NUML
RESEARCH MAGAZINE

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF MODERN LANGUAGES

H-9, Islamabad

NUML

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National University of Modern Languages
Sector H-9, Islamabad

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Editor's Note:

NUML Research Magazine, a scholarly research publication approved by the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan, is published under ISSN 1814-2877 by the National University of Modern Languages Press Islamabad, Pakistan. It publishes research papers contributed by national and international scholars and researchers on a regular basis biannually. Contributions are put through a double blind peer review process (with at least one foreign peer reviewer) before they are accepted for publication. Contributions are duly abstracted and indexed by an international abstracting agency, CSA, USA.

The editor invites scholarly research papers from national and international researchers in related fields of education, international relations, language literature and culture of twenty-seven occidental and oriental languages taught at the National University of Modern Languages, Pakistan.

Research papers/contributions written in English are considered for publication.

Attitudinal Undercurrents in Second Language Learning

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ABSTRACT

The paper deals with attitudinal undercurrents in Second Language Learning. The author believes that if a student wants to learn something he will do so more easily than if he has to. In the global world English has gained the status of a lingua franca. However in Pakistan we still find some lingering resentment. One reason for this antagonism can be that English is a compulsory subject. In Pakistan Urdu may be a student's first or second language but the shift from the first to the second is made quite smoothly. Yet the same cannot be said in the case of English. The point the author makes is that students in Pakistan have to deal with a heavy linguistic load. Learning any language over and above the mother-tongue plus the national language entails a massive effort. At the end of it English is rarely mastered in any of its skills. There is an overwhelming sense of futility in it. Nevertheless external compulsions force students to learn English if they want to get good jobs inside or outside the country. This

overload generates at least some of the resentment that the author talks about. Pride in one's language and fears of political or cultural erosion also play a major role in downgrading English. Soon after independence, the government decided to replace English with Urdu for all administrative, educational and social functions. Other measures were also introduced which can account for the poor standards of our students. We are quick to place the blame on sub-standard teaching but little do we realize that teachers in Pakistan have very little power to decide things. If there are so many problems associated with learning English, one might ask "why not do away with English altogether". This is easier said than done. The reality is that the English language has assumed a level of importance that cannot be ignored.

If a student *wants to* learn something he will do so more easily than if he *has to*. I take it as axiomatic that intrinsic motivation is much better for language learning than extrinsic compulsion.[1] It predicates the construct of this paper.

There is some lingering resentment against English in the third world, especially in the ex-colonies. As a teacher with fair mileage up and down the corridors of Pakistan's halls of higher learning, I encounter manifestations of this resentment quite regularly. That rough and ready amalgam of related tongues once spoken by a few marauding tribes has, after many vicissitudes, emerged as the modern world's linguistic bulldozer. One wonders what happened to the Jutes, who seem to have been swallowed up by history. But there is still some evidence of the old Anglo-Saxon penchant for arm-twisting and usurpation wherever these people find themselves at a point where they can control things. They are virtually controlling the process of globalization in the contemporary world. There might be similar resentment against French in Francophone countries, but one does not sense it among Pakistani students learning French, for example, because French is not compulsory for them.

Be that as it may, Pakistani students soon discover that they must learn yet another language if they want to get on in life. This, too, a language which, while it is not rooted in the soil of the country, has managed to achieve a kind of administrative, social and linguistic dominance over the local languages, and is now affecting (some people might say 'infecting') those languages in varying degrees. Massive lexical and phrasal borrowings are taking place all over the country. About seventy small and large languages are spoken in Pakistan.[2] You might be surprised to learn that the mother-tongue of most Pakistanis is not Urdu. However, all Pakistanis learn Urdu for social participation and provincial interaction. As such, Urdu has the status of a kind of *second-first* language. Pakistanis can shift fairly painlessly from their first languages to Urdu when the need arises. A similar shift to English is, alas, not in general evidence,

despite the fact that there is a far greater pedagogical effort to learn it compared to that of Urdu.

In this context Urdu cannot be equated with English, because the average Pakistani is exposed from childhood to a lot of Urdu in his daily life. Developing a working competence in it is relatively easy. The point is that in a society like ours, there is already a heavy linguistic load to negotiate. This contributes to a great deal of language mixing, switching and uncertainty. Then we have English. Learning any language, over and above the mother-tongue *plus* the national language, entails a massive linguistic effort sustained over a long period in an uncongenial environment. At the end of it English is rarely mastered in any of its skills, with the skills of writing coming out worst of all. Standards are low. There is a lurking (though not often admitted) sense of failure about the whole thing, and yet the compulsion remains, the proverbial 'rock' and 'a hard place.' No wonder there is simmering resentment against what our students see as an additional and almost insurmountable imposition at almost all levels of education. It would not matter, perhaps, if there were some guarantee of success, but the goal is mostly out of reach. When it comes to English, Pakistani students are endlessly playing 'catch-up,' and this does little for their confidence and motivation.

At the same time, the external impositions are there, very much so. Our students must learn English if they want to get half-way decent jobs, inside or outside the country. A quick look at advertisements for jobs in almost any newspaper will reveal how wide is the demand for proficiency in English, even within this limited and vaguely hostile milieu. At the international level, in the context of commercial globalization, enhanced contact between nations, tourism and the current wave of worker interchange, the pressure is even greater. It is this background of direct and indirect coercion about English that generates at least some of the resentment I have been talking about. I do not mean to suggest that this is the fault of the language in any way, but it describes a contemporary reality. Other causes might be found in patriotism, tribalism, religion, racism, belief in the immutable excellence of one's own language [3] or in the

inherent rightness of one's own way of life,[4] and fears of political or cultural erosion.

The last is widespread. Probably half of the problem arises from this one factor alone. It is almost certainly stronger in erstwhile colonies such as Pakistan than in non-colonized countries now trying to develop second or foreign language skills in English. Suspicions arise that an insidiously oblique brand of colonialism is creeping up to replace the physically invasive one of yesteryear. Two or three years of informed instruction and public exposure ought to be enough for acquiring a fairly accurate if somewhat limited ability in any language, yet we find that in Pakistan nine years of compulsory exposure to English from class six at school, through to graduate levels at college, often results in disappointing acquisitions for many of our students. One can imagine the almost endless academic frustration for advanced level teachers trying to impart complex concepts to students who are barely operable in the language. The new phase is not to introduce English from class six, as heretofore, but to start it from class one. This might make things better. From a psycholinguistic point of view, it should prove to be positive. However, the results of this change will not show up for a number of years.

Whatever the prognosis for the future, the situation today is far from satisfactory. English is still an urban phenomenon which reaches perhaps fifteen to twenty per cent of the population.[5] Large segments of the population have very little contact with it at all. Yet we must argue, if it is good for mister A to learn English, it should be equally good for misters B, C and D. Why should any person be deprived of the benefits in the job market that accrue to people who know English? Teachers have to contend with young adults who had their schooling in the late seventies and eighties mentioned in the next paragraph. Apart from a miniscule percentage educated in western-type schools, the average second-language competence of students in higher education today is lamentable. The powers that be have at last woken up to the fact. Desperate attempts are being made

to remedy the situation before it becomes irretrievable. Time will tell.

Patriotism was assertive in the early days of independence of Pakistan from the British in 1947. The justification for downgrading English was (and still is for some people): "now that the British have gone, why bother about their language?" Deterioration in second language standards began soon after independence and culminated in the period from the late seventies to the middle eighties, when the government of that time decided that (1) Urdu would replace English for all administrative, educational and social functions, (2) English would be taught as only one relatively unimportant subject out of many, and (3) the teaching of Arabic would be widened and strengthened to become a kind of 'additional' second language. This presupposed a compulsory, tri-or-tetra-lingual ability for educated Pakistanis, an unfair linguistic load for struggling youngsters, especially so when educational, pedagogical, physical and financial facilities continued to be inadequate. For a while, one big, influential university actually downgraded English to the extent of making pass-marks in the language only 33 per cent— indicating, in effect, that it considered a one-third proficiency in English to be sufficient for its purposes.

Some of those negative attitudes persist. This assertion will, I think, be endorsed by readers in India, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh or Nepal, and perhaps also in other ex-colonies. In most ELT discussions, there is a tendency to avoid problems that cannot be reliably measured by the ordinary methods of research, and to concentrate on more readily approachable factors such as teacher training, methodology, environment, conditions, curricula, assessment procedures, teaching techniques, pedagogical accessories, educational technology (such as language laboratories or computers) and study material. This is perfectly acceptable. More and more refinements in these areas are welcome. However, as one who has sat through many of these discussions herself, and has also convened and conducted a number of workshops and seminars on related problems, this author has become aware of some

undercurrents that work against the development of acceptable proficiencies in English in a country like Pakistan.

The knee-jerk reaction is to declare that our teaching is sub-standard and that all EL teachers should be given some pre-and-in-service training. I do not altogether disagree with this reaction—teachers should certainly be made more and more aware of the factors involved in the process. However, training does not necessarily make a bad teacher good, while a good teacher does not need much training. We are dealing with some intangibles here, incommensurables such as 'charisma' or 'creativity.' We can, perhaps, produce a set of mechanical robots, mindless zombies who tackle the business of teaching a second language in a rigid, standardized manner. The question is, "is this desirable?" It might be good from an administrative point of view. It might be pleasing to the modern educational gods of *reliability* and *validity*, but it is unnecessarily restrictive from an academic point of view. In any case, teaching is not done in a vacuum. It is very much a part of the social set-up. Teachers in Pakistan have very little power to decide things. They tend to descend into a comfortably repetitive torpor after a few years.

We tend to judge the effectiveness of our teachers by mechanical criteria—do they make their objectives clear? Are their objectives commensurable? Do they know what they are talking about? Do they dovetail their teaching with other components of the course? Can their voices be heard? Do they walk around? Do they enrich their presentations with teaching accessories? Do they recycle their teaching? Do they align their outcomes with their objectives? Do they permit interaction in the class? *The point is, some teachers dutifully do all these things, but the results can still be disappointing.* Intangible factors often make or break a class, and there is no guarantee that these factors will work in the same way from one class to another.

Other reactions might be noted. One of them is: "Why not do away with English altogether?" The Japanese people use Japanese: the Chinese, Chinese: and the French,

French—why should we use English? If we find something useful in a book written in English, why not just translate it? And why restrict it only to English? The author has heard these questions frequently over the last two decades. She finds them difficult to answer. The overall answer, which might not be satisfactory, is that although the colonial period is over (or we hope it is), the English language has assumed a level of importance that it did not have fifty or sixty years ago, and behind this is the drive for globalization, which is largely in the hands of the Anglo-Saxon world. It is unlikely that we would be able to abandon English. Several people have noticed that, flying in the face of attempts to downgrade the language, it has actually grown more important over the years.

Another reaction is, "why not de-culture English?" All languages carry a heavy baggage of culture with them. Idiomatic usages, slang, subtle signals, linguistic items that do not make sense outside a given socio-cultural context, all presuppose a familiarity with the culture supporting the language. This entails yet another dimension to learning a language.

However, there are those who say that the English language has long outgrown the English people, and that this dimension is no longer relevant. One must now look at the culture of the nation trying to use it, and see how well this language can be blended with local needs and perceptions. This view supports the development of local variants. To some extent it is inevitable. Four vertical dialects distinct from British Standard English are identified for Pakistan, with four to five horizontal ones.[6]

What the author is using at the moment is the Punjabi *acrolect,* the kind of English taught in western-type schools in the Punjab province of the country. Pakistani students in general would be more comfortable with this variant of the language than, say, with British English. We have other dialects of the language, some of which are heavily influenced by local languages and customs, and which exhibit differences at almost all levels in phonology and structure. They are well embedded in our society. What

do we do with them? I do not know. Excising them is out of the question. Remedying them is going to be a long, gradual business sustained by large financial and political commitments from one government to another. Nothing can be guaranteed.

The arguments for de-culturing English take us back to what the British government were thinking of doing just before World War II. There was a move to rationalize the grammar of the tongue, to reduce its redundancies and its heavy load of exceptions, to improve its orthography and to de-colonize it, partly by renaming it Anglica. This would have been interesting. However, the thing was abandoned when the war started, and Zacharias (the man entrusted with overseeing it) died. Compared to many major languages, English has some advantages in grammar, having shed grammatical gender and many of its inflections. Some languages have huge numbers of inflections plus the additional burden of learning either two (masculine and feminine) or three (masculine, feminine and neuter) versions of the language before one can function in it.

However, in some areas English has grown haphazardly, making it difficult for foreigners to learn without considerable direct exposure at a social level. Foreigners usually learn the language through written rather than spoken sources. There is nothing in English writing to suggest where stresses should be placed or what kind of intonation should be used, yet these factors affect the phonic outcomes of the language. This problem is compounded when we use yet another writing convention, as we do in most schools in Pakistan. As such there are two kinds of English, one which emerges from its written text and another which can be learnt only through considerable exposure to spoken forms. The result is a number of heavily distorted brands of English in the country.

It might be good to take another look at the Anglica idea in the light of present and future needs. It might be good to make sure that this language is writing-friendly, and that suprasegmentals are not crucial factors in pronunciation. As much as possible its vocabulary should consist of

monosyllabic words. This should not be too difficult to adapt from English. Throw out as many of its French and Latin derivatives as you can, and dig around in the vocabulary of the old Anglo-Saxon tongue for equivalents. Or if they no longer exist, create new words. It might be possible to throw out separate adverbial forms, and to retain adjectives for the adverbial functions. For example, we are happy to say 'the man walks fast,' but we hesitate to say 'the man walks slow,' at least not in the English I learnt at school, where they insisted on the full adverb 'slowly'. Yet, if 'fast' can serve as both adjective and adverb, why not 'slow?' And, there is probably no need for redundant markers of number, so the inflections of the new language could be reduced yet further, perhaps eliminated altogether. Gender, thank heavens, has disappeared, so we need not bother about it any more. Some languages such as Chinese, Arabic and Russian, have thrown out the troublesome verb 'to be' in many utterances. It might be good to see if this can be done for the new language, especially for the simple present — 'he stupid' is just as good as 'he is stupid.' If you want the past, you could say, 'he stupid past.' Or, if you want to specify the time, you could say 'he stupid five years ago'. It should be possible. Also, the present mess of 'will,' 'shall,' the simple present and 'be plus going to' for the future can be reduced to one basic marker, perhaps a prefix or suffix with the verb.

Limited vocabularies for different registers and functions could be suggested — for commerce, perhaps, or science, diplomacy and tourism.

Happily, English has lost its second person 'thee/thou' constructions, making life a bit easier for foreigners. But there did not seem to be much wrong with pre-Elizabethan and Elizabethan ways of asking questions and forming negatives, so one wonders why we now have this mess of helping verbs for question and negative formations. And, do we really need a continuous aspect? Many languages do very well without it — 'he writes' is just as good as 'he is writing.' And, what shall we do about those endless rules-within-rules and exceptions for articles?

The creators of the new language could learn how other languages function, and adopt the simplest and most direct methods they can find.

These are only a few suggestions. Many more might become visible as we go along. Other nations might find Anglica (if such a language could be developed) easier to acquire than English, and English-speaking people would have to learn it like everyone else. This would dilute the standing linguistic advantage they have at the moment. But I suggest and this is important that this should not be a closed operation mounted by an Anglo-Saxon nation. There are many stakeholders round the world. They should have a say in it. This could become the true international *lingua franca*, and it might avoid the suspicions and grumblings so much in evidence today.

Of the three reactions mentioned above, I think that this is the most feasible. Local dialects are bound to form not much can be done about them. This does not matter so long as a fair level of communicability remains, but some variants (such as that of the Solomon Islands) have become so different that this element is almost missing. There is still some resistance to the foreignness of the language. The antics of people with names like Mary and John in a totally strange setting are less likely to strike a chord among overseas students than those of people with familiar names in a recognizable setting. If we must learn English, then localizing it so that its foreignness, cultural strangeness and colonial undertones are reduced, this might be all to the good. If we can replace English with some English *type* of language, but with most of the base language's formless historical accretions and waywardness removed, this might be even better.

End Notes

1. See M. Donaldson,Children's Minds, Fontana, 1978, page 17, and E. Deci, Intrinsic Motivation, Plenum Press NY, 1975, passim, for further confirmation of something most people understand intuitively

2. See "Linguistic and Ethnic Groups Pakistan," Library of Congress Country Studies, 1997, and Census Atlas of Pakistan, Federal Bureau of Statistics, 2003, pages 446-450. It is probable that some of this country's remote, small languages are close to extinction (see, also, an unpublished paper by Joan A. Baart, "Sustainable Development and the Maintenance of Pakistan's Indigenous Languages," presented at the Conference on the State of Social Sciences and Humanities: Current Scenario and Emerging Trends, 2003, pages 210-212). Some people might deplore this as the loss of worthwhile traditional insights evolved over long periods of time. Others point out that language extinction is a fact of history and that thousands of languages have died out round the world. Even big, influential ones such as Latin and Sanskrit are almost extinct, maintained by a few specialists supported by the traditional demands of religious belief. The author takes the view that English (or at least the local dialects of English) should also be included in the list of Pakistani languages

3. This is not unusual. The writer once had to sit through a recital of poetry in a language she did not understand because the Balochi presenter wanted to convince his audience that his language was the best in the world. He seemed upset to note that the music, content, fire and rhythms of Balochi poetry, so movingly obvious to him, did not have the same effect on non-Balochi members of the audience, although they applauded politely

4. This, too, is not unusual. What a person has been conditioned to in childhood becomes for him the right or natural way of doing things. A lot of people are

critical of other people's approaches to life, thinking them to be misguided, underdeveloped, immoral, barbaric or stupid. There is a kind of inward-looking absolutism about the conditioning process, supported as it is by tradition and the pronouncements of respected authority figures. The underlying relativity of the thing often escapes notice

5. This is the author's own estimate. The figures are arguable.

6. The reader is invited to look at books such as Tariq Rehman, Pakistani English, (Vanguard 1982), Robert Baumgardner, The English Language in Pakistan, (OUP, 1993), and Riaz Hassan, Remaking English in Pakistan, (NUML, 2004). The tone behind these writings is descriptive rather than punitive. These are not 'error' analyses, but 'difference' analyses. The differences seen in Pakistani English are more in tune with the needs and perceptions of this society.

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Hermeneutics of Self Consciousness

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ABSTRACT

The magic casements of Self open up new horizons of consciousness which blend into one another and produce a multi level structural design of the self. One can examine the colours of the design in the hope of reaching an understanding of the true nature of the self. The real meaning of the self to an individual lies in his consciousness, and his search for the total picture which the self exhibits at various levels. Consciousness as a repository of ideas, as the linker of the unconscious, as a deflective reach to transcend itself - are fit subjects for hermeneutics of the self and need a close scrutiny for the express purpose of attaining a blissful perception of the unity of human consciousness, thought, emotion and will – all being the dynamic constructs and visions of the magic casements of self consciousness.

The word "self" possesses a directive influence on one's achievement and behaviour. It is the driving force which propels an individual to the world of experience. It is an internal construct which an individual himself forms of one's own efforts. Its nature is dynamic and is not an entity which remains static. Even if it is stable for some point of time it is always on the move. To borrow the phrase employed by existentialists, it is "forever in transit" (Feser: 2005). It is engaged in the process of unfoldment, if we believe in the endowment theory of the ancient Greek philosopher Plato (Kneller: 1971). It is in the process of actualization, if we believe in Maslow's concept of personality (Perry and Bratman: 1999). The common experience, however, compels us to think of the self as an inner activity of the body and mind, which is changing due to the conditions of existence. The nature of the self is complex and multi-faceted if looked through various angles. If we wish to look at the ever changing kaliedoscopic image of the self, the ERIC database (which is a service mark of US Government) mentions over 6000 entries under the Self Concept Descriptor (Kuper: 1983).

Various questions arise whether there is a common denominator available to an individual who wishes to know his self? Is its nature amorphous or some clear crystals can be noticed? If it is an internal mechanism of our minds, how do we turn our mind's eye inward and know its presence? Would introspection help? Allama Dr Muhammad Iqbal considers that in order to know the self we can reach it through the route of consciousness only. The door of self awareness for example is an easy entrance. Consciousness is a familiar concept.

Let us ponder over the term consciousness. Freud points out the existence of three distinct layers of mind namely conscious, unconscious and subconscious. The conscious according of Freud is the one which we are aware of while awake.The mind's terrain which is discovered and is under constant use is the area of consciousness. Sometimes it is invaded by the sub-conscious and unconscious, for which it employs certain defense

mechanisms to preserve its integrity and ward off the tendencies which disturb its equilibrium. The undesirable in itself is projected out through blaming others. This is termed as' projection. That which cannot be adequately imputed to others is conveniently covered up through false arguments i.e rationalization. The arrows thrown by the external environment are re-directed to others through the process of displacement. Deep-seated propensities, which tend to become undesirable, are directed towards cathartic activities, and are thus sublimated into the desirable ones. The defense mechanism called reaction formation comes to one's aid when the opposite veneer is adopted to cover up the existing undesirable tendencies embedded in the consciousness. If the undesirable cannot be handled adequately by the conscious it is buried deep into the level of the unconscious and the process is termed repression.

When an individual is unable to express a motive through one means he replaces it with a less direct means to compensate for the loss. When an individual desires to regard himself highly, he identifies himself with some one superior to himself (identification). These are some of the defense mechanisms available to the consciousness to retain its integrity or entity. In this consciousness to retain its integrity or entity the unconscious and subconscious also come into play. Freud considers these defense mechanisms largely unconsciously motivated for the sole purpose of protecting the conscious from destabilizing external threats and internal conflicts. Freud assigns a very significant role to the forces of the id and super-ego to protect the ego. The id represents the principles of pleasure whereas the superego represents self control. (Perry & Bratman: 1999). Both help the ego to stabilize itself so that it can work according to the principle of reality. Freud provides us with the hypothesized structural model of the mind consisting of the id, ego, and superego. The id belongs primarily to the unconscious level. The superego also finds some place in the id, but both the ego and the super-ego partly belong to the preconscious or the subconscions and partly to the conscious. The Freudian structural analysis explains how the

conscious is aided by the subconscious and the uncouscious in forming defense mechanisms.

Paul Ricoure, a modernist French philosopher, however, like Nietzsche, Marx and Freud, asserts that the question of the consciousness is just as obscure as that of the unconscious. He suspects the claim of consciousness to self-knowledge. He begins with the statement "Anyone who arrives at the correlation between consciousness and unconscious must first have crossed the arid zone of double confession" (Ricoure: 2000). I cannot understand the consciousness from what I know about the consciousness or the pre-consciousness and I do not even understand what consciousness is. To resolve this suspicion Paul Ricoure puts forward two propositions:

1. Immediate consciousness does involve a type of certainty but this certainty does not constitute true self knowledge

2. All reflection points back to the unreflected but the unreflected is no longer able to constitute a true knowledge of the unconscious. Descartes had indeed given impregnable certainty to the consciousness in his philosophical writings. He states: "By the term conscious experience I understand everything; an experience that takes place within ourselves so that we are aware of it. And so, not only acts of understanding, will, imagination but even sensations are here to be taken as experience." (Jake & Zoegler: 1976)

Paul Ricoure, however, claims that this certainty of the consciousness is unquestionable but it can be doubted, because he thinks that the most abstract of possibilities of the unconscious is written into the initial gap between the certainty and the true knowledge of the consciousness. This true knowledge is not given, it must be sought and found (Perry & Bratman: 1999). Self-consciousness comes not in the beginning but at the end. The unconscious may be called implicit consciousness and consciousness may be called explicit consciousness. It belongs to the essence of consciousness never to be entirely explicit but always

related to implicit consciousness. It may even be declared that the unconscious explains the lower, inferior and nocturnal part of man and is the passion of the Night while the consciousness expresses the higher, the superior day light part of man and is the Law of the Day (Hajelle & Ziegler: 1976). Paul Ricoure proposes the dialectic of the two hermeneutics as a bridge between the consciousness and unconsciousness by using the perspective of an opposition between the two, with inverse interpretations: progressive and regressive. He reaches the conclusion that the conscious and unconscious do not speak of two halves of man but each one speaks of the whole of man. Allama Dr Muhammad Iqbal has made a few pertinent remarks about the ego's self-transcending to converse with the ultimate ego, to reach the truth. The direction of hermeneutics is towards a higher form rather the regressive one. Paul Ricoure considers the consciousness as not given, it must be sought and found. Aristotle considers it as given and to be sought and found. Kant considers the consciousness to be already given which shows itself in the act of perception (Williams: 1995). Allama Dr Muhammad Iqbal considers it as an integral property of the soul and is developed through struggle with the environment, both physical and social.

