An Interplay of English and Urdu Languages in Pakistani ESL Learners: Implications of Sapir-Whorf hypothesis of Linguistic Relativity and Linguistic Determinism

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Abstract

It is an intriguing idea to realize that one's particular language has the shaping influence on thoughts directly. Understanding this concept can facilitate in deciphering the cultural outlook and psychological mechanism of societies that speak any language(s); more elaborately, the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis (SWH) of linguistic relativity and determinism tries to account for the manner in which language may influence thoughts. From a pure linguistic position of SWH the shift now indicates language learning, both first and foreign, as a revealing strategy for uncovering the interplay of languages. This qualitative inquiry bases itself on these reformulations of language and thought, so to relate SWH to the needs and concerns of cultural content, discourse processes and cognition. The plan is to join two distinct traditions of research: firstly, the focus of cognitive anthropologists on discursive/ group cognition, and secondly, the linguistic tradition of ethnographic research on interactional nature of language. This research is inclined to figure out the application of this newer outlook of SWH, in an experimental framework of communication gap filling and discursive practices by Pakistani ESL (English as a Second Language) learners.

Keywords: *linguistic relativity, ESL, bilingual cognition, communication strategies*

Introduction

Language is an essential mode of expression of our experiences. It allows us to turn our thoughts into meaningful words. We converse with each other through so many diverse and dynamic languages, which have so many variations among them, that of grammar, pronunciation, morphology, etc. Different speakers of equally different languages try to encode and account for the world around them. But does language possess the potential to influence thoughts?

Much of the time language is involved in thinking. Yet there are cases of common instances when one senses and experiences many notions, which find inadequate verbal expression. This can be understood by analyzing the child

language acquisition process. For instance, after knowing that a cat is a non-human and four-legged creature, the child may see a bird and a cow and would invariably call them *mano billi*, meaning a cat in Urdu, thinking that both should be counted as the same. Hence, different language systems work on different classifications of concepts too.

A common and classic consensus appears to be that language and thought are distinct in character and exist on their own. In traditional beliefs, it is assumed that most of the people think about the world in a similar fashion but somehow speak distinctively for various geographical and genetic reasons.

Literature Review

There can be no doubt that one big question, which has intrigued philosophers and psychologists for centuries, is at the heart of the whole psychological enterprise: How does language relate to and effect cognition? Originating in the writings of Plato[i], Aristotle[ii], Augustinus, Schopenhauer, Humboldt, Wittgenstein, Biihler, Whorf, Sapir, Grice, and Searle, this issue remains central to the modern psycholinguistic approaches.

The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis

One of the most influential views about language and thought connection has been put forward by Edward Sapir, an American anthropologist, and later his student, Benjamin Lee Whorf. Together they proposed what is commonly known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (SWH) of linguistic relativity; that each language is an incomplete/relative description of reality, and linguistic determinism; that a language has the potential to determine thoughts, and hence hypothesized that different speech communities possess different cognitive frameworks too.

Sapir, in fact, was expanding and investigating the vision of his teacher, Franz Boas, who considered a language as a formally complete code for its speakers only. Further onwards Whorf, advanced the same vision and focused on ancient languages of American Indians, where the Hopi called the flying objects, such as airplane and insects, with the same name. He plainly states that Hopi called two objects by the same name, without explaining that whether they "really" saw them the same way and could not distinguish them. Lucy (1992) believes that Whorf did a revolutionary work in his research and provided a first hand, empirical and objective data, in support of Sapir's hypothesis.

The interest in this hypothesis has seen different phases of criticism and revival to date. There have been some workable and milder versions of this hypothesis which state only certain aspects of language have the potential to

impact, not control, some thinking patterns. These approaches to linguistic relativity and determinism have created space for further research.

Some Transitions in and the Revival of SWH

During the past forty years there have been many attempts to recast the fundamental insights of Sapir and Whorf. From a pure linguistic position the shift now indicates language learning, both first and foreign, as a revealing strategy for uncovering the interplay of languages on thinking planes. Learning a language involves not only learning linguistic forms, but also learning how to use these forms appropriately in different contexts.

