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## An Articulatory Analysis of Gemination in Tanoli Hindko

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### Keywords

- Tanoli
- Hindko
- Dialect
- Gemination
- Consonants

### Abstract

*This study aims to analyze the gemination system in Tanoli Hindko spoken in Mansehra, Hazara. The corpus of 5000 root words was developed first from the existing dictionaries and then this wordlist was recorded from the native speakers. The data was analysed in light of the **Onset Rhyme Theory (ORT)**. The findings showed that the dialect allowed gemination word-medially and finally. Most of the consonants are good candidates for gemination process; however, a few consonants like the glide /j/ and the fricative /h/ do not allow gemination at any position of a word. Gemination in Tanoli Hindko always occurs with the short vowels, not with long vowels; however, if consonant cluster at word-final coda is found, or an ill-formed consonant cluster is established in the word-medial position, the process of gemination does not occur in Tanoli Hindko.*

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## 1. Introduction

Hindko is widely spoken in the province of Kyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP), a highly multilingual province of Pakistan, where 29 languages are spoken. This language has a variety of dialects, but the present study focuses on Tanoli Hindko spoken in the region of Tanawal located in Hazara Division. According to the local inhabitants of the region, an estimated population of Tanawal, where this research has been carried out, is around 0.8 million. This is the first study that investigates the gemination system of Tanoli Hindko. Needless to say, gemination is not phonemic in Tanoli Hindko (see Section, 5). The study may enable the language to become part of well-described languages. It may attract the attention of the linguists and the researchers to explore the other neglected languages, generally, in the world and, particularly, in Pakistan. In this regard, the province of Kyber Pakhtoonkhawa has very rich linguistic data. The following section gives a brief view of gemination to clarify the terminology.

## 2. Literature Review

Generally, gemination refers to a consonant in the articulation of a word that becomes double in its duration and length. According to Leslau (2000), the easiest way to describe gemination is doubling of consonants. Ladefoged (1975) states that geminate consonants are a class of long consonants which occur in English across word boundaries. Some phonologists (McCarthy, 1979; Leben, 1980) consider geminated segment as a single phoneme while others claim that gemination lengthens the duration of a consonant as two times. Abercrombie (1967) claims that gemination can be termed as double consonants that duration of geminate consonants extends over two syllables while a long consonant remains limited to a single syllable. On the contrary, Delattre (1971) states that gemination is not a single sound, rather a quite different phenomenon of languages which includes two types of consonantal features in the syllable structure, i.e., the feature of preceding consonants and feature of the following consonants.

Other phonologists, such as Ohala (1983) and Hayes (1989) are of the view that gemination is produced in an articulatory movement while Selkrik (1991) argues that geminate consonant is a bi-segment, not mono-segment. Hayes (1986), Clements (1985) and McCarthy (1986) consider gemination as long consonants. They state that the geminated segment is a single sound but has two skeleton slots. According to Burquest (2006), "When long vowels or consonants are given a VV or CC interpretation they are called geminates" (p.183).

Ewen and van der Hulst (2001) state that recent approaches to phonological structure represent the length of sounds incorporating the skeleton. They state that C and V (consonant and vowel) function as an abbreviation of segmental matrices. The segmental root node is connected directly to the terminal node of the syllabic structure. In the **ORT**, as expounded by Pike (1967), Pulgram (1970), Kiparsky (1979), Harris (1983) among others, these terminal elements are termed as one skeleton or a skeletal tier. Specifically, this approach represents the length of the segments. In the following diagrams, they structured two words of English and Italian respectively in light of OR theory to show long and geminate segments where the skeletal points are symbolized by 'x'.

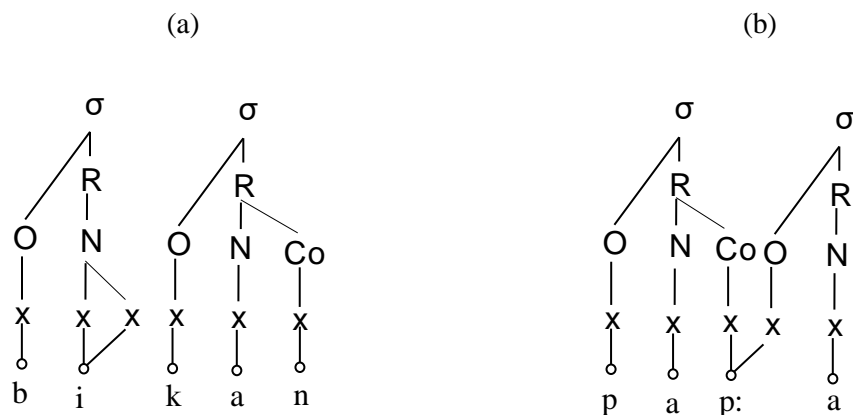


Figure 1. Gemination in Italian (a)

Gemination in English (b)

In Figure 1 (a), a long vowel /i:/ get the position of single root node, but two skeletal tiers whereas the short vowel /a/ denotes a single root node and a single skeleton position. Similarly, in (b), geminated consonant /p/ at intervocalic position is also represented in the form of two skeletal tiers. Clements and Keyser (1983) termed the skeleton position as timing units that long vowels require more time for articulation than the short vowels, e.g. long vowels include the duration of two segments, two timing slots but one segmental tree.

According to OR theory, long vowels or geminated consonants, and short vowels or non-geminated sounds are characterized in the following way (Ewen & van der Hulst, 2001, p.154).



Figure 2. Long vowel or geminated consonants    Short vowel or non-geminated consonant

In summary, it can be said that linguists agree that gemination closes one syllable and opens another syllable. Literature shows that gemination is a possible phenomenon word-initially, medially and finally in languages, and word-medial gemination is more common than word- initially and finally. Taylor (1985) carried out research on 29 languages (cited in Callender, 2006) and she states that obstruents geminate in all languages, and if a language geminates a sonorous sound, it must have at least one obstruent sound as well. She also reports that 15 languages have voiced and voiceless geminated sounds and claims that if a language has voiced gemination, it must have a voiceless gemination but if a language has a voiceless gemination, it is not imperative to have a voiced gemination. She



also refers to the universal phenomenon of gemination that if a language has fricative gemination, it must include stops gemination as well.

Taylor also finds out that out of 29 languages, 26 languages have the medial gemination, and out of 26 languages, 14 languages allow gemination word-finally as well. In addition, she refers to the universal tendency that if a language includes gemination word-finally, it must have gemination word-medially. Furthermore, she highlights that out of 29 languages, six languages also allow gemination at the word-initial position.

Tanoli Hindko allows 31 consonants including /p/, /b/, /p<sup>h</sup>/, /t/, /d̪/, /t̪h/, /t/, /d/, /th/, /k/, /g/, /k<sup>h</sup>/, /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, /ŋ/, /f/, /v/, /s/, /z/, /ʃ/, /x/, /ç/, /h/, /ʃ/, /dʒ/, /ʃh/, /j/, /l/, /r/ and /ɽ/. There are nine oral vowels in Hindko /i:/, /ɪ/, /e:/, /æ:/, /a:/, /a/, /o:/, /u/ and /u:/. The language also allows five nasal vowels /ã:/, /ĩ:/, /ũ:/, /õ:/, /ẽ:/, the four nasalized vowels /ã/, /ĩ/, /ũ/, /ẽ/ and two diphthongs /ei/ and /ai/. The nasal vowels are phonemic in nature while the nasalized vowels cannot stand-alone as nasal vowels rather they get effect by the nasal features of the adjacent consonants. Tanoli Hindko allows open and closed syllables, consonant clusters word-initially, medially and finally (Nawaz, 2014). Specifically, it allows gemination of consonants at two positions, i.e. at intervocalic and final positions of words.

### 3. Research Methodology

The data for the present study were collected from two types of sources, 1) dictionaries and 2) the primary data. Awan (2008) contains around 30,000 words, and Sakoon (2002) comprise of around 7,000 words. Then, the primary data were collected by recording the daily conversations of the native speakers of Tanawal. Overall, 5000 root words were taken into account for finding out the gemination system of Tanoli Hindko. It was very much obvious for the researcher to mark the gemination word-medially in the dialect; however, some of gemination cases in the word-final position seemed ambiguous. Thus, apart from relying on dictionaries and observed data, the native speakers' help was taken into consideration. The native speakers were asked to utter the words four to five times, and the geminated consonants were marked and jotted them down on a piece of paper. The works of Haugen (1956); Chomsky (1957) and Halle (1962) were also based on the articulatory analysis. It has also been observed that a native speaker of Hindko can judge the well and ill-formed syllable structure of his language. Overall, the researcher's personal experience as a native speaker was very helpful during collecting and analyzing the data. Geminated words of the data were marked in light of ORT. A sample of each pattern is structured before tabulating the data. The long vowels (VV) and the geminated consonants (CC) were structured showing two skeleton slots (xx) and short vowels (V) and singleton consonants (C) were marked as a one skeleton tier (x) and the colon (: ) was placed after geminated consonants.

### 4. Data Analysis

#### 4.1 Gemination in Hindko Word-medial and Word-final

This part deals with the analysis of the Tanoli Hindko data. The analyzed data are tabulated in the Tables representing the gemination system word-medially and finally. A sample is also given according to the Onset-Rhyme theory. The following diagrams represent the

incorporated skeleton for two Hindko words containing geminated consonants and long vowels:

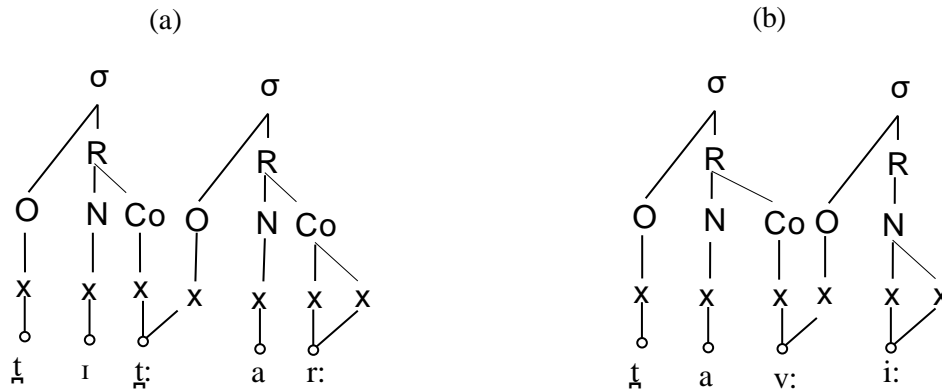


Figure 3. Representation of length in Hindko

The above diagrams show the structure of two Hindko words in terms of representation of length. In 3 (a), medial /t̥/ and /r/ consonants geminate which shows skeletal tier as (x) whereas the Diagram (b) exhibits gemination of medial consonant /v/ and vowel /i/. The segments /t̥/, /r/, /v/ and /i/ show single root node, but due to two skeletal positions, they get the form of /t̥:/, /r:/, /v:/ and /i:/. The medial consonants in both diagrams occur simultaneously at the coda position of the first and at the onset position of the second syllable. Conversely, short segments reveal a direct association between skeleton and root tier. More data for gemination is given in the following; however, only one example for each geminated consonant is tabulated here and increasing the examples in the tables may spread the length of the article.

Table 1: *Data for gemination word-medially*

Syllables	Gloss	Syllables	Gloss	Syllables	Gloss
rap.paɽɽ	Field	ɳɪk.ka:	Small	ɽav.vi:	Soil pane
tab.barr	Family	bɪg.garr	Successfully completed	bas.sa:r	Forget
p <sup>h</sup> ɪp <sup>h</sup> .p <sup>h</sup> arr	Lungs	k <sup>h</sup> ak <sup>h</sup> .k <sup>h</sup> arr	Riped cucumber	naz.zarr	Sight

---

t̪t̪.t̪arr	Partridge	dʒan.nakk	Children	fiaf.farr	Gathering
moɖ.ɖa:	Duration/ time	fam.maɾɾ	Attach	lax.xaɾɾ	A small stick
maɾ̪ <sup>h</sup> .ɬ̪a:	Forehead	ɾaɬ̪.ɬ̪o:ɾ	Squeeze	may.ɣazz	Brain
tat.tu:	Horse	nadʒ.dʒo:ɾ	Sick	nir.ra:	Mere
bad.da:	Big	naɬ̪ <sup>h</sup> .ɬ̪hi:	Fish	jal.lamm	Leech
t̪ <sup>h</sup> at̪ <sup>h</sup> .t̪arr	Joke	sɪf.faɾɾ	Quality	kaɾ̪.ɾakk	Hard

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The table reveals some examples of geminated words in Hindko intervocalically. All words are disyllabic, and intervocalic consonants geminate in the form of the coda of the first and the onset of the second syllable. The Table shows examples of gemination with most of the consonants; however, the palatal glide /j/ and the glottal fricative /h/ do not allow gemination at the intervocalic position. The reason of non-gemination of these two segments lies in the fact that Tanoli Hindko the palatal glide /j/ word medially and finally changes into /æ:/, and fricative /h/, though occurs word-finally, has a vowel-like quality such as /a:/ at word or syllable-final position; probably, due to this relevance, the glottal fricative /h/ is not a good candidate for gemination.

