Functional complementarity of different types of English texts: University teachers' voices and experiences

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Abstract: The Faculty of Education under Tribhuvan University, Nepal, has recently shifted to a diversified approach to the selection of texts for its Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) and Master of Education (M.Ed.) English reading courses. Apart from the conventionally prioritized native English texts, the courses incorporate texts in nativized varieties of English from international target cultures as well as texts in the emerging variety of English from students' home culture. However, in Nepal, there is a lack of research on the potential pedagogical contribution and cultural significance of texts originating from different cultures. In this respect, the present paper aims to explore university teachers' voices with regard to different types of texts and their experiences of dealing with such texts in the classroom. The qualitative data collected from six reading teachers through a semi-structured interview were analyzed thematically. Findings reveal the teachers' awareness of functional complementarity of texts stemming from target culture, international target cultures and students' culture. As reported, different types of English texts are assumed to have complementary functions to inscribe and express local and global experiences. However, despite valuing each type of text, reading teachers tend to ascribe greater linguistic value to native English texts than nonnative texts, with the implication that the weight of native English texts continues to dominate ESL/EFL reading courses.

Keywords: Source culture, target culture, international target cultures, native English texts, nativized English texts, Nepalese English.

1. Introduction

The unprecedented global diffusion of English and its subsequent cultural contact with other languages have resulted in the emergence of syncretic and nativized varieties often referred to as "world Englishes" (Kachru & Nelson 2009: 71). The existing literature suggests that the emergence of such varieties of English has impacted almost all aspects of English language pedagogy from policy to classroom practice (McKay 2002; Block 2002; Graddol 2006). In this respect, the types of texts to be used with English as a second or a foreign language (ESL/EFL) students have emerged as one of the debatable issues, others being "purposes of learning English, learner motives, learning environment, and nature of assessment" (Graddol 2006: 90). This issue has become particularly acute in EFL contexts like Nepal for certain reasons. First, given the EFL context, Nepal is supposed to turn to external norms, preferably British or American as the target variety (Kachru 1992; Graddol 2006), and native English texts as ideal teaching learning resources. Second, studies have also indicated that Nepal is experiencing a "transition from EFL to L2 status" (Graddol 1997: 11). Consequently, English used in Nepal, referred to as Nepali or Nepalese English[1], is conceived as an emerging variety on the grounds that it is undergoing a transition from its traditional status as a foreign language to a second language or additional language (Graddol 1997; Karn 2006; Sharma 2006; Rai, 2006; Giri 2015). This gradual shift implies that Nepalese English is one of several varieties of English that needs to be recognized in educational institutions, and accordingly texts in this variety deserve equal recognition in English courses in Nepal.

Aware of the changing status of English in Nepal, and of the growing number of locally produced English texts, English and Other Foreign Languages Education Subject Committee, under

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[1] The adjectival forms 'Nepali' and 'Nepalese' are often used interchangeably disregarding the nuance between them. In this paper, 'Nepalese' is used in relation to Nepal as a whole. It designates all the people speaking different national languages of Nepal. On the other hand, 'Nepali' is reserved only for the Nepali language or Nepali-speaking people.

Research article

the Faculty of Education[2], Tribhuvan University[3] (TU), has recently incorporated some of the creative and academic English texts produced by Nepalese writers into Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) and Master of Education (M.Ed.) reading courses. This tendency is also evident in B.Ed. and M.Ed. reading courses in two other universities of Nepal, including Mid-Western and Far-Western Universities. Driven by the primary aim of producing trained human resources in English, including school teachers and material developers, the Faculty of Education in its four-year B.Ed. program offers ten English specialization courses, each carrying 6 credits, out of which five are reading courses (Bachelor of Education Program). With the overall object of producing higher level academic human resources in English, including teacher educators, ESL/EFL researchers, and educational planners, the two-year M.Ed. program likewise offers twelve English specialization courses, each carrying 3 credits. Three of the courses contribute to the development of students' reading skills (Master of Education Program).

These reading courses in both programs share common features in terms of sources of texts, organization of texts, pedagogy, and varieties of English. Each reading course draws on diverse sources such as literature, philosophy, education, democracy, and globalization, and these multiple readings are organized thematically. Genre-wise, these are literature-oriented reading courses, as literary/expressive texts conspicuously outnumber nonliterary ones. Pedagogically, these courses have adopted a content-based approach to developing reading and writing skills of university students. Sociolinguistically, the selected texts represent different varieties of English, including both native and nonnative Englishes from diverse "geographical locations such as the UK, the USA, South Africa, India, and Nepal" (Awasthi et al. 2015: 1). The space for literary/expressive and nonliterary texts by Nepalese writers is a notable feature of these courses. However, the number of the texts representing local ethos and concerns is not significantly high in that they occupy only 17 % of the total texts (Adhikari 2017a). This curricular initiative, nevertheless, marks a shift from the long-existing monolithic practice of privileging native English texts to the diversified practice of respecting and giving space to locally produced English texts as well as nativized texts from different geographic regions of the world, which inscribe variegated cultural experiences in varieties of English.

The present curricular initiative to recognize locally produced English texts as reading materials for prospective English teachers, however, has been met with mixed responses from teachers dealing with reading courses. In this respect, the type of English text to be included and prioritized in university reading courses has been one of the persisting dilemmas faced by university course designers in Nepal. As a contributor to most of the reading courses and coursebooks for B.Ed. and M.Ed. programs, I am somehow aware of the reality that the text selection process in Tribhuvan University is characteristically guided by the top-down approach, and the reading courses "are based on some arbitrarily chosen literature focused materials" (Bista 2011: 7), belittling teachers' voices and experiences in the text selection process. Thus, exploring teachers' voices on different types of texts incorporated into reading courses and their experiences of dealing with such texts is imperative in order to make informed decision and adopt the bottom-up approach to course design. In this respect, the study poses the following questions:

1. How do reading teachers view different types of English texts incorporated into B.Ed. and M.Ed. reading courses they are teaching?
2. What type of text do reading teachers consider more relevant to their students: native English texts, nativized English texts, or locally produced English texts?