Edward Feser views the self from a subjective angle. While considering the qualia associated with mental states and processes Edward Feser states: "What makes any particular mental state a conscious state is that it is the object of a higher- order mental state that represents it" (Feser: 2005) Some thinkers consider the higher-order states to be thoughts while others would take them to be more akin to perception. He further states "In the first version just as one might have a thought about some object in the external world, one might also have a thought about a thought or about some other kind of mental state. In the second (version) just as one might have a perception of an object in the external world, one might also have an 'inner' perception of the perception itself". (Ibid.). According to him consciousness is constituted by perceptual experiences and introspection. In perceptual experiences the conscious subject represents the world external to the mind. In

introspection of those perceptual experiences the subject represents those experiences themselves. (Ibid.). Edward Feser believes in the unity of consciousness, which according to him is constituted by the subjectivity of the subject and the intentionality of consciousness

We now get a clear picture of our consciousness as an entity through the analysis done above. Its existence as an independent entity has never been underestimated. Since the construct of consciousness has been indeterminate and lines of demarcation have never been made distinct, its use has been limited to a general condition of the mind of an individual.The mind and consciousness are almost identically used in a normal discourse. The philosophers have customarily been not very particular in making any distinction between the two. "Almost without exception philosophers have placed the essence of mind in thought and consciousness" (Durant: 1955). Another philosopher opines that consciousness is the mere surface of our minds and we do not know the inside well enough. We know only this much that there is an intellect which is propelled through striving, persistent and vital force; it is a spontaneous activity, an imperious desire born of the faculty called will power. Our powerful desires animate the *will* which in turn moves the wheel of the intellect. What is the intellect? It is an ability which deals with the ideas and governs thought. Our consciousness, therefore, springs out of our desires, our strivings and will power whose hand maiden is the intellect. A little reflection makes us aware of what comes out of our desires and will. This is action and personal experience. The ideas formed out of experiential life get registered in the memory which acts as a mirror to our past experiences. Each moment of the present partakes of the colour of the past experiences and gives breadth and scope to a variety of possible experiences. And thus the repertoire of ideas is formed as a continuous flux and we name it as a stream of consciousness. The construct thus formed has a dynamic nature though its entity remains recognizable and distinct. There is an element of permanence, which evolves with the passage of time but retains its existence as an entity as such. This phenomenon is unique to each individual. No two

human beings are identical in their consciousness. The modern way of expressing this feature of consciousness is called a phenomenological approach to reach the mind of the individual. Consciousness is not a thing but a condition or a process which belongs to the individual as a person.

Herbart was a psychologist and philosopher whose use of the word consciousness as a repository of ideas has set a pattern of looking at consciousness. According to Herbart the ideas that enter the mind in its transaction with the environment remain in the memory and influence all subsequent ideas. The predominant ideas rule the entire field of attention, the ones lower in potency soon get underneath or become dormant (Kneller: 1971). The struggle of the ideas to come to the forefront of the stage of consciousness is a continuous battle. The ones which gain ascendancy are the ones which are attended to and are more potent than the others which move below the threshold of consciousness. Similar ideas mutually reinforce each other whereas the dissimilar ideas mutually repel each other. So the tendency of coherence of similar ideas provides a basis for the formation of a powerful conglomeration which commands attention and reigns in the field of consciousness. He gave the appellation of apperceptive mass to the ideas which occupy the front stage of the state of consciousness on the basis of selection (Ibid). This apperceptive mass of the ideas in consciousness is an independent entity.

This theoretical description of consciousness as the stronghold of dominant ideas already formed makes subsequent journey into the terrain of consciousness more fruitful. John Brubacher states: "The new ideas are received and disposed of by the host ideas in the consciousness for what they are worth" (Brubacher: 1955). The educators have become fascinated with this type of reaching the concept of learning and have always advocated the teaching of the new ideas in relation to the old ones present predominantly in the mind of the individual and stirred by the tricks of the trade of the educator to arouse these to the state of alertness and act as host to the new guests. The arousal of the apperceptive mass therefore produces motivation and interest in the learner. There is very little chance of resorting

to clichés that you can take the horse to water but you cannot make him drink. Here is a technique to instill in the horse the urge or the desire to drink through his own interest or need. It is through arousing the old knowledge in the mind of the learners that you can ensure the drinkability of water to the horse.

Ausubel is also a strong supporter of the past ideas to attract new ideas and recommends the use of advance organizers to act as ideational scaffolding for all further meaningful learning. If the educator can build up the right sequence of ideas, the learner is on the right path to learning which can eventuate into the heuristics and discovery learning. The interest of the learner is internalized through the delight of knowing and enlarging one's horizon of understanding by self directed learning. The increment of new ideas to the old mass of ideas acts as a leaven and sustains the interest of the learner, which is a key to further learning. Knowledge for the sake of knowledge becomes a delightful experience and the thirst for new knowledge continues throughout one's life. This motive is something purely inner and privy to consciousness. Life gets a meaningful significance. The coherence in thoughts is achieved through the apperceptive mass approach to all knowledge.

The association of ideas thus formed is complex and unique to each consciousness. However, a few common notions about the configuration of ideas in the consciousness are being utilized by educators. For adequate learning and recalling there are a few connective principles being followed. These are the principles of similarity, dissimilarity, contiguity, recency frequency, intensity and continuity. (Kneller: 1971). Can this association of ideas held together in the consciousness be termed as evidence of the psyche or soul? Aristotle opines that there is a unitary soul or psyche consisting of five faculties. The prime faculty is the intellect; the active part of it leaves the body after death to go back to its destined eternal abode whereas the passive part of it serves the mundane needs of our physical existence. Kant also believed in the mind as an active organ which moulds and co-ordinates sense experiences into ideas

and transform the chaotic multiplicity of experience into an ordered unity of thought. To him, the initiation of knowledge is through sensations provided by our five senses. These sensations are unorganized stimuli; these sensations are organized by the mind i.e it perceives and puts meaning into these sensations. When these perceptions get organized through repetitive experiences they end up as concepts, which are organized into a kind of homogeneity and are placed in the category of science. And when science is put to best use in daily life it is termed as wisdom. Each stage has a greater degree of order, sequence and unity. Such is the structure of our minds according to E. Kant (Flinders &Thornton: 2004).

What the nature of the mind is, is not a decided issue. People have been debating this issue for centuries. Plato first gave the idea of a priori existence of ideas in the mind (Kneller: 1971). He proffered the concept of reminiscence or innate ideas at the time of birth. The mind therefore receives an independent existence with its own paraphernalia. The ideas do not owe their existence to the sense experience as was Kant's version but have a status of their own. Socratic dialectical method acts as mid- wife between the ideas in the mind of the person and the person himself. Physiologists tell us that the mind is only a matter in motion merely electrons in excitations. The problem of the body-mind dualism is as old as Plato. According to Plato the mind or the soul has its independent existence. Aristotle, however, has a different concept about the body-mind relationship. He had stated that there was nothing in the intellect what was not there first in the senses (Ibid). Leibnitz holds the view which Plato held and retorts: "There is nothing in the mind but the intellect itself" Descartes' view is that we know what the mind is by reflecting on our own thinking or consciousness (Brubacher: 1955). To him the essence of the mind is consciousness. The mind works in a temporal dimension only while the body works in a spatial dimension. He conceived the immaterial mind linked causally to the material brain. This concept of Descartes is often called the interactive dualism. Some philosophers have questioned the position taken by Descartes and ask as to

how could an immaterial mind make contact with a material object in order to affect it or be affected by it. George Berkley asserts that there is just one entity and that is the mind. Armstrong's view often called the Identity Theory, identifies mental states with brain states. Furthermore, the behaviourists also emphasize the importance of studying behaviour as a way of studying the mind.

Recently the same mind-body problem is receiving attention from the neurologists also. The materiality of the brain and the attendant immateriality of the mind have been looked into for their possible relationship. This amazement raises the following question: is the mind a phenomenon or an epiphenomenon? That there is a very central aspect of the human information processing system is also evidenced by recent neuro-physiological researchers: consciousness cannot be dismissed as a mere epiphenomenon. (Kuper & Kuper: 1983) Normally a patient remains completely unaware of the visual stimuli presented within a certain part of the field of vision if lesions occur in the occipital lobe of the brain. However, empirical evidence shows that the patients can guess the correct direction of the faint light when flashed. This shows that normally whatever systems are considered responsible for light detection is not involved here. This deduction defies phenomenological explanation.

There is another neuro-physiological evidence also to the same effect. The corpus callosum of a patient was sectioned. The evidence showed that the two hemispheres worked relatively independently in spite of that. The split brain evidence has given rise to the concept of two different consciousnesses at the same time (Kuper& Kuper: 1952).

In children one finds the silence of primary consciousness. This silence may be understood as the fundamental awareness of being present in the world which leads to perceptual consciousness in life. Allama Dr Muhammad Iqbal has dealt with the problem of the body and mind also. He opines that both the positions of the two sets of philosophers are untenable and flawed. Neither Plato's position of the mind being parallel to the body having an independent existence is true nor the interactive

argument of the dualists i.e two separate entities coming into contact together holds water. The propositions of parallelism and interactions are both untrustworthy and are not true representations of the body-mind problem. Neither the Platonic version nor the Cartesian thesis is acceptable to a critical mind.

Allama Dr Muhammad Iqbal posits that the ego or self can be best understood as unity-pure and simple. He advances an array of arguments to prove the integrity of the ego.

Dr Muhammad Iqbal states: "It is surprising to see that the unity of human consciousness which constitutes the center of human personality never really became a point of interest in the history of Muslim thought" (Iqbal: 1999). According to him devotional Sufism understands the meaning of the unity of inner experience which the Quran declares to be one of three sources of knowledge. Modern psychology has discovered the characteristic features of mystic levels of consciousness. Allama Muhammad Iqbal observes that in the history of modern thought it is Bradley who furnishes the best evidence for the impossibility of denying reality to the ego and admits that the self must be in some sense real. In the eyes of Allama Muhammad Iqbal the ego in its finitude is imperfect as a unity of life but its nature is wholly aspiration after a unity more inclusive, more effective, more balanced and unique. Here Allama Muhammad Iqbal differs from Paul Ricoure's as hermeneutics of dialectical nature of consciousness and unconsciousness and poses a different hermeneutic of dialectics. It is not of the nature of progression and regression. It has an ennobling aspiration for more inclusive unity and relaxation of sleep. The ego reveals itself as a unity not of mental states as William James suggests. There is no succession of states; they do not exist in isolation. They exist as phases of a complex whole called the mind. The organic unity of these interrelated states is a special kind of unity. Iqbal states that the ego's duration is concentrated. with it is linked its present and future in a unique manner. True time- duration belongs to the ego alone. Another important characteristic of the unity of the

ego is its essential privacy which reveals the uniqueness of every ego. Here he emphasizes the phenomenological approach of the existentialist. Allama Muhammad Iqbal considers Al Ghazali as a representative of Muslim philosophy who advocates that the ego is a simple, indivisible and inimitable soul substance entirely different from the group of our mental states and unaffected by the passage of time. Muhammad Iqbal, however, admits that our conscious experience can give us no clue to the ego regarded as a soul substance, but our conscious experience is the only road by which we can reach the ego, if at all. William James conceives consciousness as a stream of thought,a conscious flow of changes with a felt continuity. Allama Muhammad Iqbal says that this view ignores the relatively permanent experience in life. Inner experience is the ego at work. We appreciate the ego itself in the act of perceiving, judging and willing. The life of the ego is a kind of tension caused by the ego invading the environment and the environment invading the ego (Ibid). The ego does not stand outside this arena of mutual invasion. The point to note is that Allama Muhammad Iqbal does not recognize the hermeneutics of the dialectical nature of consciousness and unconscious, a conflict between progression by consciousness and a downward pull of regression by the unconsciousness. He favors the dialectical hermeneutics of the ego and the ultimate rather than that of the ego and the id. Its directive energy is formed and disciplined by its own experience. The mind and body becomes one in action. It is impossible to draw a line of cleavage between the status of the body and that of the body in the act of taking up a book from my table. Somehow they must belong to the same system and according to the Quran they do belong to the same system "To Him belong khalq (Creation) and Am'r (Direction)" (Ibid.) Body is a system of events or acts, and the system of experiences we call soul or ego is also a system of acts. This concept does not obliterate the distinction of soul and body: it only brings them closer together. It is not difficult to understand the concept of the same system exhibited in our birth, the emergence of the ego in the moist - temporal order. Allah says. "We placed him in a moist germ, in a safe abode. Then made We the moist

germ a clot of blood then made the clotted blood into a piece of flesh, then made the piece of flesh into bones and we clothed the bones with flesh: then brought forth man of yet another make". Modern physiological research explains the whole story by the concept of the genetic code and the principle of entelechy, the directive influence instilled in the organism, the organism composed of matter is under the influence of a spirit something guiding the process of development of matter. What a miracle of God is man! A fertilized egg splits into two and then each part splits like a chain reaction, with the inner direction of differentiation and integration till the purposive end is reached. How has this self regulation and self-determination inside the organism become an operative principal called life? Is not the system of the body and soul one and the same? Dr Muhammad Iqbal's vision and ability have given us a more acceptable solution to the dualistic explanation of parallelism and interactionism of body and mind.

Allama not only adequately brought clarity in the concept of perceptual consciousness but also substantiated a case for the recognition of mystical consciousness. The intellective content in perceptual consciousness can be further enhanced by the complementary role of intuitive consciousness. His precursor in Islam was Al Ghazali, who has not only considered knowledge gathered through senses as untrue but also thought intellect incapable of reaching true knowledge without the guidance of mystical consciousness. According to Allama Muhammad Iqbal thought and intuition spring from the same root and complement each other and the mind grasps it in its wholeness. They are organically related. Allama Muhammad Iqbal reminds us that the Quran awakens in man the higher consciousness of the manifold relation with God and the universe. Allah says "from state to state shall ye be carried onward" (84:16-19). For a complete vision of Reality therefore sense perception must be supplemented by the perception of what the Quran describes as "Fuad" or "Qalb" i.e heart. The heart is a kind of inner intuition. It is a mode of dealing with Reality in which sensation in the physiological sense of the word does not play any part. We

may even term it subliminal consciousness. Mystic consciousness is a non-rational mode of consciousness. It has immediacy to our inner experience, is un-analyzable, is incommunicable to others and bears transcendental relation with Reality.

The tenor of arguments for and against the body mind dualism afforded to us by notable philosophers and psychologists leads us to a clearer paradigm of hermeneutics which places consciousness at an ennobling footing capable of reaching its own destined end, by constant struggle with the environment thus opening the door for the emergent evolution. The old paradigm of dialectical hermeneutics of consciousness and unconsciousness is not emergent but a sort of regression leading to the slush of the unconscious impulse of the id and libido. Consciousness is very much real as stated by Bradley and other philosophers, it has its own continuity and is so deep seated in mutuality with matter that it operates as a single system with the body. The mind and body coalesce to form a unity in the acting of perceiving, judging and willing. The narration in the Quran of the birth of yet another human being is the best testimony of the truth of this hermeneutics. Our physiological findings also bring to light the pervading and directing influence of the principle of entelechy in all organisms. The mind and the body manifest themselves in action or experience True self-consciousness (ego) is a task, an engagement, a struggle, an action, a mode of existing, forever in transit moving towards transcendent knowledge of the ultimate ego and emergent evolution. True self-consciousness is given and also it is a task. It is not of the nature of being only but also belongs to the nature of becoming. Perceptual consciousness must be supplemented by the mystical consciousness for attaining total truth about selfhood which Dr Muhammad Iqbal calls egohood.

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Effect of Gender on the Development of Self-Concept in Adults

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to determine the effect of gender on the self concept of adults. The population of the study was 25-45 years old citizens of Rawalpindi and Islamabad. Accessible sampling was done. Six hundred individuals were requested to participate in the study but only four hundred and fifty-three responded. The data were collected personally through an instrument originally developed by Jayne E. Stake in 1994. The researcher translated the instrument into Urdu and validated it through a team of three experts. It was used after pilot testing and getting a formal permission from the author. Out of the 600 adults there were 243 males and 216 females. To explore the differences between the groups the t-test was applied. The mean score of the males is 127.22; for the females the mean score is 122.09. The p – value is 0.030. It is highly significant, which shows that overall males have a better self-concept than females. The mean scores for giftedness, power and vulnerability all subscales of the self-concept, were higher for the men as compared to the women. Surprisingly, taken as a whole the category of

*giftedness scored the lowest by both the groups
while morality the highest.*

Introduction

The researches made by Hassan (1978) and (1983),
Afzal (1998) and Rehman (2001) regarding Pakistani culture
have inspired the researcher to study gender effects on the
development of the self-concept in adults. These studies
show that males perform better than females in all spheres
of life due to our social setup and stereotyped attitudes
towards females. Our view of our self is not only formed
due to the direct contemplation of our personal qualities, but
also from our impressions of how others perceive us. Self is
some thing that is developed, it is not initially there at birth
but it evolves in a process of social experiencing (Mead:
1934). It is believed that most of the people have
considerable difficulty in accepting their own feelings which
are innately positive. As we grow up things change: our
parents, siblings, teachers and peers place constraints on our
behavior; the result is low self- esteem. These constraints
and negative feedback continue during our adult lives and as
a result we conform to what others want. As we struggle to
live up to societal standards, we distort and dissolve our true
selves; we might even completely lose our sense of the self
concept. (Rogers: 1951). It has also been considered that the
human organism's "Phenomenal field" includes all
experiences available at a given moment both conscious and
unconscious. As the development occurs a portion of this
field becomes differentiated and this becomes the person's
self. (Rogers: 1959). Many researches prove that boys tend
to explore their environment with a greater confidence and
independence, resulting in an increase in their self concept
while girls tend to be more inhibited and fearful, and this
lowers their self concept.

A society defines some specific roles for its people
either as a male or a female, when they live together. These
roles are specific for each sex and they are applied to all

members of the society. These roles determine the position which individuals hold in any societal system.

In a survey of American literature on sex role portrayal it is found that females are under represented in titles, central characters, pictures and stories in every sample of books examined. Most of the books are about boys, men and male adventures. Even where women are mentioned in the books they often play insignificant roles. The ratio of the titles featuring males to females is 8:3. Only in two of the eighteen books taken as samples are stories about girls and in nearly one third of books there are no women at all. Boys are portrayed as active and adventurous, girls passive and immobile, most often found indoors busy in serving activities (Weitzman: 1972). A series of studies has described that due to their cultural brain washing females are forced to assume that success brings extremely unpleasant side effects to them, not least of which is the loss of femininity. They tend to perceive the achievement situation as a threat to their female identity and resultantly possess a negative image of their worth and ability (Horner: 1972).It has been reported that mothers encourage more independence, autonomy and self confidence in sons than daughters. Findings of a survey show that 2750 stories from 134 children books portray men and boys as strong and adventurous (Taris & Offer: 1977). People in Pakistan have a negative attitude towards female education. Females are made to leave schools for the most minor reason like helping her mother in household chores. This causes Pakistani women to internalize a negative image of them. It is remarked in a series of studies that parents develop negative attitudes towards the education of female children and it is drummed in them from the beginning that they are inferior to their male counterparts and their success and failure is useless. This is the reason that females internalize a negative image of themselves and their abilities (Hassan: 1978). No evidence of sex differences in overall self concept is found at any age level. The process of self-concept attainment differs for boys and girls. It has been proposed that small differences in global self concept may reflect

larger, counter balancing gender difference in specific components of the self concept (Wylie: 1979)

Females are portrayed as dependent, passive, incompetent, fearful, docile, objects of scorn, aimless concerned with only physical appearance and domesticity, spiritless, whereas males are portrayed as creative, brave, achieving, adventurous, curious, autonomous and self respecting by a study made on the content analysis of text books (Klein: 1985). There are many researches which indicate that women actually learn to be more obedient, discredit their own abilities, attribute success to factors other than their own competency, and experience anxiety related to a fear of competition and comparison (Brodsky, Hare & Mustin: 1980; Forbes and King: 1983; Hagen & Medway: 1989; Kerr: 1985; Piedomont :1988 and Sassen: 1980).

It has been reported that on the whole female students feel passive, shy and dependent and male students become self assured, competitive and independent by the combination of courses, the content of text and by the interaction of teachers with students (Marland: 1983). The result of a series of studies indicate that women rate themselves lower on self-concept scales at different age stages because of the stereo-typed boundaries of a society (Hassan: 1983). The findings of a research claimed that dependence of every kind in girls and high expectations of success from boys is due to social training. The studies on dependence and success expectancy prove that girls score high in dependency and boys score constantly higher on success expectancy just due to social training (Linn & Petersen: 1985).It has been found by Philips & Zimmerman (1990) that in elementary grades, girls and boys have comparable perception of their own abilities but by the ninth grade, and continuing through the high school, on an average, girls gradually lower perceptions of their own abilities as compared to boys. It can even be concluded that when culture does not make considerable distinction in its influences on boys and girls the same influence is phenomenally different for the two sexes because they react differently to different events (Cohn: 1992 & Eagly: 1987). It is usually observed that a woman in her love for a man

surrenders herself to his decision, honoring the commitments of marriage as she is willing to sacrifice every thing in love of her husband. She lets him determine the parameters of commitments and she trusts that he will set those parameters according to the universal standards. She even tries to take on whatever personality traits her partner desires. (Lorraine: 1990). According to Freud's theory of psychosexual development, at birth there is not much psychological difference between a male and a female. When a female grows up the superego development is stunted and the girl perceives herself anatomically inferior (Denmark & Paludi: 1993). An American study has found that appearance, intelligence, and accomplishments contribute less to women's overall self esteem than men's. (Zinner: 1993).

Possible gender differences and the levels of the self esteem of 99 male and 90 female under-graduates from mainland China were examined. There is little evidence of gender difference in the level of overall self-esteem.However, gender differences are evident in the subjects ratings of the importance of self concept and their self satisfaction with lower order facets of the self, indicating the necessity for using multidimensional measures of the self and for preserving the self-concept/self esteem distinction. (Watkins & Jiayuan: 1993).The results of a study done in Pakistan reveals that the female subjects score lower than the male subjects on self concept scale at three levels of education: formal education, secondary education and higher education. (Afzal:1998). It is found that for over a century, psychologists have made claims about women's nature and male-female differences. Classical personality theories especially psychoanalytic theories, have laid out different trajectories for men and women---normative personality traits, capacities and interests and different criteria for maturity and mental health are some of the features included.

Miller (as cited by Unger: 2001) examines women's experiences of subordination in the intimate settings of marriage and family life, and considers that women experience a distinct and often hidden emotional life.

Moreover, their experiences give rise to a special set of feminine qualities, including intuition, capacities for empathy, relatedness, and a desire for nurturing and caring for others. These characteristics can lead to psychological problems. (Unger: 2001) Another study made in Pakistan concludes that the mean score of male students on a self-concept scale was greater than female students. In general, masculine attributes are more highly valued than feminine ones and females tend to incorporate aspects of feminity negatively evaluated by the rest of the society (Rehman: 2001). A meta analysis made by Pinquart and Silvia (2001) synthesizing the findings from 300 empirical studies on gender differences in matters of life satisfaction, happiness, self-esteem, loneliness, subjective health and subjective age in late adulthood concludes that older women reported significantly lower subjective well-being and less positive self-concept than men on all measures except subjective age. Jacobs, Lunza, Osgood, Eccles & Wigfield (2002) have found that gender differences do not increase with age in a longitudinal study of students in Grades 1-12.

It is concluded on the basis of previous researches that negative self-concept of success and accomplishment is generated even in highly educated women. Studies by Rehman (2001), Afzal (1998) and Hasan (1983) are very important in this connection because they are conducted in Pakistani culture.

Statement of the Study

The present study is undertaken to explore the self concept of adults in Rawalpindi and Islamabad. It is also aimed to ascertain the on-going effect of gender on the self-concept.

Objectives of the Study

The objective of the study is to determine the influence of gender on the self-concept.

Hypothesis of the study

There is a significant difference between male and female subjects on a self-concept scale and the sub-scales of

likeability, morality, task accomplishment, giftedness, power and vulnerability

Delimitations of the Study

1. The study is delimited to male and female adults aged between 25-45 years.

2. The study is delimited to citizens of Islamabad urban, Islamabad rural, Rawalpindi urban, and Rawalpindi rural localities.

Procedure of the Study

The researcher explores the self-concept of adults in Islamabad and Rawalpindi. The effect of gender is investigated on the sub-scales i.e likeability, morality, task accomplishment, giftedness, power and vulnerability of the self-concept.

Population of the Study

Citizens aged 25-45 years of Islamabad and Rawalpindi was divided into four strata on the basis of the gender and locality.

Sample

Six hundred women and men aged 25-45 were taken as sample. Four strata were made: Islamabad (urban), Rawalpindi (urban) and Islamabad (rural) Rawalpindi (rural). Stratified accessible sampling was done and 150 subjects were selected from each stratum.

