



# Attitude towards Choosing English and Linguistic Imperialism: The Case of English Medium School and Tertiary Level Students in Khulna City

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
<p><b>Received date:</b> August 28, 2019</p> <p><b>Accepted date:</b> Dec. 30, 2019</p>	<p>The aim of this study is to demonstrate the gradual displacement or replacement of the main language(s) like Bangla of the 'Periphery' (non-native English speaking countries) due to the dominance of English, a language of the 'Center' (native English speaking countries). It also identifies how linguistic imperialism is being nurtured at English medium schools and tertiary level, and how Bangla language is being replaced by English language in Bangladesh, especially in Khulna city. Quantitative research is adopted and a survey method is used to collect data through a questionnaire. Using a random sampling technique, 300 students from three English medium schools and four universities are involved in this study. Results show that students of Khulna city are linguistically imperialized as students are frequently using English in their daily life and have become comfortable to use it. In case of conversation with friends and in social media communications, they prefer English to Bangla language. Findings indicate that Bangla as a language has become handicapped. English is taking place where Bangla should have been preferred. The study ends with a welcome to conduct studies on this area nationwide to provide a more general and comprehensive result.</p>

**Key words:** Center, Linguistic imperialism, Periphery, Secondary levels, Tertiary levels

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

English is the medium of instruction in all English-medium schools, private and many of the public universities of our country. English is highly maintained in these institutions, especially in the classrooms. Given the condition of English-medium schools, Hamid & Baldauf (2014) state that these schools not only use "English as the exclusive medium of instruction but also denies a deserving status to Bangla in the curriculum". Here English is used for all kinds of official or semi-official jobs and everyone is expected to be fluent in it,

and also to show expertise in it. Consequently, many young students are becoming unconscious puppets of Western linguistic imperialism.

It is important to have a common language all over the world through which people across the countries can communicate among themselves without any language barrier and maintain a sociable bond. Considering the importance of having a common language, English has become the 'lingua franca', that is, the common language. Kachru & Nelson (1996) state, "there is little question that English is the most widely taught, read, and spoken language

that the world has ever seen”. English has become the dominant language of this global world (Crystal, 1997) and the context of Bangladesh is not an exception. English has become the language that bears prestige and honor among the crowds. A person with sound knowledge in English is frequently preferred and also honored extravagantly in the society. It has become a trademark of quality that it creates social stratification leading people to linguistic and cultural hegemony.

Language choice happens in a bilingual or multilingual situation and people choose a language when they have such options. Hudson (1996) states, “anyone who speaks more than one language chooses between them according to circumstances”. Instead of Bangla, English is chosen and given priority in all sectors of our life here in Bangladesh. As Hamid (2010) declares that English “is widely believed to be a language of power, prestige and social mobility which is required for higher education and employment in the country”. Our government also believes that the large population of the country can be turned into human resources by acquiring communicative competence in English. But, when learners start acquiring English, they also start accepting the cultural, political and economic values of the ‘Center’ to gain mastery over the target language (TL). An acceptance of such kind can occur because teaching and learning always involve the ‘transfer and negotiation’ of some kind of values and interests (Canagarajah, 1999).

### Background of the Study

Imperialism is a system in which a rich and powerful country controls other countries or has a desire for control over other countries. Besides, it also indicates a policy of encompassing a country’s influence through colonization, use of military force, or other means. When this control and influence is based on any language, it becomes linguistic imperialism. By using English as an instrument to control and spread power, western countries are continuing their imperialistic dictatorship.

The term linguistic imperialism was first originated by a critique of Basic English in 1930s and then reintroduced by linguist Robert Phillipson in his *Linguistic Imperialism* (Nordquist, 2018). Phillipson (1992) defines English linguistic imperialism, which is “the dominance asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages”. Nordquist (2018) also mentions that linguistic imperialism is the imposition of one language on speakers of other languages which is also known as linguistic nationalism, linguistic dominance, and language imperialism.