Among those linguists who found linguistic relativity plausible, American linguist/anthropologist Dell Hymes (1927-2009) was a prominent figure, for he proposed a discourse-based approach to this issue also known as Discourse-centered approach to culture (DCAC), which anchors the debate on SWH, giving essential coverage to cultural repercussions on thought and language of a community at the same time. The notion of discursive relativity was further developed by several scholars, including American linguists Dan Slobin (1996), John Haviland (1996), John Gumperz (1996), and psycholinguist Herbert Clark (1996). Among them, American linguist, Dan Slobin's proposed "thinking for speaking" view which can be described as a contemporary, moderate version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. His works has focused more on a cross-linguistic analysis of languages, in order to enhance understanding of language acquisition. According to him, becoming a competent speaker of a language requires learning certain language-specific modes of thinking, which he dubbed as "thinking for speaking"

The present study has made use of the "milder" versions of SWH, while paralleling English and Urdu language within a Pakistani backdrop. These have given the researcher the space to investigate the implications of a bilingual cognition in Pakistani Urdu-speaking ESL learners.

Delimitation

This research involves study of cognition by means of the revised version of SWH. The researcher was inclined to figure out the application of this newer outlook of SWH through communication gap filling and discursive practices by Pakistani ESL learners.

Methodology

The major focus of this qualitative inquiry is on the operational aspects of language rather than its compositional nature that is grammar rules, etc.

Research Questions

The present study is directed by the following questions:

1. What thinking patterns and communication strategies are adopted when ESL learners are involved in the interplay of English and Urdu languages?

2. How does this interplay shape one's frames of cognitive semantics, and on which level of cognition, this interplay materializes?

3. What kind of difference is interposed by the cultural aspects of languages, as distinct as English and Urdu in matters of relational thinking and translability?

In the present research, the researcher interacted with the participants for about 2 months, engaging them in Focused Group (FG) discussions. This research uses FG discussions as a main tool for analyzing group cognition, communication strategies and identification of the degrees/intensity/situations of bilingual thinking. FG discussions appear to be particularly compatible with Urdu values and communication style preferences. Conformity with and deference to those in power are encouraged and play a significant role in Urdu communication patterns. The Urdu perception of *Adab (*respect) is similar to Ting-Toomey and Cocroff's (1994) notion of face, in which elements of honor and dignity are incorporated into a culture-specific transaction norm (Aoki, 1995).

Participants

This study was carried out with 10 Urdu speaking, young urban bilinguals from National University of Modern Languages (NUML), originally students of M.A. ELT program. For identifying a baseline level for participants, the proficiency guidelines from American Council on the Teaching of Foreign language (ACTFL) (ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines, 1999) were consulted. Hence the population of this study was carefully selected to be an approximately uniform "intermediate level".

The participants were provided with written consent forms that clearly stated the objectives of the study, and how the information would be used. The names of the participants were abbreviated for use in this research.

Research Procedure

The FG discussions, 10 in total, stretched over a span of two months. Each session was timed to be of an average 30-40 minutes, exclusive of the greetings, *éntenté* (social chit-chat), seating and conclusion. The moderation of discussions

was put on random group participants. These discussions were audio-recorded on a digital voice recorder.

The themes for FG discussions were related to the contemporary socio-cultural context of Pakistan. These themes assisted in expression of stronger emotions, deeper sentiments and accurate depiction. These *issues* were, and are, cropping up and emerging every coming day in Pakistan (See Appendix 2).

In fact, the purpose was to ignite an intense cognitive process in each participant, which would result in a dire feel/want of vocalization. This is a very sensitive state in which a participant would resort to certain communication strategies. It should be understood that the focus of these themes and the following discussions was not the contents/arguments that were generated in the process. Instead this exercise was meant to clearly see the manifestation of bilingual cognition. Each discussion followed certain guidelines, for smoother and effective communication.[iii]

A tape-based transcription analysis is used mainly as an overall analysis of the tapes/digital recordings in this case. An abridged transcription is compiled after listening to the recordings.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

This research makes use of Long's Embryonic category system, for analyzing different dimensions of various skills that are employed by speakers while speaking, i.e. moderator's skills, social skills and rhetorical skills.[iv]Moreover, Tarone's typology of communication strategies is used to cover communication dynamics.[v]

