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Fiction as History: A postcolonial historiography of British India in *River of Fire*

Kanwal Zahra, Muhammad Shahbaz Arif

Abstract

This research paper focuses on the historiographical elements in the fictional narrative of River of Fire regarding British India in postcolonial perspective. The research combines the perceptions of McCaw (2000) and Robinson (2011) regarding the relation between historiography, historical narratives and fictional narratives that involve the resurrection of national identity and the national past. River of Fire by Qurratulain Hyder is first and foremost a narrative fiction that recovers a historical perspective for a colonised community gradually emerging as ‘a postcolonial other’ writing back to the imperial narratives. The analysis of the data shows that the fictional narrative propounds the historiography of British India which foregrounds the dynamics of the transformation of a postcolonial hybrid culture gradually replaced by new set of hybridities resulting in historical turn that defines the historical present of British India and determines the historical future of postcolonial subcontinent partitioned as India and Pakistan. The historiographical element is so dominant in the novel that fiction itself seems to be a history parallel to the fictionality of historical narratives. As the text of the novel is a transcreation of the Urdu novel Aagka Darya by the same author it seems to be a ‘writing back’ addressed to the Anglophone audience.

Key Terms: *fictional narrative, imperial narrative, historiography, historical narrative, postcolonial other, writing back*

Introduction

In spite of being a fictional narrative, *River of Fire* is embedded in the real history of the subcontinent encompassing the four major epochs of the regional history: pre-Islamic India, Muslim India, British India, and the postcolonial India (Zahra, 2013). Fictional reality is interwoven with the real history (if such a thing does exist) in this novel in such a way that the fabric of the narrative seems to be dominated by the historical narratives and the historiographical realizations as perceived and constructed by the author of the text in the broader perspective of the Indian historiography and in response to the imperial historiography. The study of the narrative in this backdrop is significant because no other fictional narrative takes up the historiographical position so clearly and so seriously in response to the imperial history of the Indian subcontinent. This paper, therefore, explores the textual evidence of the historiographical position taken by the writer and analyzes it in the backdrop of postcolonial writing back of imperial narratives. The novel has recently attracted some attention of the postcolonial researchers (Raja, 2006; Zahra, 2013; Reshi, 2014; Oldfield, nd). Zahra (2013) has studied it as a postcolonial counter narrative which as a Muslim narrative writes back to the Imperial representation of the colonized Muslims in the subcontinent. However the historical perspective of the narrative is not fully explored. This paper, therefore, focuses on this unattended aspect of the novel.

Background

Generally speaking historiography involves the methods and modes of writing about the past with the idea of recovering it for the present. In its narrower sense historiography has been defined as “intentional attempts to recover knowledge of and represent in writing true descriptions or narratives of past events” (Horowitz, 2005: 33). Though this narrower sense has given way to a plethora of definitions which attempt “to convey the entire richness of the human effort to re-capture the past” (Horowitz, 2005: 33), the basic idea of describing and narrating the past events survives as the core issue of the debates in historiography. The traditional approaches to historiography have always attempted at establishing a line of demarcation between the historical facts and the historical fiction and between the academic history and the fictional history. However, this demarcation has almost been dissolved with the advent of post-modernist and post structuralist perspectives in historiography with the claims

that history itself is a reconstruction of the past (Hucheeon, 1988; Maxewelling, 2005; White, 2005; Slotkin, 2005; Wesselling, 2005; Macaw, 2000; Robinson, 2011; Kremmer, 2015; Jroce & Jroce, 2005; Heyer & Fidyk, 2007; Young, 2011). The theoretical debates about the historical novel have led the theorists in poststructuralist and post-modernist perspectives to the idea that the fictional narratives interwoven with the real history complement the academic history and “fill out the domain of the possible or imaginable” (White, 2005: 147). And by giving an imaginative account of the historical past, the fictional narratives “test historical hypotheses by a kind of thought experiment” (Slotkin, 2005:221) and make up the weaknesses of academic history. Commenting upon the narrative dimension of the historical discourses Neil McCaw (2000) observes:

The past is identified as foreign Other in relation to the metaphorical and dominant notion of the historical present. This notion of the past as foreign Other identifies the ability to write history, to narrate the group experience, as ideologically crucial. For, whosoever writes the history speaks for the foreign country that is the past. Historiography is therein implicated in postcolonial theories of the nation as narrative, a collective story to be told. It is on the one hand, part of what Edward Said calls ‘the method colonized people used to assert their own identity and the existence of their own history’. Reciprocally history as narrative can be suppressed, or else loaded against the active acknowledgement and participation of subordinate groups (McCaw, 2000: I).

McCaw has in fact highlighted the relation of historiography and narration in the postcolonial perspective which this paper intends to explore in the narrative boundaries of *River of Fire*. By her “narrative historiographical imagining of the past” (McCaw, 2000: 1), Hyder has discursively responded to the imperial narratives about the Indian history. Her narrative resurrection of the history not only writes back to the imperial marginalization of the colonized Indian but also transcends the generally accepted accounts of the history of the subcontinent by the Hindu and Muslim writers who write in the academic tradition of western historiography in the post-imperial and post-partition context. Hyder in fact challenges the nation state academic historiography in India and Pakistan in imagining the post independent history of the sub-continent beyond the confines of Indians and Pakistani nation states (Raja, 2006: 50). In a sense Hyder lays down the new foundations of the postcolonial historiography which both includes and transcends the various historiographical stances in colonial as well as

postcolonial perspectives. It is perhaps this fact that echoes in Oldfield's comment; "rather than being a post-colonial novel or even an anticolonial novel, Hyder's work could be seen as a non-colonial novel, one that is expanding into a new and less familiar sort of territory" (Oldfield, nd: 30). Infact, *River of Fire* resists the traditional categorization and this according to Masood Ashraf Raja (2006) and Anna Oldfield (n.d) is the reason of the cold response which the novel has received by "mono English speaking readers" (Oldfield) and "metropolitan academic scholarship" (Raja, 2006: 49). Zahra (2013) has discussed in detail the way *River of Fire* writes back to the stereotypical representation of the colonized Muslim community and the way it challenges exclusive writing back of Muslim narratives by producing a polyphonic and multi-layered discourse which builds "a wider historic and metahistoric perspective" (Zahra, 2013:255). It is important to note, however that in imagining past "as foreign other" (McCaw, 2000:1) the narrative of the *River of Fire* assimilates the past as a flux in which different currents and cross currents have specific implications for the present flow of history. McCaw's othering of historical past has postcolonial overtones and it leads our understanding to the realization of the marginalization of the unprivileged historical narratives that try to resurrect the past for present purposes.

Allan Robinson's (2011) concepts of "emplotment", the present past' and 'the past present' provide a theoretical frame work for this paper together with McCaw's idea of the past as 'Other'. According to Robinson:

...both history and historical fiction project an anachronistic narrative world, where model of reality depends on the 'cognitive asymmetry' between present inquiry and past experience. The unbridgeable gap between the present attempt at imagining past and the past experience itself 'involves several narrative levels and interpretive aspects' (Robinson, 2011: X).

In Robinson's view the author makes a selection of past actions, events and states, and manages an *emplotment* of this selected data through which he interprets the past by offering the explanations of the significant transformations of the past. Robinson (2011) terms it as 'the present past' which according to him is "a mental representation of what, from our present perspective is now taken to have been the nature of the past..." (Robinson, 2011: X). *Emplotment* is therefore historiographical in nature and it explains the way history is narrated. In *River of Fire* the authorial voice of Qurratulain Hyder is actively involved in the 'emplotment' constructing a 'present past' which is reflective of her point of view towards the historical processes involved

in the dynamic history of the multi-cultural subcontinent. The second point in Allan Robinson's framework focuses on "the subverts of historical agents, who under uncertainty, with bounded rationality, and subjects to various constraints seek to make sense of and act in the narrative world which represents past actuality" (Robinson, 2011: X). This historical actuality which Robinson calls the 'past present' is embedded in the 'overarching emplotment'.

The two layers of the competing and contending possibilities are achieved in a historical narrative whether fictional or otherwise, and in this way the readers of the narrative are offered a wider range of the possible interpretations of the historical past which better suits the contemporary postmodernist and poststructuralist perspectives of history. *River of Fire* has strong historiographical elements which explain the historical perception of the author as well as the fictional and real agents of the history. In the coming pages we shall review the historiographical elements of the novel at both levels: the level of present past and the past present. It will also be foregrounded that how Hyder's emplotment challenges the imperial narratives of the history of the subcontinent, and how the agents of the history, embedded in this emplotment, respond to the imperial and colonial voices leading to a postcolonial historiography of the subcontinent in *River of Fire*.

The fictional narrative of *River of Fire* is predominantly historical in its outlook. There is no single story with a protagonist around whom the web of the events is woven. Instead, the narrative picks a series of episodes from four major historical epochs of the history of the subcontinent "ranging from 4th century BC to 1950s...through the experiences of Gautam Nelimbar, Hari Shankar, Abul Mansoor Kamaluddin, and Champa, who reappear during the Magadhan period, Sultanate period British period and post-partition period"(Biswas, 2015: 497). The linking thread in the four periods is the similarity of the names which gives the impression of a single story of a single narrative; otherwise the novel may be considered a book of cultural history with four major parts. Infact, the primary concern of Hyder is not what happens to a particular fictional character, but what happens to sociocultural and political history of India during the centuries of the past. Throughout the novel, the authorial position towards the dynamics of history is fore grounded. This is what Robinson calls the 'emplotment.'

By the process of 'emplotment', which according to Robinson is 'making up' of history, Hyder presents a flow of historical events which lead to a particular

interpretation of history as a flux. The word 'river' in the title of the novel refers to the particular interpretation of past as a flow of events through the annals of historical temporality. As emplotment is "the interpretative structuring of diverse facts and events into an intelligible whole" (Robinson, 2011: 34), the image schema of history is flux which may be best expressed by the symbol of the river. Like a river which has a multi-layered currents of flow from the bank to the centre and across to the other bank giving the expression of a homogenous entity of an unceasing continuity, a given epoch of history assimilates various contending discursive practices making the impression of a single flow of polyphonic discourses all leading towards the direction of the future.

Between the first two epochs the gap of historical time is big enough to be overlooked but by applying the techniques of "marvellous realism" (Biswas, 2015: 497), Hyder manages an imaginative transition. Gautam of the Magadh period jumps into the river and reaches the mid-stream and "a forceful torrent" (p. 53) carries him closer to his target while he is struggling against the flux and he cannot grasp the stony rock for a long time and "the angry waves of the Saryu" (p. 53) pass over him. A short paragraph, which closes Chapter 9 and is entitled 'The River', serves the purpose of transition:

"Syed Abul Mansur Kamaludin arrived at the River bank at full gallop. The Saryu flowed majestically in front of him. There was a row of huts on the other shore where some dervishes in patched smocks moved about, carrying out their ablutions for the early morning namaz." (P. 53-54)

This short paragraph links the new story with the past by using the image of river as an interminable flow. This is the same Saryu River which flowed centuries back when Gautam drowned in it. It still flows like the flux of time itself without ceasing and without caring for anything. From Chapter 10 onwards, the novel focuses on Muslim India which gradually becomes British India and is ultimately divided into India and Pakistan. Though the canvas of these three phases is historically very vast, but the transition from one epoch to another is neither sudden nor so abrupt. But in all cases it is by the river side that a transition is witnessed. At the end of Chapter 17, a young British Cyril Ashley is seen crossing the river.

Through the image of river, Hyder constructs the idea of history as an irreversible continuity. The flow of history is continuous and there is no break in it. However, by focusing on the four major epochs of the history of India spanning more

than 2000 years, she introduces the idea of the significant moments and major turns in the flow of history which result in the decisive changes in the course of history. Hyder's emplotment is based on this ontological perception and she foregrounds the causal structure of historical change in terms of political changes which result in cultural transformations. These political changes are the result of power struggle which is accompanied by war, which is the most potent factor in the historical process. But this war and peace phenomenon is not merely domestic. It has global connotations and even in the ancient period it was the global power struggle which resulted in the principal transitions of the history. For example, Magdh period ends with the rise of Chandragupta Maurya whose mother is an untouchable and therefore his rise forebodes a decisive cultural change with a ruler who is "not one of those descended from the Sun and the Moon" (P 42). He not only expels Greeks from Punjab but also defeats "old King Nanda of Pataliputra" (P 42). With the rise of new regime a new establishment, bureaucracy, and elite class emerge and the big guns of the previous regime turn baggers. So at the end of the first phase the war maimed Gautam becomes an artist and a bagger.

With the change of regime cultural attitudes change and the socio-political and economic life is significantly transformed. The narrative voice observes: "rapid changes were taking place around the vagabond Gautam. New fashions and hair styles were coming into vogue. In the spoken language words were appearing in a new form. Commerce was flourishing" (P 43). Political changes also bring linguistic changes as Gautam meets a person who speaks "a kind of polyglot language (P 43). He is a Persian who has "fled Iran after Alexander's invasion and lived in the land of five Rivers for many years" (P 43).

Hyder's historiographical stance views war as a major agent of political change and it accompanies cultural changes. These cultural changes manifest themselves in the domain of language, philosophy, beliefs, folk ways and economic and social structures. In all the four phases, this has been a persistent position of Hyder and her emplotment of the history of India is driven by this perception.

Apart from the emplotment or the present past, Hyder's narrative also presents the past present and past future which is reflected through the statements, opinions, and the interpretations of the historical agents within the fictional narrative. These historical agents are constructed by the author of historical fiction therefore, their views are embedded in the very emplotment conceived and stated by the novelists

(Robinson, 2005). In *River of Fire* this historiographical aspect appears to be very significant. It adds a further dimension to the general emplotment and makes the postcolonial historiography of the novel polyphonic and multi layered. In the second chapter entitled ‘The Greek Traveller’, two fictional characters Gautam Nilambar and Hari Shankar discuss Greek and Persian wars in which Greeks ultimately defeated Persians and “Persia’s Wheel of Sovereignty [which] rolled everywhere” (P 11) was ultimately broken. This very discussion of the past seems to be an attempt to understand the historical present, within the fictional narrative. In their attempt to understand the present the characters in the fictional narrative also anticipate future possibilities. In Chapter 10 of the novel the fictional character Abul Mansur Kamaluddin of Nishapur narrates his experience in the first person narrative. He not only comments on the past, but also predicts the future. He comes across some Spanish travellers who tell him the political conditions of Muslim Spain and predict the global political scenario:

“Hispania!” the man repeated in surprise. “That country is full of turmoil. Sooner than you expect, the Cross may replace the Crescent in Spain. Forget it.” He leaned forward and whispered with a cherry wink, “If you want to know ----- in the West we Christians are on the ascent, in the East, the Turks ---- the Saljuks, the Memluks, the Ottomans. In India the Turks have been merrily setting up kingdom after kingdom for last three hundred years. Go to the Orient, sonny boy you have lost Spain for good.” (P 57)

In this extract, the fictional characters are predicting future possibilities. Such types of predictions are called past future according to Robinson and the perspective in which these predictions are made is called past present. In this past present, Abul Mansur Kamaluddin comments on the past events and speaks out his own historiographical perspective. He states:

City lights twinkled over the Tigris. There are eye-witnessed accounts of the holocaust when the waters of this very river turned black with the ink of tens of thousands of books that the heathen Mongols threw into it when they destroyed the libraries of this city. Athens fell once again with the fall of Baghdad in the year 1258 of the Christian calendar. We never recovered after 1258. (P 57-58)

At this point of the narrative, the present past of the author and the past present and past future of the historical agents intertextually synchronize and contribute the broader historiographical position of this fictional narrative.

In this very chapter, an Andalusian shares with Kamal a statement made by a Muslim Spanish judge who predicted “that the Indians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, and Iranians have cultivated knowledge while the people of the northern Europe were uncouth barbarians. A time may soon come when those barbarians will rule the world” (P 58). This prediction is fulfilled within this very narrative. This is how Hyder develops a multi-dimensional historiographical stance in her novel.

Hyder’s historiographical stance has a very strong postcolonial perspective as well. The major part of the narrative comprises ‘colonial encounter’ (Gandhi, 1998). Zahra (2013) has primarily focused on this encounter in the broader perspective of colonial discourse (Said, 1978) and the postcolonial counter discourse. Zahra (2013) has pointed out that *River of Fire* is a Muslim narrative which writes back to the imperial representation of colonized Indian Muslims. In this way it responds to the imperial narrative about the colonized communities. Said (1993) has explored the relation between the fictional narrative and the Imperial culture in the representation of colonial lands. As Jan Muhammad (1995) points out, the colonized communities are presented as non-historical entities having no historical past. In this back drop, *River of Fire* writes back to the Imperial discourse of colonial history. As pointed out earlier, McCaw (2000) considers history as a foreign Other, Hyder has explored this foreign country from a postcolonial perspective challenging the colonial representation of the historical events. Narrating the events of 1857, Hyder has challenged the discourse of mutiny constructed by the British historians. The chapters 25, 26 and 27 seem to be the lessons from a book of history. Very minute details of historical events are embedded in the narrative giving an impression of an academic history documenting the past with all its vividness. In Chapter 26, Nawab Kamman narrates his eye witness account of 1857 events. Gautam who is the listener of Nawab Kamman is surprised at that: “He had never heard of this counter proclamation” (P 163). In Chapter 27, Hyder compares the native’s account of mutiny with that of Britishers. Gautam who has listened to the first-hand account of Nawab Kamman who narrates the Indian war of independence from their perspective is surprised at the big gap between the imperial and the native account.

Gautam was well acquainted with the version of the mutiny which the English press of India had published. The Siege of the Lucknow residency had already become a literary legend in England and Anglo-India ... in the crowded reading rooms of Calcutta's public libraries Gautam had gone through the English ladies' diaries published in the magazines of London during 57-58. Book shelves were full of novels, poems, and general reminiscences coming out from England. (P 167)

Hyder infact makes the point that the same event in which two communities antagonistically engaged each other has two diametrically opposite versions which are mutually incompatible. On both sides the history is constructed from an exclusive position. From a post structuralist and postmodernist point of view, Hyder's narrative proposes a postcolonial historiographical position which requires the writing of a polyphonic narrative of colonial history accommodating the contending discourses without taking a decisive position regarding the truth or the falsity of any narrative. In the flexible narrative structure of the novel, the cultural history of a community may be recovered with all its narrative diversity and the polyphonic discursive positions. It is also important to note here that the difference of emphasis regarding the historical past in the Urdu version *Aag ka Darya* and the English version *River of Fire* shows that the audience of the narrative also effects its structural composition. The English version is written for the Anglophone readership therefore some information is added and some others are deleted. Moreover, the chapter titles are added in the English version to increase the focus of the narrative. This increased focus privileges the postcolonial counter discourse against the imperial discourse recovering the suppressed voices of the colonized community.

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Linguistic Variation Across Written Registers Of Pakistani English: A Multidimensional Analysis

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Abstract

This study examines the patterns of linguistic co-occurrence in the written registers of Pakistani English by comparing them to the native and non-native varieties i.e. Indian and British Englishes. The written components of International Corpus of English (ICE: Greenbaum, 1996) of the said varieties have been used. Each component comprised of 200 texts of approximately 400,000 words from eight registers. A multidimensional analysis of co-occurrence patterns along functional linguistic dimensions, following Biber (1988) reveals differences in the macro discourse characteristics of written registers of the three varieties. At the micro level, the researchers have tried to find out which linguistic features have mainly contributed in the formation of the dimensions of linguistic variation. Results indicate that Indian texts make use of more informational features of discourse in all the eight registers due to high usage of nouns while narrative discourse elements get the highest score in Pakistani Creative writing. Interestingly, Pakistani Letters present abstract information while Pakistani News Reportage is narrative in contrast with other two varieties. Other variation among the three varieties is based on frequency differences of discourse features. The study reveals that Pakistani English is a non-native variety in its own right and South Asian English as a cover term puts its identity out of sight and hides the differences between Pakistani and Indian English.

Keywords: Register Studies, Register based variation, corpus linguistics, world Englishes, multidimensional analysis, ICE corpora

Introduction

World Englishes is an increasingly important area of study in recent times. Scholars across the world have acknowledged the emergence of New Englishes and are striving to explore the regular features of the newly emerging varieties. Pakistani English has recently been acknowledged as a distinct variety of English (Khan, 2012; Mahmood, R, 2012; Mahmood, A. 2012: Anwar, 2012: Uzair, 2011: Rahman, 2014). Pioneering works on this variety can be dated back to late 1980s and early 1990s by Rahman (1989), Baumgardner (1990), Rahman (1990) and Tallat (1988), but these works were mostly impressionistic and were not data based to lead Pakistani English to its own identity. However, they contributed in the acknowledgment of this variety having its own name on linguistic map. More recently, researchers have shown an increased interest in exploration of the features of Pakistani English in the areas of phonetics and phonology, syntax, semantics and lexis. Among them, most of the studies have been carried out in the field of syntax, the most relevant to the study in hand (Tallat, 2003; Uzair, 2011; Anwar, 2012; Mahmood, A. 2009; Mahmood, R. 2009; Hussain & Mahmood, 2014).

However, the research on Pakistani English to date face validity threats on the basis that none of the previous studies have tried to explore the register based variation in Pakistani English. The objectives of this study are to examine the linguistic characteristics of Pakistani English on linguistic dimensions through multi-dimensional analysis which has successfully been applied on register variation in Pakistan (Shakir, 2013; Ahmad & Mahmood, 2015), dialectal variation between American and British English (Biber, 1988; Helt, 2001) and inter-variety comparisons (Xiao, 2009) previously. The current study has tried to explore inter-variety variations using this methodology. Further, the current study has tried to answer how far does the linguistic variation exist in the written registers of Pakistani English in comparison with Indian and British English along each dimension.

Literature Review

English language has spread all over the world and is now considered an international language. It is no longer used only by native speakers i.e. Korean, Thai, Australian, Swiss or American or British. Nonetheless, it is equally being used by people from Asia and Africa. It is an international language in the Commonwealth, the ex-colonies

and in America. As cited by Widdowson (1994): “the very fact that English is an international language means that no nation can have custody over it... It is not a possession which they (so called native speakers) lease out to others while still retaining the freehold. Other people actually own it” (p. 385).

The massive spread of English around the world can be divided in three phases; the first phase being “the missionary phase (1614-1765), the second being “the phase of local demand (1765-1835) and the third phase being the “government policy following T. B. Macaulay’s ‘minutes’ of 1835” (Kachru, 2006: p. 245) i.e. colonization. During and after the colonization, English was implanted in sub-continent and other colonized territories. Now, even in the post-colonial period, the ex-colonized have been using English to fulfill various purposes. Regarding the implantation of a language to another community, Hassan (2004) observes that “A language grows from a number of elements in a given society when a language is taken by one community from another; it is not simply lifted from one part of the world and transplanted to another” (p. 2). This implantation in various communities and cultures is studied under the umbrella term of ‘New Englishes’ or ‘World Englishes’. Regarding the term ‘world Englishes’, Bolton (cited in Klickaya, 2009) discussed many interpretations such as “an umbrella term covering all varieties of Englishes, new Englishes in countries such as Africa and Asia. According to Jenkins (2006), the term covers the English varieties in Africa and Asia.

Pakistani English has been studied impressionistically by many scholars (Tallat, 1988; Baumgardner, 1990; Tallat, 2003; mahboob, 2004; Uzair, 2011; Rahman, 2014); through corpus based methodology (Mahmood, R., 2009; Mahmood, A., 2009; Mahmood, Hassan, Mahmood and Arif, 2012; Mahmood & Shah, 2011) and multi-dimensionally (Shakir, 2013; Ahmad & Mahmood 2015). In Pakistan, register variation has been studied using multidimensional (MD) analysis. The pioneering study carried out in Pakistan to explore the registers of Pakistani English as a non-native variety is by Shakir (2013) who studied Pakistani print advertisements and collected a representative corpus of 1351 advertisements. On the basis of 88 MD analysis, his study disregarded the previous claims on print advertisements based on unrepresentative data and exploration of single linguistic entities. He found that the claim that print advertisements are closer to face to face conversations is not supported in case of Pakistani print advertisements rather it resembles the written discourse and have similarities with other promotional genres e.g. direct mail letters by fundraisers

and nonprofit grant proposals. Ahmad and Mahmood (2015) carried out their study in the same vein. They explored register of press news reportage in Pakistani English. They collected the representative corpus of Pakistani press news reporting from the most circulated newspapers in five provinces of Pakistan. They collected 400 texts from five newspapers that together made 2000 texts comprised of around 2.3 million words and found that Pakistani press news reporting is different from British news reporting in the sense that Pakistani news reporting is more narrative than the British news reporting. Also, internal variation among sub categories of press news reporting has been highlighted.

However, a more comprehensive multidimensional approach towards Pakistani English is required to provide a comprehensive view of the newly emerged variety. Through this approach co-occurrence of linguistic features are to be observed to highlight the inter-register variation in Pakistani English in comparison with other two varieties. Quoting Biber (2004) here: “the theoretical importance of linguistic co-occurrence has been emphasized by linguists such as Halliday (1988), Ervin-Tripp (1972) and Hymes (1974). Brown and Fraser (1979: p. 38-9) observe that it can be misleading to concentrate on specific isolated [linguistic] markers without taking into account systematic variations which involve the co occurrence of sets of markers” (p.15-6).

Using MD analysis, Biber (1988) highlighted the dialectal variation between British and American English. He reported the systematic differences between the two dialects along two underlying textual dimensions. He found that American written genres are more colloquial and involved than British texts. He explains that “ with respect to first dimension, the prescriptions restrict the use of interactional and colloquial features in British writing; with respect to the second dimension, prescription discourage the use of a heavily nominal style in British writing.” (p.201). However, the analysis is limited to nine written genres of British and American dialects. He recommends further research on dialectal variation based comparisons and explanations.

This phenomenon is further explored by Helt (2001) who tries to fill the gap by carrying out the multidimensional analysis of spoken registers of British and American dialects. Helt holds that the studies until then analyse the phonological or single syntactic features and supports her choice of methodology that “[t]he use of MD analysis goes beyond the phonological and isolated syntactic differences focused on in

most previous studies, investigating dialect differences at a register level in terms of a much wider array of linguistic features... MD analysis is a viable tool for describing the linguistic differences among subregisters, or conversation types, within a single dialect as well as between dialects..." (p. 172). The data included face-to-face conversations and telephone conversations. She found the dialects significantly different along dimension 1 (which distinguishes between involved and informational texts), 4 (which elaborates persuasion in the texts) and 5 (which differentiates between abstract and non-abstract information). Her findings correspond to that of Biber (1988) and prove that American registers prove to be "more interactive, colloquial and slightly more abstract than their British counterparts" (p.178). The study in hand, tries to grasp the phenomenon from the world englishes perspective and will conduct a multidimensional comparative analysis of Pakistani English with a native and a non-native variety.

Multidimensional analysis presents a comprehensive description of the underlying linguistic parameters in terms of dimensions and the similarities and differences among registers with respect to those dimensions. The motivation behind opting for the MD approach is that all the available registers, in written mode, must be included to observe the variation and, in the second, inadequacy of the previous studies which have based mostly on a single register as a parameter to determine the linguistic variation among varieties.

Methodology

This section presents the methodological steps for the current research

Data Collection

As mentioned earlier, ICE was chosen for the current research. The Indian and British and Pakistani components of ICE were used and written registers were extracted. The registers were coded according to ICE codes which are given below in the table 1.

Table 1: codes of the written registers in ICE corpora

Code	Register	Number of samples
W1A	Written-non-printed-student writing	20
W1B	Written-non-printed-letters	30
W2A	Written-printed-academic	40
W2B	Written-printed-popular	40
W2C	Written-printed-reportage	20
W2D	Written-printed-instructional	20
W2E	Written-printed-persuasive	10
W2F	Written-printed-creative	20

The written constituent of ICE is comprised of eight registers amounting to 200 text samples each containing 2000 words. This, on the whole, makes 400,000 words in each component.

Data Analysis

The objective of this paper is to observe the linguistic variation across written registers of Pakistani English in comparison with British and Indian English. For this purpose, all the samples in one register were merged in one .txt file i.e. there were eight registers in each variety and we made eight files for one variety making total of 24 .txt files. The variety codes were added before the register code; for example, PKW1A, INDW1A and GBW1A where PK refers to Pakistan, IND refers to India and GB refers to Great Britain.

The twenty four files were run through Multidimensional Analysis Tagger (MAT) v 1.3 which is an efficient tool to replicate 88 MD analysis on any of the data. "This is an implementation of the tagger used in Biber (1988) and in many other works. This tagger tries to replicate the analysis in Biber (1988) as closely as possible

by taking into account the algorithms...” (MAT manual p.1). The founder of MAT has tried to replicate the multidimensional analysis on LOB and Brown corpus and compared his results with those of Biber (1988) and concluded that ‘[t]he results obtained with the latter experiment are encouraging and suggest that MAT can be used to assign Biber’s (1988) Dimension scores to texts. Furthermore, MAT can be used to categorise a text for its text type, as proposed by Biber (1989)’ (MAT manual, p. 12). The data was analysed through MAT.

MAT provides three statistical files: corpus_statistics.txt (presents per 100 frequencies of linguistic variables) Zscore.txt (presents z-score) and dimensions.txt (presents average scores on each dimension). Here in the current research, corpus statistics and mean dimension scores have been used. Average scores for each of the three varieties on each dimension have been presented first which has provided the overall picture of the dataset. In the later part, all the eight registers are compared along each dimension and per 100 frequencies (from the file corpus_statistics.txt) linguistic features which contribute in the formation of the textual dimension have been compared. Section 4 presents the results on the whole as well as along each dimension.

Results and Discussion

This section presents the results of multidimensional analysis of written registers of the three varieties i.e. Pakistani, Indian and British English.

Comparison of written genre as a whole in Pakistani, Indian and British Englishes

All the eight registers are combined in each component and the three files have been analysed using MAT (Multidimensional Analysis Tagger). Table 2 presents the mean dimension scores and the standard deviation for each variety. These overall mean scores indicate the global trends in the written register of the three varieties.

Table 2: Written registers as a genre in Pakistani, Indian and British ICE corpora

Dimensions	Pakistani Eng.		British Eng.		Indian Eng.	
	mean	Std. dev.	mean	Std. dev.	mean	Std. dev.
D1:Involved vs. Informational Production	-15.29	5.44	-16.43	4.08	-17.77	3.97
D2:Narrative vs. Non-narrative Concerns	-0.66	3.09	-2.72	2.07	-4.06	2.43
D3:Explicit vs. Situation-Dependent Reference	6.27	3.07	3.4	1.89	3.28	2.34
D4:Overt Expression of Persuasion	-1.29	1.29	-1.33	2.22	-3.21	1.93
D5:Abstract vs. Non-Abstract Information	1.49	1.08	0.98	1.55	0.18	1.53

Table 3: one way ANOVA test Results for three varieties on the whole

Dimension	Variety	
	F Score	Sig. Level
Dimension 1	0.45	0.64
Dimension 2	0.77	0.47
Dimension 3	3.2	0.05*
Dimension 4	1.3	0.2
Dimension 5	0.5	0.5

*statistically significant, sig level = 0.05

The table above shows that the three varieties differ significantly along dimension 3 (situation dependent versus explicit discourse) with the significance level of 0.05. On other dimensions, the differences are insignificant.

As shown in table 2, the written genre in all the three varieties are highly informational as they get high negative scores on dimension 1. Indian English gets highest score and least standard deviation among the three which makes its discourse most informational. Standard deviation measures the spread of distribution and “large standard deviation shows that the texts in a genre are widely scattered around the mean score; small standard deviations show that the texts are tightly grouped around the mean score” (Biber, 198: p.126). The results corroborate to that of Sanyal (2007) who has described Indian English as “clumsy Victorian English [that] hangs like a dead albatross around each educated Indian’s neck” (blurb *Indian English*). This ‘nouny’ (Xiao, 2009 pp. 443) style of Indian English is the very reason for its high scores on D1 over all in this variety as well as in each register. British English comes at second place in presentation of informational discourse and gets middle scoring in standard deviation. Pakistani English gets least mean dimension score and highest standard deviation that leads towards the postulation that registers in Pakistani English are widely spread and currently are in norm-developing phase.

On D2, again Indian English gets highest negative scores resulting in most non-narrative discourse overall. Pakistani English has least non-narrative concerns. The reason for Pakistani English getting least mean dimension scores is that it has two registers dealing with narrative concerns i.e. creative writing and reportage. So the texts are highly sprinkled and distributed along with least mean dimension scores in presentation of narrative concerns which is on account of the nature of the non native audience who are more interested in story telling features.

On D3, it sounds as if all the three Englishes have been found to be using explicit discourse but Pakistani English seems to have been found more explicit than the other two varieties. Interestingly, on this dimension, it is observed that there is a great deal of variation in the texts which is strengthened by low mean scores and high standard deviation; however, Pakistani English gets comparatively high mean score. On D4, it is emphatically clear that stance of all the three varieties is covert in its sense of persuasion or argumentation. It is also plausible that written registers in all the three varieties are informational in nature and no sense of argumentation is required in this

category. On D5, the language of all the registers has been found impersonal and objective in presenting information.

The above discussion proves the notion that written registers are mostly informational having non-narrative stance of discourse, highly explicit and impersonal with no sense of overt argumentation or persuasion as most of the written registers are meant to deliver and communicate necessary information. Section 4.2 deals with the written registers in the three varieties along each dimension.

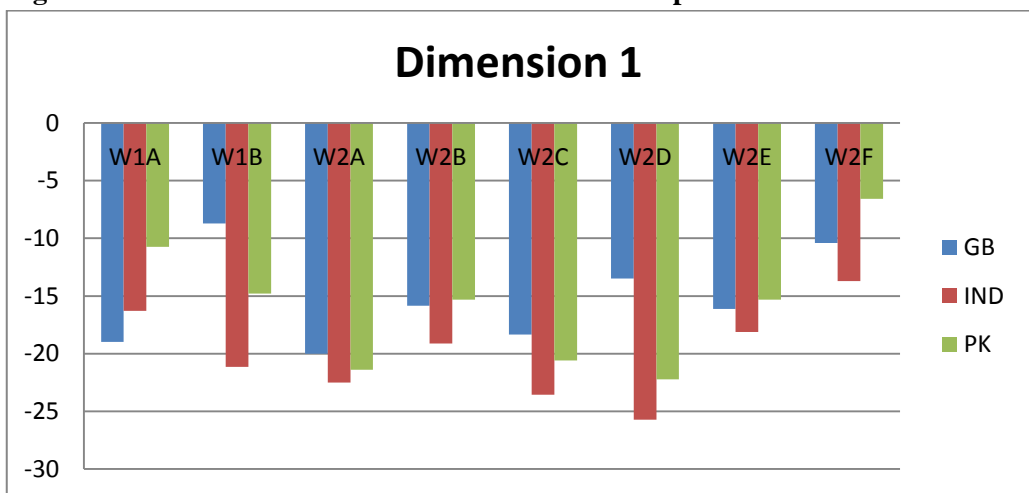
Register variation in the three Englishes along each dimension

This section presents a comprehensive description of comparative analysis of eight written registers along each dimensions.

D1: Involved versus Informational Production

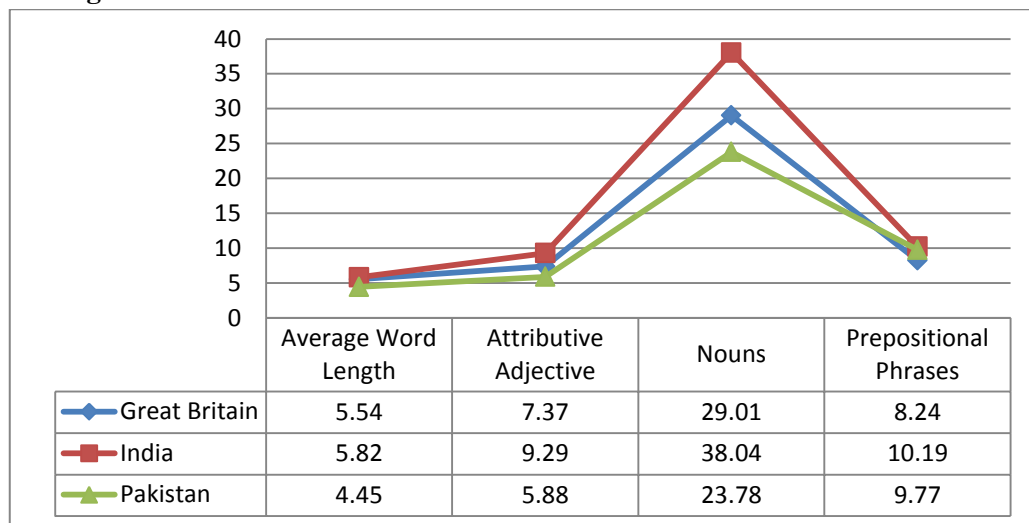
Dimension 1 is the strongest dimension of variation in 88 MD because it involves most of the linguistic features. Figure 1 describes the scores of D1 in the eight written registers in the three varieties. As can be seen in the figure, all the written registers are highly informational and less involved. It can be seen that Indian English displays the highest score for D1 in nearly all registers, meaning that it is highly informational and less interactive except W1A (student writing).

Figure 1: Dimension 1 involved versus informational production



This is because of the differences in the educational systems of the three countries. Pakistani English varies on the basis of registers; i.e. in some of the registers PE is closer to Indian English (i.e. W2A and W2D) while in others it is found to be closer to British English (i.e. W2B, W2C and W2E). In all registers, however, Indian English gets higher scores than the other two varieties in conveying information and elaboration which might be for the reason of the over-usage of nouns in Indian academic English in comparison with other two varieties. The results corresponds to that of Xiao's (2009) where he found on his first dimension 'interactive casual discourse versus informative elaborate discourse' that Indian English is least interactive but more elaborate. Xiao interprets elaborateness as 'indirectness and clumsiness' (p. 443) and interprets Indian English as 'nouny'. Figure 2 shows the tendency to use frequent nouns in Indian English more than the two varieties.

Figure 2: Statistical scores of features on negative pole of D1 in instructional writing



The figure speaks for itself why Indian English is more elaborated and 'nouny' (Xiao, 2009: p. 443). A sharp contrast among three Englishes is visible in the following excerpts from academic writing (1, 2 and 3).

1. The **Romans** first conquered **Italy**, and then mainly with Italian **arms** the **dominions** overseas which ultimately extended from the **Solway Firth** to the **Sahara**

and from **Rhine** and **Danube**, or even beyond, to Euphrates. The **conquest of Italy** was certainly not a **process** of **enslavement**. (ICE-GB:W2A-001 #X001)

2. **The 20th century analysts** are unanimous in their **claim** that the subject matter of **philosophy** is **language** and its legitimate method is **analysis**. For, they conceive that **philosophy**, unlike other disciplines such as **Botany, Zoology, Physics, Chemistry, Astronomy** etc, does not have any subject matter of its own to deal with. (<ICE-IND:W2A-001#4:1>, <ICE-IND:W2A-001#5:1>)

3. **Media** is supposed to be the fundamental constituent in a **society** as it bestows a **platform** for **discussion** of national, international, political and social concerns. Generally, **newspapers** had **editorial bent** towards a particular political direction or another. (<ICE-PK:W2A-001#1:1>,<ICE-PK:W2A-001#1:2>)
(the underlined words are adjectives and the emboldened words are nouns while ICE-GB is British component of ICE, ICE-IND is Indian component of ICE and ICE-PK is Pakistani component of ICE).

