seek to resist it. On the other hand, politics can be viewed as cooperation, as the practices and institutions that a society has for resolving clashes of interest over money, influence, liberty, and the like (Chilton, 2004, p. 3). Consequently, political discourse, like many other discourses is inherently a 'discursive formation' (Foucault, 2002; Fairclough, 1992). Differences in articulation can be a manifestation of participants' ideological commitments towards different political faiths, but such formations can also be mediated by particular vantage points from which 'social actors' (van Leeuwen, 1996) engage in political debates. The existence of opposing political articulations can also be explained by the concept of 'interdiscursivity' (Fairclough, 2003). Discourses "overlap" and are "interconnected" (Wodak & Weiss, 2005). The domain of politics too is constituted of multiple discourses, such as, social, cultural and economic, appropriated by individuals, within a given context of contestation.

To contextualize, like many other countries, political crises in Bangladesh are plenty. The main political contestation revolves around the two main political parties of Bangladesh, the Awami League (AL) led by Sheikh Hasina, currently in power, and the Bangladesh National Party (BNP), led by former Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia. A number of issues (e.g., the general election of 2014, liberalizing the Election Commission, and 'political harassment') of recent time have influenced the politics or politics influenced those issues and developed crises. This study is an analysis of the conversations done by politicians from different parties of this country which are related to some of those issues. With these aims in view, the current paper answers the following research questions:

a) How are different CA tools (i.e., openings and closings, adjacency pairs, organization of topics, and overlaps) manifested within the conversations conducted by different political actors?

b) How construction of discursive opinions and legitimization of arguments are structured as topics within political telephone conversations (PTC)?

Participants and Context

To comprehend the context of utterance is crucial in interpreting talk-in-interactions because contexts shape interactions profoundly. Contexts are of two types, immediate and larger or traditional types of contexts (e.g., socio-political and institutional contexts). The immediate context of utterance is situated within the larger context. The larger political context in Bangladesh is, the politics here takes place in a framework of a parliamentary representative democratic republic, where the Prime Minister of the country is the head of the government. Executive power is exercised by the government. Legislative power is vested in both the government and parliament. The Constitution of Bangladesh was written in 1972 and has undergone sixteen amendments. The four major parties in Bangladesh are the Awami League (AL), Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP), Jamat-e-Islami Bangladesh (JIB) and Jatiya Party (JP).

To reiterate, since the research is an analysis of PTC, the participants of the conversations were members of different political parties. In the first data the participants are the current Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina and the leader of the main opposition, Begum Khaleda Zia. The situation was that the PM and the leader of the opposition had a telephone conversation (dated 26 October 2013) to initiate a dialogue to resolve the political crisis over the argument of how the next parliamentary election should be held. The leaders' advisers were present at the moment and they could listen to the conversation. The public came to know about this conversation through media.

Unlike the Hasina-Khaleda conversation, the next two conversations are entirely private. In the first conversation the participants are the Awami League MP Shamim Osman and the prime suspect in a murder case (Narayanganj multiple murders), Nur Hossain. Private TV station Channel 24 aired the 103-second conversation that, according to it, took place two days after the seven men were abducted. The station said that Nur Hossain, Narayanganj City Ward-4 Councilor, made the call from his Airtel phone to Osman's mobile phone on April 29.

The next leaked telephone conversation in the data (dated 22 February 2015) was held between Mahmudur Rahman Manna and Sadeque Hossain Khoka. Manna is a former Awami League leader who broke away from the party in order to form a political platform namely Nagarik Oikya. On the other hand, Khokais a veteran leader of the then opposition party, BNP. Here the context is to find a solution of the contemporary political impasse and to push government for a dialogue with other major political parties especially BNP. In the conversation they are giving advice to each another and asking for help.

Data Collection Procedure

The data for the current study was obtained from YouTube. It is not allowed to get an audio record of telephone conversation from any telephone company in this country. The length of collected conversations has been shown in the following table.

Table 1: List of Data

Conversations	Duration	Date
Conversation between Sheikh Hasina and Khaleda Zia	37 minutes	26 October 2013
Conversation between Shamim Osman and Nur Hossain	1 minute 40 seconds	April 29 2014
Conversation between Mahmudur Rahman Manna and Sadek Hossain Khoka	51 minutes	22 February 2015

Data Analysis and Discussion

Conversation analysis has been conducted thorough investigation of social interactions in order to detect how social order is created and produced in our everyday life within conversation (i.e., face to face conversation, telephone conversation, verbal or non-verbal conversation etc.). Each conversation is unique and is different from the other(s). Even a conversation would not be the same again if it is produced by the same speakers on the same topic. In spite of the uniqueness of talks there are some items within the organizational structure of talks which are similar almost in every conversation. For instance, phenomena like opening and closing of a conversation, adjacency pairs, turn-taking, overlapping, topic, and sequence, and framing and footing will be found across conversations. The following sections analyse the structural organization of a selected number of CA items.

Opening and Closing: Opening and closing of a conversation, including telephone conversations, have a precise structure. The first systematic investigation in this area dates back to Schegloff's (1968) analysis of telephone calls openings in the United States of America. In this classical work on CA, Schegloff (1968) identified four core sequences in his corpus of North American telephone call openings:

a) Summons - answer, i.e. the telephone ring followed by a voice token by the recipient indicating that the communication channel is open;

b) Identification - recognition, i.e. parties identify themselves and/or recognize each other;

c) Greetings, which can be produced by one party or both;

d) Initial inquiries ('how-are-you?'), which may constitute themselves the main object of the conversation or may be preliminaries leading to the reason for call.

These four core sequences have been used as a basic 'template' for describing telephone call openings in a number of studies (e.g., *Service telephone call openings* by Gabriele Pallotti and Cecilia Varcasia, 2008; *Telephone conversation from a Conversation Analysis Perspective* by Eva Kiss, 2003; and *A Conversation Analytical Study of Telephone Conversation Openings between Native and Nonnative Speakers* by Carmen Taleghani-Nikazm, 2002). To explain openings, the current study has used the model of Schegloff (1968) and focused especially on the summons-answer structure, and identification and speaker recognition. Some scholars like Coulthard (1985) believe that a telephone conversation usually starts with greetings. But in most of the cases a telephone conversation starts with a "hello" and for Schegloff this "hello" is an answer of a summons, and not a greeting. Within the three sets of data the openings were like as follows:

Data: 01

Invitation to talk [summons]
1. Khaleda: Hello::o [**answer**]
          Hello::o
          Hello::o[**answer**]
          Hello::o
2. Hasina: >Hello<
        >Hello<
3. Khaleda: >Hello<
        >Hello<
        >Kemon achhe[n< [**greeting + how are you enquires**]
        >How are [you< [**greeting + how are you enquires**]
4. Hasina: [Apni kemon]. Assalamu Alaikum. Bhalo, apni kemon achhen?
                            [**greeting + how are you inquires**]
        [How are you]. Assalamualikum, Fine. How are you?
                            [**greeting + how are you inquires**]
5. Khaleda: >Ami achhi, bhalo achhi<
        >Yes, I am fine<
6. Hasina: Ami dupore phone korechhilam apnake, dukkhito ami pai ni ↓
       I called you around noon, but sorry to say that I couldn't reach you↓

In the above excerpt, the conversation starts with a summons-answer sequence and greetings appear later. The first act of the invitation to talk is summons and the utterance 1 (i.e., Khaleda: Hello::o) is the answer of it. Utterances 3 and 4 are part of greetings and at the same time they form a 'how are you' enquiry. Summons-answer is an alternating process in two party conversation developed by Schegloff like A-B-A-B-A-B-A-B……… About summons-answer structure Schegloff says that this describes the sequencing of a two party conversation already underway. It means communication channel is open to continue the talk. In Data 02 the opening was as following:

Data: 02

<<Ring>>=   [**summons**]
1. Shamim Osman: >Hello< [**answer**]
               >Hello< [**answer**]
2. Nur Hossain: Bhai Assalamu Alaikum. Bhai kemon achhen [**greeting**]
      Brother, Assalamu Alaikum. Brother, how are you doing? [**greeting**]
3. Osman: > ke<?   [**constituting relationship**]
      >Who is speaking<?   [**constituting relationship**]
4. Hossain: Bhai↓, amar onek bipod↓. Bhai ami lekha pora kori nai, amar onek bhul achhe…
      apni amr bap lagen. Ami apnake onek bhalobashi bhai↓.
      Brother↓, I'm in great trouble↓. Brother, I'm uneducated. I've made many
      mistakes...You're like my father. I love you so much brother↓

Conversation in Data 02 has similarities with the first one (Data 01) as it also starts with the summons-answer structure followed by greetings (i.e., an Islamic greeting, *Assalamu Alaikum*, tr., 'Peace be upon you') and next a 'how are you' enquiry. In this conversation another noticeable feature is the process of constituting or reconstituting relationship in between speakers (see L. 3. This act of constituting is another term recognized by Schegloff in the analysis of openings in conversations. Sidnell (2010) explains this act as a key

characteristic within telephone conversations. It involves the mutual recognition by the participants with whom they are speaking to.

The structure of Data 03 follows an organizational structure similar to Data 01 and 02. That is, it starts with a summons-answer sequence, then a greeting sequence and also a reciprocal "how are you" inquiries.

Data: 03

<<Ring>>= [**summons**]
1. Khoka: Hello:o [**answer**]
      Hello:o [answer
2. Manna: > Ji, Assalamu Alaikum<   [**greeting**]
      >Yes, Assalamu Alaikum< [**greeting**]
3. Khoka: Ha::e, bhalo achhen?   [**greeting + how are you enquires**]
      Yes::s, how are you?   [**greeting + how are you enquires**]
3. Manna: Hae, valo achhi >apni bhalo achhen<? [**greeting + how are you enquires**]
      Yes, I am good >how are you<?   [**greeting + how are you enquires**]
4. Khoka: Ei, cholchhe aar ki.
      Yes, life is going on.
5. Manna: ↓Kono Disturb korlam na to? Kon somoy ki ta to bolte pari na ↓.
      ↓I am not disturbing you, am I? I did not notice the time ↓
6. Khoka: Na, na. Akhon to ekhane baje matro raat sare doshta ↓.
      No it is okay. It is only 10.30 pm here now↓
7. Manna: Tahole ghumate jan ni akhono↓?
      So you did not go for sleep yet↓?
8. Khoka: Na , na. ami to duitar agey ghumai na↓
      No, I don't go to sleep [usually] before 2.00 am↓
9. Manna: Accha, emnite shorir torir ki obostha apnar?
      Ok, how is your health?
10. Khoka: Shorir ag::er chaite kharap hoy ni, etai bole bhalo ar ki
      Health has not deteriorated than it was before, so you can say, it is kind of okay.

Summon-answer: An analysis of the above data shows that an opening conversation starts mainly with a summons-answer sequence and this establishes a very basic kind of alignment between the participants in a talk in interaction (Sidnell, 2010). Schegloff describes this in terms of "non-terminality" meaning that it is not the final exchange of conversation. They have to be seen as introduction to further talk or an announcement that something else is coming and waited for. Here the data analysis shows that the summons-answers are driving the greeting sequences or how are you enquiries in the beginning of a conversation. So the adjacency pair summons-answer is three-paired. One is summons, the second is an answer and the third is an introduction to further talk.

Constituting Relationship: This is the process of identification and recognition defined by Schegloff. As Schegloff (1986, p. 118) notes, "nearly everything in conversational interaction is sensitive to the individual or categorical identity of the interlocutor," while for Sidnell (2010), mutual identification and recognition of the parties to the conversation is thusan issue that must be worked through more or less directly after the summons-answer sequence. In data 01 and 03 the greeting phrases such as "Assalamu Alaikum" and "how are you" embody a claim to have recognized the answer "hello." The claim is that the answerer is able to recognize the caller. The voice of the caller is the only device in constituting

relationship over phone. This constitution is of two types, one is other-recognition and the second is self-identification. The data 01 and 03 exemplify other-recognition. Data 02 differs from the other two sets of data. To note, an utterance is a relationship constituting process, which demands a self-identification from the opposite party. In that sense sometimes the summons-answer is not adequate to identify or constituting relationship among speaker in a political conversation.

"How are you" Enquire: Sidnell states that after the sequence of summons-answer and identification-recognition, the next sequence involves how-are-you enquiries and it is a process of greeting. Greeting is a social norm. One of the common phrases of greeting in Bangladesh is "Assalamu Alaikum" when it involves participants of Muslim origin. An observation shows that this Bangladeshi greeting is often used by members of other religious groups as well when one of the participants is Muslim. Another greeting phrase is "how are you". In all the three data we can see the use of both the phrases:

Date: 01

1. Khaleda:>Hello< >Kemon achh[en <   **[greeting + how are you enquires]**
　　　　　>Hello< >How are [you<   **[greeting + how are you enquires]**
2. Hasina:　　[Apni kemon?] Assalamu Alaikum.Bhalo, apni kemon achhen?
　　　　　[How are you?] Assalamualikum, Fine. How are you?
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[greeting + how are you inquires]

Data: 02

<<Ring>>=   **[summons]**
1. Shamim Osman: >Hello<   **[answer]**
　　　　　　　>Hello<   **[answer]**
2. Nur Hossain: Bhai Assalamu Alaikum. Bhai kemon achhen **[greeting]**
　　　　　Assalamu Alaikum, brother. How are you? **[greeting]**

Data: 03

1. Khoka:　　Hello:o   **[answer]**
　　　　　Hello:o   **[answer]**
2. Manna:　　>ji, Assalamu Alaikum<   **[greeting]**
　　　　　>Yes, Assalamu Alaikum<   **[greeting]**
3. Khoka: Ha::y, bhalo achhen?   **[greeting + how are you enquires]**
　　　　　Yes::s, how are you?   **[greeting + how are you enquires]**
4. Manna:　　Hay, bhalo achhi, >apni bhalo achhen<? **[greeting + how are you enquires]**
　　　　　Yes, I am good, >how are you<?   **[greeting + how are you enquires]**

Sacks (1975) noted that answers to 'how are you' enquiries fall into three subsets:
[0] neutral, e.g. "fine", "okay",
[+] positive, e.g. "great", "terrific", and
[-] negative, e.g. "awful", "terrible".

In the above interactions, it is evident that after every enquiry whether "how are you" or "recognition", the main part of conversation starts. In the first conversation L. 03 is the starting of main conversation right after the end of greeting. In the second data L. 03 is the starting after enquiries of identity in L. 2.In the third data L. 6 is the starting after enquiries end.

Responses from either the [+] or [-] subsets have quite different sequential relevance from those in [0]. But in these data we see only the neutral answer except the second one as here it is part of an identification procedure. In Data 02, greeting has not been done as a pair where greeting could be considered as one of the parts of an adjacency-pair. Like greeting, summons-answer is also a part of it. It is almost obvious that all the conversations here start with adjacency pairs and continue to "how are you" enquiries. How are you – fine/ good/ ok etc. is a question-answer pair. Schegloff suggests that these initial enquiries constitute the main object of the conversation or may be part of preliminaries leading to the reason for call. The conversational phenomenon of enquiry can be further explored through following examples:

Data: 01

1. Hasina:[Apni kemon]. Assalamu Alaikum. Bhalo, apni kemon achhen?
                                         [greeting + how are you inquires]
          [How are you]. Assalamualikum, Fine. How are you?
                                         [greeting + how are you inquires]
2. Khaleda: >Ami achhi, valo achhi<
          >Yes, I am fine<
3. Hasina: Ami dupore phone korechhilam apnake, dukkhito ami pai ni ↓
          I called you around noon, but sorry to say that I couldn't reach you↓

Data: 02

1. Nur Hossain: Bhai Assalamu Alaikum. Bhai kemon achen   **[greeting]**
          Assalamu Alaikum, brother. How are you?   **[greeting]**
2. Osman: > Ke<?   **[constituting relationship]**
          >Who is speaking<?   **[constituting relationship]**
3. Hossain: Bhai↓, amar onek bipod↓. Bhai ami lekha pora kori nai, amr onek vul ache…
          apni amar bap lagen. Ami apnake onek valobashi vai↓
          Brother↓, I'm in great trouble↓. I'm uneducated. I've made many mistakes...You're
          like my father. I love you so much↓

Data: 03

1. Khoka: Hello:o   **[answer]**
          Hello:o   **[answer]**
2. Manna: > Ji, Assalamu Alaikum<   **[greeting]**
          >Yes, Assalamu Alaikum<   **[greeting]**
3   Khoka: Ha::y, Bhalo achhen?   **[greeting + how are you enquires]**
          Yes::s, are you good?   **[greeting + how are you enquires]**
4. Manna: Hay, bhalo achhi, >apni bhalo achhen<?   **[greeting + how are you enquires]**
          I am good, >how are you<?   **[greeting + how are you enquires]**
5. Khoka: ei, cholchhe ar ki.
          Yes, life is going on.
6. Manna: ↓Kono Disturb korlam na to? Kon shomoy ki ta to bolte pari na ↓.
          ↓Have I disturbed you? I did not notice the time ↓

Regarding closing Schegloff and Sacks (1973, p.290) in their book "Opening up closing" claimed that conversation "does not simply end, but is brought to a close". When we are in a conversation on telephone it is not possible to hang up the phone suddenly at the middle of the conversation or even at the end. It will be considered as rude. Rather we have to end the conversation in a specific place or have to take a preparation before simply ending up. Sidnell (2010) claims that people generally end up a conversation suddenly to express annoyance or anger. Participants may also hang up when an emergency situation emerges. Here are the examples of closing sequences from the conversations.

Data: 01

1. Hasina:	Ami apnake 28 tarikhe daoat dicchi, kader kader [niye ashben bolen
	Come on October 28, tell me who with [you be bringing along.
2. Khaleda:	[Ami 28 tarikh ashte parbo na ami 30 tarikher pore ashte parbo, 28 tarikhe hortal withdrawn hobe na.
	[I won't be able to come on the 28th I will come after 30 (October). The hartal dated 28 can't be withdrawn
3. Hasina:	[Okay, thank you.
	[Okay, Thank you].

Data: 02

1. Osman:	Thik achhe, tumi ek kaj koro. Ami amar ekta phone number dibo, tumi jogajog koro, thik achhe? Ei number ta notun?
	All right. You do one thing I'll give you another phone number of mine, and you contact me there. Is this your new number?

2. Hossain: ji bhai.
   Yes, brother.
3. Osman: Acchha >rakho<.
   Okay. >You can hang up<.
4. Hossain: Ji bhai, Assalamu Alaikum bhai.
   Okay, brother. Assalamu Alaikum.

Data: 03

1. Manna: Apnara onake bolen, tarpor dekha jak ki hoy
   You guys talk to her (?). Let's see what happen next.
2. Khoka: Ji, acchha.
   Yes, alright.
3. Manna: Ji, Assalamu Alikum
   Yes, Assalamu Alaikum.
4. Khoka: Ji.
   Yes.

How to end a conversation is known as closing problem. About the closing process Schegloff and Sacks (1973) say about a special kind of adjacency pairs, named "terminal exchange". In this pair the first part is a proposal to end the conversation like 'bye' or 'good bye' and in the next part the other speaker can expect the proposal. Here in these utterances we cannot see any "Placement problem" means they have uttered at the right place of the conversation to bring a close. Like in first data line no 2 is a pre-closing context so the placement of closing sentence has done properly. The line no. 2 is the first part of terminal exchange and

the next line is an acceptance of it.In the second data L. 1 is a pre-closing sentence or a warrant for closing that indicates the conversation is almost at the end. So the terminal exchange utterances have no placement problem and the organization of adjacency pair is organized. Now in case of the third data line no. 1 is again a pre-closing utterance and within the terminal exchange turn in adjacency pair is also organized. Here all the closings have been 'brought to a close' properly.

So finally, the opening and closing are the most important parts of a conversation especially in a telephone conversation, as here is no scope to show any facial expression or to use body language. The opening sequence is a structural process. The opening structure of a PTC is similar with the basic process of telephone call opening. It start with the summons-answer process then gradually come the step of constructing-relationship and end with the greeting sequence called how-are-you enquires. This closing of an opening part of a conversation leads the conversation to the opening of topic talk. And the closing process is also smooth. They end their conversation through the process of "terminal exchange" where the "placement problem" of closing is absent in the conversation. They do not seem to use pre-closing system, rather give an announcement or warrant to take an entry into closing section and gradually come to the end of their conversation when it requires.

Topic Construction
Sidnell (2010) says that "people do talk on a topic and sometimes they can be seen as trying to get off a topic, change the topic etc" (p.). In conversations with political consequences construction of topics can be crucial. Here the acts of legitimization and discursive opinion of arguments also influence the process of topic construction. The current study focused on what the "topic" is doing within the stretch of a conversation rather than merely what it is all about. The purpose of the analysis is to explain how the political figures construct topics through telephone conversation. Schegloff (1990) notes some dilemmas while defining the concept of "topic". Firstly, how to determine "what the topic is", next, to map the "gradual transition from one topic to another", thirdly, the unity in the practice of "formulating the topic" and only finally what the participants "talk about" rather than "talk-that-does". The following sections explain the construction of topics in all the three sets of data collected for the current study.