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[2] The Faculty of Education is the largest institution of teacher education in Nepal. It runs teacher education programs in its 26 constituent campuses and 560 affiliated campuses throughout the country.

[3] The first national institution of higher education in Nepal, Tribhuvan University (TU), established in 1959, is the 12th largest university in the world in terms of enrollment.

3. Why do they prioritize one type of text over other types?

In my attempt to answer these questions, I briefly shed light on the transitional status of English in Nepal, review the literature on the theoretical framework that situates English texts in different cultural contexts, and discuss the potential pedagogical contributions as well as limitations of each type of text. Then, I outline the methodology adopted to conduct the study before presenting and discussing the findings under four broad themes. Finally, I conclude with the summary of key findings.

2.   English in Nepal: an emerging variety in the EFL/ESL blurred zone

Historically, English as a foreign language entered into the multilingual land of Nepal in the 19th century. Its contact with the Nepalese can be traced back "to Prime Minister Junga Bahadur Rana's visit to England in 1850, and establishment of Durbar High School, the first Western mode school where English was introduced in 1854" (Adhikari 2017b:1). For long, English remained a distinguished language to be studied only by a privileged elite minority. The common mass did not have the privilege of learning this language until the establishment of Tri-Chandra College in 1918, and Tribhuvan University in 1959. With the implementation of National Education System Plan in 1971, English as a subject entered into all levels of school curricula in Nepal (Bhattarai 2006; Sharma 2006). In the last five decades, English in Nepal has morphed into the predominant medium of instruction in both school education and higher education (Bhattarai 2006) and the primary language of technology-mediated communication such as email and text-messaging. Such changes in the uses of English have blurred the conventional dichotomy between ESL and EFL in the Nepalese context. These days, it is widely used for both "external purposes" (as a foreign language) and "internal purposes" (as a second language) (Kachru 1991:5).

There is a growing tendency amongst the new generation of Nepali-English bilinguals to use English as a means of creative and ideological expressions. In this regard, Giri (2015: 102) notes that "the innovative use of English in Nepal is evident in the 'New English Literature'". Nepalese literature in English which comprises both original writing and Nepalese literature in English translation is rooted in the Nepalese socio-cultural matrix, embodying authors' personal as well as communal experiences. In the survey of the diachronic development of Nepalese English writing pioneered by Laxmi Prasad Devkota in the 1950s, Pun (2017) argues that Nepalese writing in English has achieved its canonical status with the works by internationally recognized writers like Devkota, Manjushree Thapa and Samrat Upadyaya. Likewise, Shrestha (2020: para 1) notes that "the number of Nepali books written in English is slowly growing in the past two to three decades". There are more than 100 regular online and print publications in English, including dallies, weeklies and magazines. Some of the online literary magazines publish Nepali texts along with their English translations. Moreover, the record of Nepal Journals Online shows the list of 177 journals published from Nepal (Nepal Journal Online), and English is the de facto medium of all these journals. The number of these publications is the clear indicative of the gradual appropriation of English by Nepali-English bilinguals to communicate information (in the case of academic/journalistic texts) and aesthetic experiences (in the case of literary texts) to English readers at home and abroad. This marks Nepalese writers' tendency of using appropriation as a writing strategy to take control of English and employ it to express their own personal and cultural experiences.

In terms of content, Nepali-English bilinguals' creative works embody local cultural experiences "transcoded" in and "transmigrated" (Cutter 2005: 9) into English. These bilingual writers participate in the process of writing across languages and cultures to communicate in English the content inherently coded in their first language. Take for example "Letter from foreign grave", a poem by D.B. Gurung, an acclaimed Nepali poet writing in English. It is one of the literary texts included in the reading coursebook *English for The New Millennium* (Awasthi et al. 2015) offered to

the first year B.Ed. students. The poem is written as a form of letter from a British Gurkha who dies an insignificant death while fighting the cause of others. The dead speaker regretfully recounts the predicament of Nepalese soldiers known as Gurkhas serving the British Crown. This poem is the typical case of transcoding source cultural experiences in English as a second language. Moreover, the dead soldier and his mother are Nepalese characters who are made to speak English, and are transmigrated into the English language and a different cultural context. Linguistically, this literary text blends Nepali and English languages by mixing the codes. English readers, for example, are confronted with Nepali cultural expressions such as *abir-daubed brow* (the brow daubed with vermilion powder), *khukuri* (Gurkha knife) and *Ayo Gorkhali* (a war cry, meaning *Here comes the Gurkha*). Code mixing registers the traces of the Nepali language in English texts. The deliberate selection of Nepali characters, settings and events, transfer of Nepali kinship terms, parallel use of Nepali cultural expressions and their English translations, mixing of Nepali and English codes (Karn 2012), glossing, leaving certain cultural words untranslated and footnoting have emerged as the defining features of English texts by Nepalese writers. These features signal the nativization of English in Nepal by means of creative writing. Such creative texts expect English readers to possess a minimum familiarity with the source cultural content and context, and even with language.