Nouns, adjectives, prepositional phrases and **average word length** are the features which contribute in the formation of negative loadings on D1. This is visible in the examples above that Indian text is replete with nouns which gives highest negative scores. This may be because of the outmoded written styles of Indian English wherein the English writers try to write effectively but the outcome may be a “form of high-flown language that tries to impress but instead obscures” (Cutts, 2007: 2).

D2: Narrative versus Non-Narrative Discourse

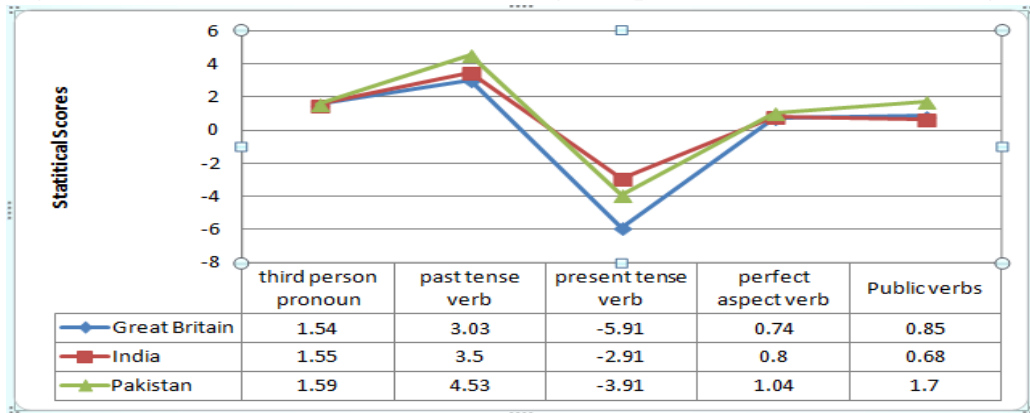
Dimension 2 shows variation in narrative and non-narrative texts. Creative writing (W2F), which is comprised of novels and short stories is narrative in all the three varieties while highly narrative in Pakistani English.

Figure 3: narrative versus non narrative discourse

Furthermore, the results show that Pakistani English has a tendency towards less narrative discourse in almost all the registers except press news reportage (W2C). It is found that Pakistani news reportage is narrative in its nature while the tendency in Indian and British news reportage is non-narrative discourse. This substantiates the results of Ahmad and Mahmood (2015) who has conducted MD analysis of Pakistani News reportage. They have found that most of Pakistani newspapers (three out of five) use narrative technique in the presentation of news. The possible interpretation might be the non-native background as deduced by Ahmad and Mahmood (2015) but in the current study the phenomenon gets complex because Pakistani registers have been compared with a native and a non-native variety. Both the native and the non-native counterparts (British and Indian news reportage) are non-narrative while Pakistani new reporting is found to be narrative. Further research is invited to explore the narrative features in news reportage and the possible reasons for the phenomenon.

The following figure demonstrates the linguistic features and their mean scores which have contributed to the formation of D2 in the register of news reportage.

Figure 4: Statistical scores of features on negative pole of D2 in creative writing

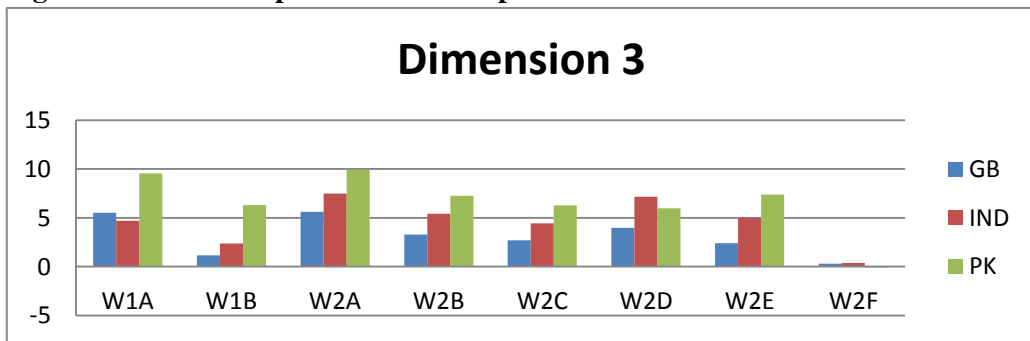


As it is visible, the differences lie in the usage of verbs i.e. past tense verbs, perfect aspect verb and public verbs (e.g. said, told). All these verbs are highly used in Pakistani creative writing in comparison with the other two varieties.

D3: Situation-Dependent versus Explicit Discourse

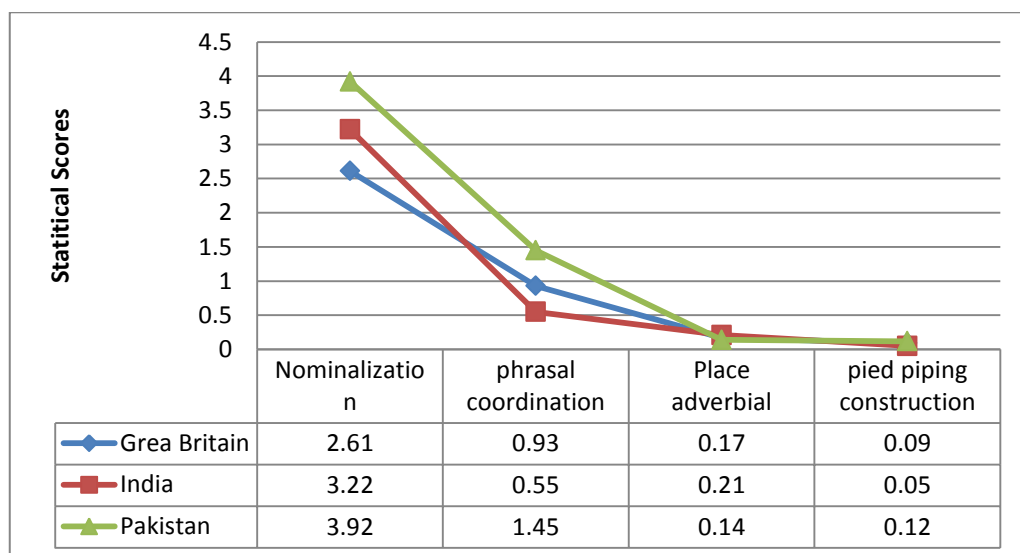
As can be gathered from figure 3, the three varieties have notable differences along D3 which differentiates among situation dependent and explicit discourse. The three varieties have been found to be using explicit discourse but Pakistani English seems to have been found more explicit than all other varieties in almost all registers except W2D where Indian English is found to be more explicit.

Figure 5: situation dependent versus explicit discourse



On D3, Pakistani student writing is found to be highly explicit in comparison with other two varieties. British and Indian student writing get almost equal score in presentation of explicitness. The graph below shows the relative mean scores of the contributing features on D3 in the three varieties.

Figure 6: Statistical scores of features on positive pole of D3 in student writing



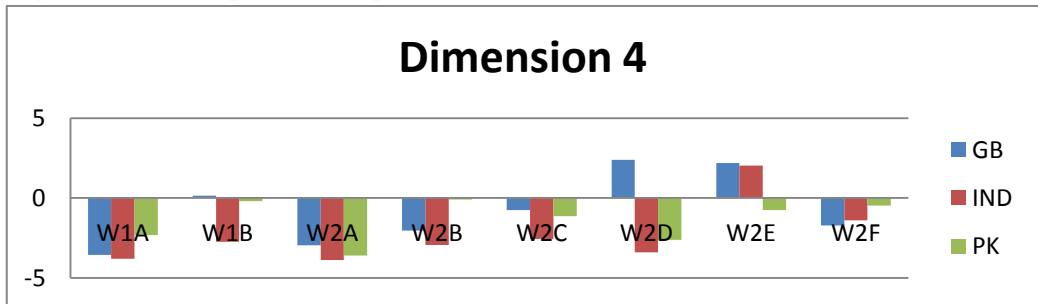
As it is visible in the figure 6, Pakistani writers, though students, have higher tendency to use nominalization and phrasal coordination. The possible reason might be the non-native context where the use of English language is influenced by other indigenous languages. Rahman (2014) hints that nominalization is common feature of Asian, especially Pakistani English, where speakers of English as a second language over generalize the rules and attach –ism and –ation with even the indigenous words to nominalize the things. Mukherjee (2010) while pointing towards this feature in Indian English labels it as ‘nativized semantico-structural analogy’ (p. 175). He further states: “Indian English is a potentially norm-developing variety and that new forms and structures are often based on inherently creative and structurally innovative processes which are guided by an inner logic and not necessarily triggered by

interference” (p. 176). This is true qualitatively for both the non native varieties as far as the innovation with some inherent rule is concerned, but on the other hand, the two varieties are different from each other when the quantitative analyses are conducted such as the current research.

D4: Overt Expression of Persuasion

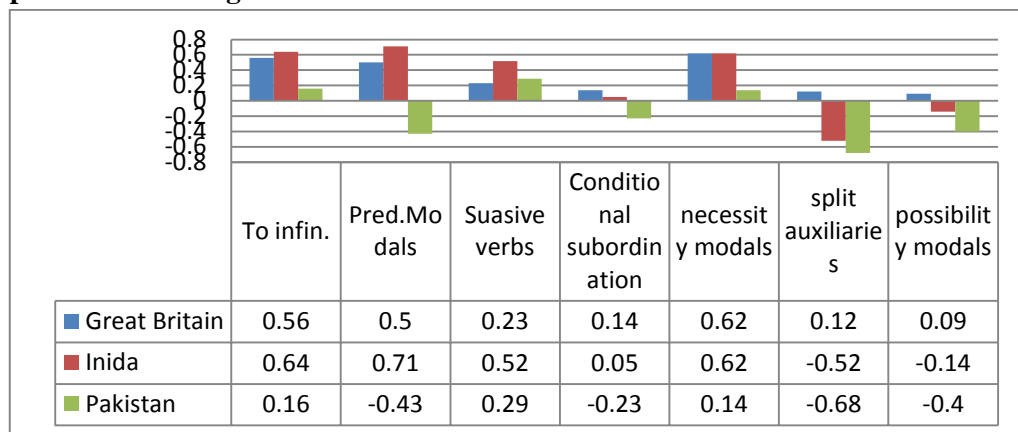
Dimension 4 ‘overt expression of persuasion’ is again interesting which has shown the significant differences in the eight registers of the three varieties. Register (W1A) are very much similar in Indian and British English while Pakistani W1A is less persuasive. W1B is interesting as only Indian English gets significant scores. British W2A gets less score on D4 while Indian and Pakistani W2A get almost equal scores.

Figure 7: overt expression of persuasion



Pakistani W2B is almost indifferent regarding persuasion. British instructional writing (W2D) is persuasive while Pakistani and Indian instructional writing is non-persuasive, on the other hand. The result again substantiates the previous affirmation that although the similar trends can be traced in both the non-native varieties yet they have their own identities. Even more interestingly, W2E (persuasive writing) is supposed to be convincing in nature and where overt expression of opinion is a characteristic (Biber & Conrad, 2009) but in Pakistani English the persuasive writing gets low negative scores on this dimension which makes it non-persuasive. This is because of the fact that the students in Pakistan are taught to write to the editors just to highlight a problem and for drawing the issues and not to persuade the readers towards any action (Rahman, 1990).

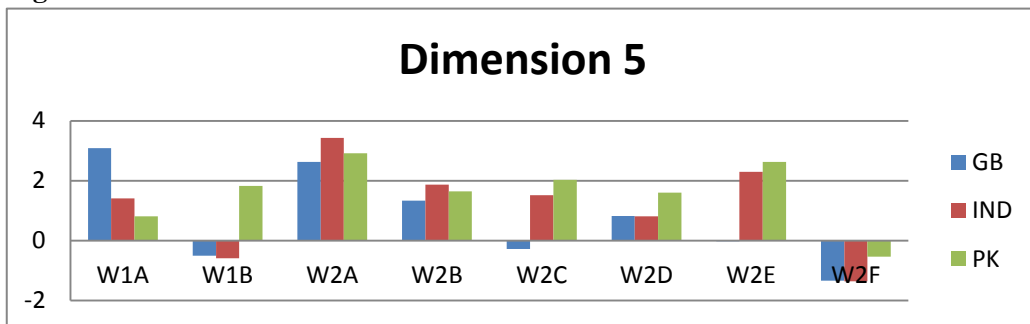
Figure 8: statistical scores for the features contributing in the formation of D4 in persuasive writing



As it is visible in the figure 8, Pakistani persuasive writing gets high negative scores in the use of linguistic features which contribute in explicit persuasion. The possible reason might be the complex structure that is caused by the use of these linguistic features which is usually avoided by the non-native users of English in Pakistan.

D5: Abstract versus Non-Abstract Information

Figure 9 presents the results on D5 'Abstract versus non-abstract information. Almost all registers in the three varieties seem to have been found impersonal and objective. The major differences lie on W1A, W1B and W2C. Pakistani letters are (W1B) highly non-impersonal and objective while Indian and British letters are impersonal. This is where Pakistani English bears its identity as compared to other non-native and native varieties. British W2C is impersonal in contrast with W2C of other two non-native varieties.

Figure 9: abstract versus non abstract information

The objective and impersonal style of writing includes the features such as agentless passive, by-passive, conjuncts, WHIS deletions adverbial subordinates, past participial, WHIS deletions and predicative adjectives. These features contribute in the formation of informative discourse which is formal and technical.

Conclusion

In answer to the research question posited in the introduction section, namely, How far does the linguistic variation exist in the written registers of the three varieties across 88 MD, this paper has shown the complex picture of similarities and differences. However, it is noteworthy that the extent of register variation in Pakistani written registers is higher than in the other two varieties. This is evident from the higher standard deviations and the distribution of registers along the five dimensions of linguistic variation.

The results indicate that Indian English uses more informational production in comparison with Pakistani and British written registers. This is highlighted by the observation that British written registers contain moderate use of nouns, preposition and attributive adjective while Indian written registers have demonstrated the extensive use of these linguistic features to convey information. While Indian and British Englishes are found to be on the opposite edges of the continuum, Pakistani English stands at the middle position securing its individuality. The D2 results are interesting in the three varieties. It seems that both Indian and British Englishes are non-narrative in nature while Pakistani English has narrative concerns innately. This is affirmed from the results that even in the registers which show non-narrative concerns in all the

varieties, Pakistani English shown least mean score except W2A where the three varieties get almost equal scores. Moreover, press news reportage is narrative only in Pakistani English. Furthermore creative writing is highly narrative in Pakistani English and least narrative in British English. The D3 scores of the written registers in the three varieties show a greater textual variation. This is supported by the results that Pakistani English seem to use relative constructions and nominalizations broadly. These features make informative and elaborated discourse which is characteristic of non-native varieties of English. It can be deduced that none of the written registers is situation dependant in any of the three varieties. However, creative writing is least elaborated in the three varieties. The D4 scores are again contradictory to each other in the three varieties. Overall, it can be inferred that Indian English is non-persuasive in nature except the editorials which are persuasive in both Indian and British English in contrast with Pakistani English. This is interesting since an editorial is meant to express an over opinion and persuasion (Biber & Conrad, 2009) but in Pakistani English it is non-persuasive. Also, instructional writing is found to be persuasive only in British English. The D5 scores show variation in the three varieties. Pakistani and Indian discourse is highly informative and technical except W1A where British English leads the other two. Moreover, Pakistani letters are non-impersonal in contrast with other two varieties.

Overall, it is observed that the written registers of Pakistani English vary from their counterparts in Indian and British English which affirms the previous claim that written Pakistani English is a separate variety which is different from even Indian English. The present research highlights the expediency of MD analysis in dialectal variation studies. It has provided a comprehensive comparative analysis of written registers in the three varieties. Based on the results, it is recommended to conduct further research in exploration of other written as well as spoken registers of Pakistani English which may strengthen the claim that Pakistani English is a distinct variety.

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(Re)contextualizing Feminism and the Muslim Pakistani Society in *Meatless Days*: A Catachrestic Perspective

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Abstract

*Derrida uses catachresis to denote the exploitation of identity to the level of absence whereas Spivak furthers it to refer to the (mis)representation of the weaker or even absent sections of the society by the stronger ones. Suleri's *Meatless Days* (1989) is a catachrestic juxtaposition of meta-narrative of Pakistan's socio-political history and mini-narratives of the family life at the home of her authoritative father, Z.A. Suleri. This juxtaposition highlights the marginalization of various female characters namely Dadi, Mama, Ifat, Tillat and Sara herself. These characters are raised in their implication to the situation of women in the whole of Pakistani patriarchy where women are bound to stay silent, head-downcast and even invisible. Juxtaposing political and domestic (her own family) life in Pakistan, Suleri suggests that Islam is manipulated by General Zia in the state and by Papa at home to keep 'the subordinates' suppressed. For artistic catachresis – deliberate misplacement, mingling or (con)fusion for creative purpose – Suleri incorporates personal anecdotes roughly together, more in the form of a pastiche than a smooth linear narrative.*

Key Words: Islam, Catachresis, Pakistani Patriarchy, Sara Suleri, Women, Feminism

Catachresis: Genesis and Implication

Islam has been (mis)used to catachresise the identity of women that intensified their ineffectiveness in the socio-cultural strata of the country. The master word 'woman' deprives them of their individual differences that help constitute their identity. Suleri's protest against the marginalization of women in Pakistan is

intelligible through Derrida and Spivak's concept of catachresis, from a Greek word *katakhresthai* denoting misuse mistakenly or for a rhetorical effect. Derrida defines Catachresis as:

...the violent and forced abusive inscription of a sign, the imposition of a sign upon a meaning which did not yet have its own proper sign in language. So much so that there is no substitution here, no transport of proper signs, but rather the eruptive extension of a sign proper to an idea, a meaning, deprived of its signifier. A 'secondary' original.

(1982, p. 255)

For Derrida catachresis is an impropriety because it is a fake that replaces the original whereas Spivak's catachresis is defined through the use of master word that "revers(es), displac(es), and seiz(es) the apparatus of value coding" (Spivak, 1990, p. 228). For their inherently exploitative nature, she condemns the master words that misrepresent the represented. Pakistani patriarchy reduces women to their socially defined roles and physical/biological appearance. In contemporary Pakistani fiction the feminist discourse of Suleri, Shamsie and even Hanif uses female body to highlight the injustices done to women in Pakistan. Suleri argues that religious discourse has been exploited and misused by the Pakistani political elite to suppress women. Suleri exposes the injustices to women rendered into biological phenomenon. Shamsie's protagonist in *Burnt Shadows*, (2009) Hiroko Tanaka, suffers from three bird-shaped burn-marks on her body, aftermath of the 1945 atomic bombing of Nagasaki whereas Alice's twenty-seven year old body in Hanif's *Our Lady of Alice Bhatti* (2011) is "*a compact like war zone where competing warriors have trampled and left their marks*" (Hanif, 2011, p. 96). The Anglophone Pakistani fiction presents female body as a space meant for settling the disputes of men. The catachrestic nature of the faceless female protagonists in the Pakistani English fiction highlights the women's lack of meaningful identity. Pakistani woman's compulsion to be a 'true woman' leaves her no space for irresponsibility. Spivak claims in this regard that "[m]aster words are catachresis because for them there are no literal referents, there are no 'true' examples

of the ‘true worker’, the ‘true woman’, the ‘true proletarian’ who would actually stand for the ideals in terms of which you have mobilized (1990, p. 104).

Catachresis literally means misuse or abuse, a semantic error, for instance, to use militate for mitigate. In literature catachresis refers to crossing and mingling of categories and boundaries, or strained manipulation of a pre-existing phrase, or replacement of a common word with an ambiguous one. Suleri’s *Meatless Days* is catachrestic in all these senses. Jacques Derrida, the deconstructionist, uses catachresis to refer to incompleteness of semantic systems. It signifies deliberate/mistaken (mis-)use of a word or a phrase, like a mixed metaphor, for a special implication or, in case of Suleri’s *Meatless Days*, for creative purpose. Spivak uses the word for (mis-)representation of a class or community – like proletariat or women – by a dominant class without the actual presence of the misrepresented class. This last sense is most appropriate to *Meatless Days* as Suleri’s project is to expose the misrepresentation of women in Pakistani Islamic patriarchy making this catachrestic sense explicit by claiming that “there are no women in Pakistan” (p. 1).

Intersection of Gender and Religio-Political Discourse in Meatless Days

Meatless Days (1989), written in self-exile, reflects discursive practices informed by religion and politics in Pakistani patriarchy. Suleri triangulates the issues of gender, religion and postcolonialism to see whether these three issues are constructs, lived realities or an intersection of all the three. *Meatless Days* is replete with political history of Pakistan, marked with the role played by religion in politics, social life and the position of women in the society. Religion, the text suggests, is (mis)used by Pakistani political elite.

Obtrusion of Talibanized version of Islam, the rise of religious fundamentalism and multiple terrorist attacks on innocent population of the country raised questions about the intersection of politics, religion and gender entailing marginalization of women. Both democratic and dictatorial regimes in Pakistan manipulated Islam to prolong and legitimize their rule resulting in strengthening of men’s role and weakening of women’s position.

Women’s socio-political responsibilities remain undefined within the country where religious discourse remains popular and dominant. Derrida’s concept of

catachresis is helpful to understand how Suleri reverses the narrative of the patriarchal centre to challenge the oppressive discourse in Pakistani society. Suleri employs her family's past to deconstruct the troubled political history of the nation through the grand patriarchal narrative. *Meatless Days* records Suleri's protest against subjugation of women through patriarchal misinterpretation of Islam in Pakistani. The memoir revisits this past to theorize the problematic relationship between gender and religion in postcolonial Pakistan. Ray (1993) argues that, "Sara Suleri's anecdotal record of her experiences consistently overcomes the boundaries drawn by 'now' and 'then' and 'here' and 'there' of a linear, spatially demarcated, autobiographical recounting of the events in one's life" (1993, p. 48). Sara Suleri, the daughter of Z. A. Suleri¹ (Ziauddin Ahmad Suleri; 1913-1999), an eminent figure in Pakistani journalism and administration, had an excellent opportunity to closely experience the upheavals in Pakistani politics. Through micro-familial anecdotes, she makes sense of the macro political structure of Pakistan. Lovesay argues:

The individual does not feel herself to exist outside of interdependent existence that asserts its rhythms everywhere in the community...(where) lives are so thoroughly entangled that each of them has its centre everywhere and its circumference nowhere. The important unit is thus never the isolated being. (1997, p. 36)

¹ Z. A. Suleri had written a number of books on politics of the subcontinent before and after the partition, Islam as a dominating religion in the world and in support of various military dictators in Pakistan. Being a notable Pakistani journalist he has also written a large number editorials and columns in the newspapers. His books include *The Road to Peace and Pakistan* (Lahore: Sheikh Mohammad Ashraf, 1946); *My Leader, being an estimate of Mr. Jinnah's work for Indian Mussalmans* (Lahore: Lion Press, 1946); *Pakistan's Lost Years* (Lahore: Feroze Sons, 1962); *Politicians and Ayub: Being a Survey of Pakistani Politics from 1948-1964* (Rawalpindi: Capital Law and General Law Book Depot, 1964); *Masla-i-Afghanistan* (Lahore: Jang Publishers, 1981); *Al-Quran* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1989); *Shaheed-E-Millat Liaqat Ali Khan, Builder of Pakistan* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1990); *Influence of Islam on World Civilization* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1994).

The reasons of one event happening on any of the two levels and its impact is necessarily rooted in the other. This parallel coexistence of personal and political, inclusion of one level in the other, creates retrospective feel. Lovesey (1997) further comments on this dimension of Suleri's style marked with merger of personal and political in *Meatless Days*:

Transmogrification or dream like transformation of personal and collective history – the story of self, family and nation in Pakistan where ‘change was all there was’ (p. 18) – is the central organizing trope of *Meatless Days*, and draws together its discursive negotiations with autobiography and history, and underlies its status as metaautobiography and metahistory.

(1997, p. 43)

For Lovesey the structure of the memoir divided into nine chapters is based upon the parallel running between Suleri family's life and Pakistani history, oscillating between past and present, indifferent to chronological sequence of her tales. Disturbance and merger of the boundaries between ‘now’ and ‘then’, ‘here’ and ‘there’, and incorporation of the familial mini-narratives into the nationalist meta-narrative catachrestically re-appropriate the boundaries to question legitimacy of the representer and the position of the represented. Time in *Meatless Days* is non-static: the characters simultaneously experience multiple temporalities: the time of day-to-day existence, of personal and public memory, of dreaming and that of repressed unconscious.

Suleri in her typical catachrestic perspective, looks at her father through the character of Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the founding father of the nation, who, according to her, “manhandled” (p. 39) the Muslims of the subcontinent by singlehandedly deciding their fate resulting in the immense bloodshed at the time of partition. The father of the nation with all his charismatic aura is artistically replaced in the family with the family's biological father, Z. A. Suleri controlled the household and subjugated the women in particular because of his domineering authority. Likewise, Suleri critiques various military regimes of Pakistan through the anecdotes of different

family cooks: cooking becomes a metaphor for ever-brewing conspiracies in Pakistani politics, a narrative strategy through which, observes Ray (1993), Suleri

[...] traces the passage of history vis-à-vis the different cooks that paraded through the kitchens of Suleri household. The easy reference to ‘the Quayyum days’ of ‘the Allah Ditta era’ definitely make the reader aware of the relativity comfortable existence of the Suleri family. But the manner in which the two – the leaders of the nation and the cooks working for the Suleris – are jarringly yoked together suggests the impossibility of the existence of the one without the other.

(1993, p. 50)

Another instance of Suleri’s fictional catachresis is the merger of Papa, Genral Zia and Maulana Modudi: the former reverted to religion in his last phase, the General invoked Islam to legitimize his dictatorship (like Papa at home), and the latter “raised his ugly head in Pakistani politics” (p. 74).

Meatless Days begins with a mournful and frustrating sense of absence: leaving Pakistan was like ‘giving up the company of women’ (p. 1) Pakistan socio-cultural space reduced women to a subordinated community. To Suleri Pakistan is

a place where the concept of a woman was not really part of an available vocabulary: we were too busy for that, just living, and conducting precise negotiations with what it meant to be a sister or a child or a wife or a mother or a servant.

(1989, p. 1)

Biology is identity for women in Pakistan, ever-subservient to the male counterparts. The first-person pronoun plural ‘we’ in the quote refers to all the sections of Pakistani crumpled under religious and political patriarchy. *Meatless Days* is a

challenge to the social structure that denies women any significant space. Suleri's counter-discursive narrative reverses the relative position of men and women: four out of nine chapters are named after women: *Ecellent Things in Women*, *Mustakori*, *My Friend: A Study of Prefect Ignorance*, *Iffat's Immoderation*, *What Mama Knew* and. The rest of the five chapters as well tell tales richly interspersed with anecdotes from the lives of the women of her family.

Women in *Meatless Days* are neither satisfied with the socio-political milieu nor do they find any cathartic outlet. Boundless are suffocation and frustration. Suleri's mother lost even her name: she was Mair Jones but after marriage was named Suraya Suleri. Sara Suleri compares her in another catachrestic expression with the situation of Heer – a famous figure from Waris Shah's domestic epic – who lost herself into the self of Ranjha, her lover. Again, the religious is catacherized with the social and mundane. Bulleh Shah metaphorically uses the love story of Heer and Ranjha to express his version of *vahdat-ul-vajood*²: “Ranjha Ranjha kar di hun man aapay Ranjha hoi, Saddo hun manu Dheedo Rhanja, Heer na aakho koi”: [I have lost my identity of being a woman, so call me Ranjha. I have recited my (male beloved) Ranjha's name so many times that I myself have become Ranjha. I am no more Heer]. Suleri resituates and reinterprets Mair Jones who lost herself into the identity of Papa to become Suraya Suleri, with the trick of mind conscious of losing one identity and becoming another. She knows the way of survival in this situation: “I don't possess.” Possessing and not possessing are respectively masculine and feminine spheres in Pakistan. She stands with eyes downcast before her husband as if the father were behaving back to the colonial regime of the British by counter-colonizing a woman from Wales. She has to say ditto to her husband's motif ‘what an excellent thing’. Food is grandmother's only solace when she feels too alienated to communicate with her son who offers her only a paroxysm of hate and pride when she walks a long way of corridor with her bent back to see and confirm whether he is there, whether he is

² *Vahdat-ul-vajood* is an Islamic mystic interpretation of the relationship between the Creator and the created that sees unity in diversity: there is our force, the Divine will, running throughout the cosmos and human life. Ibn-i-Arabi () is believed to be the founding father of this belief, the tradition followed by Pakistani mystic poets like Bulleh Shah and Shah Hussain. Bulleh Shah (1680-1757) is a classic canonical poet of Punjabi. Essentially a revolutionary in religious thought, he challenged the traditional domination of priestly interpretation of religion and humanized version of God.

made of flesh and blood, whether he is all right. *Ifat*, Suleri's sister, kept biting her lips in frustration. Woman's identity is interlinked with Islam, the official manifesto of the state, the 'land of the pure', conceived and realized in the name of Islam. 'Two nation theory', the political philosophy that unified the Muslims of the Subcontinent, paved way for the 'Muslim nationhood' and then for the creation of Pakistan. Hence, Islam, after independence, was used as the decisive factor in the making of the constitution and founding the socio-cultural infrastructure of the country. Z. A. Suleri (1962) in *Pakistan's Lost Years* comments:

Three factors bedeviled Pakistan's national life: continued preoccupation with constitution-making and the suspense caused thereby; stalemate and stagnation in the political process and lastly confusion and uncertainty in assigning the place of Islam in the country's polity. Islam was involved both in constitution-making and party politics.

(1962, p. 3)

Jane Tompkins (1987) seconds Suleri that men allow women little space and voice in Pakistani society. They determine womanhood as a devalued and insignificant other:

... women are used as extensions of men, mirrors of men, devices for showing men off, devices for helping men get what they want: They are never there in their own right, or rarely. The world of the Western contains no women. Sometimes I think *the world* contains no women.

(1987, p. 173)

Sara Suleri's feminist discourse exposes the situation of Pakistani women in a socio-cultural milieu that leaves no respectable place for them. Religious claims of the cultural discourses of Pakistan, political in nature actually, pose to represent women truly which is impossible according to Spivak (1990). Political discourse (mis)uses

master words to represent experiences and struggles of the subdued segments such as colonized communities, workers and women. The master word 'women' in *Meatless Days* has no literal referent; it only casts an abusive impression on the lives of the women it claims to represent. Calling them women does not ensure their identity; catachrestically, they are further relegated to the perdition of non-existence. Moreover, defining them through their roles in the family does not do justice to their identity; it only foregrounds the incompleteness inherent in the meaning of this word. Spivak argues:

The political claims that are most urgent in decolonized space are tacitly recognized as coded within the legacy of imperialism: nationhood, constitutionality, citizenship, democracy, even culturalism...They're being reclaimed, indeed claimed, as a concept-metaphor for which no historically adequate referent may be advanced from postcolonial space, yet that does not make the claim less important. A concept-metaphor without an adequate referent is a catachresis.

(1990, p. 225)

The gender-religion overlap in a postcolonial society led to the feminist questioning of the subjugation of women on biological grounds. Loomba (1998) asserts that "many postcolonial regimes have been out rightly repressive of women's rights, using religion as the basis on which to enforce their subordination" (Loomba, 1998, p. 189). Suleri highlights Pakistani patriarchal religious discursive structure that weakens women's chances of respectable survival. Suleri exposes manipulative role of Islam by Pakistani patriarchy to reduce women's role to physical functioning:

[...] we naturally thought of ourselves as women, but only in some perfunctory biological way that we happened on perchance. Or else it was a hugely practical joke, we thought, hidden somewhere among our clothes. But formulating that definition is about as

impossible as attempting to locate the luminous qualities of an Islamic landscape.

(Suleri, 1989, p. 2)

Nayar also points out that, ‘often – and this applies to Hindi, Christian and Muslim societies – religious doctrines and theology were deployed to justify unequal gender relations and unfair social structures’ (2008, p. 142). Suleri in her postmodernist prose style goes a step further by blending the history of Pakistan with the issue of gender. Through the parallel existence of history and gender she is successful in creating an imaginary space where she combines the events of national significance with those of family, both happening at the same time and both explaining and accounting each other. Sandra Ponzanesi discusses this ambivalent relationship of gender and history in Suleri’s memoir as:

It is the symbiotic relationship that links the female memory to the historical experience of nationhood. Borders cannot be located outside the body; neither is it possible to fix them in conventional writings. Suleri escapes not only the problem of essentialism by not giving a definition of the self, but she also dismantles a concept of nation that is based on a chronological notion of time. The nation is made by the recollection of the self and of other women, which can only happen through a situated view in time/space/body. The nation is, therefore, subject to constant re-membering, re-writing, and revision.

(2004, p. 77)

Suleri, unable to cope with the suppressive Pakistani patriarchy, leaves for USA. Through *Meatless Days* she builds an imaginary space, an extra-subjective or cosmic time to tell the otherwise forgotten tales of the women from her family as well as from the history of her country. Kruckles in her article ‘*Men live in Homes, Women live in Bodies*’: *Body and Gender in Sara Suleri’s Meatless Days* argues that the idea of female body is imposed upon women rendering them vulnerable to violence in

Pakistani patriarchy where female images are constructed on the basis of their physicality and where “mothers are nurturing, sisters sensual and fathers are the phallic bodies” (2006, p. 173).

Suleri’s mother, Mair Jones, transformed into Suraya Suleri, is one of the many displaced women in the memoir. She was a Welsh lady by birth, wed to Mr. Z. A. Suleri and settled in Pakistan. She felt herself displaced in Lahore but struggled to be part of a nation whose still fresh memories of a sour colonial past made her an outsider. Despite her sustained efforts to be a part of Pakistani society, she was always looked upon with suspicion by the once-colonized Pakistanis historically for being a woman of a colonizer race. Suleri writes:

There was centuries’ worth of mistrust of English women in their eyes when they looked at her who chose to come after the English should have been gone: what did she mean by saying. ‘I wish to be part of you?’ Perhaps, they feared, she mocked.

(1989, p. 163)

Suleri retorts that “as my mother thought she was arriving, she actually had returned” (p. 163) because Pakistani passport was not enough to make her acceptable in the fabric of the nation. She was also an ‘other’ in the family. In contrast to her, Mr. Suleri, her husband, a man of authority throughout the memoir, enjoys absolute control over her as well as the whole family. Mair Jones lived in subservience to Mr. Suleri, though under the nomenclature of life partner. Suleri observes, “Papa’s powerful discourse would surround her night and day – when I see her in his room, she is always looking down, gravely listening” (1989, p. 157). Her roles of mother and wife determine her identity, a proof of woman’s reduction to mere physicality in patriarchy, a machine of reproduction and nurturing the offspring. Nayar comments:

Women’s literature from South Asia, Africa, South USA, and African USAns in the USA see themselves as situated at the intersection of three repressive discourses and structures: racism, imperialism and sexism...Sexism, at the hands of an oppressive

patriarchy even in native societies, reduced them to machines of reproduction and labour.

(2008, p. 120)

Almost throughout *Meatless Days*, Suleri calls her mother ‘Mamma’, not Mair Jones or *Surrayya Suleri* (the Pakistani name given to her after her marriage with Mr. Suleri), a painful consistent reminder that her role defines her identity. Consequent upon the repeated realization of being an outcast not belonging to the Pakistani nation, she resigns her claims to her deserved place in the family and in society as well. Suleri laments that

[s]he learned to live apart, then-apart even from herself-growing into that curiously powerful disinterest in owing, in belonging, which years later would make her so clearly tell her children, ‘Child, I will not grip.’ She let commitment and belonging become my father’s domain, learning instead the way of walking with tact on other people’s land.

(1989, p. 164)

Her linguistic incapacity furthers her marginalization in the society. She, being Welsh, finds it difficult to communicate with her grandchildren, excessively exposed to Urdu and, therefore, alien to Mamma’s English speech. She unconsciously adopts the role of a typical subdued Pakistani family woman, resigned submissively to her private self. Suleri is haunted by her witness to her mother’s resignation and her failure to change her husband’s approach; she became silent.

Suleri’s sister, Ifat, a combination of grace, arrogance and self-will, with a leopard’s head like her father, paid a heavy price for being a woman in Pakistani patriarchy. She disregarded her father’s authority in her rebellious choice of elopement marriage with Javed:

She chose to enter into the heart of Pakistan in the most un-Pakistani way possible: she ran away from Kinnaird and called home a few days later to say, bravely, ‘Papa, I am married.’ ‘Congratulations’ he

replied, put down the phone, and refused to utter her name again for years.

(Suleri, 1989, p. 141)

Before marriage she lived in her father's home and after marriage she starts living in her husband's home to realize that authority is not meant for women in Pakistani patriarchy. She could not get the freedom she had dreamed of. Marriage was only a change of master, from "pompous and preposterous Pip" to Captain Javed's Jhang origin where

[w]hat energies my sister devoted to Pakistan! First she learned how to speak Punjabi and then graduated to the Jehlum dialect, spoken in the region from which Javed's family came. She taught herself the names and stations of hundred-odd relations, intuiting how each of them would wish to be addressed. She learned more than I will ever know about the history of the army and then she turned to polo's ins and outs.

(1989, p. 141)

Ifat comments on the jeopardy women in Pakistan have to face: "It doesn't matter Sara [...]. Men live in homes, and women live in bodies" (1989, p. 156). In most Third World countries, women are viewed as sex objects. Social conventions look upon them as biological functions meant for child-bearing. Men possess everything and women possess only their body and this sole possession is also under constant social, verbal and physical subjection by patriarchy.

Various women in *Meatless Days* in different phases of and occasions in their lives respond differently to the issue of religion. Suleri's devout grandmother is always the one in the family who imprecates Satan, loves God, converses with Him and gives uninvited sermons of her own to the people on the road. Suleri observes on her religious eccentric meticulous religiosity that

[i]n the winter I see her alone, painstakingly dragging her straw mat out to the courtyard at the back of the

house and following the rich course of the afternoon sun. With her would go her Quran, a metal basin in which she could wash her hands, and her ridiculously heavy spouted water pot, that was made of brass. None of us, according to Dadi, were quite pure enough to transport these particular items.