Data: 01
The primary purpose of this phone call was to invite the opposition party's leader Khaleda Zia by Prime Minister to sit for a dialogue. Here the topic is "an invitation for dialogue". But how was that topic constructed? According to Sidnell (2010) a topic in a conversation is generated within a sequence and it flows from one to another in gradual fashion. In telephone conversation the first step of topic construction is the opening then the second part is the main topic within the sub-topic and final step is the closing where the topic-talk ends. Within a conversation these steps are often not obvious as having clear boundaries since conversation is a continuous act of interaction, while for analysts these boundaries are there.

In this first data we see that the conversation opens with the basic pattern of opening sequence like summons-answer, greeting, recognizing and some more. The pattern is used within the structure of adjacency pair, the first pair of the utterance presupposes a second part. In addition, participants are expected to start the topic-talk after the end of an opening sequence:

1. Hasina: Ami dupore phone korechhilam apnake, dukkhito ami pai ni ↓
                I called you around noon, but sorry to say that I couldn't reach you↓
2. Khaleda: Ei kothata je bolchhen ta shothik na.
                What you've just said is not correct.
3. Hasina: →Ami apnake daoat dite chai [
                → I want to invite you at   [
4. Khaleda: [Na, apnake prothome amar kotha shunte hobe. Apni je bolchhen dupore
                phone korechhen. Dupore kono phone ashe ni. Ei kothati sompurno sothik
                noy. Dupore kono phone ashe ni amar ekahne.
                [No, you'll have to listen to me first. You said that you called me this
                afternoon, but I didn't get any phone call in the afternoon. This statement
                is not right at all. No phone call came this afternoon.

5. Hasina: Ami red phone-e [phone diyechhi
                I have called at your red phone [
6. Khaleda: [Red phone to amar dhirgho bochhor dhore dead pore achhe. Apnara
                government chalan, ki khobor rakhen? Government chalan r ei khobortuko
                rakhen na je birodhi doliyo netar phone thik achhe ki na?
                [My red phone has been dead for years. You run the government, what
                news do you keep? You run the government, but you don't have the
                information whether the leader of the opposition's phone is working or not?

Here they start the main part of their conversation but they begin their conversation with a side topic which according to Goffman is an example of footing (see L. 1). Then at line no. 3 where Hasina says "I want to inform you that," here we see a process to construct the topic as she tries to clarify the reason to call. In next line Khaleda initiates another topic by ignoring the main topic to create an example of "eliciting topic". But it is not a gradual process of formulating a topic. They make a long conversation on this topic which is not related to the main topic. The participants mutually end the topic by producing these two lines:

1. Hasina: Ami agamikal dekhbo keno apnar phone dead chhilo
        I will see to it tomorrow why your phone was dead.
2. Khaleda: >Dekhben sheta bhalo kotha<
        >It is good news that you will look into it<.

Next, Hasina re-initiates the main topic as follows:
1. Hasina: Ami call korlam je agami 28 tarikk ami apnake gonobhobone daoat dicchhi. Ami
        amader rajnoitik doler sathe alap-alochona korchhi. Ami apnake daoat dicchhi
        gognobhobone.
        I am calling you to invite you to Ganabhaban in the evening of October 28. I have
        spoken to the leaders of our political party. I am inviting you at Ganabhaban.
2. Khaleda: Apnar Jodi shotti antorikota theke thake alochona korar jonno, amar jete kono
        apotti nei. Ami eka jabo na, amar sathe nischoi keu thakbe.
        If you are really sincere about a dialogue, I have no problem to go. I won't come alone
        of course. There will be others with me.
3. Hasina: Apni jotojon khushi niye ashte paren
        You can bring as many people as you want.

4. Khaleda: Na ami puro dolbol niye ashbo na. Jaderke proyojon tader niye ashbo. Sheta
hobe 28 tarikher por.
I don't want to bring my fullparty over. I will bring those who I think will be needed.
It will be after 28 (of the instant).
5. Hasina: ami apnake onurodh korbo [jatir Sharthe jonogoner Sharthe, hortal ta prottakkhan
kore nin]. Manush mara, pathor chhora eishob↓
I am urging you for the sake of the [nation and the people that you withdraw the
hartal]. Killing people, throwing stones↓
6. Khaleda: [Na , ↑manush mara, agun deya egulo apnader kaj. Amader na.
[No, Killing people, throwing fire is in your habit. Not ours.

As they were focusing on building the topic, Hasina changes the topic yet one more
time that we see in the following lines. This however is a "gradual transition" from one
topic to another. After continuing with the new topic for a few turns, Khaleda Zia
abruptly introduces another topic:

1. Khaleda: ↑Amra j jonosobha korlam sekhane maiker permission ta keno holo na?
↑When we organized a public rally why didn't you allow microphone
speakers there?
2. Hasina: Na, mike to deya hoyechhe [.
NO, the use of microphone was allowed [.
3. Khaleda: [Amra jotodur icchha mike boshate pari, lok acche shunbe.
Lok ashbe dekhe rasta ghater shob transport bondho kore diyechhen 144 jari
korechhen, deshe ki joruri obostha hoye gechhe? Juddho obostha hoye gechhe je
erokom shuru kore diben apnara, eta ki?
[I will put up speakers as far away as I wish, there are people and they will hear. You
stopped transport to prevent the gathering, imposed Section 144. Is there a state of
emergency in the country? Is it a time of war? Are we in a state of war that you have
started this behavior? What is this?
4. Hasina: ↓Ami e bepare apnar shathe ekhon kotha bolte chacchhi na.
↓I don't want to talk to you now about this.

While they were contributing to the topic of the "speaker" in L. 4, Hasina reveals her lack of
interest to contribute any further on the topic explicitly. It is natural that the selection of a topic
should be the result of a mutual process; otherwise, it is mostly difficult to construct it. Mutual
selection of topic by the participants is called the process of "topic nomination" (Button &
Cassey, 1985). Under the process participants also change topics continuously, i.e., one topic
leads to another in a gradual process.

Data: 02
In comparison to other data, 02 is a shorter conversation. Usually in a long conversation people
gradually change topics or sometimes use sub-topics to establish the main topic. But in short
conversations participants generally stay on the main topic without much topic transition. In
Data 02 the participants after the opening sequence, which is a process of coming to the main
conversation, start their main conversation.

1. Hossain: Bhai, ↓amar onek bipod. ↓Bhai ami lekha pora kori nai, amar onek bhul
achhe… apni amr bap lagen. Ami apnake onek valobashi vai ↓.
Brother↓, I'm in great trouble↓. I'm uneducated. I've made many mistakes...You're
like my father. I love you so much↓

Here the caller Nur Hossain makes this call to ask for a help in order to get out of the trouble and in this line he constructs the topic with some sub-topics to establish his 'vulnerabilities' (see L. 1: "I am uneducated", "I have made many mistakes", "you are like my father" and "I love you so much"). These sub-topics help him to construct the main topic. There are other sub-topics which have been shown in the following interaction:

2. Osman: Khoborta powchiechhilam, paichhila ↓?
       I sent a message, did you get it↓?
3. Hossain: Bhai, apnare onek bhalobashi bhai. Amar polada chhoto, moira jabe vai ↓
       Brother, I admire you so much. My son is young. He will die↓
4. Osman: Shomoy dao ektu.
       Give me some time.

Hossain: Bhai, apni amar baap lagen ↑bhai. Jibon apnare diya dimu bhai
       You're like my father. ↑I will give you my life, brother
5. Osman: >Arey, tumi eto chinta koirona<, shomoy dao
       >Don't worry so much<. Give me some time.

Here they are in the process of constructing topic.
6. Hossain: Bhai, >amare jaoar bebostha kore den<.
       Brother, please >arrange for my departure<.
7. Osman: Kono jaygar seal nai? >There'll be no problem<
       >There'll be no problem< Is there any seal (visa) for any country↑
8. Hossain: Na, na. achhe achhe, seal achhe. kintu jamu kemne, shob jaygae bole alert.
       No, no, that is there. There is seal (visa). But how can I go? I heard that an alert is issued everywhere.
       The sub-topics diverge further from the main topic but only to support the construction of the main topic:
9. Osman: > Tumi shudhu oi jaygatate jao<.
       >You just go to that place<
10. Hossain: Bhai, ami micro bus e.
       Brother, I'm in a microbus

Osman: Kicchhu hobe na, chinta koro na. >tumi kono oporadh koro nai<.
       Nothing will happen. Don't worry. >You haven't committed any crime<.

Interestingly, the flowing back to main topic and expanding on sub-topics is a stable feature in this talk. In LL. 9-11 the participants develop a sub-topic while immediately in L. 11 they return to the main topic.

Data: 03
The following conversation is similar to the first two data as it also introduces the topic-talk after the opening sequence of personal enquiries. This is how the topic begins:

1. Manna: Ediker khobor tobor hoyto peyechhen. Maj::he tuku vaier sathe ekdin kothao bolechi ↓
       Maybe you have got the news from this side. I ha::ve talked with brother Tuku recently↓

2. Khoka: Ha, amake phone korlo ektu age, apnar sathe kotha hoyeche seta bollo.
　　　　Yes, he has called me just a while ago and informed me about your conversation.

3. Manna: Ekhon (0.3) kotha holo shesh porjonto ki hobe ta to bola jay na. but dekha jacche
　　　　kutnitikra bivinno vabe initiati[ves nicche.
　　　　Now (0.3) the fact is, what is going to happen at the end is unpredictable. It
　　　　seems like that diplomats are taking initiat[ives

4. Khoka:　　　　　　　　[Ha, initiatives <kicuta niche dekha jay>.
　　　　　　　　　　　　[Yes, initiatives, <that they have taken　　　　　some>

5. Manna: j::i. Protibeshider o dristivonggi poriborton hocche ↓.
　　　　Ye::s, neighbor countries perspectives are also changing ↓

6. Khoka: <Hmm> ↓
　　　　<Hmm> ↓

7. Manna: Ami khobor tobor pacchi. Ai muhurte dorkarta holo mathe jawoa. Ami apnader
　　　　osubidhata bujhte parci. Dekhte parchi chesta korchen apnara. dekha jak ki kora jay ↓.
　　　　I am getting news. Right now it is important to stay in the field. I understand
　　　　your problems. I can see that you are trying your level best. Let's see what can be
　　　　done ↓

8. Khoka: Amader jela porjaye nicher diker lokra bimorsho hoye jacche.[　　] Ora exhausted
　　　　hoye jacche. Ekhon eta bola mushkil kotodin continue kore jabe.
　　　　Our people from the district level are getting frustrated. [　　] they are getting
　　　　exhausted. Now it is difficult to say how long we can continue.

Manna:　　　　　　[Hmm]
　　　　　　　　　　[Hmm]

The above conversation takes place between two political figures from two different parties who speak to arrange a dialogue to find a solution for the contemporary political impasse. Here the participants develop the main topic by linking the topic coherently with a number of sub-topics. They formulate the topic-talk gradually in a mutual process of "topic nomination" whereby all the topics are inter-related. Another name for this attempt is topic generating move. Their contribution let them stay focused on the topic and not out of the topic.

Based on the analysis of the above three data sets, it is apparent that the political actors' strategy for topic construction within any telephone conversation is not a neutral process. The sub-topics chosen by each participant contribute to the construction of the main topic. The choices of sub-topics can be systematic or abrupt (e.g., contrast and compare Data 01 and 02 with Data 03); they however are constructed around the key focus of the main topic or topic-talk. In other words, the change of topic is not entirely irrelevant rather; they somehow are related to one another. Amidst the process of topic change or move what we encounter is a gradual process of constructing the main topic. Hence, what the 'play of topics' (i.e., main topic vs. sub-topics) is doing in the stretch of the conversation is more important than what their topics are about. A crucial observation here is that they did not get off a topic, that is, they did not end a topic abruptly as found in the conversation between Sheikh Hasina and Khaleda Zia discussed above.

The overall process of topic construction was also influenced by the discursivity of their arguments i.e., the way they gave different opinions while constructing a topic. In a conversation, discursivity occurs due to ideological differences between interlocutors. The speakers suggest or construct different opinions based on their specific subject positions which are also a reflection of their specific 'member's methods' (Garfinkel, 1964). The

speakers within a given context of interaction are members of a specific social, cultural or political group. Consequently, they tend to legitimise their utterances by following specific linguistic choices (i.e., the process of establishing one's opinion by using particular vocabularies, sentence structures, and also specific means of exemplification or explanation).

Data: 01
For example, if we focus on the opening topic of this conversation once more, that is, "red phone," we see how these two participants make opposing truth claims about the use of the phone. When Khaleda asserts that "My red phone has been dead for years," Hasina responds by saying that "The red phones always work". Next, on the issue of troubling common people when Hasina accuses Khaleda of "Killing people, throwing fires..." and asks her to "stop these" Khaleda rebuts by saying "Killing people, throwing fires, it is in your habit to kill people". Then on the topic "microphone/speaker" Khaleda says "Why didn't you allow speakers in our rally?" and on this Hasina's reply was "We did allow speakers". This is how the two speakers construct counter claims on certain factual incidents.

Within this 'play of topics' the participants change topics abruptly or use an issue to discuss other issues. For instance, Khaleda Zia pushes the topic of 'problems with red phone' to the issue of 'an oppressive government' that thwarts opposition to speak out. Khaleda says,

> Red phone to amar dirgho din dhore, bochor dhore dead pore ache, ↑tahole j apnara government chalan ki khobor rakhen, government chalan r ei khobortuko rakhen na j birodhi doliyo netar phone thik acche kina na?

> ↑My red phone has been dead for years. ↑You run the government, what news do you keep? You run the government, but you don't have the information whether the leader of the opposition's phone is working or not?

The above data evidences that the narration of conflicting opinion and the use of interdiscursivity discourse is present in PTC. In every conversation such discursivity may not be obvious as the conversational structure depends on the context of the conversation in relation to the macro components including ideological commitments and power relations.

Conclusion

This paper explains the organizational structure of political telephone conversation (PTC) from a conversation analytical perspective. The specific examples are taken from a selected number of leaked phone calls made by political actors in Bangladesh. The analysis shows that in order to comprehend the structure of such talk-in-interaction one of the most important variables is the context of those utterances. Without adequate background knowledge, various socio-cultural norms of greetings and contextually sensitive sub-topics they would sound 'strange' to outsiders since members of each society deploy specific 'members' method' to explain utterances. The concept of context is crucial not only for telephone conversations but for all types of conversations. Both the wider socio-political context and the individual stretches of the conversation are crucial to interpret any conversational data. The immediate context of utterance has certain structural effects on conversations which would be manifested through sharing turns and nominating topics and this was evident too in the analysis of data.

We see that opening and closing part of a PTC is almost similar with a general telephone conversation as they begin with greetings and end with "terminal exchange" processes. Topics have been constructed by the political actors with the help of sub-topics and while they changed topics, they did so without going very far from the main topic. One of the crucial aspects of talk-in-interaction which has not been discussed adequately in this paper, due to space limitation, is turn-taking. By using the same data it is possible to show how turn-taking was very much influenced by the nature of the conversation and also by the power relation between the speakers. Future studies can also explore face-to-face political conversation because similar structural issues like opening and closing, turn-taking and topic construction are part of almost all types of talk-in-interaction.

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Appendix

3.2 Transcription Notation
(.) A full stop inside brackets denotes a micro pause, a notable pause but of no significant length.
(0.2) A number inside brackets denotes a timed pause. This is a pause long enough to time and subsequently show in transcription.
[Square brackets denote a point where overlapping speech occurs.
>< Arrows surrounding talk like these show that the pace of the speech has quickened
<> Arrows in this direction show that the pace of the speech has slowed down
( ) Where there is space between brackets denotes that the words spoken here were too unclear to transcribe

(( )) Where double brackets appear with a description inserted denotes some contextual information where no symbol of representation was available.

Under When a word or part of a word is underlines it denotes a raise in volume or emphasis

↑ When an upward arrow appears it means there is a rise in intonation

↓ When a downward arrow appears it means there is a drop in intonation

→ An arrow like this denotes a particular sentence of interest to the analyst

CAPITALS where capital letters appear it denotes that something was said loudly or even shouted

Hum(h)our When a bracketed 'h' appears it means that there was laughter within the talk

= The equal sign represents latched speech, a continuation of talk

:: Colons appear to represent elongated speech, a stretched sound

ESL Learners' Perceptions of a Massive Open Online Course on Writing

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Abstract

Started in 2008, Massive Open Online Courses, or MOOCs, have succeeded to attract millions of learners to join MOOCs. Well-known institutions such as MIT, Stanford University and Harvard University have already adopted MOOC instructional pedagogy to offer courses on various subjects including English language courses. The present study examined a class of ESL undergraduates' perceptions of a Massive Open Online Course on writing. Precisely, the study aimed to investigate how the participants perceived the Writing MOOC, what they liked about the course, how they learned, and what helped them learn. A case study approach involving both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods was used. The participants comprising 48 ESL undergraduates were from an intact class in a Malaysian public University. Results from the perception questionnaire and learners' reflection essays indicated participants' positive perceptions towards learning in the Writing MOOC. The course, the participants had followed, helped them improve their skills in writing. The empirical findings of the study have contributed to a better knowledge of the nature of learning and participation in a MOOC environment from the perspective of ESL learners.

Keywords

ESL, perceptions, learning experience, Massive Open Online Course, writing.

Introduction

The rapid development in communication and information technology (ICT) has expanded the English language learning and teaching opportunities through its different forms of technologies, thereby creating the need for language researchers to examine such new learning opportunities created through technologies (Warschauer, 2007; Tschichold, 1999;Levy & Hubbard, 2005).Massive Open Online Course (MOOC) is a recently developed form of online course module designed to provide free education for massive participation.(Bruff, Fisher, Mcewen, & Smith, 2013).Currently, well-known Universities such as Harvard University, Stanford University and MIT have embraced the MOOC instructional pedagogy to offer courses in various fields including computer-science, mathematics, business, engineering, medicine, biology, and physics (Malliga, 2013). In the field of second language teaching and learning, MOOC, although a comparatively recent phenomenon, has created massive appeal among ESL learners, teachers and researchers. MOOC model is perceived by many as a dynamic educational technology.However, the

problem lies in the fact that whether it is useful in helping learners learn a second language (Barcena, Read, Martin-Monje, & Castrillo, 2014).Although the educational benefits of MOOC have been appreciated by many educationists, its application has not been researched adequately in ESL contexts.

The MOOC instructional model originated from the noble vision of free education for all, and it is designed for large-scale participation and open access via the Internet (Kop, Fournier, & Mak, 2011; Daniel, 2012). The idea of MOOC is largely inspired by the Open educational resources (OER) movement that aims at curbing the commodification of knowledge through providing an alternative educational paradigm (Rhoades, Berdan, & Toven-Lindsey, 2013; Baggaley, 2012). The term was coined by Dave Cormier in 2008 during a course called *Connectivism and Connective Knowledge* in which 25 tuition-paying students registered for the course in Extended Education at the University of Manitoba (Milligan, Littlejohn, & Margaryan, 2013). The course was then open to the public, and 2,300 students joined the course free of charge. Subsequently, public awareness in MOOC began to grow fast from 2012 when three MOOC companies i.e. Coursera, Udacity, and edX were formed by higher education insiders in North America to provide MOOCs on various disciplines in partnership with well-known institutions around the world (Milligan et al., 2013).

As far as MOOCs for language learning is concerned, the interest is intense as language MOOCs are growing at a rapid pace. To date, over 800 universities around the world have launched at least one MOOC. About 16 MOOC platforms are offering no fewer than 50 free language courses (Bárcena & Martin-Monje, 2014). More than half of them are English Language MOOCs, although MOOCs for other languages such as Spanish, Arabic, Japanese, and Chinese are also available. In addition to offering MOOCs on language skills such as reading and pronunciation, MOOC providers have offered number of courses on writing. For example, Coursera, a leading MOOC provider, offers several writing courses namely *English Composition 1-AchievingExpertise, Writing in the Sciences, Writing II-Rhetorical Composing, and Crafting an Effective Writer-Tools of the Trade*. Another MOOC provider, Futurelearn, also offers a MOOC on writing namely *A Beginner's Guide to Writing in English for University Study*. A third MOOC provider, Edx, offers several writing MOOCs as well namely *Academic and Business Writing, English Grammar and Essay Writing, and Principles of Written English.*

In relation to adopting MOOCs for writing instruction and language learning, the MOOC model has its appeal because the model is designed in such a way that it helps learners get quick feedback from massive numbers of learners.Learners who use a MOOC platform are likely to concern that they are going to have a worldwide audience when they publish their essays on the MOOC; hence, they often produce higher quality work than students who write only for the teacher and/or their peers in class (Bárcena & Martin-Monje, 2014). Research has also noted that the arrival of the MOOC technology can facilitate some key characteristics of successful language learning theories such as language input/output, authenticity, peer-to-peer interaction, learner autonomy, and peer feedback (Bárcena & Martin-Monje, 2014; Bárcena et al., 2014). Based on the proposed possibilities for classroom application, the present research study expects that MOOCs offer many opportunities for language learners to develop various skills of English language.