Linguistic imperialism denotes the imposition of a language on other languages and language communities over a period of time (Canagarajah & Said, 2011). They continue to say that though imperialism through economic, cultural, political, and military means has been discussed widely, the realization that language can serve imperialistic purposes has begun to be theorized in its own right only recently. Scholars engaged in this area of research are open to the possibility

that language does not have to serve a subsidiary role to other material and political factors in the exercise of power; language can play a more central role in enabling the hegemony of a community. For example, some might argue that after decolonization, it is the English language that primarily sustains the power of the United States and Britain in many parts of the world today, facilitating other forms of cultural, educational, and political hegemony.

The concept of linguistic imperialism and the dominance of English as a conspiracy intended by imperial powers to achieve secret political and economic agenda are also broadly discussed in Spolsky’s (2004) *Language Policy*. He thinks, “English as a global language is now a factor that needs to be taken into account in its language policy by any nation state”. According to many scholars (Greenbaum, 1985; Kachru, 1986; Quirk & Widdowson, 1986), the position of English in the world is not unplanned. The agencies behind the spread of English are of the British Empire in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries and of the US after the First and Second World War. Pennycook (1995) argues that the spread of English constitutes the “deliberate policy of English-speaking countries protecting and promoting their economic and political interest”. Here certain government and private agencies play a key role, such as the British Council (Pennycook, 2001).

Farhat (2016) says that imperialism can be of six types: economic, political, military, communicative, cultural, and social. And that there are four instruments that drive imperialism: exploitation, penetration, fragmentation and marginalization. Phillipson (1992) says that in order to develop the western economies and tradition, colonized countries have been ruled by the colonizers for a long period of time. Though the colonial period is over a long time ago, still some countries are indirectly controlled. The difference is the tool of domination.

Now the countries are being dominated in a subtler way through the language. Phillipson asserts that colonized countries are still underdeveloped and referred as ‘third world’ that are providing raw materials and labor for the development of the western world. According to Kachru (as cited in Haque & Akter, 2012), the BANA (Britain, Australia, North America) countries are centers, and the other countries like Bangladesh, India, China, and so forth are peripheral countries. Those countries that are in the center are the English-speaking countries who control over the marginalized countries through their language and thus are expanding their power and influence. Cooke (1988) uses the metaphor of the Trojan horse to describe the way that English may be welcomed initially in a country but then cause concern as it dominates the native language(s) and cultures.

Phillipson (1992) linked his notion of linguistic imperialism with various kinds of ‘isms’, e.g. racism, sexism, capitalism, imperialism. He puts forward a new word ‘linguicism’ that aims to express how different ‘isms’ are mimicked and used in the English language when it is employed as a tool of imperialism. Canagarajah & Said (2011) argue that linguicism directs to the promotion of a

definite language and language differences and at the same time the degradation of others. As through the norms of esteemed language other languages obtain their position, it seems like that linguisticism plays the role of a gate keeper that gives one language its recognition while others are rejected.

Nowadays English has its influence in different sectors like science, technology, diplomacy, business, mass media, communication, education, youth culture, sport, and entertainment (Yano, 1998). Yano reviews the book *Linguistic Imperialism* by Phillipson (1992) where he finds that Phillipson talks about the promotion of English by the expansion of English Language Teaching (ELT) by British Council and United States Information Agency (USIA). We too are also influenced by this promotion. If we observe our university education, we find that these institutions are providing ELT and Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) courses which are at present seem to be very demandable, specially, for job market. Phillipson (1992) argues that the unequal allocation of power and resources between core English-speaking countries and periphery-English countries has been affected and legitimated by anglo-centricity as well as professionalism in the field of ELT. The English language has been promoted in order to serve the interests of the Centre.