Table 1
Sample Distribution

Population	Islamabad Urban	Islamabad Rural	Rawalpindi Urban	Rawalpindi Rural	Total
Male	75	75	75	75	300
Female	75	75	75	75	300
Total	150	150	150	150	600

Instrument

A 36 itemed-six-factored self-concept scale developed by Jayne E Stake in 1994 was used for data collection (permission was obtained from the author to use the instrument). Reliability of the instrument was calculated through Kuder-Richerdson formula (KR-21) on a score of pilot testing.

Data Collection

Data were collected personally. Out of the 600 subjects 459 subjects returned the instrument. The table given below represents the actual number of the respondents.

Table 2

Data collection

Population	Islamabad Urban	Islamabad Rural	Rawalpindi Urban	Rawalpindi Rural	Total
Male	54	54	75	60	243
Female	56	55	60	45	216
Total	110	109	135	105	459

Analysis of the Data

Data analysis is done, t-test is applied.

Table 3

Gender wise mean scores on sub-scales of self-concept

Gender	Likeability	Morality	Task accomplishment	Giftedness	Power	Vulnerability
Male	21.78	25.89	21.53	17.11	19.08	21.80
Female	21.4	25.80	21.17	16.05	17.69	20.62

Table 4

Difference between males and females on self concept.

Group	N	Mean	t	df	p- value
Male	237	127.22	2.172	447.21	0.030
Female	214	122.09			

The mean value for the males is higher than the females therefore it is concluded that males have a better self-concept than females according to the data.

Table 5

Difference between males & females on sub-scales of self-concept

Group	N	Mean						t						df						p-value					
		L	m	t	g	p	v	l	m	t	g	p	v	l	m	t	g	p	v	l	m	t	g	p	v
Male	237	21.78	25.89	21.53	17.11	19.08	21.80																		
								0.627	0.159	0.754	2.311	3.08	2.15	440.99	390.103	447.78	433.62	446.45	446.79	0.531	0.874	0.451	0.021	0.002	0.032
Female	213	21.46	25.80	21.17	16.05	17.69	20.62																		

Key: l = likeability, m = morality, t = task accomplishment,
g = giftedness
p = power, v = vulnerability

Table 5 shows that the males have high mean scores on all the sub scales of the self concept than the females. Both the males and the females have the highest mean scores on the morality sub scale of the self concept while the lowest on the giftedness sub scale of the self concept.

Graphic Representation of Difference between males and females on self concept
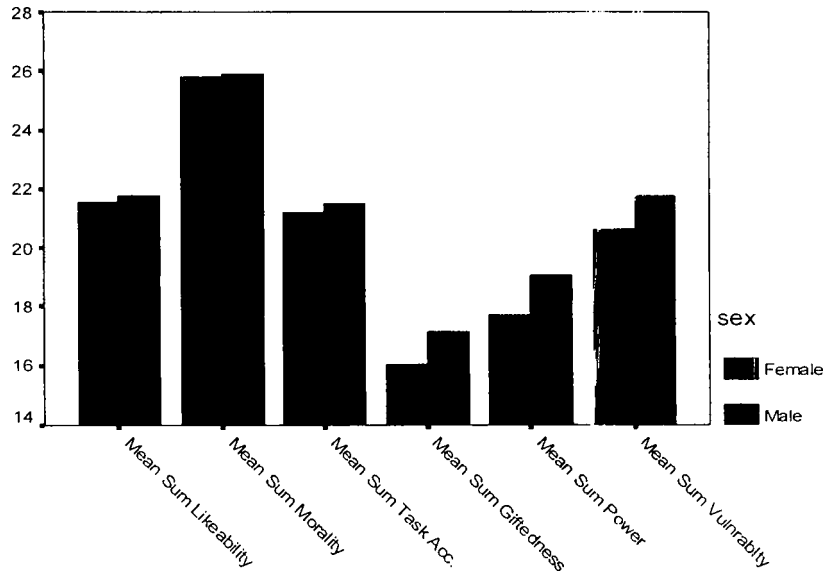
The graphic representation of the comparison of means of the males and the females on the self concept indicates that the males have higher mean scores than the females on all the six sub scales of the self concept. The graph further reveals that both the males and the females have the highest mean score on the morality sub scale while lowest on the giftedness sub scale of the self concept.

Conclusion

The analysis reveals that the mean scores of the males are higher than the females on all the sub-scales of the self-concept, but it is significantly higher than the females on the giftedness, power and vulnerability sub-scales of the self-concept. It is also concluded that giftedness sub-scale of the self-concept is scored the lowest in both the groups, while morality sub-scale of the self-concept is scored the highest in both the groups (male & female).

Discussion

The results of the present study show that male adults have a higher self-concept than females. Literature reviewed shows almost the same results as evidenced by the researches conducted by Brodsky and Hare Mustin (1980), Sassen (1980), Frobes and King (1983), Kerr (1985) Piedomont (1988), Zinner (1993), Afzal (1998) and Rehman (2001). There are, however, some researches which show no difference in the self-concept of males and females e.g. Wylie (1979), and Watkins and Jiayuan (1993). The interesting point to note here is that those studies which showed no difference between males and females were conducted in China, so it can be concluded that culture does effect the development of self-concept's difference between males and females.

It is also very interesting that male adults have a higher self-concept on giftedness, power and vulnerability sub-scales. The reasons for males' higher self-concept than females on the sub-scales of giftedness, power and vulnerability in the present study are stereotypical practices prevailing in a male dominated society as narrated by Rubben, (1974) and Hasan (1983). Some of the practices are listed below:-

1. Role specification of males and females in a society as described by Hoffman (1974) and Unger (2001).

2. Different sources of self-esteem for males and females as explained by Watkins and Jiayuan (1993).

3. Roles of male and females portrayed in literature, text books and through electronic media as advocated by Weitzman (1972), Taris and Offer (1977), and Klein (1985).

The results of the present study indicate that morality is a sub-scale that is highly scored in both the groups. It may be due to our value system. Everybody rates himself high because this is the aspect that is taught from the early childhood, and even the people who are not educated are also taught moral values .The reason for the lowest score on giftedness sub-scale in both the groups of the respondents may be due to our social attitudes. In our society parents and teachers are usually very strict and criticize the child at each step. Children are not praised for little achievements and creative work, so they do not think that they have been gifted innately and consequently they are grow up with complexes.

Recommendations

1. The results of the present study show that gender influences the self concept of adults. So it is recommended that educational institutions should try to educate female students that they are equal to boys in all aspects through moral education and different co-curricular activities

2. Text books, literature and electronic media should portray males and females as equally talented.

3. The government should provide equal opportunities to both males and females.

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The Qur'anic Imagery of Doomsday and Resurrection: a stylistic analysis

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ABSTRACT

Al-Quran, the religious book of the Muslims is very rich in imagery. Sent for the guidance of mankind, the Quran deals with many subjects belonging to the supersensory realm such as faith in one God, angels, doomsday and resurrection, heaven and hell. To endow its followers with deep rooted conviction, it presents its message in an imagistic manner. This is the assertion of Qur'anic scholars like Syed Qutb and Mohammad Asad. The researcher, a student of English literature, looks at the definition of imagery in English literature and applies it to the imagery of Doomsday and Resurrection in the Qur'an.

1.1. Introduction

When the sun (with its spacious light) is folded up; When the stars fall, losing their lustre; When the mountains vanish (like a mirage); When the she-camels, ten months with young, are left untended; When the wild beasts are herded together (in human habitations);When the oceans boil over with a swell; When the souls are sorted out, (being joined, like with like);When the female (infant), buried alive, is questioned - For what crime she was killed; When the scrolls are laid open; When the world on High is unveiled; When the Blazing Fire is kindled to fierce heat; And when the Garden is brought near; (Then) shall each soul know what it has put forward. (81:1-14)[1]

The above verses of Sura at-Takwir give a graphic description of Doomsday and Resurrection. A terrifying scene of cosmic upheaval is painted before man. Symbols of stability such as the sun, the stars, the mountains and oceans "fold up", "lose their luster", "vanish" and "boil over". Unprecedented events such as the herding together of wild beasts occur. A new order and world is unveiled where every soul is rewarded or punished according to its merit.

Doomsday is referred to by different names in the Qur'an such as "يَوْمُ الْقِيَامَة" (the Day of Resurrection) in (75:1), "الطَّامَّةُ الْكُبْرَى" (the Great News) in (78:2), "النَّبَإِ الْعَظِيم" [the great, overwhelming (Event)] in (79:34), "الْغَاشِية" [the overwhelming (Event)] in (88:1), and "الْقَارِعَة" [The (Day) of Noise and Clamour] in (101:1-3).

The last paras of the Qur'an, containing mostly Mekkan suras, abound in images of Doomsday. According to Sayyid Abul A'la Mawdudi, the earliest message of the Prophet comprised three elements: belief in one Allah, prophethood of Mohammad (pbuh), and resurrection i.e. men will be raised up after death in bodily form and rewarded and punished in accordance with the deeds done by them in their earthly life. Though the Mekkans objected to the first two parts of the Prophet's message, it was the

concept of resurrection that was totally unacceptable to them. They ridiculed it. The disbelievers could not credit the idea that they would be raised again. Consequently, the theme of Resurrection recurs in Mekkan suras quite frequently. As Mawdudi says:

> *But in order to bring them to the way of Islam it was absolutely essential that the doctrine of the Hereafter should be instilled into their minds, for without belief in this doctrine, it was not at all possible that they could adopt a serious attitude with regard to the truth and falsehood, could change their standard of values in respect of good and evil, and giving up worship of the world, could be inclined to follow the way that Islam urged them to follow. ("Commentary")*

Consequently, the Qur'an presents the central concept of Doomsday and Resurrection emphatically and repeatedly. For this purpose, the Qur'an employs its characteristic imagistic style.

1.2. Qur'an's Imagistic Style

Qur'an is a book revealed by Allah through angel Gabriel to his last Prophet Mohammad (pbuh) for the guidance of mankind. Amongst its central concepts are faith in Allah, the prophet Mohammad (pbuh) and life after death. The opening verses of al-Baqara state:

> *A.L.M. This is the Book; in it is guidance sure, without doubt, to those who fear Allah; Who believe in the Unseen, are steadfast in prayer, and spend out of what We have provided for them; And who believe in the Revelation sent to thee, and sent before thy time, and (in their hearts) have the assurance of the Hereafter. They are on (true) guidance, from their Lord, and it is these who will prosper. (2:1-5)*

Faith in "الغَيْب" i.e. "the Unseen" is of vital importance. According to Mawdudi:

> *Ghayb signifies the verities which are hidden from man's senses and which are beyond the scope of man's ordinary observation and experience, for example the existence and attributes of God, the angels, the process of revelation, Paradise, Hell and so on. [. . .] According to this verse, Qur'anic guidance can prove helpful only to those prepared to affirm the truths of the supersensory realm.* (Tafheem 46).

Muhammad Asad translates "الْغَيْبِ" as "that which is beyond the reach of human perception". He investigates why the Qur'an adopts an imagistic style to convey its message in "Symbolism and Allegory in the Qur'an", one of the appendices to his translation The Message of The Qur'an.

According to Asad, in order to understand the Qur'anic world, the allegorical and symbolic elements in it must be linked with "a realm which is beyond the reach of human perception" i.e. "al-ghayb" (989). Faith in Allah, the angels, Resurrection, Hell and Heaven are all linked with "al-ghayb". Human mind, however, "cannot visualize, or form an idea of, something that lies entirely outside the realm of previously realized experiences". Therefore, the idea of "a realm which is beyond the reach of human perception" i.e. "al-ghayb" could be given to man only "by means of loan-images derived from our actual – physical or mental – experiences" (990).

> *This being so, it is not enough for man to be told, "If you behave righteously in this world, you will attain to happiness in the life to come", or alternatively, "If you do wrong in this world, you will suffer for it in the hereafter". Such statements would be far too general and abstract to appeal to man's imagination and, thus, to influence his behaviour. What is needed is a more direct appeal to the intellect, resulting in a kind of "visualization" of the consequences of one's conscious acts and omissions: and such an appeal can be effectively produced by means of metaphors, allegories and parables, each of them*

stressing, on the one hand, the absolute dissimilarity of all that man will experience after resurrection from whatever he did or could experience in this world; and, on the other hand, establishing means of comparison between these two categories of experience. (Asad 990)

What Asad says about the use of symbolism in al-Quran is in accord with the approach Syed Qutb adopted in his book Tasweer Al-Fanni Fil Quran, translated into Urdu as Quran Majeed ke Fanni Muhasin by Ghulam Ahmed Hariri. According to Qutb, Qur'anic style is chiefly imagistic.

Qutb starts with the assertion that the first people accepted Islam due to the magical impact of Al-Quran which held the audience spellbound. He undertakes to investigate the causes behind such impact of the Qur'an on its first audience which was that of disbelievers.

According to Qutb, the chief characteristic of al-Qur'an - the essence of its magical impact on its audience, is its imagistic style. The Qur'an unfolds its meaning through the use of images or mental pictures. Abstract meaning is presented in a concrete form that can be perceived by the senses. Simile and metaphor are used for this purpose. Personification is also employed. Thus meaning penetrates the depth of human psyche not just mentally but also visually and sensuously.

In the Qur'an, the hidden matters in the mind and man's inner state are presented in a form that can be felt. Scenes, incidents, human forms all are presented as pictures. Then life appears in these pictures. If sound is added, they appear as live actors on the stage. The listeners are changed into the audience watching a live performance who feel that these scenes do not just represent life. Rather they are alive. This is managed through the medium of words and has a profound impact on human psyche. (54-55)

Qutb's approach is allied to the fine arts on one side (as he refers to pictures, tone color, music, etc.) and

literature on the other (as he finds elements of drama as well as story in the Qur'an).

Doomsday and resurrection are also presented in the Qur'an in such a way that they seem to unfold before one's very eyes. Visual, auditory, kinaesthetic images abound. Nor are characters missing. The entire mankind falls into two groups: the believers who are successful and the disbelievers covered with shame and humiliation. The technique of contrast is employed to highlight their different plight.

The researcher, a student of English literature, intends to look at the Qur'anic verses regarding Doomsday and Resurrection in the light of the assertion by Qutb and Asad that Qur'anic style is imagistic. For this purpose, she intends to look at the concept of imagery in literature and apply it to the verses in the Qur'an pertaining to Doomsday and Resurrection.

1.3. Imagery Defined

Before entering into a discussion on the imagery of doomsday and resurrection in the Qur'an, the term imagery needs to be defined.

The simplest definition of the term, given by J. A. Cuddon is:

> *Imagery (L 'making of likenesses'). Imagery as a general term covers the use of language to represent objects, actions, feelings, thoughts, ideas, states of mind and any sensory or extra-sensory experience.* (442)

This definition is quite general. The definition by B. Bernard Cohen, in contrast, states:

> *The term imagery is vital to the study of poetic style and should be used to include both images and figures of speech. An image is generally a sense impression created by a direct or recognizable sense appeal in words. Such an appeal should present a description so graphic or clear that the reader can relate it to his own senses or his own experience.* (51)

The above statement by Cohen supports the foregoing discussion on Qur'an's imagistic style. The Qur'an gives graphic descriptions of its central concepts such as Doomsady and Resurrection so that "the reader can relate it to his own senses or his own experience".

Cohen takes imagery to mean images along with figures of speech where the figures of speech are defined by him as "images that are often intentionally indirect". These include allusion, simile, personification, metaphor, and symbol. (51)

The Qur'an employs images i.e. sense impressions as well as figures of speech like allusion, simile, personification, metaphor, and symbol in its portrayal of Doomsday and Resurrection.

M. H. Abrams defines imagery as follows:

> *'Imagery' (that is, 'images' taken collectively) is used to signify all the objects and qualities of sense perception referred to in a poem or other work of literature, whether by literal description, by allusion, or in the analogues (the vehicles) used in its similes and metaphors.* (78)

He further adds that "[. . .] imagery includes auditory, tactile (touch), thermal (heat and cold), olfactory (smell), gustatory (taste), or kinesthetic (sensations of movement), as well as visual qualities" (79).

The study of Al-Qur'an reveals that it employs various kinds of images with regard to Doomsday and Resurrection. Visual, auditory and kinaesthetic images are the most frequently employed.

A Handbook to Literature defines an image as "a literal and concrete representation of a sensory experience or of an object that can be known by one or more of the senses". It considers an image "a portion of the essence of the meaning of the literary work, never a mere decoration". (Holman and Harmon 248)

The following analysis bears out the truth of this statement. Though Qur'anic imagery beautifies discourse, it

is not merely decorative. Rather, it is an integral part of the essence of the Book of Allah.

1.4. Qur'anic Imagery of Doomsday and Resurrection

The following are some of the images that occur in the Qur'an with reference to doomsday and resurrection:

1.4.1. Visual Images

Doomsday imagery is chiefly visual.

Verily the Day of Sorting out is a thing appointed, [. . .] And the heavens shall be opened as if there were doors, And the mountains shall vanish, as if they were a mirage. (78:17-20)

The above verses bring before the eye of imagination a visual image where on the day of Judgement, doors appear on the sky and the apparently solid mountains disappear like a mirage. The following verse also contains a visual image:

The Day that We roll up the heavens like a scroll rolled up for books (completed) - even as We produced the first Creation, so shall We produce a new one: a promise We have undertaken: truly shall We fulfil it. (21:104)

Amongst the visual images are images of:

a. Light and Darkness

Imagery of light and darkness occurs frequently in the Qur'an as when faith is likened to light and disbelief to darkness (2:257). The imagery of light and darkness generally occurs with reference to the faces of the two kinds of people on the day of Judgement:

*On the Day when some faces will be (lit up with) **white**, and some faces will be (in the gloom of) **black**: To those whose faces will be **black**, (will be said): "Did ye reject Faith after accepting it? Taste then the penalty for rejecting Faith."* (3:106)[2]

> *But those who have earned evil will have a reward of like evil: ignominy will cover their (faces): No defender will they have from (the wrath of) Allah: Their faces will be covered, as it were, **with pieces from the depth of the darkness of night**: they are companions of the Fire: they will abide therein (for aye)!* (10:27)

The darkness covering the faces of the wrong-doers is made manifest by means of a simile here. Their faces would be so dark as if pieces of dark night were covering them.

> *Some faces that Day will be **beaming**, laughing, rejoicing. And other faces that Day will be dust-stained, **Blackness** will cover them: Such will be the Rejecters of Allah, the doers of iniquity.* (80:38-42)

Images showing light or darkness also occur with reference to the cosmic upheaval on Doomsday:

> *At length, when the sight is dazed, And **the moon is buried in darkness**. And the sun and moon are joined together, That Day will Man say: "Where is the refuge?"* (75:7-10)

Resurrection employs similar imagery:

> *And the **Earth** will **shine** with the Glory of its Lord: the Record (of Deeds) will be placed (open); the prophets and the witnesses will be brought forward; and a just decision pronounced between them; and they will not be wronged (in the least).* (39:69)

1.4.2. Kinaesthetic Images

According to the Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory, "Kinaesthesis denotes a sense of movement or muscular effort (from Gk kineein 'to move' + aesthesis 'sensation'). A sense of movement and effort is inherent in the rhythm, momentum and energy of words in such an image" (Cuddon, 474).

Kinaesthesia is an important element of Quranic Doomsday imagery as there is abundance of passages exhibiting strong movement e.g.

> *When the Earth is **shaken to its (utmost) convulsion**,*
>
> *And the Earth **throws up** its burdens (from within).* (99:1-2)

Here a sense of strong movement is conveyed through verbs such as "shaken" and "throws up".

> *When the earth shall be **shaken to its depths**,*
>
> *And the mountains shall be **crumbled to atoms**,*
>
> *Becoming dust **scattered abroad*** (56:4-6)

In the verse above pertaining to Doomsay, it is difficult to conceive the violent commotion when the mountains (ordinarily so stable and strong) will be reduced to dust. A scene of cosmic upheaval abounding in kinaesthetic images is painted in these verses:

> *When the Sky is **cleft asunder**; When the Stars are **scattered**; When the Oceans are suffered to **burst forth**; And when the Graves are **turned upside down*** (82:1-4)

1.4.3. Gustatory Images

Such images generally occur with reference to reward in paradise or punishment in hell. They also occur metaphorically as "عذاب" is generally referred to by invoking the sense of taste, often in an ironic manner. For example:

> *But We will certainly give the Unbelievers a **taste** of a severe Penalty, and We will requite them for the worst of their deeds* (41:27)

> *(Allah will say): "Now have they proved you liars in what ye say: so ye cannot avert (your penalty) nor (get) help." And whoever among you does wrong, him shall We cause to **taste** of a grievous Penalty.* (25:19)

Such images also occur in (3:106), (78:30) and (3:181).

1.4.4. Tactile Images

Many kinaesthetic images are also tactile i.e. they also evoke the sense of touch. For example:

> *And the earth is moved, and its mountains, and they are crushed to **powder** at one stroke –* (69:14)

> *One Day the earth and the mountains will be in violent commotion. And the mountains will be as a heap of **sand** poured out and flowing down.* (73:14)

> *Nay! When the earth is pounded to **powder*** (89:21)

1.4.5. Thermal Images

Doomsday would occur with the destruction of the natural order. Some thermal images occur in this context:

> *The Day that the sky will be like **molten brass**,* (70:8)

> *When the oceans **boil** over with a swell;* (81:6)

1.4.6. Auditory Images

Auditory images and Doomsday go hand in hand. In fact, Doomsday is frequently alluded to by words that evoke auditory images. For example, "زَجْرَةٌ وَاحِدَةٌ" [a single (Compelling) Cry] in (36:53), "الصَّاخَّةُ" i.e. "the Deafening Noise" in (80:33), "القارِعَة" i.e. "The (Day) of Noise and Clamour" in (101:1-3), "الصَّيْحَة" i.e. "a (mighty) Blast" in (50:42).

> *The Day when they will hear a (mighty) **Blast** in (very) truth: that will be the Day of Resurrection.* (50:42)

> *At length, when there comes **the Deafening Noise**,* (80:33)

An oft-repeated auditory image is the blowing of the trumpet:

*The Day that the **Trumpet** shall be **sounded**, and ye shall come forth in crowds;* (78:18)

*Finally, when the **Trumpet is sounded**, That will be- that Day - a Day of Distress.* (74:8-9)

Such images also occur in (69:13) and (27:87).

1.4.7. Synaesthetic Images

Synaesthesia is defined as "(Gk 'perceiving together') The mixing of sensations; the concurrent appeal to more than one sense [. . .]" (Cuddon, 943). Qur'anic nature imagery exhibits synaesthesia as a number of senses are invoked simultaneously, for example:

*Then, when one blast is **sounded** on the Trumpet, and the earth is **moved**, and its mountains, and they are **crushed to powder** at one stroke.* (69:13-14)

A number of senses are invoked here. First is auditory, the sounding of the blast. Second is kinaesthetic as well as visual embodied in the movement of the earth and the mountains and their crushing to powder. Moreover, crushing to powder also evokes a tactile image. Last, but not the least, the whole picture is very powerful and full of movement. All this helps to cement the truth of the Doomsday in the mind of the listener or the reader.

1.4.8. Similes

Simile is a figure of speech in which a comparison is made between two unlike objects on the basis of some common quality. It makes a "direct comparison between two elements" (Cohen 195). In the Qur'an simile is frequently employed with regard to Doomsday. How close the doomsday might be is brought home to man by such verses:

To Allah belongeth the Mystery of the heavens and the earth. And the Decision of the Hour (of Judgment) is as the twinkling of an eye, or even quicker (16:77)

The crumbling of the apparently solid mountains is brought home by some similes:

*The Day that the sky will be **like** molten brass,*
*And the mountains will be **like** wool, (70:8-9)*

*(It is) a Day whereon men will be **like** moths*
*scattered about. And the mountains will be **like***
carded wool. (101:4-5)

The sorry plight of men is described through this simile:

The Day whereon they will issue from their
*sepulchres in sudden haste **as** if they were rushing*
to a goal-post (fixed for them),- Their eyes
lowered in dejection,- ignominy covering them
(all over)! such is the Day which they are
promised! (70:43-44)

1.4.9. Metaphors

Metaphors are frequently used in the Quran. They also occur with reference to Doomsday and Resurrection. In (81:11) a metaphor is employed with reference to the sky on the day of Judgement. It is said:

وَإِذَا السَّمَاء كُشِطَتْ

This verse is translated differently by different translators. For example, Marmaduke Pickthall translates it as "When the sky is torn away". Abdul Majid Daryabadi translates it as "and when the sky shall be stripped off". According to him, it would be "as the skin is plucked off a slaughtered sheep". Abdullah Yusuf Ali translates this verse as "when the World on High is unveiled". His interpretation is that "just as when an animal is skinned, its real flesh and blood and inner organs become visible, without any outer coating to hold them together, so the inmost state of the spiritual world will then become plain" (1607).