The retroflex tap /ɽ/, the retroflex nasals /ŋ/ and the velar /ŋ/ are not possible sounds word-initially, but /ɽ/ and /ŋ/ are permissible syllable initially. In gemination process, the retroflex tap /ɽ/ is permissible sound at a word medial position such as /gɾɪɾɪgg/, ‘a kind of bird’ /ʃɪɾɪkk/, ‘road’ whereas in case of the retroflex nasals /ŋ/, if it is preceded by a short vowel word-medially, its following consonant, instead of gemination, turns into the retroflex tap /ɽ/, like /kãɽ.ɾakk/, ‘wheat’, /ʃãɽ. ɾakk/ ‘flour-kneading basin’. Thus, the retroflex nasal /ŋ/ becomes the coda of the first syllable and the retroflex tap /ɽ/ get the position of onset of the second syllable. On the other hand, the velar nasal /ŋ/ is followed by either /k/ or /g/ in bi-syllabic words such as /xõ:ŋ.kɾi:/ ‘red-legged partridge (female)’, /sã:ŋ.ga:/ ‘a small field for ploughing’. Moreover, the alveolar tap /ɾ/ geminates word-medially but its position remains too weak because the alveolar tap /ɾ/ has the least duration among all consonants of Hindko such as 0.0425 milliseconds (Nawaz, 2014). The examples of geminate words at the intervocalic position are given in the above table irrespective of word categories, such as noun, verb and adjective. However, the data shows that gemination frequency for the verb is comparatively less than the nouns and the adjectives. Generally, all these categories can be found in gemination format at the word-medial position. In Tanoli Hindko, when a short vowel occurs in the first syllable, the onset

of the second syllable gets geminated word-medially and if a consonant cluster of word-final coda, or an ill-formed consonant cluster, is found at the word-medial position, the process of gemination does not occur. As mentioned above that the long vowels do not allow gemination at any position of a word in the dialect. In addition to word-medial gemination, the dialect also allows gemination word-finally. An example is structured in the following diagram:

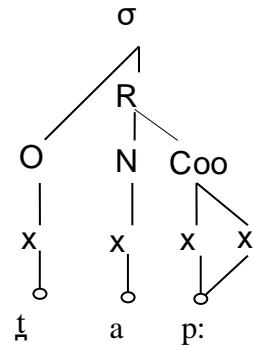


Figure 4. Word-final gemination

The above diagram shows that the voiceless bilabials stop /p:/ geminates word-finally having a single root node but two skeletons. Further examples are tabulated in the following:

Table 2

*Data for gemination word-finally*

Syllables	Gloss	Syllables	Gloss	Syllables	Gloss
t̥app	Get warm	Lakk	Waist	ɣazz	Meter
dobb	Sink	ɖagg	A flat wood	kaʃʃ	Smoking
ɖap <sup>h</sup> p <sup>h</sup>	A kind of drum	k <sup>h</sup> ak <sup>h</sup> k <sup>h</sup>	Cave	Jaxx	cold
pɪʃʃ	Contesting a kind of game	ʃãnn	Moon	ɣaʃʃ	Cave
kadd	Height	dʒãmm	Birth	Barr	Fly

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klat <sup>h</sup> <sub>ḡ</sub>	A kind of pulse	of bōḡḡ	Weave	joll	Cockroach
satt	Fire of gun	frāḡḡ	Action	bodʒdʒ	Understand
gadd	Mix	Saff	Queue	kaʃʃ	A piece of glass
nat <sup>h</sup> <sub>t</sub>	Escape	Mass	Muddle	poʃ <sup>h</sup> ʃ <sup>h</sup>	Ask

---

The data in the above table 2 reveal that almost all Hindko consonantal sounds geminate word-finally except the bilabial approximant /v/ and the velar fricative /ɣ/. The dialect allows word-final gemination in verbs and nouns. Each example shows short vowel before geminated consonant word-finally. It can be said, therefore, if a short vowel is followed by a consonant at a word boundary, the following consonant gets geminate as CC.

## 5. Results and Discussion

Tanoli Hindko allows a rich inventory of 31 consonants, and except a few all consonants allow gemination word-medially and finally. Generally speaking, geminate consonants include two timing slots in light of the ORT model. Taylor (1985) cited in Callender (2006) reported that languages allow gemination word-initially, medially, and finally. The analysis of her data selected from 29 languages shows that 26 allow word-medial gemination, and out of 26 languages, 14 allows final gemination (see Section, 2).

The word-medially gemination in the dialect includes nouns, adjectives and verbs while word-final gemination occurs in the verbs and the nouns. At the intervocalic position of the words, the first C becomes the coda of the preceding syllable as the by-product of gemination. In this case the second C gets the position of the onset in the following syllable. In the first syllable of a word, in case of a short vowel followed by single consonant or well-formed bi-consonants, the coda of the first syllable geminates as CC at a word-medial position. It happens on the coda of the first syllable and the onset of the second syllable. However, this rule of gemination is not applicable, when well-formed word-final clusters of Tanoli Hindko occur at the word-medial position rather the word-final coda split up as the coda of the first syllable, and the onset of the second syllable.

In some of the languages, like Italian, the gemination is phonemic such as the word /papa/ means ‘pope’ while /pappa/ means ‘daddy’ (Ewen & van der Hulst, 2001); and /nonno/ means ‘grandfather’ and /nono/ means ‘ninth’ (Ladefoged, 1975). However, in Tanoli Hindko, gemination is not phonemic. Ladefoged also states that in English, gemination occurs across the word boundaries having two morphemes such as book-case or un-known, but in Italian, gemination is possible in single morpheme. Therefore, like Italian, but unlike English, gemination in Hindko occurs within a single morpheme.

Kawahara (2005) cited in Callender (2006) that glides are rarely geminate due to its sonority. He adds that sonorous sounds are the poor candidates for gemination because their boundaries cannot be distinguished easily. In the same way, keeping in view the general rule of gemination for Tanoli Hindko, the status of the velar nasal /ŋ/, in terms of gemination word-finally in monosyllable is not very clear, whether it geminates as /ŋŋ/ or occurs as /ŋg/ but currently, treated as /ŋg/, e.g. /bãŋg/ (bangles) and /bĩŋg/ (bend). This case, therefore, needs to be further investigated. Contrary to the word-final position, the following sound of the velar nasal /ŋ/ turns into the velar stops /k/ or /g/ at word medial position in disyllable or trisyllable words, e.g. /p<sup>h</sup>i:ŋ.garr/ (a small piece of stone/wood), /t̪r̪i:ŋ.gall/ (a toll in the form of a fork, used in wheat thrashing) and /xõ:ŋ.kɕi:/ 'feminine partridge'. Likewise, the following sound of the retroflex nasal /ɳ/, in the disyllable or trisyllable words, turns into the retroflex tap /ɽ/ at word-medial position (structured as ŋɽ), e.g. /t̪<sup>h</sup>iŋ.ɕi:/ 'chisel'.

In Tanoli Hindko, the palatal glide /j/ is changed into mid open front long vowel /æ:/ at the intervocalic and final position of a word that is why it cannot be the part of gemination but it can occur as syllable initially in word-medial position, e.g. /t̪a:ja:/ 'uncle'. The analysis shows that sonorous sounds geminate but take the least duration in articulation. Generally, all nasals and approximants are poor candidates for gemination word-finally. Moreover, the fricative /f/ cannot geminate at any position while the bilabial approximant /v/ and the velar fricative /ɣ/ are not possible geminated sounds word-finally. Apart from the above given exceptional cases, all the voiced and the voiceless sounds of the dialect allow gemination. Thus, these results, voiced and voiceless geminated sounds, are in line with the findings of Taylor (1985) cited in Callender (2006).

Paul Ken (1981) states that if a language has the word-medial germination, the intervocalic consonant clusters, with no word-initial and final clusters but longer duration consonants, they are called heavy or tense consonants not the geminated consonants. However, Hindko allows clusters, word-initially and finally, therefore, it can be said that its consonants geminate they are heavy or tense consonants.

## 6. Conclusion

The findings of the study show that, except for a few sounds, all the voiced and voiceless consonants allow gemination word-medially and finally. The bilabial glide /j/ and the glottal fricative /h/ cannot geminate at any position of a word, the bilabial approximant /v/ and the velar fricative /ɣ/ are not possible cases for germination word finally. Likewise, the two sonorous sounds, the retroflex nasal /ɳ/, the velar nasal /ŋ/ are not good candidates for gemination word-finally. The findings show that the long vowels do not allow their preceding and following consonants at any position of a word to be geminated. In contrast, in the case of disyllable, if a short vowel occurs in the first syllable, the onset of the second syllable gets geminated word-medially. The results also show that the process of gemination is not permissible when either consonant cluster of a word-final coda or ill-formed consonant cluster word-medially.

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## The Changing Roles of Students in the Blended ELT Environment in Pakistan

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### Keywords

- Integrated learning
- ELT in Pakistan
- Learner role
- Learning innovations
- Technology-based learning

### Abstract

*The study explores changing roles of the learners within integrated mode of English Language Teaching (ELT) in Pakistan. In particular, it analyzes the way the notion of integrated ELT environment has influenced the ELT educational approaches and Pakistani students' role. Technology has offered instructors and students with new strategies that have remodeled teachers' roles, curricula, and methodologies. In this regard, this study attempts to explore the connection between these learning innovations and their resultant changes in Pakistani students' role. Mainly, mixed approach was utilized for this study. One hundred ELT learners studying in the Virtual University of Pakistan contributed for this study. The delimitation of the study was set at focusing mainly on ELT students' role as learners of English language. For data collection, close-ended questionnaire was utilized as a tool. The results explicated that, through technological innovations, the integrated mode of learning has opened new vistas for students and has provided them with the facility to come out of the traditional standards. Moreover, for these Pakistani ELT students, technology has brought dynamic and multiple practices in their learning process; hence, the roles and responsibilities of learners have also been transformed accordingly.*

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## 1. Introduction

This study has analyzed the changing roles of students within the integrated ELT mode in Pakistan. This integrated ELT mode has become a standard in learning and teaching methodologies. In Pakistan, new models are evolving in educational institutions such as web-based, mixed-method and complete online learning. This paper has followed a descriptive approach to examine the way this method has affected the roles of learners in Pakistan. The integrated-method has re-figured the concept of teaching practice, language learning and the roles of Pakistani ELT students. The primary analysis of the study was how the roles of ELT learners have changed within the integrated learning environment. Eight positions of ELT pupils were deliberated in the study.

This investigation was grounded on the quantitative and qualitative method, so a multiple - method design was employed. The required data has been gathered from the ELT students from the Virtual University of Pakistan that is the leading institution of higher education in Pakistan which is based upon modern technology and is an innovator in ICT related instruction in Pakistan. The participants for this investigation were 100 students, who were learning English in varying proficiency. For data collection, the close-ended questionnaire was used. The data has been tested by employing SPSS and the outcomes were examined accordingly.

### 1.1. Integrated Learning: A Recent Emergence in the Educational Field

In recent years, integrated learning has been a catchword in the educational field and it generally refers to subjects that utilize a mixed form of learning (Bonk & Graham, 2012). Moreover, this term encompasses the idea on combining online modes of learning with traditional modes of learning, which can be readily used in higher education as well (MacDonald, 2006). Scant work has been done on the usage of this integrated learning method in language learning and particularly with respect to English Language Teaching (ELT), even less work has been done. Smith and Kurthen (2007), pointed out that online education and traditional subjects taught could be labeled by different terms, such as “hybrid”, “integrated”, and “web-enhanced learning” (p.474). Likewise, according to Wang (2010), collective integrated learning has a major impact on the students’ output and performance.

### 1.2. Research Questions

This study deals with the following main research questions:

- i. How has the integrated ELT mode changed the role of English learners in Pakistan?
- ii. How students’ roles as a self-learner, reflector, participant, listener, respondent, team-member, teacher helper, listener and topic contributor have changed through an integrated ELT setting in Pakistan?

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## 2. Literature Review

The revolutions in the domain of information technology and learning have developed educational, social, political, and financial transformations across the planet (Wolf & Stevens, 2007). Innovations in the technological world have reconstructed the teacher-learner role as well. As a result, these changes and developments have also affected the teaching and instructive structure. These transformations and advancements in the educational sector are the results of different factors. The most important factor among them is the students or the learners who are affected the most by these technological innovations. The students have a main role in making technological innovations and hence, developing a connection between learning strategy and educational changes (Oral, 2004). As a result, the teachers have also modified their teaching strategies and the different roles that they perform in and out of the classrooms (Palak & Walls, 2009).

In this regard, it is important to comprehend the learning process and the effect of classroom structure on this learning process. As Koschmann (1996) points out, “learning is not asymptotic because what one person does in adapting changes the environment so that others must readapt” (p.23). Thus, there is a persistent need of a focused learning setting that prioritizes instructive innovations to fulfil this need of interactivity. The primary goal of such pedagogical innovations is to develop the attention of the students, therefore, minimizing passive traditional learning and producing a collaborative environment that helps the learners to connect to the world beyond the classroom (Koschmann, 1996).

## 3. Research Methodology

The focus of the paper was to recognize changing roles of ELT students in Pakistan within an integrated learning environment. The paper has also highlighted the impact of integrated ELT mode on learning strategies of students in Pakistan.

### 3.1. Research Design and Sampling

The study uses a quantitative approach, but qualitative data was also collected to validate quantitative results, therefore, a mixed technique was utilized. The primary data was collected for this investigation and the study had a cross-sectional research design. Moreover, the most appropriate technique that was considered for study was the survey method to gather the opinion of people about this particular topic.

The data was gathered from the ELT students of the Virtual University of Pakistan. In total, one hundred ELT learners studying at the Virtual University of Pakistan contributed to this study. The selected learners were those who had changed their learning from online or face-to-face learning system to integrated ELT mode. All those students were learning English with varying proficiency levels were randomly selected for the study. The sample comprised of both male and female members; whose ages were between 19 to 30 years.

Considering the study’s nature, its purpose and the scope, close-ended questionnaire was utilized as a tool for data collection. The background data included the socio-demographic topographies of members for example age, education, gender and former education experience. The questionnaire comprised of questions which centered upon the current

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students' role in the integrated ELT environment. Learners were requested to choose the extent to which they considered themselves accepting the mentioned roles. The agreement level was analyzed by Likert scale. In the questionnaire, five options were given against each statement. Listed below is the range that was used to get the complete responses of participants for each statement of the survey by measuring the weighted mean:

Range	Interpretation
4.01 – 5.00	Very Likely
3.01 – 4.00	Likely
2.01 – 3.00	No Opinion
1.01 – 2.00	Unlikely
0.00 – 1.00	Very Unlikely

Before the data collection procedure, a pilot study was conducted, and the problems presented in the questionnaire were addressed. Resultantly, the investigators were able to establish an authenticated research instrument for the study. After conducting a pilot study, the Cronbach's Alpha Test was applied to get validate the result. It was also considered that the connection of elements with each other was methodologically in a straight manner because they were supposed to be part of a similar construct. Alpha for 18 roles was .85 that revealed that they developed a scale which had a level-headed internal consistency.

### 3.2. Data Collection Procedure

Collectively, the response ratio of 95% of respondents was motivational for the investigators. 107 questionnaires were distributed in total, from which, 103 were returned, out of which, 03 were excluded by the investigators because of errors in them. Finally, 100 questionnaires were used for further study and research purpose. The estimated time frame for data collection was about five weeks. Mostly, the time was disbursed in searching for the appropriate participants, distributing questionnaires and then waiting for participants for return the questionnaire.