3.   Categorizing English texts for ESL/EFL students

Cortazzi & Jin (1999) have proposed a tripartite framework that categorizes materials or texts for ESL/EFL students into three broad types: source culture materials, target culture materials and international target culture materials. A survey of the theoretical and empirical literature on ESL/EFL materials reveals that researchers have almost unanimously adopted or adapted this framework to situate ESL/EFL materials in three broad cultural contexts (e.g. McKay 2002; Royani 2013; Rodliyah et al. 2014; Ashrafi & Ajideh 2018). To follow Cortazzi & Jin (1999), source culture texts are embedded in students' home culture. These are locally produced English texts that inscribe, reflect and strengthen ESL/EFL students' communal and/or national cultural identity. In reference to Nepal, English texts by Nepalese writers serve as source or local culture texts for Nepalese students. A typical example of this type of text could be "*Is Nepal small?",* an essay by Laxmi Prasad Devkota, included in *Interdisciplinary Readings* (Bhattarai et al. 2014) prescribed for the first year M.Ed. students. On the other hand, English texts emanating from "the culture of a country where English is spoken as a first language" (McKay 2002: 88) fall into target culture texts. Rooted in the English as a native language (ENL) context, these texts are termed native English texts in the present study. "The aims of education" by the British writer Bertrand Russell, included in the same coursebook, i.e. *Interdisciplinary Readings* (Bhattarai et al. 2014), typifies native English texts. Finally, there is the category of international target culture texts in which we find texts that represent a variety of cultures in non-English-speaking countries where English is used as an international (Cortazzi & Jin 1999) or second language. Written in nativized varieties of English, such texts emanate from diverse cultures around the world. An example of a nativized text is "Teachers" by Burmese Nobel laureate Aung San Suu Kyi incorporated into *Readings for The New Horizons* (Awasthi et al. 2016) offered to the second year B.Ed. students. In terms of proximity to Nepalese ESL/EFL students, both target (i.e. native) and international target (i.e. nativized) English texts lie outside their local/national cultural experiences.

From the point of view of ESL/EFL students' familiarity with cultural components ingrained in English texts, we can further discern two subcategories within the broader rubric of international target culture texts or nativized English texts. The first category concerns the ESL texts embedded in cultures that have some commonalities with students' culture. Texts such as " New millennium, new human being" by Indian spiritual master Osho, and "Face to face with Bismillah Khan" , a great Indian maestro, both from *Interdisciplinary Readings* (Bhattarai et al. 2014), are the paradigmatic examples of the texts with cultural proximity to Nepalese students. The reason is that there is a considerable overlap between these two countries in terms of mythology, history, religion and geo-

political experiences. The second category has to do with the ESL texts from a culturally distant territory. African writers' English texts such as "Mugamo" (Ngugi Wa Thiong'o) and "The face of hunger" (Oswald Mbuiseni Mtshali) prescribed for Nepalese students exemplify texts in this category.

The categorization of English texts in terms of their cultural locations should be considered functional and ad hoc rather than theoretically foolproof for certain reasons. First, within each category of cultural site there exist a wide variety of cultures. Any culture is characteristically diverse and plural in terms of history, race, geographical region, religion and language. Likewise, "the sites of contemporary cultural production and reception", as Barker aptly points out, "are no longer confined within the borders of nation-state culture" (2004: 45). In the present era of globalization, we must therefore acknowledge the fact that there is a considerable overlap amongst locally produced English texts, native English texts and nativized English texts in terms of linguistic features and cultural experiences. The reason is that culture "is becoming less a matter of locations than of hybrid and creolized cultural meanings and practices that span global space" (Barker 2004: 45). Notwithstanding these limitations, the tripartite framework proposed by Cortazzi & Jin (1999) and extended by McKay (2002) is adopted for this study because the framework is predicated on the notion that "even in this increasingly globalized planet, writers do write in particular contexts, which are always culture-bound" (Perteghella 2013: 198). One can thus argue that English texts inscribe, represent and perpetuate different English-speaking and non-English-speaking cultures one way or the other.

4. Different types of texts in ESL/EFL courses

As far as Nepal is concerned, there is a dearth of literature that informs why certain types of texts are preferred in ESL/EFL reading courses. I therefore draw on the global literature for the purpose of this study.

The use of texts embedded in the target culture seems to be underpinned by the notion that language and culture interweave and interact with each other in a subtle way. The inseparability of language and culture has been accentuated by many scholars. Brown (2000: 177), for instance, maintains that language and culture "are intricately interwoven so that one cannot separate the two without losing the significance of either language or culture". Peterson & Coltrane (2003 make a similar observation that cultural concepts are inherently tied to linguistic forms and they defy separation. If we accept this notion of language-culture inseparability, then the incorporation of native English texts into EFL/ESL courses/books seems both valid and logical. Assuming the inseparable connection between language, and its culture and people, Quirk (1990) made a pronouncement that nonnative teachers, obviously, as well as students must be in constant touch with the native language. Native English texts arguably serve as the most accessible bridge connecting nonnative teachers and students with ENL, particularly in the nonnative contexts like Nepal where the direct contact with native English speakers is minimum. Quirk's assertion is entrenched in the ideological impulse which feeds native speaker supremacy, relegating nonnative users' meaning-making potential to a secondary role. Quirk's deficit linguistic approach has been criticized for its failure to take on board linguistic, sociolinguistic and pragmatic realities, and educational needs of ESL/EFL contexts (Kachru 1991; Phillipson 2007).