With reference to the sky many expressions occur such as "rent asunder" in (77:9), "cleft asunder" in (82:1), "split asunder" in (84:1). Scenes pertaining to the end of the world e.g. the boiling of seas, turning of mountains to dust, etc. that appear to be metaphoric might actually be true as proved by modern scientific research:

When the Sky is cleft asunder; When the Stars are scattered; When the Oceans are suffered to burst forth; And when the Graves are turned upside down;- (Then) shall each soul know what it hath sent forward and (what it hath) kept back. (82:1-5)

One Day the earth and the mountains will be in violent commotion. And the mountains will be as a heap of sand poured out and flowing down. (73:14)

S. Bashir-ud-din Mahmud, in his book, <u>Doomsday and Life after Death</u> discusses the latest scientific theories pertaining to the end of the universe in the light of Qur'anic verses. He says that "many physicists believe that the 'Big Crunch' will represent the end of the physical universe. Just as they believe that the universe i.e. all space, time and matter, came into existence in a 'Big Bang' so they believe it will go out of existence in the 'Big Crunch'. This will be total annihilation. [. . .] " (53).

1.4.10. Allusion

An allusion is "a reference, explicit or indirect, to a person, place or event, or to another literary work or passage" (Abrams 8). It "seeks, by tapping the knowledge and memory of the reader, to secure a resonant emotional effect from the associations already existing in the reader's mind" (Holman and Harmon 12).

Allusion is made to previous nations and prophets to make some point in the Qur'an. With regard to doomsday as well, allusion is used:

*And what will make thee realise what the Sure Reality is? The **Thamud** and the **'Ad People** (branded) as false the Stunning Calamity! But the Thamud - they were destroyed by a terrible Storm of thunder and lightning! And the 'Ad, they were destroyed by a furious Wind, exceedingly violent; He made it rage against them seven nights and eight days in succession: so that thou couldst see the (whole) people lying prostrate in its (path), as*

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> *if they had been roots of hollow palm-trees
> tumbled down! Then seest thou any of them left
> surviving? And **Pharaoh**, and those before him,
> and the Cities Overthrown, committed habitual
> Sin, and disobeyed (each) the messenger of their
> Lord; so He punished them with an abundant
> Penalty. We, when the water (of **Noah's Flood**)
> overflowed beyond its limits, carried you
> (mankind), in the floating (Ark), That We might
> make it a Message unto you, and that ears (that
> should hear the tale and) retain its memory should
> bear its (lessons) in remembrance. (69:3-12)*

A number of allusions are made here to incidents narrated in
varying detail else where in the Qur'an such as the
punishment of Thamud and the 'Ad People, Pharaoh and
Noah's Flood. They are alluded to here in order to reinforce
the truth of Doomsday referred to in this sura as "الحاقة" i.e.
"the Sure Reality". In fact, the sura itself is named "الحاقة" as
its theme is resurrection and doomsday.

1.4.11. Personification

The <u>Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary
Theory</u> defines personification as "the impersonation or
embodiment of some quality or abstraction; the attribution
of human qualities to inanimate objects" (Cudden, 702).

Syed Qutb considers personification an important
attribute of Qur'an's dynamic style.

The earth is generally personified in the Quran with
regard to Doomsday. There are frequent references to the
dead earth being brought to life as proof of resurrection:

> *It is He Who brings out the living from the dead,
> and brings out the dead from the living, and Who
> **gives life to the earth after it is dead**: and thus
> shall ye be brought out (from the dead). (30:19)*

Ali comments on the above verse:

> *From dead matter Allah's creative act produces
> life and living matter, and even science has not yet
> been able to explain the mystery of life. Life and*

> *living matter again seem to reach maturity and again die, as we see every day. No material thing seems to have perpetual life. But again we see the creative process of Allah constantly at work, and the cycle of life and death seems to go on. (1012)*

The personified earth appears as living and dead in these verses as well:

> *Then contemplate (O man!) the memorials of Allah's Mercy! - how He gives life to the earth after its death: verily the same will give life to the men who are dead: for He has power over all things. (30:50)*

The earth is barren but swells with life and "puts forth every kind of beautiful growth (in pairs)" when Allah pours rain on it:

> *And among His Signs in this: thou seest the earth barren and desolate; but when We send down rain to it, it is stirred to life and yields increase. Truly, He Who gives life to the (dead) earth can surely give life to (men) who are dead. For He has power over all things. (41:39)*

Muhammad Abdel Haleem observes that "...the Qur'an uses the very same Arabic verb for 'bringing forth' people from their mothers' wombs (16:78), 'bringing forth' plants from the earth (6:99) and 'bringing forth' people from the earth at the resurrection (30:19)" (87). This heightens the personification of the earth as it lives, gives birth and dies. Similarly, in the verse above, the verb "خاشعة" used with reference to the earth is also used with reference to people e.g. in (88:2) which says that "some faces, that Day, will be humiliated" (88:2).

The earth would talk when commanded by its Lord on the Day of Judgement:

> *When the Earth is shaken to its (utmost) convulsion, And the Earth throws up its burdens (from within), And man cries (distressed): 'What is the matter with it?' - On that Day will it declare its tidings:*

For that thy Lord will have given it inspiration.
(99:1- 5)

In the verses of Surat al-Zalzala cited above, the
earth has been personified. This personification of the earth
is sustained throughout this short sura. The earth is "shaken"
and "throws up its burdens", it will "declare its tidings: For
that thy Lord will have given it inspiration". The word
"اوحى" used with reference to the earth here in (99:5)
"ordinarily means inspiration, the Message put into the mind
or heart by Allah." (Ali, 654). Thus the earth is presented as
a living creature and the message is put into its "mind or
heart by Allah".

It would be interesting to look at the comments of a
scientist in this regard. Mahmud says:

> *As far as the record keeping function of inanimate*
> *things, this might have been incomprehensible to*
> *the man of the past, but it shall be no more a*
> *puzzle for the modern man. We know that each*
> *second trillions of neutrinos and cosmos*
> *radiations are showered from the outer space*
> *towards the earth. They are so powerful that some*
> *of these even penetrate across the body of the*
> *Earth with as much ease as light passes through a*
> *clear sheet of glass. From our knowledge of*
> *photography, we also know that molecules of*
> *certain materials are sensitive to radiation.*
> *Moreover, in these days everyone knows about the*
> *computer memory chips made of silica, each one*
> *of which is able to store millions of information*
> *bits for ever [. . .] Therefore, idea of records of*
> *human deeds by the atoms of our own bodies*
> *should not be a surprising idea any more.* (177)

The earth as well as every other object of nature is
obedient to Allah. It would also obey Allah on the day of
Judgement, emptying itself (84:3-5) as well as telling its
tidings (99:4-5).

> *And when the **earth** is flattened out, And casts*
> *forth what is within it and becomes (clean) empty,*

And hearkens to (the Command of) its Lord - and it must needs (do so) – (then will come home the full Reality). (84:3-5)

The earth, personified in this sura, is seen losing its round shape in obedience to Allah's command and emptying itself. According to Qutb, "these short verses with their vivid description show both the sky and the earth as living, receiving their orders and instantly complying with them. Their obedience is a manifestation of their conscious and dutiful submission" (Fi-Zilal 104).

1.5. Attributes of Doomsday and Resurrection Imagery

Some attributes of this imagery are:

1.5.1. Abundant

The Hereafter is referred to repeatedly in the Qur'an. This is a testimony of its great importance. The Encyclopaedic Index of the Quran lists sixty-three different expressions that occur in this context. Many of them occur more than once. For example, "يَوْمُ الْقِيَامَةِ" (the Day of Resurrection) occurs 70 times.

1.5.2. Cosmic

The Doomsday imagery in Al-Quran is of cosmic nature. Most of it pertains to the earth and various earthly phenomena. However, there are frequent references to the heavens. The following verses illustrate the cosmic nature of Quranic nature imagery:

Then when the stars become dim; When the heaven is cleft asunder; When the mountains are scattered (to the winds) as dust; And when the messengers are (all) appointed a time (to collect); For what Day are these (portents) deferred? For the Day of Sorting out. (77:8-13)

1.5.3. Majestic and Sublime

Sublimity, a concept propounded by Longinus in his treatise On the Sublime connotes:

> *[. . .] surpassing excellence, an Everest of achievement, where great thoughts, noble feeling, lofty figures (i.e. figurative language), diction and arrangement (the five sources of sublimity established by Longinus) all coincided...The sublime also came to be associated with powerful emotions, with spiritual and religious awe, with vastness and immensity, with the natural order in its grander manifestations and with the concept of genius.* (Cuddon 929).

The depiction of Doomsday and Resurrection as well as the scenes from hell can be termed sublime as they are amongst the most terrible images envisaged by the human imagination.

> *When the Sky is cleft asunder; When the Stars are scattered; When the Oceans are suffered to burst forth; And when the Graves are turned upside down - (Then) shall each soul know what it hath sent forward and (what it hath) kept back.* (82:1-5)

1.5.4. Compact and Concise

Depending on the context, Quranic imagery can be very concise. It employs economy of words.

> *And among His Signs in this: thou seest the earth barren and desolate; but when We send down rain to it, it is stirred to life and yields increase. Truly, He Who gives life to the (dead) earth can surely give life to (men) who are dead. For He has power over all things.* (41:39)

Here, the entire panorama of life and death is presented before man through the analogy of the dead earth quickened by rain. The same style is adopted at many other places in the Quran where just in a few words a wealth of meaning is conveyed.

1.5.5. Sense of Immediacy

A sense of immediacy is present in many of nature scenes. As Qutb says, the listener feels that the scene is

unfolding in front of his eyes and he himself partakes of it (Tasweer 47). In painting scenes of Doomsday, Resurrection, Heaven and Hell, such a style is adopted that the listener/reader feels that everything is taking place before his very eyes. This is achieved through invoking different senses such as those of hearing and sight as well as adopting a dramatic mode:

> *The Trumpet will (just) be sounded, when all that are in the heavens and on earth will swoon, except such as it will please Allah (to exempt). Then will a second one be sounded, when, behold, they will be standing and looking on!* (39:68)

> *One Day We shall remove the mountains, and thou wilt see the earth as a level stretch, and We shall gather them, all together, nor shall We leave out any one of them.* (18:47)

1.5.6. Employment of Nature Imagery

The Qur'an employs a wide variety of imagery with regard to Doomsday. Nature imagery is generally employed in this regard. This is chiefly with a view to persuade its audience. Various arguments are used in this context. The appeal to the senses is made with a view to appeal to reason. For example:

> *On high hath He raised its canopy, and He hath given it order and perfection. Its night doth He endow with darkness, and its splendour doth He bring out (with light). And the earth, moreover, hath He extended (to a wide expanse); He draweth out therefrom its moisture and its pasture; And the mountains hath He firmly fixed- For use and convenience to you and your cattle. Therefore, when there comes the great, overwhelming (Event) - The Day when man shall remember (all) that he strove for,* (79:28-35)

1.5.7. Quick Succession of Images

In many Doomsday passages, image upon image follows in quick succession. The Quran abounds in such images. In Sura An-Naba, it is asked:

> *Have We not made the **earth** as a wide expanse, and the mountains as pegs? And (have We not) created you in pairs, and made your sleep for rest, and made the night as a covering, and made the day as a means of subsistence? And (have We not) built over you the seven firmaments, and placed (therein) a Light of Splendour? And do We not send down from the clouds water in abundance, that We may produce therewith corn and vegetables, and gardens of luxurious growth? Verily the Day of Sorting out is a thing appointed* - (78: 6 -17)

Here, reference is made to a number of Allah's blessings one after the other. The fast rhythm of the Arabic original enhances the effect of the swift succession of scenes. The overall effect is overwhelming. The idea is to make man realize that the Power Who can do all this can also bring about Resurrection. Qutb says about these verses:

> *In this round we go across the vast universe, observing a great multitude of scenes and phenomena, which are sketched out with great economy of words and phrases. This helps make the rhythm sharp and penetrating, like incessant hammering. The form of question implying a statement is used here on purpose. It may be likened to a strong hand shaking those unaware, it draws their attention to all these creatures and phenomena which give strong evidence of the deliberate planning and designing which go into their creation, the ability to create and recreate, and the wisdom behind creation, which dictates that no creature will be left out of the great reckoning. Hence we come back to the fateful tiding, the subject of the argument.* (Fi-Zilal 10)

1.5.8. Onomatopoeic

Alliteration as well as repetition adds to the onomatopoeic effect of the repeated pounding of the earth in the following verse:

كَلَّا إِذَا دُكَّتِ الْأَرْضُ دَكًّا دَكًّا

Nay! When the earth is pounded to powder (89:21)

Man is repeatedly made to ponder over the fact that this earthly life is very short. To reinforce this feeling, doomsday is talked of as if it was already here. Very powerful language is used for this purpose. An important element in this regard is the employment of onomatopoeia. With swift, forceful rhythms, the shattering impact of the doomsday is made to penetrate human psyche. Sura al-Zalzala (chapter 99) is a case in point. The alliteration of "z" and "l" in the first verse is responsible for creating the onomatopoeic effect of the earthquake. The effect of rapid movement is added to by the use of powerful verbs in every verse. Some of them are especially powerful like "زُلْزِلَتْ" and "أَخْرَجَتْ".

The opening verses of Sura Al Inshiqaq which deals with the day of Judgement are all end-stopped. The alliteration in "مُدَّتْ", "تَخَلَّتْ", "حُقَّتْ" at the end of every line along with the hard sounds of "q" and "kh" in "أَلْقَتْ", "تَخَلَّتْ", "حُقَّتْ" produce a sense of finality in their rhythm in consonance with their meaning:

And when the earth is flattened out	وَإِذَا الْأَرْضُ مُدَّتْ
And casts forth what is within it and becomes(clean) empty	وَأَلْقَتْ مَا فِيهَا وَتَخَلَّتْ
And hearkens to (the Command of) its Lord- and it must needs (do so) – (then will come home the full Reality)	وَأَذِنَتْ لِرَبِّهَا وَحُقَّتْ

(84:3-5)

1.5.9. Psychological Impact on Man

While painting a vivid description of Doomsday, the Qur'an does not leave out the feelings and emotions of man. This imagistic and dramatic style makes its message more effective:

> *Warn them of the Day that is (ever) drawing near,* *when **the hearts will (come) right up to the** **throats to choke (them)**; No intimate friend nor* *intercessor will the wrong-doers have, who could* *be listened to.* (40:18)

> *On the Day that the Hour will be established, **the*** ***guilty will be struck dumb with despair***. *(30:12)*

> *And no friend will ask after a friend, Though they* *will be put in sight of each other - the sinner's* *desire will be: Would that he could redeem* *himself from the Penalty of that Day by* *(sacrificing) his children, His wife and his* *brother, His kindred who sheltered him, And all,* *all that is on earth - so it could deliver him:* (70:10-14)

> *One Day everything that can be in commotion will* *be in violent commotion, Followed by oft-repeated* *(commotions): **Hearts that Day will be in*** ***agitation; Cast down will be (their owners') eyes***. (79:6-9)

The technique of contrast is used in this context to highlight the sad plight of the disbelievers and the ecstatic joy of the believers:

> *Some faces that Day will be beaming, laughing,* *rejoicing. And other faces that Day will be dust-* *stained, Blackness will cover them: Such will be* *the Rejecters of Allah, the doers of iniquity.* (80:38-42)

The Qur'an draws the picture of the delights of paradise and the torments of hell to make a stronger impact on man:

Then, he whose balance (of good deeds) will be (found) heavy, Will be in a life of good pleasure and satisfaction. But he whose balance (of good deeds) will be (found) light - Will have his home in a (bottomless) Pit. And what will explain to thee what this is? (It is) a Fire Blazing fiercely! (101:6-11)

1.6.   Conclusion

In al-Qur'an, Doomsday and Resurrection, abstract concepts, are concretely presented through sensuous images that can be felt by the reader/listener. Consequently, the conviction of accountability can penetrate human psyche. This imagery fulfils a number of other functions as well. It makes man ponder and think, illustrates the close kinship between scientific findings and Qur'anic revelation regarding Doomsday and makes sense of an otherwise incomprehensible world where evil appears to abound and flourish. The Almighty says:

"Verily the Hour is coming - My design is to keep it hidden - for every soul to receive its reward by the measure of its Endeavour. (20:15)

End notes

1. Unless otherwise specified, English Translation of the Qur'an is that rendered by Abdullah Yusuf Ali. (81:1-14) refers to the first fourteen verses of chapter 81.

2. Depending on the context, certain words in the verses have been high-lighted to facilitate the reader.

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The Language of Schooling and Social Capital in Pakistan

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ABSTRACT

In this paper Dr Ashraf examines the language of instruction at school and social capital in Pakistan in the light of habitus theory and the growing encroachment of English in day-to-day living. The researcher points out that the relationships, interactions and shared values of social capital are affected by language, so the decision to educate a child in this or that language has important long-term ramifications for society. In Pakistan we find gross imbalances of opportunity, influence and power resulting from the Urdu-English divide. In theory it is said that the presence of elite groups can create a strong upward suction on society as a whole, but in practice this can lead to wrongful exclusion for the majority. In closing, Dr Ashraf raises a number of questions that need to be asked and answered by parents, guardians and planners in making language selections for future generations.

This paper is centred on the concept of social capital that along with intellectual and academic capital finds its roots in school and family, where the child starts learning about the social environment. Societal levels of educational attainment are linked to levels of economic development and are important predictors of political engagements. Government education policies focus on 'improving aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence of all so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved' (Ministry of Education Report). The effects of education become broader as one climbs the education ladder. At a further stage they become the strongest correlate of civic engagement in all its forms, including social trust and membership in many different types of groups.

One of the pioneers of social capital research in contemporary times Robert Putnam has identified education to be in part a proxy for all social class and economic differences. When income, social status and education are put together to predict trust and cooperation, education is the primary influence (Putnam: 1995).

Financial sources alone do not guarantee positive educational outcomes for students. Quality aspects of education have been compromised in Pakistan like several developing countries because of the widespread teacher absenteeism, lack of essential facilities in public schools, and an absence of environment conducive to learning. Education is said to have lost its relevance to social needs (Ibid.). Critical theory in education has espoused certain concepts that are centrally concerned with the outcomes of education, such as issues of identities, influence and control, empowerment, equity, and multiculturalism that are important factors affecting social and economic growth of individuals, societies and communities. It is these non-economic factors that are now regarded as significant for their contribution to economic prosperity and well-being and are referred to as social capital. Social capital has three primary dimensions: the structure of relationships, interpersonal dynamics (interaction and trust), and the

common context and language shared by individuals (Lesser: 2000). Components of social capital that include civic participation, institutional trust, mutuality and reciprocity, horizontal relationships, hierarchy or vertical articulation, social control, civic republicanism, political participation, information and transparency, and the media (Sudarsky: 1998). Considering the place social capital has taken up in all social actions, institutions like the World Bank use social capital for deciding policy relating to matters of poverty alleviation, and sustainable human and economic development. In the World Bank definition:

> Social capital refers to the institutions, relationships, and norms that shape the quality and quantity of a society's social interactions... Social capital is not just the sum of the institutions which underpin a society – it is the glue that holds them together.

There is another definition by Cohen and Prusak (2001):

> Social capital consists of the stock of active connections among people: the trust, mutual understanding, and shared values and behaviors that bind the members of human networks and communities and make cooperative action possible.

Social capital is not a new phenomenon though. Strong networks of trustworthy relations have always been considered a vital tool for development. The first known reference to social capital in its contemporary sense was made in the context of its importance for education by Hanifan in 1916 who used the term to describe 'those tangible substances that count for most in daily lives of people' (Hanifan: 1916) Recent research has indicated that social capital is not only a critical input of education but also one of its by-products (Heyneman: 1998). Through social capital education does not just strengthen human capital needed for economic development, social development and social accountability, but also fosters rich networks.

Social capital is produced through education in three fundamental ways:

1. Schools encourage social capital skills such as participation and reciprocity

2. Schools provide forums for community activity

3. Through civil education students learn how to participate responsibly in their society.

Schools and individual classrooms are most likely places where existing social relationships, including inequities are ratified and reinforced than places which enable personal or social transformation along any but socially sanctioned lines. What is taught in schools is basic to a shared national and social understanding that is fundamental to the creation of social capital. The concept of social capital is applied to school attrition, academic performance and intellectual development of children. Social networks, academic achievements and aspirations are inter-related variables. Through its three dimensions – structural, relational and cognitive – social capital indicates how strong the interdependency between social capital and education is. There are diverse ways of fostering social capital by economic conditions, racial experience, linguistic background, and cultural beliefs and practices.

> Language plays an important role in maintaining social ties to family and community. When English supplants the home language elders often lose their capacity to offer guidance, discipline, comfort and support. Additionally the major force behind the transmission of ideas, beliefs and customs within a cultural group is lost (Chang: 1997).

This observation was made by Chang in the context of the social capital being affected by the influence of a second language. Chang's second observation rests upon the recognition of shared values which 'bind us together' such as a commitment to the right of all children to free and quality public education.

In Pakistan education is typically offered through two language mediums, English and Urdu. Regional languages particularly Sindhi and Pashto are in widespread use but I will begin at the national level. English has attained a second language status in Pakistan due to its wide usage in business and professional education and also because it is considered a license to exclusive memberships in various walk of life. Urdu, on the other hand, is the national language and united people at the time of independence.

In recent years English medium schools have increased in number, not just in the metropolitan cities but also in far off towns. The growing popularity of these schools would at a glance indicate:

1.   An increase in the literacy ratio

2.   Disinclination towards public sector schools.

If children from different socio-economic backgrounds were enrolled in the public education system, it would promote societal cohesion and strengthen citizenship. On the other hand, if wealthy families opt out of the public school system, and choose private schools, strong social capital among the elites impairs the public education system. This strips communities of financial resources, local leadership and students who are well prepared to learn. The result is public school systems with little political influence to demand public resources, fewer parents who have the time and money to join for reformation or even to hold someone accountable. Another observation made by Chang in the context of South Korea that applies to Pakistani society is that of social divisions created by education systems:

> Divisions due to competition over scarce resources, a history of mistrust and / or inability to communicate with each other make it difficult if not impossible for communities to solve shared problems.

And finally social capital depends upon investing in the development of "leaders who are effective in diverse settings" (Ibid.).

Social capital thus causes bonding as well as bridging in the society - the former referring to the social networks between homogenous peoples and the latter to that of social networks between heterogeneous peoples. Through participation in different social networks education and language learning create bonding and bridging in different classes and groups of people. If one language gives one group of people access to some resource or information, and restricts or hinders another group of people, social relations are affected to a great deal. This is significant in relation to all policies that are designed and implemented including the education policies. Wide disparities are thus being created through languages of schooling in Pakistan. The difference between the public and private education system becomes divergent because the systems differ on the basis of the language of instruction, the language of examination and the language of communication.

Schools offer an opportunity of development of shared language, shared experiences, personal development, learning to trust others in the group, and identification with that group. They also help in learning to acquire a community's subjective viewpoint, and thus of different ways of relating to objects and persons.

The issue of the medium of education has been under much discussion and critical thinking for a long time. Bolinger's (1980) Language, the Loaded Weapon, Fairclough's (2001) Language and Power, and Bourdieu's (1983) Language and Symbolic Power, and Tariq Rahman's Language and Politics in Pakistan (1996), Language, Education and Culture (1999) and Language, Ideology and Power: Language Learning among the Indians of Pakistan and North India (2003), are just a few to name. The central issue is how classroom language can be very controlling in schools for the very reason that in schools students are made to conform to a perceived status quo, and towards enforcement of codes and behaviours and discipline.

Foucault said schools were institutions embodying a "disciplinary technology" that aimed to forge a "docile body that may be subjected, used, transformed and improved" (Foucault: 1997). Similarly the language that is taught in a school hints at social norms and conditions. McGroarty (1996) puts it as:

> Choice of a particular language or linguistic variant either as object or medium of instruction is thus never neutral. It is rather an indicator of power relationships and social domains ascribed to language and language varieties in any society.

In a pluralist society like Pakistan's it is often language that becomes the tool to control social and cultural resources. As a tool of communication it is rooted in everyday lives. A shared language influences the conditions for combination and exchange. It also has a direct influence on the social relationships, for it is the tool to exchange information, ask questions, and conduct business. The linguistic aspect of social capital indicates high levels of trust and mistrust in the society.

> Having a common language enables people to facilitate their ability to gain access to other people and their information. Different codes and languages keep people apart, and restrict their access (Napapiet & Ghosal: 1998).

Being a tool of enculturation functions in the interpersonal domains and to a large extent determines our linguistic behaviours which are displayed by the systems of social relations in which the child grows up, including the roles it learns to recognize and adopt. The control of [thought] is not in the speech but in the set of human relations which generate thought and speech (Douglas: 1972).

When two different opportunities through different mediums of education are offered it leads to dilemmatic and hybridized cultural identities. And each individual having a different personal and social history would have a different

set of dispositions and inclinations to which Bourdieu (1983) refers as 'habitus':

> The term habitus contains in the meanings of
> habitat, habitant, the process of habitation and
> habits (particularly habits of thought).