Participation Analysis

The audio data is analyzed from a baseline, that of participation frequency of each individual. This is done to exactly locate the number of turns a participant had in each discussion so as to locate participation trends overall.
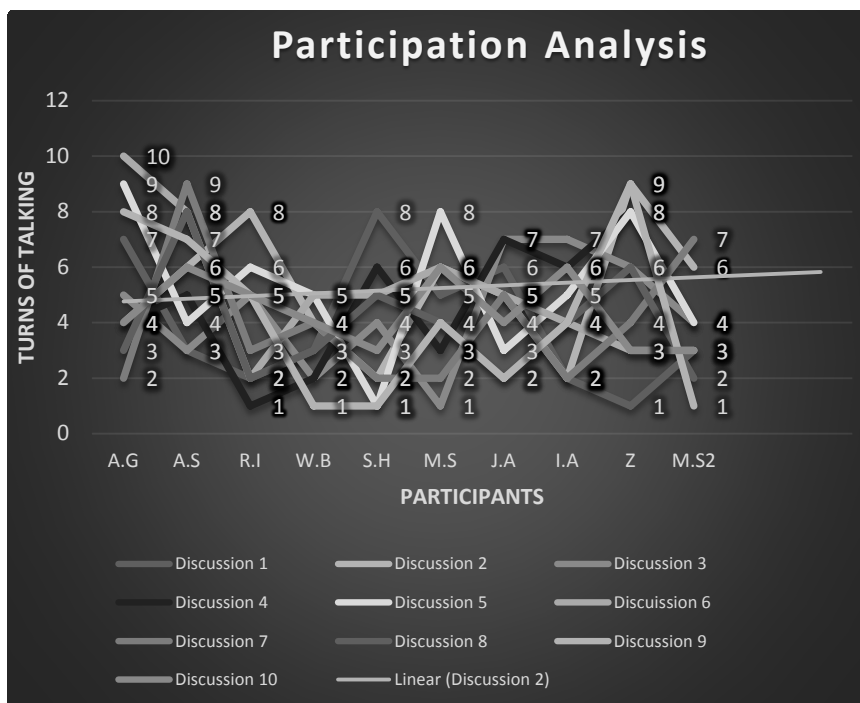
Figure 1: Participation Analysis of Group Discussions

When comparing these participation patterns, there appeared mixed trends. On the whole, all the participants showed mixed tendencies of participation, mainly due to the changing roles of a starter in each discussion and also due to the physical limitations and academic commitments.

Speech Functions Analysis

Moderator Skills

Moderator's skills involve various instances of participants' doing and initiate main moves during discussion. The Figure below (see Figure 2) shows the moderator skills employed by each participant in these discussions.
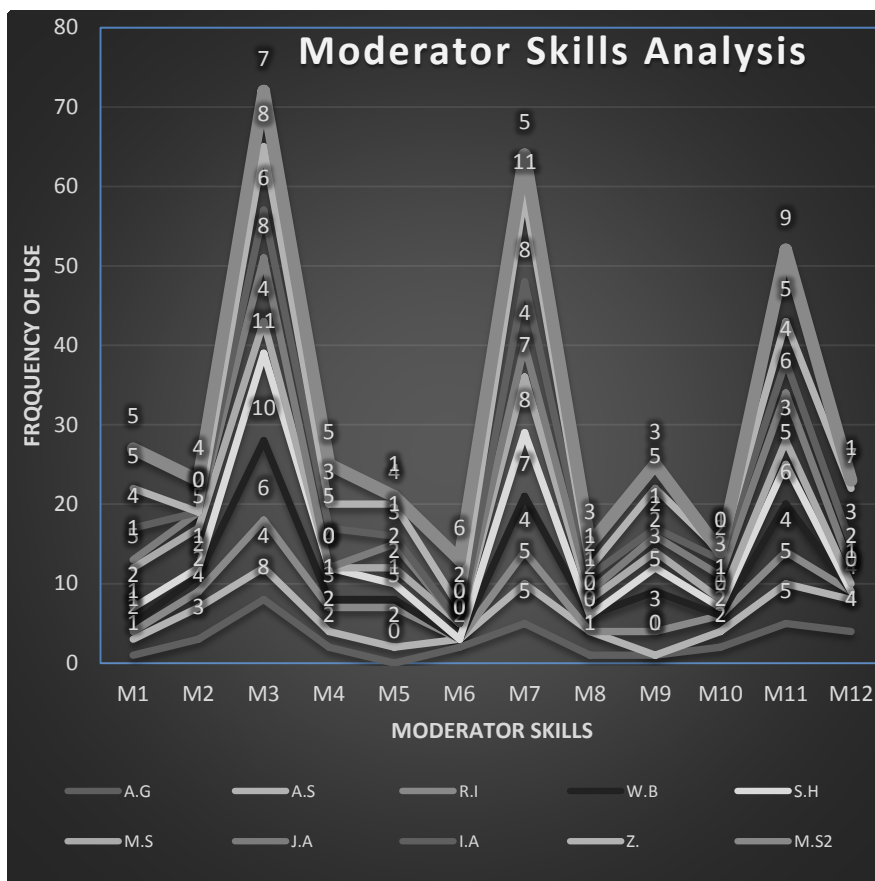
Figure 2: Moderator Skills Used by Participants