Imperialism is one of the processes of controlling economic, political, cultural systems of the whole world. Tomlinson (1991) indicates that imperialism is the process that operates by controlling economic, political, cultural systems of the whole world. The dominating countries usually prescribe the norms regarding appropriate cultural etiquette, that is how people should run business, what should be fair politics, how people should dress, even how people should think, and so on. Tomlinson (1991) further says that imperialism is a silent process which is accelerated by the cultural influences of dominating countries; at one time colonization was the tool of imperialism, but now it is capitalism. Phillipson (1992) believes that, imperialism is now going hand in hand with capitalism. Though imperialism at one time was synonymous with the 'British Empire', nowadays it seems to be synonymous with the Western world, particularly American and British capitalism (Phillipson, 1992; Pennycook, 1994). According to Crystal (1997), the present importance and dominance of English language is the result of two factors—the rise of the British colonial power up to the end of nineteenth century and the emergence of economic power of the United States in the twentieth century. However, the implicit tendencies of such imperialistic nature can be found in Macaulay's parliamentary speech given on 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1835. The British wanted to impose the supremacy of their language, literature, science, technology and so on, and for this, they wanted:

....to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect (Macaulay, 1835 as in Ashcroft, 2003).

Language as the primary means for communication plays an essential role in the Centre's cultural and linguistic penetration of the Periphery. Therefore, by transmitting norms and ideas of the Centre through language, linguistic imperialism is not only a distinct type of imperialism but also pervades all the types of imperialism. In other words, linguistic imperialism is a subtype as well as an integral part of cultural imperialism, along with media-based, educational and scientific imperialism.

Thus, in Phillipson's theory of linguistic imperialism, English is placed at the core of the socio-political process of imperialism where the dominant Centre controls the economic and political fate of the dominated Periphery. In short, what he attempts to uncover is how English has been promoted and supported by a range of institutions promoting the structural power of English linguistic hegemony (Lin, 2013).

### The Context of Bangladesh

In Bangladesh teaching English is mandatory in pre-primary, primary, secondary, higher secondary and even in university education. In private universities, cadet colleges, English medium schools and in many of the public universities of Bangladesh, the medium of instruction is English. Besides, in job circulars it is specifically mentioned that employees should have proficiency in English and those who have good command over it will get high preference. In most cases job interviews are also being conducted in English. Sometimes, job seekers and employees are asked to give presentation in English. In such ways, people in Bangladesh are encouraged and have no other way but to use and adopt English.

Nowadays, it is up-to-the-minute to adopt English and acquire western culture, mostly among the younger generations, while the native culture and language are demeaned. It is absurd that adoption of western culture and tradition is being considered to be a parameter of modernity. But, no matter how irrational it is, this is how people in general think and act nowadays. And it is linguistic imperialism that has made us think in this way. As a result, citizens of formerly colonized nations, whether consciously or unconsciously, are debasing their own culture and language by accepting the superiority of English.

Hasan (as cited in Haque & Akter, 2012) mentions that after the Liberation War of 1971, the use and the teaching and learning of English became somewhat restricted in Bangladesh. It was the elite groups of the society who were interested in the establishment of English Medium Schools. Quaderi & Mahmud (2010) also discuss the gradual entrance of English into the education system of Bangladesh. In 1972, Bangla became the official language of Bangladesh. At that time in academic sector, especially in schools and colleges, Bangla was the only medium of instruction. They add that in universities, except for English departments, students had the choice of answering questions in either Bangla or English during examination. But soon the scenario gradually starts changing. English starts to put its influence on the education system of schools and colleges. Few English medium schools and colleges started to propose education in

English language and thus O' level and A' level, the British education systems, were introduced. With the changes of time, English medium kindergartens started to grow faster and now they are seen here and there, especially in towns and cities. Consequently, English language developed its authority into our education system and took over.

Haque & Akter (2012) conduct a study on cultural imperialism in English medium schools and reveal how all these institutions motivate students into practicing English language and culture and how students are adopting it from the very beginning of their academic life. English creates distinction among the learners. It makes us to consider that those who have the command over English belong to the upper class and those who do not have that command belong to the lower class. But is there actually any justification for belonging to a certain class only to have knowledge about a particular language? All these are the tricks of the Center to create such situation and make us believe and think in that way. And the colonizers have successfully done it and we, by using their language and culture are adding to the continuation to their success.