Through schooling habitus undergoes change and restructuring continually. Because individuals act in relation to their habitus and social contexts which would be comprised of the economic. cultural and symbolic capital they may possess. Through difference in mediums of education we have access to different kinds of linguistic capital – again depending upon the linguistic intelligence of the pupil at hand. Bourdieu has argued that the individuals have different dispositions or habitus due to the linguistic capital they possess. These inclinations and dispositions are referred to as linguistic habitus that govern our practices in social contexts. The immanent structures of the world and of a particular sector are incorporated through our habitus. These perceptions as well as actions are expressed not only through our mental attitudes but as Bourdieu put it through durable ways of 'standing, speaking, walking and thereby feeling and thinking' (Ibid.). It is in a range of these activities that people's relations to the dominant culture are conveyed.

> Habitus is thus a kind of transforming machine
> that leads us to reproduce the social conditions
> of our own productions but in a relatively
> unpredictable way (Ibid.).

We determine our space by the different types of capital we possess. This may be not just for financial gains, but for the possession of cultural capital or even the academic capital. Linguistic habitus thus is:

> Subset of habitus: it is the subset of dispositions
> acquired in the course of learning to speak in
> particular contexts (family, peer group, schools,
> etc.). These dispositions govern both subsequent
> linguistic practices and the anticipation of the
> value that the linguistic products will receive in

other fields or markets – in the labour market,
for example, or in the institutions of secondary
or tertiary education (Ibid.).

Linguistic habitus becomes crucial in determining
social capital for the very reason that knowledge acquired
has to be shared and transferred to more effectively create,
to locate expertise, to transfer best practices and to bring
disparate parties together to collaborate. With a shared
language and understanding access to information and
knowledge of different kinds becomes cheap and easy. Any
information that is timely, relevant and trustworthy leads to
diverse sources, and to network range. Social resources have
effect on job search behaviour and so on socio-economic
attainment. With diverse information available through
wider contacts there is more probability of earlier
notification of opportunities, and knowledge thus becomes
more instrumental. Through our educational credentials we
reflect and contribute to the stock of human and social
capital.

Access to influence and control are very strong
benefits of social capital. To a certain degree, they are
dependent upon the cultural and linguistic habitus. In a way
influence and control are two sides of the same coin. It is the
ability to influence others (Coleman: 1990) and also the
ability to be free of others (Burt: 1996). Education and
language learning at schools is through intrinsic and
extrinsic motivations. Access to information is colluded or
restricted in both the public and private sector schools. The
relation between higher education, inequality and society is
directed towards social classification (Bourdieu: 1996). In
Pakistan, in the elitist English medium schools, formal
training of teachers appears to be far less important than
their command of the language (Rehman: 2001). But
students are being educated through far flung schools and
maktibs in rural and suburban areas - those who do not have
access to a language that is so resourceful in the domains of
power, in high fashion jobs, and in institutes of professional
education. The isolation experienced by many living and
working in rural areas reduces access to social capital
(Kilpatrick, Bell & Falk: 1998).

Attitudes of parents and students are particularly shaped by the personal experiences of schooling and by the specific learning contexts. Attitudes of parents are shaped by their own personal histories and by their responses to the wider cultural themes. If parents have been stigmatized in any way due to their own language they do not want history to be repeated through their own children's experiences. They may value their own language or the national language, but they would insist on getting their children have ample opportunities to develop their skills to share the prestige standard.

Habitus within as well as between social groups differs to the extent that the details of individual's social trajectories would differ from another's. Individuals contain within themselves their pasts and presents in the social structures 'at all times and in all places, in the form of dispositions which are so many marks of social positions'(Bourdieu: 1990).

Circumstances in schools internalize and become yet another layer added to those from earlier socialization. Bourdieu writes:

> The habitus in the family is at the basis of the structuring of school experiences ...; the habitus transformed by the action of the school, itself diversified, is in turn at the basis of all subsequent experiences ... and so on, from restructuring to restructuring.

Language learning starts giving myriad adaptations which are revealed by our responses and reactions and resistances to the way the world is, and how it may become. These adjustments are apparently unconscious unless the individuals come across events that are self-questioning. In a country where the education system is stratified due to the differences in the language of schooling there are matters not only of prestige or honour, but also of placement and displacement.

Aristotle's philosophy of education was based on the concept of *endaimonia*, i.e. of developing the cognitive

and moral abilities of students 'for citizenship and for one's future life'. In English the word is best translated as 'well-being'. He had believed that the state of endaimonia could be maintained through *arête* i.e. excellences and virtues. The intellectual excellences would include many forms of knowledge such as sciences and arts, etc., and the moral excellences would include many aspects of social and emotional life. These intellectual and moral excellences are developed through education and the curriculum. For this reason what is taught in schools and how it is taught cannot be ignored. If there is a different language of communication and different one for education is it instruction or examination, it affects the intellectual, moral and social sensibilities and the habitus of the overall society. Intellectual capital would grow through two important processes: the creation of new knowledge and the transfer of knowledge between situations and peoples. Social capital is generated through the intellectual capital. And high levels of social capital indicate high levels of trust between the school and the society (Hargreaves: 2001).

The process of becoming educated requires that the child's meaning potential has to be developed on certain lines, in certain contexts in relation to the exploration of the social environment and the child's own part in it. The child learns how to organize these experiences through the language of the school.

> If there is a mismatch between his language and the language of the school it results in different patterns of socializations that characterize different sections of the society, or the subculture, and which are in turn a function of the underlying relations of the family and elsewhere (Halliday: 1978).

In a society the language that enables one to have the maximum benefits would be preferred by the speakers. Individuals who are from upper class are endowed with relative ease to the demands of the most formal or official occasions. On the other hand individuals from the other classes make an effort to adopt the expressions of those who

have access to the formal social contexts. The result is an acquired linguistic expression that often needs to be rectified. There is also a tendency to correct or copy correctly. Thus a class is created that is divided against itself, whose members are seeking, at the cost of constant anxiety, to produce linguistic expressions which bear the mark of a habitus other than their own (Bourdieu: 1992). Results of English in examinations at different stages affect the overall result percentage more than any other subject does. This creates a tendency in students to eliminate themselves from the educational system, or to resign themselves to vocational institutes where they feel more at home. This unease and hesitation leads to a kind of silence (Bourdieu: 1992).

In Pakistani schools students usually try to adopt English language, which has been described in one way as 'babu English'. This is a modified version of the language they want to learn. Their use of language reflects the codified relationship of social power and prestige in the given time and place. The inequality is obvious as those who have command of English language are fewer in number. The effect of this borrowing and leaning towards English is visible through the common language shared by people. An inclination of the growing number of peoples is thus toward the learning of the language of schooling that leads to a better future, and schooling that is believed to lead to a better life. The policies of the government in the last decade and a half have been for the introduction of English as a compulsory subject from class one onwards, unlike that of previous years where this was the policy of only state influenced schools and those in the private sector meant only for the rich and affluence. The governments efforts to a great extent to introduce English in all state run schools in rural, sub-urban and urban areas, has been affected by lack of resources - financial and education   that hindered the smooth change of the language of education. However, the gap continues to widen as it bridges the society into two (or even more) halves due to the access to schooling children have. These differences are visible in employment factors and the increasing unemployment figures that represent the

majority population who has studied in schools where the language of communication was not English at large. On the other hand, English was always a difficult subject to study and to pass exams.

The education system thus tends to endorse the pre-existing differences in the social capital. The classes that are least favoured are those that differ linguistically from those of the dominant classes. Differences in the kind of school you choose for your ward is visible through three aspects: the academic and intellectual outcome of schools is reflected in the knowledge, skill and understanding of the students; the moral outcomes are revealed though the values, dispositions and habits of the students; and the formal and informal involvement and participation of students in the community and its networks that are shaped by the status of that school in the wider society.

But does the status of the school really affect the way your child performs in life? We need to think about factors like the structural components of a school, the climate of a school, and the social capital that exists within a school affecting the academic and social performance of students? We also need to think about these factors affecting schools across space differentially — urban, suburban, and rural-based schools. And to what extent do these forces matter in the context of society, culture and Pakistan.

Today we differentiate from others on the basis of knowledge that supplants land, labour and capital. Access to knowledge is through schools. When you choose a school for your ward, there would be several elements that you would have in mind – elements that are related to your cultural notions, to your past experiences, to your present circumstances of time and space – habitus. These decisions and children's schooling affect social capital through issues of identity, bi- or multilingualism, access to sources of information, sharing and exchanging of information, citizenship, social cohesion, and a sense of belonging.

Do you think these factors and the current situation will be improved by examining students in maths and science in English as the policy has now suggested? Do you

think that students would have more access to knowledge through this proposal? Do you think that students will have a better access to knowledge about their course contents and subject topics through English medium schooling? Do you think that students will have a better access to knowledge about their course contents and subject topics through Urdu medium schooling? Do you think it will make them effective participants of civic activity? How far do you think these decisions are going to affect your child's sense of personal worth, her social etiquettes, and her sense of belonging? And how far will it enable your child's ability to change according to changing circumstances? These elements of social capital are being created, affected and revealed through the language of schooling in Pakistan.

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Factors Hampering the Learning and Speaking of English in Pakistani Society

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ABSTRACT

In this paper the core issue before the researcher is the hampering effects of the fear of public opinion in the act of speaking faulty English in our society. Language learning is a complex phenomenon. Everybody here earnestly desires to learn and speak correct English as besides social prestige it carries a lot of prospects for an attractive career. Hostile and unfriendly social conditions create a lot of hurdles for any new entrant in the realm of a new language. It has been the effort of the researcher to highlight the problem of social fear which leads to a decrease in the pace of language learning and consequently the learner's spoken fluency in public in Pakistan's case.

Introduction

Learning to speak English correctly in addition to the national language has become the order of the day over the recent years in our society. It has taken the coloring of privilege and prestige. So English is learnt on elite considerations. Many people hesitate to try and do not speak English because they are not good at it and consequently do not want to sound foolish if they fail to pronounce certain words properly. They are scared of sounding silly and inefficient in the eyes of others. Among the learners a large majority of learners consists of mature young men and women. It is interesting to note that up to graduation students are required to learn English as a compulsory subject but so far as competence and performance in the speaking skills are concerned they show very poor results although they perform well in other skills. They fail to get enough opportunities where they can practice speaking English with any hesitation or fear.

Hypothesis

Fear and hesitation are the greatest enemies in the process of language learning particularly speaking English in our society. Poor performance in speaking effectively and fluently is caused by mental and social fears of judgment by others.

Significance of the Study

Pakistan is a potential land for the growth and spread of English as it is required in different walks of life. English is deemed essential for the advancement of one's career. Speaking correct English is deemed indispensable in the estimation and selection of the people for many a job. Our society is giving more and more importance to the pursuit of acquiring flawless English speaking skills. But learners fail in most cases to converse properly even after getting education in the English language.

Review of literature

Researchers of language have been working with the idea of similarities in the pattern of languages learnt by any human being. This is also called "Identity Hypothesis" which asserts that the first language and the second language acquisition (SLA) can conform to the same pattern in learning styles. This has not been confirmed probably because the second language learners' cognitive and affective states are very much different from those of the native language learners. In fact they are much more advanced. However, orders of acquisition in the SL do often resemble the first language's to some extent. Researchers have found a consistent order in the acquisition of the first language structures by children which is also followed by the second language learners. This critical period was popularized by Eric Lenneberg in 1967 for L_1 but considerable interest now surrounds the age effects on SLA, also. Isolation can also be a major factor that may hamper the process of learning to speak in the public. It may even lead to retardation and emotional disturbances which may lead to the hampering of language learning abilities.

Most second language learners begin their acquisition with a silent period in which they speak very little as they have hesitation and fear of errors in pronunciation and sentence making in a proper way. They have reservations about the opinion of other people around them. Fear is a big hampering factor in the process of learning of English as a second language. Researchers like S.P. Corder established the field of error analysis in 1970. Error analysis was an alternative to contrastive analysis, an approach influenced by behaviorism through which applied linguistics sought to use formal distinctions between learners' first and second languages to predict errors. John Shaffer and Lindley (1975) are of the view 'The ultimate aim of learning a foreign language is to interact with the community of that language. Language learning is like entering another social self, adjustable to the new environment'.

Many learning errors are produced by learners making faulty inferences about the rules of the new language. It is presumed by linguists that language is enthusiastically learnt

in the early years of one's life owing to the tension-free life style of the youngsters. Rod Ellis (1997) shows that learners begin by omitting pronouns or using them indiscriminately. Rod Ellis distinguished between "order" and "sequence" of language development patterns. He is of the view that order refers to the pattern in which different language features are acquired and sequence to denote the pattern by which a specific language's features are acquired. Studies on the acquisition of the word order in the German language have shown that most learners begin with a word order based on the native language. Social factors include the change of a register. Language aptitude goes a long way in successful learning. Learning aptitude is stronger in the younger age as compared to the adults. Brown (2001) confirms that 'successful mastery of language can be acquired through learners' investment of time efforts and attention to the target language for comprehending and producing language.'

Another feature of language learning is that learners have to plan for the regular and more complex production in the spoken form. But as far as English is concerned there are certain factors like learners' prejudices and growing demands of a society which act as discouraging factors in the process of language learning.

General Discussion

A learner may be motivated by certain factors in learning to speak correct English. He may be planning to go abroad for studies. He may be on a mission to hunt for a job linked with fluency in the English language in the media-electronic or print. Academic purposes are of topmost importance in the learning of English as a second language in our society. But it is an uphill task as it does not start with the cradle where knowledge is reinforced by the family in a natural manner.

In our society people are confronted with a lot of problems in the process of learning speaking skills. Language learning is a natural process and takes its own course. In the realm of the first language the environment is congenial and supportive for learning. But most people face

problems in the case of the second language speaking skills. Fear as an element of hostility dominates the learning process for the people as excitement of learning and copying others is mostly absent in the learning process. As mentioned before language is easily and enthusiastically learnt in the early years of one's life.In our case our society is proving hostile in so far as English is concerned. It is a Herculean task to have a smooth sailing in the process of learning to speak error-free English. The non-congenial atmosphere is the main discouraging factor in the process of language learning in our society which generates fears in the process of learning to speak English in everyday life.

Effective learning of English as a second language may take place in the following patterns:

1. Formally, through the educational system of a country.

2. Non-formally, through voluntary organizations and non- governmental organizations.

3. Social interaction.

In the first pattern the problem of fear is much less than the social life outside the educational institutions although there is a lot of competition and rivalries among students and they take note of every wrong pronunciation and expression others make. Many students fall victim of fear as they feel difficulty in speaking in front of their fellow students.

In the non formal situations the fear of judgment and ridicule is much more as compared to social interaction. The last pattern i.e. social interaction is natural and normal but it has certain limitations. It can take place if people of that language predominate in the social set up of a learner. English language learning carries a lot of problems as majority of the people are illiterate and backward. Even in the bigger cities of Pakistan all children are not proficient in the language. In the rural areas and smaller cities the trend of speaking English is not workable as most of the people cannot understand it properly.

English language learning is a fascinating phenomenon as it is a dominant and promising language. Therefore the strong desire to be able to speak correct English is not restricted to the students who are studying in colleges and universities but also those who have left their studies. It is all due to the socio- economic imperatives. Learning of English is a formal activity in our society as the options of non formal and informal do not take place as no organization is working on these lines as social conditions are not favorable in this regard. Even the formal system is fragmented.

It is an interesting phenomenon in our society that since the creation of Pakistan there have been conscious efforts to eliminate English as it is thought to be the legacy of the colonial rule of the British in this region of the world. The resolve to replace the English language with other languages was mentioned even in the constitution of the country. But all these efforts could not stop the influence of English. It increased the hunger of the nation for this foreign language. People feel pride in sending their children to English medium schools, colleges and universities of the country. They even send their children abroad for this purpose. It is all because they want to move to the upper social status in order to become a part of the privileged class in the social set up of the society. This charming dream requires the wings of the English language as only it can open up the golden road to success and glory in all walks of life. This dream has its genesis in the glorious success of English in all corners of the world.

The problem of poor oral skills is caused by a mismatch between order and sequence of language development patterns. The researcher agrees with Rod Fllis (mentioned before) that order refers to the pattern in which different language features are acquired and sequence the pattern by which specific language features are acquired. A consistent order is generally found in the acquisition of the first language structures by children who are also followed by the second language learners. The root of the problem is that the first and second language speaking parameters do not conform to the same patterns as cognitive and affective

states of the second language learners are much more advanced so the habit formation and sequence between the mind and tongue decrease. At the start of the second language learning process there is a period of language shock in which the learner actively rejects the incomprehensible input of the new language. However the learners engage in self talk while appearing silent. They are rehearsing important survival phrases and lexical chunks. These memorized phrases are employed subsequently when semantics and grammar of the target language become systematic. The learning style of each individual learner is unique. John B Carrol says "The use of language is involved in so much of human behaviour that the psychology of language ultimately has to explain a large part of human behaviour." (Carrol 1957)

Another feature of language performance is that learners have to plan for the regular and more complex production of language in the spoken form. The process of language learning is very stressful. The impact of positive and negative attitudes from the surrounding society can be critical in the process of foreign language learning. One aspect that has received particular attention is the relationship of gender roles to language achievement. Mostly women enjoy advantage over men but it is interesting to note that language learning pace is accelerated in co- education. Doman notes in a journal devoted to issues of cultural affects on SLA: "Questions abound what defines SLA and how far its borders extend. Where community has broadly negative view of the target language and its speakers learning is much more difficult. A widely cited example is the difficulty faced by the Navajo children in learning English as a second language. Other common social factors include the attitude of the parents towards language in general particularly early exposure to the language. Interaction hypothesis proposes that language is facilitated by the use of the target language".

The effects of teaching play an important part in determining learners' proficiency of spoken English as it is not a native language. The traditional language teaching techniques are extremely inefficient. Although they provide

an input as an initial stage of learning but it is not sufficient for the learners. Another factor that hampers the process of speaking correct English is that the traditional grammar translation method slows down the level of fluency in speech. Other traditional areas of explicit teaching such as grammar and vocabulary have shown mixed results. Age factor is also vital which goes a long way in determining the fluency in speech. The researcher agrees with the assertion that children learn language easily as compared to the older learners who rarely achieve fluency.

Another important factor that determines the face of SLA is language aptitude which goes a long way in successful learning. Learning aptitude is stronger in the younger age as compared to the adults. Brown (2000) confirms that "successful mastery of language can be gained/acquired through learners' investment of time efforts and attention to the target language for comprehending and producing language."

English spelling and pronunciation have always been posing a serious problem to the learners and speakers of this language in our country. It is perhaps due to the fact that no definite and correct idea can be formed about a word's pronunciation from the way it is spelled and the learners find it extremely difficult to get a command over it. The efforts to translate English text books in the native language increases the problems of the new entrants in the realm of spoken English as they do not master the thought pattern essential for speaking reasonably correct English . Rather, speakers try to formulate ideas in the local or national language and then convert them into English which creates a problem of fluency, consistency and confidence.

Affective factors are also important in the learning of English as a second language. Research on the affective factors in language learning is still strongly influenced by Blooms taxonomy which describes the affective level of receiving, responding, valuing organization and self characterization through one's value system.

Anxiety for learning can be helpful to some extent but it damages the prospects for successful learning as it is

linked with a sense of threat to the learners. Ego hampers the learning situation if a learner fears being ridiculed for a mistake. Negative attitude of students towards the target language retards the process of language learning. It destroys the motivation for learning in the students. In spite of all these factors English is spreading even more vigorously than the colonial days. The English language is taught as a compulsory subject up to graduation, and all higher education is done in English. But still this language is not proving the proverbial bed of roses for its foreign speakers in general.

Conclusion

Speaking correct English is a very difficult task in a society like ours where people are highly critical about others. As a result learners are more concerned about the opinion of others than language performance itself. Fear and hesitation are the greatest enemies in the process of second/foreign language learning and speaking in the society. If this hurdle is overcome there should be very minor problems in the learning of the English language in our society. Fear, as has been proved *is* a hampering factor in the process of speaking English. It depletes the courage and confidence and destroys the motivation in learners.

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Bilingualism and Forgetting: a phenomenological perspective

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the phenomenological nature of language and memory by mainly drawing upon Husserl's notion of memory as the "flow of consciousness". The major aim is to find out how forgetting develops despite there being a very close relation between memory and language. One major purpose of this paper is to see bilingualism as a phenomenon and the effects it may have on a bilingual speaker. The paper also probes into the nature and causes of forgetting, and the links it might have with bilingualism. It traces a link between forgetting and bilingualism by finding out stress and linguistic interference as the two contributing factors. This exploratory paper endeavors to persuade the bilinguals to have a direct conscious experience with the languages they speak in order to enhance their level of proficiency.

Introduction

I see human beings inhabiting two worlds instantaneously: one is the spatio-temporal world that we physically live in, while the other world is that of Language where we reside psychologically, emotionally as well as intellectually. In order to live comfortably in both these worlds, we keep trying to systematize them. Both of them are quite complex, but the complexity of our world of Language is simply baffling. Just as our spatio-temporal world is not static, so is the case with Language. It keeps shaping itself in order to meet the varied and varying needs of all the human activity that goes around. Perhaps a reason of calling language a phenomenon is that it keeps happening all the time, outside us as well as inside us. It has been rightly called a 'system of systems' (Mackey: 1965) which includes words, sounds, structures, sentences, grammar and many other aspects. In spite of all its complexity, Language is so closely interwoven with human life that without it our spatio-temporal world seems to be making little sense.

However, if we broaden our horizon from 'Language' to languages, the whole multitude of languages used by humans, then it would be more appropriate to consider the worlds of languages rather than just one world, as each language seems to offer a new world. From this perspective, a bilingual$_2$ can be considered as one who inhabits two or more worlds simultaneously, apart from the spatio-temporal world. What makes a bilingual able to interact consciously as well as comfortably in two or more worlds at the same time? The faculty of 'memory' seems to offer one possible answer which is another vital phenomenon, and needs to be probed into in order to trace its links with language in general and bilingualism in particular.

Like language, memory is a system, a system of recording events. For accomplishing its job of recording events, the system of memory requires a medium. Though sound and visual images do quite a considerable part of the job, the most versatile medium seems to be provided by Language, which has already been called a "very handy

mnemonic system" (Paivio & Begg:1981). Viewed in this light, Language can be considered as the overarching system, which includes and influences memory.

A general observation of human life reveals that, right from a child's birth, the two aspects, language and memory, start developing side by side, along with her physical development. The early language of a child seems to be coming from the recording and reproducing of what she hears around her. Due to this act of recording, the child's developing language can be seen as the development of memory as well. And, this mutual development seems to go on throughout a person's life. However, this mutual relationship is not so harmonious all the time. At certain instances, this harmony seems to be disrupting to varying degrees, leaving the person in distress. Despite there being a close relation between language and memory, what causes this disruption, which is generally known as forgetting? Furthermore, this harmony between language and memory might not be the same in the case of a bilingual where it becomes a harmony between languages and memory, which obviously sounds even more complex. Due to this increased complexity, can bilingualism be seen as a contributing factor to forgetting?

Since long it has been believed and now medically proven that stress of any kind adversely affects memory. Bilinguals are often seen switching from one language code to another, sometimes naturally sometimes under a stress. The stress of using an appropriate code may affect not only the speaker's memory processing but also her language(s) proficiency because of their being closely related. And if it happens so, then the stress of this kind may also have an effect on a person's social life, as language and memory both are socially constructed phenomena – constructed by an interaction with the surrounding phenomena.

This paper endeavors to address all the issues mentioned briefly in the preceding paragraphs. In order to see if there is a link between bilingualism and forgetting, I first of all intend to explore the phenomenological nature of memory. Then, I would go on to see what major theories

have been proposed regarding memory processing, and how far they relate to the question of forgetting and bilingualism. With the help of these theories, I would try to analyze how and why forgetting develops, especially in the case of bilinguals. Finally, I would be looking at memory as a social construct, and also at problems forgetting might cause to a bilingual social being. In this way, the major purpose of this exploratory paper is to analyze the problem of forgetting which almost every human being, regardless of age, faces almost every other day. Moreover, it aims to find out whether bilingualism can be a cause of forgetting. And, if the answer is yes, then how to deal with it.

Phenomenological Aspect of Memory

> "Time is fixed and yet time flows. In the flow of time, in the continuous sinking down into the past, a non-flowing, absolutely fixed, identical, objective time becomes constituted" (Husserl).

Husserl's conception of the "flow of time" seems to be in close relation with the concept of memory, as apparent in the phrase "the continuous sinking down into the past". No doubt, one of the major tasks accomplished by memory is referring to the past. Time remains fixed in the form of memory, but at the same time keeps flowing in present and leads on to future while leaving its marks on the face of memory. Husserl is of the view that each point (in time) has its own separate moment of perception and consciousness, and this is what makes each experience of an individual a new experience. But, how does this perception endure? Husserl uses the term "fresh memory" to imply direct and continued consciousness of the past happenings. He maintains, "The event has 'just' been present in itself, because it is still in immediate (fresh) memory".