(1989, p. 6)

December 1971 ensued two tragedies, national and domestic: Pakistan collapsed into Pakistan and Bangladesh³, and Dadi got severely burnt during one of her night errands into kitchen for making tea resulting in her physio-spiritual transformation as “she left her long kept friend God and forgot to pray” (Suleri, 1989, p. 15). The metamorphosis of Dadi synchronizes with, Islamization of Pakistan, a major change in the course of Pakistani history. General Zia-ul-Haq enforced the third martial law on 5th of July 1977 and planned to perpetuate his power under the cover of Islam. He Islamized the constitution of Pakistan for political benefits. Announcement of *Hudud Ordinance*⁴ and other punitive laws based on the Islamic principles and a

³ Scores of books have analyzed the circumstances of the breakup of Pakistan in 1971. Historians and writers of India, Bangladesh and Pakistan have their own versions of origins and events of the disintegration of Pakistan. For an Indian account of events see Lt. Gen. JFR Jacob, *Surrender at Dacca* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1997); for a Bengali viewpoint see A. M. A. Mohit, *Bangladesh: Emergence of a Nation* (Dacca: Bangladesh Books International, 1978); for Pakistani version see Amir Abdullah Khan Niazi, *The Betrayal of East Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999), for a balanced analysis of event see Richard Sisson and Leo E. Rose, *War and Secession: Pakistan India and the Creation of Bangladesh* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

⁴ For a study of working and impact of Hudud Ordinance see Tahir Wasti, *The Application of Islamic Criminal Law in Pakistan* (Lieden: Brill, 2009); Charles H. Kennedy, “Islamization in Pakistan: Implementation of the Hudud Ordinance”, *The Muslim World*, Vol. 96, No. 2 (2006); Martin Lau, “Twenty Five Years of Hudud Ordinances-A Review”, *Washington & Lee Law Review*, Vol. 64, No. 4 (2008).

ban on major cultural activities including music and theatre crumpled the shape of Pakistani culture. These laws, *Hudud Ordinance* in particular, were misused to prosecute women for adultery even in the cases of rape. Islam, an affair of homes and mosques, ventured to come out into the bazaars and streets of Pakistan. Zia for his ulterior motives empowered the religious groups at the cost of the shape and structure of Pakistani culture. Suleri, an eye-witness of this religio-political maneuvering of the nation, comments:

We dimly knew we were about to witness Islam's departure from the land of Pakistan. The men would take it to the streets and make it vociferate, but the great romance between religion and the populace, the embrace that engendered Pakistan, was done.

(1989, p. 15)

Suleri feared that religion would be manipulated for political power. She witnessed the military dictator's use of religion as an instrument of strength for his rule in the country. He empowered religious groups and introduced Islamic laws. Suleri in this scenario foresaw the rise of religious extremism and the consequent socio-ethnic divide. Mr. Z. A. Suleri, the most authoritative figure at home, also underwent a thorough change from secular to religious persona, during Zia's Islamization. Even though he had never shown any religious inclination in life yet he began to pray and his mother who had always been in God's party, suddenly stopped praying. Suleri recalls that it

was a change, when Dadi patched herself together again and forgot to put prayer back into its proper pocket, for God could now leave the home and soon would join the government. Papa prayed and fasted and went on pilgrimage and read the Quran aloud with most peculiar locutions.

(1989, p. 15)

The transformation of Sara's father and grandmother symbolically implies that General Zia's version of Islam was not for women's rescue; it was men's political possession to legitimize exploitation. Suleri's repeated use of deformed name 'General Zulu'⁵ reflects her disgust for the fanatic version of religion concocted to support patriarchy and politics. Zia's rhetoric of religion empowered the masculine at homes as well as in the social ethos of Pakistan and silenced the women further. Womanhood became a huge practical joke, meant for nothing if deprived of bodily functions. The women in Suleri's memoir are silent, broken with or downcast. Suleri derives from this social situation that "there are no women in the third world" (p. 1). The comment is implied rejection of Zia regime's making women social outcasts pushing them to the household, leaving them no space in any other socio-cultural situation.

Meatless Days overtly highlights women as a silenced community in Pakistan or Third World, at the mercy of the male members in their families who employ Islam, or God's word, to silence, suppress, govern and dictate them. Ray also endorses "in modern Pakistan, women can be conveniently silenced or easily replaced, being just another wife, mother, or daughter" (1993, p. 54). Women are so suppressed that their existence is meaningless in Pakistan. Suleri exposes socio-religious discursive practices employed for the stereotyping of women pervading into social structure. Suleri is the pioneer of this vision and artistic exposition of religious frenzy for the Anglophone Pakistani fiction writers like Shamsie and Hanif who consider Zia regime a dark episode of Pakistani history.

⁵ General Zulu is the derogatory name that Suleri uses recurrently in *Meatless Days* to show her contempt and hatred for the ex-president and the third Chief Martial Law administrator of Pakistan, General Zia-ul-Haq.

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The Profile of Iranian English Translation Undergraduate Students

Masood Khoshsaligheh, Mohammad Reza Hashemi, Roya Sadeghpour

Abstract

This paper attempts to present some descriptive statistical information on the image of current students of English Translation at universities and institutes of higher education in Iran. Unlike the relatively new graduate programs focusing on translation studies, the undergraduate degree program of English translation in Iran has been in use and practice for a long time and dates back to decades ago. However, despite the fairly too long standing of the program in the educational agenda of the country, meager empirical information is available on the students, the clients of this educational service in practice. The results of this research, an initial stage of a more extended research carried out on the needs analysis of prospective English translators, are expected to clarify the profile of students currently studying English translation at undergraduate programs in Iranian universities. The overall picture presented by the findings remind that the current status of the students is far from perfect, and numerous changes have to be implemented in this educational program to approach more satisfactory outcomes from the English translation program.

Keywords: English translation students, descriptive statistics, curriculum, Iran

Introduction

Similar to any other types of services, the educational service of training translators would benefit by knowing more about its target demographics, characteristics of those who seek such a service and make the educational establishment sustainable. It goes without saying that such knowledge is critical to any improvement and is a sine qua non that helps experts and executives to update the program. Nevertheless, empirical investigation in this area has been inconclusive and therefore still open to further study.

The results of the present study basically come from part of the initial stage of a research in progress focusing on needs analysis of undergraduate students majoring in English translation in Iran. The results reported are the students' responses to a series of open ended and closed ended questionnaire items. The participants were invited to contribute to the study based on a judgmental sampling technique. Eventually a total of 205 Iranian junior and senior students doing a bachelor's degree program in English translation in one of the universities or institutes of higher education affiliated with the Iranian Ministry of Science, Research and Technology filled out the pertinent questionnaire. A selection of undergraduates at a tertiary school in one of the cities, Mashhad, Tehran, Zahedan, Shiraz and Isfahan in Iran participated in the study. The selection was made on the basis of their having the eligibility criteria. The participants responded to questions regarding their age, gender, candidature, working experience, academic needs and hobbies. In a different series of questions they were asked to evaluate their own abilities including their computer literacy, translation and language performance. They also rated the significance level of instruction of a wide variety of skills and knowledge pertinent to achievement of translation and translator competence. As for the last set of questions, only a selection of a couple of items with more general interest is included in the present report.

Review of the Literature

Training for translation has been going on in Iranian universities and institutes of higher education for over decades, and rather surprisingly has not undergone much

changes, improvement or modification of any sort. It is not totally due to lack of research and scholarly work in order to pave the way for the upgrade of the existing curriculum since despite the fledgling status of graduate programs and graduate research in Translation Studies, the research focus on translation and translator training has been attracting senior scholars and graduate as well as postgraduate students of adjacent disciplines such as language studies, TEFL, General and Applied Linguistics. The static situation towards upgrading the system followed to educate translators seems to have more to do with the inflexibility of higher educational policy making rules and pitfalls in regulations.

A descriptive and comparative study by Mollanazar (2003, pp. 15-16) demonstrates statistics that among the three undergraduate majors of Teaching English Language, English Translation, and English Language and Literature, Teaching English Language is on a slope and in turn English Translation on the rise as far as the applicants' attraction goes. In 2003, 8318 students were studying English Translation all over Iran in different universities and institutes of higher education affiliated with the Ministry of Science, Research and Technology in Iran. This figure introducing one of the most extended student bodies in Iran has certainly increased since 2003, due to the expansion of the yearly student in-take following the policy of the Ministry of Science, Research and Technology to counteract the accelerating trend of academic migration of students to carry on their tertiary education outside Iran. The migration was believed to be due to the limited seats available at the Iranian universities in comparison with the applicants' demand. There is also a slight chance that supply and demand balance is not the only reason; it seems that applicants do not receive the service they look forward to, either.

A number of studies have aimed at developing guidelines for upgrading the current curriculum. Riazi and Razmjoo (2004, p. 39) explored the views of scholars of English language and translation studies about the necessity of changes in the current curriculum for educating and training translators. The study concludes that it is imperative to obtain students' views and stances and examine their feedback as supplement to the scholars' suggestions and recommendations. To design or redesign a program particularly aiming at training translators, Pym (2008) also

emphasizes seeking student input in the program, plus advice from those of the teachers and former students who are presently professionals in the regional translation industry.

Following the significance of gaining the opinion of students as the clients for such an educational service, in a qualitative study (Khazaeefar & Khoshsaligheh, 2010), Iranian freelance professional translators' recommendations for improving the degree program in which they majored were obtained. They pointed out that the current syllabus taught does not prepare the students with the recent needs of translation market which awaits the graduates in the real world. A number of deficits in terms of directionality in translation practices, overlooking skills for using computers in translation practice, deficiencies on how and how much English as the foreign language is taught among others in the present program are indicated. According to a research by Azimi and Nabizadeh (2009) a challenge on the way to promote the quality of translation courses in Iran universities is the students little interest. They cite Worthington (1997) believing that a lack of interest on the part of students could be results of lack of adequate motivation for learning the subject.

After all, as discussed earlier, to promote the quality of translator education and to improve the curricular design of the current training program, aside from the significance of scholars' views, the present conditions of the students, their views and perspectives, as well as their expectations ought to be studied, considered and implemented in order to see that universities produce the future translators of excellence who could elevate the cultural and social circumstances of our society and help the local and national literature cross cultures and nations beyond.

Presentation and Analysis of the Data

In this section of the report, the results of the study are offered mostly in the form of tables and Figures for the ease of presentation and facility of discussion. As can be seen in Table 1, the participants of the study are either in their third year ($n=110$) or the last year ($n=95$) of their studies.

Table 1: Frequency of Junior and Senior Students in the Sample

<i>Sub-groups</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Cumulative Percent</i>
Junior	110	53.7	53.7
Senior	95	46.3	100.0
Total	205	100.0	

Age and Gender

On an average basis, in Iranian universities, a first degree program takes eight academic years, namely four full years. In most cases, applicants are individuals who have just completed their senior high school education at the age of 18 or so. Since the focus of the study was on junior and senior students, they are supposed to be twenty one or twenty two years old. However, it is always possible that people at any age decide to start their tertiary education, or at certain cases decide to study a second degree program at older ages.

As can be seen in Table 2 below, on average the juniors are almost 22 years old, with 21 as the most common age. The students in the third year range from the youngest at 19 to the eldest at 36 years of age with a span of 17 years. On the other hand, typically the seniors are mostly close to 23 years of age, with 22 as the most common age. The students in their final year range from the youngest at 20 to the eldest at 28 years of age with a span of 8 years.

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics of the Age of the Participants

<i>Descriptive Statistics</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>
N	110	95
Mean	21.96	22.71
Median	21.00	22.00
Mode	22	22
Std. Deviation	2.552	1.786
Variance	6.512	3.189
Range	17	8
Minimum	19	20
Maximum	36	28

However, as seen in Table 3, by considering only one occurrence for the ages of 19, 33, and 36 each, the common students in the last two years of study range from 20 to 28 with the absolute majority, spanning between 20 to 23 years of age.

Table 3: Descriptive Statistics of the Age of Participants

<i>Age</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Cumulative Percent</i>
19	1	.5	.5
20	30	14.6	15.1
21	43	21.0	36.1
22	76	37.1	73.2
23	20	9.8	82.9
24	11	5.4	88.3
25	5	2.4	90.7
26	6	2.9	93.7
27	3	1.5	95.1
28	8	3.9	99.0
33	1	.5	99.5
36	1	.5	100.0
Total	205	100.0	

As for the gender of students, the same as the situation for almost all majors in arts, humanities, social and pure sciences in Iran, female students are in absolute majority. Besides, it is not any different from the rest of the world, as translation is a female dominant profession and academic major for obvious reasons. As displayed below in Figure 1, only close to a quarter of the sample population is male and the rest are female students ($n=153$; 74.6%).

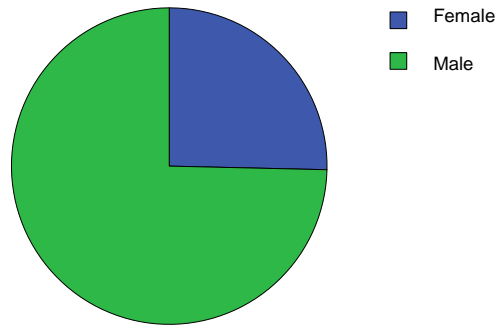


Figure 1: Distribution of Gender of Students

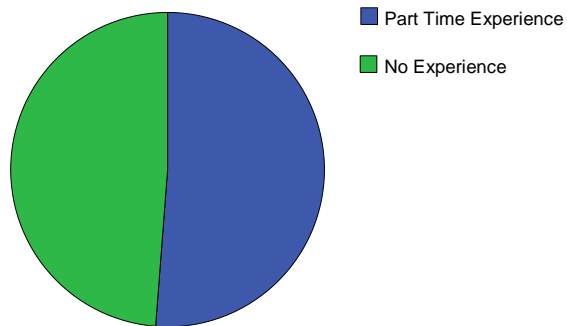


Figure 2: Student Work Experience in Translation

Work Experience

In an ideal world, full time students are assumed to be fully focused on their studies; yet in the real world students do take up part time or even full time jobs. Although it is a controversial issue, some observe that as long as students work is in line with their field of study and is on a part-time basis, like an apprenticeship, it may assist them in gaining real

world experiences and help them evaluate the conditions of the current market so as to qualify for the requirements soon they have to fit in.

Table 4 includes the students' views about their working experience, in the related fields like translating and interpreting besides teaching English.

Accepting translation work is the natural working opportunity that a prospective professional translator trainee should take. As illustrated in Figure 2, approximately half of the students in the sample take translation as a part time job. 48.8% of the participants (N=100) declared that they translate, and in the follow up question regarding the type of translation, an extremely wide range of genres and text types was indicated. The most popular type of translation mentioned by the students was translation of news and journalistic texts. The other types of translation were far less common including in no specific order, translation of fiction, history, legal texts, and movie subtitling.

Table 4: Work Experiences of the Sample of Students

<i>Work Type</i>		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Cumulative Percent</i>
Teaching English	No Experience	129	62.9	62.9
	Part Time Experience	76	37.1	100.0
	Total	205	100.0	
Interpreting	No Experience	195	95.1	95.1
	Part Time Experience	10	4.9	100.0
	Total	205	100.0	
Translating	No Experience	105	51.2	51.2
	Part Time Experience	100	48.8	100.0
	Total	205	100.0	

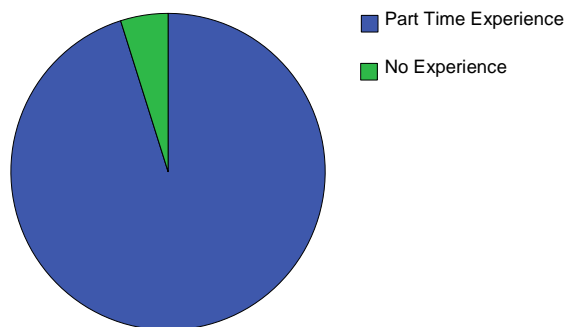


Figure 3: Student Work Experience in Interpreting

As displayed in Figure 3, interpreting does not comprise a big portion of part time work experience of the sample population. Both for reasons of higher foreign language demand and more limited market availability (especially for students in other part of the country other than the Capital city), it does not pose as a tempting opportunity for student part time work. According to Table 4 above, only less than 5% of participants have experience as an interpreter during their studies. That is probably why in response to a question regarding the necessity of including more interpretation-related courses in addition to the existing three courses and specially a new course on introducing theories of interpreting studies, several Iranian scholars tend not to recommend so, for the existing translation program, or at least not on a national scale, maybe only as optional courses for programs offered in Tehran.

As can be seen in Figure 4, another fairly common language related work experience of the students is teaching English as a foreign language. As illustrated in Figure 4, 37.1% of the translation students ($n=76$) who participated in the study declared that they had worked as an EFL teacher. Translation students' involvement with language teaching can probably be explained by the fact that it is a readily available opportunity for students since according to the contemporary socio-cultural demands of the present society, there are myriad of privately funded schools and institutes which provide teaching English as a foreign language. In similar

circumstances, a fledgling EFL teacher can currently access better earning potentials and job vacancies than a fledgling translator. As such, TEFL being rather an easy recruitment at the moment, students would be naturally encouraged to take the teaching job. Based on this working situation, some Iranian translation scholars tend to take issue with the idea of excluding the courses like Language Testing or Language Teaching Methodology from the curriculum of English Translation in Iran, so that the students and the graduates would be equipped with basic principles of language teaching, just in case.

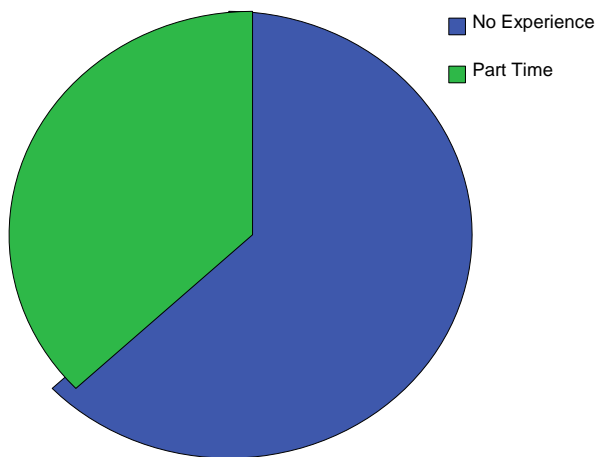


Figure 4: Student Work Experience in Teaching English

Self-assessment

Table 5: Descriptive statistics of students' self-assessment			
	<i>English proficiency at commencement of the program</i>	<i>English proficiency at the moment in the program</i>	<i>Computer literacy at the moment in the program</i>
N	205	205	205
Mean	2.36	3.10	2.28
Mode	2	3	2
Minimum	1	2	1
Maximum	4	4	4
Sum	483	635	467

In response to a series of closed ended questions regarding self-evaluation of some of their abilities including English proficiency at the commencement of the program, English proficiency at the moment in the program, computer literacy presently in the program, the students rated their own assessment of their English language and computer knowledge on a scale of 1 to 4, 1 as beginner, 2 as intermediate, 3 as upper intermediate, and 4 as advanced.

As shown in Table 5, the results from the 205 participating translation students in either of the two last years of their education indicate that their overall self-assessment of their English language proficiency, when admitted to the undergraduate program, is only slightly above intermediate (Mean=2.36). Likewise, as seen in Table 6 below, the most selected option (46.8%) to that question was Intermediate (Mode=2). Such a language level (despite the fact that it may be even lower assuming that the participants may not be perfectly honest to save their face or would be unable to precisely recognize their true abilities) still is not a decent spot to continue from. This justifies a great deal of time and education which is currently invested on the foreign language competence of the applicants to the translation program.

Table 6: Self-assessment of English proficiency at commencement of the program

	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Cumulative Percent</i>
Beginner	27	13.2	13.2
Intermediate	96	46.8	60.0
Upper Intermediate	64	31.2	91.2
Advanced	18	8.8	100.0
Total	205	100.0	

The challenge, however, is that the results of the self-assessment of students' language proficiency in their third/fourth year of study with having more than four (almost) whole academic terms focusing on developing language competence do not demonstrate a promising improvement and achievement. Generally, they evaluate their own foreign language skill, just slightly above upper intermediate (Table 7) which probably this skill will not drastically get promoted in near future since no more EFL preparation would come along.

Table 7: Self-assessment of English proficiency at the moment in the program

	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Cumulative Percent</i>
Intermediate	26	12.7	12.7
Upper intermediate	133	64.9	77.6
Advanced	46	22.4	100.0
Total	205	100.0	

Since the improvement after the treatment (several English language courses on all the language skills during the first two years of the study) is rather meager (see Table 5), to make sure that the improvement is significant and more than random chance, paired t-Test procedure was run using SPSS. According to Table 8, the results demonstrate $t(204) = 14.64$, $p=0.00$, providing reasons to believe that the difference is also statistically significant. Nevertheless, given that students can closely evaluate their own language

performance, achieving an almost upper-intermediate level is not an optimal result in the final half of the study period.

Table 8: Comparison of Self-assessment of English Proficiency at the beginning and at the moment in the program

		Paired Samples Test					t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
		Paired Differences							
		Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference				
Lower	Upper								
Pair 1	Self-assessment of English proficiency at commencement of the program - Self-assessment of English proficiency at the moment in the program	-.741	.725	.051	-.841	-.642	-14.638	204	.000

Figure 5: Responses to necessity of teaching course on the Internet

Considering the critical role of computers and knowledge and familiarity with functionality of computers, their accessories and peripheral devices, a prospective translator needs to have obtained a certain level of computer literacy to be able to keep up with the fast running torrent of the global market, regardless of how locally one intends to practice translation. Although the younger generation is assumed to be way more acquainted with the Internet and computers, which might be true at any rate, according to Table 5, the students admit that their computer literacy is not much beyond Intermediate (Mean=2.28, on a scale of 1 to 4). As illustrated in Table 9, over 17% of the students who were at being towards the end of their degree program and off to start a professional translation career, admitted that they were completely naïve in using computers and almost to half the participants rated their knowledge not more than intermediate.

Table 9: Students' self-assessment of computer literacy

	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Cumulative Percent</i>
Beginner	35	17.1	17.1
Intermediate	95	46.3	63.4
Upper Intermediate	58	28.3	91.7

Advanced	17	8.3	100.0
Total	205	100.0	

Curricular Expectations

As mentioned in section 2.3, translation students do not feel completely competent with employing computers in general and with the World Wide Web in particular. By taking big online websites like proz.com besides small personal or corporate websites active in acceptance and outsourcing translation orders and services, it is inevitable not to get engaged with the Internet for a translator (except for quite traditional literary type). Obviously, there are a whole list of other facilities and possibilities that the Internet can furnish translators and translator trainees with, including being the best and largest resource for lexical, syntactic and cultural reference, to name a few.

A major section of the questionnaire included several questions about student requirements for learning. They were supposed to mark their responses on a scale with seven options, ranging from Very Unnecessary (-3) to Very Necessary (+3). As displayed on Figure 5 above, the majority of students did express their need for instruction on how to use the Internet and Networking at different extent. Also, as illustrated in Table 10, the most frequent response was 3 (e.g., Very Necessary) and on average the students rated more than 1 (e.g., Fairly Necessary) to 2 (e.g., Necessary) with the mean equal to 1.27.

Table 10: Descriptive Statistics of two academic expectations

		<i>Internet & Networking</i>	<i>Theories of Translation</i>
N	Valid	194	194
	Missing	11	11
Mean		1.27	1.55
Mode		3	3
Minimum		-3	-3
Maximum		3	3
Sum		246	300

As for lectures on theory, there is no consensus among scholars in terms of incorporating courses on translation theories in translation programs at undergraduate level whereas some scholars observe that even though theories are helpful, they are too complicated for

the undergraduate, some others argue against theory assuming it to be unpractical for BA students. But as far as the judgment of students themselves is concerned, the Iranian undergraduate, not so strongly, yet do ask for further introduction to theories of translation during their studies and preparation for professional practice of translation (mean=1.55). As Figure 6 indicates, approximately 60% of the participants declared the necessity to different extents, and more than 33% of the students (the most frequent response) voted Strongly Necessary in favor of incorporating further translation theories. But confusion may arise, since there is already a course on translation theory. This probably has to be investigated and diagnosed not as a problem with the existing curriculum, but as a challenge and point of concern in the way teachers presently handle translation classroom in general and the existing pertinent compulsory course, Methodology and Principles of Translation, in particular.

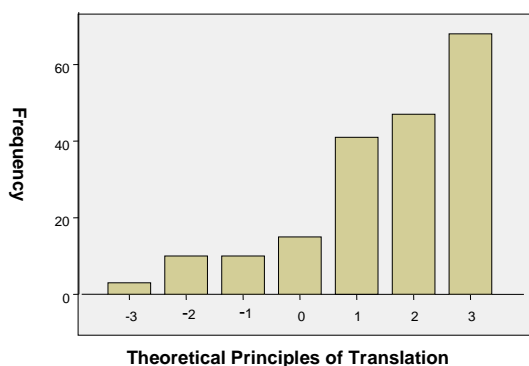


Figure 6: Responses to necessity of teaching translation theories

Conclusion

Taking the empirical results reported into consideration, certain points and aspects of Iranian studentship majoring in English translation in undergraduate programs appear to be

better portrayed. To sum up, some of the facts which seem to highlight the status quo of would-be English and Persian translators at schools are enumerated in the following. Initially, as long as research on humanities and planning is concerned, age has always been a critical variable. As the results provide evidence, the absolute majority of present trainees in the second half of their study (over 72%) are in their early twenties. Therefore, for any consideration with regard to curriculum planning or the like, the actual socio-cultural conditions and capacities of such an age need to be prioritize. Similarly, considering the variable of gender, as easily observed, female domination is confirmed in the study which consequently is not far from wise to place way higher significance on the expectations and circumstances of female students, when curriculum design, professional opportunities among others are in question.

In addition, the percentage of students who have work on a part time basis during their undergraduate studies (TEFL=37.1%, Interpreting=4.9%, Translating=48.8%) show that at least almost one out of every two students is taking up a job. The idea that study credits be given to such outside-university learning experience or even the idea of including a mandatory module on practical apprenticeship in the training programs are certainly neither new ideas nor there is a consensus on them. Certainly results from future national, empirical research on the effect of simultaneous working and studying in a translator training course would be most fruitful and enlightening for the betterment and modification of the current trend of translator training in Iran.

The results of the self-assessment of students demonstrate that they start their training with their foreign language (English) roughly at an intermediate level and graduate almost at an upper-intermediate level. Their average computer literacy is also just above intermediate supposedly. Given that their assessment is sound and close to reality, it seems that both language criteria at the time of admission and the course work on English language offered during the program call for reconsideration.

More to the point, considering the results of the students' self-evaluation about their computer literacy and their affirmation that they need instruction on the application of computers and the Internet in their training course, the enrichment of undergraduate translation programs with teaching computer skills poses a serious call to course book designers, curriculum developers and educational policy makers.

As a controversial subject for instruction, translation theories, is apparently for which trainees ask. Scholars do not completely agree with the issue that whether what students want is what students need and, consequently, what they should be taught.

Eventually, however, the results of this study with all its limitations and shortcomings are hoped to attract the attention of the authorities in charge to the often neglected corner of perspectives of the students whenever it comes to the question of revision and upgrading the long lasting program of educating translators.

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Analyzing the Phenomenon of Intertextuality in the Process of Literary Translation

Isra Irshad and Ghulam Ali

Abstract

The aim of this study is to analyse the processes of transmission of intertextual sense in the selected Urdu poetry of Iqbal. It investigates how the intertextual references resist and how the intertextual knowledge of the translators facilitates the process of translation. Moreover, it also uncovers the translation strategies used by the translators. Urdu poems of Iqbal from Bang-e-Dara, Bal-e-Gibreil and Zarb-e-Kalim and their translation by V. G. Kiernan, Naim Siddique, Dr. M. A. K. Khalil, and Syed Akbar Ali Shah have been selected. The theories of intertextuality and descriptive translation have been used as a theoretical and methodological framework to analyse the data. The study reveals that the embeddedness of the poetry of Iqbal in the Islamic culture resists the process of translation of intertextual sense. It creates the problem of untranslatability in the translation. It also depicts that the intertextual knowledge of the translators about the source language (SL) culture facilitates the process of translation. The translators have used the translation strategies of literal translation, sense for sense, explanatory notes, compensation and so on. Despite using them, there is a complete or partial loss of the intertextual sense in the process of translation.

Keywords: translation, intertextuality, culture, untranslatability, descriptive translation studies

Introduction:

Intertextuality is an important phenomenon in the process of translation. Intertextual references are made of the culture of a particular society, and create problems in the process of rendering their intertextual sense in another language. Translation does not only involve the linguistic elements but cultural aspects as well (Bassnett, 1991). Every culture has its socio-cultural realities which resist the process of translation. Hoey (2001) states that Kristeva relates the text to culture by arguing that “all texts ... contain within them the ideological structures and struggles expressed in society through discourse” (p. 36). The theory of intertextuality views every text as constructed as a response to the previous texts, and prompts further texts. It is made with the rearrangements of various other texts, and ST, in this way, is embedded with “multiple voices” (Bakhtin, 1984). Source text (ST) becomes an intertext in this way as these voices and references are cultural, social, religious, and historical and so on. The task of the translator becomes challenging because not only the identification regarding the intertextual reference is required, but the association it has in the SLC also makes it problematic in the activity of translation. The research deals with the following research questions:

- 1) How is the intertextually embedded sense of the ST references transmitted in the TL?
- 2) How do the intertextual references resist the process of the translation?
- 3) How does the intertextual knowledge of the translators facilitate the process of the translation?
- 4) What translation strategies are used by the translators to translate the intertextual references from SL to the TL?

To analyse the above mentioned research questions, twelve poems of Iqbal from *Bang-e-Dara*, *Bal-e-Jibreel*, and *Zarb-e-Kalim* have been selected. Further, the researcher has selected the translation of these poems by V. G. Kiernan, and the translation of these poems by different translators: Dr. M. A. K. Khalil, Syed Akbar Ali Shah, and Naim Siddiqui. V. G. Kiernan has translated the selected work of Iqbal from *Bang-e-Dara*, *Bal-e-Jibril* and *Zarb-e-Kaleem*. V.G. Kiernan is a non-Muslim translator. *Bang-e-Dara* is translated by Dr. M. K. Khalil, *Bal-e-Jibril* is translated by Naim Siddique and Syed Akbar Ali Shah, and *Zarb-e-Kaleem* is translated by Syed Akbar

Ali Shah. These three Muslim translators are selected to analyse the research questions how the intertextual baggage of the translators facilitate the process of translations.

Theoretical and Methodological Framework:

The theories of intertextuality view the text as intertextual. Bullock, Stallybrass and Trombley (1999, p. 142) underline the idea of intertextuality as “interdependence that any literary text has with a mass of other which preceded it”. Therefore, the production of meaning depends on other texts. It gives an idea that construction of meaning is complex in nature, and it creates more problems when it has to be transferred from one language to another. The transference of meaning in intertextual perspective seems a very hectic activity due to cultural disparities.

Meaning is a multifaceted construct as it is embedded in the social, political, economic, religious, and historical spheres of a language. It becomes complex in nature and this complexity of meaning makes it intertextual. It is viewed as intertextual in the theories of intertextuality. Intertextuality, a poststructuralist concept, views the meaning and texts as interdependent. The theories of Saussure, Bakhtin, Barthes and Kristeva have contributed in the development of theories of intertextuality (Heerden, 2008). Saussure views the relational concept of sign and meaning, and this is the first step with regard to the development of the theory of intertextuality. However, he considers the text as self-sufficient whole. This is challenged in post-structuralism, and emphasis is given to the diachronic system of language (Allen, 2000). Bakhtin and Medvedev (1978) criticize the structuralism, and claim that the approach miss the social specific nature of language. Bakhtin uses the word “utterance” which takes the social specific nature of language, and it is not present in Saussurean linguistics. He considers language as dialogic (Bakhtin, 1986). The concepts such as heteroglossia, polyphony and double-voiced discourse complement the term intertextuality. Heteroglossia is the ability of language to contain many voices. A polyphonic novel has also many voices. This novel has double-voiced discourse. Within double-voice discourse, there appears a theory of intertextuality (Allen, 2000). Barthes has contributed a lot in the paradigm of the post-structuralism as his work ‘The Death of the Author’ is very significant in this regard. The role of author in the creation of meaning was challenged by him. His theory of text negates the concept that meaning comes from the unified authorial consciousness. He views the text as a multidimensional space in which a variety of writings blend. It does not give a single

meaning. So, the perspective of variety of writings in the text, and the multiple meanings in the text is the contribution in the theory of intertextuality. The term of intertextuality is coined by Kristeva. She views each text as an intersection of others texts. She considers poetic language as double (Kristeva, 1980). Frow (1990) views a text as not a self-contained structure, but historical in nature. The traces of others are present in it. So, traces of other texts, intertextual references, make the activity of translation problematic one. The process of translation means “to carry across” (Kasperek, 1983, p. 83) something from one place to another. This baggage not only includes the linguistic but religious, social and cultural historical realities as well. There have been pre-linguistic and linguistics theories of translation till the mid of 20th century but the culture was involved in translation in 1990’s. Translation, then, is considered a communication between source and target cultures (Marinetti, 2011). These source culture includes the cultural specific intertextual framework. Neubert (1980) states that intertextuality places direct constraints on translators. It resists the process of translation because the intertextual references are intermingled in the cultural, social, historical, and political domains of a culture. In this way, culture has a lot of importance in the activity of translation (Neubert & Shreve, 1992). The culture laden-texts lead to the problem of untranslatability in the process of translation. This untranslatability can be both linguistic and cultural.

To explore, in the present study, how cultural specific intertextual references resist and how the intertextual knowledge of the translators facilitates in the process of translation, we need a perspective that has focused on the processes of translation and also has highlighted how culture influences the activity of translation. For this purpose, the descriptive translation (DTS) in combination with the theories of intertextuality has provided the theoretical as well as a methodological framework to this research. DTS focuses on the process of translation, how translation actually occurs, and views how culture influences the activity of translation (Palumbo, 2009). Thus, the descriptive translation studies in combination with the theories of intertextuality have provided the methodological framework to analyze the translation of Iqbal’s poetry done by Dr. M. K. Khalil, V.G. Kiernan, Syed Akbar Ali Shah, and Naim Siddique.

- Firstly, the researcher has selected an intertextual text.
- Secondly, the researcher has described how the text is intertextual.

- Then, the selection criterion for cultural specific intertextual expression is described based on the three categories of intertextuality given by Miola (2004) as following:

Category I	1. Revision 2. Translation 3. Quotation 4. Sources
Category II	5. Conventions 6. configurations 7. Genres
Category III	8. Paralogues

- Then, the English translation of the selected intertextual expression has been taken from the translated work of V.G. Kiernan. Then, it is descriptively analyzed the processes the way intertextual sense is transmitted in the TL, how the intertextual references resist and how the cultural knowledge of the translator facilitates in the process of translation, and what translation strategies are used by the translator.
- Then, the same translated expression by Dr. M. A. Khalil or Naim Siddique or Syed Akbar Ali Shah has been selected. Then, it has also been descriptively analyzed.

Data Analysis:

Extract No. 1 (Source Text):

کشتی مسکین، و جان پاک، و دیوار یتیم،
علم موسیٰ بھی ہے تیرے سامنے حیرت فروش

Description and Explanation:

The above mentioned expression has been selected from Iqbal's poem *Khizar-e-rah, Bang-e-Dara. Kashti-e-miskeen, -w- jan-e-pak, -w diwar-e-yateem, Ilm-e-Mosa b hai tary samny hart faro'sh* is an intertextual text in its nature. Iqbal appreciates the wisdom of Hazrat Khizar. Iqbal says a common man cannot understand the expediency of things that Hazrat Khizar knows, and the knowledge of even prophet like Moses

astonishes before Khizar. In this context, many questions come in the mind of the readers: what is meant by *Kashti-e-miskeen*, *-w- jan-e-pak*, *-w diwar-e-yateem*? How and in which situation Moses' knowledge wondered before Khizar? The understanding of these questions pushes the readers into the network of other texts. These expressions are rooted in historical and religious spheres of the SL. The expression '*Kashti-e-miskeen*', '*jan -e- pak*' and '*dewar-e-yateem*', *Ilm-e-Mosa b hai tary samny hart faro'sh* refers to verses (71 to 82) of the Holy Quran, and describes the history of the meeting of Moses with Hazrat Khizar. The discourse *Ilm-e-Mosa b hai tary samny hart faro'sh* has been extracted by the poet while reading the whole story of journey of Moses and Hazrat Khizar (AS) altogether. So, its interpretation demands an understanding of the historically and religiously embedded account of the SLC. Khizar (AS) was blessed with the special knowledge by Allah. Moses could not understand the immediate actions done by Khizar (AS) during his travel with him. The reasons of doing these actions were described to Moses later on, and this was the stage where Moses' knowledge wondered at Khizar (AS). He (Khizar) made a hole in the ship when they started the journey. Moses said to him that he had done a wicked thing. He (Khizar) said that he had informed him that he would become impatient with him. On this, Moses apologized, and they went on the journey, and then, Khizar killed a boy. Moses again said to him that he had done an awful thing. He (Khizar) again said that he had informed him the he would become impatient with him. Moses again apologized, and requested him to keep on educating him. They again started their journey, and reached in a town. They asked for some food from the people of this area, but they were refused. Khizar (AS) rebuilt a wall which was on the point of falling. Moses said to Khizar that he ought to take a reward for it. Then, he (Khizar) said that there was a time of separation between them. Then, he narrated him the reasons of doing all the actions. The reason of making a hole in the ship was that it was of the poor people. There was an unkind king ahead who would capture that ship from them if it appealed to him. Then, he described the reason of the killing of that boy, and told that it was the decision of Allah. The disobedient boy was the son of the true believers. Then, the reason of the third action of rebuilding the wall of the two orphan boys was described by Khizar (AS), i.e. their father was a pious man, and a treasure was buried beneath it, and Allah wanted that they would take when they reached the age of maturity. So, the references are intertextual references from the verses of *Surah Kahf* of the Quran. *Kashti-e-miskeen* is not literally referring to any boat of the poor but it is

referring to the ship of the poor in which Khizar made a hole, and Moses astonished on this action. It describes how an expression is made with the complex intertextual make up. In the same way, *Dewar-e-yateem* is that wall of the orphans that Khizar rebuilt. *Jan-e-pak* means the innocent boy. The interpretation comes from the intertextual knowledge about the talk of Moses to Khizar (AS) that he (Khizar) has killed an innocent life. Thus, these are three points where the knowledge of Moses is astonished before Khizar. These include: the incident of making a hole in the ship of the poor, the killing of an innocent child, and the construction of the wall of the orphan despite not receiving food from the villagers. The second line of the verse, *Ilm-e-Mosa b hai tary samny hart faroosh*, depicts the essence of the whole story that Khizar (AS) was blessed with special knowledge, and Moses could not understand his actions throughout the journey. Thus, the interpretation of the above mentioned intertextual linguistic codes depicts the idea how they are deeply rooted in Islam as they take their sense from the Quran. These are constructed under the historical and religious climate of the Muslims. This expression has been translated by V. G. Kiernan.

That innocent life, -- that poor man's boat,--that wall of the orphan,
Taught Moses' wisdom to stand before yours wonderingly!