Akteruzzaman & Islam (2017) opine that "the massive globalization of English similarly takes it one step forward by creating a sense of superiority by using English mixed with Bangla". They find that a large portion of the respondents even believes that they will never shine in life without English. The young generation is very much fanatical with the use of English in their speaking, that currently there is a new dialect which is often termed as 'Banglish' that involves the mixture of Bangla and English words (Manzoor, 2006).

Students of English medium schools and private universities are considered the most 'confused and lost' as they disregard Bangla and have limited knowledge about the Bangladeshi culture and mother tongue (Chowdhury, 2011). To Mazhar (2007),

It seems that the neo-colonial linguistic practice would like to prove that Bangla is a 'failed' language – just like Bangladesh is a 'failed' state. Neo-colonial Bangla is eager to demonstrate that Bangla bhasha as a language and sign system does not have the capacity to express the day-to-day needs and concept of a modern society, not to mention serious thoughts; its vocabulary is so poor that one must borrow English words in every sentence (as cited in Sultana, 2012).

English is regarded both as an essential lingua franca and, at the same time a threat to the vitality of Bangla (Basu, 2016). The role of English in higher education in Bangladesh has been further consolidated with the emergence of private universities in the last couple of decades which run academic programs mostly in English. At secondary and higher secondary levels too, many reputed and traditionally Bangla-medium schools have started offering a parallel curriculum in the English medium for those who want it or can afford it. Moreover, Kindergartens are mushrooming not only in metropolitan areas but also in many suburbs of Bangladesh.

The recently launched English medium Madrasahs (Islamic religious schools) complete the picture of the ubiquitous and rapid spread of English in the education sector of Bangladesh. Although Bangla remains a dominant language in educational institutions, particularly at lower levels and in poorer neighborhoods, English is clearly pushing Bangla for more and more curricular space at all levels. What is gain for English is thus a loss for Bangla. Islam (2012) mentions that in the last twenty years English has taken over in some domains and it is preferred in meetings, lectures, seminars and conferences.

Islam's observation goes with Robert Phillipson's (1992) argument that English replaces and/or displaces other languages in many societies around the world. There is thus tension between embracing English on the one hand and maintaining Bangla on the other.

### Literature Review

The term 'imperialism' has become popular and wide spread in recent years. It refers to the domination of any distant territory by a ruling class without its physical presence. Said (1993) uses imperialism in this general sense to mean "the practice, theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan center ruling a distant territory".

Many studies from different regions have been conducted regarding linguistic imperialism. Researchers are still continuing their investigation as it is steadily becoming a global threat. There are also some studies found in context of Bangladesh concerning this issue. Shanta (2017) conducts a study on the trend of using English in Bangladeshi social and electronic media conversations which examines the truths behind the linguistic changes and its impact on Bangla language. It examines few conversations from private radio and television channels and facebook pages to show the current linguistic situation of Bangladesh in Bangladeshi electronic and social media. It reveals some conversations where the use of English is more than those of Bangla. In fact, Bangla is hardly used in conversations, which is the current linguistic situation of Bangladesh. She argues that it is not due to the capability of Bangladeshis in English; rather, it is the positive approaches of them towards English and their indifference to Bangla. This study suggests that proper language planning and policy is required in Bangladesh for both native and foreign languages and that the government should pay attention to it. It also suggests that study of comparative literature of both the language is needed as it will make people linguistically and culturally aware of other languages. It further suggests that the younger generations need to be acquainted with their own literature, thus they will be interested in studying their own language and culture.