From Husserl's observations, it can be inferred that consciously perceiving a phenomenon and then retaining this perception is what constitutes memory. According to him, memory is "an actually present consciousness of the just past enduring perception". And, this is what he calls "flow of consciousness". Thus, in order to keep a "fresh memory", the most important prerequisite is to have a

conscious perception of experiences and then placing them in a temporal order.

Long before Husserl, in 350 B.C., Aristotle voiced similar views in his *On Memory and Reminiscence.* He wrote that memory is neither perception nor conception, but one of these conditioned by lapse of time. Therefore, the object of memory is the 'past'. It is actually the consciousness of 'former' and 'latter' which constitutes time and therefore memory. According to him, memory or remembering is a presentation of what is not present (Aristotle: *On Memory and Reminiscence*).

Thus, memory is a system of recording phenomena, a system that keeps recording those happenings in the past which keep manifesting themselves in the present. Though it is a record in the sense of its being fixed, but it keeps flowing into the present, and thus becomes a direction for the future. In this way, memory becomes a continuous "flow of consciousness", just as Husserl has called it. Phenomenological study of memory reveals that memory is as flexible and versatile a phenomenon as language is. It is true that one concept can be expressed in a number of languages. For a monolingual, expression can be considered a matter of keeping consciousness and language intact. But, this is not enough in the case of a bilingual. In her case, consciousness needs to be provided with appropriate clothing for an appropriate occasion. So, the question arises, how do bilinguals experience the "flow of consciousness"? They seem to be acquiring their first language in a natural way. However, the learning of second language at a later stage is, in most cases, accompanied with fear, stress and hesitation. Does this fear and stress of learning and using a second language affect the "flow of consciousness"? How do bilinguals manage searching for a proper code while using either of the two languages? During the course of this paper, we would see that the stress of learning and using a second language not only affects the perception and thus storage of words but also their recall. Seen in this light, the stress of using a second language seems to shatter the "flow of consciousness", and thus disrupts the harmony between language and memory. Jenkins (1974) is of the view that

"recall is not just a function of what the outside world presents to you but also is a function of what you do with the events as you experience them". Therefore, it can be said that it is not just experience which matters but also the quality of experience, that is, how much consciously and directly something is experienced and made a part of one's "lifeworld" (Alvesson & Skoldberg: 2000), using Husserl's idiom. In order to be able to reproductively recall a past happening recorded in one's memory, a bilingual and of course anyone using any language must have a "fresh memory", that is, direct consciousness of the past experiences.

Information Processing Models of Memory

The attempts made in the past at understanding and explaining the nature of memory and its processing may prove helpful in tracing a link between memory and bilingualism. Aristotle's *On Memory and Reminiscence*, written around 350 BC, may be regarded as one of the earliest attempts at explaining memory processing.

Both Plato and Aristotle compared memory to a block of wax that differed in size and hardness for various individuals. Remembering according to them was like stamping an impression into the wax. As long as the image remained in the wax, the memory would remain intact (Weiten: 2001). Again, the 'block of wax' metaphor for memory seems to be in coordination with Husserl's views of "fresh memory" and "having just been present".

Since the inception of 20th century, the modern technological era, a number of theories have been put forward in order to explain the phenomenon of memory. The most influential ones include: Atkinson and Shiffrin's 3-stages model proposed in 1971, Baddeley's (1986) model of verbal working memory, which was later reviewed in 1994 by R. C. Martin and Romani as a model of multiple verbal working memories, and Rumelhart and McClelland's (1986) parallel distributed processing (PDP) model. I shall be briefly describing these models in the following paragraphs.

According to Atkinson and Shiffrin's model (1971), memory is divided into three separate, but interacting stores or stages: sensory register, short-term memory (STM) and long-term memory (LTM). Sensory register and STM are temporary storage buffers which hold the information for a short time before passing it into the long-term store. The sensory register holds the incoming information in its raw, unanalyzed form for a brief time, usually only a fraction of a second. There may exist separate registers for separate senses, such as visual images and auditory images, which are involved in the initial processing of written language and spoken language respectively. Information from a sensory register passes on to short-term memory store. STM is limited in capacity and can hold unrehearsed information for up to about 20 seconds. The information can be stored in STM for a bit longer interval primarily by engaging in rehearsal – by repetitive verbalizing or by thinking about the information. STM is also responsible for controlling the flow of information from sensory register to long-term memory. LTM, however, is a practically unlimited capacity store that can hold relatively permanent knowledge and skills: thousands of words and grammatical rules, information about the society and culture one inhabits, world events and so on (Weiten: 2001).

Atkinson and Shiffrin's model is very well known for its being simple and comprehensive. Sensory register and STM can be considered as simple steps involved in perceiving a phenomenon, and then making it a part of one's consciousness, which can be compared to LTM. But, despite its being simple, this model does give rise to certain questions, particularly in the case of a bilingual's memory processing. If there are three memory stores, are the three memory stores of a bilingual different from those of a monolingual? Moreover, this model does not throw much light on the question of recall of information and it getting forgotten. If the information is stored step-wise, is it recalled the same way? And, if the information is both stored as well as recalled step-wise, then its chances of getting forgotten and ultimately getting lost are multiplied at each step.

Alan Baddeley (1986) proposed a more complex model of short term memory that characterized it as "working memory". According to this model, working memory consists of three components. The first is the *phonological rehearsal loop* that represented the whole of STM in the original model. This component can hold phonological information (sound images) for very brief periods of time (1.5-2.0 seconds). Without some sort of rehearsal, information fades quickly. The second component in working memory is a *visuospatial sketchpad* that permits to hold and manipulate visual images temporarily. The third component is an *executive control system* or *central executive*, which sets priorities for attention and action, and thus determines what information needs to be maintained in working memory to support the pursuit of current goals. Small capacity and short storage duration are still the characteristics of working memory, just as they were of STM. However, Baddeley's model shows that STM handles a greater variety of functions and depends on more complicated processes as compared to Atkinson & Shiffrin's model (Crosson: 2000). Later, in 1994, R. C. Martin and Romani reviewed Baddeley's model of verbal working memory and suggested that in addition to phonological working memory, lexical-semantic and syntactic working memories also exist (Ibid.).

No doubt, Baddeley's model quite elaborately shows how different experiences of visual and phonological nature are made a part of one's memory, which is the "flow of consciousness" in the context of present research. But, like the one previously discussed, this model also fails to bring into light the question of forgetting. This model describes STM as "working memory" which has three components. The last two components, *visuospatial sketchpad* and *executive control system*, might remain the same for a monolingual as well as for a bilingual. But, what about the first component, *phonological rehearsal loop*, in the case of a bilingual? Of course, each language has its own phonological system. Does this component work for all the languages with the same efficiency? And, if it does, how does it help in recalling the sounds from different languages

without intermingling them? However, such models do give an insight into whether consciousness can be compartmentalized into consciousness for sounds, for visual images and so on, and how this compartmentalized consciousness maintains its flow.

Rumelhart and McClelland (1986) proposed parallel distributed processing (PDP) model. This model assumes that cognition takes place via the interaction of a large number of simple but highly interconnected computational elements organized into groups or modules. Each element is something like a neuron[1], in that it aggregates inputs that it receives from other elements via excitatory (positive) and inhibitory (negative) connections. The sum of all these excitatory and inhibitory influences in turn determines the activation of the unit, according to a simple non-linear function (McClelland: 1994). This model can be understood by the help of this simple diagram:

Fig: A Processing Unit
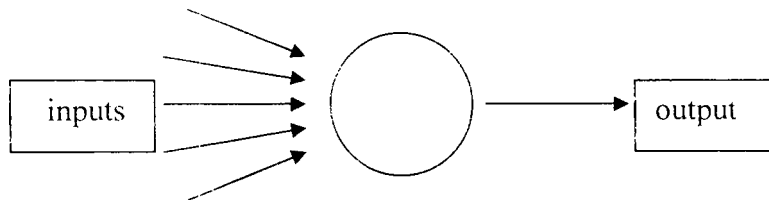
Source: McClelland (1994).

In such a system the active representation of information takes the form of the pattern of activation over the units in the network. So, in such a network, the presentation of a word would give rise to a pattern of activation over several pools of units, one representing perhaps the alphabetic content of the word, another it

semantic content, and a third its phonological content. The PDP model considers processing of information as the propagation of activation among the units. According to this model, knowledge is stored in the strengths of the excitatory and inhibitory connections among the processing units. Therefore, all three types of memory and learning, viz., procedural, semantic and episodic, occur through connection strength adjustments. The PDP approach is also called *connectionism* because, according to this model, the information lies in the strength of the connections (Weiten: 2001).

The parallel processing approach seems to be much more complicated as compared to serial processing models; however, it does throw considerable light on the question of forgetting. According to PDP model, information is lost in the form of connections which have lost their strength because they do not receive much input. In other words, the information which is not recalled very often is more likely to be forgotten. Transfer of information, according to this model, takes place in the form of waves, which pass from several pools of units, exciting them or inhibiting them. But, how does this model explain memory as the "flow of consciousness"? It gives a picture of consciousness which has a beaded appearance, some beads representing the phonological content of an experience, some visual, some alphabetic, and so on. Some beads might be deeply embedded in the stream of consciousness while others just about to get detached. With the help of this model, a bilingual's memory processing can be explained. The language which a bilingual uses more becomes more readily available to her because the other languages, which are not used quite often, start losing their connection strengths and with the passage of time keep getting harder and harder to recall, just like those beads on consciousness which are likely to get detached.

A study of these Psycholinguistic models gives a historical survey of the step-wise development made in the field of language and memory. These models also give considerable insight into how information becomes a part of one's memory. Though they do not tell much about how

information is recalled and how it is lost, it can be inferred that in the case of serial processing models of Atkinson & Shiffrin and Baddeley, much of the information is lost as well as mislaid in its passing from one stage to another. From this it can be said that not all perception becomes a part of one's consciousness, but only that which is more direct and immediate. The PDP model can prove more helpful in dealing with a bilingual's memory processing and also in keeping it intact. The idea of keeping the connections in an excited state by giving more and more input can be of help to a bilingual. It is like keeping the consciousness in a steady flow, otherwise it might get partly or wholly stagnant.

How Forgetting Develops

> "A human being is a very flexible psychological machine: he is capable of being either a very simple machine or a complex one. ... What he remembers depends on what kind of machine he is at the time" (Jenkins: 1974)

It is true that our language and memory both are context-oriented. We are always and already aware of what kind of language to be used in what situation, and what information is necessary to be remembered in that situation. But sometimes, it turns out to be a mere over-confidence. We forget something which is very important to maintain the flow of conversation in a certain situation; it may be the name of a grocery item one intends to buy, or the name of a person he/she has met just a couple of days before, or even the name of someone one has been familiar with since childhood. How and why does it happen? Does it happen only to the members of a particular age group? Many attempts have been made to answer these questions and the like. A brief analysis of them would be helpful in developing a broader understanding of memory as well as forgetting.

It is a common observation that mostly the words which run out of grasp are nouns – names of persons, objects, places, etc. Why is it so? In Norman Geschwind's (1972) view, "one of the most basic requirements for

language is the ability to name, which requires the association of objects or concepts with language symbols, specifically words" (Roth & Heilman: 2000) . According to him, the requirement for naming is there being a close connection between concepts and the symbols which are to be used to denote those concepts. Just as I mentioned earlier, expression is a matter of keeping consciousness and language closely intact. Putting it in Saussure's (1916) terms, naming objects requires the association between *langue* (an underlying system or structure of language) and *parole* (a manifestation of langue in writing or speech). So, it can be said that forgetting is a kind of temporary dissociation between langue and parole. Or, to use Chomsky's (1969) idiom, forgetting can be considered as a kind of disagreement between competence and performance. Whether it is a question of temporary dissociation between langue and parole, or of disagreement between competence and performance, it is a matter of everyday happening and can become serious if it happens frequently.

It has been said, "… the materials are an episode in one's experience" (Paivio & Begg: 1981). Then, why does it happen that certain episodes are remembered while others are forgotten? It is usually seen that our ability to remember is badly affected when we are under stress. For instance, the stress of taking a test might make one forget a large amount of useful information, which she may easily recall after the test. Brain researchers and psychologists are of the view that a little stress can be helpful in certain situations, but that too much of it can do harm to memory and other basic mental functions (Pendick: 2002).

Hermann Ebbinghaus was the first person to conduct a scientific study on forgetting back in 1885 (Jenkins: 1974). Since then, many theorists have tried to uncover the complex and multifaceted nature of memory. Forgetting is generally thought to be caused by deficiencies in encoding, storage, retrieval or some combination of these. These factors may affect retention of information as well as its recall.

Deficiencies in Encoding

Sometimes we have a feeling that we have forgotten something, and never realize that we had never known that thing. As we did not let that thing encode into our memory, there is no question of its getting forgotten. This phenomenon is sometimes called *pseudo forgetting* (Weiten: 2001). It mostly happens due to lack of attention. Taylor (1990) while giving the levels of processing view of memory, writes that "the deeper the processing, the better the retention of that aspect of the stimulus but the worse the retention of shallower levels". Hence, encoding is about how directly and immediately something is perceived and made a part of one's consciousness. If it is not made a part of consciousness at the first place, there is no reason of its being able to recall.

In a way, comprehension and memory are directly proportional. The better something is comprehended, encoded or made a part of one's memory, the easier it is to recall it (Scovel: 1998). Inability to remember the information that one has just read is due to ineffective encoding. Only well-encoded information can become a part of one's "fresh memory", to use Husserl's words, and the key to effective encoding is attention. In the case of bilingualism, it is again a matter of what language has been encoded to what level. Poorly encoded language symbols might lead to the use of inappropriate code that is, using one language code at a place where another would be more appropriate.

Deficiencies in Storage

Such deficiencies are mainly due to *decay* and *interference*.

Decay refers to forgetting due to fading away of memory traces with time. According to this theory, "the mere passage of time produces forgetting" (Weiten: 2001). This theory carries weight for STM storage, which decays with the passage of time, but is unable to account for LTM forgetting. While studying LTM, researchers have repeatedly found that "time passage is not as influential as what happens during the time interval" (Ibid). In other words, forgetting does not depend on the lapse of time that has passed since learning, but on the nature of material

assimilated during the retention level. This negative impact of competing information is called *interference*. It is considered "the principal mechanism of LTM forgetting" (Ibid.).

Interference is forgetting certain information due to competition offered by other information. It depends largely on the nature of interfering material. Similar materials are more likely to be forgotten (Weiten: 2001). Weiten distinguishes between two kinds of interference: *retroactive* and *proactive*. Retroactive interference occurs when new information impairs the retention of previously learned information. While, proactive interference occurs when previously learned information interferes with the retention of new information (Ibid). The theory of interference is very much applicable in the case of forgetting in bilinguals. In the case of a late adolescent or adult, while learning a second language, the previously learnt language or L_1 may offer proactive interference. For instance, in the case of a Pakistani L_2 learner, Urdu as an L_1 might hinder the encoding as well as retention of English as an L_2. However, in the case an early bilingual (before the age of 6), the situation might be reversed, that is, the new language retroactively interfering with the retention of the L_1. In this case, English (L_2) might become a cause of forgetting Urdu (L_1).

The processes of decay and interference can also be explained on the basis of parallel distributed processing (PDP), which is described earlier. In the light of PDP, we can see that new stronger connections interfere with the pre-existing weak connections, thus finally replacing them. This is how new information is stored, according to PDP approach, but only that old material decays which is built on weak connections.

Interference clearly explains shattering the flow of consciousness to varying degrees, thus resulting in forgetting. A language, which is not made a direct and immediate part of one's consciousness, might even disrupt the fluency of the other language, and therefore may disturb

the harmony between language and memory, while affecting the efficiency of the speaker at using a language.

Deficiencies in Retrieval

It usually happens that people are unable to recall what they have been familiar with since long, such as the name of a childhood friend, or address of the apartment where one has lived , say, 10 years of his/her life. A large amount of forgetting may be due to breakdowns in the process of retrieval. In Weiten's (2001) words, "... normal forgetfulness is just a matter of poor retrieval". It is somewhat strange that we are able to retrieve the same information at one time and unable to do so at another occasion. According to Taylor (1990) "information that is hard to retrieve is more likely to have been mislaid than lost, for it may often be retrieved with an appropriate cue". In Scovel's (1998) viewpoint, it happens so because our long-term memory storage is better for recognition than for recall, and that is why we experience Tip-Of-The-Tongue (TOT) phenomenon. We feel that the word that we are not able to recall is just on the tip of our tongue. The TOT phenomenon is due to the fact that the forgotten word is not completely lost, but we are able to remember some fragments of it, which are usually the first letters or the first syllable.

As mentioned in the preceding paragraph, the information that is mislaid can be retrieved with an appropriate cue, Weiten (2001) adds to it by saying that "the value of a retrieval cue depends on how well it corresponds to the memory code". Apart from verbal cues, certain non-verbal cues my also prove helpful in retrieving verbal information. For instance, the gesture or sound of hammering might help in recalling the word 'hammer'. A certain smell or fragrance may help in recalling the name of a flower or perfume or even of a person associated with that fragrance, or even an incident linked with a certain smell, for example, the smell of petrol or smoke might help someone in recalling an accident. A certain rhythm or music might help in recalling some important information associated with it. I would like to suggest that non-verbal

cues to activate verbal memory traces can be an arena for further research.

Motivated Forgetting

Freud (1901) suggested an entirely different explanation for retrieval failures. He asserted that people often keep unpleasant or painful memories buried in their unconscious. For example, a person might forget being scolded or beaten as a child by her parent in front of guests. Freud stressed that the memories were there, but their retrieval was blocked by unconscious avoidance tendencies. The tendency to forget unpleasant things is called *motivated forgetting* or *repression*. In Freudian theory, repression refers to keeping distressing thoughts and feelings buried in the unconscious. In the case of bilingualism, Freud's concept of motivated forgetting can be related to hesitation in using a second language. Learning and using a second language, at initial stages, is sometimes accompanied by embarrassing and unpleasant situations, which might make the learner try to avoid using the second language.

The phenomenon of forgetting can be understood further by drawing upon certain distinctions drawn into memory, or into long-term memory, to be more exact. Tulving (1985) distinguished between *declarative* or *explicit* and *non-declarative* or *implicit* memory. The former has been defined as the conscious remembering of facts and events, while the latter refers to unconscious memory for skills. Non-declarative memory may also be termed as procedural memory (Schneider & Bjorklund: 1998). For declarative memory, I prefer to use the term *phenomenological memory*, as it is gained as a result of conscious experience with the surrounding phenomena. It can also be inferred that whatever is a part of our implicit or non-declarative memory becomes difficult to be retrieved explicitly or with conscious effort. In other words, the flow of consciousness may be disrupted by an undue stress laid upon it in order to recall something which is a part of unconscious or non-phenomenological memory.

Tulving (1985) further declared that declarative memory is composed of two different but interacting

components: *episodic* and *semantic* memory. According to him, episodic memory refers to memories of specific events that occurred in a particular place at a particular time, for instance, my first meeting with my university's Dean. In contrast, semantic memory refers to our general knowledge without specification of the time and place in which it was originally learned, for instance, we know that the earth is round, knives are sharp, bananas are yellow, how to spell 'college', etc. (Paivio & Begg: 1981). So, the difference between episodic and semantic memories is that of specific and general. Research has shown that episodic or specific memories are more likely to be forgotten than semantic or general ones. In the case of a bilingual, the concepts, viz. semantic content, are usually made and retained in the L_1. The problem arises when the bilingual learns just the specific content of the L_2, retaining the semantic content in the L_1. It is then that the harmony between language and memory is disturbed, especially while dealing with the L_2.

From the above discussion on forgetting and the factors causing it, it can be inferred that forgetting is a matter of lack in attention and of being under stress. Information can be recalled easily if it is well-encoded in memory. It is only poorly encoded information which is more susceptible to decay, interference and failure in retrieval. "Remembering reflects understanding to the extent that one can remember well what she has understood well" (Taylor: 1990). 'Understanding', of course, means making something a part of one's consciousness. Therefore, it is a matter of having a direct and conscious experience with the phenomena in order to keep them in one's "fresh memory".

Bilingualism and Memory Processing

While describing the three memory processing models earlier, I discussed certain aspects of a bilingual's memory processing in the light of those models. So far, we have seen that the phenomenon of language is not the same for a bilingual as it may be for a monolingual. It is not that much a matter of absolute monolingualism, as there may be hardly any language which exists in its pure, pristine form. But, it is more a question of whether bilingualism is a choice

or a necessity. If it is adopted out of choice, the person takes the second language naturally and comfortably, just to give herself a taste of another tongue. However, in most societies, bilingualism is not a choice, such as in most Asian and African countries where an official language, often the former colonizer's language, co-exists with one or many other vernacular languages. It is often observed that that the inevitability to learn and use a foreign language imposes a certain kind of stress on the language(s) users. They might be thinking in one language, while speaking and writing in another. In such a way, how do they manage the "flow of consciousness", which is memory in Husserl's words? The people of all ages are susceptible to forgetting. They may forget names and details of persons, places, objects or incidents. But, what is about persons who are always searching for an appropriate code in their minds? Their job is, of course, doubled as they not only have to retrieve information but also to select an appropriate code to express that information. As their job is doubled, chances of error may also increase.

The proficiency of a bilingual with the second language (L_2) depends largely on the age at which she learned the L_2. The younger a bilingual is the more native-like proficiency she is expected to acquire in the L_2. An early bilingual tends to use the two languages as a single undifferentiated language, which may result in language mixing or code mixing – the mixing of sounds, words and sentence structures of the two languages (Taylor: 1990). In fact, an early bilingual does not have a well-established first language (L_1) to fall back on, and therefore excels rapidly in the use of the L_2. So, 'linguistic interference' is less likely to be permanent in children than in adults. "*Linguistic interference* is the involuntary intrusion of one language into another – usually but not always form L_1 into L_2 – in phonology, vocabulary, syntax and conversational conventions" (Ibid).Proficiency in the L_2 attained by adolescents or even by adults (late bilinguals) can be exceptionally high but seldom native-like.

Interference, be it of L_1 into L_2 or vice versa, disturbs the flow of consciousness, thus affecting the

proficiency of the language(s) user. Moreover, by knowing and using two languages, a bilingual might face certain linguistic-cognitive problems, such as: How to keep the two languages separate and switch between them? How to organize words from two languages in one's semantic memory? *Language switching* or *code switching* is the tendency of a bilingual to switch from one language to another while speaking to other bilinguals. The question arises, what makes a person switch form one language to another? Does she feel more comfortable with one word or phrase in one language than in the other? What causes L_1 to intrude into L_2 and vice versa? In order to explain this intrusion, Brainerd and Reyna (1990) used the phrase "noise into working memory" which is caused by various possible responses competing for priority of getting expressed (Taylor: 1990). According to Wilshire and Coslett (2000) the process of translating concepts into strings of phonemes (sound units) involves two stages: the first stage involves converting a semantic description of the concept to be expressed into a lexical representation, while the second stage involves converting the lexical representation into a fully specified phonological description of the word. Intrusion of L_1 into L_2 or vice versa may take place at any one of the two stages.

How do bilinguals store and process semantic information from two or more languages? It is easy to see that the organization of words and various information about words is more complex in a bilingual's memory than it may be in a monolingual's, as words have to be organized not only by meaning but also by language (Taylor: 1990).

According to Taylor (1990), words from the two languages might be stored:

(1) in common, in one conceptual form, according to *common-store hypothesis*

(2) separately for each language, according to a *separate-store hypothesis*

However, some theorists support both of these hypotheses giving rise to a third hypothesis, namely *overlapping-distributed memory*.

The common-store hypothesis is supported if a task can be performed equally well unilingually or bilingually. Tasks that emphasize semantic processing of words seem to support this hypothesis. In the case of a common store for two languages, forgetting a language tag while remembering a concept may occur.

The separate-store hypothesis may be supported if a bilingual's performance on a task suffers when done bilingually as compared to unilingually. Tasks that emphasize the forms of words or associative links between words (just as between *soft* and *pillow*) support this hypothesis. Forgetting in this case may be caused not by impaired storage but by impaired accessibility, owing to the difficulty of forming higher level organizational units.

However, under different conditions a bilingual's memory can behave differently, as if it is in one store or two stores. No doubt, each bilingual is a unique individual and varies in how she has learned her two languages. Some bilinguals may manage the two languages as to support *common-store hypothesis*, while others may do so as if they have two memory stores, one for each language. But, what's about the "flow of consciousness" in the case of *separate-store hypothesis*? No matter how many languages one speaks, she may have just one stream of consciousness. If memory is the "flow of consciousness", then how can there be two memory stores, which would mean two streams of consciousness? Looking at it from this perspective, the *separate-store hypothesis* seems to carry little weight. After analyzing these two hypotheses, *linguistic interference*, which is also supported by common-store hypothesis, seems to be the best explanation for code-switching and code-mixing. It also explains disturbance in the flow of consciousness which causes forgetting in the case of a bilingual.