## 4. Data Analysis

The data was examined descriptively by utilizing SPSS. Percentage result of each item was determined independently. Mode, means, standard deviation, median, frequency, cumulative percentage, and other required descriptive measurements were calculated. Table No. 1 presents the student's role in the classroom. The table demonstrates that for student's role as a *Self-learner*, only 79% students take up the said role while 21% student do not get many chances to act as a *Self-learner* in integrated ELT mode. The results for student's role as a *Participant* indicated that 17% students take up the said role and 83% students do not think that the integrated learning environment provides them with the opportunities to act as *Participant*. Similarly, the results regarding the student's role as a *Reflector* show that 16% of students have exposure to this role whereas 84% of students were of other opinions. As far as, the student's role as a *Respondent* is concerned, the results indicated that only 12% students think that they act as a *Respondent* and 88% of the students think that they do not find many opportunities to act as *Respondent*. The lowest results are shown for the student's role as a *team member*; the results indicate that only 4% learners feel themselves working as a *Team member*, whereas the majority of 96% students

do not feel the need to act as a *Team member*. In integrated ELT mode, the students who think that they work as *Teacher's helper* are 25% and 75% of students do not confirm this option. Most students are engaged in their role of a *Listener*, i.e. 70%, whereas 30% learners do not get much chance to act as *Listener* in integrated ELT mode. Only 2% of students think that they participate in the class as *Topic contributor* and the majority of 98% of students do not find options to participate in the class

Table 1

*Response frequency of respondents: Student's roles*

Role	Response	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>Self-Learner</b>	Very Unlikely	6	6.0	6.0
	Unlikely	12	12.0	18.0
	No Opinion	3	3.0	21.0
	Likely	43	43.0	64.0
	Very Likely	36	36.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	
<b>Participant</b>	Very Unlikely	42	42.0	42.0
	Unlikely	40	40.0	82.0
	No Opinion	1	1.0	83.0
	Likely	16	16.0	99.0
	Very Likely	1	1.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	
<b>Reflector</b>	Very Unlikely	38	38.0	38.0
	Unlikely	44	44.0	82.0
	No Opinion	2	2.0	84.0
	Likely	16	16.0	100.0
	Very Likely	0	0.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	
<b>Respondent</b>	Very Unlikely	39	39.0	39.0
	Unlikely	47	47.0	86.0
	No Opinion	2	2.0	88.0
	Likely	12	12.0	100.0
	Very Likely	0	0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	
<b>Team Member</b>	Very Unlikely	48	48.0	48.0
	Unlikely	47	47.0	95.0
	No Opinion	1	1.0	96.0
	Likely	4	4.0	100.0
	Very Likely	0	0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	

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<b>Teacher Helper</b>	Very Unlikely	34	34.0	34.0
	Unlikely	41	41.0	75.0
	No Opinion	0	0.0	75.0
	Likely	20	20.0	95.0
	Very Likely	5	5.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	
<b>Listener</b>	Very Unlikely	13	13.0	13.0
	Unlikely	15	15.0	28.0
	No Opinion	2	2.0	30.0
	Likely	30	30.0	60.0
	Very Likely	40	40.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	
<b>Topic Contributors</b>	Very Unlikely	49	49.0	49.0
	Unlikely	48	48.0	97.0
	No Opinion	1	1.0	98.0
	Likely	2	2.0	100.0
	Very Likely	0	0.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	

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## 5. Results and Discussion

The findings were in harmony with the objectives of study which was to identify the different changing students' roles in integrated ELT environment. The data highlighted the central question: i.e. how has integrated ELT mode has changed the role of Pakistani ELT students. The study analyzed how the students in integrated ELT environment think about their changing roles. The findings focused on ten traditional roles of the students and highlighted the way these roles have been transformed in the integrated mode. The findings are as follows:

The results confirmed that most of the traditional roles of the students such as *reflector*, *respondent*, *listener*, *team member*, *teacher helper*, and *topic contributor* have been changed in the integrated ELT environment, as most of the students do not get many opportunities to accept these roles in the integrated ELT mode. Although the students hold some of the traditional roles as *self-learners and participants*, yet students perform some new and different roles, also. Therefore, the findings highlighted that integrated learning supported the changing roles of the learners as most of the traditional roles of the learners in integrated mode have been changed.

The study has analyzed the teaching in integrated ELT setting and changing roles of students within the Pakistani perspective. On the whole, the findings confirmed the previous studies, which confirmed that the innovation in technology have promoted uniqueness and creativeness in the classroom, hence enhancing the learning capabilities of the students. The innovations in technology have brought new vistas and challenges in the traditional roles of the students. A similar study by Bath & Bourke (2010) also highlighted that the usage of informational technology in the educational field is changing the roles of

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the learners. Out-dated curriculum based on irrelevant tests, and no understanding of conceptions was being used in Pakistan for a long time. The widespread usage of technology in everyday life has brought a dominant change in society, both in the cultural and educational sector. Technological innovations such as android phones, cloud computing, iPods and laptops were considered to be fictional stories, some years ago. But, nowadays, the Pakistani learners are also performing multiple roles by utilizing these technological innovations. These changing roles were verified by utilizing a questionnaire survey to bring awareness about these emerging new roles in Pakistan.

The findings obtained through learners' questionnaire are interesting and have brought many useful insights. The results highlighted that the students' roles have changed which resulted not only because of technical education but also due to the efforts of institutes as well as modifications in teaching modules and curriculum. These findings confirmed that the changing roles of students have developed due to the use of innovative teaching and learning approaches. These results highlighted that the present approaches in integrated ELT mode have been transferred from informative content-based model to student-centered approaches along with the focus on the capabilities that develop independent and self-sufficient learning. Therefore, the innovative roles of learners are evolving quickly in integrated ELT mode, which are different from conventional roles.

These findings highlight that integrated ELT environment encourages the changing roles of students. Findings of the questionnaire survey show that the traditional roles of students have changed as the students do not fit themselves fully in face-to-face environment. These changing roles of students affirm that a shift of learning approach is in progress and hence, students are expected to make themselves aware of this shift so that they can make changes in their learning approach accordingly. The findings affirm the concept given by Tejada, Baquedano-López and Gutiérrez (1999), that in the integrated mode the learning demands from students to shift their roles and manage their learning accordingly. The results confirm that students have got more duties in the integrated mode, but they are also adjusting with these changing roles in this learning process. Although some traditional roles of students like listeners and self-learners have been prevalent, yet they also got some different and new roles. As a result, a new approach to learning is emerging which is different from learners' traditional roles.

## **6. Conclusion**

This study has analyzed how the integrated environment has changed the role of English students in Pakistan. Although this change in the students' role can be the result of different factors yet the one that appears to be the main factor is the use of information technology in classrooms. Hence, it can be concluded, on the basis of the results, that in integrated ELT environment the tasks of students have changed. These results confirmed that the integrated ELT environment advocates the changing roles of students and points out that in integrated ELT mode the traditional responsibilities of learners have been transformed. On the basis of findings, it can be concluded that as the technology in the integrated mode continues changing so are the roles of ELT learners in the integrated mode.

The inclusion of technology in educational institutes and learning strategies is a complex and dynamic process. In this whole process, the only constant factor is the change; the transformation in the educational setup and its elements, in inventions and their prospects,

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in constraints for achievement and the most important factor is the changing roles of the students. The study develops a strong connection between changes in the students' role and usage of informational technology in the educational field.

Thus, the integrated mode of learning has influenced the ELT learning in the context Pakistan. It has opened new horizons for students and provided them with the chances to avoid the old roles. So, there is a need to reframe and redesign the conventional concept regarding students' role and to realize this new category of students' roles that requires a unique and vibrant combination of capabilities and efficiency from the teachers.



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## Teaching Pragmatic Competence in Pakistani Context: A Case of Pakistani EFL Learners Compliment Responses

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### Keywords

- Compliment responses
- Pragmatic competence
- Pakistani learners of English
- Pragmatic transfer
- Sociolinguistics rules of speaking
- Foreign language curriculum

### Abstract

*The use of the compliment strategies of Pakistani university students in Pakistan is investigated in the present study. The quantitative approach is used in this study. The sample of the study is selected using non-random, purposive and convenience sampling procedures. For data collection, Two Discourse Completion Tests (Urdu DCT and English DCT) were used. The results of the study showed that Pakistani university students used the same type of semantic formulaic patterns both in English and Urdu. There were no significant differences found between male and female respondents (both in English and Urdu) in the use of compliment strategies. Results clearly indicated that respondents translated Urdu strategies into English, and at the same time transferred L1 cultural trends and produced cultural-specific compliment responses. Moreover, the findings also exhibited that Pakistani university students only used "Agreement" strategies and avoided the use of "Disagreement" and "Request" strategies. The study indicated that pragmatic competence is an essential component of communicative competence. Therefore, teaching pragmatic knowledge plays an important role in a foreign language curriculum, particularly in teaching English as a Foreign Language (EFL).*

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## 1. Introduction

Using language appropriately does not mean mere correct phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics, but involves pragmatic knowledge or, to be more specific, cultural knowledge to avoid misunderstandings or communication breakdowns. “Misunderstandings caused by grammatical mistakes are more tolerated than those rooted in different assumptions” (Zemelman, Daniels, Hyde, & Varner, 1998, p. 7). This raises an issue at the language pedagogy level, which is more than grammatical or structural accuracy. The complexity is more pronounced in the Pakistani context, where English is taught as a foreign language.

Therefore, “teaching pragmatics (that is, teaching students how to use language appropriately) has become an important and urgent issue” Saleem & Anjum, 2018, p. 13). It is obvious that classroom instruction needs “to involve the teaching and learning of pragmatics, which includes knowledge and skills, as well as the process of how pragmatic knowledge is being taught to learners of English in a foreign language environment” (Aziz, Beenish, Azam & Saleem, 2018, p. 23).

Interlanguage pragmatic studies have laid much emphasis on the EFL learners to attain the linguistic competence (syntax and semantics) in English language along with an understanding and comprehension of pragmatics in the target culture with an aim to increase their communicative competence of different cultures in English (Ahmed, 2017; Al-Momani, 2009; Bu, 2011, 2012; Kasper, 1997; Lee, 1999; Saleem & Anjum, 2018). The EFL/ESL learners should analyze what language use native English speakers consider appropriate in relation to particular contexts and cultures. It is strongly recommended that learners should be trained in learning communicative strategies and the pragmatic knowledge of the target language (LoCastro, 2013).

Even so, pragmatic competence has not been given any importance to teaching English in the EFL/ESL context in Pakistan. Studies have shown that Pakistani students of English (Bashiruddin & Qayyum, 2014; Raja, 2013; Saleem & Anjum, 2018; Shahzadi & Janjua, 2016; Sultan, 2014) achieve a higher level of competency in English syntax, vocabulary, and phonology but they are found incompetent in using sociolinguistic rules of English. Moreover, the Pakistani students of English begin learning English from grade first and keep on studying it as a compulsory subject till graduation (14 years of education) but still they lack pragmatic competence. Although, the EFL learners get quite a precise contact with the English language through different communal and electronic media along with newspapers and journals they scarcely show the native speakers like pragmatic competence in English language (Jabeen & Akhtar, 2013).

Various linguists in the field of interlanguage pragmatics have highlighted the importance of developing EFL/ESL learners’ understanding of sociocultural rules of the target language, to enable the EFL/ESL learners to demonstrate communicative intent and utilize foreign language effectively in different contexts. In recent years, the research scholars have laid focus on the EFL/ESL learners’ pragmatic competence. The notion of speech acts cannot be denied for the investigation of the pragmatic transfer. In recent years, speech acts have been extensively studied. Specific acts are the speech act of apology, compliments, refusals, requests, complaints, and suggestions. Findings in such research have pointed out that even competent L2 learners are found lacking pragmatic competence like English speakers while using these speech acts (Bardovi-Harlig, 1996, 2003).

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The current study focuses on the investigation of pragmatic transfer in Pakistani university students' compliment responses because compliment responses are one type of speech acts that differ considerably from culture to culture. Despite the wealth of empirical studies conducted about speech acts in general, "few data-based studies have ever focused on the L1 transfer of compliment responses. More research is necessary for this area to better understand the relationship between L1 transfer and compliment responses in L2 use" (Saleem & Anjum, 2018, p. 21). The present study contributes to the limited collection of research (Khan & Rustum, 2017; Shehzad, 2010) done on compliment responses in the Pakistani context. This will be achieved by (1) reviewing studies on pragmatic transfer and compliment responses, (2) discussing the methodology and results of the present study, and finally (3) suggesting some classroom implications that could apply to EFL teaching in the Pakistani context.

## 2. Literature Review

Many studies have highlighted that Intercultural miscommunication is often triggered when EFL/ESL learners retreat on their native language sociocultural rules in expressing speech acts in English (target language). This phenomenon is stated as a pragmatic transfer. According to Rizk (2003), pragmatic transfer is "the influence of learners' pragmatic knowledge of language and culture other than the target language on their comprehension, production, and acquisition of L2 pragmatic information" (p. 404). The pragmatic transfer can be "either positive, which is considered evidence of sociocultural and pragmatic universality among languages, or negative, which indicates inappropriate transfer of L1 sociolinguistic norms into L2" (Saleem & Anjum, 2018, p. 5). This often results in "pragmatic failure or being unable to understand the meaning of an utterance in the target language" (Liu, 1997, p. 12). Negative pragmatic transfer, as Rizk (2003) explains, "takes the form of translating some 'formulaic expressions/ phrases' functioning to express different speech acts in (L1) to express the equivalent speech act in L2" (p. 405). El Samaty (2005) mentions one factor that might influence pragmatic transfer and that is learners' perception of "what constitutes a language-specific or a universal issue" (p. 342). Learners would not transfer an L1 pragmatic feature to L2 if they know that it is language-specific.

The notion of pragmatic competence and pragmatic transfer can be examined through the speech of compliment responses. "The significance of compliments lies in their multiple functions in communication. Compliment functions are at the center of compliment investigations across cultures" (Khan & Rustum, 2017, p. 19). Many researchers share the consensus "complimenting establishes and reinforces social solidarity and rapport between the speaker and the addressee" (Golato, 2005; Herbert, 1986, 1990; Holmes, 1986; Jaworski, 1995; Khan & Rustum, 2017; Migdadi, 2003; Petit, 2006; Shehzad, 2010; Wolfson & Manes, 1980; Yu, 2011). Complimenting is "a multifunctional speech act that plays important roles in many other dimensions of conversation" (Jaworski, 1995, p. 12; Johnson, 1992, p. 32). Jaworski (1995) took a dichotomous approach to compliments in Polish and distinguished two types of solidarity: procedural solidarity and relational solidarity. "Procedural solidarity is also seen as textual, which follows routines, and does not have to signal genuine praise to the complimentee. However, relational solidarity means genuine appreciation or praise" (Jaworski, 1995, p. 31). Wolfson and Manes (1980) also report that "boundaries between compliments and other speech acts can be blurred, such as complimenting someone on their possession, just for the sake of congratulating, in

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Polish. Many other researchers are also aware of the multi-functionality of compliments” (p. 301). For instance, compliments can function as substitutes for other speech acts, such as greeting, thanking, apologizing (Wolfson & Manes, 1980; Wolfson, 1989), conversation openers (Wolfson, 1989; Yu, 2011), expressing sarcasm (Chen, 2010; Wolfson, 1989), off-record reprimand (see positive politeness strategies in Brown & Levinson, 1987), and envy (Agyekum, 2006).