McKay (2000) recognizes motivation and interculturality as possible reasons for incorporating target culture texts into ESL/EFL courses. Such texts have the potential to serve as good resources that can introduce ESL/EFL students to cultural content, and sociolinguistic norms that shape the use of ENL. McKay (2000: 8) further posits that the use of target texts is of paramount significance in "establishing a sphere of interculturality". It means that learning about target culture norms and values helps students reflect on their own culture as well as the target culture. Despite this, the use of English texts from the target culture in ESL/EFL courses has been under critical surveillance (McKay 2000, 2002) with the growing realization that native English texts alone are not adequate to meet the

changing language needs of ESL/EFL students from diverse socio-cultural contexts.

With respect to the rationale for using texts from students' home culture, Cortazzi & Jin (1999) postulate that such texts provide students with content to talk about their culture with other English-speaking people, and establish as well as strengthen their ethnic/national and linguistic identity. In the case of advanced students, we can assume that such identity is established up to a point, and thus they are in need of extending and consolidating their cultural identity by means of English, the global means of communication. The use of local English texts as teaching learning materials is not without its problems though. The undue emphasis on texts concerning local issues, aspirations and imaginations might lead to unhealthy ethnocentrism, minimizing the opportunity for ESL/EFL students to acquire culturally diverse content communicated through different varieties of English. Likewise, the paucity of local English texts in the emerging variety of English like Nepalese English is another pertinent issue. Yet another issue is ESL/EFL learners' need for reading the texts concerning the content and context already familiar to them. Course designers and book writers should justify the rationale for (re)exposing learners to the texts from their own culture and context in relation to their present and future language and content needs.

Finally, texts in nativized varieties of English from diverse cultural contexts are supposed to expose students to "English in its multicultural incarnations" and foster their "international understanding" (Kachru & Nelson 2009: 95). Following Kachru and Nelson (2009), privileging new literatures in English, i.e. creative writing in nativized varieties of English plays an important role in opening ESL/EFL students' awareness to contemporary world realities. Also termed "local literatures in English" (Maley 2001: 184), the new literatures particularly from post-colonial societies are characterized by "the newly ascendant spirit" (Boehmer 1995:4) as well as freshness in subject matter and outlooks, and by difference in linguistic features and rhetorical strategies (Ashcroft et al. 2002, 2004). These literary texts constitute one out of several ways of equipping both students and teachers with "an immense resource of cross-cultural perspectives and strategies of multilinguals' creativity" (Kachru & Nelson 2009: 97). Arguably, the significance of English texts in nativized varieties lies in their potential to awaken EFL/ESL students to linguistic features of varieties of English and variegated world realities. On the ideological level, the selection of literary texts in nativized Englishes is driven by the motive to counterbalance the hegemonic presence of Western literary texts in the Non-Western education system and deconstruct the center-periphery relationship between Western and Non-Western English literatures.

Turning now to the empirical literature, some of the studies on the use of native and nonnative English texts as teaching learning resources have reported mixed results (e.g. Adaskou et al. 1990; McKay 2009; Rodliyah et al. 2014). Adaskou et al. (1990), for instance, reported that target culture content was kept to a minimum in the English secondary course in Morocco owing to Moroccan English teachers' ethnocentricity and their corresponding reluctance to appreciate foreign cultures. Likewise, Liu & Laohawiriyanon's (2013) study of non-English major students in a Chinese university revealed students' preference to English texts stemming from their own culture, followed by texts from target and international target cultures. However, the study conducted by Rodliyah et al. (2014) showed Indonesian tertiary students' heavy inclination towards texts from English-speaking countries even though they acknowledged the importance of texts from local and international cultures. A similar finding has been reported in Ashrafi & Ajideh (2018), namely that Iranian textbook writers attached more importance to target English texts than the texts that mirror students' culture, the latter being eclipsed by the former.

This brief review of theoretical and empirical literature suggests that key stakeholders of English language teaching (ELT), including teachers, students and textbook writers, perceive English texts embedded in different cultures differently, and they ascribe importance to these texts accordingly. The review also signals that each type of English text has potential pedagogical benefits, socio-cultural implications as well as limitations. There is probably no single factor that determines

the type of text to be prioritized in ESL/EFL courses. It seems that the preference for a particular type is motivated by a complex interplay of several factors, which, amongst others, could be the centripetal ideological pull towards native English or the centrifugal pull towards nativized Englishes, stakeholders' attitudes towards Englishes and new English literatures, and student motivation and their language needs.

5. Methodology

The present study followed a qualitative design to investigate reading teachers' voices on different types of English texts incorporated into B.Ed. and M.Ed. reading courses, and their experiences of using the texts with their students. Guided by the constructivist worldview and interpretive approach that privilege "multiple participant meanings" (Creswell 2009: 6) and "subjectivity, individual perspective, personal constructs" (Cohen et al. 2007:.23), the study adopted the interpretative phenomenological analysis (Riazi 2016) to understand teachers' perceptions and reflections of teaching different types of English texts. Interpretative phenomenological analysis focuses on "personal meaning and sense-making in a particular context" (Smith et al. 2009: 35) by the people sharing a particular experience. To this end, I conducted the semi-structured interview with six reading teachers from four different campuses under the Faculty of Education, Tribhuvan University. The selected participants constituted a homogeneous group, i.e. teachers who had the experience of teaching one of the B.Ed. or M.Ed. reading courses for at least two years. I approached the reading teachers working in four different campuses so as to explore some diversity in their perceptions of the phenomena under investigation. At the time of the study, three of the teachers were teaching only the M.Ed. reading courses, whereas the rest were teaching reading at both B.Ed. and M.Ed. levels. The purposive sampling of the participants was motivated by the nature of research questions and practical factors such as availability, accessibility of participants, and their willingness to contribute to the study (Dornyei 2007). The data was collected between November and December 2019.