The Phenomenon of Forgetting and a Bilingual Society

Memory, just like language, is a social construction – constructed through interaction with surrounding individuals and phenomena. And, so is consciousness. Most of what we remember during our everyday lives is about things that happen to us or about *events*. It is by sharing these events with other individuals that the collective consciousness of a society is created, which distinguishes one society from the other. When the event memory is about personal experiences, it is described as *autobiographical memory*, which is based heavily on language skills, using the language structure to recall what happened to whom, when and where (Schneider & Bjorklund: 1998). Autobiographical memory is just another facet of the "flow of consciousness" as it constitutes the whole series of events a person experiences throughout his life, and of course, it is these events which shape up a person's consciousness. It is constructed socially and plays a key role in perpetuating a society's norms and customs by narrating stories. Schneider and Bjorklund quote Nelson (1993) who emphasizes the social significance of sharing memories with other people which, according to Nelson, becomes the primary goal of remembering:

> "Memories become valued in their own right – not because they predict the future and guide present action, but because they are shareable with others and thus serve a social solidarity function. I suggest that this is a universal human function, although one with variable, culturally specific rules. In this respect, it is analogous to human language itself, uniquely and universally human but culturally – and individually – variable" (Schneider & Bjorklund: 1998).

Here, I would focus particularly on a bilingual society. As a society is comprised of individuals, all the bilinguals in a society share the same problems of code-mixing and language switching due to linguistic interference, and also of retrieval failure. Due to sharing common problems, individuals in a bilingual society tend to be helpful to each other. If a person is facing problem with

the retrieval of a word, the other conversation partner comes to her rescue by providing an appropriate cue and sometimes even by uttering the word the other person has forgotten. Paul Grice, the father of pragmatics, maintained that human beings communicate efficiently because they are by nature helpful to one another (Grice: 1989). While interacting, people help each other in recalling the forgotten items in order to maintain a balanced conversation. Though it is a common practice in almost all societies, it is of particular importance in bilingual settings where the individuals have to juggle with two or more languages at a time while interacting with others.

Conclusion

Language and memory both have phenomenological nature. However, the experience with both of these phenomena varies from person to person. For a person, one language may be one phenomenon, and another language an entirely different phenomenon. It largely depends on the person's experience with a language or with languages. Likewise, the phenomenon of memory is also unique to every individual. I have repeatedly referred to Husserl's "flow of consciousness". No doubt, consciousness is an entirely distinctive attribute of every human. The same phenomenon may be differently perceived and encoded by different individuals. Forgetting mostly develops when the phenomena are not experienced directly and consciously, and thus not made a part of one's "fresh memory", which is again Husserl's term used time and again in this paper.

Just as language is a phenomenon, I would call bilingualism a multiple-phenomenon – embodying two or more phenomena in one. During the course of this paper, it is made clear that a person with an experience with this multiple-phenomenon of bilingualism differs from the one who has not had such an experience. Bilinguals differ from monolinguals on all the three levels of memory processing, which are: encoding, storage and retrieval. They have to juggle with two or more languages all the time, and thus have to fall back on language switching and code mixing, which are largely caused by linguistic interference. A

bilingual needs to maintain a very good attention span, which is the only key to remembering. Along with attention, the other gadgets of a bilingual's skill are: perception, conception and representation. In fact, these are the components which constitute a person's consciousness, and memory is a continued flow of consciousness, which starts from the past passes on to present and leads to the future. At the same time, a bilingual has to be always alert and ready to help other bilinguals with their feat of dealing with two or more languages at the same time. In order to avoid stress, which is the most hazardous factor affecting memory, bilingual needs to have conscious, direct, and immediate experience with all the languages she speaks; only then she can be on intimate terms with all the languages she uses. Of course, being a bilingual is a pretty challenging task.

From the whole discussion on language and memory, it can be concluded that there is a link between forgetting and bilingualism. The harmony between language and memory is shattered by two or more languages interfering with each other, which disrupt the flow of consciousness and thus affect the person's language(s) proficiency. However, the purpose of this paper is not to discourage bilingualism, but to encourage bilinguals to understand the phenomenological nature of language(s) as well as memory, and also to show them how the two phenomena interact. It is actually intended to give the bilinguals a chance to look into their memory functions and to empower them to avoid any memory problems which could be caused due to bilingualism. Hence, this paper aims at encouraging the bilinguals to have direct, conscious and immediate experience with all the languages they speak in order to avoid the hazards offered by stress and linguistic interference.

End Notes

1. Language with an upper case 'L' denotes not only all the languages in general but also the languaging ability of humans.

2. For the sake of convenience, the terms bilingual and bilingualism have been used for multilingual and multilingualism as well.

3. From *On the Phenomenology of the Consciousness of Internal Time* (1893-1917) (Edmund Husserl's Collected Works) All of Husserl's quotes are from this book, as quoted in the essay, *Edmund Husserl: Inner Time-Consciousness.*

4. Nerve cells that make up the nervous system

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Natural Conversation and Intelligibility

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ABSTRACT

*In verbal communication the practice in
listening to connected speech or natural
conversation is an important aspect of the
receptive skills but unfortunately this is
neglected in the teaching/learning process of
English as an L_2 in Pakistan. Resultantly
learners of English often show disappointing
results in matters of intelligibility while
listening to a connected speech of the native
speakers. This article deals with the
intelligibility problems of natural
conversation and some possible solutions
thereof for better communication. Its
significance lies in the contrast implied with
studies of linguistic units seen in isolation. It
has been realized that some important
changes happen to these single units when
used in connected speech that may cause
comprehension problems. Therefore,
familiarity with such changes which crop up
due to similitude, assimilation and elision is
essential. The secret of 'good speech' lies in
the fact that this is the way of speaking which
is clearly intelligible to ordinary people
whereas a way of talking that is difficult for
most people to understand is termed as 'bad*

speech' usually caused by mumbling or a lack of definiteness of an utterance.

1.   Introduction

In linguistics the term 'connected speech' refers to spoken language when analyzed as a continuous sequence experienced in a natural conversation. The unintelligibility of connected speech in English as an L_2 is an important component of the phonetic theory. Non-native students even at an advanced level often complain that English people speak too fast. The problem is not unfamiliar vocabulary. Rather native speakers adapt their pronunciation to their audience, i.e. English people articulate with a maximal economy of movement and not with clarity as is expected by non-native students. In this way certain words or phonemes are either lost or linked together which affect the listening comprehension. The fact is that the use of language in a real life situation is more difficult than learning its usage. Though the mastery of all the four skills of English as an L_2 is not so easy yet efforts are needed to be as close to the native style as possible for an effective usage. Moreover, listening is the most frequently used language activity. An average adult spends approximately three times as much time in listening as compared to reading. Petty (1968) says:

"The typical individual listens to one book daily; talks one book per week; reads one book per month; and writes one book per year".

In the present article, the unexpected changes that take place in the isolated linguistic units when they are used in connected speech have been emphasized.

2.   Statement of the Problem

In the present article, the author is concerned with the following problems: (i) frustration that the non-native listener experiences while listening to connected speech or natural conversation in English as a second language in Pakistan; (ii) a listener or interlocutor fails to communicate through interaction in real life situations; (iii) in the teaching

-learning process of English as an L_2, the use of connected orthographic and phonetic text is not in practice most of the time. The process of listening is an aspect of speech and conversation but is often overlooked as many elementary teachers do not consciously teach listening as a fundamental skill of communication nor evaluate the quality of listening. The fact is that one cannot expect to be successful in one's attempt to communicate if the listener is unable to listen effectively.

3.   Objectives

The objectives envisaged for this article are the following:-

(a) difficulties in understanding connected speech

(b) the role of similitude, assimilation and elision in natural conversation

(c) the importance of phonetics and pronunciation

(d) the status of (a)-(c) in teaching/learning process of English as an L_2 in Pakistan

(e) some solutions to overcome the problems of intelligibility in connected speech

4.   Problems in Understanding Connected Speech

(a) **Speech sounds** Most speech sounds (except the plosions of plosive consonants) are capable of being continued during a longer or a shorter expression. Jones(1956) states that: "The actual lengths of sounds in connected speech vary greatly... e.g., sometimes long and short or long, half-long and short". Moreover, in a connected speech the voice-pitch is continually rising and falling. These variations produce intonations that may be described as 'tunes' or 'patterns' or 'contours'. Lack of concentration to the varying degrees of sounds on the part of a non-native listener, may affect the comprehension through listening.

(b) **Poor listening habits** Little time is allocated to the teaching of listening skills in an L_2 class. The crux of the difficulty is that the learners are not told that in effective listening both the eyes and the ears are supportive.

(c) **Continuous stream of speech** This is the difficulty that often passes unnoticed while listening to natural speech. There is no pause to meditate whether it is understood or not. The stream of speech goes on and on. In reading there is no reason for frustration because the opportunity of rereading is always there. So the students are to be encouraged not to pause to reflect on any single phrase or utterance but to remain focused even if everything communicated in the speech is not fully understood.

(d) **Paralanguage** This refers to a variation in a tone of a voice which is often less systematic than prosodic features, i.e., pitch, loudness, tempo and rhythm. Some examples would include the controlled use of breath or a creaky voice, spasmodic features such as giggling while speaking and the use of secondary articulation, e.g., lip-rounding and nasalisation, to produce a tone of voice signaling attitude, some social role or other language-specific meaning. Jones (1956) comments: "Paralanguage is not simply a surface gloss instead it is a vital part of effective interpersonal communication as it is not what you say, it is the way that you say it". Some analysts broaden the paralanguage to include 'kinestic' features. A non-native listener may be distracted now and then while listening to a connected speech loaded with these variations.

(e) **Distractions.** Distractions are unexpected difficulties and may vary in different situations where confusion is added to an already confused understanding of a connected speech. The distractions may include noise, extremely hot or cold weather, paralinguistic features, anxiety,

disappointment and frustration. All this and other similar things effect a listener's concentration. Some of these problems may be overcome in a structured situation and through well-planned management, but, in a natural conversation these hurdles cannot be checked.

(f) **Filtering the message** This difficulty may be faced even by an experienced non-native listener wherein he undergoes the process of choosing between right or wrong, wanted or unwanted structures and information. It has assumed a more central role in recent generative linguistics where it refers to a type of condition that prevents the generation of ungrammatical sentences and/or expressions either written or spoken subject to their acceptability in different cultural and conventional norms.

Listening is the most important receptive skill but it has been realized that this is often overlooked in the teaching/learning process and the skill cannot be an automatic outcome of the teaching of English as an L_2. It needs a gradual development. The next section deals with some fundamental components of listening.

5.   Components of Listening Comprehension

Listening and understanding of a connected speech is not a concomitant outcome of language learning. In order to develop this skill, a sequential arrangement of activities is very essential. Chastain is of the view: "Listening comprehension can be divided into at least five sequential components, each dependent upon the preceding one: (i) the ability to distinguish all the sounds and intonation patterns; (ii) perception of a message communicated by a speaker; (iii) the ability to hold the message in one's auditory memory; (iv) the listener decodes what the speaker has said; (v) the ability to use the message and/or store it in the L_2".(1976). It should be pointed out to the students that they hear with their ears but listen with their minds.

(a) **Discrimination** The foremost duty of an English teacher is to enable students to perceive

and distinguish those English sounds that are not found in the first language, i.e. Urdu or other regional languages. These distinctions should be inculcated in the learners' mind, prior to giving some assignment in listening comprehension. A better way of exposing these differences between the sounds of the first and the target languages is to contrast the first and the second language sounds in minimal pair drills. It should be pointed out to the learners that discrimination of sounds is a foundation based activity for listening.

(b) **Perception of message** Once the students acquire the ability to distinguish between sounds, they are ready to listen to longer expressions for meaning. At this stage the listeners are to be motivated and familiarized that perceiving the message is the product of both the cognitive and affective components: (i) the students need to feel that it is possible for them to comprehend what they listen to with reference to phonology, semantics and syntax, (ii) the students should be aware of the purpose behind the activity for maximum concentration.

(c) **Auditory memory** After acquiring the ability to discriminate various linguistic cues and to perceive oral messages, the learners are certainly able to retain a maximum (if not all) number of expressions in their auditory memory. The teacher is to ensure that the students listen to the target language as much as possible in order to develop their auditory memory.

(d) **Decoding the message** Here the students are in a position to comprehend and decode the incoming messages in the first language but with certain difficulties because of the factors other than hearing and retention. The listeners may face hurdles in coping simultaneously with

the code and message. The teacher should be aware of this stumbling block and encourage his students to overcome the difficulty gradually.

(e) **Comprehension in the second language**
Though comprehension of the message in an L_2 may be difficult in the early stages of language learning yet as students make progress in listening comprehension, they will gradually develop the ability to receive the message in the second language. Moreover, the students must have practice in listening to the spoken language in extended contexts. At the same time the learners need practice in listening to unstructured situations in which immediate comprehension of all the content cannot be anticipated.

6.   Isolated Units' Sounds Change in Connected Speech

Individual sound of a word or a phrase was the subject matter of traditional linguistic enquiry. Now it is realized that in a continuous speech the sounds of isolated units change as has been analyzed through the process of similitude, assimilation and elision, e.g., the expression 'ladies and gentlemen' becomes /ladies n gentlemen/, where the conjunction 'and' changes into a simple 'n'. Similar changes happen to different linguistic units in a connected speech. If a non-native listener is well-conversant with the differences of sounds of words in isolation and in a natural conversation, his listening comprehension would be better than the one who is unfamiliar with the similitude, assimilation and elision of sounds. These are the three principal terms used in the analysis of connected speech to see the change that replaces the normal sounds of words/phrases. Petty points out that: "The ears of the people of the world are being bombarded by information and misinformation. ... The ability to listen intelligently and discriminately is important" (1968). Listening comprehension may get further complicated when the

natural conversation of different regions in varying dialects is listened to and/or analyzed.

The problem is that in a natural conversation isolated words are not used, instead a chain of utterances flows with a continuous stream of sounds as the situation demands. However, for easier listening comprehension a speaker is expected to realize the difficulties of his non-native listeners with regard to the rate of utterances per minute, intonation, assimilation and elision. The author would like to introduce the area of the problem briefly with simple and specific examples of similitude, assimilation and elision without exhaustive details.

(a) **Similitude** In connected speech it often happens that the listener listens to the sounds with the characteristics of adjoining sounds, contrasting to the normal sounds of the English language. Thus the sound actually used is said to have a similitude with the adjoining sounds. Jones says: "A similitude is the use of a certain variety of adjoining sound at the present time". Here are some examples of similitude:

(i) There is an ordinary 'f' sound which is neutral in isolation in the words like 'file', 'fool' and 'furniture' but its sound when joined with the following sound may differ as /faɪl/, /fuːl/ and /fɜːnɪt ʃ(r)/. In this way there are varieties of the 'f' sound. The sound in the word 'file' /faɪl / is heard and found different from that of /fuːl/ and /fɜː nɪt ʃ(r)/. Though in all these words, the articulation is 'fronter' yet the characteristics of the adjoining letters/sounds are like /faɪ/, /fu/ and / fɜː/ where in the articulation of /faɪ/, the upper teeth touch the lower lip and are soon detached then both the upper and the lower lips are felt neutral. In the case of /fu/, the articulation is again labio-dental but here the shape of both the lips become round and

then felt neutral. The articulation of /fɜ:/ is again labio-dental and the lower lip is felt more neutral than the other two cases. How is the 'f' sound affected by the adjoining sound? In all the three cases, the 'f' sound shows similitude with 'i' (file), 'oo' (fool) and 'u' (furniture).

(ii) The 'l' of the word 'lace' /leɪs/ is the ordinary 'l' used in Southern English before most vowels but the 'l' of the word 'place' /pleɪs/ is pronounced differently. It is partially voiceless and is influenced by the preceding 'p'. The 'r' of the word 'cry'/ krаɪ/ and 'm' of 'small' /smɔ:l/, have the similitude of the same nature.

(iii) The 'n' is an alveolar sound in ordinary English but the 'n' of 'month' /mʌnθ/ is articulated dentally in common with the 'θ' sound following it, so it shows similitude with the sound 'θ'.

(iv) A labio-dental nasal (m) in a word such as 'comfort' / kʌɱfət/ is a particular variety of 'm' conditioned by the following 'f', hence the sound shows similitude with the 'f' sound.

(v) When the ordinary phonetic symbol /ʌ/ is followed by a dark 'l' in such a word as 'result' /rizʌlt/, many people use a retracted variety of /ʌ/ which is represented by the notation /ʌ/ as is the pronunciation of the word /rizʌlt/. This modified /ʌ/ is the result of dark 'l' which has a secondary back articulation.

(b) Assimilation This occurs due to an economy of effort in pronunciation. This takes place and passes almost unnoticed as long as the words concerned remain easily intelligible. Some assimilations and especially very negligent

ones, make words less easily intelligible than the unassimilated forms. In such a case the speech is said to be careless or slipshod. Crystal comments on assimilation: "It refers to the influence exercised by one sound segment upon the articulation of another so that the sounds become more alike or identical".(1985). For example, the phrase 'ten balls' would normally be pronounced in a colloquial form as /temɔːl/. Here in the partial assimilation the 'n' of 'ten' naturally falls because of the influence of the following 'b' and it becomes 'm' through bilabiality. Moreover, assimilation is a process of replacing one sound by another under particular conditions either historically or in forming sentences. Relatively this is a much neglected aspect of synchronic speech analysis.

However, assimilation needs further illustration where the listener is to be conscious of a variety of assimilated and unassimilated forms of utterances. There are a different number of assimilations, i.e historical, partial or total, contiguous, directional, negligent and contextual. The knowledge about all these differences is essential for L$_2$ learners as all this may add to the listening comprehension of a connected speech or a natural conversation:

(i) **Historical assimilation** This is said to take place when a language change occurs by which a sound is replaced by another which is nearer to a neighbouring sound in a word or a sentence. For example in Middle English every final 's' in a plural form was pronounced with the 's' sound in the words like 'dog', 'thing', 'bone' as /dɔːgəs/, / θɪŋəs/ and /bəunəs/ which were spelt as 'dogges', 'thinges/thynges', 'bones' or 'boones'. But at a later stage /ə/ ceased to be pronounced and the /s/ of such words was replaced by the voiced sound /z/,

giving the modern pronunciation as /dɔːɡz/, /θɪŋz/ and /baʊnz/. Probably there has never been assimilation in words such as cats, necks, etc.

(ii) **Partial or total assimilation** In the phrase 'ten balls' /tem bɔː/ the /z/ is somewhat a careful articulation but in the same expression total assimilation, e.g., /tem mɔː/ is often not possible where the /n/ and /b/ are identical with the /m/ which influenced each other. Another example is 'raspberry' / rɑːzbəri/, a partial assimilation and /raːzbi/ a total assimilation where the /p/ and /r/ have been elided.

(iii) **Contiguous assimilation** In this type of assimilation the change of a sound is the result of the influence of an adjacent sound. For example, 'five friends' /fai frend/ where the 've' of the word 'five' gives the /f/ sound being influenced by the following /f/ in the word 'friend'.

(iv) **Directional assimilation** This indicates the direction of assimilation, either it is influenced by the following sound or the preceding sound of a word, e.g., when the 't' sound becomes the 'p' sound in the phrase 'hot pie' /hɔːpai/. Here the /t/ sound is influenced by the following /p/ sound. There are three common directional assimilations, i.e. 'regressive', 'progressive' and 'coalescent or reciprocal'.

Regressive assimilation. In this case the sound changes because of the influence of the following sound, e.g. the expression 'ten balls' is pronounced as /tem bɔːlz/. Here the consonant /n/ sound changes into the /m/ sound because of the influence of the following /b/.

Progressive assimilation. When the sound changes because of the influence of the preceding sound, e.g., the phrase 'lunch hour' where the /h/ sound changes into /ʃ/ being influenced by 'ch' in the preceding word 'lunch'. However, these assimilations are not so common.

Coalescent/ reciprocal assimilation. In coalescent or reciprocal assimilation. each of the two adjacent articulations influences the other. For example, the fusion of the /d/ and /j/ to produce the sound as /dj/ in phrases like 'could you' /kud:dʒʊ/. Similarly, when 'don't you' is pronounced as /dəʊnt tʃʊ/, the /t/ and /y/ are fused to produce an affricate / tʃ /.

(v) **Negligent assimilation** this type of assimilation occurs when words are said carelessly and with a modified pronunciation. Some of the examples of negligent assimilation/pronunciation include: /oupm/ for /əʊpən/ (open). / stæ m pɔ:nt/ for / stænd pɔ:nt/ (stand point), /ɔmpə: pəs/ for /ɔnpə:pəs/ (on purpose), / kʌpm sɔ:sə/ (cup and saucer). Here the expressions are pronounced without any regard to listening comprehension. Other examples may be the substitution of the /b/ for the /d/ in the careless pronunciation like /ju:b betə/ for /jud:bɪ betə/ in the expression 'you'd better'. In the same way articulation of the /p/ for the /t/ in /fupbɔ:l/ for /futbɔ:l/ (football) and /ʃ/ for the /s/ in / kweʃʃn/ for / kwest ʃən/, and so on.

(vi) **Contextual assimilation** The process of putting words together to form sentences or compound words results in the replacement of a sound by another one having greater

resemblance to an adjoining sound where a contextual assimilation happens under a formula, i.e. sound 'A' is replaced by sound 'B' under the influence of sound 'C'. For example, when 'horse' and 'show' are put together to form a compound word 'horse-show', the pronunciation will be / hɔːʃʃuː/ where the /s/ of the word 'horse' is replaced by the /ʃ/ sound under the influence of the following 'sh' sound.

(c) **Elision** The term elision refers to the omission of sounds in a natural or a connected speech where consonants, vowels and sometimes whole syllables may be elided. According to Jones(1956): "Elision is the dropping of a sound which once existed or which still exists (in isolated words or) in precise speech". For example, 'two and two' /tuːən tu/ or 'go and play' /gəʊ ən pleɪ/, show an elision of the /d/ in both the clauses. In addition to this, unstressed words like 'and', 'of', are especially prone to be elided. Some elisions may be regarded as particular kinds of assimilation, where sound 'A' is replaced by 'zero' under the influence of sound 'C', e.g., when the word 'kindness' is pronounced as / kaɪnnɪs/. The elision of the /d/ in /kaɪnnɪs/ is one of the elisions of this nature where the /d/ is replaced by 'zero' under the influence of the adjoining nasal consonant /n/.

7.   Conclusion

It can be safely concluded that intelligibility problems in connected speech exist which may result in disappointment and frustration for non-native listeners. All this cannot be overcome overnight instead it needs gradual improvement in the listening skills through sequential components of listening comprehension as stated in this article. After acquiring the ability of understanding natural conversation, the listener may comprehend the information,

both stated and unstated and react to the ideas presented. He may also become involved with divergent and/or convergent thinking and reasoning but all this is possible only when the non-native listener has a prior knowledge of the individual sounds of isolated words and phrases and the changes which take place in them when used in a connected speech. Generally the learners of English as an L_2 are unable to predict the syntactic form and lexical items like the natives. Instead they tend to depend entirely on the sounds they hear for the very reason that their instruction in the classroom has focused mainly on accuracy in isolated words. For this very reason they suffer a devastating diminution of phonetic information at the segmental level when they encounter a continuous speech.

Another qualified conclusion is that in public sector schooling inadequate attention is given to the listening skill of English as an L_2. These students are not exposed to real life settings with regard to the listening of spoken English in unstructured situations. Generally students at elementary and secondary levels limit themselves to get the meanings of individual words and they totally ignore guessing the meaning of an overall message in a context. Both listening and speaking are inter-related and interdependent skills but both are neglected and learners of the English language as an L_2 are restricted to the usage of isolated structures without realizing the functional role of the language. However, listening is lagging far behind as compared to spoken English but the fact is that productive and receptive skills are supportive of each other.

8.   Suggestions

At first the teacher should plan sequential activities to develop listening comprehension: (i) discrimination of sounds; (ii) perception of message; (iii) development of auditory memory; (iv) comprehension in L_1 and (v) comprehension in L_2. Then to overcome the comprehension difficulties of connected or natural speech and for improvement of pronunciation, the learner of English as an L_2 is suggested to listen to native speakers and read connected orthographic and phonetic texts with full

concentration. Again for this practice prior knowledge of similitude, assimilation and elision may prove supportive. In addition to this, to deal with indistinct utterances in connected speech, the non-native listener is suggested to: (i) take into account the context of the speech; (ii) make prediction about syntactic form and lexical items. For better understanding, the listener has to adjust his thinking as he anticipates the sound of a word/phrase or certain expressions and then should readily listen to different sounds/pronunciation of the speaker.