## 2.1 Compliment Responses

Compliment strategies are not specific to every culture. A number of researchers have conducted research in this field as it has attracted their attention. We can have a number of compliment classifications highlighted and discussed by many scholars in the field. The most prominent among them is Herbert (1986) and Holmes (1989) compliment strategies. Herbert (1989, p. 5) declares that in those English-speaking societies "thanks" is regarded as a suitable reaction to Cs. For example:

At a celebration, Joan has had locks cut very brief.

Margie: The locks look so awesome.

Joan: Thanks. It seems really excellent like this.

Compliment reactions can be categorized into three common categories: agreements, non-agreements, and evasions.

### (a) Agreements

A number of studies (Coates, 2015; Holmes, 1995; Manes & Wolfson, 1989) have shown how males and females respond to compliment in different social communication. Anyhow, both men and women find themselves under some pressure to believe the complimenter and agree to the compliment, to prevent self-praise. Individuals use a variety of methods to fix this situation, such as the strategy of praise downgrade and come back. Within the common classification of contracts, six subtypes of reactions are distinguished:

- i) Appreciation Tokens
- ii) Comment Agreements
- iii) Praise Upgrade
- iv) Comment History
- v) Praise Downgrade
- vi) Return

#### i) Appreciation Tokens

Studies have proven that recognizing compliments are usually indicated through symbol such as thank you, thanks a lot, thank you so much, or non-verbal ones like happiness and nods (Pomerantz, 1978). Yu (2005) says that the utterances that identify the position of a previous opinion as Cs are known as Approval Techniques, and the subsequent secondary types are considered under this primary approach:

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- Appreciation Token: The utterances which display appreciation and admiration the same as in the next example: Thanks.
  - Agreement: Such types of utterances which display the complimentee's covenant to the utterance by complimenter: Really, I can understand.
  - Pleasure: Utterances showing that the complimentee is satisfied with the utterance of the complimentizer: I'm so grateful for that.
  - Association: The Utterances including this category more than one secondary category described previously. I am very satisfied you praised it. Thanks a lot. (Satisfaction + Appreciation Token)

## ii) Amendment Strategies

In the CR technique of this category, the presenter makes an effort to change the complimentary force of the compliment offered. This may be prepared in the subsequent ways:

- Return: the utterances that respond to the act of compliment by offering encomium to the complimentizer as the following illustrations indicate:  
Your performance is excellent.
- Downgrade: the utterances which are used to decrease the complimentary strength of the admiration, for example: ...however not very bad!
- Upgrade: such utterances that improve the free of charge power of the compliment. For example, it's always like that.
- Question: This includes the utterances that inquire about the trustworthiness, appropriateness, or truth of the compliment. Truly?
- Comment: According to Yu (2005, p. 188), this is a function of those utterances that, "while recognizing the power of a given compliment, do not agree to credit score for the success or mind-set that is recognized. Rather, the presenter impersonalizes the power of that compliment". I always ask for excellent concerns.
- Transfer: Utterances that divert or change the power of the compliment to the complimenter. Actually, you forced me to a lot.
- Association: Utterances including one or more of the Change subcategories described previously. Really? But I think it was not that excellent. (Question+ Downgrade)

## (b) Non-acceptance Strategies

Speakers might sometimes want to "deny, question, or laugh about the information of the compliment or prevent replying straight to the praise" (Yu, 2005, p. 119). Non-acceptance strategies consist of the following subcategories:

- Disagreement: Reactions that do not believe the fact with the declaration of the compliment or display that the compliment is extreme, uncalled-for, or unjustified. For instance: No, that's not real.
- Question: Such utterances include those which call into interrogate the quality of the compliment and do not come to an agreement with its full complimentary might. For example, you're pulling my leg?!

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- Diverge: Utterances that cause other functions and contact into question the high company's compliment this way. Anyway, I did it carelessly.
  - Association: Utterances including one or more of the Change subcategories described previously. I don't trust it. Are you taking my leg? (Disagreement + Question)

### **i) Face Relationship-related Response Strategies**

These consist of strategies that do not appear to, as in the above primary strategies, agree to, change, or decline the compliment. Rather, they cope with the compliment within the connections, not with the prepositional material of the compliment. Really, that's what one is expected to do in such circumstances.

#### **ii) Combination Strategies**

These represent two or more of the compliment response strategies described previously. For example, thanks. But it is not like that. (Acceptance +Disagreement)

### **(c) No acknowledgment**

Finally, speaker could not react to the compliment provided to him or her. In recent years, there have been a number of studies conducted on compliment responses (Al Falasi, 2007; Cheng, 2011; Chen & Yang, 2010; Khan & Rustum, 2017; Shehzad, 2010; Tang & Zhang, 2009) but there is scarcity of studies conducted with Pakistani university students in Pakistan, and especially in tracing the pragmatic transfer (whether this pragmatic transfer is of positive or negative nature) in compliment responses. Grainger and Harris (2007) discuss that a number of studies on compliment responses have not only been incorporated into politeness theory and pragmatics but also into other fields such as social psychology, sociolinguistics, foreign language teaching, and philosophy. In the field of pragmatics, a number of studies have been attempted to find out how compliment responses are performed and realized either in a specific language or in two or more than two languages. Differences and commonalities, as well as variety in compliment responses, are further investigated and discussed. A few social factors as gender, social power and status, social distance, discourse context, and situations are integrated into the exploration (see Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984).

The literature review on compliment responses has undoubtedly exposed an opening for the current study. Pakistani university students' compliment responses in English and Urdu have not been studied before either categorically or comparatively. This study would be an attempt to fill the gap and provide evidence of Pakistani university students' pragmatic competence. Salient points from the literature – including pragmatic competence and pragmatic transfer, the function of compliment responses as expression of social solidarity and harmony, and the identification of various compliment strategies – underpin the reporting and discussion of the study's data.

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### 3. Methodology

This research was quantitative in nature based on Austen's (1962) and Searle's (1985) speech act theories strengthened by Brown and Levinson's (1987) face theory. The study focused to examine the pragmatic transfer in the use of compliment responses in English and Urdu by Pakistani EFL learners in Pakistan and the similarities and differences in the use of compliment strategies between male and female respondents. For data collection, Two Discourse Completion Tests (one in English language and second translated in Urdu language) which contained 12 items were developed. The researchers themselves explained and administered the Discourse Completion Tests. The responses of all participants were coded and analyzed using frequencies, Independent Samples *t*-Tests, in order to present an accurate report of the use of compliment techniques in English and Urdu by Pakistani individuals in Pakistan.

#### 3.1 Population and Sample

The participants who were selected for this study were the students of BS (8<sup>th</sup> semester) MA English (Lit/Lin/TESL/TEFL 4<sup>th</sup> semester) and M.Phil (2<sup>nd</sup> semester), degree programs. These students were studying in the final years of their degree programs. There were 100 respondents who participated in the study. These participants were chosen through non-random, purposive, and convenience sampling procedures from the higher education institutions of Pakistan: (1) Kinnaird College for Women University, Lahore, (2) Lahore College for Women University, Lahore, (3) Govt. College University, Faisalabad, (4) University of Gujarat, (5) University of Sargodha, (6) Govt. College University, Lahore, (7) Punjab University, Lahore, and (8) Fatima Jinnah Women University, Rawalpindi. The sample was relatively homogeneous in terms of their social and linguistic background (Pakistani) and they shared the same academic backgrounds. The participants were the students of M.Phil./Master/BS degrees in English Literary works, Linguistics, English Language Teaching (ELT), and TEFL/TESOL or TESL.

#### 3.2 Instruments

Two Discourse Completion Tests (DCTs), having 12 compliment scenarios, were designed in order to collect data from Pakistani EFL learners' use of compliment strategies in English and Urdu. The Discourse Completion Tests had a short introduction explaining the purpose of the study. The first part of DCTs focused on getting essential demographic information of Pakistani EFL learners comprised of institution's name, discipline of study, and English language proficiency level. The part two of DCTs consisted of twelve situations developed to collect compliment strategies (the type of words/expressions) by adopting those scenarios which had been used in the previous compliment speech act studies of Hebert, (1990). While designing the compliment scenarios, the sociolinguistic factors such as social status (higher status, equal status, and lower status) and social distance (close, neutral and distant) of the participants and the interlocutors were also considered. The respondents of the study were requested to write down their responses in English and Urdu while putting themselves in real-life situations.



Table 1

*Compliment Response Situations in DCT***Situations**

1. "You were very tired yesterday and you did not study for the exam. You ask your teacher to postpone the exam and the teacher says, I'll just postpone it because you are a good student!"  
You:
2. "Your new friend visits you on your birthday and gives you a precious present that you wanted to buy before."  
You:
3. "Some friends are over at your house. One of them looks at a clock hanging on the wall and says, I love your clock. It looks great in your living room!"  
You:
4. "You are wearing a new dress and a colleague looks at you and says, this dress looks great on you! Blue is a great color for you."  
You:
5. "You have some distant relatives at home for tea and cake that you baked. Someone says, Tastes Yummy!"  
You:
6. "You are a student and have just finished the thesis defense presentation. At the end of the presentation (when you were just leaving the classroom), one of participants (senior professor) says, you did an excellent job! I really enjoyed your presentation."  
You:
7. "You are a teacher and you put on a new suit today, and one of your students says, your suit fits you well and looks great on you."  
You:
8. "You are a patient and request the doctor for an earlier appointment, the doctor favors you for this."  
You:
9. "You are a senior manager in a bank. You have recently changed your hairstyle. On the way, you met one of the customers who say: "This hairstyle is very trendy

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and makes you look beautiful/handsome.”

You:

10. “You are a senior member of the college dramatic club and receive an appreciation certificate by the principal for your hard work. A students’ parent congratulates you for this.”

You:

11. “You are a university lecturer, walking towards the class, your papers are blown by the wind. One of the university students helps you collect them.”

You:

12. “You are a student and request the registrar for fine remit. The registrar favors you and remits the fine.”

You:

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#### **4. Data Analysis**

For data analysis, the researcher used a codebook. All the data comprised of participants’ responses were coded and compiled quite carefully in MS Excel files and sheets. Keeping in view the significance of different variables, the researcher used particular code numbers and alphabets for the universities and participants. In addition, different numbers were allocated to different variables of both response data and demographic data. Eventually, the researcher converted all MS Excel files into SPSS 21 for analysis. In order to get realistic description of the results, descriptive statistics were run before any of the subsequent analyses to check normality of data. All the data were analyzed while keeping in mind the research questions using frequencies, descriptive statistics, and Independent Samples *t*-Tests. The elicited data were categorized according to Herbert’s (1986) compliment speech act sets as can be seen in table 2 below.

Table 2

*Herbert's (1986) Taxonomy of Compliment Response Strategies and their possible realization*

<b>Response types</b>	<b>Examples</b>
A Agreement	
I. Acceptance	
1.Appreciation Token	Thank you (smile)
2.Comment Acceptance	Thanks a lot, it's my favorite too
3.Praise Upgrade	Waoow! it makes me feel wonderful. Isn't it?
II. Comment History	I purchased it to the journey to Lahore
III. Transfer	
1. Reassignment	I got it from my sibling
2. Return	It's same as yours
B Non-agreement	
I. Scale Down	Honestly, it's fairly old.
II. Question	Do you also believe so?
III. Non-Acceptances	
1.Disagreement	I don't like it.
2. Qualification	It seems good, but Lens is better.
IV. Acknowledgement	No Hush
C Other Interpretations	
1. Request	I can borrow you.

The results of the descriptive statistics and Independent Samples *t*-Tests will be reported in the next section.

## 5. Results and Discussion

As stated earlier, using Herbert's (1986) Taxonomy of Compliment Responses, table 3 presents the results of the use and non-use of the specific compliment responses in English and Urdu. As the study used two DCTs, one in English and the other in Urdu, the results of both DCTs of English and Urdu are presented in table 3. Responses of English DCT

indicate that out of the total 100 respondents, a great majority of the participants (98, 60, 52, 64 and 72) used the “appreciation token” strategy (Thank you’ with smile), “comment acceptance” strategy (thanks, it’s my favorite too), “praise upgrade” (Really it makes me feel wonderful, Doesn’t it?), “reassignment” strategy (My brother gave it to me) respectively. Conversely, out of the total 100 respondents, results of Urdu DCT indicate a great majority of the participants (86, 56, 58, and 60) used the “appreciation token” strategy (Thank you’ with smile), “comment acceptance” strategy (thanks, it’s my favorite too), “praise upgrade” (Really it makes me feel wonderful. Doesn’t it?), “reassignment” strategy (My brother gave it to me) respectively. At the same time, 96 out of 100 participants were found with non-use of ‘Return’ strategy (So’s yours.). It means only 4 participants used it. The findings indicate that Pakistani university students almost used the same type of strategies both in English and Urdu. The exclusive use of these strategies both in English and Urdu showed that the respondents usually feel the need to be implicit. They feel the need to save the interlocutor’s public self-image. The results of agreement strategies are consistent with the findings of Razmjoo, Barabadi, and Arfa (2013) who also acknowledged that interlocutors mostly prefer the implicit strategies in order to provide face-support to the addressee. Jones (2017) claims such strategies as hearer-oriented strategies.