Quaderi & Mahmud (2010) conducts a study at English-medium schools of Bangladesh and reveal that in Bangladesh, a limited number of people have the ability to send their children in English medium schools due to high tuition fees. The groups of people who have this ability later on dominate the job market. Thus, English creates hierarchical stratification in the society between those who



know little English and those who know it better. Phillipson (1992), Pennycook (1994, 1995) and Tollefson (2000) are of the same opinion. They show how English causes class difference and imbalance between English knowing and not knowing persons. There is no denying that English as a language of imperialism has widespread social, cultural, educational and political effects (Phillipson, 1992, 1998). In post-colonial countries, such as Philippines (Tollefson, 2000), Nigeria, Tanzania, and Kenya (Bamgbose, 2003), India (Bhatt, 2005), or Sri Lanka (Canagarajah, 1999), English has been a major cause of tension and social division between the elite and the 'Englishless masses'. Even in Bangladesh, English is segregating people into groups and classes (Hamid & Baldauf, 2011; Sultana, 2003).

Coluzzi (2012) carries out a study in Brunei Darussalam and Malaysia and emphasizes on the increasing use of English, especially, in media production, along with the issues of globalization and linguistic and cultural imperialism. Based on the survey, this study points out that in Brunei, Malay is rarely used and it has a lower status than English in both Darussalam and Malaysia. It also includes that English is visibly spreading in Brunei and it occupies the most important parts in education, mostly from secondary schools. This study ends with a discussion on the influence of English and cultural products of it that are being exercised on local languages and cultures in both Darussalam and Malaysia.

Sonnatag (2000) mentions "English remains a potent and ideologically laden issue in India". She added that in recent years English language controversy has been one of the major issues in Indian elections. Moreover, in Sri Lanka, the role of English language education is a topic of great controversy as well. Sivathamby (as cited in Canagarajah, 2000), a Professor of Tamil acknowledges that two different linguistic and cultural identities exist in the community—one derives from Hinduism and the Tamil language and another from English education and secular thinking. In Sri Lanka, 'international schools' have continued to provide high status education since the colonial period, and the size and importance of that school sector is growing rapidly. Expansion of these international schools is viewed by a larger number of people as a 'repeat of the colonial period, serving a similar function, i.e. contribution to the creation and maintenance of a privileged strata in society whose values, interests and aspirations as well as ideologies are pro-western, not Sri Lankan' (Gamage, 2002).

Eliassen (2015) conducts a study on whether English linguistic imperialism is threatening the Norwegian language or not. This study includes the observation of a Norwegian linguist, Lomheim who said that half of the world's languages would be worn-out in the period of 100 years through the domination of English. This linguist exploits the media and provides some hints about the daring destruction of Norwegian language and thus becomes able to protect Norwegian language by putting awareness into people's minds through Norwegian newspapers.

English achieves a very significant place in many education fields round the world and becomes a doorkeeper

to positions of superiority in society (Pennycook as cited in Lin, 2013). Lin mainly studies critical perspective on global English and their implications where he talks about how language gets changed and how English becomes the cause of death of languages. At the same time, the study evaluates the impression of English as a 'killer language' and the enlargement of New English. Further, this study brings about the idea of how non-native English speakers demanded the ownership of English which is very much alarming for the survival of the local languages.

In most former British colonies in Africa and Asia, e.g. Nigeria, Kenya, and Malaysia, English has often been adopted as the official language in education, administration and law. The language policies and language politics in these countries tend to reflect a twofold dilemma in the process of their nation building, i.e. national unity vs. linguistic nationalism, and modernization vs. resistance to imperialism. For example, Kembo-Sure (2003) describes the prevailing attitudes towards English in Kenya,

For many Kenyans the position of English in their environment is taken for granted, for it is the language their children have to learn at school. To this group it is simply the language children must learn in order that they may get ahead in life and other questions may not be warranted. On the other extreme there are Kenyans, mainly the educated elites, who link English to their country's inglorious past of political and cultural subjugation. This group is opposed to the status of English as an official language, the language that dominates the public life of many Kenyans. The link with the ignoble past causes this group to assert that Kenya will not be fully free from neo-colonialism until it divests itself of the language of slavery and oppression.