Upon their consent, I conducted "a one-shot interview" (Dornyei 2007: 134) with each teacher, lasting about 30-40 minutes, and audio-recorded their views. Keeping in mind Polkinghorne's (2005: 142) cautionary note that "one-shot interviews are most often not sufficient to produce the full and rich descriptions necessary for worthwhile findings", I shared with each of the participants the theme of the interview over the phone and mailed the tentative questions to them in advance so that they could contemplate the issues in-depth before the actual interview. I also consulted some of them for further clarification on their views during the data analysis. I de-identified the participating teachers as T1, T2, etc. to ensure their anonymity.

I adopted the priori coding scheme which, according to Riazi (2016: 255), "is usually developed on the basis of theoretical background related to the research problem, as well as the analysis of a small portion of the collected data". The assignment of segments of the data to appropriate codes was followed by annotations and memos, on the basis of which the broader themes were generated.

6. Findings and discussion

In this section, I discuss four major findings that emerged from the analysis of interview data: (a) pedagogical accessibility and search for cultural visibility; (b) growing sense of ownership of English; (c) attitude of subordination to native English texts; and (d) nativized English texts for widening cross-cultural awareness.

6.1 Pedagogical accessibility and search for cultural visibility

Greater accessibility of locally produced English texts, and visibility of students' home culture in English reading courses recurred as the dominant themes throughout interview data. A common view amongst the teachers was that reading courses should give space for the English texts that mirror students' culture. When probed into the reason, they noted that such texts are easy for students to

comprehend, and they also ensure visibility of students' culture in ELT.

Recounting their classroom experiences, each teacher emphasized the pedagogical value of locally written English texts principally because such texts, they opined, are 'more comprehensible' (T1) for both teachers and students, 'contextually relevant to students' lives' (T2), and make it easy for students to 'identify with the writers and characters of texts' (T5). Students' familiarity with the content and context of texts is the principal reason for these teachers to value local texts in English. Commenting on the pedagogical value of texts of this type, T4 said: 'Locally written [English] texts have characters, plots, settings, events, and content familiar to our students. I believe that such texts motivate students, as they understand the context easily'. Likewise, T6 recounted his students' preference as, 'When the session begins, most of my students go through the course of study and request me to teach the texts by Nepalese writers first'. When inquired into the possible reason for this type of preference, he further explained that students have a feeling of closeness to the authors they are familiar with and find culturally familiar texts less 'threatening' than unfamiliar ones.

The common thread running through these teachers' views and experiences is that texts with the culturally familiar content and context are more accessible for students both linguistically and cognitively. Their responses further indicate that familiarity of content and context contributes to motivation, which, in turn, maximizes students' engagement with texts, resulting in better comprehension.

The teachers' inclination towards texts embedded in students' home culture on the grounds of pedagogical accessibility conforms to the results of some of the previous studies (e.g. Cortazzi & Jin 1999; McKay 2002, 2009). These and other studies have found that English texts rooted in and reflective of students' own culture are valued in ESL/EFL contexts, seeing that such texts serve them with pedagogically more accessible content. The teachers' underscoring of the pedagogical contribution of this type of text is also underpinned by the pedagogical precept that "input should be linguistically and cognitively accessible" (Kumaravadivelu 2006:26) to students. The positive attitude towards local English texts also has a cognitive basis, since familiar content, as James (1994: 208) postulates, is "compatible with, and preferably integrated with, the students' prior knowledge". In other words, the content of culturally familiar texts is consistent with what Widdowson (1990:104) calls "students' schematic knowledge", i.e. the knowledge acquired in the social context, and such compatibility is assumed to "minimize perceptual mismatches" (Kamaravadivelu 2006: 201). Pedagogically, texts of this type thus tend to pose low "linguistic, cultural and intellectual barriers" (Povey 1979 as cited in Celce-Murcia & Hilles 1988: 123) for both teachers and students, resulting in a higher degree of text-reader interaction. Content-context familiarity has a crucial role to play in enhancing students' "personal involvement with the text" (Wallace 2010: 21). For want of a certain level of familiarity with the content and context, students as readers obviously experience difficulty in engaging with the text emotionally and intellectually, and in maintaining "intensive contact" (Bush 2006: 27) with its content, language and rhetorical strategies. On this point, Yee et al. (2012:1) rightly note that "passages contextually bound to students' cultural, national and ethnic identities could help them derive more meaning from the text as opposed to one that is not contextually bound". Content-context familiarity facilitates reading not only the lines (co-text), but also between the lines (context of situation) and beyond the lines (context of culture) of the text. Finally, one possible explanation for teachers' preference for the texts rooted in their cultural context might be that such texts demand less time and effort in the preparation of reading lessons.

Concerns regarding the presence and visibility of students' culture in English reading courses/books were articulated as prominently as pedagogical concerns. Privileging locally produced English texts, the teachers unanimously pointed out a broader cultural significance of exposing university students to the texts that reflect their own culture and context. T1, for instance, considered that using these texts acknowledges and values local writers' works. It was also pointed out that such texts serve as a means of bringing indigenous knowledge to the fore. A similar view was echoed by

T6 who noted that 'students at the Master's level are aware of their cultural identity. [Therefore] they value their own culture expressed in English texts'. He reiterated that using locally produced English texts is one of the ways of fighting the hegemony of British and American literature in ELT in Nepal.

These teachers' views suggest that the use of English texts emanating from students' own culture foregrounds local cultural experiences and values, and provides students with an opportunity to explore more about themselves. Furthermore, giving space to such texts in English courses was recognized as one of the ways of asserting one's own cultural identity in the face of the 'rampant encroachment of Western culture' (T1) and resisting hegemony of British and American literary texts (T6) in higher education in Nepal.