The second main strategy out of three main compliment response strategies in Herbert’s (1986) compliment classification is “Non-Agreement”. Under this heading, there are four sub-strategies:

Table 3

*Distribution of compliment responses in English and Urdu by Pakistani University Students*

Response Type	Examples	English		Urdu	
		Freq of use	Freq of non-use	Freq of use	Freq of non-use
A Agreement					
I. Acceptance					
1.Appreciation Token	Thank you (smile)	98	02	86	14
2.Comment Acceptance	Thanks a lot, it’s my favorite too	60	40	56	44
3.Praise Upgrade	Waoow! it makes me feel wonderful. Isn’t it?	52	48	58	42
II. Comment	I purchased it to the	64	36	52	48

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History	journey to Lahore				
III. Transfer					
1. Reassignment	I got it from my sibling	72	28	60	40
2. Return	It's same as yours	10	90	04	96
B Non-agreement					
I. Scale Down	Honestly, it's fairly old.	12	88	08	92
II. Question	Do you also believe so?	14	86	10	90
III.Non-Acceptances					
1.Disagreement	I don't like it.	08	92	08	92
2. Qualification	It seems good, but Lens is better.	08	92	04	96
IV.No Acknowledgement	Hush	04	96	02	98
C Other Interpretations					
1. Request	I can borrow you.	02	98	02	98

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The first category is “Scale down”, the second is “Question”. The third “Non-acceptance” category has two subcategories “Disagreement” and “Qualification” and the fourth category is “No acknowledgement”. The table 3 shows that a great majority (88 and 86) of respondents did not use “Scale down” strategy (Its really quite old) and “Question” strategy (Do you really think so?). As far as the results of third category “Non-acceptance” are concerned, a great majority of participants (92 and 92) were not found using “Disagreement” strategy (I hate it) and “Qualification” strategy (It's alright, but lens is nicer). The results of the fourth category are also quite similar like the previous three categories, as a great majority of respondents (96) did not use “No acknowledgement” strategy (silence). The last strategy of Herbert's classification is “Other interpretations” it has one sub-category “Request” strategy. With no surprise, the results show that a great majority of respondents (98) did not use “Request” strategy (silence). On the contrary, the results of Urdu DCT show that a great majority (92 and 90) of respondents did not use “Scale down” strategy (Its really quite old) and “Question” strategy (Do you really think so?). As far as the results of third category “Non-acceptance” are concerned, a great

majority of participants (98 and 96) were not found using “Disagreement” strategy (I hate it) and “Qualification” strategy (It’s alright, but lens is nicer). The results of the fourth category are also quite similar like the previous three categories, as a great majority of respondents (98) did not use “No acknowledgement” strategy (silence). The last strategy of Herbert’s classification is “Other interpretations” it has one sub-category “Request” strategy. With no surprise, the results show that a great majority of respondents (98) did not use “Request” strategy (silence). The reason for not using the ‘Non-Agreement’ strategies shows that Pakistani university students lack pragmatic knowledge of the target language. In Pakistani culture ‘Non-Agreement’ strategies are not used that much. People mostly use direct strategies and avoid the use of indirect semantic formulaic. The results are acknowledged by Ahmed (2017), Al-Momina (2009) and Saleem and Anjum (2018) who opine that English as second language learners produce cultural-specific and language-specific semantic formulas which shows their inclination towards the use of native form and content of speech behaviour.

The study had three sub-questions, the first sub-question asked:

- (a) What are the similarities or differences between male and female respondents in the use of compliment strategies?

As highlighted earlier, to answer this question data was collected from Pakistani university male and female students. The results of both English and Urdu DCTs were analyzed by running Independent *t*-Tests. The results in Table 4 below show the results of Independent Samples *t*-Tests of both English and Urdu DCTs, if we first look at the results of English DCT, we can see that the difference between male and female is not statistically significant in using complement strategies ( $t = .22$ ,  $df = 12$ , and  $p = .86$ ).

Table 4

*Comparison of compliment strategies in English and Urdu between male and female respondents*

	English						Urdu				
	N	M	SD	t	df	p	M	SD	t	df	p
Male	50	.43	.11	.22	12	.86	.39	.09	.20	10	.82
Female	50	.44	.12				.40	.10			

The results of the male and female groups’ also exhibit that the mean score of male participants (M= .43) is not quite different from the mean score of female respondents (M= .44). Conversely, the results of Urdu DCT also show quite similar results alike English DCT, if we see at table 4, we find that the difference between male and female is not statistically significant in using compliment responses ( $t = .20$ ,  $df = 10$ , and  $p > .05$ ). The results of the male and female groups’ also exhibit that the mean score of male participants (M= .43) is not quite different from the mean score of female respondents (M= .43). The results of English and Urdu DCTs *t*-Test indicate that the difference between male and female participants is not statistically significant in using compliment strategies. Both male and female participants used a similar type of compliment strategy with almost the same

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frequencies. The results of English and Urdu DCTs *t*-Test indicate that the difference between male and female participants is not statistically significant in using compliment strategies. Both male and female participants used a similar type of compliment responses with almost the same occurrences. These findings are not in line with a majority of previous researches which has indicated that female respondents were found in using more compliment expressions as equated to the male respondents. The previous studies on gender propose that (1) female and male are brought up quite contrarily during their childhood, which affects their linguistics performance as they develop into maturity and influences them to respond in different ways (2) as highlighted in many previous studies (Ebadi & Salman, 2015; Furko & Dudas, 2012; Wolfson, 1983; Yusof, Anniqah & Hoon, 2014), females exhibit more caring and soliciting behavior for their speaker's moods than males and females mostly incline in using more constructive expressions for communication and they also use more overt agreement expressions and less non-acceptance. Another motivation of resemblance in the use of compliment responses in English and Urdu by the participants can be their linguistic and cultural homogeneity of the current study. The results are contradictory to Zhao (2013) who discovered differences between female and male respondents in using compliment response strategies. According to him, male participants were found using more strategies of acceptance with amendment, non-acceptance, and no acknowledgement than females; on the other hand, female participants were found in using more strategies like acceptance and combination than males. His study clearly shows that female students give and receive more compliments than males and women are more inclined to use polite compliment strategies. Females always prefer to keep healthy relations with their interlocutors as compared to males (Holmes, 1989).

The second sub-question of this asked:

- (b) Did Pakistani English students keep in mind the social distance of interlocutors while accepting compliment strategies?

As regards the social distance variable, the results of English DCT show that under the heading of "Agreement" category 'appreciation token' (thank you) strategy was the most occurring strategy employed by Pakistani EFL speakers. The analysis shows that 68 respondents out of 100 participants used "Appreciation Token" (Thank you) with a smile for close, 32 for neutral and 18 for distant social distance. The second category of Agreement 'Comment Acceptance' strategy was used by 42 respondents for close 14 for neutral and 11 for close social distance. The third category of Agreement 'Praise Upgrade' was used by 31 respondents for close 16 for neutral and 08 for distant social distance. As far as 'Comment History' was concerned, it was used by 17 respondents for close relation, 10 for neutral and 05 for distant social distance.

Table 5

*Frequency Distribution of Compliment Strategies in English and Urdu Interacting with a Social Distance Factor*

Response Type	Social Distance in English			Social Distance in Urdu		
	Close	Neutral	Distant	Close	Neutral	Distant
A Agreement						
I. Acceptance						
1.Appreciation Token	68	32	18	54	45	22
2.Comment Acceptance	42	14	11	36	27	16
3.Praise Upgrade	31	16	08	23	18	12
II. Comment History	17	10	05	12	05	01
III. Transfer						
1. Reassignment	18	09	05	13	08	04
2. Return	12	15	07	16	12	03
B Non-agreement						
I. Scale Down	13	05	03	07	01	00
II. Question	14	04	00	18	01	00
III. Non-Acceptances						
1.Disagreement	00	00	00	00	00	00
2. Qualification	11	03	04	07	06	02
IV.No Acknowledgement	02	01	00	06	01	00
C Other Interpretations						
1. Request	00	00	00	00	00	00



On the other hand, 'Reassignment' under Transfers strategy was used by 18 respondents for close, 09 for neutral and 05 for distant social distance and 'Return' was used by 12 respondents for close, 15 for neutral and 07 for distant social distance. If, we see the results of Urdu DCT regarding the social distance variable, as table 5 on the previous page shows appreciation token (thank you) strategy was also the most occurring strategy employed by Pakistani EFL learners in Urdu language. The analysis shows that 54 out of 100 participants used "Appreciation Token" (Thank you) with a smile for close, 45 for neutral and 22 for distant social distance. In addition, the 'Comment Acceptance' strategy was used by 36 respondents for close 27 for neutral and 16 for close social distance. Anyhow, 'Praise Upgrade' strategy was used by 23 respondents for close 18 for neutral and 12 for distant social distance and 'Comment History' strategy was used by 12 respondents for close 5 for neutral and 1 for distant social distance. As far as, 'Reassignment' under Transfers strategy was concerned, it was used by 13 respondents for close 8 for neutral and 4 for distant social distance and 'Return' was used by 16 respondents for close 12 for neutral and 3 for distant social distance. This indicates that a majority of English and Urdu compliment strategies of Pakistani EFL speakers were uttered between close social distances. This indicates that a majority of English and Urdu compliment strategies of Pakistani EFL speakers were uttered between close social distances. The finding parallels Brown and Levinson (1987) hypothesis that a close social distance (e.g. among acquaintances) necessitates the display of respect by means of complimenting and the increase in social distance tends not to require the production of these speech acts. This finding is similar to English native speakers' data from Payne (2014) corpus in which compliments were mostly exchanged between close relations. Unlike the Persian data from Sad's (2015) which were mostly between acquaintances. From this, it can be interpreted that the Pakistani university students transferred social distance norms. Moreover, it may be interpreted that Pakistani university students of English heard the routine form "thank you" or "thanks a lot" very frequently from EFL textbooks or media.

Additionally, they 'overlearn' the routine form (Trosborg, 1987). Under the second category of Herbert's taxonomy, "Non-Agreement", the English DCT results exhibit that 'Scale Down' strategy was used by 13 respondents for close 05 for neutral and 03 for distant social distance. 'Question' strategy was used by 14 respondents for close 04 for neutral and no one was found using this strategy for distant social distance. Anyhow, 'Disagreement' strategy is the strategy that was not used by anyone. Moreover, 'Qualification' strategy was used by 11 respondents for close, 03 for neutral and 04 for distant social distance and 'No Acknowledgement' strategy was used by 2 for close, 1 for neutral and no one was found using this strategy for distant social distance. Conversely, the results of Urdu DCT show that Under Non-Agreement, 'Scale Down' strategy was used by 07 respondents for close relation, 1 for neutral and no one used this strategy for distant social distance. On the contrary, 'Question' strategy was used by 18 respondents for close, 1 for neutral and none were found using this strategy for distant social distance. Anyhow, 'Disagreement' is the strategy which is not used by anyone. As far as, 'Qualification' strategy was concerned, only 7 respondents were found using this strategy for close, 6 for neutral and 2 for distant social distance and 'No Acknowledgement' strategy was used by 6 for close, 1 for neutral and no one was found using this strategy for distant social distance. As far as the last category of Herbert was concerned, the results of English DCT show that 'In Other Interpretation' category, Request strategy was not used by anyone at any social

distance level. On the other hand, if we have a glance at the results of Urdu DCT regarding the last category of Herbert, we find that we have the same case in Urdu as we have in English DCT, as 'In Other Interpretation' category, 'Request' strategy was not used by anyone at any social distance level. Wolfson (1988) highlighted the importance of interaction explained between people who are neither strangers nor close friends or intimates need expressions of solidarity to support them. As highlighted throughout this study that Pakistani-speaking university students did not use the last two categories of Herbert's (1986) taxonomy. It shows their lack of knowledge regarding these strategies. Another possibility may be that these strategies do not exist in Pakistani-speaking norms. These results are in line with the findings of previous studies (Ahmed, 2017; Al-Momina, 2009; Aziz, Maqsood, Azam & Saleem, 2018; Jebeen & Akhter, 2013; Shehzad, 2010) which acknowledge that EFL learners lack sociocultural knowledge of target language and produce and perceive inappropriate use of target language.

The third sub-question of this study asked:

- (c) Was the relative social power of the interlocutor over the speaker affecting their compliment strategies?

In social and cultural interactions, the role of social status is quite pivotal, as it involves the ability to recognize each other's social position (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Holmes, 1995; Leech, 1983). A number of studies have been conducted to highlight the importance of sociolinguistic factors in intercultural and cross-cultural communication. If we see at table 6, we find three main categories of Herbert's classification of compliment response strategies; (a) Agreement, (b) Non-Agreement and (c) Other Interpretations.

Table 6

*Frequency Distribution of Compliment Strategies in English and Urdu Interacting with a Social Status Factor*

Response Type	Social Status in English			Social Status in Urdu		
	Higher	Lower	Equal	Higher	Lower	Equal
A Agreement						
I. Acceptance						
1.Appreciation Token	23	40	57	22	48	66
2.Comment Acceptance	18	21	36	12	24	36
3.Praise Upgrade	22	12	44	22	12	54
II. Comment History	04	03	01	04	02	02

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III. Transfer						
1. Reassignment	09	03	02	7	05	01
2. Return	04	02	12	02	02	12
B Non-agreement						
I. Scale Down	10	09	10	12	06	04
II. Question	12	17	03	20	21	06
III. Non-Acceptances						
1. Disagreement	09	03	00	06	00	01
2. Qualification	05	01	00	05	00	01
IV. No Acknowledgement	17	12	08	22	12	10
C Other Interpretations						
1. Request	00	00	06	00	00	5

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Here are the results for Agreement strategies. The analysis shows that in the English language ‘Appreciation Token’ strategy (Thank you) with a smile was used by 23 respondents at higher status, 40 at lower status and 57 at equal social status level. In contrast, ‘Comment Acceptance’ strategy was used by 18 respondents at higher level, 21 at lower and 36 at equal social status level. Nevertheless, ‘Praise Upgrade’ strategy was used by 22 respondents at higher, 12 at lower and 44 at equal social status level.

Moreover, the ‘Comment History’ strategy was used by 4 respondents at higher, 3 at lower and 1 at equal social status level. Furthermore, Reassignment under ‘Transfers’ strategy was used by 9 respondents at higher, 3 at lower and 2 at equal social status level and ‘Return’ strategy was used by 4 at higher, 2 at lower and 12 at equal social status level. In opposition, the results of Urdu DCT show that ‘Appreciation Token’ strategy (Thank you) with a smile was used by 22 respondents at higher, 48 at lower and 66 at equal social status level. In addition, ‘Comment Acceptance’ strategy was used by 12 respondents at higher level, 24 at lower and 36 at equal social status level. Besides, ‘Praise Upgrade’ strategy was used by 22 respondents at higher, 12 at lower and 54 at equal social status level. More to the point, ‘Comment History’ strategy was used by 4 respondents at higher, 2 at lower and 2 at equal social status level. Further, Reassignment under ‘Transfers’ strategy was used by 7 respondents at higher, 5 at lower and 1 at equal social status level and ‘Return’ strategy was used by 2 at higher, 2 at lower and 12 at equal social status level. Wolfson (1988) highlighted the importance of interaction explained between people who are neither

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strangers nor close friends or intimates need expressions of solidarity to support them. As highlighted throughout this study that Pakistani-speaking university students did not use the last two categories of Herbert's (1986) taxonomy. It shows their lack of knowledge regarding these strategies. Another possibility may be that these strategies do not exist in Pakistani-speaking norms. These results are in line with the findings of previous studies (Ahmed, 2017; Al-Momina, 2009; Aziz, Maqsood, Azam & Saleem, 2018; Jebeen & Akhter, 2013; Shehzad, 2010) which acknowledged that EFL learners lack sociocultural knowledge of target language and produce and perceive inappropriate use of target language.