There are certain visible trends that need inspection. Among 12 moderator skills (see Figure 2) three skills appear to be used more often, namely

M3. Participant move conversation to a new topic (74 times)

M7. Participant provides an example (64 times)

M11. Participant asks for clarification (25 times)

These three skills precisely indicate the points where participants felt at ease, in terms of communication and comprehension. Now in such cases, an individual would like to resort to a medium of expression that provides a smooth chain of suitable words. Interestingly, these points were of sometimes complete and mostly partial bilingual mixing.

Social Skills

Social skills involve participants engaging in social acts while communication with others. The following Figure represents the data based on the social skills employed by participants in these discussions.
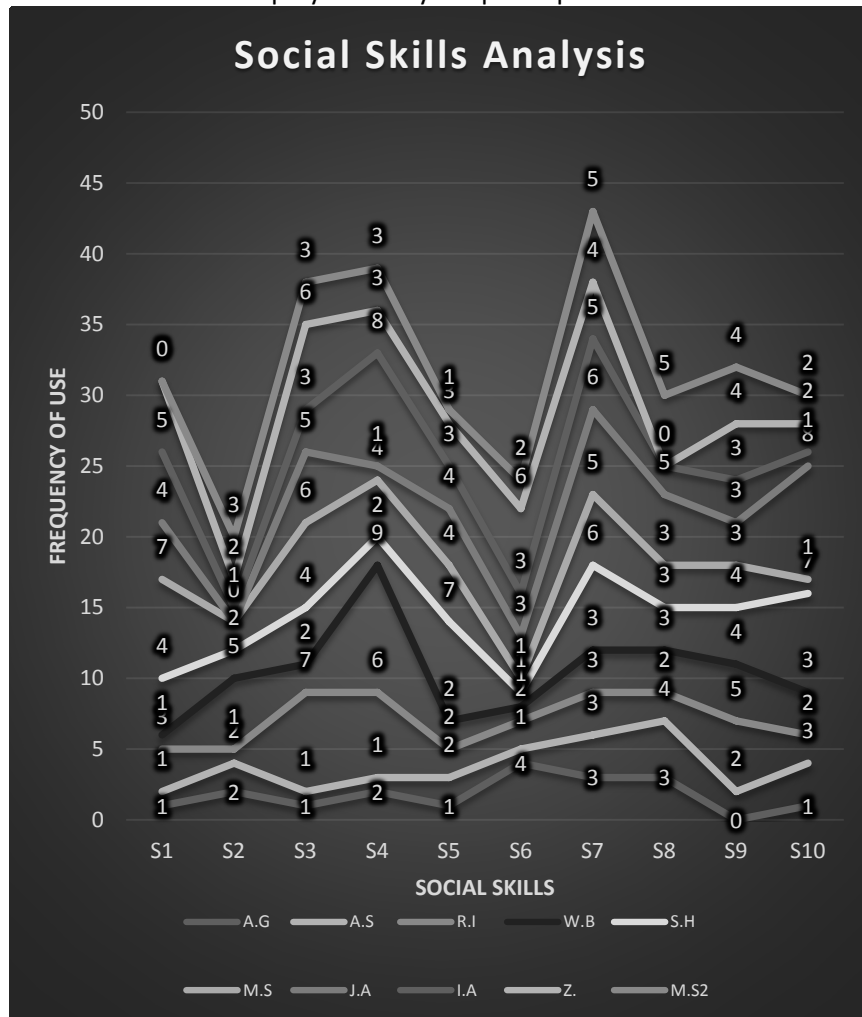

Figure 3: Social Skills used by Participants

Although most of these social skills were more or less used with a similar frequency, there were three social skills that came into use quite often:

S3. Participant completes other's unfinished utterances (41 times)

S4. Participant contradicts (42 times)

S.7 Participant jokes (41 times)

When it comes to voicing one's mind on any topic/theme, that is appealing and relevant to a speaker, the bilingual struggle is sure to surface, as L2, English in this research, would not suffice in expression and the need to switch to L1, Urdu, would be the utmost. Especially when it comes to differing from other's views, one is nearly desperate to get his/her message across to others.