The educational benefits of MOOCs have been appreciated by many academics, yet the idea has not been researched adequately in relation to ESL learners. Although the end users of any MOOC are learners themselves, yet their voices seem not getting the required attention.

Until now, research to gauge ESL undergraduates' experiences in a MOOC on writing has yet to be conducted. In meeting such a gap and need, the present case study was designed to examine ESL undergraduates' learning experience in an English language MOOC on writing. More specifically, it investigated how the participants perceived the Writing MOOC, what they liked or did not like about it, how they learned, and what had helped them learn.

Review of Related Literature

A large body of emerging literature has been published in relation to learning theories associated with the MOOC pedagogy (Boling, Hough, Krinsky, Saleem, & Stevens, 2012; Fini, 2011; Kop et al., 2011; Rodriguez, 2012), and learning experience as well as motivational factors and engagement with MOOCs (de Waard, Abajian, Gallagher, Hogue, Keskin, Koutropoulos, & Rodriguez, 2011; Fini, 2011; Kop et al., 2011; Mackness, Mak, & Williams, 2010). ESL and EFL researchers have also shown their interest in the MOOC instructional pedagogy (see Bárcena & Martin-Monje, 2014; Bárcena et al., 2014; Hibbs & Stevens, S). At present, a few researchers have taken up the challenge to investigate the learning opportunities created by MOOCs. They attempted to gauge the challenges of receiving feedback in language MOOCs (LMOOCs) (Ventura, Bárcena, & Martín-Monje, 2014), investigated learners' participation in a MOOC in terms of satisfaction and dropout issues (Bárcena & Martin-Monje, 2014), highlighted the profile of LMOOC learners, and the motivational aspects in MOOCs (Beaven, Comas-Quinn, de los Arcos, Hauck, & Lewis, 2014). A research effort has also been given to analyze the potential correlation between the types of feedback and pronunciation gains (Rubio, 2014).

In relation to LMOOCs, writing occupies a somewhat paradoxical position right now. In many ways, writing is a foundation of MOOCs in that it is the principal medium upon which the discussion forums function (Reich, Emanuel, Nesterko, Seaton, Mullaney, Waldo, 2014). MOOC learners communicate through writing in the discussion forums for all sorts of purposes. It is through the discussion forum that they are provided with chances to share their individual knowledge on course topics to help them develop their writing skills in English (Bárcena et al., 2014). The discussion forum is one of the dominant features of MOOCs for discussing issues related to the course. In a forum-based learning environment, learners "get different things out of the space based on their own choices, purposes, and identities" (Gee, 2005, p.225). In the MOOC discussion forum, learners build on individual knowledge by sharing, commenting and collaborating on a given task. This idea is similar to Gee's (2005) idea of distributed knowledge that means "knowledge that exists in other people, materials on the site or in mediating devices and to which people can connect or "network" their own individual knowledge" (p.227). It "allows people to know and do more than they could on their own" (p.227).

Peer assessment and peer-to-peer feedback in the MOOC discussion forum is a controversial issue in the MOOC pedagogy because of the poor quality of feedback or unconstructive comments received from peers (Colman, 2013). On the other hand, ample evidence on the advantages of giving and receiving feedback from peers has also been found (Lawley, 2015, Chen; 2014; Liu & Carless, 2006; Rubio, 2014). For example, a study investigating the effects of LMOOC on learners' pronunciation skills compared the gains in comprehensibility of student enrolled in a traditional face-to-face (F2F) pronunciation course with those enrolled in a LMOOC (Rubio, 2014). The potential correlations between types of feedback and pronunciation gains were analysed. The results showed significant improvement in both the course formats, but a larger effect size in the LMOOC.

Other LMOOC studies investigated learners' participation and satisfaction level in a foreign or second language (see Bárcena & Martin-Monje, 2014; Bárcena et al., 2014). Bárcena and Martin-Monje (2014) collected both qualitative and quantitative data from 1,120 MOOC registrants. The findings reveal the participants' satisfaction in terms of course design, content, peer assessment, length of the course, interaction, feedback, and scaffolding mechanisms. However, the participants' overall perceptions towards the LMOOC were found to be positive, the dropout rate was considered serious. One of the reasons for dropping out of the course was that the course provider allowed anyone to register for the course with no commitment to continue. In another LMOOC, Beaven et al. (2014) examined learners' participation and highlighted some issues for course designers to look at. The MOOC, Travailler en français, was a 5-week course for learners of French at basic level for developing French and employability skills for working in a francophone country. The results highlighted some significant factors that could directly influence intrinsic motivation for learning in a MOOC environment. Along the same line, Bentley, Crump, Cuffe, Gniadek, MacNeill, & Mor (2014) pointed out that self-direction and prior experience are necessary to be successful learners in a MOOC. A similar idea was found in Cisel (2014) that learners' personal aims and achievements are highly dependent upon their self-direction, employment status, geographical origin and time constraints. The study also found that the use of forums and involvement in peerassessment are significantly associated with the level of achievement in the MOOC, and learners who interacted on the forums and assessed peer assignments were more likely to be successful in MOOCs (Cisel, 2014).

Theoretical Framework of the Study

The study was mainly guided by the prominent theory of learning namely: connectivist learning theory (Downes, 2008).Connectivism is a hypothesis to learning in the network age introduced by Siemens (2005) and Downes (2008). The underlying principles of connectivist learning theory are different from that of cognitivism, constructivism and behaviorism, because connectivist includes principles of ubiquity, complexity and chaos.In connectivism, network-based pedagogies are emphasized through customizing learning activities in the online and network world, provides flexibility and autonomy for learners with more personalized learning experiences (Downes, 2008; Siemens, 2005). Moreover, connectivismprovides learners "to exploit the affordance of Web 2.0 and to facilitate personal choices, participation, collaboration, and creating production" (McLoughlin& Lee, 2011, p. 51). In addition, connectivist learning theory elaborates the nature of learning in virtual environment as a process of making connections with people, networks, and resources. (Downes, 2008; Siemens, 2005).

Methodology

The present research adopted a case study approach in which both qualitative and quantitative data was used to gauge participants' learning experience with a MOOC offered by Futurlearn in collaboration with the University of Reading. In the present study, the case was the intact class comprising 48 ESL undergraduates at a public university in Malaysia. The class consisted of 27 Malay, 13 Chinese and 8 Tamil students, and among them 38 were female and 10 male. Most of the students (89.58%) spoke English as a second language and the rest used English since their childhood. A training session was given to help the participants register for the LMOOC namedA Beginner's Guide to Writing in English for University Study (hereafter, the Writing MOOC).The Writing MOOC was an assignment that contributed to 20% marks to their obligatory on-campus course.The course was

designed for anyone who wanted to become a better writer. The objectives and the various components of the Writing MOOC were explained to the participants, and they were also shown how to get started.

A perception questionnaire was designed to elicit the participants' views about the course they have followed. In addition, the reflection essays written by the participants at the end of the Writing MOOC were collected. In the essays the students penned about the perceived strengths and weaknesses of the Writing MOOC, pedagogical features, and the aspects of MOOC that were perceived useful for developing their writing skills. The perception questionnaire was administered at the end of the MOOC that covered five weeks of instruction. The response frequency to the questionnaire items and descriptive statistics were calculated and discussed. To analyze the questionnaire responses, a Likert scale was followed to assign scores to responses, for example, 5 = strongly agree, 4 = agree, 3 = not sure, 2 = disagree, and 1 = strongly disagree. Percentages and the central tendency of the responses were also calculated. For analyzing the qualitative data, theme identification was carried out based on the Creswell's (2007) qualitative method of data coding.

According to Creswell (2007), an analytic strategy for a case study would be to identify and categorize issues within each case and then look for common themes that transcend the case. The use of the coding method helped to make sense of the textual data through arranging data into different sections, assigning a code to each section, reading the codes to find repetition and overlap, and converting the codes into general themes (Creswell, 2007). The textual data of the present study were coded and analyzed for themes that emerged in the participants' reflection essays to eventually decode meanings and draw findings.

Results

The study investigates a class of ESL undergraduates' perceptions of a Massive Open Online Course on Writing offered in Futurelearn platform in collaboration with the University of Reading. The participants' competence in computer skills is one of the primary requirements for successful participation in any online course. The participants' responses to the questionnaire suggested that most of them were technologically competent which could help them learn from the MOOC comfortably. The majority of the participants (71%) did not attend any online course before the Writing MOOC. The present study found that more than half of them (57%) had successfully completed the Writing MOOC and received a certificate of accomplishment. The present study had a higher completion rate than other MOOCs because the Writing MOOC was an assignment that contributed to 20% to their obligatory on-campus course. Generally, more than 90% of registrants of a MOOC tend to drop out from the course and do not complete it.

Typically, the MOOC pedagogical features comprise a series of video lectures, quizzes, discussion forum, journal resources and articles, lecture slides, and peer assessment. The participants of the study responded positively toward the importance of the MOOC pedagogical features and tools. They rated each MOOC pedagogical feature as either "very important" or "important" (see Table 1). Their responses to the open-ended question on the importance of the Writing MOOC features indicated that quizzes and video lectures are the two most significant components. The short video segments of the lectures (usually 4-20 minutes) and the design format of the videos helped them understand the course content (said Participants 4, 22, 34). Besides, quizzes usually contained five to ten multiple-choice questions were not time-consuming, and they guided the participants to practice grammar.

Moreover, the discussion forum that was placed in the third position of importance played a major role in providing, answering, and giving feedback on the participants' postings. Finally, peer assessment was placed in the last position of importance.

Table 1: Rating on the Pedagogical features of the writing MOOC

Question Statements (1-5 from unimportant to very important)	N	1	2	3	4	5	Mean
Quizzes	48	0	2	0	9	37	4.68
Video lectures	48	0	4	3	15	32	4.33
Discussions forum	48	0	1	1	35	11	4.16
Journal resources and articles	48	0	6	2	21	19	4.10
Lecture slides	48	3	2	5	20	18	4.0
Peer assessment	48	5	12	8	10	13	3.29

The results of the questionnaire responses showed participants' strong agreement with the statements that learning in the MOOC enhances learner-autonomy, supports them to

Table 2: ESL Undergraduates' Perceptions of the Writing MOOC

	Question Statements (1-5 from strongly disagree to strongly agree)	1	2	3	4	5	Mean
1.	Learning in the MOOC enhances learner-autonomy.	0	1	1	21	25	4.5
2.	It was easy to organize my learning activities during the course.	0	3	2	12	31	4.5
3.	I liked the synchronous and asynchronous sessions.	0	1	3	18	26	4.4
4.	Learning in the MOOC improves self-directed learning.	0	0	1	28	19	4.4
5.	The lessons are more fun when I am working with the MOOC.	0	2	3	19	24	4.3
6.	Participating in the MOOC has encouraged me to use a range of Web 2.0 tools and has developed my technological competency.	0	0	1	29	18	4.3
7.	The course structure and learning activities were flexible and supported my learning.	0	0	2	31	14	4.3
8.	Participating in the MOOC has helped develop my personal learning environment.	0	1	1	27	19	4.3
9.	Participating in the MOOC encourages creation and involvement in online learning networks.	0	2	2	29	15	4.2
10.	Learning in MOOC is engaging and motivating.	0	2	1	32	13	4.2
11.	Participating in MOOC promotes more social interactions.	0	4	3	24	17	4.1
12.	I had more freedom to apply my own learning strategies on the MOOC.	2	7	3	19	17	3.9
13.	I can understand the lecture much better when working with the MOOC compared to my usual face-to-face lectures.	2	12	0	18	16	3.7
14.	Learning in the MOOC is challenging, frustrating and confusing.	29	13	3	2	1	1.6

The statements were ranked 1-5, with 1 = "strongly disagree", 2 = "disagree", 3 = "neutral", 4 = "agree", and 5 = "strongly agree".

organize their learning activities, improves self-directed learning, encourage them to use a range of Web 2.0 tools which has developed their technological competency, promotes social interaction, supports learning, helps develop their personal learning environment, encourages creation and involvement in online learning networks, promotes motivation and engagement, and provides freedom to apply their own learning strategies on the MOOC (see Table 2). The majority of them also agreed or strongly agreed with the fact that the lessons are more fun when they are working with the MOOC; however, most of them did not support the statement that learning in the MOOC is frustrating and confusing. In addition, the majority of the participants felt that they can understand the lecture much better when working with the MOOC compared to their usual face-to-face lectures.

In relation to the learning of writing skills from the Writing MOOC, the results from the questionnaire suggested that most of the participants felt that the MOOC features helped them develop various aspects of academic writing (see Table 3). They received adequate support and ideas from their classmates' postings at the discussion forum. They also felt that they could compare their writing with that of their peers to help them correct and improve their own writing. Moreover, most of the participants found the MOOC discussion forum interesting, and they liked to share their personal ideas with others through it. Almost all of them thought that using the MOOC to learn writing was not a waste of time.

Table 3: Participants' views on using the MOOC to learn writing

	Question Statements (1-5 from strongly disagree to strongly agree)	1	2	3	4	5	Mean
1.	The MOOC features help me develop various aspects of academic writing.	0	2	5	27	14	4.10
2.	The MOOC helps me learn new words and expressions.	0	2	5	22	19	4.20
3.	The MOOC helps me learn new sentence structure.	1	2	3	21	21	4.22
4.	The MOOC helps me get new ideas from my classmates' postings	0	3	2	29	14	4.12
5.	I think writing on discussion forum builds my critical thinking	0	4	6	13	25	4.22
6.	I think writing on discussion forum is interesting	2	6	3	19	18	3.93
7.	It is interesting to share my personal ideas with others through discussion forum	2	5	4	21	16	3.91
8.	I can compare my writing with my peers' on the MOOC.	0	2	1	27	18	4.27
9.	Using the MOOC to learn writing is a waste of time.	28	9	2	5	4	1.91

In addition to the above quantitative results, data from the participants' reflection essays were analyzed qualitatively to triangulate the findings with questionnaire. The MOOC, participants had followed, comprises many features and tools to facilitate learning such as video lectures, quizzes, discussion forum, and social networks. Participants of the study frequently mentioned in the reflection essays about the innovative and interactive features of the course format which helped them understand and learn the course contents (according to Participant 4, 7, 8, 12, 22, 21). For example, the design of the video lecture is one such feature which helped them to learn course contents and tasks as well as to interact with the content and their peers. The videos were published weekly, but students can watch them any time, and this flexibility removed any scheduling conflict. However, it also meant that there was no live interaction with the course instructor during the lecture although the interaction

with the content and their peers could be achieved via the discussion forum (as commented by Participant 4).

Another advantage of the short video segments (usually 4 to 20 minutes each) was less daunting than the idea of watching an hour-long video of a lecture (said Participant 23). Despite the benefits of watching lectures, a few of the participants faced some difficulties while streaming the videos due to slow Internet speed (according to Participants 4& 7).

Discussion forum of the Writing MOOC is one motivating aspects which facilitated participants' learning in the MOOC. Participants received adequatefeedback from their peers when participants posted something about the course contents. Participants valued the feedback and comments received from their peers. Participant 32 commented, "I can understand how foreign students tackle questions asked and based on their comments I can provide my own arguments on the topic". However, the major disadvantage of the writing course, as shown in Excerpt 1 was the lack of interaction with the course instructor. Besides the participants from the intact class of the present study, the rest of the learners in the Writing MOOC came from different parts of the world, and there was no way the MOOC instructor could interact or engage with each of them (as commented by Participant 4). Participant 19 pointed out the similar fact in Excerpt 1:

Excerpt 1

> I wasn't that comfortable during the course because of the lack of interaction with the peers from other parts of the world. I didn't know them and I didn't have a connection with them although we were connected through reading and commenting peers' post on the discussion forum (Participant 19).

However, participants were satisfied with the course features and tools, especially the teaching method of the instructor that was supportive as penned by Participant 10, "the course instructor made difficult concepts and ideas easier to understand as well as the steps provided was easy to follow." In general, they were given plenty of opportunities to communicate and interact with other learners on the discussion forum. However, not all of them were positive about the support they received from the Writing MOOC course mates (Participant 34).

The participants frequently mentioned some added benefits of the Writing MOOC and how the course was useful and helpful for developing their writing skills. They talked about the course design and the instructional features that helped them develop their skills in writingand pointed out the challenges they faced while completing the writing tasks. In general, they felt that the MOOC helped them a lot in producing an academic essay. They regarded the steps given to them for writing an essay were helpful, and the quizzes provided to develop their grammatical skills were systematic and fun learning (Participants 4, 12, 33). In this light, Participant 4 commented, "In the five weeks of the course, I managed to learn a lot of things about writing. Besides, I reviewed peers' essays which helped me detect my own errors in my essays." While Participant 7 wrote that "I feel like I can construct a critical argument and my analytical skills have improved." As shown in Excerpt 2, Participant 12 penned about the tips and steps provided to write an academic essay was useful and helpful. She further added that the course was rich with useful content to enhance her skills in producing an academic essay.

Excerpt 2

> The tips are very useful for me to improve my academic writing skills. I will apply all the tips given every time I am about to start my writing routine. Furthermore, the course also rich with useful contents, such as the defining an academic essay, what makes an essay is an academic essay, some grammar skills and the most important of all is about the steps provided was useful in producing a good complete essay (Participant 12).

In relation to quizzes, the participants highly appreciated the design format of the quizzes because through quizzes they had learned to master various forms of grammar such as articles, tense, simple, complex and compound sentence, subject-verbagreement. Participant 29 said that "over the five weeks of the course I gained a lot of knowledge about grammar, sentence structures, brainstorming ideas for essay writing and reviewing the peers' essays." while Participant 33 added that "I have learned numerous lessons that could actually take a semester or even a year to be fully learned."

Discussion

To summarize, the present study investigated how a class of ESL undergraduates perceived the Writing MOOC offered in Futurelearn platform. The results from the perception questionnaire showed that many of the participants had positive views toward learning from the Writing MOOC. They enjoyed the learning and valued the instructional features and tools for learning writing. The findings from the questionnaire and reflection essays are also evident that the participants showed positive attitudes towards MOOC instructional pedagogy for developing their writing competence as most of them agreed or stronglyagreed with most of the question items from the questionnaire that the MOOC features helped them develop various aspects of academic writing. The study documented higher completion rates since the participants were provided with 20 marks in their on-campus face-to-face course to participate in the Writing MOOC. Often, more than 90% students who registered for the MOOC do not get to complete it. Early data from Coursera suggest a completion rate of only 7% - 9% (Koller, Ng, Do & Chen, 2013). Usually, students who register for a MOOC signature track course (paid course) have higher completion rate (70%) than those who do the course free of charge (Kolowich, 2013). In this aspect, the free-of-cost feature of most MOOCs may not help to retain students, and MOOC providers do need to weigh the issues related to course attraction and retention.

The participants also responded positively when they were asked to rate the importance of the MOOC instructional features. They rated most course components such as video lectures, quizzes and forum as either "very important" or "important" except for peer assessment. In this respect, Grainger (2013) reported similar responses to peer assessment from graduate students who experienced a MOOC. However, in his study, both groups considered both discussion forum and peer assessment as "of little importance." His students indicated that they did not care to participate in the discussion forum. In comparison, the participants of the present study considered the discussion forum "very important" as it facilitated their interaction and created interest to discuss various topics. The participants of both studies questioned about the reliability and validity of peer assessment because they felt that the MOOC learners did not have the expertise or experience to provide accurate and quality feedback to their peers' essays. Assessing such higher-level thoughts in the essays requires human experts and formal evaluation or examination (Sharples, McAndrew, Weller, Ferguson, FitzGerald, Hirst, Mor, Gaved, & Whitelock, 2012).Moreover, peer assessment is

one of the debatable issues in MOOC pedagogy which is considered as the main reason for dropping out from MOOC (Colman, 2013). Although, there are arguments for and against peer assessment Sharples et al. (2012) regards peer evaluation is an aid to the learning process but it should be considered as a means of assessing the learning outcomes. The process of peer evaluation can provide learners with a valuable learning experience.