The teachers' voice on the presence of students' culture in English reading courses/books adheres to the spirit of pedagogy of global English, which is assumed to maintain and foster ESL/EFL speakers' national/cultural identity through English (Graddol 2006). In this respect, McKay (2002) notes that locally written English texts provide students with space and opportunity to learn more about their own culture, on the one hand, and equip them with the language needed to express content in English, on the other hand. The incorporation of this type of text into reading courses thus serves the Janus-faced purpose of exploration of one's own cultural space and its communication to global English users. This combination of exploration and expression of one's own "local epistemologies and cultural practices" (Prior 2018: 1) might contribute positively to "students' self-respect and cultural identity" (Sridhar 2009: 63). Regarding this, Nault argues that shifting the focus to the texts mirroring local cultures is one of the strategies that can be used to "offset the dominance of US and British culture in English teaching materials" (2006: 323). Arguing from the perspective of post-colonial thinking, the shift to local English writing is instrumental in resisting "the categories of the imperial culture, its aesthetic, its illusory standard of normatic or 'correct' usage" (Ashcroft et al. 2002: 37), and appropriating as well as nativizing English to articulate local cultures and aesthetics. On this matter, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004: 14) remind us that "ideologies of language and identity guide ways in which individuals use linguistic resources to index their identities". In agreement with this ideological perspective, we can read Nepalese teachers' and students' preference for local English texts as one of the ways of constructing and legitimizing their identity as nonnative English users and negotiating with native as well as other nonnative users of English.

6.2 Growing sense of ownership of English
A sense of ownership of English amongst the teachers was noted as another theme dominating interview data. The teachers almost unanimously asserted that Nepalese English should be recognized institutionally, giving it adequate space in university coursebooks. For these teachers, Nepalese English is one of the emerging varieties that deserves recognition in the educational domain. This advocacy was, however, concomitantly accompanied by their concern for the quality of English texts by Nepalese writers. In this respect, one participant expressed his dissatisfaction with the poor linguistic quality of English texts by Nepalese writers included in university reading courses. To cite his own voice, 'I've seen many wrong structures and words used in the texts. We should not include such texts in the courses only in the name of promoting Nepalese English writers'. Despite their high regard for the Nepalese variety of English, the majority of teachers expressed their concerns about the linguistic quality of locally produced English texts. They suggested that only the texts by 'established and competent Nepalese English writers or translators' should be used as reading materials for university students.

The sense of ownership of English amongst the teachers can be interpreted from the contemporary ontological reality of English, which, in Rajagopalan's (2004: 11) words, "belongs to everyone who speaks it". Echoing Rajagopalan's view, Harmer (2007:18) asserts that "whatever English we speak … we have, and should have, equal rights as English users". It seems the teachers are asserting their right to own the English language as its users. This sense of ownership is also

echoed in the coursebook editors' appeal and aspiration that "if we are spending a huge amount of money and countless years on English, why not stand with our own variety before the world" (Bhattarai et al. 2014: ii). For the Nepalese, English is not an outsider's language anymore. It has permeated all walks of life, gradually fulfilling instrumental, interpersonal, regulative, creative functions (Giri 2015). Educationally the most prioritized language both as the subject of study and the medium of instruction, English has emerged as the most valued "symbolic capital, convertible into economic and social capital" (Pavlenko & Blackage 2004:10) amongst the Nepalese. Its access for Nepalese students, argues Devkota, is often "perceived as the symbol of a better future, better social status and economic soundness of the household" (2018: 118). It is the language that the Nepalese are adopting and appropriating in the local contexts so as to fulfil their local and global communicative needs. The growing entrenchment of English in the Nepalese multilingual landscape, and a corresponding rise in the sense of ownership reflected in the teachers' views substantiate Graddol's (1997) observation that English in Nepal is transitioning from a foreign language into a second language. Furthermore, this transition points out the possible growth of texts in Nepalese English in the future and a corresponding interest in incorporating such texts into English courses.

Despite the growing sense of ownership of English, the teachers' concern about the linguistic quality of locally produced English texts, specifically those incorporated into the reading courses, cannot go unnoticed. Their concern signals at least two aspects of Nepalese writing in English. First, as an emerging variety of new English literatures, Nepalese English writing is yet to "grow in confidence and acceptability" (Maley, 2001: 185). Second, the teachers' suggestion for incorporating English texts only by 'established and competent Nepalese writers/translators'   evokes Bourdieu's notion of legitimacy of language and language speakers (Pavlenko & Blackage 2004). The teachers conceive only the Nepalese-English writers with national and international fame and recognition as the 'legitimate writers' of English and their texts as 'legitimate teaching learning materials' for Nepalese ESL/EFL learners.

6.3 Attitude of subordination to native English texts

The teachers emphasized the role of native English texts in the enrichment of students' English. Regarding this, T2 highlighted the significance of native English texts as, '[Such texts] enrich students' vocabulary, demonstrate a wide variety of sentence constructions by native English writers. They also provide rich cultural and contextual information about the use of English'.

Other teachers also maintained that native writers' texts expose ESL/EFL students to 'standard and authentic English' used in the target culture context. A recurrent theme noticed in interviews was a sense amongst teachers that texts by native English writers are 'more authentic and standard' than texts by nonnative English writers. They further noted that English texts, particularly literary ones, by British and American writers read more natural and exhibit deeper connection with the target culture than texts by nonnative English writers. The teachers on the whole were of the opinion that English texts by native writers tend to be lexically rich and syntactically varied. In their view, such linguistically rich texts contribute positively to students' reading and writing proficiency. Because they seemed to associate 'standard English' mainly with native English varieties, the majority of teachers suggested that reading courses give the highest priority to native texts followed by nativized texts and the texts by Nepalese writers.