Rhetorical Skills

Rhetorical skills are an essential component of communication. The following Figure represents the rhetorical skills employed by participants in these discussions.
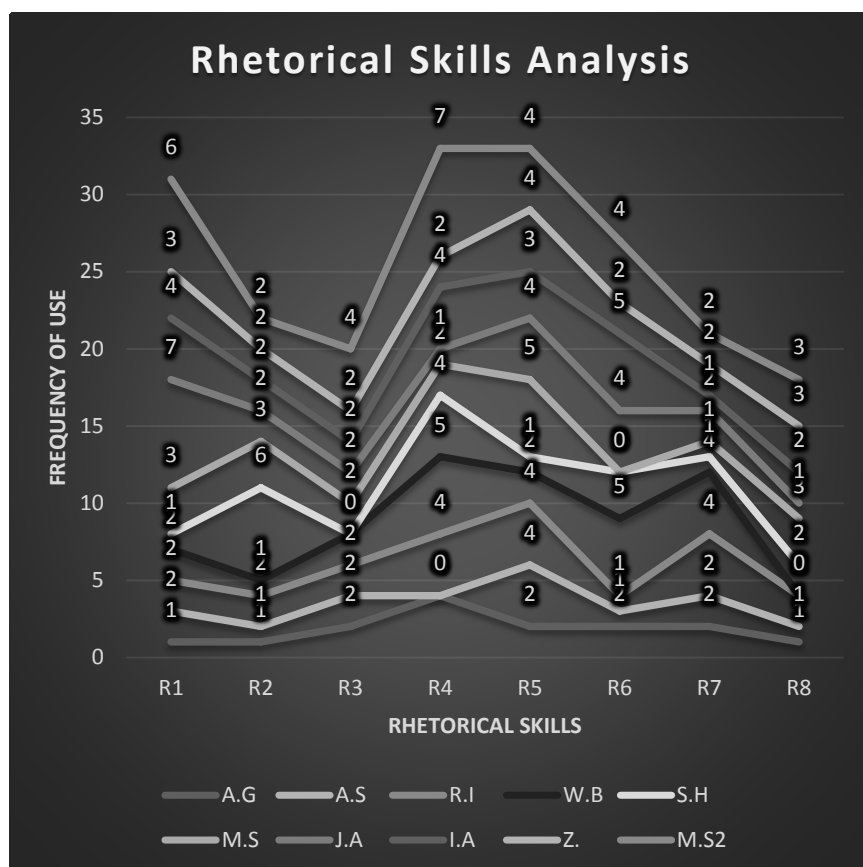

Figure 4: Rhetorical Skills used by Participants

More or less, all participants used these skills with similar tendencies. This was perhaps due to the fact that using these skills in one's speech involves deliberation, such as in stating generalizations, categorizing, defining, etc., which

meant less reliance on Urdu language for convenience sake. Here it is worthy to note that since all of the participants belonged to intermediate level of English language proficiency, so for them continuing communication in English involved deliberation, therefore more effort, already. Rhetorical skills involved more effort, which is visible in the trends represented in Figure 4.