Under the heading of Non-Agreement strategies, the results of English DCT show that 'Scale Down' strategy was used by 10 respondents at higher, 9 at lower and 10 at equal social status level. Besides, 'Question' strategy was used by 12 respondents at higher, 17 at lower level and 3 at equal social status level and 'Disagreement' strategy was used by 9 respondents at higher and 3 at equal social status level. None was found using this strategy at lower social status level. Anyway, 'Qualification' strategy was used by 5 respondents at higher and 1 at equal social status level but none was found using this strategy at lower social status level. In addition, 'No Acknowledgement' strategy was used by 17 respondents at higher, 12 at lower and 8 at equal social status level. In contrast, the Urdu DCT results exhibit that Under the Non-Agreement category, 'Scale Down' strategy was used by 12 respondents at higher, 6 at lower and 4 at equal social status level. As far as 'Question' strategy was concerned, it was used by 20 respondents at higher, 21 at lower level and 6 at equal social status level and Disagreement were used by 6 respondents at higher and 1 at equal social status level and none were found using this strategy at lower social status level. Moreover, 'Qualification' strategy was used by 5 respondents at higher and 1 at equal social status level but no one used this strategy at lower social status level. Nonetheless, 'No Acknowledgement' strategy was used by 22 respondents at higher, 12 at lower and 10 at equal social status level. Furthermore, the English DCT results show that in Herbert's third category of compliment strategies 'In Another Interpretation category', 'Request' strategy was used by 2 respondents at equal social status level used this strategy was not used by anyone at high and lower level. Conversely, Urdu DCT results show that 'In Other Interpretation' category, 'Request' strategy was used by 5 respondents at equal social status level, but no one used it at higher and lower levels. The results of second and third categories of Herbert (1986) classifications indicate that Pakistani university students have no idea of these strategies. They did not use these strategies either in English or Urdu. It shows their transfer of cultural norms and knowledge. These results would be surprising for the experts in the field and are in line with Adachi (2011) and Frenkia (2014) who opine that such strategies demand the understanding of the cultural norms and equally good knowledge of sociolinguistics rules of speaking, which are not found in Pakistani EFL learners who lack target language cultural-specific knowledge.

## 5. Pedagogical Implications

In order for the teaching of pragmatics to be effective, the English curriculum should be developed with pragmatics as the organizing principle (Ishihara, 2010a, 2010b, 2010c). In this curriculum, the central focus for curriculum designers, teachers, and learners is appropriateness in the given context. Ishihara (2010b) has suggested two ways to incorporate pragmatic materials into the L2 curriculum: "as an add-on to an existing

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curriculum or as the organizing principle of a newly developed curriculum” (p. 202). In the first way, additional pragmatics-focused exercises and insights would be supplemented and incorporated into existing activities, and pragmatic instruction could be in the form of written or spoken discourse and could be part of an integrated skills curriculum. In the second way, the organization of the curriculum can be determined by pragmatic content. Ishihara (2010b) proposed the inclusion of one or more of the following in a lesson: “a speech act, some conversational implicature, use of epistemic stance markers, attention to discourse markers and fillers, and some discourse structure of interest or relevance” (p. 203). A pragmatics-focused curriculum needs pragmatic materials. Textbooks play an important role in providing English language knowledge. Therefore, it is important and urgent to design well-written and appropriate textbooks to facilitate the teaching and learning process.

## 6. Conclusion

Pakistani university students transferred their cultural norms while responding to different scenarios. The reason for this transfer can be the lack of knowledge of these strategies. It might be the case that they had never heard these strategies as most of the English learners in Pakistan grasp their knowledge of target cultural from Hollywood movies, English plays, and novels. There is no other way to get acquaintance with the target language and culture and students find no chance to practice English language in real-life situations. Moreover, the reason for using “Agreement” and “Transfer” strategies can be attributed to their overuse in daily routine. So, we may say that the findings of both English and Urdu DCTs show that Pakistani learners of English do not produce target-like compliment responses. Their cultural knowledge affected their responses. The findings indicate that Pakistani learners used almost the same compliment strategies in English and Urdu. We can see the high rate of non-use of “Non-agreement”, “No acceptance”, and “No acknowledgement” strategies. It exhibits the scarcity of knowledge on the part of Pakistani learners. Further, it also shows that Pakistani students of English do not use these strategies. The findings of the study are in line with previous studies (Ahmed, 2017; Aziz et al., 2018; Cai, 2012; Cheng, 2011; Dudas, 2012; Sachathap, 2014; Saleem & Anjum, 2018; Sucuoglu & Bahçelerli, 2015; Tran, 2007) who argue that EFL learners transfer their cultural-specific compliment responses and lack sociocultural competence. Overall, the participants do not use negative compliment responses and they generally employ appreciation tokens in the construction of complex responses. In addition, a significant difference between male and female respondents in the use of compliment responses was not found. This discrepancy in the results with the previous studies (Holmes, 1995; Tanen, 1983; Wofson et al., 1994) might indicate that Pakistani EFL learners are introduced to similar kind of compliment responses and have equal opportunities for learning and practicing. Anyhow, this study is in line with the results of Saleem and Anjum (2018) who argue that both male and female Pakistani participants tend to exhibit similar kind of behaviour in their use of apology strategies. Meanwhile, the results of social distance and social status indicate that respondents preferred to use cultural-specific and language-specific CRs, indicating a transfer from L1 cultural norms to target language (Ahmed, 2017; Al-Momina, 2009; Aziz et al., 2018; Saleem & Anjum, 2018).

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## Woman Speaks with Nature: Woman and Land through the Lens of Ecofeminism in *Game of Thrones*

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### Keywords

- Subjugation
- Patriarchy
- Capitalism
- Dominance
- FCDA

### Abstract

*The Game of Thrones, an HBO series depicts various mind-probing scenarios related to women. This series is a combination of different seasons that have iconized female gender in variant ways. It exemplifies many female characters epitomizing stereotyped gender roles, female subjugation and domination. This study explores this through the conceptual framework of Ortner (1974) and Biehl (1991), under the method of Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA) by Lazaar (2005). The aim of this paper is to deconstruct the social constructs. Although the movie portrays various female characters like Daenerys, Shireen, Cersei and Gilly, this paper aspires to scrutinize the character of Sansa through the themes of Ecofeminism as materialistic, capitalist and patriarchal approaches. Sansa's character is representative of all the victimized women. The materialistic view relates the foundations of power and property as a source of woman and land subjugation and domination. In the movie, Sansa and nature's land are two entities which are frequently brutalized. Sansa is raped, dishonored and treated as property. Simultaneously, the land is plundered and destroyed for patriarchal control and power. She is mostly represented as a subordinate under the ownership of men affiliated with the land. The findings of this qualitative research demonstrate that the woman speaks with nature as being victimized by men. In the Game of Thrones, subjugation may or may not be an open choice for Sansa and other women still they have been through it one way or the other.*

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## 1. Introduction

Time and tide have proved that the issue of womanhood is challenging. It requires a lot of determination and courage to stand apart and give vent to dichotomous narratives of identity. These narratives are ideological constructs which are predefined by the community and they are not easily changeable. It requires a complete paradigm shift to discard or even deconstruct these narratives. This has been a quality of literature not only to represent life but also to subvert grand narratives that perpetuate control and hegemony, the very tools of power.

Nature and land have always been affiliated with the feminine quality of reproduction and patronization. Due to this parallelism, the women and the land both are looked upon as objects of male satisfaction and gratification instead of living and breathing entities. According to Griffin (1978), "I know I am made from this earth, as my mother's hands were made from this earth, as her dreams came from this earth ... speaks to me through this earth and I long to tell you, you who are earth too, and listen as we speak to each other of what we know: the light is in us" (p. 227). Bianchi (2012) claims that the protection and reproduction of human life in collaboration with nature is an unappreciated task of the woman, since ancient times. She has been mistreated as invisible, servile and slavish. Whereas, Griffin (1978) suggests that the traditional bond between woman and nature should take a positive liberating implication. Bianchi (2012) further elaborates that in literature as well the relationship between woman oppression and dominion over nature has become a prominent theme. In this respect, various literary genres are instrumental to dismantle the subjugation of nature and women by men.

The objectification of land and woman has its base in patriarchy and capitalism for they are power base structures that want to control the land and women in order to maintain their hegemony. It is very aptly delineated by Mies (1986) that the feminists' movements around the world will propagate until the actual question will not be addressed. According to Mukherjee (2013) "nature does not need us to rule over it" (p.1) same is the case with women rather the need is for a harmonized and balanced system where each and every entity work independently and yet collectively. In response to these constructions, the ecofeminist theory deconstructs previous patriarchal approaches and relates the controlling of women by the men equivalent to ruining the environment" (Mukherjee, 2013, p. 2).

This research attempts to decenter the power narrative of male dominance with regard to women subjugation along with its parallelism to land. In the patriarchal structure, land and women are treated as objects to be ruled and plundered. In most of the countries subjugation of women is a repeated practice. Simultaneously, nature/land is also the victim of this masculine power that tends to control both women and land. Thus, the status of woman as a human has become problematic due to such objectification of the feminine gender.

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## 2. Literature Review

The term Ecofeminism emerged in the 1970s as a result of growing consciousness about the association of woman with nature. According to some, a French feminist and author Eaubonne is the originator of Ecofeminism through her work *Feminism or Death* (1974), whereas, others consider Griffin (1978) and Daly (1978) as the propagators of Ecofeminism. Mukherjee (2013) defines ecofeminism as an approach which synthesizes the movement of ecology and feminism together. In such a way, this approach brings forth a new dimension to observe environmental and feminist discourses.

If we turn the pages of history, we come to the realization that earth has always been assumed to be feminine in nature, for it has been termed as the ‘mother earth’. The Ecofeminists went a step ahead from the notion of mother earth and brought forth the issue of subjugation and servitude related to land and women. Thus, Ecofeminism is a combination of radical ecology, deep ecology and feminism. Ecofeminists show their disappointment with the conventional environment movements and the plight of the women. They pursued to create more awareness about the environmental issues along with the problems of women, because there are numerous connections of women with land or nature (Mukherjee, 2013). One such connection is history, as since ages women and land are suffering through male dominancy and supremacy. Both nature and women have the quality to nurture and give comfort in the times of difficulty, yet both are fragile and easily ruled upon that has led to the exploitation of land and women.

Buckingham (2004) in her research has traced the influence of Ecofeminism on the policy related to gender inequality and the environment during the past twenty years. She has debated upon the socially constructed interpretation of women’s relationship with environment. Ling (2014) suggests that with the spurt of industrialization and modernization ecological problems have become global problems. Thus, there is a need for a more radical kind of theorization in order to analyze the severity of damage done to the land and women. In order to deal with such issues, the notion of Radical Ecofeminist theory was developed. This approach deals with critically observing the modern civilization and attempts to restructure such cultural values (Ling, 2014) which can possibly liberate both nature and women.

Basically, Ecofeminism is derived from Radical, Social and Cultural Feminism that emerged in the 1960s, as the second wave of Feminism. Radical Feminism focuses upon the reproductive function of the women as being a superior characteristic. It was through the Radical Feminism that patriarchy as a concept was used to explain the female problems. The same patriarchy is a significant theoretical tool of analysis in Ecofeminism. Whereas, Cultural Feminism suggests that gender is a socially constructed phenomenon. Ecofeminism also considers nature and women as sociocultural constructs. Socialist Feminism is a product of Marxist philosophy; as a result, Ecofeminism also includes economic analysis in order to understand and analyze the issues of land and women (Ling, 2014). Buell and colleagues (2011) represented a connection between literature and environment through the notion of Ecocriticism, which is an umbrella term for Ecofeminism. According to them, “Literature and environment studies—commonly called “ecocriticism” or “environmental criticism” ... comprise an eclectic, pluriform, and cross-disciplinary initiative that aims to explore the environmental dimensions of literature and other creative media ....” (p. 418). The basic postulate of ecofeminism is, thus, that ideology oppresses on the basis of class, race, physical strength and gender (Gaard, 1993).

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As this study is based upon Cultural and Social Ecofeminism, it is essential to discuss these notions. Developed during the 1970s, Cultural Ecofeminism is a reaction to the observation that women and nature are mutually devalued and exploited throughout the cultures of the world. Ortner (1974) projected the problem of woman and nature that has eventually motivated many ecofeminists today. She has asserted that cross-culturally and historically women are different from men and closer to nature in their social role, psychology and physiology. Moreover, they have been exploited and subjugated by the men since the advent of humanity on the surface of the earth. According to the Cultural Ecofeminists, the way out of this cultural crisis is to uplift and liberate women and nature through direct actions.

Social Ecofeminism to the contrary has its base in patriarchy and capitalism. It suggests that women and land are utilized and demoralized by patriarchy and capitalism. Biehl (1991) states Social Ecofeminism assents with the main principle of social ecology that the dominion on nature stalks from the dominance of human by human. An ecological society is only possible by diminishing all the power-based dominant structures in which no states or capitalist economies attempt to subjugate nature or another human.

Such approaches lead to a newer approach in discourse studies as well. The Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA) is an existing expansion of the research field of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The approach of CDA is significant because it talks about the connection between the power inequalities, practices and discursive structures (Lazar, 2005). The central crux of the approach is that discourses are socially constructed through social knowledge, wherein meanings are culturally and historically explicit. The Feminist CDA has an emancipatory agenda that is apprehensive of social change and consciousness nurturing through an analysis of the discourse (Lazar, 2005). Feminist CDA specifically aims at a subtle theorization of gender. Feminist CDA is inspired by linguistic theories, third-wave feminism and post-structuralism; thus, it sees gender as a liquefied concept that is socially constructed.

These aforementioned conceptualizations have been applied to a popular fictional narrative, *Game of Thrones*, in this research article. Escurignan (2017) claims that *Game of Thrones* is an appropriate example for narratology through media. Moreover, this television series shows the female characters in varied contexts, which enables the onlooker to observe their reactions and behaviors in different situations. According to Sandqvish (2016), if women are not in collaboration with powerful men, they would not be able to attain powerful positions. Moreover, for getting access to influential positions in the society, the women have to grant physical access to the males (p. 1). Often, the media represents the male's positive ability as being an intellectual and having strong physical strength, whereas the women's positive ability is often equated with being physically beautiful and fertile (Sandqvish, 2016); consequently, the latter characteristics are also associated with nature and land as well. Sandqvish (2016) further suggests that "The relationships between different families, or houses, reflect political alliances performed by men where women have no say. Women are merely regarded as assets, or wives, with the purpose of conceiving heirs" (p.1).

With regards to this television series, Cvitanovich (2013) has projected through his research that the females have often been represented as stereotypical; either they are represented as virtuous or evil. These bifurcations exemplify how females are typified regularly. The present investigation takes this idea further, by deeply exploring the reasons behind such constructions.