The belief that exposure to native English texts, preferably by British and American writers, ensures students' better access to 'pure or standard' variety of English runs contradictory up to a point. The teachers, on the one hand, advocate the institutional recognition of nonnative varieties of English, including Nepalese English, and, on the other hand, they tend to believe that native English writers' texts are more standard and authentic than those of nonnative English writers. This assumption not only reflects but also perpetuates Quirk's deficit linguistics approach (Kacru 1991; Phillipson 2007) that nonnative users of English are inferior to their native counterparts in the productive manipulation

of vocabulary and grammar, and organization of discourse and style strategies. Guided by the assumption of native speaker's superiority, the teachers emphasized the necessity of maintaining "the constant touch with the native language" (Quirk 1990: 7) through native English texts. On a linguistic level, these teachers thus accepted "symbolic domination" (Pavlenko & Blackage 2004:12) of native varieties by ascribing greater linguistic worth to native English texts than nonnative English texts. For most of them, the incorporation of native English texts into reading courses is necessary to ensure better contact with 'standardness' and 'authenticity' conventionally and even misconceptionally associated with British/American English. They regarded British and American literary texts in particular somehow superior to literary texts in nonnative varieties. It also suggests the teachers' belief in the hegemonic native/nonnative dichotomy, further revealing their acceptance of nonnative English writers' subordination to native English writers. Additionally, the high regard for native English texts mirrors "the native speaker tenet" (Phillipson, 2007: 196) or "native speaker fallacy" (McKay 2002: 42) that wrongly assumes native speakers as the model who can demonstrate standard grammar, vocabulary, fluent and idiomatically appropriate language, and appreciate the cultural connotations of the language (Phillipson 2007: 194). This (mis)conception, however, runs counter to the existing ontological reality of English at least for two reasons. First, native speakers cannot serve as the model to be emulated in the context of teaching English as an international language, since the language needs of nonnative users of English are different than those of native users of English (McKay 2002). Second, studies have shown that native users of English are outnumbered by nonnative users with an ever-widening margin (Graddol 1997, 2006; McKay 2002). In this respect, we can postulate that contemporary English writing is also dominated by nonnative English users. Consequently, it makes no sense to relegate a secondary position to nonnative English texts in ESL/EFL pedagogy.

Notwithstanding their greater inclination towards native English texts on linguistic grounds, the teachers reported several pedagogical challenges associated with the use of such texts with ESL/EFL students. One of the reported challenges is that students often find it difficult to understand Western myths, cultural practices and norms, history, philosophy, and literary traditions overtly expressed or covertly implied in the texts. The second challenge concerns students' inability to relate culturally different texts to their own contexts. Finally, it is hard for them to associate their experiences with unfamiliar events and places, and identify with the characters. T5 shared his experience of using such literary texts with his undergraduate students as:

> Most of the Western English texts make allusions to biblical myths, history, philosophy with which our students are unfamiliar. And they really don't understand the depth of such allusions. As a result, we teachers have to teach about such allusions rather than English itself. [Interview extract]

This teacher's classroom experience indicates the impact of cultural distance on and a corresponding difficulty in teaching culturally different texts. In order to make such texts more accessible to students, teachers have to devote more time to explaining the content than engaging students in language activities. Furthermore, some of such texts were reported to be demotivating and uninteresting owing to unfamiliar content and complex language.

Pedagogically, texts by native English writers were perceived to pose cultural, linguistic and intellectual barriers, thanks to content unfamiliarity and language complexity. However, these perceived constraints demand an explanation from the cognitive perspective. Echoing the fundamental tenet of Krashen's (1985) input hypothesis, Skehan (1994) posits that, cognitively speaking, the ideal input should not only be comprehensible, but it should also be challenging. In the absence of cognitively and linguistically challenging texts, reading might suffer from the lack of excitement and deeper processing. In this regard, it is worth mentioning the concerns raised by some of the teachers about potential demerits of inordinate inclination towards culturally too familiar texts,

particularly from students' own culture. In their opinion, too familiar content and context might fail to challenge students, which, in turn, might spoil their motivation for exploring the text. One of the teachers, for instance, recounted that some of his students find familiar texts less challenging than unfamiliar ones and tend to take the former type too lightly, resulting in a poor text-reader interaction. Since students are already familiar with the content and context of the text, they might resort to "a hurried, uninterested surface reading" (Wallace, 2010: 21), paying less attention to the message(s) communicated, and rhetorical strategies employed by the author.

Culturally unfamiliar content and complex language thus need not always be interpreted as teaching-learning barriers as some of the teachers perceived. Rather, such texts can be appreciated as the uncharted textual territory to be explored jointly by teachers and students or to be explored by students under teachers' principled support and guidance.

6.4 Nativized English texts for widening cross-cultural awareness

A key theme that emerged from the analysis of responses with respect to texts in nativized varieties of English reflecting international target cultures was that this type of text plays a crucial role in widening students' "cross-cultural awareness" (Kachru & Nelson 2009: 95). The teachers viewed that university students need to be familiar with norms and values of different cultures inscribed in different varieties of English used in diverse international cultural contexts. One teacher noted that English texts from diverse cultures make students globally aware citizens. Another teacher added that university reading courses should value texts particularly from non-Western countries such as India, Pakistan, Singapore, Malaysia, Nigeria and South Africa. In his opinion, non-Western English texts embody the spirits of cultural representation, e.g. "The love story with the city of joy" by Dominique Lapierre, gender empowerment and justice, e.g. "Women's empowerment and identity" by Taslima Nasreen, and feudalism and call for revolution, e.g. "The passer-by" by Lu Shun (Awasthi et al. 2016) which are equally relevant to the Nepalese context. Likewise, in other teachers' views, English texts from diverse cultures, 'foster intercultural understanding of our students and help them handle culturally different global situations' (T4), 'promote cultural tolerance and togetherness' (T3), and 'familiarize our students with features of different varieties of English' (T6).