MOOC pedagogy is believed to have a sound pedagogical foundation that facilitate learning and teaching to be effective (Hanley, 2013).Massive participation, open access, formatted and short video lecture, quizzes, forum and peer assessment are such distinctive features that support learning (Hanley, 2013). A short form of video lecture might engage a sense of belonging and commitment (Bruff et al., 2013; Hanley, 2013). In a MOOC discussion forum, learners ask questions, exchange ideas about the course content, and get to know fellow students. Participants of the present study were highly tech-savvy which were involved in various kinds of activities through using course features and tools. However, some participants reported difficulties organizing their own learning activities in the MOOC; especially difficult was for learners to track the discussion in the discussion forum. Learning through MOOC pedagogy and organizing online resources require a great deal of effort and autonomy (Mackness et al., 2010; Tschofen & Mackness, 2012). In order to be successful in MOOC, learners need to keep up with materials, maintain interactions with peers, evaluate peers' essays, engage fully in the activities and create and share materials in the MOOC platform (Mackness et al., 2010). The volume of information flowing in the MOOC can also be disorienting and daunting (McAuley, Stewart, Siemens, Cormier, 2010). Learning in the MOOC is reported to be quite overwhelming especially for students expecting instructional processes similar to those of traditional models of higher education.

Conclusion

The present study explored a class of ESL undergraduates' perceptions of a Massive Open Online Course on Writing. In summing up, the participants of the study highly appreciated the Writing MOOC instructional design for enhancing and developing their academic writing skills. Most of them showed positive perceptions and attitudes toward learning from the Writing MOOC. They also appreciated the design format of the video lectures and embedded quizzes for creating an interacting learning environment. The study assumes that ESL learners can be motivated to improve their skills in the English language through MOOC instructional pedagogy. Although the descriptive results of the present research were based on a modest number of participant responses to the questionnaire, the data triangulation from the reflection essays provide a rich account of the nature of learning and participation in the Writing MOOC. Certainly, the study had some limitation such as it investigated only one intact class of students and only one Writing MOOC. Nevertheless, some valuable findings have been found, and some issues such as peer assessment and interaction warrant further research.

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Early Life of an Accidental Actor: Before Nayak Raj Razzak

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Abstract

To Bangladeshis, Razzak or *Nayak Raj Razzak* is the glamorous film star who is pride of this nation. His fans may know all of his characters, memorized each song, cherish every single of his romantic scenes, and kept track of his achievements and accolades acquired over a lifetime. However, how many are aware of the trials, tribulations, and numerous hardship he had to overcome in the early part of his career to taste that success? *Nayak Raj Razzak* before attaining the iconic status was merely Abdur Razzak. That is why, whenever he is documented by the mass media, he constantly reminds us of his past and the struggles he went through. The background of Razzak's early life helps us to comprehend how he honed his talent while performing in *natok* (stage drama/play) for various clubs, theatre groups, and PTV (Pakistan Television), acquired theoretical/practical knowledge of being in front and behind the camera, and became a thespian even before finding success on the silver screen. This paper documents the early life of Abdur Razzak before he became a cinematic legend.

Keywords

Restless period, accidental actor, teen actor, thespian, rajput to refugee.

Prologue

The common thread that combines mass communication, film studies, and linguistics is 'discourse'. The conformity of these three disciplines, which complement each other, assists in the discursive construction of a cinematic legend. These disciplines have hardly been combined in conducting a multidisciplinary research, particularly in the Bangladeshi context. This paper combines the three in order to explore, document, and discursively construct the life of the thespian Abdur Razzak, before he became the hero, the heartthrob, the star, the cinematic legend, *Nayak Raj Razzak.*

When I conceived of writing this article in May 2016, I knew very little of Razzak's earlier life, which is the case with most people that I have spoken to who have idolized Nayak Raj. It took me more than one year of communication, negotiation, cancelled and rescheduled appointments to set up an interview with this cinematic icon, mainly because he was sick, abroad and/or attending official functions. I finally got the opportunity to interview him on July 1 2017 at his home *Lokhikunjo*; this was a godsend interview, as he passed away just a month later. To millions of Bangladeshis in this country and around the world, *Nayak Raj Razzak* represented and still represents the Golden Age of Bangladeshi cinema. So naturally, his death on 21 August 2017, though not unexpected, came as a shock to everyone.

Critical Implication

Nayak Raj Razzak, which can be literally translated as 'Razzak, the king of heroes', is arguably the most famous actor from the Golden Age of Bangladeshi cinema. He has attained a legendary status, with some having called him a living legend. He has reached the pinnacle of cinematic heights that is unrivalled by others in Bangladesh. For well over 50 years, he has been in front and behind the camera, making films, giving interviews and entertaining us. In spite of this, there is no major empirical research on him. Books that have documented the history of Bangladeshi cinema have merely mentioned some demographics of his life and work (see, Hayat, 2017; Ziad, 2010; Hayat, 1987). The rich body of work that he has left us deserves to be empirically investigated, published, and academically taught in institutions of higher learning, particularly in the discipline of media and film studies.

Even though *Nayak Raj Razzak* has always been in the media from the heydays of his film career, all the media outlets have not collectively documented him until his 75th birthday and after his death. In spite of such focus by the mainstream media, on those and numerous other occasions, we still do not have a comprehensive picture of his early life. Mass media has not chronologically documented by the intricate details of Razzak's life. Record of his life and work has been portrayed by the mass media like a montage or a jigsaw puzzle, in bits and pieces. Therefore, this paper took the bold initiative to empirically document and piece together the dishevelled unwhole to create a meaningful whole, which is imperative to comprehend Abdur Razzak, the artist, the thespian, the star who became a cinematic icon and a living legend. Therefore, my objective in this paper is to look at the life of Abdur Razzak, before he became *Nayak Raj Razzak*. In other words, I want to document his early life through the media, prior to making a big splash on the silver screen, that is, before Razzak assumed the role of *Nayak Raj Razzak*, the title given to him in 1972 by Ahmed Zaman Chowdhury, the editor of *Chitrali*.

Literature Review

The 1970s saw the rise and social acceptance of Bangladeshi popular cinema as being the main form of entertainment, when *Nayak Raj Razzak* was the unrivalled film star. Due to this social acceptance of popular cinema, Kabir in 1979 made a prediction regarding the loyalty of Bangladeshi cinema audience by saying, "Bangladesh will certainly be among those few countries where the cinema will probably continue to survive even when it will have moved into the museums of other countries" (Akhter, 2014a, p. 50). A decade later in 1989, despite various challenges in filmmaking, Kabir again reiterated his confidence in 'a great audience':

> Decades-long negligence found this region totally lacking in primary filming equipment, film production know how (sic.) of any kind or level and, worst of all, minimum capital for investment in film production. But what it never lacked was a great audience.

However, it seems that the blind faith Kabir (1979, 1989) had in the audience seems to have been proven wrong, as he utterly undermined the advancement and impact of technology on viewership. Viewers do not seem to throng the cinema halls anymore; in fact, due to loss of profit, halls seem to be turning into malls. Today, the film industry is in an unhealthy situation in Bangladesh. In other words, Bangladesh Film Development Corporation (BFDC) is not making quality films to cater to the needs of the audience, and commercial film production has decreased. There could be a number of reasons for this. Bangladesh once had around 1600 cinema halls, which has been reduced to approximately 350 to 320; the

main reasons are due to low quality of films, introduction of soft porn as 'cut pieces', bad conditions of cinema halls, the impact and influence of satellite television/channels, changes in audience taste and viewership, just to name a few (see Chowdhury, 2016a; Chowdhury, 2016b; Roy, 2016; Akhter, 2014b; Raju, 2011; Mokammel, 2009). Furthermore, vulgarity in contemporary films has increased tremendously since the days of the Golden Age of Bangladeshi cinema. The declining interest in Bangladeshi films has resulted in an ongoing blame game between cinema hall owners and film directors (see, Chowdhury, 2016a; Chowdhury, 2016b). The appeal of Hindi culture and availability of Bollywood and Hollywood films in cinema halls and homes have further alienated popular Bangladeshi cinema (see Alam, 2010; Hasan, 2008; Raju, 2008; Raju, 2011; Raju, 2012; Ullah, 2010). Initially it was the VCR (videocassette recorder), followed by satellite television, and subsequently the digital revolution in the forms of Web 1.0 (Internet), Web 2.0 (social media), and smartphones, just to name a few, have changed how audience view cinema and the media.

Good scripts, good directors, good actors and actresses seem to be lacking in the mainstream commercial film industry. The field of 'Film Studies' is at its infancy in Bangladesh, with insufficient empirical research, and hardly any academic books and articles. In the same vain, research on *Nayak Raj Razzak* is rather scarce. There is no empirical literature on this iconic artist. The few books on him are very personalized with exaggeratory narratives, and therefore may be questioned as to the authenticity of the information contained by them: *Shoronio Razzak* (Remembering Razzak) (Babu, 2017) and *Razzak O Cholochitro* (Razzak and Cinema) (Babu, 2000). In September 2017, a couple of weeks after the death of *Nayak Raj*, it was publicized by BPL that to commemorate the life of this extraordinary artist would publish a book on him written by the film director Chhatku Ahmed titled *Nayak Raj Razzak: Tollygunge Theke Dhallywood*, and would be launched at the Amar Ekushey Book Fair in February 2018 . This book like the previous ones would be a personal account of the writer based on his relationship with Abdur Razzak. A few film historians (Hayat, 1987; Hayat, 2004; Hayat, 2017; Mokammel, 2007; Nasreen, and Haq, 2008; Ziad, 2010; Alam, 2011) who have written on the history of Bangladesh films in general do not emphasize on *Nayak Raj*. If the books have a biographical section, Abdur Razzak's demographic information is mainly emphasized, that is, in terms of his date of birth, birthplace, filmography, and so on. None of such books talk about the artist Abdur Razzak, as well as the significance and impact of *Nayak Raj Razzak* on the film industry of Bangladesh.

Since the late 1960s until late 1990s, almost everyone in Bangladesh knew *Nayak Raj*, and cinema played a significant role in the day-to-day lives of the ordinary people. Its reflections were apparent on rickshaws, baby taxies, trucks, roadside tea stalls, and so forth, which were adorned with bright, colourful hand painted pictures and/or scenes from popular Bangladeshi cinema. Even though Nasreen and Haq in 2008 claim that cinema as a form of popular culture is reflected upon peoples' lives as a primary entertainment source, the impact and significance of Dhallywood and its films seem to have declined since the 2000s. Popular or mainstream cinema of this country no longer has a vicelike grip on the common people as the main source of entertainment. As already mentioned, due to cable television and the digital revolution, interest in popular cinema has declined significantly in the new millennium. Since the relevance of Bangladeshi popular cinema has declined socially, its significance in academia is probably unlikely to flourish in recent years. Consequently, content of the mainstream commercial cinema is hardly emphasized from historic, creative and critical

https://bdnews24.com/entertainment/2017/09/09/bpl-to-bring-out-bangla-film-legends-biography-nayak-raj-razzak-tollygunge-theke-dhallywood

perspectives, in film studies programmes and courses in institutions of higher learning of this country. Therefore, empirical studies on artists like Abdur Razzak may not be the concern of the present generation of academics and researchers, who tend to be more interested in thriving film industries like Hollywood, Bollywood, as well as world cinema, and overlook the significance of Dhallywood, Dhaka film industry and the artists of the Golden Age of Bangladeshi cinema.

Methodology

This study adopted a qualitative research design and employed textual analysis (Bainbridge, 2008; Bainbridge, 2015; McKee, 2003) to analyze the mass media documents and an in-person interview, to discursively construct Abdur Razzak's early life. Bainbridge (2008, p 224) states that "textual analysis is a *toolkit* for examining the media, applicable to very simple media forms (such as advertisements), up to more complex forms such as news narratives, television series and films." In textual analysis, as McKee (2003) explains, plausible interpretations of a text include 'educated guess' as well. Components of textual analysis comprise framing the text, intertext, and specific tools for specific types of texts (still image, moving, written), including content analysis and discourse analysis (Bainbridge, 2015). Textual analysis is suitable for analyzing films, conversations and the mass media. In this study, it is employed to analyze mass media, new media and social media texts on *Nayak Raj Razzak*, as well as the conversation of an in-person interview with him on 1 July 2017, a month before his death. Mass media content data from 2012-2017 was gathered from the press media, electronic media, as well as new and social media in terms of the following categories: documentaries; TV news reports/talk shows/interviews; print and online newspaper articles; Web 1.0 (New media/ Internet) and Web 2.0 (Social media) sites. The data also included specific TV programmes on Abdur Razzak like *Nayak Raj Razzak er Shathe Kotha and Channel i Nayak Raj Razzak's 75 Birthday* (live), among others. Furthermore, a two-hour unedited audio footage of a documentary on Razzak was also analyzed. The unedited documentary footage was gathered from Bangladesh Film Archive (BFA) in July 2016.

Discursive Construction of Abdur Razzak's Early Life via Mass Media

There are quite a number of famous or well-known personalities named Abdur Razzak in Bangladesh. However, there is only one *Nayak Raj Razzak*, the title given to the actor Abdur Razzak by Ahmed Zaman Chowdhury, Editor of *Chitrali* (see Ferdous & Shazu, 2016). It seems as if the stage name supersedes the actual name in case of this actor. Abdur Razzak, alias Nayak Raj Razzak, is the most famous actor in Bangladesh from the Golden Age of Bangladeshi cinema, yet there is not a single major empirical study on him or his body of work. Nor has his life's work been documented in a sequential manner in English so as to provide a platform for empirical knowledge at the global stage for researchers and graduate students specializing in the areas of film studies and/or media and mass communication. The contribution of mass media in representing Bangladeshi cinema artists, in particular Abdur Razzak, is underresearched and hardly documented in English. Since, no empirical research has been published on him till date, all the information that are available regarding this star are from the mass media. This section documents the early life of Abdur Razzak through the lens of mass media, and traces his life before he attained the status of *Nayak Raj Razzak*.

In order to document the film star Abdur Razzak's life before stardom, his early life has been discursively pieced together from the above mass media documents (see Methodology section) in the forms of print and online newspaper articles, documentaries, online pages and

podcasts, television programmes, news, interviews and discussions on and with him. In order to portray his early life in a realistic manner, many local lexical items and expressions used by him particularly during his interviews have been employed in the narrative below. For instance, terms and expressions like the following: *jamidari business* (land business), *Mollah paribar* (religious conservative family), *gramer bari* (village house), *proja* (peasants/subjects), *boro dha* (eldest brother), *medgho dha* (middle brother), *jolsha* (singing/musical function), *jattra* (village theatre/drama), *ganer ashor* (singing of musical session/function), *parar lok* (community folks/people), *natok* (stage drama/play), *tiffin hour* (snack break), *Saraswati Puja* (worship of goddess Shahashati), *'toke deea hobe'* (you'll be able to do a good job), *'hobe, toke deea hobe'* (yes, you'll be able to do a good job), *stri vomika borjito natok* (drama without women/wife), *kishor nayoker choritro* (character/role of boy hero), *Bharat Mata or Bongo Mata* (mother India or mother Bengal).

Life in Calcutta: The Early Years

Abdur Razzak was born into a rich family in Naktala in Tollygunge of Kolkata on 23 January 1942, towards the end of World War II. The atmosphere of war was still quite fresh. He grew up in a landed gentry's family. Razzak had five siblings, two brothers and three sisters, all older than him. His father had a *jamidari* business. Razzak's family was a very conservative *Mollah paribar*. In Tollygunge, their family was quite well known. His family had houses in the city as well as in the village. The name of the village was Boral, which is next to Narendrapur. His father's *jamidari* business was there. They had huge amounts of land there. They also had a *gramer bari* (village house) there, which was made of clay with tin roof. No one used to stay there. At the beginning of each winter, the entire family used to spend about a week or so in the gramer bari. Razzak's father had lots of love and respect for his *proja* (peasants/subjects). He used to organize *ganer ashor* (singing function) and *jatra* (village theatre/drama) for them. Razzak used to ride on the horse driven carriage along with his father when they went to the village.

Since Razzak was the youngest among his siblings, he was the darling of the family and everyone loved him, as is common in a typical Bengali family. Love and care was showered upon him. However, his happiness was cut short with the demise of his parents in his early childhood. When Razzak was only eight years old, his father died, and within eight months of his death, his mother had passed away too. His life from then onwards was quite restless, while he was living with his two brothers. In 1952, a couple of years after the death of his parents, his *boro dha* moved to the *gramer bari* in Boral. At times Razzak lived with his *boro dha*, and at other times with *medgho dha*. Since he was the darling of the family, and in the absence of his parents, there was no one to control him properly. During his teenage years he used to go off to places for days.

Mollah Family with Weakness for Culture

Later on he was offered other roles/parts by various drama groups in his community as well as other communities. Since his family, particularly his father, was quite conservative, he emphasized that he probably would not be able to take up acting if his parents were alive. However, Razzak recalls that even though his parents were conservative, his father had an open mind regarding art and culture. His father was a very cultured person, despite being conservative. Razzak clearly remembers that his father used to send the women of the family to the cinema hall in enclosed horse-driven carriage to watch films. He was very small, and used to sit on the laps of his mother and aunts. He recalls that *Mane Na Mana* was probably the first film he watched in the cinema hall with his family members. The film was a 'superhit',

and later he heard that it created 'havoc' (in the positive sense) in Kolkata. When his father arranged *jatra* (village theatre/drama) at their village house in Baral his *boro dha* would also arrange *jolsha* (singing of musical session/function). This brother, though not a professional, was a very good singer, and used to sing *gazzal* and *kwali* (specific genres of music/songs). *Parar lok* (community folks/people) were fans of his *boro dha*, who would sit with them during *(ganer) ashor* (singing function) that lasted almost the entire night. Razzak's *medgho dha* had good connections with theatre and film directors.

Running Wild: The Restless Period

After the death of his parents, Razzak's restless period began. As he was the youngest among his siblings, and the darling of the family, he became uncontrollable, because no one was able to control him like his parents. Since his family was quite rich, with lots of landed property, his brothers at that time, as Razzak puts it were, in a 'tug-of-war' regarding *shompotti* (property). He did not like his brothers' competition regarding property, and bickering over *shompatti*, so he used to avoid this debate. His way of dealing with this was to run off to places. As everyone loved him, he used to be a very carefree adolescent. Since the demise of his parents, Razzak used to suffer from '*udashin frustration*' (careless frustration). It was during this period that he ran away for home three times. Once he even stayed in a jungle for a few days.

At the *jamidari bari* (landed gentry's home) in their village, Baral, *shautal* (a particular tribal group) community came to work during the winter on the land belonging to Razzak's family. They again left during the summer. He jokingly mentioned that it was at that time he used to go off to different places. He even went to Bombay three times. The third time he went to study at Filmaloy, but before that he left for Bombay on two other occasions and stayed there for about 10 days to one month. He used to leave because he did not like it at home without his parents. He became indifferent and isolated. Running away from home became a habitual practice. He used to do this to feel *moner shanty* (peace at heart). Sometimes he used to go to various places like *Digha, Darjilling*, and so on.

The Accidental Actor

Razzak's school days were happy. He was a very sociable individual, and loved to play sports, particularly football. He was the goalkeeper of his school team. His school was quite famous. Even though it was a co-educational school, boys and girls studied during different shifts; the morning-shift was for girls, which started from 7.00, while the boys studied during the day shift, which began from 11.00 am. During *Saraswati Puja* (worship of goddess Saraswati) the girls took part in various cultural activities. The boys only engaged in poetry recitation, and a few of them sang songs.

Razzak claims that he came to acting by accident. When he was in Class-VII of Khangura School, which was quite famous, all of a sudden that year the games teacher Rabindranath Banerji, after talking with the 'Head Sir', decided that the boys would also stage a drama. Razzak did not pay that much attention to this, as he was busy with school and *parar* (community) football. As the school was looking for 'artists' (i.e. actors), all the boys were called during the *tiffin* (snack break) hour, and to Razzak's surprise the game's teacher told him that he had to act. He was taken aback. He recited, but never acted before in his life. When he was trying to steal away from the meeting, the game's teacher said '*toke deea hobe*' (you'll be able to do a good job). The 'Head Sir' also urged him to act. Even though Razzak had never acted before, he did have a latent fascination as some famous actors lived near his

school. Adjacent to his school lived Chobi Biswash, on the other side lived Ovi Bachan, and on another side Manju Dev. His school was in the middle of these three renowned actors' houses. He had seen them act, and liked their acting. Furthermore, others like Pijush Bosu, Tomon Sinha, Operash Elahi (father of Buppy Elahi). In other words, Razzak's school was located in the middle of a group of people who represented part of the cultural hub of Kolkata.

The title of the play for which he was selected was *Bidrohi* (Rebel); it was a *stri vomika borjito natok* (drama without women/wife). He does not remember the name of the writer, but mentioned that at that time stri vomika borjito natok was available in Kolkata. Razzak recalls that he did not know whether it was his fate or not, but he was told to play the role of *kishor nayoker choritro* (character/role of boy hero). After rehearsal on the first day in the presence of all the teachers and the boys, he was sceptical regarding his ability to act. But he was again reassured 'hobe, toke deea hobe' (yes, you'll be able to do a good job). This is how Razzak came into acting. After the drama was staged, he heard from others that his acting was good. This not only motivated and spurred him towards acting, but also gave him the confidence that he could actually act. In the meanwhile, he continued to study and concentrated on his football.