## 2. METHODOLOGY

The survey for this study is conducted on students of three English-medium schools and four universities (two private and two public) situated in Khulna city. All the participants are Bangla-English bilinguals.

### 2.1 Methods and Procedures

The study is conducted by means of questionnaire. A five point Likert scale and a yes-no format are used in the questionnaire. Further, a consent form is also produced and given to the participants before collecting data. Before conducting the survey, the questionnaire was pre-tested on 10 respondents to check the validity and reliability of this instrument. Based on the pre-test results, some necessary modifications were made to the study instrument. After collecting the data, it is interpreted and analyzed using SPSS, version 24.0. The results are presented in table and charts.

### 2.2 Sampling

The respondents were selected using a simple random sampling technique. The sampling procedure used was based on Creswell's (2009) recommendations since the results

Table 1 Showing details of student participants for questionnaire.

Sl. No.	Category of Institution	Name of Institution	Number of Participant	Total Number of Participant
1	English Medium School	Rosedale International English School	40	100
		South Herald English School	30	
		Islamabad English School	30	
2	University (Public)	Khulna University (KU)	50	100
		Khulna University of Science and Technology (KUET)	50	
3	University (Private)	Northern University of Business and Technology Khulna (NUBTK)	50	100
		North Western University (NWU)	50	
	Total			300

Table 2 Demonstration of the percentage of responses to statement.

Statements	Strongly Agree (%)	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	Strongly Disagree (%)	No Comment (%)
My teachers advise and/or compel me to use English inside the classroom.	25.6	52.8	19.5	2.1	0
My teachers encourage me to use English outside the classroom.	18.5	56.2	21	4.3	0
My family encourages me to learn English more than Bangla.	17.3	46.2	31.4	5.1	0
I personally give importance to learning English than Bangla.	28.5	47.5	18	6	0
Conversing in English gives you the feeling of superiority.	8.5	53.2	32.7	5.6	0
Using English has become a fashion to many.	8.7	23.8	44	0	23.5
We should avoid excessive use of English.	8.2	51.3	31.6	8.9	0
Students from English medium institutions are smarter than those from general institutions.	19.2	31.5	29.3	20	0
Sometimes English helps me to express my feelings in a more perfect way rather than Bangla.	24.1	47.6	18.7	9.6	0
I prefer listening to English news than Bangla as it helps me to learn English.	25.9	51.8	15.7	6.6	0
English is a killer language.	16.3	36.7	39.2	7.8	0

from this study are intended to be generalizable. Creswell (2009) declares, “with randomization, a representative sample from a population provides the ability to generalize to the population”.

### 3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Here the results are shown in percentages using table and charts for the comprehensive understanding of the analyzed data.

The Table 2 shows that almost three-quarter of the participants acknowledge that their teachers advise and/or compel them to use English inside the classroom, encourage them to do so outside the classroom, and they give importance to learning English than Bangla. Quite same numbers of the students opine that English helps them to express their feelings in a more perfect way rather than Bangla, and they prefer listening to English news than Bangla as it helps them to learn English.