Communication Strategies Analysis

This research makes use of Tarone's typology of communication strategies. Following is an overview of Tarone's typology implemented in participants' use of communication strategies.
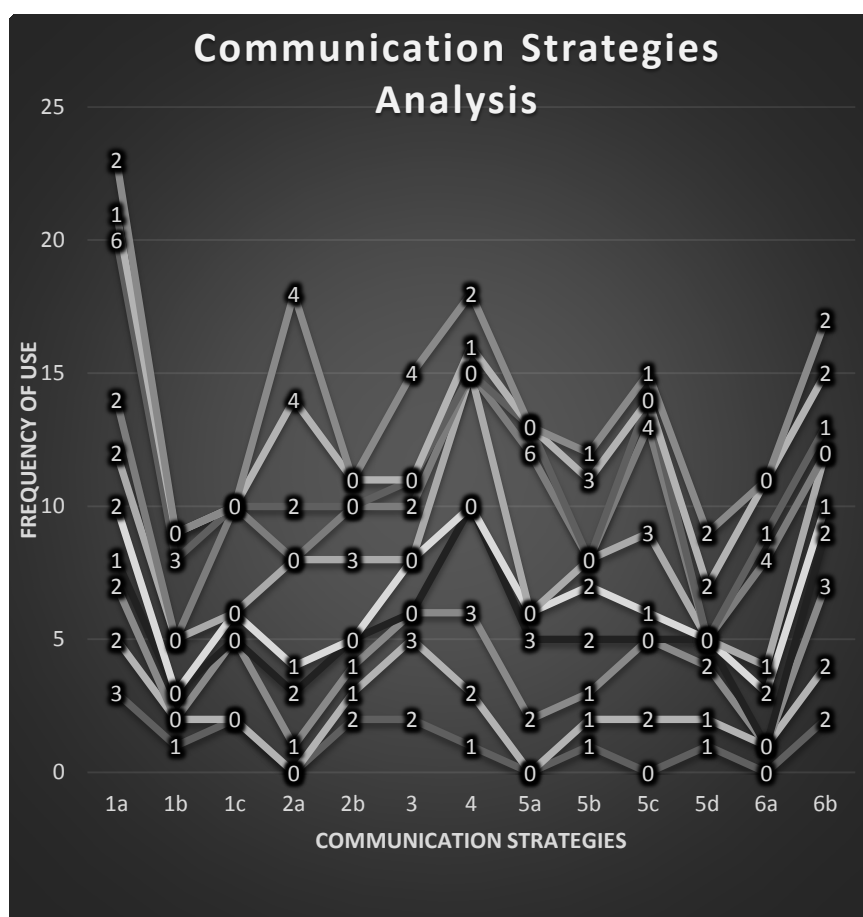

Figure 5: Communicative Strategies used by Participants

Discussion

The discussion flows on different levels, as it starts with a focus on cognitive aspects of these patterns, and further moves on to an analysis of linguistic and non-linguistic causes.

Distributed Cognition

Sharing the load of information, questions and resolution of a conflict is surely a collected work in group task. In this case, where the participants were engaged in group discussion on multi-dimensional themes (see Appendix 1); they did rely on each other for achieving a consensus of arguments. This trend is visible in the high trends of 2a (literal transfer) and 2b (language switch) in communication strategy analysis. Moreover, the analysis of social skills shows more use of S3 (Participant completes other's unfinished utterances), which is 41 times, in all discussions.

These figures indicate that in each discussion, there were natural pairing and/or grouping of participants (see S3 in Figure 3).This phenomenon has a very solid underpinning for the language choice. For instance, in discussion 10 (about Joint family system) the participants exhibited a lot of teamwork, in terms of ideas and viewpoints. This resulted in the conversation rapidly shifting between English and Urdu, mainly because the participants belonging to a similar standpoint would second each other. For instance, when the issue of "privacy" came in discussion, a couple of participants expressed themselves as:

W.B: I think, this is a very big issue ... (*after a short pause*) people in one house do not care about the privacy of others and keep interfering. (*it appeared from her face that she was finding it difficult to go on in English*) *... log har waqt nazar rakhtay hain k kon aa raha hay or kon jar aha hay ...* then they start commentary for weeks*.

Z.: Absolutely*, bilkul* ... most of the problems are caused because *... log samajhtay hain k jo koi ghar main aar aha hay woh un ka* concern *zaroor hay.*

These participants were slightly different in their communication patterns, since the start of discussion. Among these, Z. was relatively more fluent in his expression in English language. But surprisingly, his act of conforming to the arguments of W.B made him less fluent for a moment.

Another interesting discovery was the fact that most of the participants disagreed/contradicted with others in English language, not Urdu. This observation points to the fact that English language does carry the status of being used as a

language of assertion in bilingual situations. For achieving this aim, the participants' use/choice of English language is due to the status English language has retained in Pakistan i.e. language of power, media, etc.