(p.40, Khizar, the Guide, (1) The Poet, Poems from Iqbal, Rendering in English verse with Comparative Urdu/ Persian Text)

The translation strategies of word for word, literal translation, sense for sense and omission have been used by the translator. The expressions *Kashti-e-miskeen*'-w- '*jan-e-pak*' -w- '*dewar-e-yateem* are translated by using the strategy of word for word translation while preserving the order of the SL. Though, in translation, the order of the phrases is reversed, *Kashti-e-miskeen*, -w- '*jan-e-pak* is translated as "that innocent life, -- that poor man's boat". He has translated *Kashti-e-miskeen* as 'that innocent life'. The word 'that' is added by the translator by using the strategy of expansion to refer to a particular boat. The function of infix is genitive *ka* as it is indicating the *Kashti* 'boat' of *miskeen* 'poor'. This function of infix is similar to use of apostrophe (-'s) in English. Both indicate the possession. In English, apostrophe is not used with adjective. So, the translator has added the word 'man' with 'poor', and has used apostrophe with the 'man' to indicate the possession of the boat of the poor. Thus, it is translated according to the translating norms of acceptability of the TL. It is not depicted in the translation to which boat the translator is referring to. He has translated *jan-e-pak* as 'that innocent life'. He has added the word 'that' to specify it to some

particular life, and the function of infix is phonological in *jan-e-pak*. It is not depicted in translation what is meant by innocent life. It is not giving the intertextually rooted reference of the killing of the innocent child by Khizar. He has translated *dewar-e-yateem* as ‘that wall of the orphan’. He has added the word ‘that’ to refer to some particular wall of the orphan. The function of the infix in *dewar-e-yateem* is genitive *ka* depicts the grammatical link of the two expressions as *Dewar* ‘wall’ of *yateem* ‘the orphan’. The use of “that” with “wall” refers to some particular wall. The preceding “the” with “orphan” signifies to some particular orphan. The intertextual knowledge of the story describes that the Quran talks about ‘two orphans’, whereas, the translation is indicating the sense of one orphan. The word ‘of’ has been used by the translator in the TL which has a similar function to that of infix *-e-* of the SL. The expression *Ilm musa bi hai tary samny haret faroosh* is translated by using the strategy of literal translation, expansion and omission. It is translated with their most common meaning, and according to the grammar of TL. The expression “taught” has been used by using the strategy of expansion. The intertextual knowledge tells that Allah taught the knowledge to Khizar (AS), and knowledge of the Moses could not understand the actions taken by Khizar (AS), and these were explained to him later on. Thus, Allah taught him that Khizar had more knowledge and Moses could not understand the knowledge of looking beyond what is obvious. The inclusion of this expression is depicting ambiguity in the translation. It is not giving the sense who has taught Moses, and what is taught. He has omitted the translation of the expression ‘bhi’, on the other hand, which is giving implication in the ST that even the knowledge of the Prophet like Moses is wondered before him. It is giving the sense of the intensity and significance of the knowledge of Khizar that even prophet Moses could not understand Khizar’s wisdom. But in the translation the omission of *bhi* has lessened the intensity of the knowledge of Khizar. *Ilm-e-musa* seems an endocentric compound where one element functions as head and other functions as modifier. Both the elements, in this expression, *Ilm* and *Musa*, are nouns, where head is *Ilm* and modifier is *Musa*, and are linked with the infix functioning as genitive *ka*. The use of infix is one of specific linguistic norm of the SL. It is translated with the linguistic norm of TL, apostrophe, as Moses’ wisdom. Thus, the translator has selected the expression ‘that’ with each intertextual expression “That innocent life, -- that poor man’s boat,--that wall of the orphan” to refer to some specific references but the translation is not indicating the

historical and religious sense attached to these intertextual references. It is not depicting how the knowledge of Moses stands before Khizar (AS) wonderingly.

The translation of the same expression by another translator, Dr. M.A. Khalil, is as following:

The “indigent’s boat”², the “chaste soul”³, the “orphan’s wall”⁴

Even the knowledge of Musa before you is in amazement

(p. 349, Call of the Marching Bell, The Travelers’ Guide)

Explanatory Notes

2. Allusion to the Holy Qur’an 18:71-73 and 79 (p. 354).

3. Allusion to the Holy Quran 18:74-76 and 80-81 (p. 354).

4. Allusion to the Holy Quran 18: 77 and 82 (p.354).

The translator has used the strategy of literal translation, transliteration, word for word and explanatory notes. The expression ‘*Kashti-e-miskeen*’ - *w- ‘jan -e- pak’ -w-‘dewar-e-yateem*’ is translated by using the strategy of word for word. The poet has used commas round each intertextual expression as ‘*Kashti-e-miskeen*’, ‘*jan -e- pak*’, ‘*dewar-e-yateem*’ which indicate that he has taken these expressions from somewhere. The use of the inverted commas in the expression by the translator- the “indigent’s boat” the “chaste soul”, the “orphan’s wall” - indicates that he has used the expressions from somewhere which are already taken from somewhere else and explanation in the explanatory makes it clear that these are allusions from the Quran. So, it seems that he has tried to retain these intertextual expressions in the TL. *Kashti-e-miskeen* is translated as ‘the “indigent’s boat’’. *Kashti* and *miskeen* are linked with the infix having the function of *ka*. It is translated with apostrophe (-’s) in English as “indigent’s boat”. The apostrophe is also giving the function of genitive *ka* of infix of the Urdu language. *Jan -e- pak*’ is translated as ‘the “chaste soul”’. The information about it in the explanatory is depicting the sense that this is an allusion from particular verses of the Quran but what this is, and what is meant by ‘indigent’s boat’ are not depicted in the translation. Like V.G. Kiernan, the translator has also got the sense of the *pak jan* (where *pak* means innocent and *jan* means boy) with the phonological function of the infix. The translator has translated *dewar-e-yateem* as the “orphan’s wall”. Here, again, the function of the infix in the SL is *ka*, and the translator has translated it with the TL norm. The intertextual knowledge indicates that there are two orphans, but the translation is indicating the single orphan. The translator has

transliterated the expression *Musa*, and additional information about the verse has been given in the explanatory note. Overall, *Ilm musa bhi hai tary samny heret faroosh* is translated by using the strategy of literal translation. The expressions are translated with their most common meaning in the TL, with the grammaticality of the TL. The transliterated word *Musa* is put in the structure of the structure of the TL. Despite using the explanatory notes, the translation is not depicting the religious and historical embedded sense of the intertextual expression. It is not indicting what is meant by indigent's boat, chaste soul and orphan's wall, and how the knowledge of Musa before Khizar (AS) is in amazement. Moreover, the transliteration of the word in the translation is indicting problem in understanding the identity of Moses.

Thus, the above mentioned discussion has revealed that both the translations have not depicted the intertextual embedded discourse in SLC in the process of translation. Dr. M. A. K. Khalil has tried to convey the meaning by just mentioning the name of the verses from which intertextual make up is made. But the meaning is not clear despite using the explanatory notes. Moreover, the expression *Musa* in translation is creating problem for the TL readers in understanding his identity. *Kashti-e-Miskeen* has been translated as 'that poor man's boat' by V. G. Kiernan and as "indigent's boat" by Dr. M. A. K. Khalil. The intertextual knowledge depicts the idea that Iqbal has used the expression *Miskeen* in the sense of the poor. V. G. Kiernan has translated it with the word 'poor'. The word 'indigent', on the other hand, has wide semantic range. It includes the sense of the helplessness, poverty, pauper and dependent. So, it seems that V. G. Kiernan has translated the expression with specific term, but the second translator has conveyed the general sense of the expression. The word *Miskeen* itself has wide semantic range and the selection of the word for it by Dr. M. A. K. Khalil has also wide semantic range. The expression *Jan pak* is translated as 'that innocent life' by V. G. Kiernan and 'the "chaste soul"' by Dr. M. A. K. Khalil. The 'innocent' seems nearest sense to intertextual sense to *pak* than chaste. The innocent means 'pure' describing someone who has not involved in any guilty or crime. And chaste means innocent, pure, faithful and virtuous. Intertextual knowledge depicts that he (to whom Khizar has killed) was not a chaste child but an innocent. The philosophical grounds depict that the innocence does not involve the choice but chaste involves the choice of the selection of good and bad. The boy did not have the choice of doing good and bad. But Khizar has got through his knowledge that he would become disobedient when he would become mature. Overall, it seems that both the translations have not depicted

the intertextual references working behind these expressions. The translation of V. G. Kiernan with the selection of lexical items of ‘poor’, ‘innocent’ and expansion of the word ‘taught’ depicts that intertextual knowledge was working in the mind of the translator. But the translation is not depicting what is meant by poor man’s boat, the innocent life and wall of the orphan and what and who has taught Moses. Despite using explanatory notes by Dr. M. A. K. Khalil, intertextual sense is not communicated in the process of translation. It seems that that intertextual knowledge facilitates the translator in translation. It seems that the translator have knowledge about intertextual references, the translator has tried to retain the word Musa, used the explanatory notes, and also tried to translate the expression by using the double commas around each expression. On the other hand, the selection of the words ‘chaste’ and ‘indigent’ for *pak* and *miskeen* respectively depicts that he has chosen the words which have wide semantic range like those of *pak* and *miskeen*. *Pak* means innocent, without guilty of crime, virtuous, *Halal* and the word chaste also has wide semantic range. In the same way, the word *miskeen* and ‘indigent’ also have wide semantic range. Though selection of the expressions, *miskeen* and *pak*, by Iqbal is for those words having wide semantic range but the semantic of the word in the context of its verse is *poor* and *innocent*. It seems that the translator’s awareness about the collocation of these words had led him to use those lexical items having wide semantic range. But these have created distance from the actual sense of the poet in the process of translation.

Extract No. 2 (Source Text)

Gibreil:

کھو دیے انکار سے تونے مقامات بلند
چشم یزدان میں مرشتوں کی رہی کیا ابرو!

Description and Explanation

The above mentioned expression has been selected from Iqbal’s poem, *Gibreil aur Iblis, Bal -e- Jibreel*. *Kho dyay inkar say tun nay muqamat-e- buland, Chashm-e-Yazdan my rahi farishtun ki kya aabro* is an intertextual text in nature. Iqbal is talking on behalf of *Gabriel* who says that because of the refusal, *Iblis* has lost his *muqamat-e-buland* in the eyes of Allah, and angels cannot claim any respect before Allah now.

Some questions come in the mind of the readers: What was the *inkar* ‘refusal’ of Satan? What is meant by *muqam-e-buland*? Now, *inkar* and *muqam-e-buland*, and the action of *khoona* ‘lost’ in the expression make this text an intertextual. So, it shows that the expression *kho dyay inkar say tun nay muqamat-e- buland* in this verse is constructed with the historical and religious climate of the Muslims which is making it intertextually embedded code. The intertextual reference *inkar* is religiously embedded in the SL as it carries the voice of the Quran, and deeply embedded reference in the Quran, and also describes the history of the refusal of Satan before Allah when He created Adam. *Muqamat-e-buland* is not only the high place of Satan in heaven but his worth in the eyes of Allah before his ‘refusal’. Naqwi and Anjum (2010) state that *Iblis* is declared as *Jinn* in the Quran, but because of his prayers, he used to live with angels, and was the favorite of Allah, but by disobeying God, he was rejected and driven out of heaven (p. 332). *Inkar* is the refusal of *Iblis* to bow before Adam. Because of his refusal, he was declared *Kafir* ‘non-Muslim’ and was expelled from Heaven (Quran, 7:13). So, the concept of *inkar* of Satan is embedded in Islam, it describes the history of Satan’s refusal of doing *sajda* to Adam. He was ordered by Allah to bow before Adam but he refused. On the basis of this, he was expelled from paradise. So, this expel indicates the expression *Kho dya* in ST.

The above mentioned intertextual expressions, *inkar*, *muqam-e-buland*, *kho dya*, have implicit generic linking and source from the Quran, and this culture specific ideology in Muslim culture has created an unbridgeable gap in another language. V. G. Kiernan has translated this intertextual text, and it has been analysed to see how the intertextual text is translated in the TL

Gabriel: Your mutiny has put our high estate in Heaven to shame;

In the Creator’s eye what credit now can angels claim?

(p. 140, Gabriel and Satan, Poems from Iqbal, Rendering in English verse with Comparative Urdu/ Persian Text)

To translate the word *inkar*, the strategy of sense for sense has been used by the translator. The *inkar* was the ‘mutiny’ of Satan before Allah. The translator has tried to convey the sense for sense strategy but this is not depicting in the TL what kind of ‘mutiny’ that Satan has made, as no additional information is given in this regard in the explanatory note. The translator has also used the sense for sense strategy of the phrase *muqamat-e-buland* as ‘high estate in Heaven’, but misinterpreted the context of the

verse, as *muqamat buland* means the high status of Satan in the eyes of Allah before his disobedience. Now, the high status with 'our' in the context of the translation is not depicting the status of Satan, but that of angel. So, the expression about Satan's status before his 'refusal' is not being depicted in the process of translation. Because of misinterpretation, the expression *Kho dya* is translated as 'put...to shame' which is mistranslation. It is indicating the sense of shame on part of the angel because of the refusal of Satan, but the poet has discussed the story of expel of Satan from paradise and his worth in the eyes of Allah. So, it seems that intertextually embedded sense regarding the status of Satan is not conveyed in the translation. This verse has been translated by Naim Siddiqui as following:

Gabriel: By thy refusal thou hast lost thy place in heaven

And disgraced the angels in the eyes of the Lord.

(Gabriel and Satan, *Baal-i- Jibreel*, available at

Two translation strategies have been used by the translator to transfer the above mentioned intertextual references: literal translation and sense for sense. He has translated the expression literally except the word *muqamat-e-buland*. It is not being indicated in translation what kind of 'refusal' the poet is talking about. On the other hand, the strategy of sense for sense has been used by the translator to translate the intertextual phrase *muqamat-e-buland* in the translation 'thy place in heaven'. It depicts that the translator has moved towards the translating norm of acceptability of the TL (Tourey, 1995) to make the expression understandable to the reader of the TL. It indicates that he has the knowledge of Satan's place in Heaven and his liking in the eyes of Allah before refusal, but the translation depicts that he has presupposed that the readers of the TL are also aware of it. It was not merely the physically expel from heaven but he was declared *Kafir* by Allah after his refusal of bowing before Adam. 'Thy place in heaven' is indicating merely physically positioning of Satan in Heaven. On the other hand, before his refusal Satan was considered as the confidant of Allah. So, this rejection of Satan is not depicted in the translation.

Thus, the above mentioned discussion depicts that translations of both the translators have shown that intertextual reference, *inkar*, is creating ambiguity in English translation. The phrase, *muqamat-e-buland*, has been misunderstood by V.G. Kiernan, and Naim Siddiqui has given the intertextual reference of the phrase in translation, and seems to have the intertextual baggage regarding the intertextual expressions but it

indicates that he has presupposed that TL readers are aware of it, and thus, it has created ambiguity in translation. The translation is indicating the physically expel from heaven but he was declared *kafir* by Allah after his refusal of bowing before Adam which is not implicated in translation.

Extract No. 3 (Source Text):

ترخاک میں ہے اگر شر تو خیال فقیر خاندان
کہ جہاں میں ان شاعر ہے ازلت عید ملی

Description and Explanation:

The above mentioned expression has been selected from Iqbal's poem, *Main Aur Tun, Bang-e-Dara*. *Tari khak my hai agr sharer, to khayal-e-faqr-o-gana na ker, k jahan my nan- e- shair per hai madar-e- Quwat -e- Haideri* is intertextual text in its nature. Poet says to the people of his nation that if they have the spark in their dust, they should not pay heed to whether they are rich or poor, as the secret of *quwat-e-Haidreri* 'the strength of Haider' is on *nan-e-shair*. Here, the questions arise what *quwat-e-Haideri* is, how it is linked with *Nan-shair*, and what is meant by *sharer* 'spark' in *khak* 'dust'. The answers of these questions depict that their meanings depend on various other texts. So, the presence of other texts in the text makes this an intertextual text. The intertextual reference, *Quwat-e-Haideri*, is historically and religiously embedded in the source language and culture. The linguistic code, Haider, is the title of Hazrat Ali (RA) in the SL community. It means lion and brave. Haider, a noun, is used as an adjective, *Haideri*, by the poet. It lays emphasis on the bravery of Hazrat Ali (RA). He has used the word *quwat* to highlight the bravery of Hazrat Ali. Thus, *quwat-e-Haideri* is the bravery of Hazrat Ali, the fourth Caliphate of Islam. He is famous for his bravery, and known as the 'Lion of God'. His bravery in the battle of *Khyber* is renowned in the SLC, and Iqbal has penned down a lot on the bravery of Hazrat Ali, for example, in *Shikwa, Bang-e-Dara*, he states, *tun he keh day kay ukhara dar-e-Khaiber kis nay?* (Translation: Francis Pritchett, "You yourself say-who uprooted the gate of Khaiber?"). It depicts the idea that Hazrat Ali is the one who, in 629 AD, uprooted the gate of Khyber. So, it is religiously embedded in Islamic culture as it is rooted in Islam. It also reminds us of the history of the heroism of Islamic figure, Hazrat Ali, who took part in many battles, and was renowned because of his strength. The reason

of his strength is also rooted in Islamic religion. The poet says that Hazrat Ali used to eat *Shair*. So, the linkage of this *quwat-e- Haideri* with *shair* also makes this text intertextual in nature. *Shair*, an Arabic word, is translated as ‘barley’ in English. Its Urdu equivalent is *Jau* ‘barley’. Muslims have specific associations with *Shair* as it is the advice of Holy Prophet (PBUH) to eat it (Marwat et al., 2012). Thus, for the Muslims, it is the source of the spiritual strength. Moreover, while making the interpretation of this verse of Iqbal, Naqvi and Anjum (2010) state that it does not simply give an idea that he was powerful because he ate it. It also depicts his simple living which is another acknowledged characteristic of his personality. Ibn Abee Rafey also says that he used to eat very simple food (Peerzade, n. d). Naqvi and Anjum (2010) say that to get success, the thing that is required is not poverty and richness but *iman* ‘faith’. Hazrat Ali used to lead a very simple life. *Nan shair* does not mean simply mean that he only ate *shair* but what was available to him. He used to eat it with faith in Allah, and said thanks to Him. This simple food and the power of *Iman* provided him strength. Thus, the message conveyed by poet is that *iman* ‘faith’ is the most important in life as with the help of it one can get success even he eats *Shair*. So, the linguistic code *quwat-e-Hadari* and its link with the *nan -e- Shair* are intertextual in nature as made with the cultural, historical and religious spheres of the Muslim culture, and indicate how the communicative sense is distributed in different spheres of SL and culture. The expression *sharer* literally means spark. Here, the poet has used the symbolic use of the expression spark as *iman* and *Ishaq* (Naqwi & Anjum, 2010). The expression *iman* itself is intertextually embedded in the SLC. Zaidi and Akbarabad (n.d) say that Islamic way of life start with *Iman*. *Iman* changes thinking angles of a person, and he/she is ready to lead his/her life according to the will of Allah. On the other hand, the Quran is replete with so many characteristics of *Ahl-e-Iman* ‘who have *Iman*’. Allah says that these are those who establish prayer, give *Zakat*, and bow before Allah (The Quran, 5: 55). The Quran says that *Iman* makes people powerful. *Khak* is used by Iqbal to refer to the human being. The use of the expression *khak* is intertextual in nature. There is a discourse about the creation of man from *khak* in the Quran. Allah says that “and of His signs is that He created you from dust” (The Quran, 30:20). Thus, Iqbal has used the expression *khak* from this historically and religiously embedded discourse regarding the creation of human being by Allah. Thus, Iqbal has combined renewed features of Hazrat Ali’s personality in the above mentioned verse. These are faith, strength, and simplicity. These are intertextual

and cultural specific elements in the SL community. It indicates the idea that a particular expression is constructed with the already existing discourse, and is a product of cultural text (Kristeva, 1980). This intertextual text has been translated by V. G. Kiernan as following:

And have no thought, if one spark burns in your dust,
Of wealth or penury; for here on earth
Black peasant bread breeds Haidar's strength
(p. 38, "I and You", Poems from Iqbal, Rendering in English verse with Comparative Urdu/ Persian Text)

Two translation strategies, word for word and compensation, are used by the translator to translate the expression, *quwat-e-Haideri*. The strategy of the word for word translation is used to translate the expression *quwat* as 'strength', and the strategy of compensation is used to translate the word *Haideri* as 'Haidar's'. *Haidari* is an adjective in the ST. The translator has compensated its meaning by using the proper noun 'Haidar's' in the TL. There are certain norms that are specific to source and target languages. The linguistic norm of using infixation is usual in Urdu language, whereas this is not present in the TL, English. In the expression, *quwat-e-Haideri*, the infix *-e-* is used. It is indicating the function of genitive *ka* (Islam, 2011). The translator has translated it as 'Haidar's strength'. There is no use of infixes in English, therefore the translator has used the apostrophe (*'s*) after compensating *Haideri* (Adj) as 'Haidar' (N). There is a linguistic norm that apostrophe is not used with the adjective in English. So, it seems that the translator has selected the translating norm of acceptability of the TL (Toury, 1995) while translating it according to linguistic norms of the TL. He has translated it according to the structure of 'N's'. *Sharer* is translated as 'spark' with the word for word strategy. Iqbal has made the symbolic use of the expression *sharer* which is the feeling of *Ishaq* 'love' and *iman* 'faith' (Naqvi & Anjum, 2010). In other word, the concepts of *Khudi*, *Ishaq*, and *Iman* of Iqbal are interrelated and similar. *Sharer* means a little burning piece of material that is produced by something that is burning and produces heat. The expression can be described as an energy or enthusiasm. It also means a small amount of specific feelings (Oxford Dictionary, 2005). *Ishaq* can be like a spark because *Ishaq* can create such heat and energy that keeps the person moving further (Zaidi and Akbarabad, n.d). But

the *Ishaq* is not just a spark, the discourse about *Ishaq* is embedded in the scholarly discourse of Iqbal in the SLC. When he talks about *Ishaq*, he is discussing about *Khudi* and *Iman* at the same time. So, this expression is not indicating the intertextual sense of *Ishaq* and *Iman* rooted in the SLC. Thus, word for word strategy, in the process of translation, is creating foreignness. On the other hand, the translator has translated *nan- e- shair* as “black peasant bread” by moving towards the norms of acceptability in TL. He has used the strategy of domestication to translate it in TT. To give the simple and poor living of Hazrat Ali, the translator has made the comparison between the food of the poor and the rich in the medieval age. The food of the rich included the wide range of foodstuffs, and the poor ate simple diet. The breads of the poor were made of barley (Wnuk and Allderdice, n.d). So, the concept of poor living is conveyed by the translator. The concept of simple living and association the word *Shair* has in SL community (as this was advised by Holy Prophet to eat it) is not depicted in the process of translation. He has translated *khak* and *sharer* as ‘dust’ and ‘spark’ respectively by using the strategy of word for word. The use of symbolism is a literary norm of the poetry of Iqbal. Their translation with word for word strategy seems to be the reason of the loss of intertextual sense in the SLC. Thus, the above mentioned translation of the intertextual text is not being depicted the historical and religious intertextual sense embedded in the SLC. It is not describing what is meant by spark, dust, religious association of *shair* and its relation with the simplicity of Hazrat Ali, who Haider is, and what the reason of the bravery of Haider is. Another translator, Dr. M. K. Khalil, has translated the whole verse as following:

Do not care for poverty and affluence, if your dust has a spark
Because in the world Haider’s strength depends on bread of Shair
(p.343, Call of the Marching Bell, I and You)

The expression *shair* has been transliterated by the translator, and the additional information about it is given in the explanatory note. *Quwat-e-Haideri* is translated as ‘Haider’s strength’ by using the strategies of word for word translation, compensation and explanatory note. He has selected word for word strategy for the translation of the expression *Quwat* as ‘strength’. Like V. G. Kiernan, the translator has translated *Haideri* as ‘Haider’s’. *Hadari* is an adjective in the ST. The translator has compensated its meaning by using the proper noun ‘Haider’s’ in the TL. In *Quwat-e-*

Haideri, the infix *-e-* is used. It is indicating the function of genitive *ka* (Islam, 2011). The translator has translated it as ‘Haider’s strength’. He has used the apostrophe (-’s) after compensating *Haideri* (Adj) as ‘Haidar’ (N). So, it seems that the translator has selected the strategy of acceptability while translating it according to linguistic norms of the TL. He has translated it according to the structure of ‘N’s’. Moreover, this translator has also given the information about it in the explanatory note. He has mentioned, in the Appendix 1 (no. 7), that Haider is another name of Hazrat Ali, and has also drawn a description of the personality of Hazrat Ali, e.g. he is the son-in-law of Holy Prophet (PBUH) and the fourth caliph of Islam and famous for his courage. He is renowned as the ‘Lion of God’ because of his bravery. The translator has provided the examples of his bravery: his bravery in the battle of Khyber, he slept on the bed of Holy Prophet on the day of his departure towards Medina, his appointment as caliph in the most critical period in the history of Islam and his ability to overcome all the difficulties with the courage and so on. With the inclusion of explanatory note, he has tried to make it acceptable to the TL readers. So, we can see that to transmit the intertextual reference of *Quwat-e-Haideri*, he has to give the detailed information about the personality and bravery of Hazrat Ali (RA). The single expression *Haideri* draws the whole picture of the characteristics of Hazrat Ali but in the TL the translator has to give the lengthy explanation about this expression. It also gives the thought that the intertextual knowledge of the translator facilitates the process of translation. Moreover, the translator has also tried to transmit what *Shair* is, and what is meant by it in the present context, e.g. he says that *Shair* is cheap grain available in Asian countries, Indian subcontinent and Saudi Arabia. He says that the correct name for it is not barley, and its equivalent word in Urdu is *Jau*. According to him, it depicts the “simple living and high thinking” (p. 344). So, again it depicts how the intertextual knowledge facilitates the translator in the process of translation. Though he has given the background of the expression of Iqbal, the association of the Muslim with it is not conveyed in translation. It clears that how the intertextual expression is embedded in different spheres of the TL and despite giving the information about the cultural sphere (the simple living of Hazrat Ali), the information regarding religious sphere (the association of SL community with this expression and the element of *iman* ‘faith’ behind this simple living) is not depicted in the translation. He has translated *khak* and *sharer*, like V. G. Kiernan, as dust and spark respectively by using the strategy of word for word. The use of symbolism is literary norm of the poetry of Iqbal. Their

translation with word for word strategy seems to be the reason of the loss of intertextually embedded sense in the SLC. So, the above mentioned translation of the intertextual text is not depicting the historical and religious intertextual expressions embedded in the SLC. Though he has tried to convey, in the process of translation, the sense of *quwat-e- Haideri* and *Shair* by using the explanatory notes, it is not indicating what is meant by dust, spark, reason of the bravery of him, the association of SLC with *Shair*, the element of *iman* 'faith' behind this simple living.

So, the above mentioned discussion gives an idea that V. G. Kiernan has not conveyed who Haider is, what his strength is, the reason of his *iman*, how *nan-shair* is linked with strength, what *Khak* and *sharer* mean and so on. He has given the message of poverty of the reason of the strength of 'Haider' by translating *shair* as 'black peasant bread'. On the other hand, Dr. M. K. Khalil has tried to transmit the intertextual references working behind it. For example, who Haider is, and some examples about his strength are also provided. He has to depend upon the lengthy explanatory notes to transmit the above mentioned intertextual reference in the TL. But the Muslims' association with the expression *Haideri* is not conveyed in the translation. The concept of simplicity is conveyed by the translator in the explanatory note. Despite it, the association of SLC with *Shair*, and the element of *iman* 'faith' behind this simple living are not indicated in the translation. Furthermore, both the translators have translated *khak* and *sharer* as 'dust' and 'spark' respectively. They are not transmitting the message of faith, and religiously embedded discourse about the creation of man with *khak*.

Extract No. 4 (Source Text)

میرے بگڑے ہوئے کاموں کو بنایا تو نے
بار جو مجھ سے نہ اٹھا وہ اٹھایا تو نے

Description and Explanation

The above mentioned expression has been taken from Iqbal's poem, *Insan aur Bazm-e-Qudrat, Bang-e-Dara*. *Mery bigray hoay kamo ko bnaya tun ny, bar jo muj say na utha wo uthaya tun ny* is intertextual text in nature. The mountain and earth say to man that he has put their disordered work in order, and has lifted the load that they cannot bear. The question comes in the mind of the person what kind of the load that they cannot lift, and its answer demands an understanding of other texts. The load that the

mountains cannot raise indicates that this expression is intertextual as it is historically and religiously rooted in the SL discourse. It carries the voice of the Quran, and describes the history of the responsibility given to man since the day one. In this text, Iqbal makes man realize his importance in this world. He pronounces on behalf of the skies, mountains, and earth. This is intertextually embedded in the SLC as this is the voice of Allah in the Quran. This is present in verse no.72 of *Surah- Tul - Ahzab* (33) of the Quran. When Allah presented His *Amanat* in front of skies, mountains and earth, they refused to take this responsibility, but man undertook it. This *Ammant* is described as the responsibility of *Khilafat* 'Vicegency' presented to man by Allah. Skies, mountains, and earth refused to take this responsibility but man took it. Madodi (2011) state that presenting of this *Ammant* in front of universe and earth can have a literal meaning because whatever the relation that Allah has with His created things is beyond human comprehension. There can also be the possibility that it may be used as a metaphor by Allah in the Quran to show this responsibility to man. In 59:21, Allah says that "had We sent down this Quran on a mountain, verily, thou wouldst have seen it humble itself and cleave asunder for fear of Allah..." It means that mountain could not bear the responsibility of the Quran which is also the *Ammant* of Allah, and man undertook this task. The *Khilafat* means that a man, on this earth, is a vicegerent of Allah. Thus, he can fulfill the responsibility of this vicegency if he creates in himself that are the characteristics of Allah i.e. to do justice, to be merciful with others, to behave courteously. He must have to fulfill the responsibility of *tabligh*; i.e. spread and implement the message of the Islam and the Quran on the earth). He behaves according to the will of Allah (Madodi, 2011). Thus, the responsibility of *Khilafat* and the Quran is intertextually rooted in the SLC. Iqbal states on behalf of skies, earth and mountains in the verse, and pronounces the *Ammant* as a burden (for skies, mountains, and earth). These state that they themselves did not take it, and man took it. Thus, this makes it clear how the expression is made with the religious climate of the Islam which makes this reference intertextual in nature. V. G. Kiernan has translated this expression as following:

The load that would not leave me you have lifted from my shoulder,
You are all my chaotic work's re-moulder.

(p. 6, *Man and Nature*, Poems from Iqbal, Rendering in English verse with Comparative Urdu/ Persian Text)

The strategies of literal and expansion are used by the translator to translate the intertextual reference *bar jo muj say na utha wo uthaya tun ny*. The order of the lines in the verse is reversed, i.e. *bar jo muj say na utha wo uthaya tun ny* is translated firstly as ‘the load that would not leave me you have lifted from my shoulder’, then the line *Mary bigray hoay kamo ko bnaya to ny* is translated as ‘You are all my chaotic work’s re-moulder’. The *bar jo muj say na utha* is translated as “the load that would not leave me”. The translation is indicating that load has left somebody (not somebody has to leave the load). The strategy of expansion is used by the translator with the addition of the expression ‘shoulder’. But the whole expression and load (which is the responsibility of *Khilafat*) is not being depicted in the translation. The verse is translated by Dr. M. K. Khalil as following:

You have put my disordered affairs in order
 You have shouldered the burden which I could not bear ²
 (p. 112, Man and Nature’s Assemblage, Call of the Marching Bell)

Explanatory Note: 2. This is an allusion to the Holy Qur'an 59:21, according to which, in his capacity of being the custodian of the Holy Qur'an, Man has exhibited higher strength and fortitude than the mountains which are proverbial for their height, strength and firmness (p.113).

The strategies of literal translation and explanatory note are used by the translators to translate *Bar jo muj say na utha wo uthaya tun ny*. The expression is translated with its most common meaning, and according to the syntactic structure of the TL. He has tried to transmit the intertextual reference in the explanatory note. The reference that he has mentioned, 59:21, the Holy Quran, in explanatory notes is related to the verse of Iqbal. It says “had We sent down this Qur'an on a mountain, verily, thou wouldst have seen it humble itself and cleave asunder for fear of Allah....”, but, it seems, this is indirectly linked to the intertextual references of the verse of Iqbal. The verse of Iqbal, it seems, is directly related with the intertextual references of 33: 72 of the Quran, e.g. the earth, mountain and skies could not lift the *Ammant* (responsibility of *Khilafat*). And the word *Ammant* is used metaphorically by Iqbal as *bar* ‘burden’ by understanding the context of the whole conversation of earth, mountain, and skies with Allah, i.e. these did not undertake the responsibility by thinking it the biggest responsibility on them. It seems that the translator has tried to make the expression

acceptable to the TL readers by giving the information about it. The ‘burden’ in the translation is not making clear what the message has been given. The message of “man being the custodian of the Quran” is given in the explanatory note. But what is meant by the custodian of the Quran is not indicated in the translation which is intertextually embedded in the SLC. Moreover, the burden in the translation is depicting some physical burden, whereas it is not the burden, but it is signifying the importance of the responsibility. The translation is indicating that man being the custodian of the Quran has shown higher strength. But what is the history of saying so is not indicated in the translation. It is not making clear the history of the conversation of Allah and mountain on taking the responsibility of vicegerency and the Quran.

V. G. Kiernan, it seems, has misinterpreted the context of the verse. This is hindering the understanding of sense in the TL. Dr. M. A. K. Khalil has used various translation strategies to transmit it in the TL. His strategy of providing information in the explanatory note depicts that his intertextual knowledge about the intertextual references is facilitating him in the process of translation. To transmit the intertextually embedded sense in the TL, he has conveyed the additional information. The interpretation of the verse in the explanatory note, i.e. man being the custodian of the Quran has shown more capacity than mountain gives the interpretation of the significance of man being the vicegerent of Allah on this earth, but the concept of vicegerency of man on this earth is deeply rooted in the SLC (the message of this responsibility is rooted in the whole book of the Quran) that it is difficult to transmit it in the TL. The expression ‘burden’ is not making clear what the history behind it is. The additional information in the explanatory note is not making it clear what strength man has shown than mountain. It is not indicating what is meant by ‘being the custodian of man’ or by taking the responsibility of the Quran.

Discussion and Conclusion:

The study highlights that the transmission of intertextually emended sense in TL is a difficult task. The poetry of Iqbal is fraught with intertextual references embedded in the socio-religious spheres of Islamic culture. The data analysis shows that the transmission of the intertextual sense of ST expression has become problematic in the process of translation. Translation of the intertextual references has, sometimes, resulted in the complete loss of the intertextual sense and at times, sense from one

sphere is provided, but there is a loss of sense from other sphere (s) of an intertextual expression in the process of translation and at times, the sense provided by the translator even within one sphere is incomplete to understand the intertextual sense. There is a complete loss of intertextual sense in the translation of *khak* as ‘dust’ by Dr. M. A. K. Khalil and V. G. Kiernan. Religious and historical discourse about the creation of man is not depicted in the translation. At times, the expressions are conveying the partial sense of the intertextual expressions. If the sense in one sphere is depicted in the translation, there may be a chance there is the loss of the sense in other sphere(s) of the expression (intertextual). Dr. M. A. K. Khalil has provided the additional information in the explanatory note in the translation of the of the expression, *mary bigray hoay kamo ko bnaya tun ny, bar jo muj say na utha wo uthaya tun ny*. The explanatory note is giving sense about the religious sphere but the information about the historical sphere is not being depicted in the process of translation. At times, the sense provided by the translator within one sphere is inadequate to understand the expression. For instance, the information provided by Dr. M. A. K. Khalil regarding the religious sphere is incomplete to understand the intertextual expression. The translator has translated *kashti-e-miskeen, -w- jan-e-pak, -w diwar-e-yateem, Ilm-e-Mosa b hai tary samny hart faro’sh* with some additional information. *Kashti-e-miskeen, jan-e-pak, and dewar-e-yateem* are the allusions from the verses of the Quran. But this information regarding the religious sphere is insufficient to comprehend the intertextual references. So, the data analysis reveals that intertextually embedded sense of the SL expressions resists the process of translation. This intertextual nature of the sense of culture specific references has created the problems of linguistic untranslatability and cultural untranslatability. Linguistic untranslatability occurs because of the difference in the SL and TL, and when no lexical or syntactical substitute is present in the TL for any item of the SL. It seems obvious it occurs because of the difference of both cultures. Cultural untranslatability occurs because of difference of cultures of both the languages. In the intertextual expression, *kho diyay inkar sy tun ny muqamat-e-buland*, the lexical words of intertextual embedded expressions *Muqamat-e-buland* and *inkar* are present in the TL: ‘high estates’ and ‘refusal’ respectively. It depicts the idea that lexical substitutions present in the TL but the particular situation (that he refused before Allah regarding bowing before Adam) is not present in the TL. It occurs because of the differences of both the cultures. The analysis of data also reveals that the intertextual

knowledge of the translator facilitates him in the process of translation. Dr. M. A. K. Khalil has used the additional information about the intertextual reference in the explanatory notes. The intertextual expression, *quwat-e-Haideri*, is translated as “Haider’s strength” by V. G. Kiernan. To translate it, Dr. M. A. K. Khalil has also used the strategy of explanatory note. He has provided the additional information about personality of Haidar. It shows that the intertextual knowledge of the translator has facilitated him in the process of translation. Mostly, the translators have used the translation strategies of transliteration, literal translation, explanatory notes, expansion, compensation and sense for sense translation. Despite using them, there is a complete or partial loss of the intertextual sense in the process of translation.

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An Exploratory Study to Find Linguistic Barriers Affecting Doctor-Patient Communication

Ejaz Mirza

Abstract

21st century is age of new discoveries in science and technology and these discoveries are playing a pivotal role for the wellbeing of humans. Healthcare system practically applies scientific knowledge to benefit individuals of the society where doctors use new technologies and techniques to cure people. Despite the outstanding development in the field of science and technology, the role of doctor-patient communication remains important. Diagnosis of disease, patient's concerns and understanding of disease, encouraging the patient to follow the instruction of doctors, patients trust on doctor, overcoming patient's anxiety, doubt and fear, providing quality care to patients; all these factors play an important role in making healthcare system successful. Effective doctor patient communication has not received much attention in the study of health care service delivery in Pakistan. In view of this situation, this sociolinguistic study was designed to explore the linguistic barriers affecting doctor- patient communication in government hospitals of district Rawalpindi. For conducting this study, both qualitative and quantitative elements were used as well as extensive literature reviews, questionnaire surveys consisting of both open-ended and closed-ended questions for doctors, and structured interview with patients were also done. A survey from eight tehsils of district Rawalpindi was conducted. Following convenience sampling 400 questionnaires were distributed among the doctors of eight tehsils of district Rawalpindi and two hundred and forty three doctors responded. Interviews of 24 patients were conducted with at least three from each of the eight tehsils. The results showed how different factors such as language, training in communication skills, listening comprehension, jargon and speaking proficiency

affect the doctor-patient communication. Therefore, it is strongly recommended training of communication skills should be mandatory for doctors; especially doctors serving in cosmopolitan cities of developing countries like Pakistan where doctors have to deal people from diverse backgrounds. This training in communication skills would be helpful to make healthcare system more effective. Hiring of interpreter/translators can also be helpful to overcome the miscommunication. Local doctors are to be preferred for transfer at home stations.