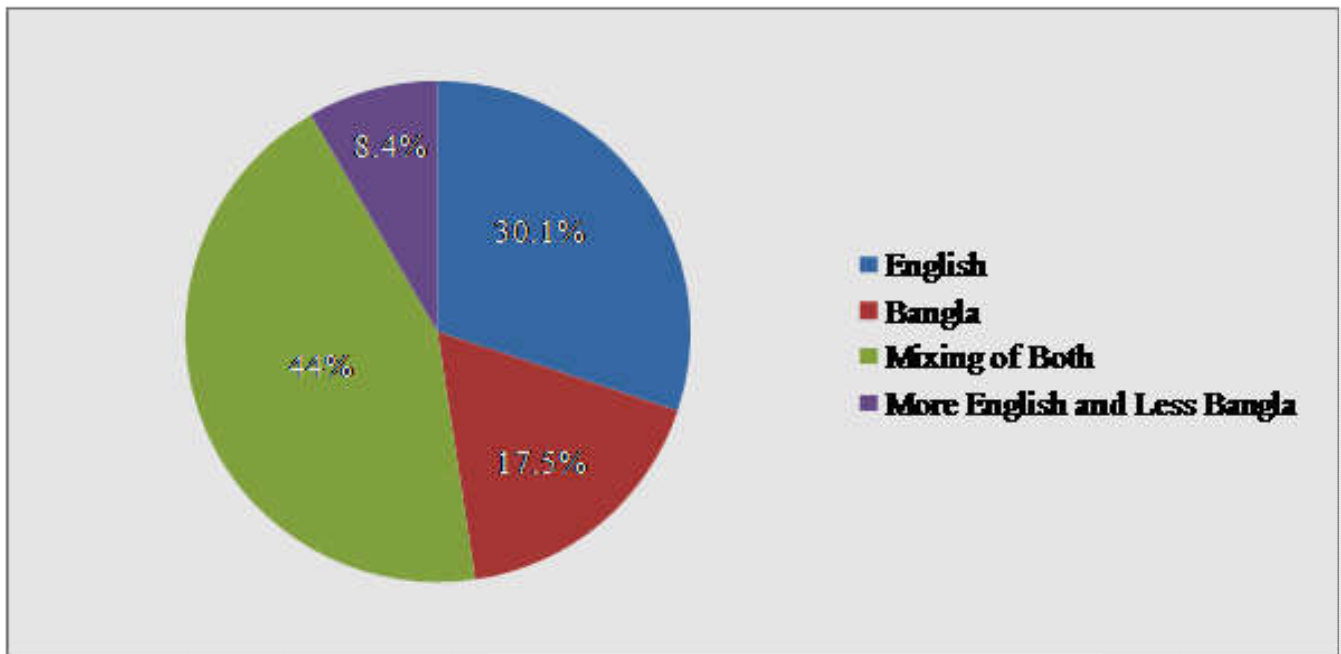


Fig. 1 Demonstration of the percentage of responses to statement of “Which language do you prefer to use in social media?”