The teachers thus recognized the value of texts in nativized varieties of English from the perspectives of content, culture and language. English texts concerning non-Western issues were referred to as the reading resources of higher relevance to the Nepalese students. This suggests the teachers' belief that the non-Western World, as opposed to the Western World, shares similar socio-cultural and geo-political experiences. Consequently, the Nepalese students can relate to these experiences more readily than Western experiences. Culturally, exposure to diverse cultural experiences inscribed in English texts serves to promote "cultural pluralism", to use Sridhar's (2009) term, and cross-cultural understanding. Following Kachru and Nelson (2009), nativized English texts can be employed as a versatile and expanding vehicle to implement and experience multiculturalism in and through Englishes. Exposure to global varieties of English texts is also instrumental in bringing ESL/EFL students out of a narrow loyalty to their own culture on the one hand and counterbalancing their inordinate inclination towards dominant English-speaking cultures on the other. The former might prevent students from "falling into ethnocentric traps" (Saler 1993:8), while the latter might help them resist and mitigate the "symbolic domination" (Pavlenko & Blackage 2004: 12) of native varieties of English on nonnative varieties. Moreover, the incorporation of nativized English texts and, particularly, new English literatures into reading courses, introduces students to the creative potential of nativized Englishes and allows them to experience bilinguals'/multilinguals' creativity (Kachru & Nelson 2009) at work in the production of English texts. Kachru & Nelson (2009: 97) thus succinctly conclude that to deprive ESL/EFL students of new English literatures is to deprive them of "an immense resource of cross-cultural perspectives and strategies of multilinguals' creativity" manifested in and through nativized Englishes. The reading teachers' underscoring of texts

in nativized Englishes also finds its justification in the linguistic realities of English used in global cultural contexts. Linguistically, as McKay (2002: 93) observes, such texts have the potential to illustrate "examples of lexical, grammatical, and phonological variation in context" as well as "cross-cultural pragmatics in which bilingual users of English draw on their own rules of appropriateness". Culturally diverse English texts open up a pedagogical avenue for acquainting ESL/EFL students with diverse linguistic and cultural features of world Englishes. This enables them to grow linguistically through the acquisition of distinct vocabularies, grammatical structures and rhetorical strategies of Englishes while, at the same time, "becoming more knowledgeable citizens of the world" (Stoller 2002:107).

Regarding the two types of texts from nonnative English-speaking countries, namely English texts from culturally proximate countries such as those from South Asia, and English texts from culturally distant countries such as those from Africa, almost all teachers interviewed for this study showed specific preference for the former type of text. This result is not counterintuitive though, since one would expect that teachers/students prefer culturally proximate texts to culturally distant ones. Regarding the regional preference, one teacher noted that non-Western texts especially from culturally similar countries are more comprehensible for students than those from culturally distant ones. Thus, culturally proximate nativized texts, for example, from South Asian countries are likely to be pedagogically more accessible for Nepali ESL/EFL students than culturally distant texts such as those from African and Latin American countries.

7. Conclusion

The present study adopts Cortazzi & Jin's (1999) theoretical framework to characterize English texts into the categories of native English texts, nativized English texts and texts in Nepalese English and investigates reading teachers' voices on these different categories of texts emanating from diverse cultural contexts. The teachers recognized the functional complementarity of texts emanating from students' culture (i.e. texts in Nepalese English), target culture (i.e. native English texts) and international target cultures (i.e. nativized English texts), and ascribed different functional roles to these types of texts. Source culture texts are assumed to serve ESL/EFL students with relatively more accessible content, contributing to better text-reader interaction. Culturally, English texts of this type simultaneously serve reflective and refractive functions. They reflect students' cultural epistemologies and practices, which in turn ensures their cultural visibility in English. Refractively, such texts transcode culturally different values and experiences, 'forcing' English to undergo certain changes and acquire transcultural characteristics. Incorporating source culture texts into reading courses is also a way of acknowledging the legitimacy of the emerging variety of English (i.e. Nepalese English) and promoting local English writers' creative effort to appropriate English for local needs. The value of nativized English texts, on the other hand, lies in their potential to open up opportunities for ESL/EFL students to experience linguistic variation reflected and cultural diversity inscribed in the global varieties of English. Nativized English texts and, particularly, new English literatures also expose students to English bilinguals'/multilinguals' creative potential at work. Despite this, the teachers held significant sway in regard to native English texts with the assumption that these texts serve as the vital linguistic input for ESL/EFL students. Their attitude towards native and nonnative English writings mirrors both resistance and subordination to the dominance of native English. Nepalese ESL/EFL university teachers are caught between the act of appropriating English for self-exploration, self-expression and cultural visibility, and a desire to be in touch with the symbolic power conventionally associated with native English or inner-circle English varieties. They are thus simultaneously gravitated towards the divergent force of nonnative varieties of English and the convergent force of native English. This seemingly conflictual pull experienced by these university teachers communicates ESL/EFL teachers' awareness of diverse functions that English as a global language has to serve in the ESL/EFL context. This local-global functional awareness of

English should be addressed during course design, and particularly while making decisions about the types of English texts to be selected and prioritized in reading courses.

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