Key Words: healthcare, effective communication, training, translators, listening, jargon and miscommunication.

Introduction

New millennium started with an increased development in all spheres of life. Last decades of 20th century and start of 21st century changed the face of globe by development in field of science, technology, commerce and industry. Efforts have been done to improve the conditions of human living and to benefit individuals of the society. Like many other fields, medicine is playing its role to bridge the gap between science and society. Basic needs of human life like food, clothing, health and shelter are emphasis of these developments. The doctors and healthcare practitioners are applying scientific knowledge for wellbeing of humans and educating patients and their families about the importance of diagnosis, and treatment through clinical practices. In providing good healthcare facilities the role of doctor remains crucial, as paramedics are the main agents spreading awareness about scientific knowledge. The field of medicine is not only about diagnosing a disease and curing; it concerns the fears of patients, patient's perspective about their disease, and interpretation of human feeling in extraordinary moments and assurance of securing patient's information. In addition, it is doctor whose job is to clear patient's doubts about their disease, to deal patients in moments of fear and anxiety. All above factors need a foundation of strong and reliable doctor-patient relationship, which is only possible through effective communication between the two conversant. Working Party of the Royal College of Physicians (2005) claim that it is doctor-patient relationship that makes the difference in healthcare system. It believes that doctors are the people who develop trust in this

relationship through effective communication; as a result, this trust is reflected in medical profession.

An effective communication according to Schyve (2007) is one where both the participants comprehend communication. If the comprehension is absent in a communication, there are chances that communication would not precede or it will face errors and can risk the efficiency of healthcare system. Research studies in recent years show that communication barriers in medical settings are growing significantly. Doctors face serious problems while discussing history of disease with patients. Either patients are reluctant to share about the symptoms of disease or they are unable to follow instructions and prescriptions of doctor. Due to communication issues physicians fail to educate patients about their illness and lack of effective communication has overall adverse effect on healthcare system. Sir William Osler (2008), a famous physician, wanted doctors to build a relationship with patients. He says, "If you listen to patient carefully they will tell you the diagnosis". According to Osler, communication issues between doctor and patient can act as a hindrance in developing good relationship and these issues are more prominent where doctor and patients come from different cultures, and speak different languages. Doctors working in metropolitan city hospitals have patients from diverse cultures and in city hospitals doctors have very challenging jobs. These doctors deal with people speaking different languages, having different educational levels. The present study is an effort to find what kind of linguistic barriers that doctors face while working in city hospitals.

Lack of effective communication between doctor and patient is considered as a major hindrance in developing a good doctor-patient relationship. In city hospitals of Pakistan, the communication barriers are affecting performance of healthcare system. There are various types of barriers which may include social barriers, linguistic barriers, physical barriers and psychological barriers etc. In this research, researcher tried to study linguistic barriers faced by doctors and factors, which causes miscommunication between doctor and patient.

The objectives of this study were

- i. To discover if there exists a problem in doctors' communication with patients in government hospitals located in the district of Rawalpindi
- ii. To explore the linguistic factors that affect communication between doctors and patients during the process of medical examination

- iii. To suggest solutions to minimize miscommunication between doctor and patient

Research Questions

- a. What are the major linguistic factors that affect communication between doctor and patient at government hospitals located in district Rawalpindi?
- b. How do linguistic factors affect communication between doctor and patient in process of medical examination?
- c. What suggestions may possibly be made to overcome communication barriers between doctors and patients in medical setting?

Literature Review

Communication is always referred as a process, which guides individuals who are involved in communication activity. It is a continuous activity and is always changing and it is always in motion (DeVito, 1986: 239). DeVito (1986: 61) notes in his writing that communication is ‘the process or act of transmitting a message from a sender to a receiver, through a channel and with the interference of noise’. Canale (1983: 04) provides a definition of communication as ‘the exchange and negotiation of information between at least two individuals through the use of verbal and non-verbal symbols, oral and written/visual modes, and production and comprehension processes’. Many other scholars give detailed definitions, expanding that message transmission is a deliberate effort to convey meaning. In simple words communication refers simply to the transmission of a message from a sender to a receiver in an understandable manner.

Noam Chomsky considered language as a formal system. It is explained with respect to a ‘highly abstracted individual competence’ (Tonkin, 2003: 1); however, this approach does not answer questions about language use in a broader social context. When speakers are communicating they need knowledge of the social context of the person they address, of the topic etc. Communicative competence is very essential; otherwise, language can hardly be effective and functional in communication. A new interest, among scholars dealing with liberal arts such as philosophy, sociology, psychology, pedagogy, linguistics, etc., has emerged. Language is then analyzed in terms of individual competence, interactions and discourses among groups of individuals, as formal or informal system of signs and in other various ways.

Additionally, problematic communication is multi-faceted and highly contingent phenomenon and there is no straightforward classification or definition provided. Researchers have been trying to find out what counts as miscommunication (definition and criteria), why, how and where it occurs. The “integrative model” proposed by Coupland, Wiemann and Giles (1991), which is based on a “structural, layered organization of perspectives on miscommunication”, grouped according to their underlying analytic goals and assumptions. The review of literature shows that it is not that easy to define the term because of related issues of classification and interpretations. The difficulty becomes more obvious when we try to deconstruct the terminology used by different researchers; studying different models of communication.

Miscommunication issues range from relatively straightforward instances of miscommunication or misunderstanding at the most basic level. The most observable issues of communication could be;

- Straightforward instance of miscommunication or misunderstanding at the most basic level (e.g. cases where the content or ‘message’ has not been adequately conveyed from one person to another)
- Through the management of face needs and competing goals in inherently problematic interactional activities (such as disagreement, criticism, advice-giving, complaints, directives, refusals and conflict talk and so on);
- The sequential co-construction and repair of interactional dilemmas and ‘trouble’ (as in conversation analysis).

The works on miscommunication are descriptive rather than critical and these works have a clear “practical relevance” to workplace practitioners (Roberts & Sarangi, 1999; Roberts, 2001). Different researchers are interested in developing a theoretical account of the phenomena observed in a range of mainly formal ‘front stage’ settings. For instance, dilemmas of advice in health visitor interactions with new mothers (Heritage & Sefi, 1992), contested evidence in courtroom cross-examination (Drew, 1992) and the rejection of advice in a service encounter (Jefferson, 1992). Other important collections include Sarangi and Roberts (1999), which examines discourse in medical, mediation and management settings, and Heritage and Maynard (2006), which gathers together a range of conversation analytic work on problematic aspects of medical interactions.

Various models have been presented to explain doctor-patient relationship; few of them are as follows; The LEARN Model was put forward by Berlin and Fowkes. This model suggests that the physicians listen to the patient's perception of the problem with sympathy, explain their own opinion and perception of the problem acknowledge and discuss the differences and similarities, recommend treatment options and negotiate an agreement (Berlin & Fowkes). They believed that LEARN model can be used to help health care providers overcome communication and cultural barriers. Kagawa and Singer presented the RISK model. The researchers promote the need for health care providers to identify patient's perspective to avoid pitfall of stereotypes and to ignore the influence of culture. Kagawa and Kassim offer the RISK approach as, "a way to elicit information about the patient's resource, identity skills, and knowledge". They believe that the use of RISK Model can help to create an atmosphere of mutual respect between patient and physician. Cole and Bridge created Three-Function model for the medical interviews between doctor and patient. The basic steps of this are:

- Building relationship and responding appropriately to patient's emotions (relational skills)
- Collecting all relevant data to understand patient's problem (data-gathering skills)
- Educating the patient about his/her illness and motivating her to adhere to treatment (information-giving skill, negotiating and motivation strategies)

This model is very effective for the physicians working in cross-cultural conditions.

Kleimen presented Patient's Explanatory Model; the model proposes that patient-doctor communication involves negotiation and translation. Kleimen believes that patients are less likely to follow treatment recommendations when the recommendations do not conform to cultural belief, values and perspectives. Kleimen presented a set of questions to be used as a tool for facilitating cross-cultural communication. Words and number of questions may vary depending upon the characteristics of the patient, the problem, and the settings. These questions can be:

- a) What do you think has caused your problem?
- b) Why do you think it started when it did?

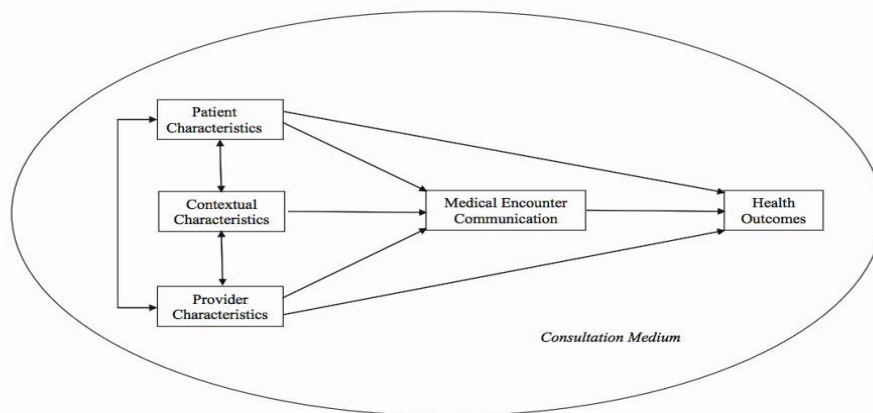
All these models provide limited cross-cultural education to overcome communication barriers. In addition adoption of either model frameworks requires time and space in medical curriculum that is already overloaded (Madison et al.). To

build up healthy relationship with patient, both verbal and nonverbal communications need to be considered.

Gender of doctor is one factor which sometimes affects communication. It is observed that female patients especially in rural areas prefer to be checked up by female doctors. Male doctors are sort of strict in nature as compared to female whereas female are more caring and affectionate in handling even with males patients. Privacy of patients during medical treatment or consultation is very essential. The situation in developing countries is very good but in Pakistan it needs to be improved. In government hospitals majority of patient are checked up in front of so many patients. Which sometimes create a very complex and difficult situation for patients to disclose complete information of their diseases. Setting and location also affects communication between patient and doctor. Patients feel comfortable if location of their consultation is safe and secure. Time (length of consultation) is also a significant factor, which creates miscommunication between doctor and patient. If time is limited then less information is shared which results in minimum diagnosis. In government hospital due to large numbers of patients an average 15-20 seconds usually given to each patient for sharing information. The personality of doctors also gives birth to miscommunication. Rigid and strict personality becomes big hurdle in communication. Patients rarely ask questions or share information with such doctors.

Theoretical Framework

Theoretical grounding for this study was derived from the conceptual model of Miller (2002), who introduced this model to guide research investigating the relationship between doctors-patient communications. This model posits that patient, doctor, and contextual characteristics influence the nature and content of doctor - patient communication, all of which, in turn, affects various health outcomes. How this process unfolds, however, depends, in part, on the medium through which consultation takes place, whether in-person, over the telephone, via fax or email, or through two-way interactive video. Communication researchers have identified number of patient characteristics, doctor's characteristics, contextual characteristics and consultation medium.



Miller's Conceptual Model

This model was based on various characteristics of doctors and patients, which on theoretical basis have important role in communication endorsed by continuous researches conducted for a period of more than half a century. These characteristics could be placed under two broader factors, which are as follows:

A. Linguistic Factors

- a) Language
- b) Doctors' training in communication
- c) Speaking proficiency
- d) Listening comprehension
- e) Jargon/Medical terminology

B. Social Factors

- i. Gender
- ii. Personality
- iii. Location and setting
- iv. Time
- v. Education

Methodology

This study was a blend of quantitative and qualitative approaches. It was conducted through survey research in which data was collected from the district Rawalpindi of Punjab province in Pakistan by using questionnaire and interview as research tools. The population for this study comprised of eight tehsils of the district Rawalpindi. Four hundred questionnaires were distributed among doctors in eight tehsils with an average of fifty questionnaires in each tehsil. The names of tehsils are: Rawal Town, Potwar Town, Taxila, Murree, Kallar Syedan, Kotli Sattian, Kahuta and Gujar Khan. These tehsils consisted of both urban and rural areas. These tehsils have a district headquarters hospital; seven tehsil headquarters hospitals, dozens of rural health centers, basic health units and government rural dispensaries. Two hundred and forty three doctors responded. Twenty four interviews (three from each tehsil) were also conducted. The convenient sampling technique was used primarily for the reason that doctors were usually found busy and whenever were available asked to respond to the questionnaires. Editing, coding, classification and tabulation was done before the analysis of data. SPSS version 21.0 was used for the analysis of quantitative data. For the analysis of qualitative data gathered through interviews, the technique of thematic analysis was used.

Results

1. Majority of the participants (doctors) have positive attitude that the language is predominant instrument by which information can be transmitted. They are of the opinion that language is the initial step which starts communication process. Doctors are aware of the fact that their choice of words affects communication between doctor and patients.
2. Almost all the doctors do not think that language barriers occur when people do not speak same language. However, a dominant majority of them believes it to be a good policy for the future provided some necessary steps are taken or preparations made. Using visuals and non-verbal expressions can help to reduce the language problems. Due to illiteracy regarding health in our country, majority of the patients have problem in speaking. Patients of remote area have no access to government health campaign and other related arrangements. It is a dire need to arrange health awareness campaign and programs in the remote areas of district

- Rawalpindi. In tehsils specifically Kahuta, Kallar Syedan, and Murree patients need more attention as compared to Tehsil Gujar Khan, Taxila and Rawalpindi.
3. Doctors realize more positively the importance of good communication skills, its pivotal role and the promises it carries due to such a role. They feel strongly the need for doctors to have mandatory training of communication skills. Communication will not only help doctors to have good discussions with patients, it will also help them to gather and share more information. Training in communication skills lacks in some of the doctors of tehsil Taxila and Gujar Khan. Patients sometimes feel shy while sharing information with doctors. Doctors should motivate patients to speak and share their problems in complete confidence. It can only be done if doctors are properly trained to handle such situations. Young doctors have to undergo mandatory training in communication skills which may be conducted by qualified and experienced doctors. Mostly doctors feel that having communication training will help them to understand the patient's perspective and they will be able to better conclude the interaction sessions.
 4. Five things have been given key importance in doctors' communication. The first and foremost among these is spoken language of the doctors, the second is accent of speech used by the doctors, the third is pace of speech used by doctors, the fourth is verbal expression (tone, pitch) of the doctors and the fifth is quality of doctor's voice. Accent was the major issue in all most all tehsils of district Rawalpindi where patients were not in position to understand the Urdu language. Most of the patients were illiterate and have no basic education. Some doctors of Murree and Kallar Syedan tehsils have voice problem i.e. they are speaking in low voice which is not audible in the presence of so many patients. Tone and pitch play a vital role in motivating patients to share their maximum information with doctors.
 5. Doctors agree that listening attentively creates partnership between doctor and patient, and unwillingness to listen to the patient can affect the quality of doctor-patient communication. On the contrary, poor hearing of patients is also a barrier to effective listening for doctors. In the meantime, preoccupations like eating, working can divide attention and affects communication between doctor and patient. These problems are very much found in most of the tehsils of district Rawalpindi. Both doctors and patients are responsible for creating this barrier.

6. Mostly doctors admit that medical terminology creates miscommunication if used frequently, and it can act as a barrier in doctor-patient communication. Majority of the doctors believe that patients fail to understand the meaning of jargons, and thus jargon act as a harmful indicator for medical treatment of the patients. A small percentage of doctors do not agree, in their opinion jargons are not those important to have effective communication sessions with the patients. Mostly patients of remote area are facing this problem.
7. Language, doctors' training in communication, speaking proficiency, listening comprehension and excessive use of jargons come out to be major linguistic factors, which affect doctor-patient communication in medical settings.
8. A strong futuristic belief has been traced among the participants about better proficiency among doctors. It was inferred from the views of the doctors that newly appointed young doctors were better in their understanding about proficiency. They were also reported to be relatively more motivated to develop their skills and more interested in taking measures to handle proficiency issue.
9. In marital status-based responses, majority of positive responses are given by the single participants and this category of construct emerged as good indicator to know about the communication problems in medical settings.
10. Professional Experience has proved to be very important indicator of motivation and positive attitude toward communication barriers issues. It has been found significant in close-ended items. Professional experience overall is reported to be an important indicator to understand the miscommunication issues in medical settings. Highly varied percentages of responses are gathered from participants belonging to different groups.
11. Doctors' negative attitude (arrogance, rudeness) towards patient is a big hurdle in effective communication. One possible reason could be the hectic schedule of doctors as doctor-patient ratio is really high in government hospitals. A majority of doctors agree that they should be more kind and considerate while communicating with the patients and should be good listener.
12. Health literacy is one of the most important issues. Doctors should know the level of education of the patient and should explain their condition. In this process relatives and staff can help as interpreter or translator to make patient understand about their disease and other information about diagnosis.

Discussion

This study revealed that doctors are somehow aware of the linguistic and social communication issues and might be trying to overcome these problems in their individual capacities. Doctors use excessive jargons in verbal and written communication, and a great number of the patients fail to understand information given by the doctors. It is mainly because doctors are habitual to use jargons in their speech while studying medicine and continue same practice; patients in this scenario feel shy to ask question or fully share information to avoid any kind of embarrassment. To develop a better doctor patient relationship, time is an important factor. Doctors in government hospitals have to see 150 patients per day, it is very difficult for the doctors to give proper time to patient, and as a result the purpose of healthcare partially fails to satisfy patients. Lack of communication between doctors adversely affects both sides; patients feel him to be inferior to doctors. On the other hand, doctor takes patient's silence as his satisfaction, due to poor communication between two, patient avoid going hospital again as he doesn't want to get embarrassed in front of doctors. Disease is not cured or gets worse and here comes the failure of medical settings as Miller model shows that patient, provider and contextual characteristics are equally important for the success of healthcare system. Situation gets worse when illness is not cured properly and become chronic.

Its implications are of much importance for the strategic plan designed by the government. They have somehow or the other to be dealt with in such a way as not to be a hurdle in the way of this policy otherwise they can be a serious threat to its success. The doctors need communication training, which should be helpful in dealing patients from diverse background. The level of patient's education leads to severe problems. Patients, who are health-literate, are better at communicating with the doctors. Primary education should be made compulsory for all citizens, getting basic education will not only raise the literacy ratio of the city, and it will also help minimize the communication problems in different forums and especially in medical settings. On the contrary, communication gap between doctor and patients cannot be reduced until both sides play their part. Doctors should be well aware of the educational level of patients; they should have great willingness to satisfy their patients and to develop trust relationship with patients. If patient trusts his/her doctor then s/he will freely share his/her pains, symptoms and problems with the doctor. Doctors should have very

good oral communication skills in order to deal with different type of patients. Humbleness in attitude is yet another important factor which can help doctors in developing trustworthy relationship.

In absence of professional interpreters and translators, doctors should take help for staff like nurses; the sole purpose of doctors should be to have full understanding of the patient's disease, as any carelessness from doctor can result in serious health issues. Senior doctors should be cooperative to new doctors and should guide them about problematic situations and communication issues in the hospital. Rude and arrogant attitude of doctors can become a hurdle in making medical operations successful.

Globalization is a wide-spreading phenomenon. People are moving from rural areas to cities and cities are becoming multicultural and diverse communities are living in big cities. Globalization has changed the competencies and professional requirements of individuals. As cities become more populated and diverse, there is need for professionals who are multilingual, effective in communication with different communities, efficient workers and good at professions. There is need to prepare doctors who can adjust in this globalized age and provide better health services.

Recommendations

1. Government should make training of communication skills mandatory for doctors.
2. There is a requirement for more congenial environment in our government hospitals. The doctors should minimize use of jargon/ medical terms in order to make patients more comfortable.
3. Appointment of multilingual or locals can be a good gesture to improvise the communication issues in healthcare systems.
4. Hiring interpreter/translators can also be helpful to overcome the miscommunication issues. Relatives of patients or nurses can play the role of interpreter.
5. There is need to appoint more doctors in government hospitals, in this way doctors will be able to give ample time to each patient. Attractive salaries should be offered to the doctors in government hospitals.
6. Government should make more waiting areas in hospitals, it will make corridors less noisy and doctors and patient can discuss issues in a better way.

7. There is need for more clinics and hospitals in the city. Population of district Rawalpindi is increasing at rapid rate but unfortunately the number of hospitals is not enough to support this big population. These new clinics and hospitals will divide the burden of government hospitals, and it will have an impact on overall health issues of patients.
8. There should be suggestion box in hospitals for patients, it will help the management to address consultation issues and measures can be taken to sort out problems.
9. Government and policy makers should conduct health awareness programs and talks in different forums and should encourage patients to provide full information and ask questions from their physician for proper diagnosis.

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Prestige as a Social Constraint in Intra-Sentential Codeswitching

Arshad Ullah, Muhammad Ajmal Khurshid and Nazir Ahmed Malik

Abstract

The present study aims to establish that acceptability constraints are imposed over and above the grammatical constraints; even though a code switched sentence may be fully grammatical, yet it may not be fully acceptable. To explore the phenomenon, three pairs of languages i.e. Punjabi/Urdu, Punjabi/English and Urdu/Punjabi were taken, and for each pair naturally occurring data was collected through the recordings of the bilinguals' conversation with the sample size of six competent bilinguals for each pair; the recorded data for each pair was transcribed into complementiser phrases (CPs). The analysis of the data reveals that if a language of higher prestige serves as ML, the language of lower prestige cannot be mixed in that CP; however, if a language with lower prestige serves as matrix language (ML), the language with higher prestige may abundantly be mixed. The analysis of data shows that English, more prestigious than Urdu, was mixed abundantly into Urdu; similarly, Urdu and English were mixed freely into Punjabi (a language of low prestige vis-à-vis Urdu and English) but not vice versa. The code switching (CS) from Urdu & English to Punjabi, and English to Urdu not only agrees to the grammatical pattern of Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model proposed by Myers-Scotton (1993), but it also meets the social constraint, that is why it is considered socially acceptable; on the other hand the bilinguals did not switch from Punjabi to Urdu & English, and Urdu to English. Urdu & English to Punjabi, and English to Urdu can provide morpho-syntactic frame to the lexical items of their counterparts in their respective pairs, but it did not happen so during the conversation of bilinguals; in this regard grammatical constraints are fulfilled, but the social constraint are not. The study empirically proves that CS does not merely matter to grammaticality, but it must also satisfy acceptability constraints i.e. social constraints. The pattern of CS strictly follows the social hierarchy (i.e. languages of Prestige & lower prestige) existed among the languages from top to bottom but not vice versa.

The MLF Model stresses on only grammatical constraints, but the study proves that along with grammatical constraints, a code switched sentence must satisfy social constraint, otherwise it will not be acceptable. So, social constraints must be added to the MLF Model.

Keywords: Intra-sentential code-switching, prestige, social constraints, grammatical constraints.

Introduction

Purpose of the study

Assuming Meyers-Scotton's (1993) *Matrix Language Frame (MLF) Model* as theoretical framework, the present study aims to establish that *acceptability* constraints (i.e., social constraints to ensure 'acceptability') of code-switching (CS) are always imposed over and above the grammatical constraints which ensure the 'grammaticality' of the data. Thus, even though a sentence may be fully grammatical, yet it may not be fully acceptable to the speakers of the relevant bilingual speech community. As observed in the naturalistic Punjabi/English, Urdu/English and Punjabi/Urdu CS data employed by the present study, the unsaid restriction on contribution of *content morphemes* (the morphemes which carry concrete meaning) of the language with a lower social prestige (Punjabi) into a CP whose morpho-syntactic frame is provided by the language with a higher social prestige (Urdu or English) may not be ascribed to the System Morpheme Principle (SMP) or the Morpheme Order Principle (MOP). The data under examination indicate that English and Urdu may contribute *content morphemes* if Punjabi serves the ML but Punjabi may not do so if English and Urdu serves as the ML. In the same way, English may contribute *content morphemes* if Urdu serves as the ML but Urdu may not do so if English serves as the ML. The data examined offer no instances of Punjabi content morphemes occurring in CPs whose morpho-syntactic frame is provided either by Urdu or English. Thus, even though there is no grammatical constraint which restricts the code-switching of *content morphemes* of either of the two languages involved in CS, yet Punjabi may not contribute *content morphemes* in a CP in which Urdu or English serves as the Matrix Language (ML). Similarly, Urdu may not provide content morphemes in a CP in which English serves as the ML.

Background to the study

Language is used as a basic tool to convey feelings, emotions and messages from one person to the other, and people choose their repertoire according to the required situation. In Pakistan, most of the population being bilingual is generally found mixing the languages in a communication act, but the mixing of the languages certainly follows a pattern. In this regard, Myers-Scotton (1993) provides grammatical constraints for CS i.e. MLF Model, but in Pakistani speech community, these grammatical constraints may always not find the determining factors for CS, because the bilinguals are generally observed to switch from one variety to the other in a speech act but not in vice versa. The question is what determines a variety as Matrix Language (ML) or Embedded Language (EL), whether an ML variety can perform as EL and the EL as ML in a pair of languages, or not; if it can, whether it will be socially acceptable or not, and if not then it is the matter of its morpho-syntactic incompetency of the variety or some other constraints which determine a language to be as only ML or only EL. Before explaining the grammatical constraints, we need to define CS.

CS, as Poplack (1980, p.7) defines, is “the alternation of two or more languages use in the same utterance or conversation.” In CS more than one variety is used by the bilinguals in an utterance or sentence by retaining their own grammars intact. The incorporation of material is measured at two levels: intra-sentential CS (code switching within the clause boundary) and inter-sentential CS (code switching out of the clause boundary). Moreover, Muysken (2000) categorises code switching into three types: insertion, alternation and congruent lexicalization. In addition there is another type of code switching i.e. tag switching. Only the intra-sentential CS is included in the study. The CP, in the collected data, which was mixed with the other language intra-sententially, was considered as code switched. As far as grammatical constraints are concerned, Myers-Scotton (1993) makes detailed discussion.

She proposes MLF Model which focuses the grammatical constraints on CS. She takes a CP i.e., a complementiser phrase projection as a unit of analysis, instead of a sentence because in a sentence CS may take two different grammars. She posits that the two languages involved in CS are essentially asymmetrical. The asymmetrical languages are called Matrix Language (ML) and Embedded Language (EL). The ML is believed to be that language which provides morpho-syntactic structure to the mixed CP, while the language which serves such items as are placed at the positions

determined by ML, is named as EL. The MLF Model is improved latterly as the previous model was based on frequency based criterion to determine ML and EL but this was widely questioned. The latterly proposed model i.e., 4-M Model employs the structural criterion to determine ML and EL. The model shows of four types of morphemes i.e., content morpheme, early system morpheme, late bridge system morpheme and late outside system morpheme, on which the distinction between ML and EL is based. These morphemes are elaborated through the figure 1 below.

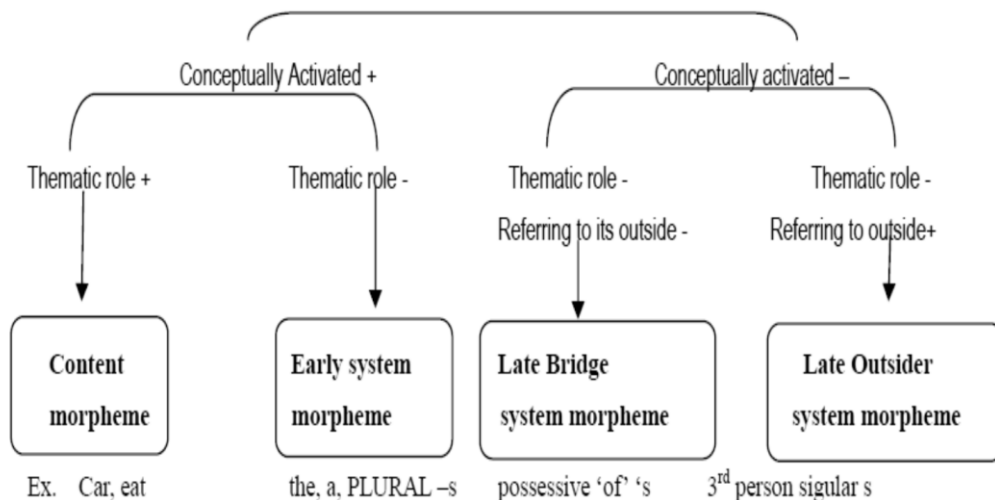


Fig. 1: Morpheme Classification in the MLF Model, adapted from Malik (2016)

In the earlier Model, it was considered that all *system morphemes* must be contributed by the ML, but it was proposed in the later 4-M model that only the *late outsider system morphemes* must be contributed by the ML while *early system morphemes* and *late-bridge system morphemes* may be supplied by both the ML and the EL.

In order to avoid grammatical chaos and achieve uniformity of structure, Myers-Scotton proposes System Morpheme Principle (SMP) and Morpheme Order Principle (MOP). The SMP ensures that *late outside system morphemes* are uniformly provided by one language which performs the role of ML in a mixed CP. The MOP, on the other hand, ensures that the linear order of the morphemes in a mixed CP is uniformly dictated by the ML. However, there exists an important exception to this general condition. Myers-Scotton argues that certain ‘singly-occurring’ constituents in

a mixed CP whose morpho-syntactic structure may violate the linear order of the ML, are termed as the EL islands, and all the items in such ‘singly-occurring’ constituent must uniformly be contributed by the EL. Thus, EL islands are ‘legal violations allowed by the Model. The present study attempts to explore that a code switched CP having all the above mentioned 4-M constraints is not still socially acceptable.

After discussing the grammatical constraints, it is important to highlight that it is generally observed that people always make language choice which fulfils their social objectives, and the main objective is to seek prestige, and language is considered a main source to be looked prestigious.

Language prestige

Language as a reflection of socio-cultural identity of people, is proved to be the basic tool for them to seek prestige in a speech community. Generally, prestige is subjected to higher status, power and higher class in the hierarchy of class distinction in a speech community, and language prestige is thought to be that language which represents these higher norms. Kloss (1966, p.143) enumerated prerequisites of prestige language as a language of “rich literary heritage, high degree of language, modernization, considerable international standing, or the prestige of the speakers.” In the views of Muehleisen (2002), prestige language reflects the socio-cultural dimensions as status, function and attitudes in a speech community, and Coupland (2010) believes that it exhibits active development in these socio-cultural dimensions instead of a momentary state, and like standardization, it is proved to be a perpetual active process rather than a static category. Coupland further says that standardization is closely connected with the changing social and the establishment of hierarchical system, and in the hierarchical system, the majority language stays at the top and the top always relates to prestige.

Prestige is categorised as positive prestige and negative prestige. As far as positive prestige is concerned, it represents the language of higher status and higher class, whereas negative prestige is associated with the language that marks social identity of the people of lower status and lower class. Distinction between the languages of positive and negative prestige can be sought when both these languages are interacted in a communication act. Bierbach (1988, p.171) makes distinction between the language of high prestige and low prestige by saying, “The standard/official prestigious variety is invariably associated with traits of superiority,

status, power, economic level, communicative utility and with traits of beauty, logic complexity and potential abstraction.” He further says that a language which represents a few or none such traits, is termed as language of low prestige.

Kahane (1986) observes that a prestige language consists of four aspects. The first of them concerns to the level of education because if the people in a speech community are more literate, they prefer to acquire the language which is more prestigious. Literature is proved to be second aspect of it, because Kahane says that the language which is rich in literature, is thought to be prestigious. The third aspect is modernism as Schmid (2001, p.4) says, “The history of ideas, technology and manners evolves from the ever changing domains correlated with each of successive prestigious languages.” Finally, Kachru (1983, p.4) is of the view that prestige language is always subjected to change from foreignness to nativisation in which ‘the window on the world turns into a window on the target culture itself.’ So, we can say that prestigious language is that which depicts the characteristics such as rich literary heritage, education, international standing, power and prestige of the speakers, economic level, and modernisation.

Prestige language is closely related to the social status of the people in a speech community as Margalit (1999) quotes Waltfram, a professor of linguistics, in “The New York Times” that in United States, there happens to be no social group which is subjected to low prestige, and its people speak language of high prestige system. This illustration shows the commonly agreed association found between the external social power of linguistic standard and its structural attractiveness.

After the detailed discussion on prestige language, it needs to explain the social status of the languages targeted in the study (Urdu, English and Punjabi).

Sociolinguistic Profile of Pakistan

The sociolinguistic profile of Pakistan shows that almost seventy two languages, smaller or greater, are spoken and understood in the speech community of Pakistan. In these seventy two languages English enjoys the status of official language; Urdu is constitutionalised as national language, and Punjabi is one of the four main regional varieties. The social status of these three languages in Pakistan is discussed in detail:

Urdu. Urdu took its birth as *Lashkari* language with Arabic *rasmulkhat*, and It was considered symbolic identity of the Muslims of India before the emergence of

Pakistan. After the separation of Pakistan it was promised in the constitutions to give Urdu the status of official language of Pakistan, but Urdu could not get the status yet in spite of the verdict of Supreme Court of Pakistan. Rahman (2003) states that Urdu which is spoken as a mother language by 7.57% of the whole population of Pakistan, is used as lingua franca in urban areas but not as an official language. He further remarks that language reflects power, and powerful language is proved to be that which fulfils its speakers' gratification such as housing, self-esteem, pleasures and ego etc. Actually, the aspects of gratification are interconnected with education, administration, judiciary and commerce, whereas Urdu do not represent these domains entirely but partially.

English. Since the emergence of Pakistan, English has been the official language of Pakistan. It is a medium of education, and language of commerce, science, judiciary and administration. According to Rahman (2003), when Pakistan came into existence, it was planned that English would remain the official language of Pakistan, until Urdu took the place of English, but English is still enjoying the status of official language. If we look at the present demographical picture of Pakistan, we shall see that instead of the replacement of English with Urdu, the governments of the KPK and the Punjab provinces have introduced 'Uniform System of Education' i.e. English medium. Rahman further says that the educated class is quite ambitious to adopt English as its own symbolic identity to individualise itself from Urdu and Punjabi speakers. He elaborates that those who happen to appear from lower middle and middle classes, having studied in Urdu medium schools also look to be ambitious and feel proud to materialise the hegemony of English. As far as high rank jobs are concerned, they are offered to those who have good fluency of English speaking and writing. So, English represents higher class and culture.

Punjabi. Punjabi as regional variety is widely spoken and understood by almost 44% of the whole population of Pakistan. In spite of having so bulky number of native speakers it is not still the language of education, office, administration and judiciary in the Punjab province. Rahman (1995) says:

The Punjabi Muslim intelligentsia read Urdu and wrote in Urdu. As a consequence of the Urdu-Hindi controversy, the Punjabis owed their allegiance to Urdu as a symbol of Muslim identity rather than Punjabi. In

Pakistan, it is too partly out of inertia and sentimental attachment to Urdu as a symbol of Pakistani identity, and partly because Urdu was an integrative symbol. It was Urdu which was given high status, while Punjabi was relegated to an inferior one. (p.22)

Native speakers of Punjabi feel hesitant before Urdu and English speakers. It shows that Punjabi has covert prestige, and that is the main reason that there is gradual decline in the number of Punjabi speakers. In the census of 1960, the Punjabi speakers were 67.6 %, of 1981 they seemed 48.17 %, and of 1998, they remained 44.15. The gradual decrease in the number of Punjabi speakers does not mean that the Punjabi speakers are migrating, but they have started to identify themselves as Urdu or English speakers.

Methodology

Research Instrument and sampling

The research study to examine the grammaticality and acceptability constraints on CS requires naturally occurring data, and for its collection, recordings with the help of ‘Friend of a friend approach’ was employed for each pair. As far as sampling of the study is concerned, 6 competent bilinguals for each pair were selected from a rigorous procedure. First of all for each pair 50 bilinguals were selected by ensuring their competency over their respective language set. How were they bilinguals?; Information was collected, and the information covered their socio-cultural and educational background. Their early exposing to the L1 or L2 languages was also kept in view to title the participants as competent bilinguals as profile of the bilinguals of each pair reflects.

All the six participants of Urdu-English pair had a good command of fluency over Urdu and English. The question is how they got competence over these varieties. They acquired Urdu as mother language, and they attained fluency over English through their academic career as they got most of education through ‘Beacon House School System’ where speaking skill of English is emphasised till the students get fluency over spoken English.

As far as Punjabi-English pair is concerned, the bilinguals of the pair could speak three languages: Punjabi, Urdu and English. They acquired Punjabi as mother language, whereas they got command of English through their academic career as they

had obtained the degrees of MA in English literature, and they had done spoken English courses too.

The bilinguals of Punjabi-Urdu pair were competent speakers of Punjabi and Urdu speakers as they hailed from Punjabi speaking background, and they got fluency over Urdu through their educational career as they all had completed 16 years education.

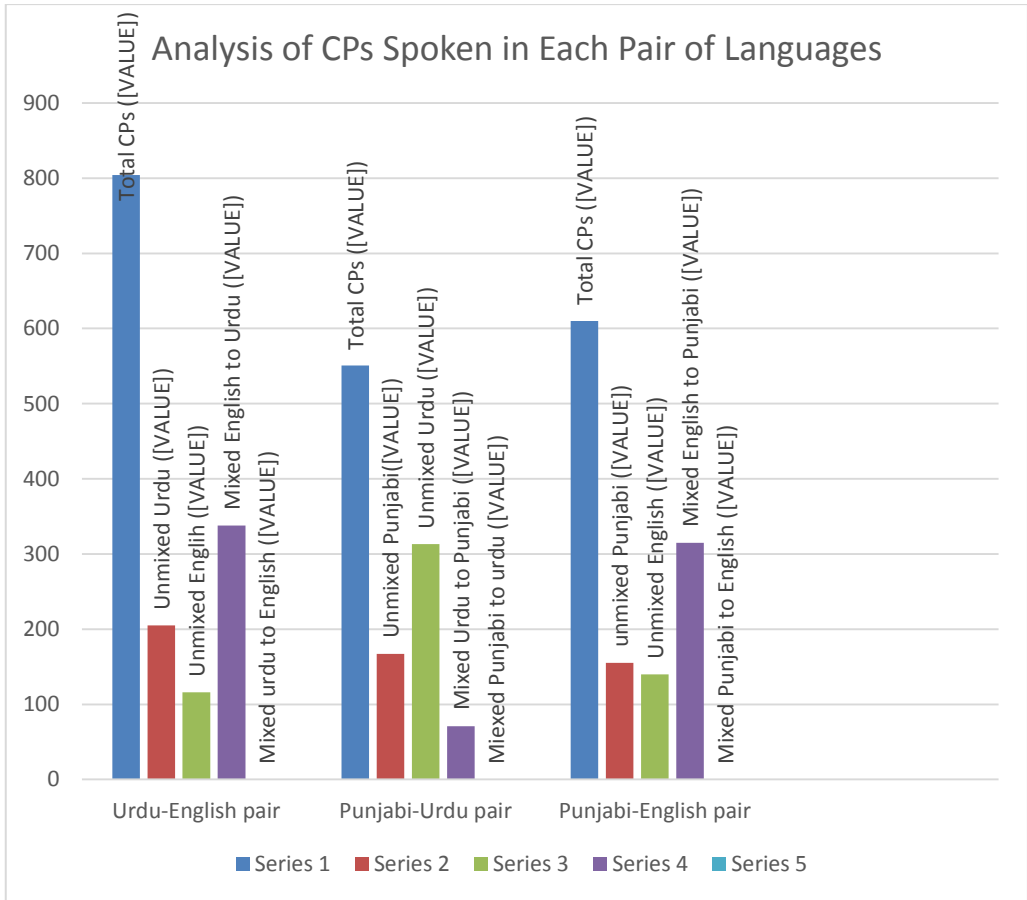
Procedure

Data for the research study was collected through the recordings of bilinguals for each pair through 'Friend of a friend approach'. In this approach a substitutes the researcher and helps him the recording of the naturalistic data. The bilinguals with help of the friend separately for each pair, were engaged in conversation more than fifty minutes, but the sample taken of recording for each pair was first fifty minutes. During conversation, the recording device was hidden in such a way that even the friend of the researchers did not know that they were being recorded, but at the end of each recording, consent form was signed by disclosing to the bilinguals about their recording and the nature of the recorded data use.