In Razzak's *para* a gentleman called Jyatirmoy Chakraborti was a very culture-oriented individual. There was a club named *Shakti Shango*. Now it is a big club, located in a five storied building. They used to organize *natok* (stage drama/play), once a year. In Kolkata at that time there was a custom of organizing natok: *'Paray paray natok, bichitro onushtan hothai thaktho'* (cultural activities, drama in different communities used to be constantly organized). This was a common trend as soon as it was winter. Jyatirmoy Chakraborti was arranging a *natok at Shakti Shango*, which he himself had written; it was called 'Notun Ihoodhee' (New Jew). It was based on the refugees from the East Bengal. In that natok there was a character of a youth aged 14 or 15, who is from a poverty-stricken family; his father was unemployed and his brothers did not help with the family earning. Therefore, this boy, who worked as a hawker, helped to maintain the family. Razzak was given the role of this character. Even though he was apprehensive in playing this part, Jyatirmoy Chakraborti, who had seen Razzak's previous *natok*, reassured him that he would be able to justice to this character. He now had the experience of acting in two dramas, one at school and one in his *para*. Thus, he became a familiar face. This caused a problem in his family. Even though his parents were not alive at that time, his siblings and their husbands and wives raised objections. However, it was his *medgho dha* (middle brother) who vigorously supported him. Consequently, Razzak became encouraged by this show of support, and continued to chase his passion.

Pijush Bosu, who was a renowned film director, at that time used to be very busy with *natok*. Razzak had a very close relationship with Pujush Bosu for a number of reasons. First of all Pijush Bosu was part of the *para* where Razzak lived. Secondly, Pijush Bosu's house was right next to his (Razzak's) school. The third reason was he (Pijush Bosu) saw *Bidrohi* (Rebel), Razzak's début in the *natok* where he played role of the protagonist. Furthermore, this renowned film director was a friend of Razzak's *medgho dha*.

Pijush Bosu had a club called *Rongo Shobha*, which was drama club for adults. For the talented youths of 12 to16, he opened a branch called *Torun Tirtho*, and the president of this club was Chhabi Biswas. Razzak was rather fortunate to have learnt recitation from him as he was a member of his (Chobi Biswash's) other club. Chobi Biswash used to teach every Sunday. Razzak was offered to join *Torun Tirtho*, which he joined; because by this time he

had become obsessed with *natok*. Pijush Bosh had written a *natok* for his club called Rupkotha (Fairytale). It was a beautiful natok, which could have been made into a film. In fact, Pijush Bosu once mentioned that he wanted to make it into a film. Razzak was given the role of a blind youth called Rupok. Towards the end of the play Rupok's eyes were washed with the heroine's blood and he was able to see. The regaining of sight symbolized *Bharat Mata* (Mother India) or *Bongo Mata* (Mother Bengal). The natok ended with the young generation declaring war against the British. After numerous rehearsals it was staged. It became quite famous, and in Kolkata alone it was performed between 15 to 20 times at different venues. After the success of this drama, Razzak became so addicted to *natok*, that he became somewhat detached from his studies.

Ventures of a Teen Actor

It should be mentioned that even though initially Razzak did not care that much about acting, and concentrated on football, he subsequently left this sport due to two reasons. The first was, after the success of *Rupkotha*, he developed an addiction towards *natok* and acting, and the second was a dangerous incident on the football pitch. During the semi-final of a competition an infamous striker of the opposing team intentionally hit him very hard on the chest. Razzak was hit so hard that he not only became unconscious immediately, but remained in that state for almost seven to eight hours. Razzak's family also became a little concerned about football craze, as well as some of his friends. After this incident, and due to his growing passion for *natok*, Razzak started to think of his safety and became apprehensive as a goalkeeper. He emphasized that once a goalkeeper become scared, it becomes very difficult for him to stand at the goalpost and perform his job properly. Subsequently, after that traumatic experience, coupled with his obsession for *natok* made him let go of football.

The phenomenal success of *Rupkotha* made Razzak more known in the *natok* circle. After *Rupkotha*, he was offered the chance to act in adult dramas. In other words, he was picked up from *Torun Tirtho*, the youth *natok* club, and invited to join *Rongo Shobha*, the *natok* club for adults. In those days, big names like Shondha Ray, Dilip Chakraborty, Rasharaye Chakraborty, Lily Chakraborty were the film artists who acted here. Initially they gave Razzak a minor role. Then Pijush Bosh gave him a role in *Mouchotta* (name of a *natok*), which was staged numerous times. At that time Razzak played small roles, and gradually became immersed in the world of *natok*, appending a lot of time at the club. He used to light hurricane lamp, bring tea for the actors, gave proxy for various actors during their absence. Razzak liked to give proxy by being the understudy, as this gave him a chance to act frequently in the *natok* of the adults. Consequently, he got to learn the lines of all the characters. In fact, at that time one had to memorize all the lines in order to act. This continued for a while. Meanwhile, he passed his SSC exam, even though he did not study that much.

Being a teenager, in his mid-teens, Razzak could neither be given particular roles of an adult nor a child. He however kept in touch with numerous people from the inner circles of *natok*, and as Razzak himself admits that he has been quite 'lucky' to be able to earn their love and respect. As he had a very good relationship with Uttam Kumar's brother Torun Kumar, who used to act at *Rongo Shobhaa*, he was able to visit Tollygunge, the Kolkata Film Studio. However, Pijush Bosh had strictly ordered Razzak not to visit 'studio *para*', that is, Tollygunge, the Kolkata Film Studio and act in films by taking on the roles of child artists. Anyway, one day, during midday, Razzak went to Tollygunge, where Torun Kumar was acting in a scene. It was there during tea break that Torun Kumar introduced him to Ajit Banerjee, and mentioned that Razzak was quite a good actor who acts in *natok*. At that time

Ajit Banerjee, who was directing a film titled *Ratan Lal Bangali*, requested him to play a minor role in his film. The film was about children from *bosti* (slum) who were abducted, made blind and/or crippled and turned into beggars. Razzak initially declined, saying that Pijush Bosh had told him not to act in films. Torun Kumar insisted the Razzak should accept the role, and that Pijush Bosh would not know about this. As Razzak also had a hidden passion, he accepted the minor role. He went to the *bosti* (slum) for a couple of days, where the scenes were shot, and liked the experience. When Pijush Bosh heard of Razzak's minor roles as child artist in the films he seriously rebuked him (Razzak). Pijush warned him that if he acts as child artist, he would never be offered major roles later on, and be able to pursue his dreams of becoming a star. He gave the example of Sukendash (a previous child artist), who despite being a good actor was never given the opportunity of becoming a *nayak* or hero. He remained a child artist. Despite this warning, Razzak, besides *Ratan Lal Bangali*, acted in minor roles in a couple of more films like *Ponko Tilog and Shila Lipi*. After these films he did not play minor roles in any more films as a child artist. Furthermore, though Razzak worked on Ajit Banerjee's *Atotuku Asha*, and played a prominent character in it, the film remained incomplete and was never released.

Road to Becoming a Thespian

In 1959 Razzak went to Bombay to study acting in Filmaloy, which was a studio owned by Shosuda Mukarji, who was a producer and director. In his studio, he established a film institute in order to create film artists. Puna Film Institute was not established yet. Mr. Naiher was the Principal. Sometimes Dilip Kumar used to go there. There were only a few students at that time. Among them were Asha Parekh, Joy Mukherjee, Razzak, and a renowned villain. Though it was a one-year programme, Razzak studied for nine months, as he had to return home due to his family's *pira piri* (objections).

Razzak's intention of going to Bombay was twofold: to study acting at Filmaloy, and look for opportunities to work on films. However, again his drawback in terms of finding work was his age. At 18 or 19 years old, he was still a teenager. It was difficult for him to work in films; the characters would not suit his age. When Razzak returned home, Pijush Bosu scolded him a lot, and explained that *Bangalider jonno* (for Bengalis) Bombay was not a good place. Pijush Bosu advised Razzak to act in *natok*. So, he again started natok and became completely immersed in it. He resumed acting at *Rongo Shobha* again. He did lots of *natok* for other clubs on request, as well as travel *natok*. He even started a *shongsta* (organization/group) in his *para* (community).

The Ultimatum: 'Either Stop Acting or Get Married'

As he became obsessed with theatre acting and *jattra* (village theatre/drama), his family members became quite concerned about his reputation; and how this might affect the family's image. They did not like him acting closely with females. As he grew more and more popular, his female fans also grew in numbers. Razzak's family called a family meeting, and gave him an ultimatum: 'Either stop acting or get married'. They thought that if he got married, at least he would not fool around with any woman-whether actress or fan—as he would have a wife. Hence his, and subsequently the family's reputation would not be tainted. Razzak's passion for acting was so intense that he agreed to get married on the condition that he would be permitted to continue acting. He was married in 1962, at the tender age of 20. On the very night of his wedding, he told his wife the condition regarding his marriage to her. His wife did not object to his passion for acting. She knew that he was an actor, and had even seen his performance on several occasions, prior to their marriage.

Crossing Over: "I Came Here as a Refugee"

In 1964 the political turmoil had progressed to Kolkata. Even though Tollygunge was not a racially volatile area, particularly between Hindus and Muslims, this part had been caught up in the racial riots. The entire community where Razzak lived had been destroyed and/or burnt. Even though some people started rebuilding their houses, he was determined to leave. Initially he wanted to go to Bombay and try his luck in the film industry there. However, Pijush Bosu stopped him by saying it was very difficult for Bengalis, especially Muslims to be successful in Bombay. He suggested that Razzak had a better chance of becoming successful in the relatively new film industry in East Pakistan. After discussing with his wife, and handing over power of attorney of his property to his family, Razzak, his wife and their eight-month baby, Bapparaj, left for Dhaka in East Pakistan in April 1964. "I came here as a refugee", were his exact words. In the middle of the night his family crossed the border at Shimulia, where they spent the night and went by bus to Shatkhira, and then to Jessore. After spending a night at Jessore camp, they left for Dhaka by train and got off at Fulbaria Station, and then to the incomplete stadium. From there they went to Mirpur 12 and spent a night there.

Struggles of Life in East Pakistan

Life in East Pakistan was a real struggle. After crossing the border, entering into East Pakistan, and then arriving at Dhaka he and his family spent a night at Mirpur 12, as mentioned above. The very next day he went to Komlapur, and after exploring for a while he not only got to know of Mr. Jabbar Khan's (film director) address but also found a place to rent at the end of Komlapur Station, called Kazi Villa; the rent was Tk 80/= per month. He brought some money from Kolkata, with which he paid an advance for one month. The place that he rented had a room, a kitchen and a toilet. After bringing his wife and child, Bapparaj, to the house, he went to Fakirapul Bazar and bought groceries and cooking utensils. The following day, he went in search for Mr. Jabbar, who upon hearing all the details from Razzak, invited him to go to his office, Iqbal Films. Subsequently, Razzak was offered a job as the fourth Assistant Director. Despite his reservation, as he came to Dhaka to become film actor, he took the position because he needed a job and had to provide for his family. One day while drinking tea at Mannan Hotel in Malibag with Mr. Jabbar's relative, Khoka, they overheard a conversation about *natok* (drama) among some artists. Khoka introduced Razzak to those *natok* artists, who afterwards invited him (Razzak) to come and see them during their rehearsal. Razzak, after an initial audition was made the hero of that *natok*.

Razzak continued his work as fourth Assistant Director Iqbal in Films, and perfor in *natok*. Then one day he unexpectedly met Rahman, an established film actor at that time, who gave him (Razzak) some sound advice. He told Razzak that since he (Razzak) wanted to become an actor, he would never get the opportunity to become a hero, if he continues to work behind the camera. Khalil, another established film actor of that time, gave a similar advice to him. After hearing these things, he felt rather uncomfortable. Though Razzak felt rather uneasy working behind the camera as an Assistant Director, despite the fact he wanted to act in front of the camera, he took that job because he had to take care of his family. He did not get much of a salary, but whatever he got, he somewhat was able to make both ends meet. He recollects that there was a boy called Shiraj who was brought from Karachi in order to make him into a hero. He also started as an Assistant Director and was later became Chief Assistant. Razzak started wondering whether his fate was leading him towards that same direction. Then one day he decided to quit his job as Assistant Director. He continued to act in *natok* and couple of Urdu films, when he started to run out of money. He became hopeless and was quite desperate. He could easily have written to his brothers in Kolkata and bring plenty of money;

but he did not do that as he had a big ego. He was in a very difficult position at that time—this was his period of severe struggle. Since Razzak could not do anything in Komlapur, he moved to a tin house in Farmgate, opposite Ananda Cinema Hall. In the meanwhile, he kept in touch with everyone in the acting industry. He also went to Zahir Raihan, who was very busy making a film, to discuss his prospects of acting. After the initial meeting, he told Razzak to see him later on. Razzak went on a Sunday, which was an off day, to Zahir Raihan's house who after discussion told him to return after a week without shaving or combing his hair. Razzak did as he was told and returned after a week. Upon seeing him, Zahir Raihan told Razzak that he would cast him as the main protagonist, that is, hero in his film adaptation of the novel *Hajar Bachar (Thousand Years)*. Razzak became so elated that he became 'half mad', as he expresses in his own words; he was so fortunate to be cast as a hero in his debut Bangla film. Therefore, he kept in touch with Zahir Raihan.

In the meanwhile, Razzak's financial status became dire. It was difficult to find work at that time. Zahir Raihan was the only one who promised him a role in a film. There were numerous occasions when Razzak was figuratively speaking thrown out of studios by directors for requesting opportunities to act in films. He refrains from naming names, as he does not want to embarrass anyone. After roaming around for a while for work, he had no choice but to go to Pakistan Television (PTV), which was launched at that time. He gave an audition for an anchor to read Bangla news. Since his Bangla was very good, he was selected on the spot. As he was leaving the studio, he met Jamal Ali Khan, who used to work there and had connections with the film world. He scolded Razzak and told him not to join as a news anchor, promising him some kind of work in cinema within the next couple of days. Razzak listened to him and awaited his opportunity. A couple of days later he was invited by Jamal Ali Khan to a meeting at PTV in DIT building , where Razzak was offered a part in a new commercial *natok* titled *Garua*, which was to be aired on television. He clearly remembers that he used to get Tk 65/= per week, and this was his only income to take care of his family. Sometimes he had to walk from Farmgate to DIT in Motijheel, just to save money, as he already had two children by that time. Therefore, his life of struggle went on. He kept performing in the PTV drama, and kept in touch with Zahir Raihan. One day while he was leaving after a rehearsal at DIT, he met an acquaintance called Zakaria who told him that Zahir Raihan was looking for him. When Razzak went to Zahir Raihan's office, the entire film crew was there. Upon seeing Razzak, Zahir Raihan said that he was frantically looking for him (Razzak), and that he had decided to be cast him (Razzak) as the hero in the film *Behula* (1966). Razzak became dumbfounded and could not say anything at that moment. He was told to sign the contract immediately with signing money of Tk 500/=. Later he was given Tk 5,000/= for the film.

Break at Last: but Still Uncertainty

The starting of the *Behula* project was ominous. The day Razzak went to the studio to begin shooting of the film, the songs were being recorded. It was at this time the producers, who were not happy with him (Razzak) being made the hero, asked Zahir Raihan why he (Razzak) selected as male leading role when there were more experienced and established heroes. Zahir Raihan was resolute in his decision and said that without Razzak as the hero, he would not make the film. So, Razzak started work on his debut Bangla film with trepidation. Razzak felt very nervous initially as he was amongst seasoned and established

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[2]BTV (Bangladesh Television), formerly known as PTV (Pakistan Television) was launched on 25 December 1964, and was located in the DIT (Dhaka Improvement Trust) building at Motijheel. DIT was replaced by RAJUK (Rajdhani Unnayan Kartripakkha) on 30 April 1987.

film artists. For the first three days, he just sat at the shooting spot with full makeup. Then on the fourth, Zahir Raihan told Razzak that his (Razzak's) shooting would begin. Razzak's scene began with a song. After footage of the song was shot, Zahir Raihan edited it within two days, called all the producers for a screening, and then asked them whether he had made the wrong decision by casting Razzak as the hero. The producers were very happy with Razzak's work, and it was then that he (Razzak) gained more confidence as the leading male character. After the release of *Behula*, it became in Razzak's words 'super-duper hit' that attained 'silver jubilee' status. When a film runs for a continuous period of 25 weeks, it is considered as silver jubilee. The state of Bangla cinema was deplorable at that time, and directors were constantly making Urdu films. Yet, despite competitions from Urdu films, Behula ran for continuous 27 weeks at Star Cinema Hall. However, he mentioned that initially there were still questions as to whether he would do well in a modern film, as *Behula* was based on a mythological story based on folk traditions. This was a rumour among other directors. Noticing Razzak's melancholic sombreness, Zahir Raihan inquired. Since Razzak trusted Zahir Raihan the most, he is the only director to whom he (Razzak) had shown all his certificates and told him about his dreams of becoming a film star. Razzak opened up to Zahir Raihan explaining that other directors would probably not consider him (Razzak) for roles other than a folk hero, he became so emotional that he actually broke down into tears. Zahir Riahan consoled him. In the meanwhile, two films were in, the pipeline—*Anwara and Agun Nea Khala*; their scripts were being prepared and songs were being recorded. Zahir Raihan asked Sumita Devi whether she is casting Razzak as the hero, and became disheartened when he heard 'no'. Consequently, Zahir Raihan himself quit from the production of *Agun Nea Khala*. He reassured Razzak not to worry, and they left for the shooting of *Anwara* in Sirajgong. Since the shooting of this film was completely on location (i.e. Sirajgong), they did not return to Dhaka. Eight to ten days into the shooting Sumita Devi and Nurul Haque Bacchoo went to the shooting spot, where Razzak was requested to return to Dhaka to work on *Agun Niye Khala*. When Zahir Riahan heard this from Razzak he smiled and said, 'What did I tell you when we were coming.' Razzak was given the permission to work in both films simultaneously. He used to do the shooting of *Anwara* during the day, and then take the night train to Dhaka. The following morning, he would work on *Agun Niye Khala* and again at night board the train to Sirajgong. This is how he completed both the films. Both of the films were hits. *Agun Niye Khala* played in the cinema halls for 28 weeks continuously, and *Anwara* became a critically acclaimed film, winning numerous awards. After the success of *Behula* (1966), *Anwara* (1967) and *Agun Nea Khala* (1967), Razzak became so busy that he did not have time to look back at his career. And the rest is, as they say, history.

Finally

When I finally got to meet the iconic actor, I was probably more relieved than awestruck. There is such a lengthy history behind this meeting. I requested a reporter from the newspaper New Age to help me get in touch with Razzak. As this reporter, Ziaul Hasan, was my student, pursuing his MA in English Language Teaching degree from East West University, had taken several of my courses, he honoured my request. On 20 May 2016, he gave me the cell number of the youngest son of Razzak, Samrat, whom I contacted that very day. For the next couple of months, I talked with almost everyone in Razzak's household numerous times, including him, his wife, his brother-in-law, Samrat as well as his wife, just to get that one elusive interview. In most instances, Razzak due to his illness was unable to give me a suitable time. On 15 January 2017, a seminar on Razzak's life and work was being organized at Bangladesh Film Archive. Dr. Fahmidul Haq, of Department of Journalism, Dhaka University, informed me of this. As I would be leaving for Singapore to attend a

conference on 14 January, I sent my wife, Rubina Chowdhury, and daughter, Saima Haque, to attend the seminar. At this seminar, among film historians, critics, scholars, directors, Rahim Newaz was also present; he is the director of the film *Moner Moto Bou* (1969), where Razzak played the leading role. My wife took his cell number, in case it might come in handy later on. After exhausting all avenues to get an interview with Razzak, a couple of months later, that is, in June 2017, I got in touch with Rahim Newaz. After visiting him on two occasions, I requested him to set up an appointment with Razzak. Finally, on the third day of *Eid-al-Fitr*, on 1 July 2017, I along with my wife picked up Rahim Newaz, his wife and his daughter-in-law, and went to Razzak's house *Lokhikunjo*, in Gulshan.