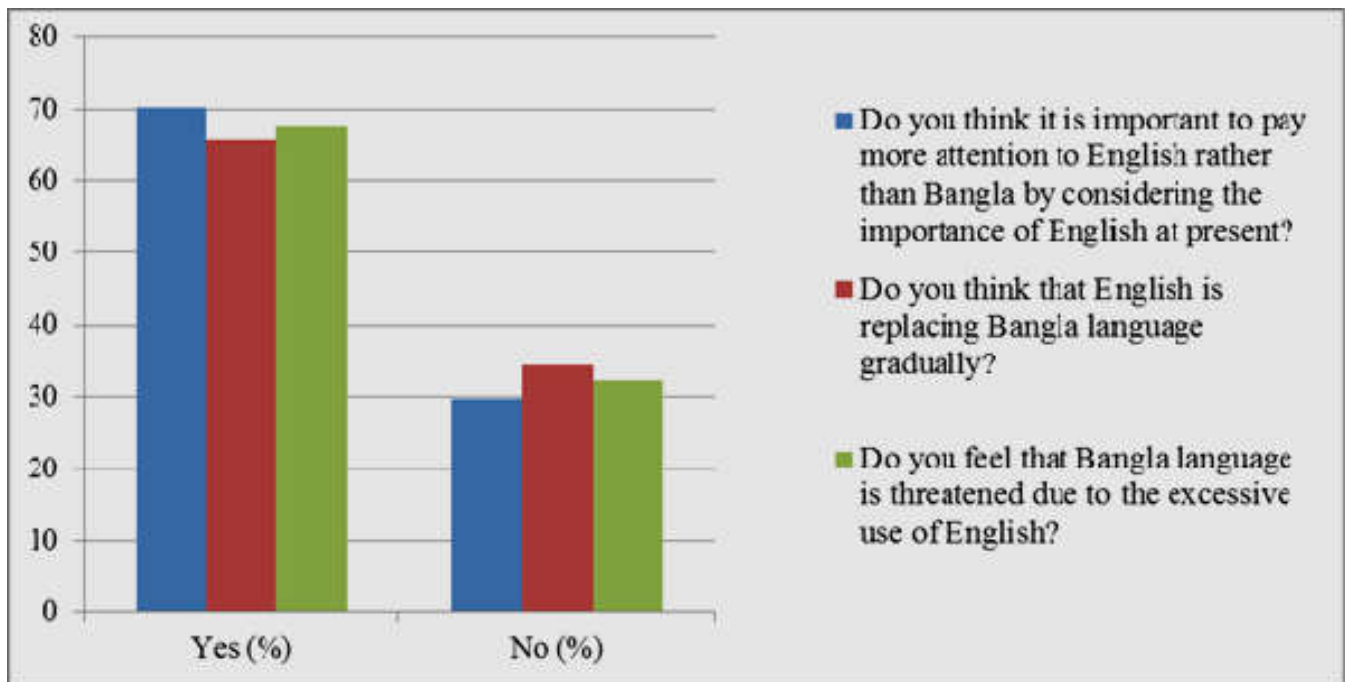


Fig. 2 Demonstration of the percentage of responses to statements.

More than 60% of the respondents admit that their family encourages them to learn English more than Bangla, and believe that the ability to speak in English gives them the feeling of superiority. But, surprisingly nearly same numbers of participants think that they should avoid excessive use of English.

About 50.7% of the samples assert that students from English medium institutions are smarter than those from general institutions, and more than half of the respondents (53%) consider English as a killer language.

Unexpectedly, 23.5 % participants remain neutral to respond to only one statement that is using English has become a fashion to many. Here a large amount of

respondents (44%) disagree to this statement while 32.5% are in favor of it.

Fig. 1 reveals that the language that nearly half of the participants (44%) use in social media is mixing of both Bangla and English. And, almost one third of them (30.1%) prefer to use English language while 8.4% participants use more English and less Bangla in social media. The remaining ones (17.5%) admit that they use only Bangla in social media.

Fig. 2 demonstrates that almost three quarter of the participants (70.4) accept that it is important to pay more attention to English than Bangla. It also reveals that nearly two third of the sample size believe that English language is replacing Bangla language gradually, and almost similar number of them feel that Bangla language is threatened due to the excessive use of English.

### Findings

The findings indicate that students prefer English to Bangla in the classroom and social communications. From family to institution, everywhere they get motivations to learn and use English. They themselves also give importance to learning English rather than Bangla. In case of chatting with their friends, they use more English than Bangla.

A surprising finding of this study is that most of the students consider that the ability to speak English gives them a feeling of superiority. They feel honored and prestigious while communicating in English.

Another key finding is that English, not Bangla, helps the majority of the respondents to express their feelings in a more perfect way. It means that they feel Bangla is not capable of providing sufficient words or expressions in conversations. Further, they share that English is replacing Bangla language gradually. In other words, speakers prefer English words in conversation though Bangla words are available for similar expressions. And, the findings also bring out that Bangla language is threatened due to the excessive use of English. All these findings sum up one single idea that we have already been linguistically imperialized.

### 4. CONCLUSION

Language is an important medium for expressing oneself, and in many countries, it contains a nation's cultural, traditional and exclusive flavors. English is a language that exercises its power to dominate the minor countries, and it has become an imperialist language. The spread of English causes language change, often to the extent that indigenous languages are 'killed'. Muhlausler (1996) points out that English may be introduced without thinking of the consequences for the real needs of the indigenous populations, focusing only on the perceived needs of the government. The indigenous languages, like Bangla, may lose prestige and this may lead to gradual language attrition.

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