Data Analysis

All the three recorded discussions as one for each pair of languages chosen for the research study, were transcribed as CPs in roman alphabets, and the transcribed CPs were separately counted for each pair. These CPs were sorted out to examine which language was proved to be EL, and which language provided the structure to the lexical items added by EL in a pair. So, the data of the three pairs of languages is displayed through a graph which shows five columns for each pair to highlight mixed, unmixed and total number of CPs spoken in a pair.

Figure 2



The figure 2 gives evidence that almost similar pattern of CS was demonstrated by the bilinguals in their respective pair of languages during their respective discussion, but if each pair differs from the other, it varies in the total number and the number of unmixed CPs. First of all, the columns of Urdu-English pair demonstrate that the bilinguals of the pair spoke 804 CPs in their interaction, and among the total sum of CPs, they uttered 321 CPs either in Urdu or in English in non-CS but in CS 338 CPs. In all the code switched CPs, the bilinguals switched from

English to Urdu, but not a single CP, as the fifth column of Urdu-English Pair depicts, was spoken by the participants in CS from Urdu to English.

Secondly, the columns of Punjabi/Urdu pair display that bilinguals of the pair spoke 551 CPs in their conversation in 50 minutes. As compared to the Urdu/English pair, the total sum of CPs in the pair remained less in number, whereas the time duration for the pair was equal to that of Urdu/English pair. The reason is that the bilinguals switched from English to Urdu and Punjabi as the profile of the bilinguals show that they were graduate and they have good understanding of English, due to which almost 250 CPs had to be excluded from the count. In the total sum they uttered 167 CPs in Punjabi and 313 in Urdu without CS, and in CS they spoke 71 CPs. In all the code switched CPs, Urdu provided lexical items as EL, whereas Punjabi determined the structure as ML. Likewise the Urdu-English pair, the bilinguals did not utter a single CP in switching from Punjabi to Urdu.

Finally, the columns of Punjabi-English pair reveal that the speakers uttered 610 CPs in their conversation. The less number of CPs spoken in the pair is due to the interference of Urdu as the profile of the bilinguals shows their competency over Urdu. So, the CPs spoken in Urdu had to be excluded from the total sum as invalid CPs in the pair. Among the total number of CPs, 155 were spoken purely in Punjabi and 140 purely in English without any mixing, whereas in the rest of 315, the speakers switched from English to Urdu but not vice versa.

So, the data displayed through the fig.2 shows that English in Urdu/English pair, Urdu in Urdu/Punjabi pair and English in Punjabi/English pair proved to be ELs, whereas the others as MLs in their respective pair provided morpho-syntactic frame to the lexical items of the ELs. Series 5 of fig.2 clearly describes that MLs in each pair remained MLs, because neither a single CP was switched from Urdu to English, nor from Punjabi to Urdu and English.

Discussion

In the previous chapter, it is empirically proved that in Punjabi/Urdu and Punjabi/English pairs, Punjabi determined the morpho-syntactic frame to the code switched CPs, whereas English and Urdu contributed content morphemes but not a single CP was spoken by the bilinguals in which English and Urdu provided morpho-syntactic frame to the content morphemes of Punjabi. Similarly, it is equally proved that in Urdu/English pair, Urdu determined morpho-syntactic frame to the code

switched CPs, whereas English contributed content morphemes to Urdu, but there was not occurred a single CP in which English served morpho-syntactic frame to the lexical items of Urdu.

MLF Model and Punjabi/English, Punjabi/Urdu & Urdu/English CS

In Punjabi/English and Punjabi/Urdu pairs, all the code switched CPs show that Punjabi as ML served SMP and MOP to all the lexical items provided by English and Urdu as the examples randomly taken from the naturally occurring data show:

1. Mar *isla'ee* o'ni cha'ee di ae, *tadeebi* nahi o'ni cha'ee di ae.

punishment□ constructive□□□ be□ should□□□ destructive□□□
not□□□ be□ should□□□

The purpose of punishment should be constructive but not destructive.

2. Jehrha *such'cha* oo weh da, te awaam weikh laveh di.
who□ true□□□ be□ □□□ public□ see□
□□□□

That who is true, mass will see.

3. *Weise* kee *khial* ae, *keh* kiddhar jhukau ae.
Generally□□□ what□□□ think□ that□ what side□□□ favour
be□

Generally, what do you think that on what side, there seems to go the favour of people?

4. mein apna *personal experience* das reya wan.

I□ my□□□ share□ be□

I am sharing my personal experience.

5. tahadi *growth* kehrhe *environment* wich hondi pa'e hea?

your□□□ what□□□ in□' take□ be□

In what environment are you taking growth?

6. Ik gal te *clear* hea.

one□□□ thing□ be□

One thing is clear.

Among these six instances, the first three were randomly taken from Punjabi/Urdu and the last three from Punjabi/English pair. In all the above instances, the italicised words are code switched lexical items. In the first three examples the italicised words are

Urdu code switched lexical categories and in the last three instances, the italicised words are English code switched lexical items. The CS in all these six code switched CPs as a sample agree to the MLF Model proposed by Myer-Scotton that CS among the languages is taken place in a systematic order(i.e. SMP and MOP) which ensures the grammaticality of a sentence , and if any violation is found in either SMP or MOP, the sentence will surely be ungrammatical. The above six examples are grammatical because they follow both the principles of MLF Model. The same is the case with the data of code switching in the Urdu/English pair, as the following examples explain.

7. Merey khial mei yeh *prototype* qisam ka aik tag
heä.

my think in this type of
one be

I think that this is a prototype kind of tag.

8. yeh jo hamare *religious* hei loog , en ko
keo

this who our be people they
why

es se koi masla heä.

This any problem

Those who are our religious people, why do they consider this a problem?

9. Phir bhi yeh ab *change* oo raha heä, *attitude* jo heä.
yet this now be

which be

Yet this attitude is changing now.

In code switched CPs from 7-9, the italicised words are code switched lexical items which English contributed to Urdu, and Urdu as ML provided morpho-syntactic frame to the code switched lexical words. The CS in the three code switched CPs also follows the SMP & MOP of MLF Model, that's why it is grammatical. It proves to be not only grammatical but also socially acceptable, that is why they kept on switching the code in each pair.

All the code switched CPs in all the three pairs of languages chosen in the research study follow all the grammatical constraints proposed by MLF Model. The question is that if we revert the pattern of CS, as Urdu & English determine the SMP &

MOP vi-a-vis Punjabi, and Urdu vis-à-vis English, then whether the sentences spoken in the reversed pattern of CS will be considered grammatical, and if they are grammatical, then the question being is whether they will meet the acceptability constraints that make a sentence socially acceptable, or not.

As far as the grammaticality of the code switched CPs spoken in Urdu & English as MLs vis-à-vis Punjabi as EL, and in English as ML vi-a-vis Urdu as EL, is concerned, the CPs can be grammatical if the lexical items of the ELs are inserted according to SMP & MOP, because the lexical items of any language can be adjusted in the structure of any other language by following SMP & MOP. The CPs in reversed pattern of CS in targeted pairs of languages in the study, do not agree to acceptability constraints, because they are not considered socially acceptable though they serve grammaticality. Figure 2 depicts that 71 CPs in Punjabi/Urdu pair were spoken by the bilinguals in CS, and in all the code switched CPs, Punjabi remained as ML and Urdu as EL, but the bilinguals did not utter a single sentence in switching from Urdu to Punjabi. The figure 2 also displays that in Punjabi/English pair the bilinguals switched from English to Punjabi in 315 CPs, but they did not mix Punjabi into English. Similarly, the bilinguals in Urdu/English pair spoke 338 CPs in switching from English to Urdu, but CS from English to Urdu remained zero. The bilinguals' non-switching from Urdu & English to Punjabi, and from English to Urdu does not matter to grammaticality but to acceptability. The pattern of CS as fig.2 shows is grammatical as well as acceptable, but the reversed pattern of CS contrary to the fig.2 can be grammatical in respect of MLF Model but not socially acceptable. If it is thought to be acceptable, the series # 5 should not display big zero. So, social constraints are imposed over and above the grammatical constraints, which make the code switched sentence socially acceptable. These acceptability constraints which urged the bilinguals of each pair to adopt the pattern of CS are discussed as under.

Acceptability Constraints

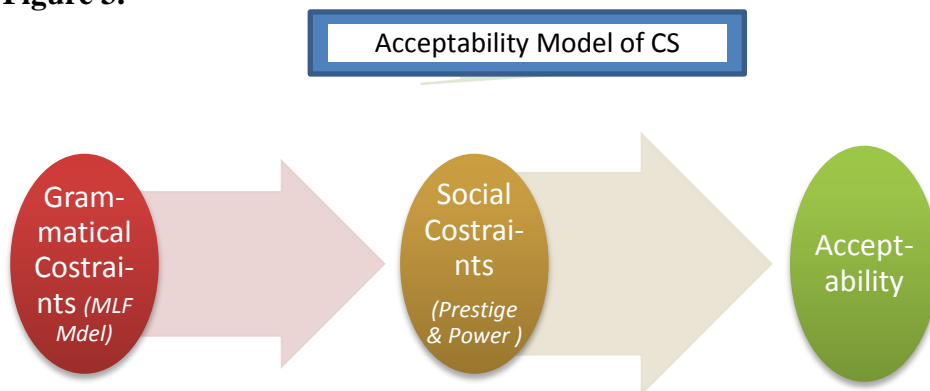
The acceptability constraints which do not allow the bilinguals to switch from Punjabi to Urdu and English, and from Urdu to English, is prestige, because it is not the grammatical incompetency of Punjabi and Urdu that the bilinguals did not switch them into their counterparts, but in Pakistan both these languages are thought to be socially less powerful i.e. Punjabi vis-à-vis Urdu & English & Urdu vis-à-vis English.

In the social system of Pakistan, Punjabi does not enjoy such power and prestige as Urdu & English do. Though Punjabi is widely spoken and understood in Pakistan, yet its speakers feel hesitation to speak it in the presence of Urdu & English interlocutors. Rahman (1995, p.22) says, “In Pakistan, it is too partly out of inertia and sentimental attachment to Urdu as a symbol of Pakistani identity, and partly because Urdu was an integrative symbol. It was Urdu which was given high status, while Punjabi was relegated to an inferior one.” That is why, the gradual decrease is seen in the number of Punjabi speakers as the census from 1981 to 1998 shows i.e. in 1981 Punjabi speakers in Pakistan were 67.6% of the whole population, but in 1998, they remained 44.15%. Moreover, Punjabi is subjected to covert prestige and it is used mostly in informal speech acts. As far as English is concerned, it has been official language of Pakistan since the partition. In Pakistan, it is considered prestige language, as it fulfils all the characteristics of a prestige language proposed by Kahane (1986) and Coupland (2010). As far as Urdu is concerned, it is no doubt that it is national symbol of Pakistan, but it is the language of less prestige as compared to English. Rahman (2003) states that Urdu does represent education, administration, judiciary and office but at lower level. So, the hierarchy of the three language is that English stands at the top as prestige language and Punjabi at the bottom as lower prestige. As far as Urdu is concerned it stands beneath the top (English) and above the bottom (Punjabi). The same hierarchy is found in the CS in the language of three pairs.

So, on the empirical evidence, the study generalises that in a communication act, if a language is socially prestigious to its counterpart, it will provide lexical items to its counterpart, and the less prestigious language will always determine the structure to the lexical items provided by the prestige language, but not vice versa. The figure 2 depicts that Punjabi, a language of lower prestige, remained ML vis-à-vis Urdu & English, languages of higher prestige as compared to Punjabi, and Urdu, a language of less prestige as compared to English, proved to be ML in Urdu/English pair

The research study establishes that the sentences in CS from Punjabi to Urdu & English and from Urdu to English can be grammatical in respect of MLF Model by Myers-Scotton (1993) but not socially acceptable. Grammaticality of a code switched sentence does weigh, but the sentence must satisfy social constraints otherwise it will not be accepted socially. So, social constraints should be added to the figure 1 of MLF Model.

Figure 3.



The MLF Model by Myers-Scotton only speaks of the grammaticality of a code switched sentence but ignores the social constraints which are imposed over and above the grammatical constraints, but the new proposed model, Acceptability Model of CS, emphasises that a code switched sentence, first of all, should follow grammatical constraints, and then it must satisfy social constraints i.e. prestige and power of language; only then the sentence can be socially acceptable. Any violation of either grammatical or social constraints will lead violation of acceptability.

Conclusion

On the basis of empirical evidence from the analysis of collected data, we conclude that the MLF Model by Myers-Scotton (1993) provides grammatical uniformity to a code switched sentence through SMP & MOP, and the EL contributes lexical items to the ML. The collected data shows that Punjabi provided the morpho-syntactic frame to the lexical items of Urdu & English, and similarly, Urdu as ML served the structure to lexical items of English, but neither the bilinguals utter even a single CP in CS from Punjabi to Urdu & English in Punjabi/Urdu and Punjabi/English pairs, nor they switched the code from Urdu to English in Urdu/English pair. As far as grammaticality is concerned, Urdu & English can provide SMP & MOP to the lexical

items of Punjabi; similarly, English can serve grammaticality to the lexical words of Urdu, but it was not happened so in the conversation of the bilinguals. It is proved that the pattern of CS in the pairs not only fulfils grammatical constraints but social constraints too; both these constraints together make the CS socially acceptable, whereas non-switching of Punjabi into Urdu & English and Urdu into English does not matter to grammaticality, because grammatical constraints can be fulfilled, but it is the matter of social constraints which restrict the mixing of Punjabi to its counterparts and Urdu to English. These social constraints are proved to be prestige and social power which lie with the language. In Pakistan, English is treated as prestigious language and Punjabi is considered a language of low prestige. As far as the status of Urdu is considered, it is functioning just below English and quite high to Punjabi. The social hierarchy which is existed among these languages, the same hierarchy seems in CS in the three pairs. The CS with the same hierarchy i.e. socially top to bottom satisfies grammatical constraints as well as social constraints, that is why it remained acceptable, but CS in reversal to the hierarchy of the status of the three languages can serve grammaticality, but it does not satisfy social constraints, that is why it cannot satisfy acceptability. So, on the empirical evidence, the study generalises that in a communication act, if a language is socially prestigious to its counterpart, it will provide lexical items to its counterpart, and the less prestigious language will always determine the structure to the lexical items provided by the prestige language, but not vice versa. The study highlights the inadequacy of MLF Model that a sentence in CS can be grammatical but not socially acceptable until it fulfils the social constraints i.e. prestige and social power of language. Thus, a sentence in CS first of all must follow SMP & MOP, and then it must satisfy the social constraints; both the constraints together will lead the sentence to acceptability.

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Punjabi *nuN* and Urdu *ko*: A Morpho-Semantic Analysis

Mubashir Iqbal, Riaz Ahmed Mangrio; ***Raza E Mustafa

Abstract

Urdu and Punjabi case markers are important to create a syntactic configuration, and they play a vital role in portraying their semantics. In different contexts, they expose different semantics. Urdu ko is equivalent to Punjabi nuN and they mostly perform the same function in both languages. Data are taken from Punjabi and Urdu speakers. Punjabi nuN, like Urdu ko, reveals a contrasting semantics in active and passive sentences, because it can be used as dative and accusative. Dative nuN and accusative nuN being different case markers show distinctive functions, they sometimes show semantic ambiguity in the active and passive construction in the same sentence. This paper nullifies Islam, Akhtar & Bukhari's (2009) claim that "... the inanimate object ... takes accusative case marker [ko] only because of demonstrative is 'this' which precedes it", by bringing evidence against them. However, it approves their findings for the ambiguous role of Urdu ko in active and passive sentences by bringing the same results for Punjabi nuN.

Keywords: Case markers, Dative and Accusative *ko* and *nuN*, Semantics, Syntax

Introduction

This study attempts to investigate the syntactic similarities and differences of Punjabi *nuN* and Urdu *ko*. Besides, it also tries to compare the semantic features of Punjabi *nuN* and Urdu *ko*. Urdu *ko* can be used as dative as well as accusative. However, since it is homophonous, it is very complex in its usage as accusative and dative (Islam, Akhtar & Bukhari, 2009). Urdu *ko* used as dative and accusative changes the semantics of active, passive sentences and causative constructions. It plays an ambiguous role in active and passive sentences (ibid). Causee, in causative, is

accusative affected object with an accusative *ko* and it receives the action. However, causee performs action passively with dative *ko*. Punjabi *nuN* is also homophonous and its use as accusative and dative similarly creates semantic ambiguity in active and passive sentences.

Before presenting data analysis, a brief account of Urdu and Punjabi case system is provided in the following section.

Urdu and Punjabi Case System

Case (Blake, 2001) is a system which marks dependent nouns for the type of relationship they have with their heads. It is “a grammatical category that shows the function of the noun or noun phrase in a sentence” (Richards & Schmidt, 2013). Case was marked by morphological inflections in Old Indo-European languages. Sanskrit, for example, had eight cases: Nominative, Dative, Accusative, Ablative, Instrumental, Genitive, Vocative and Locative (ibid). There are two main systems of case in which world languages are divided: Nominative-accusative (or accusative) languages and ergative-absolutive (or ergative) languages.

In accusative languages, for example English (Khan, 2009), the subject of intransitive verb and the agent/subject of transitive verb are in the same case, but object/patient of transitive verb is in a different case. Khan (2009) presents following examples from English in this regard:

1a. I arrived.

b. He saw me.

The subject of intransitive (1a) and transitive (1b) verbs in the above sentences is in the same case, but the object of transitive (1b) is in different case.

The following examples from Urdu and Punjabi languages also illustrate this phenomenon.

Table 1: Urdu and Punjabi as Accusative Languages

Urdu	Intransitive Verb	<i>baṭṭṭa</i> Sub.m.s.Nom Child Child Cries.	<i>roḡa</i> Vs.pres.Ind cry	<i>hæ.</i> be.pres.3.s
	Transitive Verb	<i>haḡi</i> Agnt.m.s.Nom Hadie Haadie catches the pigeon.	<i>kəbuṭṭ-ko</i> Obj.m.s. Obl. acc. pigeon	<i>pəkəṭṭa</i> Vs.pres.Ind catch <i>hæ.</i> be.pre.3.s
Punjabi	Intransitive Verb	<i>baṭṭṭa</i> Sub.m.s.Nom Child Child Cries.	<i>ronḡa</i> Vs.pres.Ind cry	<i>æ.</i> be.pres.3.s
	Transitive Verb	<i>haḡi</i> Agnt.m.s. Nom Hadie Haadie catches the pigeon.	<i>kəbuṭṭ-nī</i> Obj.m.s. Obl. acc. pigeon	<i>lṗḡa</i> Vs.pres.Ind catch <i>æ.</i> be.pre.3.s

The above example from Urdu explains the point clearly that the subject of intransitive verb *i.e.* *baṭṭṭa* ‘child’ and the agent of the transitive verb *i.e.* *hḡi* ‘Proper name’ are in same case *i.e.* nominative case, and object/patient of the transitive verb *i.e.* *kəbuṭṭ* ‘pigeon’ is in a different case *i.e.* oblique case. Similarly, the Punjabi example also exhibits the same phenomenon that subject of intransitive verb *baṭṭṭa* ‘child’ and the agent of transitive verb *hḡi* ‘Proper name’ are in nominative case, while patient of transitive verb *i.e.* *kəbuṭṭ* ‘pigeon’ is in oblique case. Thus, from

The above Urdu example demonstrates that argument/subject of the intransitive verb *i.e.* *bā t/ta* ‘child’, and the patient/object of the transitive verb *i.e.* *kābut* ‘pigeon’ are nominative case, both are in same case. However, the agent/subject of the transitive verb *i.e.* *h d I -nā* ‘Proper name’ is in oblique case. It is in different case from “subject of the intransitive verb” and “object of the transitive verb”. The same phenomenon can be observed in the Punjabi example. Thus, both languages are the instances of ergative languages. Ergative languages are mostly found in Indian subcontinent, Caucasus, some parts of North America and Australia. Pashto, Balochi, Georgian, Chechen, Mayan and Dyirbal etc. are some of the ergative languages.

Many linguists (e.g., Bashir, 1999; Butt, 1995, 2005; Butt & king, 2005; Mirdeghan, 2005; Butt & Ahmed, 2006; Ahmed, 2007 & 2009; Islam, Akhtar & Bukhari, 2009) have discussed case system of Urdu. Ahmed (2007) documents some features of Punjabi. Some languages from ergative group such as Indo-Aryan languages show split-ergativity; they have the properties of both groups of languages. From the examples given in Table 1 and Table 2, it is learnt that Urdu (Butt, 1995; Ahmed, 2007; Bukhari, 2009) and Punjabi are accusative as well as ergative languages. Therefore, both of them are split-ergative languages. A verb takes ergative marking in the perfective aspects, while it takes accusative marking in imperfective aspects. Agents, in other words, of transitive verbs—either it is mono-transitive or di-transitive verbs—show ergative case marking, while agents in other situations shows nominative case marking.

An account for Urdu and Punjabi case markers is given in the next section.

Urdu and Punjabi Case Markers

A list of Urdu and Punjabi case markers is given below:

Table 3: Case markers in Punjabi and Urdu (Ahmed, 2007)

Case	Punjabi	Urdu	Grammatical Function
Nominative	∅	∅	Sub/obj
Ergative	nāa:/i/æ	nā	Sub
Accusative	nu:	ko	Obj
Dative	nu:	ko	Sub/Obj
Instrumental	na:l	sā	Sub/obli/adjunct
Ablative	-u:, tu:	sā	
Genitive	ga/gɪ/gæ (M)/(F)/(Obl)	ka/ki/kæ (m)/(f)/(obl)	Sub/specifier
Locative	ɪf, vɪf, ...	mā, pā, ...	

Urdu and Punjabi nouns show case in the following three different forms:

- Nominative
- Oblique
- Vocative

Nominative—direct case—is phonologically null as it does not take any clitic. It can appear in the subject position as well as in the object position (Kachro, 1980 in Islam, Akhtar & Bukhari, 2009). Oblique form is always followed by a case marker/clitic. It can also be used in the subject and object position. Vocative case is used to address someone.

Consider the following examples for the illustration of nominative and ergative:

3a. <i>munḁa</i>	<i>kʰanā</i>	<i>kʰanḁa pja</i>	<i>æ</i>
Boy-nom	food-nom	eat-prog	be
The boy is eating food.			
b. <i>bærra-næ</i>	<i>qələm</i>	<i>kʰærr:ḁja</i>	
Bareerah-erg	pen-nom	buy.pst	
Bareerah bought a pen.			
c. <i>bærra-næ</i>	<i>ləjkæ-nu:</i>	<i>marja</i>	
Bareerah-erg	boy-acc	beat.pst	
Bareerah beat the boy.			

In sentence (3a), both the subject and object are in nominative case. In (3b), subject is in ergative case, while object is in nominative case. In (3c), subject and object both are in ergative case.

Nominative plural masculine nouns and oblique singular masculine nouns can be identical. Look at the following example:

4a. <i>mʊndʌæ</i>	<i>kəbʌdʌdʌ</i>	<i>kʰædʌ ræ</i>	<i>næ̃</i>
boy-nom.pl.m	kabaddi-nom.m	play.prog.pl.m	be.pre.pl
The boys are playing kabaddi.			
b. <i>mʊndʌæ-dʌ:</i>	<i>səla:h</i>	<i>tʃʌdʌ</i>	<i>aɪ</i>
boy.s.m.obl-gen.	advice.f.s.	good.f.s	be.pst.3.f.s
The boy's advice was good.			
c. <i>ohn-næ̃</i>	<i>mʊndʌæ-nũ:</i>	<i>marja</i>	<i>sɪ</i>
s/he.def-erg.	boy.s.m.obl.m-acc.	beat.s.def.pst	be.pst
S/he beat the boy.			

The subject *mʊndʌæ* ‘boys’ in (4a) is plural while it is singular in (4b). The phenomenon, thus, shows that the oblique forms of singular masculine nouns and the plural masculine noun are identical in Punjabi. They, however, show a difference in agreement pattern. In (4a), the subject is nominative because verb agrees with it. While in (4b), the verb does not agree with the subject as it takes a clitic. The verb, as a result, agrees with *səla:h* ‘advice’ which is the object of the sentence. A common feature of most of the Indo-Aryan languages is that the verb always agrees only with the uppermost nominative argument. In (4c), both arguments i.e. subject and object, take case markers. The verb, therefore, does not agree with any of them and it shows default case.

Islam, Akhtar & Bukhari (2009) discuss that oblique subjects (e.g. instrumental and genitive) do not permit accusative case markers for inanimate direct objects. They further suggest that sometimes using a demonstrative adjective with direct object can also bear accusative marker. Consider the following examples:

- 5a. Wania-ne Azan-ko piita:
 Wania.f.3.s-erg. Azan.s.m-acc beat.m.s.perf
 ‘Wania beat Azan.’
- b. Azan-ne kitab pəṭʰi
 Azan.m.3.s-erg. book.f.s-nom read.f.s.perf
 ‘Azan read the book.’
- c. Azan-ne is kitab-ko pəṭʰa
 Azan.m.3.s-erg. this book.f.s-acc read.m.s.perf
 ‘Azan read this book.’

Source: Islam, Akhtar & Bukhari (2009)

The present study disagrees with Islam, Akhtar & Bukhari (2009) at this point. The accusative can be used with both animate and inanimate objects in the presence or in the absence of demonstrative adjective. Animacy criterion isn’t the condition for an accusative to be appearing with direct object. The accusative *-ko* can be used with the inanimate objects, and sentence remains acceptable. The use of accusative *-ko* with inanimate isn’t novel for speakers of Urdu, and this type of structure is frequently used in daily conversation. Following example can illustrate this structure:

- 6a. ha:ḡr -ne kitab-ko pəṭʰa
 Haadie.m.3.s-erg. book.f.s-acc read.m.s.perf
 ‘Haadie read the book.’
- 4b. ha:ḡr -ne kitab pəṭʰi
 Haadie.m.3.s-erg. book.f.s-nom read.f.s.perf
 ‘Haadie read a book.’

The use of accusative with inanimate direct objects is normal, but the semantics in the presence of accusative *-ko* is different from the semantics when it is absent. The use of

accusative *-ko* with inanimate direct objects shows the emphasis and definiteness, as it can be noticed in example (6a) and (6b). In (6a), presence of accusative *-ko* shows the emphasis and definiteness, whereas the absence of it in (6b) shows no emphasis and the object is not definite too. Similarly, Punjabi accusative *-nu* can also be used with animate and inanimate objects like that in Urdu, and it gives the same semantics. Consider the following example for illustration:

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 7a. bərr:ra-næ̃ | tʃəḍər | vətʃʌi | |
| Bareerah.f.3.s-erg. | sheet.f.s-nom | spread.f.s.perf | |
| Bareerah spread a sheet. | | | |
| | | | |
| b. bərr:ra-næ̃ | tʃəḍər-nũ | vətʃʌja | |
| Bareerah.f.3.s-erg. | sheet.f.s-acc | spread.m.s.perf | |
| Bareerah spread the sheet. | | | |
| | | | |
| c. bərr:ra-næ̃ | is | tʃəḍər-nũ | vətʃʌja |
| Bareerah.f.3.s-erg. | this | sheet.f.s-acc. | spread.m.s.perf |
| Bareerah spread this sheet. | | | |

The syntactic structure in the absence or in the presence of accusative remains grammatical. Without accusative, there is no emphasis as in (7a), but insertion of accusative put emphasis on the statement, and make the object definite as in (7b). The use of demonstrative with direct object as in (7c) make the object definite and shows more emphasis as compared to (7b).

In Urdu, a singular noun form is different in form—whether it is nominative, oblique or vocative—from its plural noun form, but the forms of singular nouns in vocative and oblique are identical to the plural form of nominative. Oblique and vocative forms of plural nouns are always different from their singular nouns and from each other; however, oblique and vocative forms of singular nouns can be identical to each other. The oblique plural forms end with the nasalized vowel *õ*, while vocative plural forms are not nasalized. Mohanan (1990, p.80) shows the difference of these three forms for a masculine noun *bʌ tʃʌʃʌ* ‘child’.

Table 4

Function	Singular	Plural
Nominative	bʌtʃtʃa	bʌtʃtʃæ
Oblique	bʌtʃtʃæ	bʌtʃtʃō
Vocative	bʌtʃtʃæ	bʌtʃtʃo

Singular and plural nominative forms of a masculine noun can be identical to each other and to oblique and vocative singular forms, but the plural forms of oblique and vocative are always different from each other and the only difference is of nasalization. Oblique plural forms always show nasalization of the vowel sound at the end, while vocative forms end without the nasalization of the vowel sound as is illustrated in table 5 for the word *bʰ a ɪ* ‘brother’.

Table 5

Function	Singular	Plural
Nominative	bʰaɪ	bʰaɪ
Oblique	bʰaɪ	bʰaɪ̃
Vocative	bʰaɪ	bʰaɪo

Urdu feminine nouns are more interesting. See the following tables for the words *bʌ tʃtʃ ɪ* ‘daughter’ and *bʰ æhʌ n* ‘sister’ respectively.

Table 6

Function	Singular	Plural
Nominative	bʌtʃtʃɪ	bʌtʃtʃɪ̃
Oblique	bʌtʃtʃɪ	bʌtʃtʃɪō
Vocative	bʌtʃtʃɪ	bʌtʃtʃɪo

Table 7

Function	Singular	Plural
Nominative	b ^h æhAN	b ^h æhnæ̃
Oblique	b ^h æhAN	b ^h æhnō
Vocative	b ^h æhAN	b ^h æhno

The singular forms of nouns in Table 5, Table 6 and Table 7 are the same in nominative, vocative and oblique forms. Two things can be noted from these tables: Firstly, the singular masculine nouns can show variation—they can be identical or have different forms in nominative to oblique and vocative, and secondly, the singular feminine nouns are identical in nominative, oblique and vocative forms. However, the plural nominative, vocative and oblique forms show different endings. Unlike some masculine nouns e.g. *b^h a I* ‘brother’ which is identical in nominative singular and plural forms, plural forms of feminine nouns are different from their singular forms. Similarly, the plural nominative feminine nouns are also different from their oblique and vocative forms unlike masculine nouns. The feminine plural oblique forms of nouns have nasalized endings, while vocative plural forms do not have nasalized endings.

Urdu is the offspring of Punjabi (Sheerani, 1928), therefore, Punjabi is considered the sister language of Urdu, but it shows interesting variation in the forms of nouns. The difference among the forms of Punjabi masculine noun *mVnd̤a* ‘boy’ is shown in the following table.

Table 8

Function	Singular	Plural
Nominative	mVnd̤a	mVnd̤æ
Oblique	mVnd̤æ	mVnd̤jã
Vocative	mVnd̤ja	mVnd̤jo

In Urdu, masculine singular nouns can be identical or different in nominative, oblique and vocative forms; at least in oblique and vocative forms they are always identical to each other and to the plural nominative. But, in Punjabi, the phenomenon is interestingly different. Punjabi singular noun *mɒndʌ* ‘boy’ is different in all the three forms as is shown in Table 8. Only the plural nominative is identical to oblique singular. The plural nouns are also different in all the three forms (nominative, oblique and vocative). But, the difference between plural oblique and vocative is of nasalization like Urdu language. An oblique Plural noun ends with the nasalized vowel, while vocative ends without the nasalized.

Case forms of Punjabi feminine noun for the word *kɒɽɪ* ‘girl’ are given in the following table.

Table 9

Function	Singular	Plural
Nominative	kɒɽɪ	kɒɽɪã
Oblique	kɒɽɪ	kɒɽɪã
Vocative	kɒɽɪæ	kɒɽɪo

Feminine nouns show more interesting variations. Singular feminine nominative and oblique are identical, but are different from vocative and nominative plural. The plural feminine nominative and oblique are interestingly identical. Vocative singular and plural forms are different from all. Like those in Urdu, the oblique and vocative plural forms have the difference of nasalization. The oblique plural form ends with a nasalized vowel ‘ã’, while vocative plural form ends without a nasalized vowel as shown in Table 9.

Nominative case (in both languages) is phonologically null, while oblique and vocative forms bear case markers (e.g. ergative *nã/nã*, dative or accusative *ko/nuN* and genitive *ka/ki/kæ/dɒa/dɒɪ dɒæ*) in both languages. Some case markers, in certain contexts, mark a semantic difference. As said, this paper concerns only dative/accusative *nuN*.

The replacement of dative *nuN* with ergative *nã* sometimes changes the semantics of the structure. This phenomenon is briefly discussed in the following section.

Alternation of Ergative *nã* with Dative *nuN*

Ergative *nã* needs more attention due to its complexity. In transitive and intransitive sentences, it can alternate with nominative or absolutive. In Urdu, ergative *nã*, shows semantic feature of volitionality (Butt & King, 2005), and the same is the case in Punjabi. In transitive sentences, the subject always shows ergative marking. Many intransitive verbs can also take an ergative marker but the verb, in this case, is oblique. This phenomenon is shown below:

- 8a. bærra-nã vasi lãji
 Bareerah.f.s-erg yawn.s.perf.obl
 Bareerah yawned
- b. mundã-nã k^bãgjeja
 boy.f.s-erg cough.s.perf.obl
 Boy coughed.

Butt & King (2005) discuss a replacement of an ergative/dative of Urdu. The sentence in Urdu shows desire, when the subject takes ergative case marker and an infinitive, but the subject with dative and an infinitive shows an obligation. Punjabi also shows the same phenomenon. The subject with ergative and infinitive shows desire, whereas with a dative case marker and an infinitive, it depicts obligation. The following examples illustrate this phenomenon:

- 9a. bærra-nã kar dʒanã æ (Desire)
 Bareerah.f.s-erg home.m.s.obl go.inf.m.s be.pres.3.s
 Bareerah wants to go home.
- b. bærra-nu: kar dʒanã æ
 (Obligation)
 Bareerah.f.s-dat home.m.s.obl go.inf.m.s be.pres.3.s
 Bareerah has to go home.

Case markers dative *nuN* and the accusative *nuN* are homophonous, but they depict distinction in semantics, as shown in the following section.

Dative and Accusative *nuN*

In many Indo-Aryan languages (like Urdu & Punjabi), accusative and dative case markers are homophonous (Kiparsky, 1987). According to Beames (1872), Urdu *ko* is used to indicate the recipient goal, when the verb is di-transitive. Since dative *ko* is the part of the action, so its usage with subjects is obligatory. Islam, Akhtar & Bukhari (2009) illustrates this point in (10).

- 10a. *vanjã - ko* *phəl* *kʰanã* *hæ*
 Wania.f.s-dat. *fruit.m.s.* *eat.inf.m.s* *be.pres.3.s*
 ‘*Wania has to eat fruit.*’
- b. **vanjã* *phəl* *kʰanã* *hæ*
 Wania.f.s-nom. *fruit.m.s.* *eat.inf.m.s* *be.pres.3.s*
 ‘*Wania has to eat fruit.*’

Source: (Islam, Akhtar & Bukhari, 2009)

Although Punjabi is the sister language, yet it differs in the phenomenon explained in example 10. The insertion of dative *nuN* with the subject produces ungrammatical sentence. The sentence 11(a) is ungrammatical because of the insertion of the dative *nuN*. Despite the phenomenon being opposite, there is no change in the semantics.

11a. *bæɾɾa-nuː	roʈi	kʰɑnĩ	æ
Bareerah.f.s-dat.	bread.m.s.	eat.inf.m.s	be.pres.3.s
Bareerah has/wants to eat bread.			
b. bæɾɾa	roʈi	kʰɑnĩ	æ
Bareerah.f.s-nom.	bread.m.s.	eat.inf.m.s	be.pres.3.s
Bareerah has/wants to eat bread.'			

Dative *ko* is only followed by abstract or concrete goals (Mohanani 1994). Ahmed (2007) also supports this view that dative *ko* has the core sense of goal. The following example from Islam, Akhtar & Bukhari (2009) explains this point in (12).

12a. vanjã-ko	inam	mila.	(Goal)
Wania.f.s-dat.	prize.m.s.	get.m.s.perf	
'Wania got the prize.'			
b. *vanjã	inam	mila.	(Goal)
Wania.f.s-nom.	prize.m.s.	get.m.s.perf	
'Wania got the prize.'			

Source: (Islam, Akhtar & Bukhari 2009)

The Punjabi dative *nuN* is also obligatory for the goal, as shown in the following example:

13a. bæɾɾa-nuː	mobæɪ	mɪʃa.	(Goal)
Bareerah.f.s-dat.	prize.m.s.	receive.m.s.perf	
Bareerah received a mobile.			
b. *bæɾɾa	mobæɪ	mɪʃa.	(Goal)
Bareerah.f.s-dat.	prize.m.s.	receive.m.s.perf	
Bareerah received a mobile.			

Punjabi dative *nuN* is more complex than Urdu dative *ko*. *nuN*, unlike *ko*, does not need concrete or abstract nouns to appear with the subject, but it does need some goal as explained in (11) & (13).

Urdu accusative *ko*, which depicts the direct object, comes with mono-transitive verbs. However, this rule is optional. The verb agrees with the subject in progressive and imperfective aspects, but it does not agree with the subject in perfective aspect. The verb shows default case in perfective aspect and receives masculine morphology when accusatives *ko* is present, but it shows agreement with the object when accusative *ko* is absent.