I may have been the last person to interview *Nayak Raj Razzak* on 01 July 2017, just over a month and a half, before his passing on 21 August 2017. Just to cut a long story short, even though there were so many questions I did not get to ask, due to the nature of the meeting, I got answers to some questions that have never been covered by the media. I got the scoop of what he actually said to his new wife, Lokhi, on their wedding night (*bashor raat*). Razzak told his wife that he did not want to marry, as he was already married. After hearing this Lokhi became apprehensive and nervous. He then said that he was married to *ovinoy* (acting) and *natok. Ovinoy* and *natok* would be his first wife, and Lokhi could be his second wife. If she was agreeable to this condition, there would be no problems in their *shongshar* (conjugal life). Lokhi had no problem with such a relationship, and Razzak throughout his entire life, and even during my interview, paid homage to his wife by acknowledging her contribution to his success, and that without her steadfast support he would never have been able to achieve what he has accomplished. During the interview, I also got him to confirm some of the other information of his early life that I read in snippets in various news articles and interviews.

Because Razzak was so amicable, endearing and made me feel at ease, I gathered the courage to ask him about a rumour that I have been hearing regarding a fight he had had with Ahmed Zaman Chowdhury, the man who gave him the iconic title *Nayak Raj Razzak*. At Dhaka club, Razzak and Ahmed Zaman Chowdhury had an intense argument regarding Shabnam. At one stage the verbal fight turned into a fistfight. Consequently, Ahmed Zaman Chowdhury was hospitalized, and Razzak accompanied him to the hospital. Since they were 'bosom friends', the following day they made up again. In fact, they were so close that Razzak mentioned Ahmed Zaman Chowdhury would come to his house every Saturday and leave on Sunday; they were great friends and had mutual respect for each other. Despite this incident, Ahmed Zaman Chowdhury bestowed the unofficial title *Nayak Raj Razzak* upon Razzak in a publication in *Chitrali* in 1972. When Razzak inquired why he was given this title, Ahmed Zaman Chowdhury said that he (i.e. Razzak's) deserved it. The reasons why Razzak probably deserved the title may have been because of his acting, popularity, quality of his films and his versatility, all of which were unrivalled at that time. During my interview with Razzak, he acknowledged that Ahmed Zaman Chowdhury was a serious and committed film journalist, the likes of whom is difficult to find nowadays. Razzak felt honoured and proud of the title *Nayak Raj*, but never acted egoistically or showed his arrogance because of it (i.e. the title). He went on to say that, now people do not write 'Abdur'; they all use the title *Nayak Raj*, including the government of Bangladesh.

Another interesting fact became apparent during my in-person interview with Razzak, particularly when I approached to take a picture with him. He revealed that even though Zahir Raihan was such an integral and instrumental part of his career, and provided a safe haven during the Liberation War, which may have saved his life, he does not have a single photograph with the renowned director. At that time Rahim Newaz also mentioned that

despite the fact he has known Razzak for such a long time, ever since directing the film *Moner Moto Bou* (1969) where he (Razzak) played the leading role, he does not have any picture with the legendary actor. That long awaited picture was finally taken on that day. In fact, every time Razzak got an opportunity, whether in-person and in media, he expressed his gratitude and payed homage to the people who helped him to become a success in his profession. In particular, he seemed to mention his wife Lokhi for her constant and unwavering support which started from the very day of their marriage, Zahir Raihan for giving him (i.e. Razzak) his first big break as a hero in Bangla cinema and for inspiring Razzak to believe in himself, as well as Ahmed Zaman Chowdhury for the title *Nayak Raj* that paved the way for him (Razzak) to achieve such an iconic status in Bangladeshi cinema which has yet to be rivalled.

A Star is Born: Need for Empirical Research

Before *Nayak Raj*, Bangladesh had famous actors, like Rahman, Ujjal, Anwar Hossain, Golam Mustafa, Fateh Lohani, Sayed Ali Imam and so on, but no star(s). None of his contemporaries, or even those who came after him, has been able to rise to the heights that he has. *Nayak Raj* is the first film star of Bangladesh, who was like a superstar of even a megastar in this country. He is arguably the only star who is perceived as a larger than life persona based on a combination of factors: he was a fashion icon, a trendsetter who carved out his own acting style, and had the chemistry to be compatible with all of the leading ladies of his time (e.g. Kabari, Shabana, Bobita, Shuchanda, Shujata, Rozina), as he was the romance king. Furthermore, he played wonderful and lovable '*gunda*' (gangster) characters. *Nayak Raj* is also the first action hero of Bangladesh cinema with his portrayal of a 'gunda' in *Rangbaaz* (1973), which is considered to be the first action film of this country. There are myriad dimensions of this 'accidental actor' that could be investigated empirically, revealing the multidimensionality of his personality, his acting and body of work, to better comprehend the heydays of Bangladeshi cinema. However, for any researcher and/or academic, who wants to study Abdur Razzak, whether it is his life and/or work, it is imperative for him/her to become familiar with the early life of this film star and cinematic legend. Without a research venture of this nature, record of his early life would not be documented in an empirical manner. The passing away of *Nayak Raj Razzak* on 21 August 2017 should not be considered as his final act. Rather it should be hailed as the beginning of empirical research not only on him and his extensive body of work in front and behind the camera, but also on the Golden age of Bangladeshi cinema, the era that made him into a superstar in the Bangladeshi context.

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Multiple Approaches to Translating the Poems and Songs in The Essential Tagore*

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Abstract

Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941), a universal poet winning the Nobel Prize in literature in 1913, draws global attention through translation – his work is retranslated or reformed through new translation from time to time. Whenever Tagore's work in translation comes into discussion, Gitanjali, a seminal anthology of poems and songs, appears before us since the poet himself translated the book into English. If Gitanjali had not been translated, Tagore, needless to say, would not have drawn attention of the west. As a result, there would be little prospect for him to win the Nobel Prize. Critics take special interest in Tagore's own translation alongside other translations because his work is still translated and retranslated with a variety of approaches. Many renowned Tagore translators have rendered his work into modern English, eschewing traditional approaches. One of the finest poets from India with his footsteps across borders and cultures, Tagore generates enormous interest among scholars for his vast and varied oeuvre translated in multifarious ways. Taking Radha Chakravarty's observation that "translating Tagore today can be interventionist, transformative, and even utopian" into account, this paper attempts to explore multiple approaches that the translators have undertaken to render a selection of his poems and songs into English published in The Essential Tagore (2011).

Keywords

Tagore, translation, approaches to translation, retranslation, the essential tagore.

Introduction

Translation is now considered an emerging field as many people throughout the world are either studying translation in universities or translating the major works of their own language into other languages, especially English. Different cultures and communities of the world have a scope of knowing one another and coming closer for either similarities or divergences – translation, in this respect, certainly creates the opportunity. People from various communities, countries, nations and languages like to experience diversities in literature and culture. Literatures of many cultures and languages are rich in tradition, content, style, technique, theme, and, above all, in diversity, but they remain pigeonholed and

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reach only a certain number of readers. Translation of the literatures into the standard international language can change the whole scenario – people worldwide have an opportunity to be familiar with new literary voices and novel trends in literature. Readers experience something new about other peoples and their cultures. Translation, in this sense, is an important means for strengthening bonds thereby between countries and cultures. It plays a great role in integrating nations and giving life to the literary works that exist only in a narrow space beyond the grasp of world readers. Mohammad Shafiqul Islam (2018) stresses on the necessity of literary translation thus, "Literary translation…breaks the barrier of borders for the writers who play a crucial role in building nations, connecting cultures and bridging fissures" (p. 38). There is no denying that literary translation opens windows for nations and cultures to bridge gaps, discourage polarities and extend warm relationships between countries and cultures.

Translation now enjoys the wide attention of writers, critics and readers around the world. Scholars have offered a wide range of definitions, features, elements and processes of translation. Serious attention to translation was not given long before, but major texts of the world literature had been translated a long time ago. Many renowned translators or Translation Studies scholars have explained the term in numerous ways, but over time, translators' approaches have changed to a great extent. We find differences among them even in the same decade – approaches to translation differ from person to person, from practitioner to practitioner. Translators experiment on different approaches to translating literary texts into other languages – interestingly, they also intervene. Fakrul Alam (2015a), a well-known academic, essayist and translator, explains that translation is used:

> to mean anything which is to be conveyed or borne across languages, cultures, or places, from one place or situation or context to another…to translate is to change in form or appearance and to even transform. (p. 1)

The first part of this observation is mostly related to the existing space of translation, but the next part, relevant to the aim of this paper, deserves attention. It is a new idea for many people to consider translation a kind of transformation. Alam (2015b) further asserts that "translation is necessarily an act of interpretation and an enthralling excursion into the territory of unending differences" (p. 44). A renowned Tagore translator himself, Alam states this while discussing the legacy of Tagore's *Gitanjali* in translation. The Nobel Prize winning anthology of poems and songs, *Gitanjali*, along with other poems by Tagore, enjoyed warm reception worldwide. Readers, translators and Translation Studies scholars have contributed variously and done considerable research about this ground-breaking work. As far as different versions and editions of the anthology are concerned, translators have gone beyond the forms and spirits of the original poems and songs – even Tagore himself created something new in his own translation of *Gitanjali*, making substantial changes to the originals.

Translators take recourse to a range of approaches while translating a literary text because literary translators enjoy more liberty than other kinds of translators. A text, especially if it is a classic, evokes a number of translated versions and editions as the approaches that translators take differ from one individual to another. Regarding the unending attempts of the translators, Alam (2015b) offers some important points, including the following:

> …no attempt to translate a text can be seen definitive and all attempts at translation of a classical text must ultimately be seen as provisional…translation of a lyric by different hands will differ considerably from each other because even competent readers interpret poems in the source language differently and adopt different

strategies in creating their versions in the target language…such variations and the stream of translations that issue out of a text that has achieved the status of a 'classic' must not be regretted since the results can often be immensely interesting and surely instructive for the student of translation. (p. 45)

Readers should not expect and need not be content with only one version of a translated text because the same text may have a number of versions created by several translators, and each version will appear new in style, technique and diction. A translation of a text should, therefore, be taken as provisional, but not permanent. Interpretation of a text is not absolute as readers may interpret the text in various ways – not only in the source language but in the translated version as well. Alam thinks that many variants of a classical text are inevitable in the case of classical works, and so readers should not feel uneasy about them because the results may often appear exciting and enlightening.

Translators at times take considerable freedom in carrying a text across another language, especially if it is a classic, and more particularly if it is a classic of poetry. The best example is *Gitanjali*, a text that has many translated versions. While translating his own poems from Bengali into English for *Gitanjali*, Tagore created a different version of the original poems, going sometimes far away from the source language text. Many critics argue that the poet Tagore was at work while translating the poems for *Gitanjali*; i.e. he was creative and enjoyed freedom during translation. Amit Chaudhuri (2004), an eminent academic, writer and critic, observes that Tagore's translation of *Gitanjali* poems "turned out to be substantial reworkings, many of them different in almost every imaginable sense from the originals" (para. 2). There is ample proof that the translated poems in the book are markedly different from the originals in terms of structure as well as sense, and one may easily conclude that the translations are reworkings. William Radice, one of the most eminent Tagore translators and scholars, is quite critical about the English *Gitanjali*. Radice claims that the English *Gitanjali* is "in many respects a betrayal of what Tagore originally had in mind" (as cited in Alam, 2015b, p. 51). Tagore could not do what he actually intended to do in his English translation since there are noticeable differences between the translations and the originals.

Theoretical Aspects

Some significant deliberations on translation propounded by renowned critics and scholars need to be addressed here in order to support the theoretical framework of the article. Eminent scholars of Translation Studies from different parts of the world have enriched the area of translation offering varied definitions and identifying manifold features. Edwin Gentzler (1997) notes, "In translation, texts are reborn, given new life, stimulated with new energy…the translator can be most faithful to the true meaning of the text by being unfaithful to the specific meaning…of the language of the text" (p. 29). Modern theories of Translation Studies stress on 'sense-for-sense' rather than 'word-for-word' translation – meaning, not words, matters in literary translation. True meaning, i.e. intended meaning of the original, Gentzler suggests, is more important than the literal meaning. According to Gentzler, a text is transformed into a new text, or it receives "a new life" and fresh reading through translation.

Culture, in this context, plays an important part in literary translation. Susan Bassnett (2007), one of the best known scholars of Translation Studies in the contemporary world, postulates that "Translation is about language, but translation is also about culture, for the two are inseparable" (p. 23). Translation is not only a transition from one language to another, but it is the transfer of cultures as well. We cannot separate language and culture from one another. To do justice to a literary text during translation, a translator has to remember both source

language and target language cultures and cultural nuances because literary translation focuses not only on words but also on cultures. Nowadays, translation is also considered creative work as Peter Bush (1998) asserts ". . . learning to translate is about writing creatively and imaginatively, about being sensitive readers and writers" (p. 3). There is no denying that translators now enjoy the status of creative writers as they also create something new while translating a text. They develop the content of a source text in the target language text – the source text is not completely relegated in translation, but something new certainly emerges in good translation.

Translation as art is similar to creative writing as translators ultimately become writers-a text finds a new writer when it is translated into another language. Many critics consider translators to be rewriters of poetry; translating poetry is indeed distinctive from other kinds of translations. Here Bassnett's observation about the translation of poetry is relevant; she thinks that a translator is a rewriter of a poem because "Poetry is not what is lost in translation, it is rather what we gain through translation and translators" (1998, p. 74). Bassnett refutes the popular comment of Robert Frost about loss in the translation of poetry. She believes that poetry also gains something through translation. Many others agree, too, that translation sometimes enriches the original and creates a new world for a text. Gentzler (1997) points out that "translation serves as a metaphor for writing that frees, transforms, and multiplies rather than possesses, controls, and defines" (p. 197). This is, indeed, an important point about translation because translation like writing does not confine or control anything; rather, it liberates, makes changes and opens up new windows. Translation gives freedom to texts to travel across the world, and also to translators to create rather than remain confined in fear of loss.

We sometimes find that a poem or a story has more than one versions of translation, but each version is markedly different from the other. A book may be published in many versions – especially if the book is a popular one – and the translations differ from one another. In this context, Ortiz-Carboneres and Dixon (2013) rightly point out that "no two translations of a single poem will be the same, and a comparative study of a number of attempts will show that while there are absolutes, there remains the possibility of consensus on a number of points" (p. 93). In case of literary translation, no one expects that a text should have an absolute version, so translators hardly reveal similarities if they work individually. But the translators come to agree on many points as there are universally set rules for translators and writers. John Bester observes, "Translation, like politics, is an art of the possible; compromise is inevitable and universal" (as cited in Landers, 2010, p. 10). As far as literary translation is concerned, the translators somehow overcome the challenges they face during translation, but they often have to compromise with the meaning, sense, context, the source culture, target audience and so forth. The comment by Landers is interesting – translation, in this respect, truly corresponds to politics. A translator, no doubt, faces many problems during translation, but he or she cannot find a solution to the problems in a single way as there are various forms of translation for the same text. Landers (2010) rightly observes:

> Translation problems are not math problems that have only one or at most a strictly limited number of right answers. As a subfield of literature-and literature is indisputably an art rather than a science-translation is subjective in essence. (p. 5)

Translators do not depend on a particular rule for overcoming challenges because unlike science, there is no imposed formula for literary translation. A particular challenge in translation may have many kinds of solutions that the translators strive to find and choose; therefore, a translator will look for one out of many options. So literary translation is relative to context, text, culture as well as language.

Tagore translated his own *Gitanjali* poems into English prior to his visit and during his journey to England, but the poet did not have confidence in his translation because he thought that his English was not good enough for the readers of the west. He expressed such concern to some of his close friends. Here is how Tagore expressed his concern, "I am misrepresenting myself…to the Western reader…I never can trust my own English" (as cited in Chakravarty, 2013, p. 291). Literary circles in the west were fascinated by *Gitanjali* after its publication in Tagore's own English translation, but the anthology lost its appeal soon. Critics have found numerous reasons for this decline in popularity of the anthology of poems and songs, but one of the key factors, many indicate, is the misrepresentation of the original. As a Nobel laureate, Tagore drew international attention rapidly. His work, therefore, has been translated extensively by both subcontinental and western translators. Those translators have undertaken different approaches in rendering his works into English. Aware of the development in the field of Translation Studies, the translators enjoy more freedom at present because translators, as far as modern theories are concerned, are also considered creative writers. "In translation the original," asserts Benjamin (1923/2000), "rises into a higher and purer linguistic air," (p. 79) which is why translation is taken as an important form of creative work as well. Translation, one can say, is no more considered inferior to the original. So translators create and at times intervene while carrying across a text. Chakravarty (2013) observes that:

> Translators look for a voice of their own because they play an important role in giving a new life to a book. As far as the binary between superiority and inferiority – between the original author and the translator – is concerned, the translators no more undergo identity crisis; rather, they are now more self-confident than any other times in the past. The binary, which is nowadays considered false, has almost disappeared. Tagore translators at present, indeed, feel more liberated, even playing interventionist roles as well.

Translation Approaches Adopted for The Essential Tagore

Edited by Fakrul Alam and Radha Chakravarty, acclaimed academics and translators, The Essential Tagore – an influential book paying due tribute to Tagore and an elevating work of multiple genres – reflects large-scale varieties in translation. A good number of distinguished translators have contributed quality translations to the collection, which are distinct in diversity. Chakravarty (2013) claims:

> Breaking away from the conventional mould of uniformity, our collection aims to demonstrate the widely divergent ways in which Tagore can be translated today…We encouraged our contributors, located in different parts of India and abroad, to express their individual perspectives and practise their own methodologies, which are too varied to dovetail neatly with each other in a clearly demarcated 'house style'. (p. 295)

The collection aims at bringing diversity into Tagore translation rather than establishing traditional uniformity, which is why translators are given freedom to use their own style, technique and methodology, but to draw attention of contemporary readers, they are encouraged to use modern English idiom. On this perspective, Tejaswini Niranjana, a famous translator, theorist and author, is worth quoting here as she proposes "a practice of translation that is speculative, provisional, and interventionist" (as cited in Chakravarty, 2013, p. 300). Niranjana's proposal is an added direction to translation in general, and *The Essential Tagore gives*, in this case, space to the translations that are "speculative, provisional, and interventionist".

Translations of the poems in *The Essential Tagore*, no doubt, are varied, and the translators do not follow any uniform or prescriptive rule in the process of translation. They play, however, an interventionist role, and the translations, too, are provisional and speculative. In regard to the general strategies of and approaches to translating *The Essential Tagore*, Chakravarty (2013) recounts:

> In our anthology, we have avoided italicizing Bengali words and allowed variants of Bengali spellings. Culture-specific terms, such as the names of days, months and seasons, the terms for family relationships, and words for food items and items of clothing have in most cases been left deliberately untranslated, allowing the context to make their meaning clear; although there is a glossary, we have kept it to a minimum. (p. 301)

The translators of *The Essential Tagore* do not appear concerned about the use of some words in the translated text just as they are in the original. They do not even italicise them, or if they use glossary, they use it to a minimum. In such ways, the translations in *The Essential Tagore* have become innovative, provisional and interventionist. But generally, translators use notes, glossary, italicisation and so forth in the translated texts. A translator is no doubt an interventionist, but translating is also utopian. Lawrence Venuti claims, "Translating is also utopian…translation becomes not merely a linguistic exercise, but an active attempt to imagine into being a diverse community of imagined readers" (as cited in Chakravarty, 2013, p. 301). Translation today has gone beyond merely a linguistic practice as it connects people of different communities worldwide. Readers of various communities feel a kind of bond in imagination through translation – hence, translation, of course, is utopian.

Translators take various approaches into consideration while translating modern verse. Approaches vary widely from translator to translator when they attempt to translate Tagore's poetry since his poetry is imbued with musical qualities. While discussing Tagore's poetry in translation, Alam (2012) comments:

> …translating Rabindranath's verse is something that one cannot do piecemeal or without thought given to a carefully worked out translation strategy that is flexible, idiomatic, colloquial and faithful to the movement of mind of the original as well as close as is possible in translation to its music. (p. 168)

According to Alam, no translator can do justice to Tagore if he or she does not pay deep attention to the movement of the poet's mind in the original poems. Since music runs through Tagore's poems, the translators have to think about appropriate translation strategies. The poet has special fondness for rhyme, musical tone and sound – moreover, his poems are mostly song-lyrics. "…the translator therefore must pay special attention," Alam (2012) suggests, "to the line patterning as well as the sound patterning" (p. 172). Both lines and sounds are what matter in Tagore's poems, which is why translators should give a serious thought to them while rendering the poems and songs into English.