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Another work done on this series is by Varga (2015), which elaborated on the character of Sansa through her research. This study states that “Sansa obeys the rules ascribed to her gender without much protest, ...Because Sansa did everything that was asked of her, she never really faced any troubles of the world ... she believed that she would live the fairytale life by getting married to a prince or a knight” (p. 16). Sansa may not be termed as the weakest female character in the movie for later on in the proceeding seasons her character goes through dramatic changes that brought forth the wild side of Sansa Stark. Yet she is the one who has suffered as a bounty of battle and of course her connection to Winterfell being the eldest daughter is one of the causes of the sufferings that again related her (woman) to Winterfell (land). The above comprehensive analysis has projected the existing gaps in the analysis of *Game of Thrones* because it has not been researched from the perspective of ecofeminism. The gaps from such studies have assisted in the formulation of research queries for the present investigation.

### 3. Research Methodology

This study is based upon the conceptual framework of Cultural Ecofeminism as defined by Ortner (1974) and Social Ecofeminism, according to the theoretical perspective of Biehl (1991). It has used Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (2005) as a method of critical inquiry. Feminist CDA is an analytical approach that employs analytical and critical method in order to analyze the power narratives that perpetuate control and hegemony. For a critical discussion, the researchers have explored the issue of patriarchal subjugation and domination of land and woman (Sansa) through the lens of Ecofeminism. In order to do a Feminist CDA, the scenes and dialogues related to Sansa Stark in various seasons of *Game of Thrones* (2011) are critically analyzed along with the emphasis on content and context of the film. According to Lazar (2005), gender is discursively used and is deemed dependent on the context (p.11). As Feminist CDA is an expansion of Critical Discourse Analysis, this research has analyzed both the micro (linguistic) and macro (social) levels of discourse (movie). Discourses are socially constructed; therefore, sociocultural parameters are kept in mind while critically analyzing the movie.

The researchers have applied the method defined by Lazar (2005) along with the conceptual framework of Cultural (Ortner, 1974) and Social (Biehl, 1991) Ecofeminism to highlight the subjugation and domination of land and woman in *Game of Thrones* (2011).

#### 3.1 Research Questions

- i. How the issue of patriarchal subjugation and dominance upon the land and women is depicted in the movie through the character of Sansa Stark?
- ii. What are the historical and sociocultural relationships between woman/nature and man/culture?

### 4. Data Analysis

*Game of Thrones*, as the name signifies, is a story of struggle, battle, competition, treason to get the throne, and the one who survives becomes the winner. For this achievement,

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families are broken, killed, swiped away from the surface of the earth. Those who are innocent suffer the tortures and torments by those who are cunning and clever and know how and when to play the pawns in the game of chess. The movie characterizes patriarchal structures under predefined gender roles. Both the land and woman are affiliated with ownership, degradation, exploitation, dominance and the subjugation of women. There is boundless connectivity between land and woman as they have the elements of production and reproduction.

Sansa Stark, around whom the story revolves, is one of those characters who has lost her family as a result of false treason. She became the victim of King Joffery's desires and torments; she got exploited for power and land and finally turned out to be a subject to humiliation in public. The series shows how patriarchal society used her for its benefit as if she is a token for pleasure, and power. As long as she was useful for the patriarchal and materialist gains, she had some importance, otherwise, she was just another object in the 'Game of Thrones'.

Sansa is introduced as a beautiful elder daughter of Eddard Stark. King Robert asks for Sansa's hand in marriage for his son Joffery to strengthen his bond with Eddard. Joffery takes Sansa for a walk where he is wounded by Arya's dire wolf. When Sansa steps forward showing her concern, "my prince my poor prince look what they did to you, stay here I will go back to the inn and bring help (touching his cheek) Joffrey yells back at her LET go, don't touch me'. Later Joffrey is seen reluctant to marry Sansa, but his mother says, "it doesn't matter, you can see her on formal occasion and when the time comes to make little prince and princess". The land and the woman share the same qualities that are production and reproduction. As long as the land gives off materialistic gain and shelter, it has worth. The owner of the land has power over it. He comes to visit the land he owns when it is in its bloom but leaves it when it turns out to be barren. He can sell it and buy it for his benefit and turns down the same land. Similarly, Sansa has been brought to give an heir to the prince, "the time will come when you will present your son to the court" and "you will be the mother queen of the future king".

As long as the women can produce male children, they have their significance in the world of men. But if they fail to do so and bring a female child, the throne which is a symbol of power to rule, exploit, manipulate the land and the women will automatically pass on to another male in the line of descendants. During the duel between the knight and the other competitor named Mountain, the knight presents a red rose to Sansa. This rose symbolizes the beauty of nature but the fragrance and color of rose do not last long. It is beautiful as long as it is attached to its stem and roots. Once it is plucked fate turns cruel towards it. Sansa is in her bloom, is symbolically like the rose, which will suffer the same consequences as she too has been removed from her land and her roots (Winterfell) to the King's Landings. Thus, the red rose presented to her by the knight is a symbol for her own landlessness and exploitation. She is being humiliated by Joffrey when they blame her for being a daughter of a traitor. She is further tortured when she was taken to see the head of her father on the sword. Just as the land sees the blood of its beings Sansa too is forced to look at her dead father's head, "this one is your father, Look, I said Look, you must obey me". She is subjugated by Joffrey, while looking at the dead head of her father she asks, "well how long do I have to look" to which Joffrey replies "as long as it pleases me".

Sansa Stark is living with Joffrey as a hostage. She utters what she is being asked to. Her freedom of speech has been taken away from her. When Tyrion feels sorry for her loss of father, she is forced to speak so as to please Joffrey, the murderer of her father. She says,

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“my father was a traitor, my mother and brothers are traitors too, I am loyal to my beloved Joffrey”. Later, she is being accused of treason which she had not committed. In a patriarchal society, female has to face the consequences of any conduct if the responsible male is not caught. Similarly, Sansa (the future queen) is being accused in court for the treason of her brother and made to beg for her innocence and honesty to which Joffrey replies, “killing you would send your brother a message, but my mother insists on keeping you alive, stand”. He further humiliates her in front of the courtiers by asking the guard to beat her and undress her in order to get pleasure and revenge from her brothers. Once again, she is being ordered to follow the actions by her to be mother-in-law Cersei, “act like a fool to keep them (men) happy and safe and love no one”.

Sansa pretends to be loyal to Joffrey as she is afraid of his brutal behavior towards her. Her tongue moves in favor of Joffrey regardless of what he did to her family, “Joffrey is a kind and handsome man”. When he is leaving for the war, he asks her to kneel down and kiss his sword. Sansa asks if he would fight in front or outside the gates, he replies “A king does not discuss battle plan with stupid girls” and she repeats “I am sorry your grace, of course I am stupid”. Sansa has lost her right to decide her fate. Meanwhile, Tyreon’s father decides to give Sansa’s hand to his dwarf son and she has to obey. As time passes, she is made to leave with Peter to his land where her aunt takes away her identity and called her Alayne referring to her as a possession. Even she is told that she will marry her aunt’s little son Robin. The same Robin, later on, destroys the snow castle she made in the memory of her lost family because it was not how Robin wanted it to be built.

Peter also decides to sell Sansa to the Boltons who killed Sansa’s brother, like selling land for his benefit, as he knows that she is young, in her full bloom and beautiful. Peter bargains with Boltons, the enemy of Sansa and sell her to their brutal and wicked son Ramsey who also for his pleasure disgraces her on her wedding night in the presence of guards. She is being owned and claimed by the patriarchal society. On her wedding, she does not have her family around, so the strangers take her. To make a marriage take place she must have a man beside her, to speak for her. As the minister asks, “who claims her?” ,” I Ramsey of house Bolton heir to Dreadfort and Winterfell, ‘who gives her?’ “I Theon house of Greyjoy”. Regularly, she is being objectified by the men through such use of language.

Sansa is in the hands of a brutal world, where she is handed over from one monster to another monster as long as it pleases them. Sansa has been a victim of patriarchal subjugation and capitalist dominance just as nature and land. The men can buy a land, own it, dig it and cultivate it, take out the fruit that pleases them and then, sell it to another to repeat the same. Similarly, Sansa has been mistreated and exploited in the series. Her fate is affiliated with her parental land, called Winterfell. In order to get hold of the castle of Winterfell and become the custodian of the North, different males try to get hold of Sansa through marriage. For whosoever owns Sansa Stark, he gets hold of Winterfell. Since the beginning of times, men have struggled for throne and land just to rule, enjoy and exploit it while the land is silent and only bleeds with every battle and every death. Similarly, the woman is also the victim of such kind of subjugation and dominance. She also bleeds with pain for her miseries and yet remains silent being a pawn in the hands of monsters as Sansa has called it.

The above discussion exemplifies how FCDA is a useful technique which brings forward the discourse of woman and subjugation. It has projected that women (similar to Sansa) have been used as an object of gratification just like the land. The analysis has proved that

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sociocultural (macro) aspects play a significant role in order to highlight the discourse of women exploitation through Sansa's character. Whereas the micro-level of analysis has equally projected the mentioned discourse through the analysis of dialogues, characters, metaphors and symbols.

## 5. Conclusion

With a conceptual framework of Cultural (1975) and Social (1991), Ecofeminism and FCDA (2005) the various scenes in different seasons of *Game of Thrones* are projected where Winterfell and Sansa are represented parallel to each other. Depiction of such scenes is an apt justification of the notion that women stand with nature. Sansa's character stands both as a symbol and metaphor for the exploitation and domination of land by capitalist patriarchy. Findings of research questions conclude that Sansa's character has been vividly projected under the influence of patriarchal subjugation and dominance upon the land and women. It is through her character that the historical servitude and male dominion upon the female are made evident. Different scenes and dialogues related to Sansa have aptly projected the exploitation of woman and land. It is in the laps of nature that Sansa is brutally abused and Winterfell (land) gets the victim of the external invasion. Thus, Feminist discourse analysis justifies that Sansa (woman) and Winterfell (land) are proportionate to each other if one gets abused the other automatically suffers. If Sansa is dominated by men Winterfell becomes the hostage of the patriarchal capitalist oppression. It is not only about the subjugation of woman, but it is also about the materialistic gain that will definitely come after the patriarchs get command of Winterfell.

The findings have also depicted that historically and socially woman and nature are bound together. It is in their nature to reproduce and nurture to patronize still get abused, mistreated and exploited. Simultaneously, man and culture have the potential to dominate and subjugate the woman and nature for materialistic gains. Under the pinning of Feminist CDA, the crux of this research was to decenter the power base structures of patriarchy and capitalism through the character of Sansa Stark. The research has targeted its goal to dismantle the male hegemony over land and woman.

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## Trauma as a Drive for Survival: A Study of Courageous Mother

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### Keywords

- Emotional balance
- Memory
- Nakba
- Trauma
- War

### Abstract

*The traumatic experience leaves permanent marks on one's psyche and the victim show the sign of emotional shock either in terms of reduced communication or a total lack of speech. While trauma has been studied as a regressive mechanism, Cathy Caruth (2001) has found another aspect of trauma while studying the speech of a boy who comes across the sudden death of his friend. She finds that though the boy is shocked by the unexplained death of his friend, yet he feels more determined to live and to fulfil the dreams he shares with his dead friend. The current study employs the findings of Caruth (2001) as a theoretical framework for the analysis of the character of a mother dealing with the loss of her son in the novel "Mornings in Jenin," written by Susan Abdulhawa. The researcher proposes that traumatic experience, although disturbs the mother emotional balance in every possible way, makes her more determined to protect her own life that has been denied to many of her people and thus acts as an impulse to live a meaningful life.*

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## 1. Introduction

War affects human life in every possible way. The most drastic and perpetual impact of it is realized through the aftermath conditions of the war victims suffering from both physical and emotional wounds. The sheer human loss and firsthand encounter with violence has been orchestrated by a perpetual traumatic victim and the tormented moment. This trauma shrouds the victims' life and can be studied in their behavior, activities, social relations, response to certain words and especially in the lack of communication on victims' part. Violent events of history have left behind helpless children, wounded fathers, crippled brothers, widowed daughters and sisters, and silent mothers. Susan Abdulhawa's novel *Mornings in Jenin* has been based on the displaced Palestinian Abulheja family during the event of Nakba. The novel introduces a mother dealing with traumatic memories, acting out her pains through silence and performing a variety of tasks with such an efficiency that is highly unlikely for a female suffering the loss of her son.

## 2. Literature Review

Researchers have been studying fiction written from the perspective of the characters suffering from the traumatic memories of the past. The main job of this type of fiction is the presentation of the inner feelings of a character in the absence of any information directly coming from the characters' mouth. In other words, authors introduce the readers with the characters not through words but through the silence that shrouds the characters and conveys the message through silent gestures other than fully articulated speech. In Hisham Matter's novel, the protagonist Sulaiman becomes the victim of traumatic stress after witnessing the public execution of his neighbor on a television screen (Kearney, 2014). Later on, this trauma combines with many other experiences that Suleiman's mind is not ready to understand or accept like the sexual relationship of his parents. Kearney finds that Sulaiman's traumatic encounter with the death of his neighbor and the sexual activity performed by his parents is a reason for his later treacherous behavior and distant relationship with his mother. The same article finds the traces of trauma in another main character of Matar's novel who encounters unexpected disappearance of his father and later the urge to be with his father develops into an ambivalent reluctance towards even listening to his name (Kearney, 2014). Trauma causes disturbed or no speech at all, but Baxter (2015) studies the interaction of the absence of speech and traumatic experience from a new perspective by presenting the absence of speech not as a result but as a cause that gives rise to traumatic feeling (2015). Yanko's, the protagonist of the short story Amy Foster, "inability to communicate effectively is not a result of some prior traumatic event" rather his inability to communicate properly in the rural Kent makes his life traumatic (p.9). According to Baxter (2015), it is not the trauma that precedes silence; on the contrary, it is Yanko's inability to communicate with the locals that are the governing trauma of the story (2015).

Both aforementioned researchers make references to Caruth (2001) approach towards trauma; the former looks at disturbed speech as the consequence of trauma – an approach much in agreement with that of Caruth while the latter presents the lack of speech as a trigger of trauma. A third perspective has been discussed by Baum (2000). He studies trauma as a connection that connects present and past.