14 a. <i>vanijā -nāē</i>	<i>ḡasṭavizāṭ-ko</i>	<i>ḡæk^ha</i>	
Wania.f.s-erg.	documents.f.pl-acc	see.m.s.perf	
'Wania saw documents.'			
b. <i>vanijā -nāē</i>	<i>ḡasṭavizāṭ</i>	<i>ḡæk^hī</i>	
Wania.f.s-erg.	documents.f.pl.	see.f.pl.perf	
'Wania saw documents.'			
c. <i>vanijā</i>	<i>ḡasṭavizāṭ -ko</i>	<i>ḡæk^hī</i>	<i>hāē</i>
Wania.f.s-nom	documents.f.pl-acc	see.f.s.imp	pre.3.s
'Wania saw documents.'			
d. <i>vanijā</i>	<i>ḡasṭavizāṭ</i>	<i>ḡæk^hī</i>	<i>hāē</i>
Wania.f.s-nom	documents.f.pl-	see.f.s.imp	pre.3.s
'Wania saw documents.'			

Source: (Islam, Akhtar & Bukhari, 2009)

In the above examples, it is obvious that accusative *ko* is optional. Nevertheless, 14(a) & (b) are in perfective aspect and the verb does not agree with the object in the presence of accusative *ko*. However, in its absence, the verb agrees with the object. In 14(c) & (d), the verb is not in perfective aspect and it shows agreement with the

subject. Here, accusative *ko* causes no effect whether it is present or absent, so it is optional.

One thing which Islam, Akhtar & Bukhari (2009) don't discuss is the semantics of the sentence. The presence of the accusative *ko* shows more focus. In the above example, when accusative *ko* is present, *ḍæk^hna* should be translated as 'watch' instead of 'see'. Punjabi accusative *nuN* depicts the same phenomenon as Urdu accusative *ko* does.

- 15 a. bəɾɪ:ra-nə̃ kəg^hzəṭ-nuː vək^hʃə
 Bareerah.f.s-erg documents.f.pl-acc see.m.s.perf
 Bareerah watched documents.
- b. bəɾɪ:ra -nə̃ kəg^hzəṭ vək^hə̃
 Bareerah.f.s-erg. documents.f.pl. see.f.pl. perf
 Bareerah saw documents.
- c. bəɾɪ:ra kəg^hzəṭ-nuː vək^hʃi ə̃
 Bareerah.f.s-nom documents.f.pl-acc see.f.s.perf pre.3.s
 Bareerah watches documents.
- d. bəɾɪ:ra kəg^hzəṭ- vək^hʃi ə̃
 Bareerah.f.s-nom documents.f.pl- see.f.s.perf pre.3.s
 Bareerah sees documents.

However, like *ko*, Punjabi accusative *nuN* is obligatory to specific animate objects and optional to non-specific animate objects.

16a. bərr:ra-næ̃	ha:ḡi-mũ	bulaja
Bareerah f.s-erg	Haadie m.s-acc	call.perf.m.s
Bareerah called Haadie.		
b. *bərr:ra-næ̃	ha:ḡi	bulaja
Bareerah f.s-erg	Haadie m.s-acc	call.perf.m.s
Bareerah called Haadie.		
c. bərr:ra-næ̃	(*ʕaʃa)/kuṛi	vækʰi
Bareerah f.s-erg	(*Ayesha)/girl.f.s-acc	see.perf.m.s
Bareerah saw (*Ayesha)/girl.		
d. bərr:ra-næ̃	kuri-mũ	vækʰja
Bareerah f.s-erg	girl.m.s-acc	see.perf.m.s
Bareerah saw girl.		

The example in (16a) shows that the object Haadie is specific, therefore it is compulsory to mark it with accusative *nuN*. If it is not marked with accusative *nuN*, the sentence becomes ungrammatical as shown in (16b). (16c) & (16d) depict a different situation. In (16c), the sentence remains grammatical even in the absence of accusative *nuN* if the object is animate but not specific (kuṛi). However, if we replace animate but not specific (e.g. kuṛi) with specific animate object e.g. Ayesha in the same sentence (16c), the sentence becomes ungrammatical in the absence of accusative *nuN*. In (16d), sentence is grammatical due to the presence of accusative *nuN*. (16c) & (16d) make the point clear that accusative *nuN* is obligatory only with specific animate objects, and optional for non-specific animate objects. The only difference in (16c) and (16d) is that the act of seeing the animate object is intentional in the latter, and unintentional in the former. So, it is noticeable that the presence and absence of accusative *nuN* changes the semantics of the sentence in terms of its volition.

Dative *nuN* and accusative *nuN* have distinct features but, interestingly they give ambiguous interpretation of the same sentence in active and passive voice. The following section explains this point.

Ambiguous role of Dative *nuN* and Accusative *nuN* in Active & Passive Voice

Because of being homophonous, dative *nuN* and accusative *nuN* can give ambiguous interpretations in different syntactic environments. The homophonous nature creates differences in semantics and grammatical expressions. The case marker *nuN* can play dative as well as accusative role in a single sentence. In the presence of subject (agent), it is accusative, and the accusative NP is indirect object in active sentence. Notice the following sentence:

17. $s\bar{n}\bar{o}$	$b\bar{e}r:r\bar{a}-m\tilde{u}$	$s\bar{e}b\bar{e}q$	$p\bar{a}t\bar{h}a\bar{n}\bar{a}$	\bar{a}
We.obl.pl.nom	Bareerah.f.s-acc	lesson.m.s.obl	teach.inf.m.s	be.pres.3.s
We have to teach Bareerah a lesson.				

Notice the presence of the subject $s\bar{n}\bar{o}$, the NP Bareerah is an accusative NP and it receives the action of teaching the lesson. By removing the subject $s\bar{n}\bar{o}$, the sentence can give ambiguous interpretation. The case marker *nuN* is dative in this sentence and dative NP Bareerah is the subject of this sentence. Observe the example once again:

18. ($s\bar{n}\bar{o}$)	$b\bar{e}r:r\bar{a}-m\tilde{u}$	$s\bar{e}b\bar{e}q$	$p\bar{a}t\bar{h}a\bar{n}\bar{a}$	\bar{a}
(We.obl.pl.nom)	Bareerah.f.s-dat/acc	lesson.m.s.obl	teach.inf.m.s	be.pres.3.s
i) Bareerah has to teach a lesson. ii) Bareerah has to be taught a lesson (by us).				

A sentence becomes ambiguous, when the subject is removed or when the active sentence is changed into passive one. The above sentence after removing the subject gives contrasting meanings. When *nuN* is considered as a dative case marker, the dative NP functions as the subject which shows the action performed by that NP. However, when *nuN* is taken as accusative case marker, the subject accusative NP receives the action and it carries a role of patient. The sentence is in passive voice when *nuN* is accusative, thus it creates ambiguity. In order to understand the semantics of this sentence, we need to know the voice of the sentence which can only be known in the context in which sentence is used. Nevertheless, some conditions need to be fulfilled for a sentence to be ambiguous or to create double meanings. The double meaning is bound to di-transitive verbs, and there are specific structures in which verbs show object movement from one place to another. For example, the verb $p\bar{a}t\bar{h}\bar{n}\bar{a}$

‘to teach’ shows its object *səbəq* ‘lesson’ to move its position from one place to another. Secondly, the double meaning is restricted to infinitive verb which shows obligation and advice by using the modal *chai da* ‘should’. Examine the following sentence:

19. (ʈannū) bərr:ra-mĩ səbəq pəʈhanā tʃai dæ
 (you.obl.s.nom) Bareerah.f.s.acc/dat lesson.m.s.obl teach.inf.m.s should.mod
 i) Bareerah should be taught a lesson (by you). ii) Bareerah should teach a lesson.

The structure given in (18) & (19) is frequently used in Punjabi language. Understanding such utterances or inferring the intended meaning is not difficult for the native speakers of Punjabi language. They can judge whether an utterance is active or passive from its use in a specific context. In the absence of a particular context, the sentence will remain grammatically correct, but it will be difficult to infer whether it is active or passive. However, there exists a passive structure which exhibits a unique feature. This type of passive structure shows a complete disambiguation. Examine the following sentence with accusative *nuN*:

20. bərr:ra-nu səbəq pəʈhaja dʒanā æ
 Bareera.f.s-acc lesson.m.s-nom teach.be.perf.s.m go.inf.
 be.pres.3.s.m
 Bareerah has to be taught a lesson.

But this type of structure is rarely used in practical life especially in spoken language. The double meaning of the sentence is only possible with only infinitive form of verb. This is explained in the example below:

21. (asen) bərr:ra-mĩ səbəq (i) pəʈhanā / (ii) pəʈha ræ an
 (We.obl.pl-nom) Bareerah.f.s-acc lesson.m.s.obl
 (i)teach.imp.m.pl/(ii)write prog.m.pl be.pre.pl
 (i) We teach a lesson to Bareerah. (ii) We are teaching a lesson to Bareerah.
 i) *Bareerah is taught a lesson. (ii) *Bareerah is being taught a lesson.

The imperfective and progressive use of both verbs can be noted in the 21(i) and (ii), which depicts the subject-verb agreement. Subject can be understood even if it is missed or not used through the markers of tense and aspect. The specification of the subject whether it is masculine/feminine or singular/plural causes the limitation of double meaning with any type of verb but not with infinitive.

Conclusion

Urdu and Punjabi case markers can be used in different environments, and they depict different semantics in different contexts. The Punjabi dative *nuN* and the accusative *nuN* are equivalent to the Urdu dative and accusative *ko*, as they (dative and accusative *nuN*) perform the same function as the Urdu dative *ko* and accusative *ko* do. The dative *ko* is considered the part of the action and is obligatory with the subject, but in Punjabi it is not obligatory in all the conditions, because in some situations, the insertion of dative *nuN* makes the sentence ungrammatical. Punjabi *nuN* in dative case, like Urdu *ko*, marks the endpoint or goal. The use of Punjabi *nuN* creates the ambiguous meaning in active and passive utterances. Taking *nuN* as dative depicts the opposite meaning to that of taking it as accusative. This study supports Islam, Akhtar & Bukhari (2009) that Urdu *ko* in dative case has different semantics to accusative *ko*. The same case is obvious in this paper for Punjabi language: dative *nuN* and accusative *nuN* are not same. They depict different semantics.

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English Lexical Stress and Problems of Punjabi Learners: Some Acoustic Cues

Muhammad Iqbal Butt and Arshad Mahmood

Abstract

A foreign learner of English is always perplexed by its suprasegmental features, especially its lexical stress. Lexical stress in English is omnipresent since it is a stress-timed language though, unluckily, its stress patterns are rather unpredictable. The present study was conducted in the Department of English, National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad, Pakistan. The study sample (N 50) with Punjabi speaking background was selected from BS English classes. The data for the study was collected by means of audio recordings. The data was analysed with the help of Praat, version 5.4.08. The stress patterns of the study sample were studied in the form of Waveform Analysis and Spectral Analysis. The stressed syllables and the unstressed syllables of the given words were analysed from three different angles: intensity, duration and pitch. These recordings, obtained from the Punjabi learners of English, were compared with the recordings obtained from a native speaker of English (RP) with the help of Oxford Advanced Learner's dictionary 8th edition. The analysis of the data did not provide the researchers with any clues with regard to any uniform patterns produced by the members of the study sample. This suggests that this group of learners did not receive any remarkable interference from their L1 in terms of this suprasegmental aspect. As a result, most of them pronounced the given words either in a flat and unstressed manner or placed stress on the wrong syllable. It is suggested that foreign learners of English should be given more theoretical/conceptual knowledge of English tonic or primary stress along a great deal of verbal practice of the same. It is also suggested that the teachers should pay more attention to this suprasegmental aspect of English since it is an omnipresent phenomenon found in the English language.

Introduction

Language is what we speak in day to day communication. Successful communication is the result of correct perception of the message by the listener and it significantly depends on the correct delivery of the message by the speaker. As regards the notion of correct delivery, it is nothing but proper articulation of speech sounds required in the given situation. It goes even beyond speech sounds where a language has a lot more to offer in terms of suprasegmental patterns. Like different races of human beings, languages too have different families and groups. Each language falls under a certain language family by the degree of syntactic, morphological and phonological similarity. In other words, the members of a language family have a number of shared segmental and suprasegmental features. English is a language which heavily relies on its suprasegmental features, especially its word stress whereas many world languages do not seem to exploit this feature and the articulation of the words in these languages is executed without a tonic stress. The role of lexical stress in English is so strong that it cannot be overlooked. If done so, a complete aspect of English is ignored but unluckily this is a field which is not heavily investigated (Davis & Kelly, 1997; Guion et al., 2004; Guion, 2005). As a result, sufficient discussions on word stress are not very commonly found in EFL/TEFL books and syllabi and little effort has been made to transfer relevant experimental findings to language classrooms (Doughty & Long, 2003; Levis, 1999; Lightbown & Spada, 1999; Nuan, 1999). Derwing & Munro (2005) support this claim by stating that English lexical stress acquisition has been somewhat marginalized in previous language pedagogy studies despite its significant role in listening comprehension and pronunciation. This negligence might be due to certain reasons; priorities, likes and dislikes of teachers, needs of learners and so on. Similarly, such negligence may be attributed to the prevalence of Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) in current EAL education (Doughty & Long, 2003; Lightbown & Spada, 1999; Nuan, 1999). Since one key factor of CLT was its focus on language content rather than form, lexical stress, along with other elements of language structure, was deemphasized in early CLT frameworks.

Looking at the notion of lexical stress from learners' perspective, it appears to be a very difficult phenomenon. Learners with different language backgrounds deal with this suprasegmental aspect of English according to the help/interference provided by their mother tongue (Depoux, Pallier, Sebastian-Galles, & Mehler, 1997; Moon, Cooper & Fifer, 1993; Archibald, 1992, 1993, 1997). With this idea

in mind the researchers formed the following research question.

Research question

How do Pakistani learners of English with Punjabi speaking background cope with English lexical stress?

Objectives

The researchers undertook the study with the aim to find out:

If there are some uniform patterns of L1 that guide Punjabi speaking learners of English to a specific direction in terms of lexical stress;

How Punjabi learners of English deal with English lexical stress.

Significance of the study

Like all other languages, English too is a living phenomenon. We speak it and we also hear it all around us. It is not just a subject that has to be completed and revised within the academic year. Therefore, it should be treated like a living organism whose social utility significantly depends on its verbal aspect. The present study is important because it seeks to find out how Pakistani learners of English with Punjabi speaking background treat primary stress of English words. This will help in developing an understanding of the suprasegmental patterns of Punjabi language. This will also help in finding out if Punjabi speaking learners of English follow uniform patterns in dealing with this suprasegmental phenomenon of English.

Delimitation

The present study was delimited to the Department of English, National University of Modern Languages (hereafter NUML), Islamabad and it was conducted at BS (Hons.). The researchers selected 6 commonly used English words for the study sample to pronounce. The primary stress of the given words was studied with the help of Praat. The main focus was on the duration, pitch and intensity of the tonic/primary syllable.

Literature review

There are thousands of languages in the world each having its own idiosyncratic

patterns. These patterns are syntactic, morphological as well as phonological. Phonological patterns are generally broken into two main categories: segmentals and suprasegmentals. Segmental patterns are mainly phonemic patterns and their linear relationship. On the other hand, suprasegmental patterns are the linguistic features beyond segmental level. They are “those articulatory features which are superimposed over more than one segment (i.e. vowel or consonant); they include stress and intonation” Brinton and Brinton (2010, p.64).

Their role in language and communication is immense. Their presence is as important as any other linguistic aspect of language which is deemed important in contributing to effective communication. If they are faulty, they can affect intelligibility (Anderson-Hsieh, Johnson & Koehler, 1992; Derwing, Munro, & Wiebe, 1998; Hahn, 2004; Kang, Rubin & Pickering, 2010).

According to Fokwang and Langmia (2011, p.54), prosodic features of suprasegmental aspects are those aspects of language that help in better and effective communication. The complicated nature of English stress pattern leads to wrong pronunciation of words by the non- native speakers of it who either place the lexical stress wrongly or change a word according to their mother tongue stress patterns. This should be taken as a serious problem because if stress is placed wrongly, it may even impair communication. As a matter of fact, inaccurate production of L2 suprasegmentals plays a more significant role to foreign accent than inaccurate segmental production (Magen, 1998; Trofimovich & Baker, 2006). Liu (2007) corroborates the same by suggesting that misperception of stressed syllables in English may lead to inaccurate comprehension, thereby resulting in ineffective communication. Kenworthy (1989) supports this claim by stating that if stress is placed on the wrong syllable, the listener may face a great deal of difficulty. Collins & Mees (2003) bear out Kenworthy by suggesting that this is a very significant source of error. Anwer (2012) backs up the same proposition by asserting that stress has great importance in communicating the meaning. If it is wrongly placed, it can even change the syntactic category of the word.

By carefully observing suprasegmental features of English, we will find that lexical stress occupies the prime position among all of them since it is a heavily stress timed language and has stress-timed rhythm (Abercrombie, 1967; Pike, 1966; Baker & Goldstein, 1990; O’Connor, 1980). It means any English word with more than one syllable must take stress on one

of the them. In order to understand the real nature of stress, the following classical definition by Jones (1976) will be of great help.

According to Jones (1976, p.245), stress may be described as the degree of force with which a sound or syllable is uttered. It is essentially a subjective action. According to him, a strong force of utterance signifies an action with greater energy taken on by the articulating organs. This sort of action is generally produced along with a physical gesture. It also involves a “strong ‘push’ from the chest wall and consequently strong force of exhalation; this generally gives the objective impression of ‘loudness’ ”. According to Cleghorn and Rugg (2011, p.129) stress means prominence “which distinguishes one syllable from adjacent syllables”. Similarly, Crystal (1992; 1995) names stress *syllabic loudness*. According to Ou (2004, p. 1541), lexical stress can be defined as “the syllable prominence in a word”. Looking at these definitions, one may conclude that the tonic syllable in a word is the one which gets inflated and elongated as a result of the optimum muscular activity and tension due to its assigned role in the language.

Observing the formation of different syllables in English and stress assignment to them, we will find that heavy syllables are the potential stress takers rather than light syllables (Davenport

& Hannahs, 2005). A heavy syllable is the one which has a branching nucleus (CVV) or a branching rime (CVC). A branching nucleus means the syllable has a long vowel or a diphthong. A syllable with a branching rime is a closed syllable. On the other hand, a syllable is labeled as light if it has a short vowel as the nucleus and no coda (a V syllable).

Studying English stress carefully, one finds that there are no fixed rules to help the learners of English in guessing the right place of stress in a given word though linguists have been trying to formulate sets of ‘rules’ to both describe and predict stress placement (e.g., Arnold, 1957; Burzio, 1994; Chomsky & Halle, 1968; Fudge, 1984; Halle & Keyser, 1971). Since these rules don’t help learners in most situations, they fail to deal with lexical stress quite often. Consequently, the frequent occurrence of unpredictable stress patterns in English makes the language difficult in suprasegmental terms. A number of studies conducted earlier on this suprasegmental feature of English suggest that English word stress is difficult to cope with for learners of different language backgrounds (Archibald, 1993, 1997; Flege & Bohn, 1989; Benrabah, 1997; Low & Grabe, 1999). Such inability is the result of different

factors which determine the assignment of English lexical stress. These factors are syllable structure, lexical class, and the phonological similarity (Archibald, 1997; Kelly & Bock, 1988; Guion et al, 2004; Zhang et al, 2008).

English lexical stress becomes more confusing when a word gets its stress shifted from one part (syllable) to the other. It happens when words get different derivational or conjugated forms; the place of stress is different in the base form from the derivational one, e.g. ‘prefer’ but

‘preferable’. Likewise, foreign learners usually fail to appreciate the shift of stress in English words when their syntactic role changes from verb to noun and vice versa.

For example, the words ‘desert, present, rebel, object’ carry stress on the first syllable when they act as nouns but the stress shifts to the second syllable the moment they take on the role of a verb. Looking at the nature of English lexical stress, we will realize that disyllabic nouns tend to have more initial syllable stress and verbs tend to have more stress on the ultimate syllable (Kelly & Bock,

1988;Davenport & Hannahs, 2005). Hayes (1982) further elaborates it by suggesting that stress falls on the ultimate syllable only if a disyllabic noun has a long vowel (or diphthong). He cites *machine*, *prestige*, and *canoe* as example words. He further suggests that if the case is otherwise, the initial syllable carries the main stress. For example, *habit*, *agent*, and *basket*. According to him, the English verbs can also be studied in the similar fashion. He suggests that the ultimate syllable carries the main stress if a disyllabic verb has a long vowel (or a diphthong) or ends with at least two consonants. For example, *behave*, *suggest*, and *domain*. If the ultimate syllable does not have a long vowel or ends with two or more consonants, the initial syllable is stressed. For example, *cancel*, *listen*, and *manage*. These rules may work in theory but they may not help foreign learners of English in day to day communication. In a study carried out by Davis & Kelly (1997), the stress shift phenomenon puzzled nonnative learners of English. In this study, nonnative speakers from different language backgrounds were asked to quickly classify disyllabic real English words as nouns or verbs. Half of the nouns and verbs had initial syllable stress, half had ultimate syllable stress. The participants of the study made more errors and were slower in classifying nouns with ultimate syllable stress than nouns with initial syllable stress. The case was reversed for verbs. One may look for the reasons behind such mistakes on the part of foreign learners of English. These reasons can be found in different studies carried out from

time to time.

Almost all studies suggest that mother tongue prosodic patterns trigger off the moment someone embarks upon foreign language learning. Studies of L1 transfer of prosody into the second language acquisition of English word stress patterns have found that learners of English language with stress-timed language backgrounds (Spanish or Polish), tended to apply their L1 prosodic rules to the stress placement for English words. Besides such interference, there were some incorrect stress assignments which probably attributed to the over generalization of English stress rules (Erdmann, 1973, cited in Guion et al., 2004; Maris, 1989, cited in Guion et al.,2004; Archibald, 1992, 1993, 1997).Such suprasegmental interference is as harmful as the segmental one since it carries a number of problems. As a result, knowledge of L1's prosodic system affects learners' processing of L2 (Depoux, Pallier, Sebastian-Galles, & Mehler, 1997; Moon, Cooper & Fifer, 1993; Archibald, 1992, 1993, 1997). Archibald (1993) investigated the acquisition of English metrical parameters by adult Spanish speakers and found that the extrametricality markings in Spanish are transferred into the participants' L2 English. . Some studies conducted with native Mandarin speakers learning English as a second language suggest that these learners have difficulties in producing English lexical and/or sentential stress, and it has been argued that this difficulty may result in large part from the influence of native suprasegmental (tonal) categories (Archibald, 1997; Chen et al., 2001a; Juffs, 1990; Hung, 1993).

Similarly, in Guion (2005), both early and late Korean-English bilinguals demonstrated non-native like knowledge of the distributional patterns of stress placement across the lexical classes of noun and verb in English. Another study conducted by Archibald (1997) with ESL learners whose first languages were Chinese and Japanese suggested that the errors made by the participants did not follow any consistent pattern. According to him, this suggests that speakers with a language background with no stress patterns were not so much aware of the English word stress patterns as compared with the native speakers of a stressed language. Another study conducted by Nguyen & Ingram (2005) suggests that Vietnamese students can use pitch and loudness changes to cope with English stress as found in Vietnamese but not vowel length or reduction. In multiple studies conducted with French speakers' perception of Spanish stress patterns, Dupoux et al found out that the speakers with French as their mother

tongue exhibited stress

‘deafness.’ They had problems in distinguishing stress contrasts in Spanish. These studies indicate that stress in French is non-contrastive while it is contrastive in Spanish (Dupoux, Pallier, Sebastián, & Mehler, 1997; Dupoux, Peperkamp, & Sebastián-Gallés, 2001; Dupoux, Sebastián-Gallés, Navarrete, & Peperkamp, 2008). The present study is an attempt to find out how learners with Punjabi language background cope with lexical stress of English.

Research methodology

The present study seeks to find out how Punjabi speaking learners of English deal with English lexical stress. The researchers selected (25) Punjabi speaking boys and (25) girls studying at BS (Hons) English in National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad Pakistan. The members of the study sample were asked to pronounce a short list of 06 words. The division of the given words with regard to syllabification is as follows:

Words with 2 syllables: 2(**Cassette** and

present {verb}) Words with 3 syllables:

2(**tobacco** and **establish**)

Words with 4 syllables: 2(**democracy** and **invitation**)

The members of the study sample were recorded in a language lab. These recordings were made with the help of a mobile phone (Lenovo A328, Baseband version: MOLY.WR8.W1315.MD.WG.MP.V34.P6).

The recordings were studied one by one with the help of Praat 5.4.08. The main focus was on the tonic stress with the help of the values of *Duration*, *Pitch* and *Intensity* of tonic stress in comparison with those of the other syllables. The recordings for each word obtained from the members of the study sample were compared with the recordings by a native speaker obtained through the Oxford Advanced Learner’s dictionary 8th edition.

Data analysis

The following section deals with the Waveform Analysis and Spectral Analysis of

English stress as produced by a native speaker and the members of the study sample with Punjabi speaking background. The window on the top shows the wave form of the recorded word and the window in the middle shows the spectrogram along some horizontally marked lines in different colours. The dotted lines in red colour show the vowel formants of the recorded words. The blue line pictures the pitch of the given word and the yellow line in the form of peaks shows the intensity produced for each syllable. The window at the bottom shows the syllabification of the word. Each syllable is accompanied by its transcription. The area below the text/transcription window shows time duration in milliseconds whereas the vertical window shows the values of formants/formant frequencies in Hertz (one cycle per second).

Considering the large number of recordings (300), the researchers randomly selected only 3 recordings by the study sample and each one of them was compared with that of the native speaker for the same word. The other recordings have been presented with the help of pie charts at the end of the following analysis.

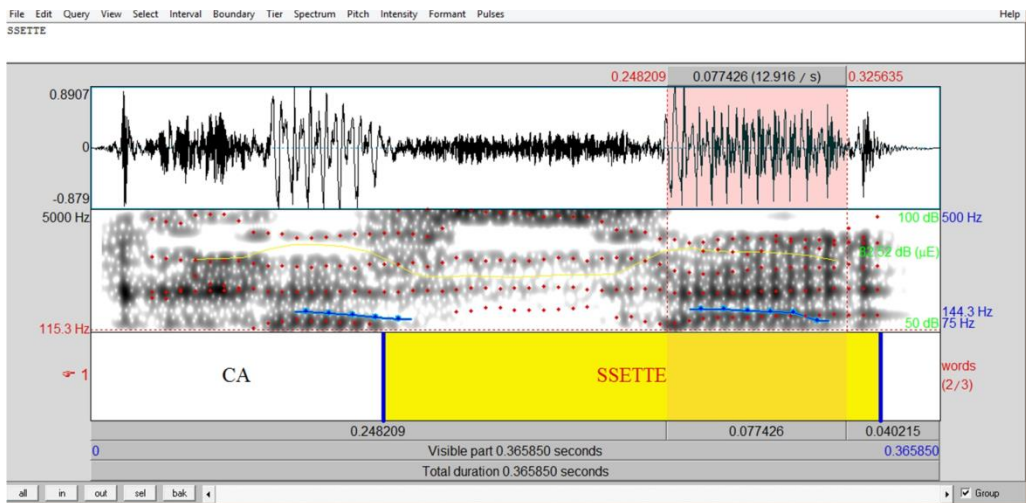


Figure 1: Acoustic analysis of ‘cassette’ produced by a native speaker

The waveform on the top shows two syllables of the word ‘cassette’. As we can see, the first syllable, carrying schwa sound, captures smaller place in the window. Looking at the second syllable which carries the primary stress, one can easily judge the longer and bigger sound /e/. This means these two syllables are quite

different in duration. The duration of the first syllable as produced by the native speaker is 0.0531 seconds whereas the duration of the second syllable is 0.0904 seconds. The second window, which pictures the spectrographic analysis of ‘cassette’, shows ‘intensity’ and ‘pitch’ of the given word. As regards the issue of ‘intensity’, the first syllable has its value 82.84 decibels whereas the second syllable has 83.63 as its average value in decibels. The yellow line in the spectrogram shows intensity in a clearer manner. As far as the pitch is concerned, we get the values 135.6 Hz and 144.7 Hz for the first and second syllables respectively.

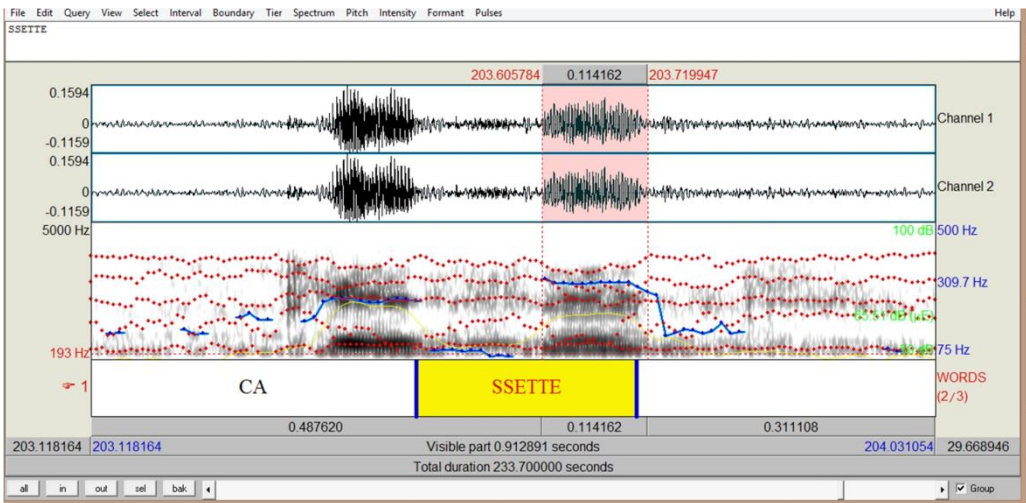


Figure 2: Acoustic analysis of ‘cassette’ produced by a non-native speaker

The waveform on the top shows two syllables of the word ‘cassette’. As we can see, both the parts look almost equal in size. This means they are not very different in duration whereas the duration of the second syllable, which is the stressed syllable in this case, should have been longer. This is proven by the duration values for both the syllables generated by Praat though they are not exactly the same. The values for the first and second syllables are 0.0734 seconds and 0.0812 seconds respectively.

As regards the issue of ‘intensity’, the first syllable has 69.56 decibels and the second syllable has 66.07 decibels. The yellow line in the spectrogram shows intensity in a clearer manner.

Looking at the word with regard to ‘pitch’, we find that the first syllable is

produced with 258.3Hz whereas the second syllable which carries the tonic stress is produced with higher pitch with the value of 312.8 Hertz.

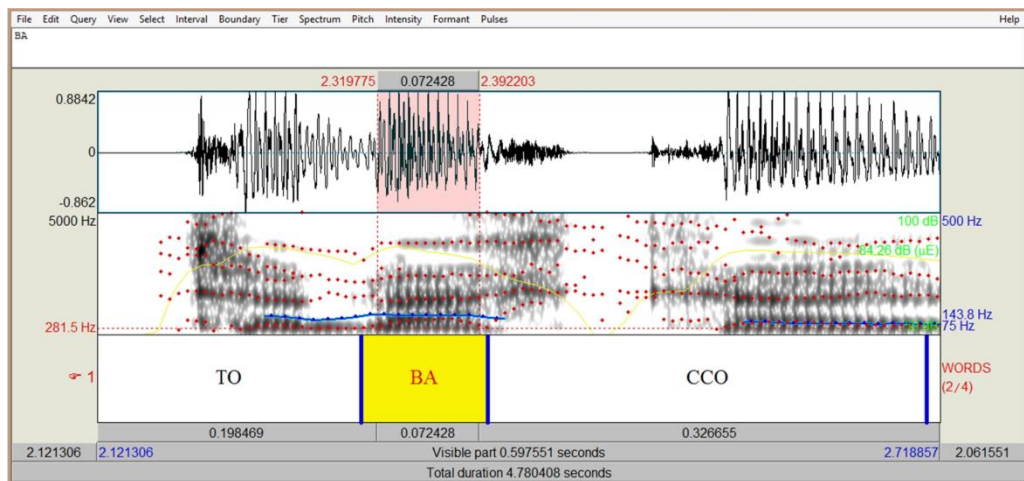


Figure 3: Acoustic analysis of ‘tobacco’ produced by a native speaker

The word ‘tobacco’ has three syllables which are ‘to’, ‘ba’ and ‘cco’ with the penultimate syllable as the stressed syllable carrying the so-called sheep sound or ash / æ /. Looking at the word in the Waveform as produced by the native speaker, we do not see much difference in the first two syllables but the values generated by Praat show the real difference in time duration. These durations are 0.04382 seconds and 0.0745 seconds for the first and second syllables respectively. As far as the third syllable is concerned, it has 0.1435 seconds as its duration and this is mainly because of the fact that it is a diphthong/ əʊ / which is naturally a longer sound than a monophthong.

The second window shows the spectrographic analysis of the word. Here we find ‘intensity’ and ‘pitch’ in yellow and blue lines respectively. By studying the intensity of the word, we get 84.68 decibels, 85.61 decibels and 84.22 decibels for the first ,second and third syllables. The analysis of the pitch provides us with 134.1 Hz, 142.4 Hz and 116.5 Hz for the first, second and third syllables.

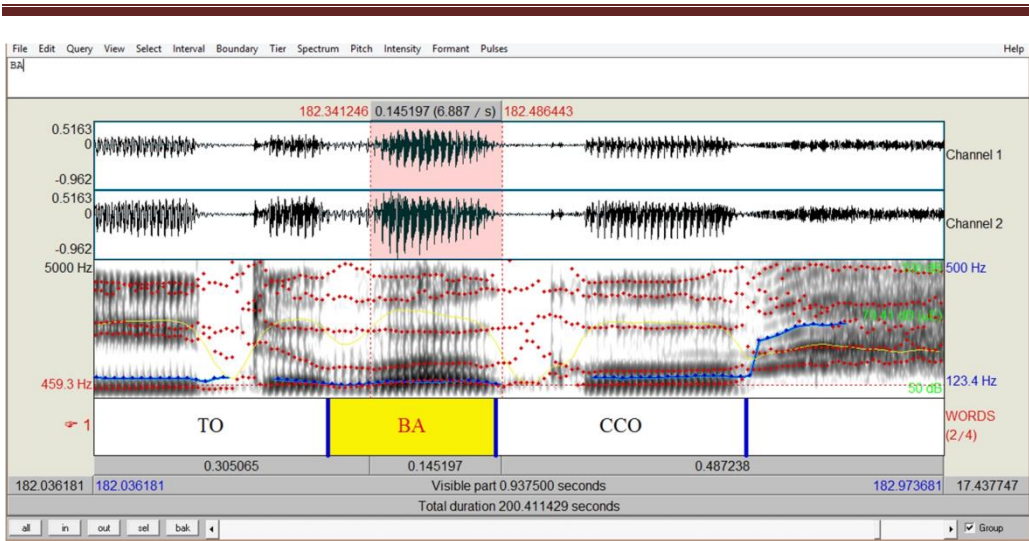


Figure 4: Acoustic analysis of ‘tobacco’ produced by a non-native speaker

The word ‘tobacco’ as produced by one of the study subjects gives us 0.0530 seconds, 0.0978 seconds and 0.1655 seconds durational values for the first, second and last syllables.

The second window shows the spectrographic analysis of the word. Here we find ‘intensity’ and ‘pitch’ in yellow and blue lines respectively. The analysis of the intensity of the given word provides us with 77.4 decibels, 79.84 decibels and 77.01 decibels for the first, second and third syllables. Looking at the pitch contour, we get 125.1 Hz, 128.3 Hz and 138.8 Hz for the first, second and third syllables.

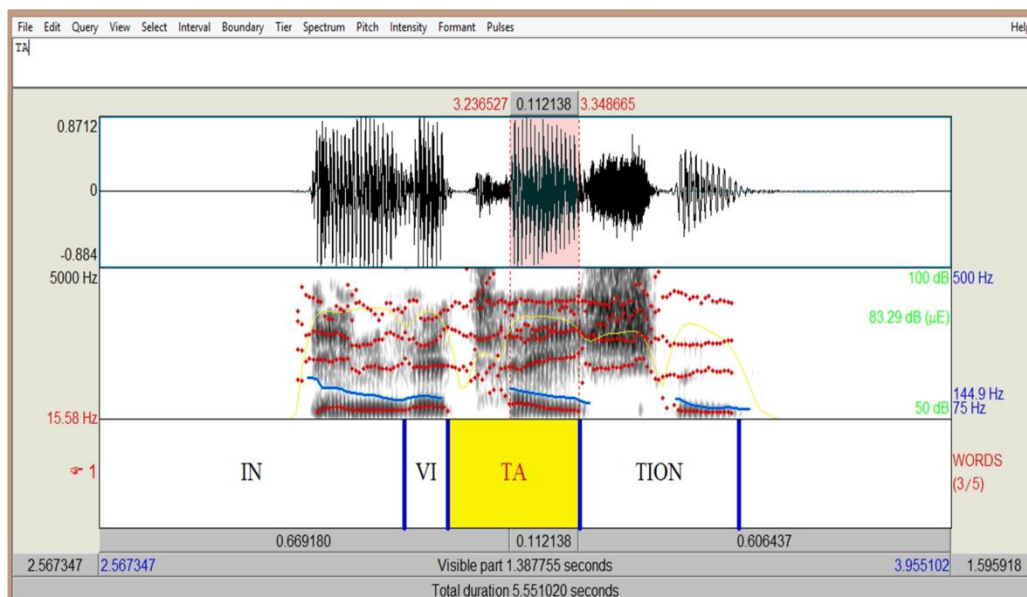


Figure 5: Acoustic analysis of ‘invitation’ produced by a native speaker

The word ‘invitation’ has four syllables which are ‘in’, ‘vi’, ‘ta’ and ‘tion’ with stress on the penultimate syllable carrying a diphthong / e I /. Looking at the word in the Waveform as produced by the native speaker, we see the stressed syllable quite blown up indicating longer duration as compared with the other syllables. These durations are 0.0363 seconds, 0.0423 seconds and 0.1197 seconds for the first, second and third syllables respectively (the researchers did not analyse the fourth syllable since it has a very reduced vowel sound due to the presence of syllabic n sound).

The second window shows the spectrographic analysis of the word. Here we find ‘intensity’ and ‘pitch’ in yellow and blue lines respectively. The analysis of the word in terms of intensity gives us 85.35 decibels for first, 84.91 decibels second and 83.43 decibels third syllables.

As far as the pitch is concerned, we have 157.9 Hz, 132.8 Hz and 144.7 Hz for the first, second and third syllables respectively.