While the poems in *The Essential Tagore* are well-chosen, they also bear a mark of variety in content and style. There are, of course, debates about loss in translation, especially in the translation of poetry, as far as the contemporary theories of translation are concerned. While commenting on the selection of poems for *The Essential Tagore*, the editors do not repudiate the possibility of loss in translating Tagore's work, especially his poems and songs, as far as the following statement is concerned:

No doubt, this selection of his poems hardly does justice to Tagore. No doubt, too, the magic he wove in his Bangla poems has been largely lost in translation. Nevertheless, it is to be hoped that the English versions of the poems presented here will give a new generation of readers an impression of Tagore's infinite versatility and immense power as a poet. (Tagore, 2011, p. 204)

A towering figure of Bengali literature, Tagore cannot be presented decisively in one volume, so the editors humbly acknowledge their limitations. They also know that the richness of Tagore's work in the originals is certainly lost in translation, but *The Essential Tagore* should be considered indisputably an important book of his oeuvre in translation. Alam and Chakravarty (2011) claim in the introduction to the book that:

> Instead of the rather archaic, stilted translations of the earlier versions, our contributors, in tune with the spirit of this book, have attempted lucid, idiomatic English translations that will make Tagore's writings accessible for a new generation of readers…Instead of expecting them to conform to a single, prescriptive style of translation, we have encouraged a diverse and flexible approach, with the aim of demonstrating the varied directions in which Tagore translations have evolved after the lapse of copyright in 2001. Tagore, our collection shows, can be translated in multifarious ways. (p. 27).

The translators of the poems and songs in *The Essential Tagore* have avoided traditional approaches as the common spirit to the collection is to retain lucidity and idiomatic English in the translations. The translators are given the liberty to take on varied approaches that result in extraordinary translations. *The Essential Tagore*, therefore, demonstrates that Tagore's work can be translated in a number of ways that proficient translators may adopt.

Analysis of Poems and Songs in Translation

Translators from different backgrounds with varied levels of experience and skills have rendered the poems and songs of *The Essential Tagore*. Selection of poems and songs deserves special mention as they are wide-ranging in content and style. They are translated, too, in a wide variety of ways – the translators adopt multifarious approaches in rendering them into English. No translator follows a single strict guideline to carry them across. They enjoy freedom to use their own approaches, and so diversity is manifest in the translations. But all the translators have avoided the kind of archaic forms of translations that Tagore chose when he translated the *Gitanjali* poems.

The poem "*Pran,*" a wonderful Tagore poem, is translated by Fakrul Alam as "Life" in *The Essential Tagore*. Among Tagore's many untranslatable poems, this is one, but Alam translates the poem retaining the lucidity of language. The lines *"Marite chahi na ami sundar vubane, / Manaber majhe ami banchibare chai"* are translated as "I don't want to leave this lovely world / I want to stay in the midst of mankind" (Tagore, 2011, p. 208). The first two lines of the poem are beautifully rendered as the translator does not seem to face any challenge here. But the next two lines *"Ei soorjakare ei pushpita kanane / jeebanta hriday-majhe jadi sthan pai"* are supposed to be challenging for any translator because of the tone, mode of expression and Tagorean diction in the original. Still Alam beautifully renders them as "In this sun-drenched flower-filled garden / I'd like to be at the pulsating heart of life" (Tagore, 2011, p. 208). It is the translator's craftsmanship that makes the translation so beautiful, and the word choice is remarkable as well-the translator adds to the beauty and appeal of the poem.

The third line goes well with the original, but the fourth line, to a great extent untranslatable, must be an uphill challenge for translators. The original line is so powerful that any translated version may seem to be inferior to readers. And the lines *"Hashi mukhe niyo phul, tar porey hai / Phele dio phul, jadi shey phul shukay"* are translated as "Please accept my blossoms with a smile / And when they wither, cast them away!" (Tagore, 2011, p. 208). In the last line of the translated poem, the expression "cast them away" does not seem to retain the tone of the original, but the question arises what else the translator can do. Alam exerts his admirable effort, but it is Tagore's work to which the translators cannot do justice all the time. Alam also translates *"Aaji Hote Shata Barsha Pare,"* one of Tagore's most famous poems, as "A Hundred Years from Now" – the translation is so fluent that readers experience the same flow as they do in the original. The peom begins like this, "A hundred years from now / Who could you be / Reading my poem curiously" (Tagore, 2011, p. 226). There is no stilted or archaic expression in the translation; moreover, rhythm and tone are wonderfully maintained.

Alam translates *"Aaji Jharer Raate"* as "This Stormy Night," which goes well with the rhythm of the original, but as the poem has rhyme and the features of songs, it sometimes seems to falter only on the area of rhyme and tone. Instead of maintaining line-breaks, the translator rewrites the lines on his own, but the translation, no doubt, is free and idiomatic. The lines *"Aaji jharer raate tomar avishar / poran shokha bandhu hey amar"* seem to be untranslatable. If a translator attempts to render the lines, it must be a daunting task for him or her, but Alam renders them in such beautiful lines as "Are you on an assignation this stormy night, / My soul mate, my friend?" (Tagore, 2011, p. 244). But again the word *'avishar,'* of course, cannot be perfectly translated into English. *'Avishar'* may have equivalents, but it is almost impossible to retain the depth and appeal of the word in translation because this is a culturally nuanced and very powerful word in Bengali. Alam's use of 'assignation' seems to be an ordinary equivalent for *'avishar'*. The translation of the word *'poran shokha'* as 'soul mate' resonates with the original – the translation, indeed, does justice to the original. The translator renders the rest of the poem so beautifully that readers should have a smooth reading experience.

Alam also translates the poem *"Balaka"* with the title "A Flight of Geese," Tagore's famous poem that contains an important line *"Hetha noy, hetha noy, onno konokhane"*. Alam translates the line as "Not here, not here, but somewhere far away," (Tagore, 2011, p. 246), but Chaudhuri translates the same line – he also translates the whole poem for *The Essential Tagore* – as "Not here, not here – elsewhere" (2011, p. xxiv). There is a mark of precision in Chaudhuri's translation whereas Alam adheres to the words in the original. Enriched with deep meaning, the line is used as a refrain in the poem. In translating the entire poem, Alam follows stanza, punctuation and style exactly as they are in the original.

Kaiser Haq, a leading English language poet from Bangladesh and renowned translator, carries across the poem *"Banshi"* as "Wind Instrument". An ordinary translator would render the title simply as 'Flute,' but there is a mark of high literariness in Haq's translation of the word as "Wind Instrument," through which the translator takes recourse to interpretation instead of attempting to find an exact equivalent for the original. Haq translates *"Pother dharei"* as "right on the road" (Tagore, 2011, p. 260) beautifully. It is worth mentioning that an ordinary translator would attempt to write "right by the road," but Haq's translation goes beyond the literal meaning of the original. He translates the line *"Nei taar onner ovab"* as "it never wants food" (Tagore, 2011, p. 260) – many readers may take the translation for a completely different meaning from the one intended in the original. The line in the original actually means 'a gecko is not in want of food,' but Haq translates it for a

wider meaning of the word 'want' with his great dexterity of maintaining precision of language. Those who have not read the original may take the line for a different meaning. This, however, is a general problem of translation – the intended meaning in the original is not always conveyed in the translated version.

English for the Bengali words of relationships like *'debar'* and *'bhashur'* is 'brother-in-law'. Tagore uses *"debarer meye"* in the poem that Haq translates as "brother-in-law's daughter," (Tagore, 2011, p. 261) so readers may take any one from the two or many other relationships that are meant by brother-in-law. Something is lost in such translation, so the translator could have retained the original words in the translation. But it may be asserted that this sort of loss neither harms the task of translation nor the final product at all. After all, the translated version of the whole poem is beautiful – it seems that the poem has got a new life at the hands of a skilled craftsman. Another poem "Patralekha" is well recreated as "Letter Writing" by Haq. The translation is so smooth, flowing and lively that readers must feel like reading an original poem. Haq also translates *"Roop-Naraner Kule"* as "On the Banks of Roop-Naran" in which there are the oft-quoted lines *"Satya je kathin, / Kathinere valobashilam – / Shey kakhano kare na banchana"*. Haq renders them as "for truth is tough; / and I learnt to love this harshness – / it never betrays" (Tagore, 2011, p. 291). The translation is quite fine, and other versions of the same lines may sound weaker, but still there is, it seems, something missing in the translation because some lines of Tagore poems are so powerful that they are always far better in the original. For *"kathin"* the translator uses two different words "tough" and "harshness" – I just wonder if he could use only one word.

Amit Chaudhuri discusses some variations in the translations of Tagore's work in his foreword to *The Essential Tagore*, criticising particularly the poems from *Gitanjali*. The opening lines of the first lyric in English *Gitanjali* are "Thou hast made me endless, such is thy pleasure. / This frail vessel thou emptiest again and again, / and fillest it ever with fresh life" (Tagore, 2002, p. 1). Tagore's own translations of his original poems, to a great extent, are archaic and stilted. The poet sometimes deviates from the original, so the meaning becomes different from the source text. Chaudhuri attempts to translate the same lyric thus, "I've become infinite: / such is the consequence of your play. / Pouring me out, you fill me / with new life once again" (Chaudhuri, 2011, p. xxiv). There are many differences between the two translations – the differences range from word selection to syntax, from style to line number and from line-breaks to punctuation. Tagore uses 'endless' whereas Chaudhuri writes 'infinite,' Tagore chooses 'pleasure,' but Chaudhuri 'play'. Chaudhuri avoids using the word 'vessel' – he also uses 'new life' instead of 'fresh life'. This is one of the best examples of how translation is provisional, and how Tagore translators are interventionists. Chaudhuri (2011) explains:

> The original-*'Amare tumi ashesh korechho / emoni leela taba'* – is remarkable, as I've said, on many levels. The word *leela* can be translated as divine play…Tagore translated the word as 'pleasure,' to denote the primacy of delight and desire, rather than moral design, in divine creation…Tagore introduces the notion of chance and coincidence into the story of man's emergence, and removes the human narrative from its familiar logical movement (an ascent or a decline) from the past to the present, from tradition to modernity. (p. xxv)

Here is indeed a wonderful explanation of the differences between the two translations of the same lyric in *Gitanjali*. Chaudhuri's translation is modern, idiomatic, and it goes better with the meaning of the original. Tagore himself deviates from translating the word *leela* appropriately because he translates it as 'pleasure,' but Chaudhuri rightly renders the word as

'play'. Tagore brings in denotative meaning through his translation, removing the logical and familiar movement of human narrative from tradition to modernity.

We find two translations of the same song titled, in Bengali, as *"Akash bhara"* in *The Essential Tagore*¬ – one by Amit Chaudhuri and the other by Ratna Prakash. It is explained that "Two translated versions of the song 'Akash bhara' have been included in this section to demonstrate our belief in the diverse ways in which Tagore's writings can be translated today" (Tagore, 2011, p. 299). The song is a famous one that claims analysis; it is given importance in the collection. Chaudhuri gives the title "The sky full of the sun and stars" whereas Prakash titles the poem as "Stars fill the sky". There are noticeable differences between the two translations, and to show the differences both the translations of the poem are worth a discussion. Here goes Amit Chaudhuri's translation of the song ("The sky full of the sun and stars" :

> The sky full of the sun and stars, the world full of life,
> in the midst of this, I find myself –
> so, surprised, my song awakens.
>
> Wave after wave of infinite time, to whose ebb and flow earth sways,
> the blood in my veins courses to that measure –
> so, surprised, my song awakens.
>
> I've pressed upon each blade of grass on the way to the forest,
> my heart's lifted in madness, dazzled by the scent of flowers,
> all around me lies this gift, outspread –
> so, surprised, my song awakens.
>
> I've listened closely, opened my eyes; poured life into the earth,
> looked for the unknown in the midst of the known,
> so, surprised, my song awakens. (Tagore, 2011, p. 333)

And how completely different the following translation – rendered by Ratna Prakash – of the same song ("Stars fill the sky") is!

> Stars fill the sky, the world teems with life,
> And amidst it all I find my place!
> I wonder, and so I sing.
> I feel in my veins the ebb and flow of Earth's eternal tides
> Pulling this Creation
> I wonder, and so I sing
> Walking along the forest's grassy paths,
> I have been entranced by the sudden scent of a flower,
> Around me lie strewn the gifts of joy
> I wonder, and so I raise my song.
> I have seen, I have heard.
> I have poured my being upon the breast of Earth,
> Within the known I have found the unknown.
> I marvel and so I sing. (Tagore, 2011, p. 332)

Readers cannot but be surprised at looking at the variations in the translation of the same text. In terms of style, technique, diction, syntax, punctuation and line-break, two translations are noticeably different. Prakash does not maintain the stanza form whereas Chaudhuri divides

the poem, in his translation, into four stanzas. The third line in both the translations is striking because it appears in the whole poem repeatedly, so it draws attention of the readers as the refrain. Chaudhuri uses 'surprised' in his translation for the word *'bismaye'* in the original whereas Prakash uses 'wonder' and 'marvel'. These two translations of the same poem bear witness to the fact that *The Essential Tagore* translators have enjoyed unrestricted freedom in translating the poems and songs. It seems that the readers, interestingly, experience reading two different songs having merely a few similarities. Chaudhuri (2011) explains the justification of his translation in the following way:

> I have translated Tagore's word *bismaye* as 'surprised,' though it could plausibly be rendered as 'in wonder'. The role of the naïve or nature poet, or even a certain kind of romantic, is to wonder at the real, at the universe, but the speaker in the song is not just transfixed by the beauty of the universe but by the happenstance that's brought him to it: 'in the midst of this, I find myself.' This is what gives to the poet-mystic's *bismay* (his sense of wonder) the element of the unexpected, of surprise – the surprise of the time-traveler…moving between worlds and phases of history. (p. xxvi)

As far as the above explanation is concerned, and the tone of the poem makes it clear, Chaudhuri's use of 'surprised' seems to be more logical and justified as Tagore's role in the poem is not of a naïve or ordinary nature poet. The speaker in the poem is mesmerised by something which takes place in a moment and mood that he cannot but be surprised. Readers seem to feel at ease with the third stanza in Chaudhuri's translation as they can understand the meaning easily, but in Prakash's translation, the lines lead readers, for sure, into confusion. Chaudhuri's translation proves more fluent and lucid – readers have the pleasure of enjoying a complete poem. The penultimate line in both the translations shows how interventionist, provisional and even utopian Tagore's translation is because the meaning changes for the variations that the translators bring forth. The use of 'flowers' as plural by Chaudhuri is more accurate than the use of 'a flower' as singular by Prakash. Chaudhuri writes "looked for the unknown in the midst of the known" whereas Prakash writes "Within the known I have found the unknown". 'To look for' and 'to find' are never the same, so the readers are transfixed at how such differences are possible and permissible in the translations of the same lines of a poem. Chaudhuri's translation also represents the meaning of the original poem more closely than Prakash's translation because he does not deviate from the original, but she does.

The song *"Tumi kemon kore gaan koro"* is translated by Alam as "How wonderfully you sing". The first two lines are *"Tumi kemon kore gaan koro hey gunee, / Ami abak hoye shuni, kebal shuni"* that are rendered as "How wonderfully you sing, O master musician, / I listen in amazement, I am all attention!" (Tagore, 2011, p. 300). The first line is well carried across with an excellent choice of words, especially "O master musician" – the translator also forms alliteration here. In the second line, for *"kebal shuni,"* the translator writes "I am all attention," which is quite logical, but there remains, however, a scope for a different version with different words. In comparison to the original, "I am all attention" sounds weak and commonplace. Translation of the rest of the song is beautiful – readers may experience the music of the song in the translation as well. Chaudhuri's translation of *"Tomai notun kore pabo"* as "In order to find you anew" is an adroit attempt, no doubt, of a distinguished translator. "In order to find you anew, I lose you every moment" (Tagore, 2011, p. 304) adds, we can say, beauty to the original line, the first line of the song, *"Tomai notun kore pabo bole harai kshane kshan"*. Other two lines "When I seek you, my heart trembles with fear – / I am rocked by a wave of love" (Tagore, 2011, p. 304) deserve special mention as they are the

translations of *"Ami tomai jakhan khunje firi bhoye kanpe mon– / Preme amar dheu lage takhan"*. This is an example of a translation that certainly improves upon the original. The line "I am rocked by a wave of love" truly soothes the hearts of the devotees – depth, appeal and powerful feeling prevalent in the original words of the song also remain unaffected in the translation.

"I will place a garland," translation of the song *"Haar mana haar parabo tomar galey,"* is another fine song, which is translated by Reba Som. The first two lines "I will place a garland conceding defeat around your neck / How much longer can I stay away deceived by my imagined strength" (Tagore, 2011, p. 308) appear wordy in translation. For *"apan baler chhaley,"* the translation "deceived by my imagined strength" is rather longwinded. "As I seek total surrender," (Tagore, 2011, p. 308) translation of the last line *"Param maran lavibo charanatale"* seems weak in comparison to the translation of other lines in the song, especially the word "total" – the translator, it may be said, could choose a different word that suits the meaning better. Sanjukta Dasgupta uses "thee" (Tagore, 2011, p. 315) in the first line of her translation of the song *"O amar desher mati"* – "O my motherland's soil". In the rest of the translation, she avoids the archaic use of words. It is not clear why she writes 'thee' instead of 'you' in the line – the translator's freedom of adopting individual approaches bring such varieties in translation. Dasgupta translates the song *"Aji Bangladesher hriday hotey"* as "Suddenly from the heart of Bengal," (Tagore, 2011, p. 318) which evokes thought and merits discussion because the translator uses "Bengal" instead of Bangladesh. It is interesting that Bangladesh is mentioned in the original, but the translator deliberately uses "Bengal" for Bangladesh. Dasgupta is well aware that when Tagore composed the song, Bangladesh was not born as an independent country, but the poet actually meant the whole Bengal. So the translator's use of 'Bengal' is not illogical; rather, she renders the intended meaning of the original in her translation – hence is the justification of a translator's intervention.

In the song *"Eki maya"* translated as "What maya made you hide yourself," (Tagore, 2011, p. 348) Alam, the translator, keeps the word *'maya'* as it is in the original. In Hindu philosophy, *'maya'* means illusion, but as a Bengali word, it has a number of meanings, and the translator keeps the word for its depth as an original word – this method resonates with the objectives of the editors of the book. One of their objectives is to retain some original words in the translated version without italicising them. Alam's translation of *"Megher parey megh"* as "Clouds pile up on clouds" takes place in *The Essential Tagore* – the song has indeed been translated by many others. I would like to place the first four lines of the song's translations by four renowned translators along with the one by Tagore himself to show how varied Tagore translations are. The Bengali version is *"Megher parey megh jamechhe, andhar kare ashey / Amai keno bashiye rakho eka dwarer pashey"* that Tagore translates as "Clouds heap upon clouds and it darkens. Ah, love, why dost thou / let me wait outside at the door all alone?" (as cited in Alam, 2015b, p. 46). Tagore's translation is close to the sense of the original, but it is obviously a prose translation, and he uses archaic forms of words. His translation does not attract the readers of the contemporary literary world. The same lines are in Brother James's translation:

> Cloud has piled upon clouds
> They darken my world
> O why do you
> Leave me alone,
> Sitting at the side of the door? (as cited in Alam, 2015b, p. 52)

James's translation seems to be much better than Tagore's because he avoids the archaic use of English words, and readers must feel more comfortable with this version. Alam (2015b) considers James's translation to be "more free-flowing and lighter in its movement" (p. 52). James translates *"andhar kare ashey"* as "They darken my world" whereas Tagore writes only "it darkens". Interestingly, James uses 'cloud' and 'clouds' – singular and plural – in the first line for the same context. I do not find any valid reason in using the singular form of the word in the beginning of the line and plural at the end of the same line. But, in every way, James's version of the translation is more beautiful than that of Tagore. Joe Winter, an eminent English poet, also translates the song:

> Cloud on cloud has gathered
> Dark is coming near.
> Why am I in the doorway?
> Why do you keep me here? (as cited in Alam, 2015b, p. 54)

Winter maintains rhyme, and in so doing, he seems to lose the strength of the content. He uses 'cloud' in the singular, and instead of 'heap' and 'pile,' he uses 'gather' as the verb for *'jamechhe'*. In Winter's translation, "The refrain…is split into two questions which seem almost melodramatic" (Alam, 2015b, p. 55) though the translator attempts to retain the tune and structure of the original. Radice, one of the most famous Tagore translators, also renders the song *"Megher pore"* that marks some differences from others:

> Cloud piles on cloud
> Gloom grows
> Why keep me waiting
> Alone by the door? (as cited in Alam, 2015b, p. 56)

Radice maintains the refrain throughout the song as it is in the original. He presents *"andhar kare ashey"* as "Gloom grows," absolutely different from other versions of the translation-Radice's version certainly sounds better than anyone else's. "Gloom grows" exhibits the translator's admirable sense of precision in the target language. Precision, which is important for any creative work, is indeed the hallmark of Radice's complete version of the song. There is the presence of rhythm in his translation as well. And his translation holds a mark of simplicity that attracts attention of the readers.