Weak forms and stressed patterns are important aspects of connected speech. As English is a stressed timed language, the native speakers often tend to swallow unstressed linguistic items, e.g., conjunctions, pronouns, prepositions, auxiliaries and articles. Therefore, the practice in this area should preferably be focused by the non-native students from the very beginning of learning English as an L_2. The ability to identify sounds heard at the beginning, middle or end of a word and to discriminate among sounds should preferably be acquired. This process leads to success in analyzing words phonetically. Another thing for suggestion is that phonetic symbols and phonology must be exposed to students of English as an L_2 at some early stage of their schooling. At the same time it becomes imperative to: (i) add these two segments in the textbooks of English and (ii) appoint English teachers well trained in linguistics. Moreover, the following points are also useful for the teacher while teaching listening comprehension:

(a) Realization of need is an important motivating factor, so it is better to tell the students the reason as to why they need to improve their listening skills

(b) Experiencing difficulties is always a part of learning. The students should be prepared to face them with spirit. The teacher is to point out to the learners the frustrations that may accompany the natural conversation or connected speech in English when learnt as an L_2.

(c) Never leave the students unattended. Instead they need involvement in interesting listening activities.

(d) The students should be encouraged to participate in language interaction in pairs and groups and appreciate their responses.

(e) The teacher himself must be interested in what is going on in different listening activities of a connected speech.

(f) The listening material should preferably be consistent with students' capabilities otherwise they may lose their interest.

(g) Repetition of some similar activities may cause monotony and ultimately boredom in class. A variety of listening activities may overcome this problem.

(h) A language teacher knows the importance of using authentic material in a class. He should preferably manage native speakers' speeches, commentaries. Listening of a natural speech in a real life-like social environment is useful for language learning.

(i) The learners are to be advised to focus on hearing the sounds of isolated units in simple activities and then hearing the sounds in the context of the message in a speech.

(j) The learners of English as an L_2 need to be trained in interpreting stress and intonation patterns used by native speakers.

(k) Another important role of a language teacher is to determine students' areas of problems. Once the teacher identifies learners' difficulties, he may very easily suggest some suitable activities regarding listening to a continuous speech. In a nutshell they need to be taught how to listen and what to listen to during different listening activities.

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The Speech Act Theory and Second Language Learning

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ABSTRACT

Fizla Waseem in this article makes a case for incorporating elements of the speech - act theory in second language learning.Knowing a language's grammatical patterns is not enough for effective communication.Rather it is the communicative competence that should be paramount in L_2 learning. Communicative competence or pragmatics views language as a social activity. And an L_2 speaker ought to have a full knowledge of the social conventions which govern linguistic choices in different contexts.

Introduction

Traditionally second language learning entails the acquisition of linguistic structures of the target language. This view was challenged by later linguists who advocated a communicative approach which enabled learners to use language for real and purposeful accomplishment of communication tasks. Pragmatic proficiency thus entails the ability to use language flexibly, appropriately and accurately.

Construction of meaning from discourse entails that the reader is familiar with the linguistic conventions of the language in question and can distinguish not only between the various connotation of words, but has an understanding

of the complex social assumptions of correctness, which make the use of one particular word/expression more suitable than the other. In other words, awareness about the pragmatic use of language is a must for becoming an effective user of any foreign language. Pragmatics or the Speech Act Theory when applied to language education has important implications for non-native learners. The understanding or otherwise of the speech acts would determine whether the learner acquires a near-native proficiency, or becomes a user of a non-standard variety.

The Speech Act Theory states that when a speaker speaks, he uses words to communicate and at the same time to get something accomplished, for example, an order, a request, an invitation, a refusal, etc. In other words, the speaker's use of words is directed towards the fulfillment of a purpose which can be called an action, as he is using words for doing something. When we use language for 'doing' or carrying out an action, we are using language functionally and we are, in linguistic terms, participating in a speech act. The Speech-act Theory has to do with the functions and uses of language, so we might say that speech-acts are all the acts we perform through speaking, all the things we do when we speak.

James Paul Gee (1993) says that in conversation we not only talk but act as well and by uttering certain words we can accomplish various actions like offering, agreeing, denying, apologizing etc. All of these and many more are called speech acts, i.e. actions performed by uttering words. Yule (1996) says that the term 'speech acts' covers 'actions' such as requesting, commanding, questioning, informing.

Searle's (1969) definition of a speech act is by far the most comprehensive and clear. For him the best way to differentiate a speech act from any other utterance is in what he calls, 'the illocutionary point which is the purpose of the act, from the speaker's perspective', for example, words like assert, thank, regret, , etc all express the speakers intention of doing something. These verbs and hundreds of others refer to the speech acts they embody. However, Searle points out that there are scores of English verbs that are not

equivalent to the speech acts they refer to, for example, the words 'insist' and 'suggest' mark degrees of intensity but do not mark separate speech-act functions or illocutionary points. For Searle, speech-acts have mainly two divisions: the illocutionary acts, for example, questioning, stating, ordering, wishing, and the perlocutionary acts, that is, persuading, getting someone to do something etc. In other words, as Eagleton (1998) says words 'which bring an effect about by the saying'.

Performatives and Constatives

Because of this quality of 'action' in words, linguists have termed speech acts, performatives or performative utterances, as distinguished from constatives or constative utterances. Speech acts or performatives are contrasted from statements or constatives in that they do not merely state facts or describe them. While being statements they also partake in 'doing' things as well. In fact the Speech-Act Theory was developed by J. L. Austin (1962), in order to remove the common misunderstanding that all declarative sentences state only facts, or describe states. It was mainly a reaction to what he called, "a 'descriptive fallacy' which holds that a declarative sentence is always used to describe some state of affairs, some fact, which it must do truly or falsely". Explaining this, Eagleton points out that for Austin even constatives were performatives because they too like performatives, 'are acts of performing or affirming, and to communicate information is as much a performance as naming a ship'.

Direct and Indirect Speech Acts

Declarative sentences function in various ways and our understanding of these functions depends on differentiating between their truth conditions and the 'intended speaker's meaning' (Yule). If we use the linguistic form, which is conventionally used for a linguistic function, we are indulging in a direct speech act, for example, 'Tell me the way please' uses the imperative form to make a request. In the same way, 'Where is Saima?' uses an interrogative form to ask a question. In other words we say exactly what we 'intend' or vice versa.

In the indirect speech act we do not use the usual linguistic form for the corresponding linguistic function, for example, the sentence: "Can you show me the way?" is structurally a question and semantically asks about the ability of a person, but it intends to function as a request.

This shows that speech acts are not identifiable with the sentence form, or with its grammatical description. The speech-acts operate within the speech event and the grammatical form, and depend heavily on social norms of usage.

Pragmatics: Speaker-meaning and Sentence-meaning.

This takes us into the study of pragmatics and to consider what linguists like Searle(1969), Miller (1998), and Grice(1975) have called sentence-meaning and speaker-meaning. Grice says that a speaker's meaning is that the speaker's utterance is intended "to produce some effect in an audience by means of recognition of this intention" and "sentence-meaning can be understood in terms of the notion of a speaker's meaning and the notion of convention, where the notion of a speaker's meaning is explained in terms of the utterer's intentions". Put simply the addressee must recognize the speaker's intention of getting him to believe what one is telling him by one's utterance. In an article titled, 'Indirect Speech-Acts', Searle makes a distinction between speaker meaning and sentence meaning. "In an indirect speech act... a speaker means something else as well, so that the utterance meaning includes the sentence meaning but extends beyond it. So in the case of an indirect speech act, the speaker means what the sentence means, but something else as well... Such speech acts have two illocutionary forces". Whereas in a direct speech act or a literal utterance, a speaker means exactly the same as the sentence means, so speaker meaning and sentence meaning coincide".

This brings us to the effect produced by the speech acts on the listener. Miller (1998) explains the distinction between illocutionary and perlocutionary effects thus:

"An illocutionary effect is one that is

in part the content of an illocutionary intention, where an illocutionary intention is an intention that is fulfilled simply on the basis of the audience's recognition of the presence of the intention".

On the other hand, a perlocutionary effect is a perlocutionary intention "that is not fulfilled simply on the basis of the audience's recognition of the presence of the intention"(Ibid.). But the question that arises here is that how does the listener know that an utterance which has the form of an interrogative is actually functioning as a request? For a hearer to grasp both these aspects together and to negotiate meaning of an utterance would require knowledge of the rules for performing speech acts and also of sharing some background information with the speaker.

Speech Acts in a literary work

For some linguists the speech-act theory applies to language in its written form. "The relevance of all this to literature becomes clear when we realize that literary works themselves can be seen as speech acts, or as an imitation of it", according to Terry Eagleton.

Ashcroft (1995) says, "While one can inscribe the prepositional content of a speech act we cannot for instance inscribe its illocutionary force. Such force is carried in the situation of the message. The illocutionary force (and, by extension we might say the cultural force) of these texts similarly cannot be conveyed by means of grammar, italics, punctuation, but rather actualized constitutively in the conventional practice – the situation – of the reading" The L_2 learner or speaker needs to have a thorough understanding of the constitutive rules for linguistic production in the target language in order to produce happy performatives. Malmkjoer says (1991), "Searle believes that the semantics of a language can be regarded as a series of systems of constitutive rules and illocutionary acts are performed in accordance with these sets of constitutive rules, so that the study of semantics boils down to the study of illocutionary acts".

Speech Situations and Speech Events

Speech events are activities in which speech is used as the main purpose of interaction and which are directly governed by rules or norms for the use of speech. for example, interviews. lectures, introductions etc. In speech situations, for example. fights. hunts. parties, speech is used for interaction but it is not the be all and end all purpose of the situation. Within these two, "speech acts are the minimal terms of the set: speech situation/event/act", opine Richards and Schmidt (1985).

Speech acts, thus, occur within speech events and speech situations, and they depend for their force on the context of these events, which have their own norms of linguistic behavior, for example, a speech event within a social context, like, for example, a marriage celebration would be governed by its own set of linguistically appropriate speech acts. Knowledge of the context in which a speech event occurs influences the speaker's choice for a particular speech act. The role of the speaker and listener and their relationship with each other as well as the topic of conversation are all part of the context or situation of the speech act and "all of these will have an influence on what is said and how it is said".

So speech acts are influenced by the speaker's knowledge about the immediate purpose of speaking as well as the over all environment in which it is carried out, including the knowledge about the participants, the back ground and the future assumptions and outcomes of the dialogue. All this is encompassed with knowledge of the conventional use of speech in a particular culture. For Kramsch (1993) "Construction of a speech event means not only having a choice of grammatical and lexical features, but deciding which to choose from, depending on one's assessment of the whole situation of communication, and on the expectations raised in the speaker and listener by that situation".

The Context of Speech Acts

All language learning is about effective communication. The

Chomskyn approach saw the acquisition of underlying linguistic structures which could be used for surface forms by applying transformational rules as the basis for language learning. Subsequent research has shown that this grammatical competence alone is not enough. Whereas a speaker's knowledge of the sounds, syntax, grammar and semantics of a language are required to construct grammatical sentences, this alone is not enough for effective communication. Linguists have added another important dimension to language learning, and that is communicative competence. For acquiring this ability, it is not the grammatical sentence, but the utterance of the speaker which matters. It is the speaker's knowledge of how speech acts are used in social situations. It is the ability to use 'L$_2$ accurately, appropriately, and flexibly' (Yule). Language is a social activity and any study of language has to be considered from the social context in which it is used. Speech acts as we have seen, occur in speech events, within speech situations. An understanding of the linguistic conventions is crucial to the understanding of the nature and importance of communication in any given speech situation. This would include knowledge about the roles of the speakers, their relationship to each other, their backgrounds, schema i.e. their previous knowledge, the script of the situation and future assumptions about the outcome of the dialogue and so on. One can say that the whole personality, the past, present and future of the interlocutors influences the way language is used within a given speech situation. Yule says: "All of these factors will have an influence on what is said and how it is said. We would have to describe what was the topic of the conversation and in what setting or context it took place".

Speaking is not an isolated activity. When we speak, we speak to someone, or at someone. In either case, what we say and how we say it depends on our knowledge of the addressee, the circumstances we our speaking in and the possible outcomes of our speaking. Understanding this is crucial for our being effective speakers, or in order to achieve what Austin calls a 'happy performative." A speech-act or a 'performative' can only be appropriate if the

circumstances in which it is uttered are suitable and appropriate. "If a performative is unhappy or infelicitous, something has gone wrong in the connection between the utterance and the circumstances in which it is uttered."

To achieve this, speakers needs to have a full knowledge of the social conventions which govern linguistic choices. Inadequate knowledge would result in his/her being ineffective as a speaker, or would result in a complete breakdown in communication. As social conventions of speech acts are grounded in the social and cultural fabric of a speech community, to understand them and use them effectively becomes a major problem for foreign language learners Kramsch (1993) says:

> Foreign language learners who have not grown up in the community who speaks that language, have much greater difficulty identifying the range of potential meanings available in that speech community and selecting the ones appropriate for a given context.".

The rules governing conversational interaction vary from one society to the other. Norms of linguistic politeness in a given society would perhaps value directness but in another society indirectness would be more acceptable. Grice's co-operative principle (1975): "Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged," operates on the four maxims of quantity, quality, relation and manner, which too are taken by different societies in various measures. For a non-native speaker, the need to keep one's positive face in conversational interaction with native speakers would be as important as to keep his negative face, to retain his distinct cultural identity. Thus he often finds himself at a loss for appropriate linguistic choices. Whether he is able to keep both his faces depends on his critical reading of the context of the situation, including his self perception, and also that of his hearer and the social group in which the interaction is taking place. Richards et al quote Lami as saying, "Because of cross-cultural differences in the

perception of the power-paradigm in particular situations, the same transactions may involve for greater face costs' in one culture than in another" (1985).

All this is encompassed by a familiarity with the conventional use of speech in a particular culture. Cultures have their own way of defining social situations and the linguistic conventions associated with them are peculiar to that culture. Utterances used in them are called conversational routines. They become the habitual conversational pattern of native speakers and "appear to be preprogrammed in a way in which novel utterances are not"(Ibid). These conversational routines are picked up by non-native learners, but it is often difficult for them to have complete mastery over them because of the difference between their form and function, which we have already referred to as direct and indirect speech acts. For example, phrases like: between you and me... have a heart...I would have thought... are taken in their literal meaning.

For a second - language learner a direct translation of these, without being given the context where they were uttered, would be futile. "Attempts to arrive at the meaning of ... verbal routines by decomposing them in a way no idiomatic utterances are interpreted often lead to frustration for the language learner."(Ibid.). Similarly, speech styles vary across cultures. Different weight is given to 'face'and norms of politeness. The way societies view power roles is part of their individual culture. The speech style will vary according to the perceived power of the hearer and the listener. In some Asiatic societies, honorific titles are added to the names when the addressee is someone high in the power hierarchy, by virtue of his age, rank, social status or wealth, while in America, it is usual for students to address their professors by their first names .Rahman says:

> Speech codes associated with powerful groups in a society, such as the European languages in the ex-colonies or the standard language anywhere, do not convey meaning alone but also the power of their history and their contemporary associations (2002).

For a second - language learner to acquire competence in the target language, familiarity with the social context in which any utterance is made, is a prerequisite. If the goal is not to exchange words with people who speak the language but actually to understand what they mean, then it is imperative for him to do this, because as Kramsch goes on to say, "our choice of words is constrained by the context in which we use the language, our personal thoughts are shaped by those of others".

In view of the above discussion it emerges that the importance of context in language learning cannot be over emphasized. As Hymes (1972) suggests, "The key to understanding language in context is to start not with language, but with context".

The speech-act theory has important implications for foreign language learners. To learn a language in context, as we have seen is the only way to learn and use it with any degree of efficiency and accuracy, and requires almost native –like conditions to acquire it. This can be achieved on the one hand by living in the target language community and interacting with its native speakers. On the other, it can be acquired by the education system which would provide an environment where native-like communication can take place. From the discussion about the English elitist schools, one finds that this later condition is fulfilled in these institutions. Because a majority of these schools work on the principle of immersion, most of the communications during school and class activities are carried out in English. The learners are provided an almost native like environment. For them using English appropriately, effectively and accurately presents no problem, whereas in the Urdu medium schools these conditions are negligible and thus a correct form of language is difficult to acquire. The students study English for fourteen years or more, yet are unable to use it effectively for the simplest of communication tasks.

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A Linguistic Analysis of Child Labour in Pakistan

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ABSTRACT:

In this paper, Dr. Ranjha analyses the linguistic projection of child labour in the context of Islam and Pakistan. For this purpose he draws upon the discourse theory propounded by Norman Fairclough in the latter's famous book "Languages and Power". Ranjha seeks to focus the reader's attention on discrepancies that exist between the narrative as projected by government agencies and that of the situation on the ground.

Introduction

Child labour is an endemic for third world countries. The primary responsibility of parents is to feed, clothe and educate their children till they reach an age where they can be called as adults, sixteen in others. If parents are unable to shoulder the responsibility, it is the state that ought to come to the resue of its citizens. For this reason, Pakistan lkfe all other countries of the world enunciates its responsibilities in this regard in the shape of ordinances and acts. But, a yawning gap exists between the language of the government documents and the situation on the ground.

Statement of the Problem

The language projected by government agencies does not accurately reflect the problem of child labour in Pakistan.

Hypothesis

Child labour documents use language in a way that serves only to camouflage the problem rather than highlight it or seek its solution.

Objectives

1. The primary objective of this paper is to revisit the linguistic problem of child labour in the context of Pakistan. In doing so, the researcher would try to highlight the fact that the language misleads rather than meeting the target.
2. The secondary objective is to find out the fallout of a practice such as described above.
3. Lastly,the researcher would put forward some suggestions to rectify the situation.

Methodology

The researcher aims to evaluate the language of child labour in the light of Norman Fairclough's thesis regarding the use of language in a society.

Data Collection

The first of the data relates to how Islam views child labour. Child labour in Pakistan, theory and practice are the next to come.

Child Labour

According to a committee on child labor it is defined as a segment of child population in work paid or unpaid. It means a child working between 6-15, not attending school or learning some trade as an apprentice.

UNICEF distinguishes it as full time work with too much of responsibility.

The worst form of child labor is slavery, trafficking of children, bonded labor, serfdom and recruitment for armed conflict.

Child labour in Islam

Social Structure of Islam.

Islam is a complete code of life and the primary sources of Islamic law are the Holy Quran and Sunnah. Islam considers children as a blessing and comfort to parents. Islam considers family as the first unit of a society and sets duties and rights of both parents and children.

Rights of Children. These include nursing, upbringing, protection, training, education, maintenance and inheritance etc.

Upbringing. It is the primary duty of the father to feed, clothe and protect children upto adulthood. Mother can provide help if necessary.

Right to Education. Parents should also take an interest besides education administered in schools or colleges. They should also impart religious and moral education. Acquisition of knowledge is must for every Muslim boy and girl. So the best is the one who gives good education to his children.

Right to Love and Affection. The children need extra care, love and affection. The Holy Prophet (PBUH) always showed loving and caring attitude towards minors. Once a Bedouin surprised seeing Holy Prophet (PBUH) always showed a loving and caring attitude towards minors. Once a Bedouin surprised seeing Holy Prophet (PBUH) kissing a child and said I have eight children but I don't kiss any one. The Prophet (PBUH) remarked what can he do if Allah had taken away love from his heart. Prophet (PBUH) showed special kindness to

orphan children. Extra care and over protection should be avoided.

Right to be Well Provided. The children must be looked after well by the parents.

Other Rights. The upbringing responsibility rests with parents. Spending on education and maintenance of children merits higher than spending in Allah's way or in emancipating a slave. The responsibility continues to be of the fathers if the children are living with a divorced mother. In case of the father's death the mother should bring up children till they are mature instead of a special fund for children for the first time

Labour Security of Working Children from the Islamic Point of View.

Islam talks about the contract to be made with the employer from the child's side. Moreover, Islam prohibits child labor and promotes child work. In short as per teaching of Islam children must not be employed except for practices which help them gain useful skills. A child reaches puberty at the age of fifteen and can then be assigned a responsibility.

Child labour in Pakistan

Though child labor is not uncommon in Pakistan but the attitude of government to either deny its existence or justify it as being inevitable is not acceptable. As per the survey funded by ILO's IPEC (International program on elimination of child labor), 3.3 million children out of 40 million were between ages 5-14 years.

Impact of Child Labor on the Child

Physical labor greatly impacts on the growth of a child. It effects physical development, general health condition and morality of a child. It makes a child weak and timid. The work when taken up as a means for fulfillment of some other needs becomes enslaving in character and deleterious in its impact. The use of children also raises many other questions with demographic and economic implications. It also causes adult unemployment, low productivity and inefficient utilization of manpower with an economic loss to the society.

Pakistan Law on Child Labour

Pakistani constitution prohibits child labor. According to the Pakistan law under Article 11, all forms of forced labor and traffic in human beings is prohibited and children below the age of 14 years are prohibited to work in any factory or mine or engage in any other hazardous employment. Article 14 guarantees the dignity of every man while article 3 lays down that state shall ensure the elimination of all forms of exploitation. The main bottom line is to protect the child. However, laws for combatting the problem lack direction and uniformity and are out dated.

Pakistani Laws Related to Child Labor

There are twelve laws related to child labor and six miscellaneous.

a.   The apprenticeship ordinance 1962 to make provision for promoting, developing and regulating systematic apprenticeship programs.

b.   The Bonded labor system Act 1992 for abolition of bonded labor system.

c.   The children Act 1993 prohibits the making of agreements to pledge labor of children and employment.

d.   Employment of Children Act 1991 prohibits employment in certain occupations.

e.   The Factories Act 1934 came to force on 1 Jan 1935.

Data Analysis and Findings:

The data collected on child labour language covering Pakistan and Islam's point of view cearly shows that Islam attaches the highest importance to the upbringing of children. It is of course,the parents' responsibility to take care of their children's needs till they are old enough to earn for themselves. Besides parents, the state also has a responsibility towards its citizens. As far as the situation is Pakistan is concerned, eight different types of ordinances and acts have been passed, some of them prior to the creation of Pakistan. As has been mentioned the last survey about child labour was conducted in 1996 and nothing has happened since.

It seems that people at the helm of affairs are least bothered with the rampant child labour in our society. It would not be remiss to point out over here that well to do people employing children as domestic as well as factory labour cannot be expected to do any thing for their welfare. They get cheap and easily available labour and it seems inconceivable that anybody is willing to go beyond the mantra of ordinances and acts passed to please the West.

Norman Fairclough(1989) calls "language a part of society", and "a social process"; language is not something that is separate from the rest of the society. The language used in the ordinances and laws in Pakistan's Constitution starkly point to the lack of sincerity and vision of the creators of these laws, etc. There is no mention of the ground situation. The laws seem to be talking about some

other land where the wish is granted just by uttering it.

Furthermore, how is the solution going to be arrived at, is hardly discussed any where. The language of child labour laws is analogous of other such matters where the intention is to hoodwink extraneous powers, in this case the West. For the readers' convenience, it is being reminded here that not long ago, the West declined to import products from Pakistan as it was tainted with child labour. The tough talking ordinances on banning child labour while doing practically nothing on ground is just another instance of using language to mislead others.

To quote Fairclough again "language is a socially conditioned process, conditioned that is by other (non-linguistic) parts of society'. To the majority of Pakistanis, the language of child labour laws would mean next to nothing implying that there are issues which need immediate concern and then there are issues that can wait, perhaps endlessly. The Pakistani society has conditioned the use of language to do its sweet bidding. Almost every household that can get help in the form of child labour, practices the illegal act with all impunity.

One very common argument given in defense of child labour is that these children are better off employed than otherwise as their parents do not have enough to feed them even once a day. Another justification comes from those who say that they become earning hands for their family contributing to the collective welfare. Although both arguments have some grain of truth in them, but, it is not the solution of the problem. The solution as every body knows lies in some serious, well thought out planning that would require a strict implementation. The language used at present hardly points to a change in the situation.

Suggestions and Conclusion

An analysis of the child labour language clearly points to the fact that much more serious action needs to be done in this field. It needs an immediate attention of the people in authority. Sadly, since it is precisely this segment of the society that practices child labour to the maximum, the language used in the documents is at best an eye-wash as it is not supported by any serious implementation on ground. Just saying that child labour needs to be abolished is hardly a worthwhile solution. But this is what is present in most documents as has been pointed ont elsewhere. There is neither a realistic analysis of the problem in all its ramifications nor any solutions to combat the problems are given.

It is, therefore, suggested that we in Pakistan need to get serious about the problem of child labour and devise ways and means to effectively tackle the menace. A realistic remedial portrayal of the problem would need language that is equally realistic and effective a far cry from what it is at present.

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