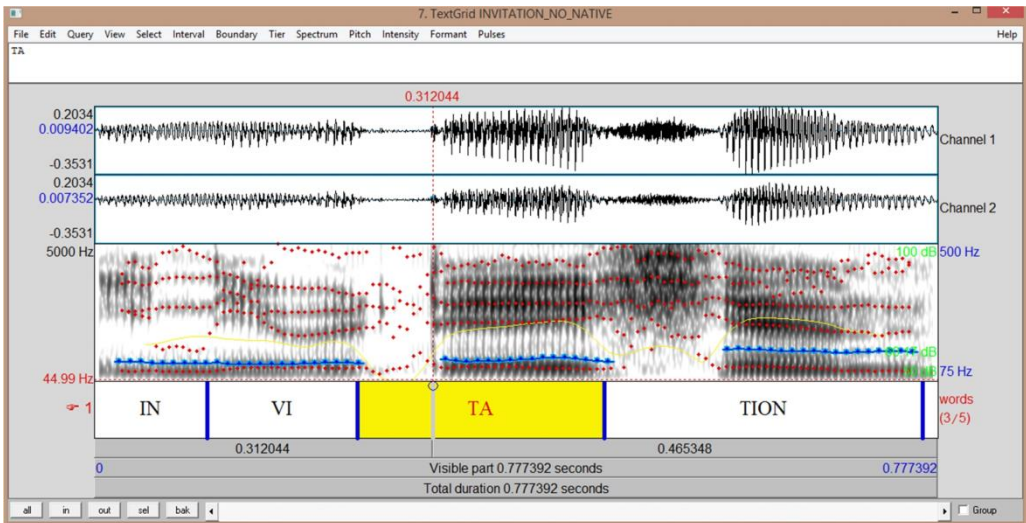


Figure 6: Acoustic analysis of ‘invitation’ produced by a non-native speaker

The word ‘invitation’ as produced by one of the study subjects gives us 0.0441 seconds, 0.0486 seconds and 0.1301 seconds as its durational values for its first three syllables.

The second window shows the spectrographic analysis of the word. Here we find ‘intensity’ and ‘pitch’ in yellow and blue lines respectively. The analysis of intensity provides us with 63.1 decibels, 128.6 decibels and 70.11 decibels for the first, second and third syllables. As regards the pitch, we have 133.3 Hz, 129.1 Hz and 140.3 Hz for the first, second and third syllables.

The following section presents the performance of the study sample in the form of a pie chart for each word.

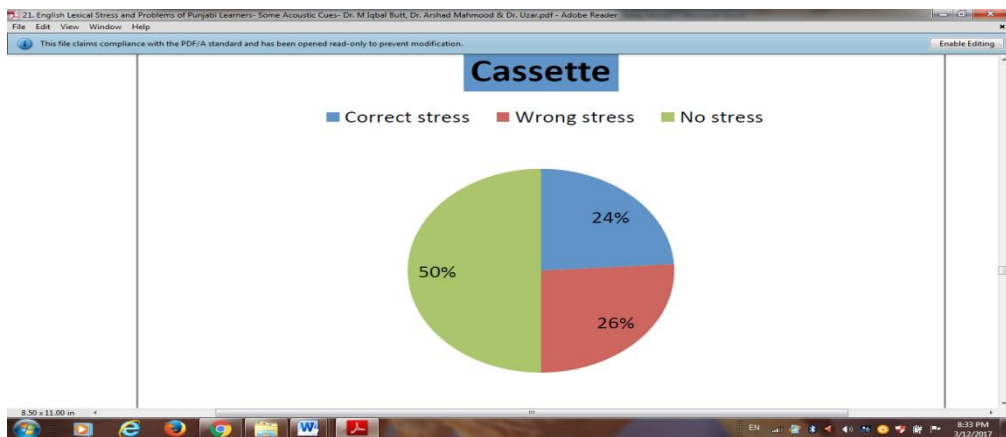


Figure 7: Pie chart of ‘cassette’ produced by a non-native speakers

The figure above shows the performance of the members of the study sample in articulation of the word ‘cassette’. As the chart shows, 24% subjects pronounced the word with stress at the right place whereas 26% pronounced it with stress on the wrong syllable. The chart indicates that half of the study sample pronounced the word ‘cassette’ without any noticeable stress.



Figure 8: Pie chart of ‘democracy’ produced by a non-native speakers

Figure 8 shows the pronunciation of the word ‘democracy’ by the members of the study sample. As the chart shows, 40% subjects pronounced the word with stress at the right place whereas 22% pronounced it with stress on the wrong syllable. The chart indicates that 38% of the study sample pronounced the word without any noticeable stress.



Figure 9: Pie chart of ‘establish’ produced by a non-native speakers

Figure 9 shows the pronunciation of the word ‘establish’ by the members of the study sample. As the chart indicates, 26% of the study sample pronounced the word with stress at the right place whereas 30% pronounced it with stress on the wrong syllable. In the pronunciation of this word too the majority of the study sample pronounced it in a syllable timed manner.



Figure 10: Pie chart of ‘invitation’ produced by a non-native speakers

Figure 10 shows the pronunciation of the word ‘invitation’ by the members of the study sample. As the chart shows, only 10% of the study sample pronounced the word with stress at the right place whereas 26% pronounced it with stress on the wrong syllable. In the pronunciation of this word too the majority of the study sample (64%) pronounced it a in syllable timed manner.



Figure 11: Pie chart of ‘tobacco’ produced by a non-native speakers

The figure above shows the performance of the members of the study sample in articulation of the word 'tobacco'. As the chart shows, only 12% members of the study sample pronounced the word with stress at the right place whereas 22% pronounced it with stress on the wrong syllable. The chart indicates that a very large segment (66%) of the study sample pronounced the word without any noticeable stress.

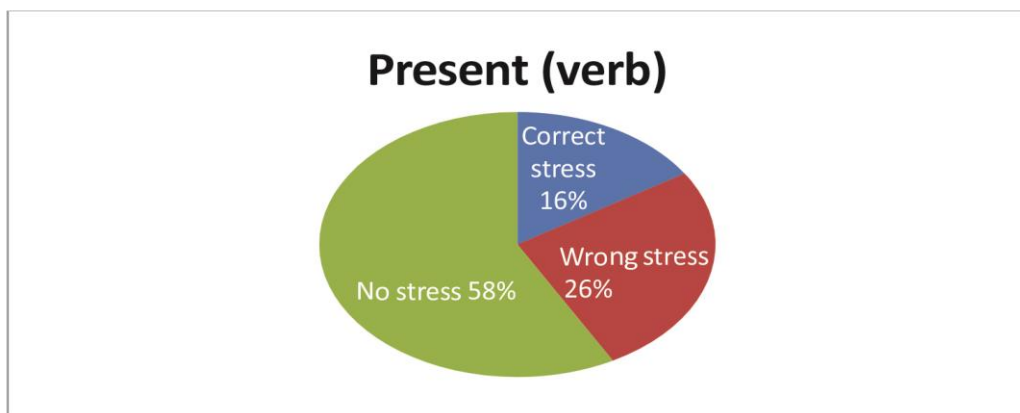


Figure 12: Pie chart of 'present' produced by a non-native speakers

The figure above shows the performance of the members of the study sample in the articulation of the word 'present'. As the chart shows, only 16% members of the study sample pronounced the word with stress at the right place whereas 26% pronounced it with stress on the wrong syllable. The chart indicates that a 58% of the study sample pronounced the word without any noticeable stress.

Findings

1. The analysis and interpretation of the data shows that Punjabi speaking learners of English found it hard to cope with English lexical stress.
2. The performance of the study sample was generally poor in the given words.
3. The analysis of the data shows that most of the members of the study sample produced the words either with no stress at all or with stress on the wrong syllable.
4. The members of the study sample produced the same syllable with different durational values.

5. There were different pitch values produced for the same syllable by different members suggesting absence of any fixed patterns with regard to English lexical stress
6. The same syllable was produced with a large range of intensity values by different members of the study sample
7. Different waveforms of the same word show that the members of the sample did not follow any specific suprasegmental pattern.

Discussion

The present study was conducted with an aim to find out how Pakistani learners of English with Punjabi background deal with English lexical stress. The performance put up by the sample suggests that Pakistani learners of English are perplexed by the stress timed nature of English. As a result, they either wrongly place the stress or simply ignore it which results in isosyllabic pronunciation of English words. The analysis and interpretation of the data does not show any uniform stress patterns produced by the study subjects which shows that the members of the study sample pronounced English words as per their own articulatory ease and that L1 interference was not the main reason for it.

Conclusion

The detailed analysis of the data suggests that Punjabi and English are two distinct languages in suprasegmental terms and naturally having the knowledge of one does not help the learning of the other. Therefore, Pakistani learners of English hailing from Punjabi speaking background were unable to pronounce most of the given English words with proper stress.

Recommendations and suggestions

Based on the findings of the research, the researchers have put forward the following suggestions and recommendations:

Since there are no hard and fast rules to guide foreign learners of English how to stress and what part of a word to stress, each word has to be dealt with separately.

1. Teachers teaching pronunciation should exploit drills for effective teaching of English stress.

2. Teachers should make use of the stress rules that are available. For example, students should be told that schwa is never stressed no matter where it occurs.
3. The use of Praat or any other speech analyzer would be a great help in teaching of stress since it shows the stressed syllable in a word clearly in inflated and blown up form besides generating its numerical values.
4. Teachers can help students with different useful classroom activities in this regard.
5. Teachers should ask students to loud read different texts in the classroom with special focus on lexical stress.
6. Students should be encouraged to use Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary or any other good dictionary to practice stress.
7. There are many videos available on the YouTube which may teach this aspect of English in an
 - a. effective way.

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The Acquisition of English Syntactic Structures by Urdu L1 Speakers in Pakistan: The Case of Articles

Azher Pervaiz, Nadeem Haider. Bukhari

Abstract

Urdu and English are two different and popular languages with different word orders. Like other Indo Aryan languages of South Asia Urdu has the SOV word order and all of these languages are articleless languages whereas English is with article language. As a result, the learners of articleless languages fluctuate while using the article. In order to know the phenomenon, a study conducted to see the use of article (a, the, and Ø), frequency of errors in using the article and order of acquisition of article by Urdu L1 speakers in Pakistan. Following the Fluctuation Hypothesis (FH) by Ionin (2004,) a forced choice elicitation task was administered to the respondents. The data were analysed statistically by applying one way ANOVA and Post Hoc t-tests. It was observed that Pakistani speakers can use articles better in definite and specific contexts but find difficulty in using articles in [-definite, +specific] contexts.

Key words: Fluctuation Hypothesis, Articleless language, Specificity, Urdu

Introduction

According to the Principles and Parameters framework of Chomsky (1981b) and the universalist framework by Chomsky and Lasnik (1993), it is important to know the variation in a sentence which is found in semantic parameter. So, the parameters can cause a change and variation cross linguistically. Among all the languages, determiners are some of the distinguished parameters to acquire as every language is different than the others. That's why speakers of articleless languages fluctuate while learning the article languages. As opposed to the English language which has a complete article system, Urdu, a branch of the Indo Aryan languages spoken mostly in South Asia, is one of the examples and it is an articleless language. The areas of Urdu

which have ‘attracted many researchers are word order, wh-questions, relative clauses, complex predicate formation and the oblique subject phenomenon’ Bukhari (2009); Butt (1995). There has been little work done on Urdu and by exploring these areas of Urdu we can better understand the nature of UG and unique properties found only in South Asian Languages Raja (2003); Bukhari (2009); Butt (1995); Alice Davison (2003); Dayal (1996); Kidwai (2000); Mohanan (1994).

Among all the above said peculiarities, two properties make Urdu a different language than English. First, Urdu is syntactically a rich language with SOV word order. It further shows the same verb agreement phenomenon which other languages of the Indo Aryan region exhibit like Hindi, Kashmiri, Gojri and Punjabi. The second important feature of this language is that it is an articleless language. In contrast to English, Urdu does not have the article system due to which word order is used to show the definiteness whereas specificity is mapped through the case system. Case further covers the semantic aspect because of the lack of article system. This variation in the two languages has made second language acquisition (SLA) a very potential area of interest for linguists across the globe. It is because of this cross-linguistic variation which has urged the researchers to work on the Urdu article system through the semantic interpretation i.e. through the features of word order and specificity.

Review of Literature

Ortega (2011) says that SLA research focuses on four important areas of language i.e. how people learn the second language after having competence in the first language and how it is different than their first language. Then, what are the factors that develop the variability and lastly, how the second language learners attain the native-like competence at the advanced stages of language learning.

So far as the case functional categories in English is concerned, Master (1997) has given the reason for the special inquiry is that article claims one of the most importantly used words in the English language and it is hard to find a spoken or written sentence that does not contain at least one of the three articles.

English article system is comprised of *a*, *an*, and *the* but these few words convey a lot of information and are perhaps the most frequently used words in the English language. Jiang (2011) is of the view that articles ‘encode’ information in order to explain the noun phrase. Kim and Lakshmanan (2008) are of the view that L2 learners of English find a lot of difficulty while acquiring the article system as

compared to the learners of the languages which have articles. For example, Korean, Turkish Russian and Japanese learners have to face more difficulties in acquiring article system.

According to Zdorenko and Paradis (2012) “the article system is an example of an interface phenomenon cutting across the domains of morpho-syntax, semantics, and pragmatics”.

Determiners in Urdu

So far as the determiners are concerned, according to Kachru et al. (2008) in the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages determiners are placed before the head noun. Urdu, being a member of Indo- Aryan family, follows the same structure. e.g. voh-laṛkii ‘that girl’.

All the South Asian Languages, including Urdu, are syntactically identical because they are all verb-final. Kachru et.al. (2008 p.77) point out that these ‘common syntactic features are available in almost all the languages being spoken in Pakistan’.

As discussed earlier, most of the South Asian languages do not have determiners and in the absence of this system the ergative case marker *-ne* and accusative case marker *-ko* work as specificity markers. For example:

- | | | | |
|-------|--|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 2. a. | Aslam-ne
Aslam.3.SG.M-ERG
‘Aslam picked a key.’ | chaabi
key.3.SG.F-NOM | uthai
pick-PF.3.SG.F |
| b. | Aslam-ne
Aslam.3.SG.M-ERG
‘Aslam picked up the key.’ | chaabi-ko
key.3.SG.F-ACC | uthaya
pick-PF.3.SG |

In (2a), *Chaabi-key* is a direct object which has no case marker. It, therefore, bears nominative case and it can be taken as non-specific in Urdu but in the next sentence it bears the accusative case marker which refers to a specific key, thus the clitic *-ko* is a specificity marker.

Specificity in Urdu

In Urdu, specificity can be marked with the accusative case marker –ko. Consider the following examples:

3. a. Aslam-ko gussa aa-yaa
 Aslam-ACC anger came-PERF
 ‘Aslam became angry.’ (Experiencer)
- b. Aslam-ne Akram-ko kalam dikhaa-yaa
 Aslam ERG Akram-ACC pen.M show-PERF.M
 ‘Aslam showed a pen to Akram’. (Dative)
- c. Aslam-ne Akram-ko dekh-aa
 Aslam-ERG Akram-ACC see-PERF
 Aslam saw Akram. (Specificity)

If –ko appears at the object position, it will show the specificity marker. According to Fodor and Sag (1982), an NP is considered specific if it has wide scope over an operator. Ionin et al. have taken the definition of specificity from Fodor and Sag (1982). Note the following examples:

4. A man just proposed to me in the orangery (though I’m much too embarrassed to tell you who it was).

5. A man was in the women’s bathroom (but I haven’t dared to go there to see who it was).

In the examples (4-5), the indefinite article ‘a’ with ‘man’ makes it uncertain who the man was.

Features in SLA

Features are the properties of a word. They ultimately affect the morphological, syntactic and semantic behaviour of words in sentences. According to Adger (2003), features that have an effect on semantic interpretation are called interpretable features. In fact, features have values and these values are generally binary in nature which means that if a feature is singular, it will have [+] value for a singular noun and [–] value for a plural noun. Such a view is more practical and gives more concrete

justification to interpret the UG. Considering UG in context, it is based in both principles and parameters. Parameters are variables which are limited in number and normally are binary in nature. They have two settings and the L2 learners make use of these settings to master the language. In fact, generative researchers of L2 have been trying to know what properties of UG are available to the learners during the interlanguage stage. During this stage, not all the features of the target language can be acquired. These features are called functional categories about which White (2003) has given three basic options i.e. languages can differ with reference to functional categories and determiners are the examples. Secondly, features of a particular functional category can vary from language to language and lastly, features can vary in strength i.e. a feature can be strong in one language and weak in another (p.10). Same is applicable to Urdu i.e. some of the features in the language are missing and some others are weak. In case of definite article, the Urdu speakers oscillate between the two conditions until they receive sufficient input.

Fluctuation Hypothesis

Selinker (1972) has given the name of interlanguage to the stage where the L2 learners have yet to get the proficiency stage. According to UG theory the learners who pass from the initial state to the end state make certain errors while passing through the interlanguage. However, there are differences between the languages as cross-linguistic analysis shows that some languages have functional features different from those of others. So, the Fluctuation Hypothesis by Ionin, Ko, and Wexler (2004) is that:

- a. “L2 learners have full UG access to the two settings of the Article Choice Parameter.
- b. L2 learners fluctuate between the two settings of the Article Choice Parameter until the input leads them to set this parameter to the appropriate value” (p.16).

Significance of the Study

The present study is significant for the following reasons: The increase of exploration of the structure of language has made the study of sentence more effective and interesting. Thus the languages are seen cross-linguistically to know the nature of

language. Further, it is observed that lexical categories vary in different languages. As a result, the behaviour of articleless languages is seen in particular. Thus we see that Japanese, Korean, Chinese, Russian, Serbian and Hindi languages are studied in particular. The works of Ionin et al. (2004) on Russian, Lardiere (2004) on Chinese, Snape 2006) on Japanese and Trenkic (2007) on Serbian are just a few examples. All these researchers have been looking into the different features of the article like specificity and definiteness and count versus non-count nouns. According to Master (1997) why the researchers have been so interested in the use and acquisition of article is that the article is one of the free morphemes which occur repeatedly in the use of English. However, no study is conducted so far on the Urdu language with respect to choice of article. The present research will fill the gap of study on Urdu which is also articleless language.

There are two approaches to study the second language acquisition. The first is based on parameter setting framework and parameter resetting is important for second language acquisition Lardiere (2004). On the other hand, the second approach is the developmental one where learners learn the language by a development process and not due to the fluctuation in setting parameters.

While studying parameter setting, Ionin et al. (2004) have given “Article Choice Parameter.” They are of the view that languages having two articles like English (a and the) can have definiteness, or the “Definiteness setting” or they can have specificity, named as “Specificity setting” (p.12). Moreover, they have further worked on the Fluctuation Hypothesis (FH) according to which “second language learners have full access to UG principles and parameter-settings and they fluctuate between different parameter-settings until they set the parameter to the appropriate value” (p. 16).

The present study is also based on partial replication of Ionin et.al.’s framework which will make it clear whether L1Pakistani speakers produce the similar patterns while choosing the article like Ionin et al.’s. There are three reasons due to which the selection of the English article is taken. First, acquisition of the article is extremely difficult for the speakers of articleless languages Snape and Ting (2006). The speakers are indecisive to fill the slot of the article and as a result they alternatively use numerals and ordinals to fill the gap. The speakers have to struggle very hard to acquire the missing parameters and they oscillate and remain in a state of confusion. The second reason is associated with the first one as the same learners, when performing their academic writing, make errors and resultantly, are awarded low

grades in the examinations in Pakistan. If they become conscious of such an error, they can easily avoid it. Resultantly, their performance in the examinations can provide better results. The third reason is the introduction of analyses of the responses of the sentences by the Urdu L1 speakers in the generative perspective in which noun is considered no more the head of phrase rather determiner is the head of phrase in the Generative Grammar perspective. The introduction of \bar{X} theory claims that the traditional nominal phrase ignores an important part that heads project phrases. Moreover, Noun Phrase (NP) study ignores the position of specifier whereas in the above stated theory Determiner Phrase (DP) takes this position. Such an analysis makes the position of article more interesting in the background of the articleless languages as Ko, Ionin, & Wexler (2010) have stated:

“We hypothesize that L2 learners have access to semantic universals provided by Universal Grammar (UG), just like child L1 learners. If L1 learners make certain types of article errors that are traceable to semantic universals, we expect L2 learners to make the same types of errors, as long as L1 transfer effects are controlled for” (p.214).

In our study, we will examine whether adult L2 English learners make the same type of errors. To see the results of L2 learning, we will test Pakistani Urdu L1 speakers in Pakistan. The results of a forced-choice elicitation task will explain whether adult L1-Pakistani learners overuse *the* in place of *a* in pre-suppositional indefinite contexts. We argue that these findings provide evidence for a semantic explanation of article misuse. Although Urdu does not have the article system as we see in English, yet there is a certain use of language which conveys the message and completes the information. The definiteness is assigned to word order and specificity is covered through the Case markers like ‘*Ne*’ ‘*Se*’ and ‘*Ko*’ which cover the semantic aspect of the sentence. We will see the role of the semantic markers in the subsequent sections. The article is divided into seven sections. Section (i) refers to the introduction to the study, section II is relating to the literature review and section III is about the Fluctuation Hypothesis. Section IV discusses the significance of the study whereas section V is about methodology. Discussion is given in section VI and finally the further research questions and conclusions are given in the last section i.e. section VII.

Research Questions

Research questions of this study are as follows:

RQI: To what extent do Learners of L2 English in Pakistan have different rate of accuracy of English articles usage according to their age and years of exposure to L2.

RQII: Do Pakistani L1 Urdu speakers also overuse *the* more in [-definite, +specific] contexts than in [-definite, -specific] contexts as predicted by ACP and FH?

RQIII: Are Pakistani L1 Urdu speakers at higher proficiency levels more accurate in their article use than lower proficiency learners when the variability of semantic features do not match?

Methodology

By using convenient sampling technique in the study, the researchers interviewed 203 respondents. The participants in the present study are comprised of four different age groups. All the members of the groups spent at least ten years on learning English. The proficiency level of the groups is taken from the education system they are into. So, no additional proficiency test was administered. In order to check the accuracy level, order of acquisition and multiple variations, the following four groups were selected on the basis of their age group and proficiency.

The first group from the Urdu L1 speakers was the youngest of all the groups as it was based on the local school students who had spent ten years of learning English. Their ages ranged from 14-16 of the male gender and they were in ESL set up and took English as a compulsory subject. 53 students in total were included in this group. The tasks were distributed among the students, accompanied by their class teacher. They were verbally requested for consent and to participate in the task which they willingly participated. They were given 40-minutes in the class to complete the 40 contextualized mini dialogues based items.

Group II was based on the 90 multi-disciplinary undergraduate students of second and fourth semesters at a public sector university. The students were mixed gender and were requested to participate in the research. Seventy five students gave consent to participate from four different classes.

The third group was comprised of the senior most students of the mixed gender. Most of the respondents spent at least sixteen years of studying the English

language and literature. For this group, 47 students showed willingness before taking the test. They were able to complete the task within less than an hour.

Group IV worked as a control group. All the participants of the group were the students of under and post graduate levels at the University of York. The mixed gender students gave their consent keeping in mind the ethical issues. 13 participants actually returned the complete task.

Table 1 Participant's Background Information

Background	Avg. Matric Group	BS Group Avg.	MA Group	Control Group
Age	15	19	23	24
Gender	M	M/F	M/F	M/F
Years in ESL*	10	13	16	NIL

*Control group is excluded as they are native speakers

Tools

The study is about a qualitative approach of primary data by using the forced choice elicitation task. In the present study certain measures are taken to authenticate the study e.g. participant's background information was asked in order to know their educational background. Then a Forced Choice Elicitation Task was given to the participants which is a fill-in-the-article test. After filling out the questionnaire they selected the relevant article task comprised of 40 forced choice elicitation tasks. All of the 40 items were adopted from Ionin et al.'s (2004) study. Out of the 40 items, groups were further made according to the use and context of the article.

The Data Coding

The coding process is an important part of the study as it facilitates the research and increases the rate of accuracy. The sentences were already divided into different types i.e. Type 1 sentences [+definite, +specific], Type 2 sentences [+definite, -specific], Type 3 sentences [+definite, +specific], Type 4 sentences [+definite, -specific], Type 5 sentences [-definite, -specific] and Type 6 sentences [-definite, -specific], Type 7 sentences [-definite, +specific], Type 8 sentences [-definite, -specific], Type 9

sentences [+definite, +specific], Type 10 sentences [-definite, -specific]. The data were processed and the participants were given unique numbers and proficiency report answers elicited from the participants were coded in three labels which are 1 = “a” 2 = “the”, 3 = “Null” and 99 = “other”. Data were put to the SPSS software only after making sure that no column is left blank and incomplete responses were rejected and excluded from the list. The statistical analysis of the test was made by using SPSS 19 (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences). The variables of the test were also included gender, age, class and department (if any).

Data Analysis Tools

The analysis of this study is divided into three components; i.e. descriptive analysis, reliability tests, and multiple regression analysis. The descriptive statistics give a raw picture of the data and results are described into percentages, frequencies, mean scores etc. As this study deals with primary data collection and questionnaire has been developed to meet objectives of this study, so it is important to check the consistency and reliability of the data. In the second component, we utilized one way ANOVA, Tukey's Test and Post Hoc test for examining the significance of mean differences. Tukey's test measures the significance of overall difference in means according to different categories while Post Hoc test calculates the significance of the individual mean differences. Thirdly, I utilized regression analysis which aims to capture the relationship of independent variables with dependent variable. The control group is our reference/bench mark category to compare the situation of three groups (L2) with L1.

So far as the analysis techniques used in the study are concerned, the regression analyses are made and finally to check the participants' score means, one way ANOVA is used which requires one numeric variable and categorical independent variable with more than two sub levels (in this case, Matric, BS and MA groups are sub levels). Such a technique is used in order to compare the means of participants from different levels. In order to check how significant the participants' mean scores are, ANOVA test is used in all the four contexts with respect to their proficiency levels. Post-Hoc test is further used to check the individual differences in mean at different proficiency levels. Moreover, in all the context types in both the methodologies, the variables of age and years of exposure are developed to see whether they cause to increase accuracy level or not.

Table 2 Article choice in context for overall Pakistanis (n=190) in percentage

Pakistani Respondents	<i>A</i>	<i>The</i>	\emptyset
1 +definite, +specific [target <i>the</i>]	15.33	75.20	9.47
2 +definite, -specific [target <i>the</i>]	15.07	76.91	8.03
3 -definite, +specific [target <i>a</i>]	63.95	29.54	6.51
4 -definite, -specific [target <i>a</i>]	68.49	25.46	6.05

According to the results shown in the above table, the L2 learners in Pakistan can use better *the* in [+definite, +specific] context i.e. 75.20 percent, where the target was *the* but they cannot use *the* like the native speakers. They fluctuated between \emptyset and *a*, and used 9.47 percent and 15.33 percent respectively. This shows that the L2 learners in Pakistan can use better *the* in [+definite, +specific] context, where the target is *the*. However, they cannot use *the* like native speakers. In this case, their responses were 24.80 percent. In short, we can say that *the* is, to a large extent accurately supplied in the context of [+definite, +specific] and *a* and \emptyset can also be appropriately supplied in the context of [-specific, -indefinite]. The same can be seen in figure 1.

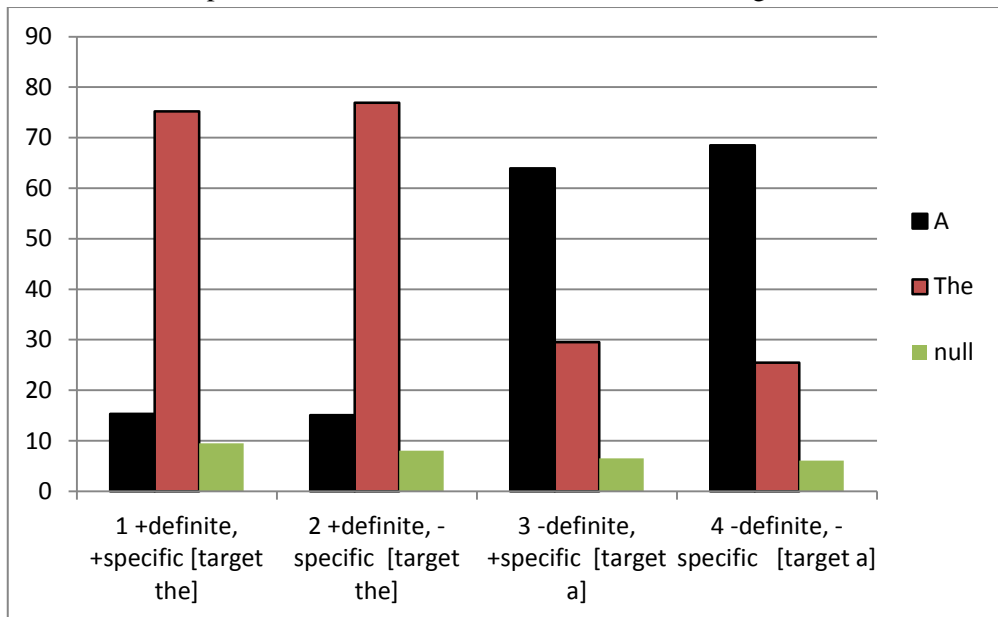
**Figure 1 Article choice in context for overall Pakistanis (n=190) in percentage**

Table 3 Article choice in context for Control Group (n=13) in percentage

Control Group	<i>A</i>	<i>The</i>	∅
1 +definite, +specific [target <i>the</i>]	0	100	0
2 +definite, -specific [target <i>the</i>]	0	100	0
3 -definite, +specific [target <i>a</i>]	98.08	1.92	0
4 -definite, -specific [target <i>a</i>]	100	0	0

Table 3 reveals the accuracy rate of the control group. As discussed earlier, the participants in the control group were the native speakers who also participated in the study. So far as the first context [+definite, +specific] is concerned, where the target is *the* and the respondents show no fluctuation at all and the results are 100 percent. Likewise, in the second context too, the target use is *the* where the respondents have shown the complete accuracy in the use of *the*. However, there is a minor fluctuation i.e. 1.92 percent observed in the case of using *a* by the control group. This slight change of results might be because of some lapse or carelessness on the part of the participants. Moreover, there may further be a change of opinion in cultural, contextual or situational application of indefinite article on the part of the participants whereas in the final context type where the context is [-definite, -specific] and the target is *a*, the respondents again used the target accurately.

Table 4 Descriptive Analysis Overall Descriptives

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
MA	47	7.5372	1.30215	.18994	7.1549	7.9196	2.75	9.50
BS	90	7.0861	1.68859	.17799	6.7324	7.4398	3.25	10.00
Matric	53	5.2830	1.41934	.19496	4.8918	5.6742	2.25	8.25
Control	13	9.8654	.21926	.06081	9.7329	9.9979	9.50	10.00
Total	203	6.8978	1.87768	.13179	6.6379	7.1576	2.25	10.00

Table 5 ANOVA Results Overall ANOVA

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	275.092	3	91.697	41.747	.000
Within Groups	437.099	199	2.196		
Total	712.192	202			

**Table 3 Post Hoc Tukey Test Overall
Multiple Comparisons**

(I) Group	(J) Group	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
MA	BS	.45112	.26672	.331	-.2399	1.1422
	Matric	2.25422*	.29695	.000	1.4849	3.0236
	Control	-2.32815*	.46443	.000	-3.5314	-1.1249
BS	MA	-.45112	.26672	.331	-1.1422	.2399
	Matric	1.80309*	.25661	.000	1.1383	2.4679
	Control	-2.77927*	.43973	.000	-3.9186	-1.6400
Matric	MA	-2.25422*	.29695	.000	-3.0236	-1.4849
	BS	-1.80309*	.25661	.000	-2.4679	-1.1383
	Control	-4.58237*	.45870	.000	-5.7708	-3.3939
Control	MA	2.32815*	.46443	.000	1.1249	3.5314
	BS	2.77927*	.43973	.000	1.6400	3.9186
	Matric	4.58237*	.45870	.000	3.3939	5.7708

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Table 4 shows the descriptive results of ANOVA in all the Types i.e. Type1 to Type10. The results show that the Master group has the highest mean scores among all the L2 respondents' groups and Table 5 provides the results of ANOVA which shows that there is a significant mean difference among all the groups while the results of individual mean differences are shown in Table 6. The mean differences between all the groups are significant except the mean difference between Master and BS group.

Discussion

The role of UG in SLA has been debated for long and linguists have reached the conclusion so far that there is a role of UG which cannot be denied in L2 acquisition. The present study also contributes significantly through empirical findings that there is

a role of UG in L2 acquisition and that article choice is constrained by the semantic universals. Further, the goal of the present study is to know about the accuracy rate of the use of article by Pakistani speakers, their usage pattern of article; and to test whether or not the FH is constrained by UG. Let us see the questions again and address them one by one.

The first question of the study is to check the rate of accuracy of the article in relation with the age and exposure of the L2 learners. For this purpose, different age groups of L2 learners of English were recruited for the research purposes. Mean age of the respondents in the advanced L2 learners group was 20 years. The accuracy rate of the Pakistanis in the [+ definite, +specific] context was 75.20 percent whereas in the context of [- definite, +specific] the accuracy rate remained 76.91 percent and the target in both the contexts was *the*. On the other hand, in the context of [-definite, +specific], the accuracy rate remained up to 63.95 percent and 68.49 percent respectively as compared to the previous contexts. According to the results, table 4 shows that the difference of accuracy rate between the Matric group and that of MA group is ($P>.000$) i.e. significant and that every increased year of age of the respondents will bring 3.33 percent increased rate of accuracy of the respondents. The results testify the prediction by Ionin et.al. (2004) that the L2 learners can increase accuracy if sufficient input is provided. Ting, (2005) used the same forced choice elicitation task and found the advanced and upper intermediate Chinese learners of L2 were not fluctuating which means that increasing age and sufficient input of linguistic data can reduce the rate of fluctuation in acquiring L2 the research questions.

So far as the second question was concerned, it was about fluctuation. A significant amount of research has already been conducted on the question of fluctuation especially in the [-definite, + specificity] and [+definite, - specificity] contexts (see for example, Tryzna, 2009; Ionin et. al., 2004; Yamada and Miyamoto, 2011). The researchers found that the intermediate group fluctuated in [-definite, +specific] context. The same task was also used by Atay (2010) who concludes that:

“This fluctuation lasts until the input leads them to set the right parameter for the article choice in the target language.... the highest fluctuation is observed in–definite/+specific contexts and the highest fluctuation percentage belongs to the intermediate group” (p.98).

Fluctuation Hypothesis is also used to account for article overuse in the L2 acquisition. This test is in consistent with the result of the Korean and Russian L1 speakers. The respondents fluctuated between definite and indefinite in the context of [+definite, -specific] and [-definite, +specific]. Finally, FH was also conducted on the Spanish-speaking, Arabic-speaking and French-speaking L2 learners by Tryzna (2009). Both Spanish and English are with article languages. Although Arabic has a definite article but there is a zero indefiniteness marker in Arabic. Fluctuation is observed in all the cases until the sufficient input reaches the L2 learners. However, fluctuation is reduced when the learners are exposed to the L2 input. Many more studies (e.g. Master, 1987; Thomas 1989a) also support the fact that L2 learners overuse *the* in place of *a*. Lardiere (2004) suggested that L2 learners find it easier to acquire *the* because “definite articles in English need not take number and the count/mass distinction into account, which makes them less featurally complex than indefinites in at least one respect” (p. 335).

So, in case of the present study, we see that the Matric group fluctuates more i.e. 43.87 percent in the context of [-definite, + specific] and overuse *the* up to 43.40 percent. Even the results of overall Pakistani speakers where the target is *a* also show that Pakistani L2 learners use 63.95 percent and overuse *the* up to 29.54 percent. So far as the context of [-definite, - specific] is concerned, fluctuation is seen less in this context. In both the cases, the target article was *a*. This percentage is further reduced in case of the Matric group where the target was again *a*, the article use remained 51.65 percent. So, the fluctuation in article use is observed according to the FH especially, predicted by IZP (2009).

The third question is related to proficiency and accuracy. LI and YANG (2010) conducted their research on Chinese and reach the conclusion that it is difficult for the Chinese to reach the accuracy level until the sufficient input enables them to map the article system accurately. It means that age and years of exposure play their role in making use of the article system correctly. We have already seen that every increased number of exposure plays its role in improving the accuracy rate of the L2 learners. Both in definite and indefinite contexts, age is the significant factor in determining the accuracy level. On an average, one year of increased exposure to the acquisition increases 3.53 percent accuracy level. This result directly supports the FH that sufficient input in L2 knowledge can lead the learners to enable them use the article native like.

Questions for further study and Conclusion

So, this study is only a first step towards opening some new fields of research with reference to the Urdu L1 speakers in Pakistan. It can focus more on the affiliated areas like teaching articles to teachers who have articleless language as their L1. How can such teachers teach English article system when they themselves have not studied about article system? Further, it is equally important for the L2 learners with Urdu as their native language. The present study will attract the new researchers for the compilation of new data to conduct more research on the same subject.

A significant contribution of the present study is to add to the existing knowledge on L2 acquisition, especially with reference to the acquisition of the functional categories by the speakers of articleless languages. Bashir (2011) says that research on Linguistics is in its evolving stages in Pakistan. Further, the present research work will help reaching the conclusions on the FH on the Urdu language. As a result of this, research on the Urdu language will help increase the interest of the researchers with special emphasis on functional categories. Moreover, the present research is important for a number of other reasons. It supports the idea that L2 knowledge is constrained by the UG principles i.e. L2 acquisition is guided by UG. Here, a natural question arises whether all the speakers of articleless languages respond in the same way. However, it can safely be concluded about the Pakistani Urdu L1 speakers that they fluctuate in using the articles till they gain the sufficient input to use it correctly. Moreover, the results of the experimental investigation of article acquisition by adult L2 learners of Pakistan were shown to support the Full Transfer/Full Access model of L2 acquisition.

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- For multiple authors, names of all authors are inverted (“Jones, A. B., Smith, C. D., & Thorne, B.”).
- For two or more references by the same author(s), list in order of publication year.
- To list two or more works by the same author(s) from the same year, add letters (a, b, c, etc.) to the year or (“1992a”). List in alphabetical order by title.

Reference Examples

Books:

Bernard, C. (1957). *An Introduction to the study of experimental medicine* (trans. H. C. Greene). New York: Dover.

Mason, K. O. (1974). *Women's labor force participation and fertility*. Research Triangle Park, NC: National Institute of Health.

Periodicals and Journal Articles:

Goodman, L. A. (1947). The analysis of systems of qualitative variables when some of the variables are unobservable. *American Journal of Sociology*, 79, 1179–1259.

Szelényi, S., & Jacqueline, O. (Forthcoming). The declining significance of class: Does gender complicate the story? *Theory and Society*, 6 (4), 49–66.

Dissertations:

Charles, M. (1990). *Occupational sex segregation: A log-linear analysis of patterns in 25 industrial countries* (PhD dissertation). Department of Sociology, Stanford University, Stanford.

Collections:

Clausen, J. A. (1972). The life course of individuals. In M. W. Riley, M. Johnson, & A. Foner (Eds.), *Aging and Society* (pp. 118–143). New York: Russell Sage.

Sampson, R. J. (1992). Family management and child development: Insights from social disorganization theory. In J. McCord (Ed.), *Advances in Criminology Theory* (pp. 63–93). New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.



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