At last I present here Alam's own translation that appears in The Essential Tagore, "Clouds pile up on clouds; darkness descends. / Why keep me sitting all alone, outside your door?" (Tagore, 2011, p. 335). Alam attempts to keep the flow and readability intact in his translation as it is in the original song. He beautifully renders "darkness descends" for "andhar kare ashey," that captures, I believe, the depth of the original – there is also alliteration both in the original and the translation. The whole song afterward moves smoothly in Alam's translation which, for sure, is marked with simplicity and merits praise. The translation is also flowing, so readers feel at ease gleaning out the meaning from it. We experience so many variations in a few lines of a single song like this – the translators have their own way of rendering a piece of literary work from one language to another. Varied approaches are certainly widespread in the translations of Tagore's song-lyrics that find home in The Essential Tagore.

Conclusion

Exploring variations in the translations of Tagore's poems and songs, we may conclude that the various translations have made the poems and songs more beautiful to us. Translation, no doubt, is an arduous task, and only a translator knows what happens when he or she translates a text. It is befitting to note here that "Despite centuries of debate about translation, however, we lack an adequate vocabulary for the descriptions of what we do when we translate" (Ortiz-Carboneres & Dixon, 2013, p. 89). As far as this statement is concerned, translators sometimes solve the problems that they encounter during translation, but no one can say how it happens, and what they really do, and what strategies or techniques they adopt during the translation process. While translating Tagore poems and songs, the translators face, of course, innumerable challenges and difficulties, but they quite often successfully end up with beautiful renderings. So many variations and diversities in Tagore translations entail us to agree with Chakravarty's (2013) observation that "translating Tagore today can be interventionist, transformative, and even utopian" (p. 302). The translators of the poems and songs in The Essential Tagore have indeed applied multiple approaches, intervening in and transforming the originals, and sometimes creating a utopian space for imagined readers.

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European Painting and World War I: Evolution of Modern Era and Beyond

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Abstract

World War I, famously known as The Great War, had an immense impact globally. It changed not only the geopolitical equations and alliances among countries but also reshaped both the history and future of modern art and culture worldwide. European painting, having its grand legacy of almost three thousand years (from seven century BC till today) went through a drastic change in its form and focus during this war. Artists changed their way of interpreting the world around as well as their artistic expression. They could no longer express their emotions and views as glibly through their paintings/art works as they did during the romantic or Victorian era, just the period prior to the Great War. Images they produced were mostly fragmented and distorted. This paper focuses on how the trauma and havoc of the Great War affected European painters and their paintings with the formation of various "Isms", which developed new wave of modern painting accordingly.

> "Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;
> Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,
> The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere
> The ceremony of innocence is drowned;" (Yeats, 1919)

Keywords

The great war, european painting, modern era, fauvism, cubism, dadaism, surrealism.

W.B. Yeats, in his poem, 'The Second Coming" drew the picture of modern civilization almost with a prophetic vision. He foretold that in the upcoming days anarchy would pervade the world and the history of mankind would be reshaped not in a pleasant way. That prophecy came out to be true, but with the kind of inhuman hostility that even the great poet himself would not have anticipated its extent. With the very first shot on Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria, marked as the beginning of the Great War, the wheel of the fate of mankind started to revolve quickly ("Documentary Matters", 2015). A subjective way of looking at life developed. Each day the number of idealistic people dying in the battlefield increased, mutual sympathy was the last thing one could ask for, even from neighbouring countries. Soldiers struggling in the battlefield hardly had any idea on whom they would be pointing their rifles at or for what reason. Millions of people lost their lives because of the whimsical and selfish decisions of their rulers. The supreme concern in that circumstance for people in general was only to return to their family members safe and sound, once they had left their house for daily necessities. By no means could they nourish the romantic views of life anymore, which had been propagated only a few decades earlier in the Victorian and

Pre-victorian era. Earnest Hemmingway, in his famous novel *A Farewell to Arms,* written based on his experience of staying in the Italian Campaign during the war, declares-"Abstract words such as glory, honor, courage, or hollow were obscene besides the concrete names of villages, the number of roads, the names of rivers, the number of regiments and the dates" (As cited in Johnson, 2012). So it can be assumed that hazy philosophical questions like – who am I? Why I am here? Where will we go after our death? - were the last things that would enter anyone's mind then as everyone inclined to the war had existence and survival as their supreme concerns. Every insightful individual was upset with the loss of innocence of humanity. This was the nature of the time no one would deny. Artists and scholars from all different discourses, be it art and literature or philosophy, could not avoid the heat of time, alike people in general. As for literature, M.H. Abrams says-"Many young writers were more anxious to express their attitudes than to construct new kinds of art" (1993, p.1685). The same tension existed in the field of art and painting. As Merjian states -'Victorian imagery was inadequate to express World War I's anxieties, so new experiments took up the task, with artists incorporating aggressive imagery of combat and its ruinous consequences' (Merjian, 2014). According to her, the Great War provided the necessary momentum for the painters to bring out necessary changes in their form of structures and use of colour, which is characterized as the modern painting by this art historians (Merjian, 2014).

The medium of expression may vary from each other, but the creative personas from all different genres were inspired to break through the common way of expressing their feelings through bringing necessary changes in their artworks. Johnson says – 'From the fiction of Hemingway, Virginia Woolf and John Dos Passos to the savagely critical paintings etchings of George Grosz and Otto Dix, World War I reshaped the notion of what art is, just as it forever altered the perception of what war is' (2012, p.1).   The change is known as modernism to art and literary historians.

Modernism can be defined from various points of views. Nevertheless the way Peter Barry defines modernism, is noteworthy. He says- "Modernism' is the name given to the movement which dominated the arts and culture of the first half of the twentieth century" (Barry, 2002, p.78). He also marks the modernist movement as an 'earthquake in the arts' that 'brought down much of the structure of pre- twentieth- century practice in music, painting, literature and architecture' (Barry, 2002, p.78). For him, the time span was from 1890 to 1910 and countries that brought up famous art movements like Cubism, Dadaism, Surrealism and Futurism were France, Germany, Italy and eventually Britain. Modernism broke through the conventional ideas and dogmatic point of views of life that were current during Victorian era. Barry also said -

> In all the (form of) arts touched by modernism what had been the most fundamental elements of practice were challenged and rejected: thus, melody and harmony were put aside in music; perspective and direct pictorial representation were abandoned in painting, in favour of degrees of abstraction.
>
> (Barry, 2002, p.78)

When we trace back the history of art and painting we find that, in the Middle Ages, paintings of the West were subjugated by the church. Art works of that time were mostly based on biblical issues. The next period in art history was the Renaissance, which shifted artists' focus from the spiritual world to real life. Painters of that period started rendering real life places and persons into three dimensions. Convincing use of perspective became widespread and the human body was shown as it really was.

Europe has always lead the major art and literary movements in art history. They also can claim the credit of bringing the modernist movement and introducing the idea of '-ism'.

March of industrial development and technological advancement, popularization of the theories on the evolution of human being, human nature, human mind, as well as theories regarding the formation and function of the Universe (works of Charles Darwin, Sigmund Freud and Albert Einstein for example), and most importantly the experience of the Great War left unchangeable marks on the West. Davies *etal* observes –

> The opening decades of the twentieth century saw the continued march of modernity. But, as in the preceding decades, artists both embraced and fled from progress. In some instances they even clung to tradition while they purveyed the new.
>
> (Davies et al., 2007, p.945)

According to Davies *etal* (2007), it was Pablo Picasso and Henry Matisse who- 'successfully knitted the new and revolutionary in style with the familiar and enduring subject matter'. They also mentioned that- 'The rise of the Fauvism is the first major style to emerge in the twentieth century' (Davies *etal*., 2007, p.945). The fauvist artists were greatly influenced by nineteenth century predecessors such as Van Gogh, Gauguin, and Monet. To mark the characteristics of this first artistic pre-World War 1 movement, Kleiner has pointed at Fauvism as the very first movement to tap a 'pervasive desire for expression' (2009, p.911) Henry Matisse (1869-1954) and Andre Derain (1880-1964) were two pioneer painters in the Fauvist tradition. Being very much aware of the aesthetic tradition they belonged to, both Matisse and Derain took the free and expressive use of color to newer heights. Regarding his own painting style, Matisse tells us,

> What I am after, above all, is expression, expression for me does not reside in passions glowing in a face or manifested by violent movements. The entire arrangement of my picture is expressive: the place occupied by the figures, the empty spaces around them, the proportions, everything has its share. Composition is the art of arranging in a decorative manner the diverse elements at the painters command to express his feelings.
>
> (Qutoted by Kleiner, 2009, p.912)

Matisse also clarifies his stance on using colour thus:

> Both harmonies and dissonances of colour can produce agreeable effects… The chief function of colour should be to serve expression as well as possible…My choice of colours does not rest on any scientific theory; it is based on observation, on sensitivity, on felt experiences… I simply put down colors which render my sensation.
>
> (Quoted by Kleiner, 2009, p.912)

Painting 1:'*Femmeauchapeau*' or 'woman with a hat' (1905), Fauvist painting, Henry Matisse

Matisse was greatly influenced by Fauvist movement in which the use of color was depended on an assortment of artists surveillance and sensation. He pushed this independence of color further. Some of the quintessential examples of Matisse's art works are *'Femmeauchapeau'* (woman with a hat) and *'La Bonheur de vivre'* (The joy of life) and 'The Red Studio'. Andre Derain, the fauvist painter who was a contemporary of Matisse, considered painting as an intellectual rather than emotional medium. One of his very famous paintings is 'Mountains at Collioure'. Kleiner mentioned a famous art critic contemporary to the fauve painters-Louise Vauxcelles who was shocked by the "orgy of colours" in the works of Matisse, Derain and their colleagues at *Salon d' Automne*. He declared their pictures *fauves* or 'wild beasts' (Kleiner, 2009, p.911).

Painting 2: 'Mountains at Collioure' (1905), Fauvist painting, Andre Derain.

From the expressive orgy of colours of Fauves, the Western painting took a glib transition to a different form of art which has geometry in its origin, that is - Cubism. As with the eruption of war, the earlier forms and formats of painting were not being able to face and uphold the upheaval of the period, Merija says, - "The violent disjunctures of Cubist collage...were a fitting way to express the political and geographic revolution" (Merjia, 2014) However, this famous form of art emerged under the leadership of two of the most gifted artists that Western art history has ever witnessed - Pablo Picasso and Georges Braque (Keliner, 2009, p. 921).

Painting 3: *'Les Demoiselles d' Avigno'* (1907), Pablo Picasso

Pablo Picasso started working on his renowned painting *Les Demoiselles d' Avignon* by spring 1907 and finished drawing it by the end of that year. However, he did not display it in any exhibition for many years. Picasso used to show this particular painting only to fellow painters by arranging personal exhibitions (Keliner, 2009, p. 921).

Georges Braque, who was deeply influenced by the fauvists in his early works, is one of the first fellow painters to see the aforementioned painting of Picasso. Braque found that artwork and style so challenging that he started rethinking his own style. Kleiner notes – 'Using the paintings revolutionary ideas as a point of departure, together Picasso and Braque formulated cubism around 1908' (Keliner, 2009, p. 921).

Though it seems that the Cubist painters are much concerned with the proportions of the figures that they are drawing, (the name of the genre itself is derived from geometry) French writer and theorist Guillaume Apollinaire (1880-1918) explains how a cubist painting is not merely another geometric figure, says – "even in a simple cubism, the geometrical surfaces of an object must be opened out in order to give a complete representation of it", but he also adds that – "Cubism [is] the art of depicting new wholes with formal elements borrowed not from the reality of vision, but from that of conception. This tendency leads towards a poetic kind of painting which stands outside the world of observation" (As cited in Kleiner, 2009, p.921).

Painting 4: *'The Portuguese'* (1911), Analytic cubism in practice by Georges Braque

Picasso and his intellectual artistic partner Georges Braque developed their styles from 'representational pictures of fractured forms' as we see in *Less Demoiselles*, to 'shimmering evanescent of mirages of abstract lines and brushworks' in between 1908 to 1910. *The Portuguese* painted by Braque is a perfect example of an artform which was later named – analytic cubism. Davies et al observes- 'Gone is the emotional terror and chaos of *Les Demoiselles*. Braque arranged a grid of lines following the shape of canvas and an orderly geometric pattern of diagonal lines and curves, all recalling Cezanne's vision of a tightly structured world' (Keliner, 2009, p. 921).
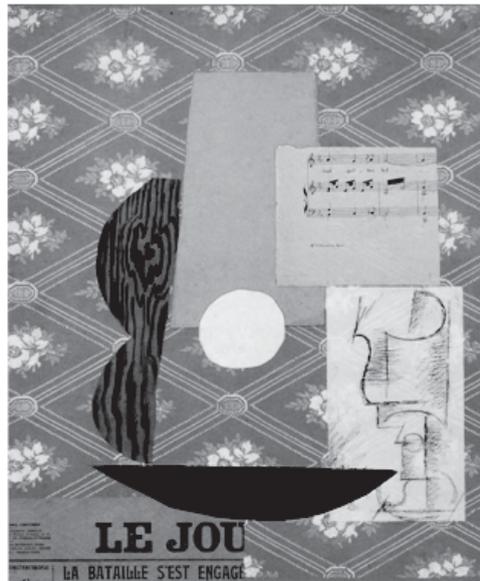
Painting 5: 'Guitar, sheet music and wine glass' (1912), synthetic cubism, Pablo Picasso.

Later, Picasso and Braque developed another style of painting famously known as synthetic cubism. Kleiner has defined it as a way of painting in which- 'artists constructed paintings and drawings from objects and shapes cut from the paper or other materials to represent parts of an object.' (2009, p.922) Picasso's 'Guitar, sheet music and wine glass' (1912), and Violin (1915) are examples of synthetic cubism.

Painting 6: 'Shock Troops Advance under Gas from The War' (1924), German Expressionism, Otto Dix

Let us end the discussion on this period of art with a definition of Cubism from Picasso himself. Picasso said that – "Cubism is not either a seed or fetus, but an art dealing primarily with forms, and when a form is realized it is there to live its own life…" (as cited in Kleiner, 2009, P.924).

Fauvism and Cubism had such an impact on contemporary European painters that a new wave of painting was developed, famously known as German and Austrian Expressionism. German expressionism as a creative movement began at a dawn of World War 1 and reached its peak in late 1920s. Kirchner says – 'Expressionism emerged simultaneously in various cities across Germany as a response to a widespread anxiety about humanity's increasingly discordant relationship with the world and accompanying lost feelings of authenticity and spirituality'. Expressionist artists' artworks covered up various issues and subject matters but the great war and its anguish, brutality and spiritual hollowness had been their center of inspiration. (Kleiner, 2009, p.955).

Painting 7: *'Charge of the Lancers'*, (1915), Italian Futurism, Umberto Boccioni

The response of Italian Futurists towards the war was quite different, because, when almost all the different genres of artists had a sheer aversion towards the war, this particular group of artists embraced it most enthusiastically. Merjia says, the Italian futurists used their works – 'to agitate for intervention against Italy's traditional ally, Austria' (Merjia, 2014). 'The Futurist ringleader', F.T. Marinetti, declared that – 'only a giant international conflict could shock Italy out of its cultural slumber'. The Futurists artists served as avant-gardes in the authentic military sense as volunteers along Italy's northern front (Merjia, 2014).
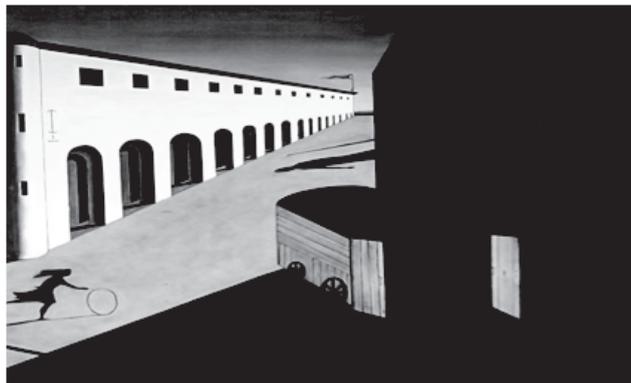
Painting 8: 'Melancholy and Mystery of a Street' (1914), Italian Futurism, Giorgio de Chirico

However, in some of their paintings, we find - 'metaphysical cityscapes', that conjures up the 'post – apocalyptic stillness' and 'disquieting anticipation'. We can consider de Chirico's 'Melancholy and Mystery of a Street' (1914) where we see a girl rolling her hoop across a sundrenched square (Merjia, 2014).

'Along with their rhetoric of jingoistic virility', Merjia mentions that the Futurist painting and poetry - 'nurtured a playful and subversive "anti-aesthetic" that would inspire artists for the rest of the 20th century'. It is ironical that, the anti-war stirrings of Dada are the form of art that bore out Dada's most immediate influence (Merjia, 2014).

'Physically and psychologically' says Davies *et al* 'World War I devastated Western Civilization. The destruction and loss of life were staggering, with hundreds of thousands of soldiers dying in single battles. The logic, science and technology that many thought would bring a better world had gone horribly awry' (2007, p.983). That was the period the Dada movement gained its momentum. Dada formally began in neutral Zurich back in 1916, where a large number of artists gathered to seek refuge from the war and dedicate them in order to – 'remind the world that there are independent men, beyond war and nationalism, who lived for other ideals'(Davies et al., 2007 p.985).

Dada movement has a depressing background. During the great war, artists around Europe were forced to join the military forces of their nations. Instead of asking them to contribute in the war through their patriotic artworks, the duty of fighting in the battle field and killing their opponent was imposed upon them. Most of them were unaccustomed to this. As a result, along with many other civilians, they died in the battlefield, fighting. In Davies et all's words -

'The great war halted much art making, as many artists were enlisted in their countries military service. Some of the finest were killed, such as German expressionist Marc and Italian futurist Boccioni.'

(Davies et al., 2007, p.985)
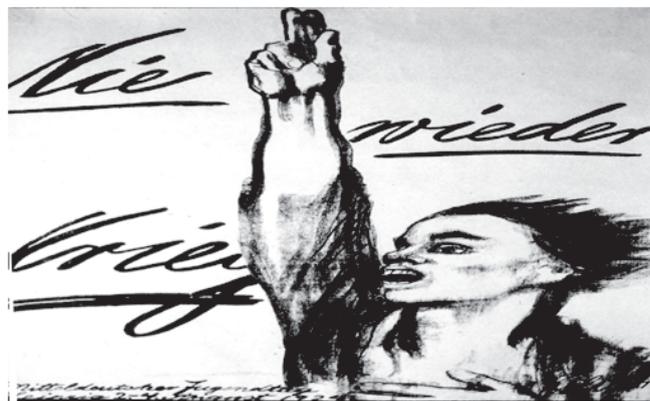
Painting 9: 'Never Again War' (1924), Berlin Dada, Kathe Kollwitz

These artists who were being pressurized to join the war against their will initiated the movement called Dada, which is a French word meaning 'hobbyhorse'. The words association with childishness as well as the random violence of the poets' act of word choice fit the postwar spirit of the movement perfectly (Davies et al., 2007, p. 985).

Dada, like as the Great War itself, spread quickly around different parts of Europe and America. With Jean Arp (of 'The Entombment of the Birds and Butterflies' fame) as its mouthpiece Zurich Dada flourished. New York Dada with Marcel Duchamp as its leader, Berlin Dada with Kathe Kollwitz and Hannah Hoch as its leader thrived at the same time.

'The war's traumas also spurred utopian cultural projects', says Merjia – 'after the guns fell silent'. Andre Breton (1896-1966), who was a pioneer of the Dada group, went to Paris in 1922, just after a year of the end of the Great War. As the Dada movement was originally linked with German Expressionism, many French art critics disliked it. The effect of his intellectual surroundings in Paris and his in-depth study of Freud's psychoanalysis during the war paved the way for Breton to start and lead the surrealist movement in 1924 (Merjia, 2014).

Painting 10: 'The Persistence of Memory' (1931), surrealism, Salvador Dali

The new wave of painting which followed the period of the Great War is popularly known as – 'The Roaring Twenties' (Phillips, 2011). Surrealism, as mentioned earlier, along with Baha'ism and narrative abstract painting was in its peak. Shape, splash, blocks of colours, weeping women, florescent lights, urinals and untidy beds all could be considered as art in this brave new world (Phillips, 2011).

That is what modern painting is all about. There is no perfection, no wearing masks, no exaggerated attempts to beautify the subject rather presenting everything as it is. The reason of that is explained very poetically in Erich Maria Remarque's famous novel on the shock and trauma of World War I, All *Quiet on The Western Front,* where he wrote that – 'The first bomb, the first explosion, burst in our hearts' (Remarque, 1929). Artists are the most sensitive to feel the pulse of the time and the frustration, depression, fragmentation brought by the Great War made them change their way of artistic expressions. The answer that laid near to the massacre of the Great War was Modernism, the – 'slippery but indispensable term' which denotes a vast range of sensible and aesthetic responses to that age (Johnson, 2012). The modernistic approach in art history arrived decades ago, but its clamorous arrival gained momentum because of the vast collective trauma and distress caused by the Great War.

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