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Trauma makes a person develop an ambivalent relationship with his or her past as one feels compelled to remember something that needs to be off loaded. The protagonist of Wiesel's (1995) novel *The Forgotten*, despite having a painful traumatic past, resists memory loss and pleads to God to keep his memory intact as his “memory is a tie to his people, to his God” (Baum, 2000, p. 91). Baum ‘s analysis of *The Forgotten* mainly deals with the dilemma faced by the second-generation while trying to keep the memories alive of those who have survived the calamity. In *The Forgotten* the son of the protagonist initially resists the burden of his father's memories but with the passage of time he “comes to see memory transfusion as the key to keeping his father alive” (Baum, 2000, p. 92). Thus, traumatic memories have a dual effect; one may find the past repelling and appealing all at the same time. Morris points out some other possible effects of the trauma of child abuse and domestic violence and its role in the character development in the background of the novels written by Bronte sisters (Morris, 2013). Morris claims that the physical abuse that Jane Eyre suffered at the hand of John Reed makes her stronger and this strength is displayed while she fights back and in “her verbal and physical response one sees the beginnings of the strength of character she will exhibit throughout her tumultuous life experiences” (2013, p. 158). Though the traumatic experiences she had while staying with Reeds and at Lowood stayed with her, yet the way she coped with the dire situations in her past also made her fathom her latent strength that was later tested time and again; especially when she was offered a position of Mr. Rochester’s mistress and she did not revisit her decision of abandoning him, a decision “based on her sense of morality, despite her overwhelming love for Rochester and his position as her master” (Morris, 2013, p. 161).

Baum and Morris have tried to present trauma as a consistent force in victim’s life that either keeps on suffering (Baum’s analysis of *The Forgotten*) or makes the turbulent present livable while dealing with troubles in the past (Morris o’s analysis of *Jane Eyre*).

### 3. Research Methodology

The current article will focus on Trauma as a driving force by employing Caruth (2001). This framework explicates the function of trauma in the development of one’s attitude towards life, the victim’s behavior with others and the ways opted by the victim to survive while enduring perpetual pain. Caruth explored the question, “What does it mean for life to bear witness to death?” (2001, p. 8). Theoretical underpinning analyzes the trauma of the witness in the light of the Freud’s *Pleasure of Experience* and explains it in terms of the recurrent disturbance in the normal flow of life, “What causes trauma, then, is an encounter that is not directly perceived as a threat to the life of the organism but that occurs, rather, as a break in the mind's experience of time” (2001, p.10). Caruth has analyzed the language of a child who has lost his friend and has found trauma not only as a threat to the peace of life but also a drive for survival. She explains the conversation of a dead child’s friend by keeping in view Freudian analysis of the child’s puzzling game “staging the departure and return of the mother” (2001, p.19). Freud studies the child’s game where he reacts to the pain of her mother’s departure to re-enact the happiness of her arrival.

The author reveals the words Greg for his dead friend Khalil. These words helped her to notice the drive for survival in Greg that emerges out of the trauma of his friend ‘s death and shapes his determination to pursue his career in the business of music. This has been

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the dream profession of his late friend Khalil. Greg manages to bear with Khalil's loss by declaring that he preserves his memory alive by naming his future son after him. Caruth discovers that this trauma develops into an urge to retain his memory alive and thus triggers a drive for survival. Cathy concludes from the Freudian pleasure of experience in general and specifically from the language of Greg that theory of trauma does not limit itself to a "theoretical formulation of the centrality of death" but also gives a shape to a "different history of survival" (2001, p. 21). The current article studies this very drive for survival triggered by a traumatic experience in the character of Dalia from the novel *Mornings in Jenin*.

#### **4. Summary of Mornings in Jenin**

Susan Abdulhawa's Dalia –a mother of female protagonist Amal- is a member of the Abulheja family who faced a forced eviction caused by the creation of the Jewish state in the year of 1948 (2000). The novel mainly captures the aftermath of the 1948 war (that is remembered as Nakba by Palestinians) that "was hardly acknowledged, at least from a Palestinian viewpoint, as a true military confrontation, in the full sense of the term. It was a massive attack on an unarmed civilian population who had no army" (Baroud, 2010, p. 76). The novel has been recounted from a Palestinian family's point of view while the condition of Dalia, after the disappearance of her son at the time of eviction ordered by the army, speaks of the predicament of many others with similar experiences. Dalia, the wife of Hassan Abulheja, gets married to Hassan a few years before Nakba. Her happy moments are cut short by forced eviction that makes them to leave the village of Ein Hod for a refugee camp in Jenin. In the chaotic situation and fear of being watched by soldiers with arms, Dalia loses control of her son who is, in fact, kidnapped by a Jew soldier whose own wife is not able to produce any child (Abdulhawa, 2000).

Susan Abdulhawa introduces the readers with three different versions of Dalia's character, corresponding to three different phases of her life. The readers are introduced to the transformation in a female personality when she leaves the ventures of youth behind and assumes the role of a wife and a mother and contently starts performing domestic chores. The third version appears as a break in the normal development in Dalia's personality as here readers meet an excessively somber lady who neither expresses the required amount of affection towards her children nor reciprocates their love. This specific version of Dalia's personality is the topic of the current article. The apparently silent phase of Dalia's life owes a great deal to the fateful year of 1948. This event transforms Dalia, who has initially been presented as a wild fun-loving girl and contented and sober wife, into an animate creature who makes no use of words to share his grief.

#### **5. Silent yet Courageous: Moving Ahead with Trauma**

Though Dalia is not the protagonist of the novel and nor is the story told at any point from her point of view, yet Abdulhawa provides enough detail of her personality and about her attitude towards life in the early years of her life. This practice of the author helps the readers to understand the extent of the influence exerted by trauma. Dalia's carefree attitude stands for the whole idea of village girl born and bred up in close proximity to nature and enjoying life in its really raw form. Nakba not only proved to be a sudden shock

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to her in the form of her son's loss but also detaches her from everything she was used to. Through Dalia's character, Susan Abdulhawa depicts traditional phases of life a Palestinian girl. But she also introduces Dalia as an unconventional girl brought up in a patriarchal society; these very characteristics contribute to her resistant attitude at the face of sheer adversities: "To the villagers, Dalia was like a wild gypsy, born of Bedouin poetry and colors instead of flesh and blood" (Abdulhawa, 2001, p.9). Dalia is a personification of a nonconformist unbounded Boudian spirit. She is presented as someone who wants to live on her own terms. This betrays the very impulse for the survival that later turns out to be more visible when it helps her to live a life with the least possible chances for survival. Her resistance power that her father considers his "daughter's insolence" is, in fact, her way of rejecting the conventions that have come between her and pleasures of life (2010, p. 9). Her capacity to digest pain is visible in this very initial phase of her life when she was scarred with a hot iron due to her unruly attitude: "Dalia made no sound as the burning metal seared the skin of her right palm" (2010, p. 9). That was Dalia's first encounter with torture that leaves an everlasting imprint on her mind when "she gripped the torture in her hand and held it there with a clench of her jaw as tears streaked her face" (2010, p. 20). This torturous moment will stay with her for the rest of her life as "for the rest of her life, Dalia would have the unconscious habit of rubbing the tips of the fingers of her right hand back and forth on their palm" (2010, p. 20). Dalia cannot get rid of the memory of being burnt by a hot iron rod, but she manages to live with this pain without any sign of protest and with the same patience that she showed at the time of being punished. This first phase of Dalia's life proves to be a mixed sort of experience for her as it offers both pain and pleasure. She accepts these bitter realities of a girl's life born and bred in an extremely strict, typically conventional and overtly patriarchal society, and enters into another phase of her life when her father gives her hand in marriage to Hassan.

In Palestinian society, a "bride moves from her father's household to that of her husband's the compound of her husband's family" (Fursoun, 2004, p. 34). Dalia's journey from her father's home to that of her husband confirms the age-long Palestinian tradition without any apparent digression. Here she transforms into a wife, mother, and daughter-in-law and her wild drive to live life to its fullest transforms into a tendency to care about the life of her loved ones. She gives birth to two sons: Yusuf and Ismail, and thus an unbound carefree village girl turns out to be a responsible mother and, later on, this very motherhood is assaulted, and leaves Dalia's soul stuck in a single traumatic moment while her physical body moves forward.

After a few years of her marriage, Dalia entered the third phase of her life where she encounters the worst form of mental torture. In the year of 1948, the residents of her village are ordered by Israeli soldiers to leave the village. Here comes the time, when Dalia loses her second son in the chaotic moment of tormented exodus: "She was mad with anguish, questioning people and uncovering other women's babies in hope of revealing a boy with a scar down his right cheek, around his eye" (2010, p. 32). Dalia's response to unexpected disappearance of his child during Nakba develops into a perpetual silence and abnormal attitude towards different events of lives whether it is the birth of her only daughter Amal or occasional moments of society's celebration in the refugee camp. This inability to talk about the loss of her son and the pain caused by this incident leaves Dalia trapped at the moment that snatched her son and leaves the family with the fear of his most probable death. Dalia's incapability to reconcile with the loss of her son confines her within a single moment of past and she relives the moment of her son's disappearance multiple times

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without any exhibition of burning grief. As Susan Abdulhawa does not invest the character of Dalia with many words, probably a move on writer's part to show regard to a wounded motherhood that no word can possibly interpret in a right or justified manner. As Baxter says that "traumatic event constitutes itself as unique, that uniqueness finds no match in the language available to the writer by which to communicate the event and its experiential effect" (Baxter, 2015, p.9) In the absence of any verbal clue of traumatic condition, Abdulhawa equips her readers with gestural hints and a full-time interpreter of this subdued sorrow in the form of her daughter, possibly the only character who appears to be the most obviously affected with her mother's self-assumed silent posture. Amal's childhood always remains devoid of an overt display of motherly love which she longs for more than anything: "the hugs and kisses I so craved, she held with the clench of her jaw and the grip that rubbed itself in her right palm" (Abdulhawa, 2010, p. 49). Dalia's traumatic memories keep her away from any social gathering and Amal never gets a chance to see her dancing on weddings or visits of her friends. After facing the shocks of Nakba, the tormented events of 1967 war leave Dalia completely speechless as her already troubled mind is forced to watch a re-enactment of Nakba and the shocked motionless body of Dalia makes Amal hate her for a moment, "I hated Mama for being in shock, whatever that was, for not being the one to put her arms around me, for always having been different from the other mothers" (2010, 62).

Susan Abdulhawa portrays the character of Dalia in every possible the way that facilitates the writer's goal for the projection of traumatized character from being less communicative to being uninterested in the events of occasional celebration, there is nothing normal about this young lady who is a beloved wife and a mother of two healthy children. The loss of her son Ismail during Nakba makes her a "stoic mother, communicating the demands and tenders of motherhood with the various tempers of silence" and whose love for her daughter "found its expression during the child's sleep" (p. 47). The details about Dalia's sad demeanor are easy to digest for the readers by keeping in view the series of unfortunate events happened to her. She appears as a psychologically wounded being that is robbed of any chance to be happy again under the trance of irreversible damage. Yet this study does not contend with the view that the traumatic episode of Dalia's life affects her only in one way that she finds herself incapable of enjoying the moments of happiness. The study is trying to suggest that a traumatic experience can work in multiple ways and if it could make a victim threatened by unspeakable horror, it can also work another way around by making the same victim stand against every possible re-enactment of the traumatic event. Dalia who does not pay much heed to the possibilities of being happy can be found nourishing, protecting and facilitating life with care, courage, and responsibility. Though she seems to be devoid of any impulse of being cheerful again but adores and protects life in her own way. Her wish to nourish a life (an instinctive desire of a mother to nurture her child) can be seen through her interest in planting grapevine. Though she cannot import rose gardens and olive groves that she was once forced to leave behind, yet she manages to invoke her endearing past by growing grapevine on the terrace of her small house and consequently finds a source to display affection and love. Amal mentions this vine as her "Mama's stubborn attempt to duplicate the glory of her gardens in Ein Hod" (Abdulhawa, 2010, p. 50). Dalia's attachment with grapevine proclaims the fact that a woman who has witnessed the molestation of the right to live can still be adamant in her endeavor of making life possible no matter how minute is the effort.

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Another such exhibition for Dalia's concern for life can be witnessed when she appears as a dutiful midwife helping new life to come to the world and as a courageous rescuer running about for the safety of her people when the camp is brutally targeted during the war of 1967. For Amal, her mother emerged as the bravest protector quite contrary to a meager lady drained of any dreams of a better future and any strength to protect others' lives. While most of the people especially women and children find themselves places to hide, Amal finds "Mama was still at the camp, having refused to flee with the others" (Abdulhawa, 2010, p. 56).

Dalia's trauma has got its roots in her preoccupation with the most probable death of her son. She remains adhered to the memory of her son and pays him homage not only through her persistent yet silent lamentation but also by safeguarding the very life that has probably been denied to his son and many others among her people. An adamant drive motivates Dalia to secure every upcoming life in the camp by performing the duty of midwife. Amal recalls when "Several times each week, she was called to deliver a baby. As with everything else she did, she performed midwifery with cool efficiency and detached nerve" (2010, p.49). A woman, whose son's sudden disappearance denied her the right to nurture the life she had given birth to, is found helping other females by making their ordeal of childbirth easy. While performing the midwife duties, Amal finds, her otherwise introvert silent mother, rather "deliberate and grave" as if she has mustered an act of immense courage and determinacy that bears no proportion to her delicate feminine posture (p. 49). At the time of panic, Dalia stands firmly between death and mother in labor. This display of courage and determinacy at saving life makes the readers' think of many other possible effects of traumatic loss of Dalia's son other than the lack of speech or inability to express grief in words.

Dalia expresses her tendency; no matter how subdued it is, to live and to protect life through certain repetitive actions remain the major motive. The grapevine hanging from the makeshift terrace of her small dwelling in the refugee camp speaks for Dalia's small but constant effort to nourish life. The same consistency is shown by Dalia while helping mothers giving birth to their babies. The repetitive mode of action might remind one about what has been said about the relationship between reverberation of past traumas and repetition of similar responses. Dalia pays homage to the traumatic memory of her son by repeating the lifesaving actions that she performs to protect or nourish life in its every possible manifestation.

## 6. Conclusion

The concept of trauma has long been studied as a regressive force that does not let victims moving ahead, keeps them psychologically trapped in a certain moment and eventually leaves them inactive. The framework of the study (2001) deals with the possible influence of a boy's sudden death introduces the fact that trauma can make one even more determined to achieve one's goals. Caruth introduces the possible way in which trauma can exert its power and the victim, who has so far been found repelled from life, is found being propelled by traumatic experiences to perform certain tasks. The study tries to find the working of the same motivating force conceived by trauma in the character of Dalia, a grief-stricken mother, from the novel of Susan Abdulhawa, shocked by the loss of his son. She is found protecting and nourishing the very life which has possibly been denied to her

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own son. The study finds the memory of traumatic experience clinging and powerful, but this very powerful memory acts as a life force making Dalia a savior who nourishes and protects lives of others either by growing plants or by performing the duties of a midwife. At one end she can be seen lamenting the loss of his son and on the other hand, the very loss forces her to relive the moments of giving birth and helping others female in labor. She cherishes the whole idea of giving birth and lives it again and again by assuming the role of savior for both the mother and child, the very role that she could not perform in the past and the feeling of regret now acts as a driving force of survival by making her a determined protector of life who adores the whole idea of being alive.

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