Influential Aspects of Language on Thought

The analysis of the communication patterns of the participants points to the fact of certain aspects of language, both Urdu and English, influencing their cognitive as well as linguistic behavior. The strategies used and their frequency of occurrences is visible in Figure 5. The interpretation of these figures has been related to the possible linguistic and non-linguistic causes. Linguistic causes refer to the analysis of words, structure, grammar and meanings of a language, whereas non-linguistic causes include the embedded social elements in a language for example, culture, ethics/moral values, norms, etc.

The following interpretation is based on the finding of participants' use of moderator skills (see Figure 2), social skills (see Figure 3), rhetorical skills (see Figure 4) and communication strategies (see Figure 5).

Linguistic Causes

Since the participants had the liberty to use Urdu language wherever they deemed necessary, so a careful observation of the moments when these switches were made, revealed their possible causes.

Diction/ Word Analysis

All these talks were not pre-meditated rather they were genuinely extempore and they had some ideas generated on the spot, and a mind full of words, which had to be sorted for proper expression. It was evident that Urdu words were used in cases of approximations, appeal for assistance or even for avoiding a topic. Some words, for example, that were heard amidst fluent English talk were *shaistagi, haya, maza, sharam, mohala, tarjeehi bunyadon per, wuzu , naseeb,* etc. These words reflect certain notions that have their partial meanings in English, as "delicacy" for *shaistagi*, "on priority basis" for *tarjeehi bunyadon pay* and so on. But for terms like *maza, sharam* and *mohala,* the difficulty was absolute.

The word bank of Urdu language is composed of what Urdu speakers have available in the world around them. Like in this case, the participants have been falling back on the basic repository of Urdu words. Their constant search and preference for the "appropriate" word in L1 reflects their lack of trust in an

equivalent expression in L2. So if English language fails to provide a *satisfying* word for what Urdu speakers' experience the L1 word will take the priority.

Structural Analysis

The basic syntactic difference of Urdu and English languages was a major cause of many participants fumbling in their conversation and mixing sentence constructions, during a crucial point in a discussion. For instance, in a discussion about the issues of rehabilitation in our country (discussion 6) the following was heard:

I.A: ... whatever grant is received, it is eaten ... (*a pause/silence for a few seconds*)

(realizing that it was not responded to, he quickly switched to Urdu and said) … *yahan jo bhi grant milti ha , who kha pee lee jati hay* (this one stirred the people instantly)

Apart from such difficulty, there was another problem faced by many participants. It was the use of casual/informal idiosyncrasies which included such expressions, as *you know, you see! Look! Trust me*, etc. The discussions at hand revealed a dimension of choice of such forms in Urdu. In a normal Urdu conversation, there are many such structures that are frequented by a vast majority of its speakers, as *pata kia*! *Apko pata hay*! *Aik baat bataoon*! etc. These forms are similar to what are available in English with some exception such as *You know, tell you what* etc. The participants went for Urdu sentences for most of the circumlocutions and approximation (see Figure 5). This was a pertinent strategy with many when using the rhetorical skills (R2, R3, R4 and R7) (see Figure 6).

Non-Linguistic Causes

Whenever a language is analyzed, it has some visible elements, i.e. words, sounds, etc. and invisible items, i.e. culture, moral values, geography, politics, ethics etc. Moreover, this analysis also includes a sensitive issue of languages being easily mutually *translable* or not.

Cultural Analysis

There were a number of points where communication in English language was given up for Urdu language. Almost every discussion contained tinges of language switch/transfer, circumlocution, negation and agreement on the basis of some culture-specificity. Especially in talks about Joint family system, conditions of Muslims, there were constant mentions of dress codes, food items, some local notions of formality and informality in greetings. Although these terms did have

English elements, many participants considered them as, "dry", "boring",and , "colourless version".

Such linguistic behaviour does answer for the cultural preferences people make while trying to express their thoughts in a target language. They mostly do not "feel" the same richness of meaning in translation process. More interestingly, there was a huge amount of use of exclamations in Urdu, during these talks, such as

Meri tou jan he nikal ga'ee!

dil main ladoo phot rahay thay!

Moral Values

This was another sensitive issue that appeared prominent in the kind of words and expression the participants chose. The construction of certain sentences in Urdu reveals an amount of care being observed in making morally sound statements. The sanctity between family relations, the forms of celebrations and social relationships among genders are some of the main areas which get proper coverage in Urdu language, through its extensive use of honorific, terms denoting exponents of respect for others, in nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, etc.

Also the main difference between the expressions of moral values is the direct and indirect nature of communication, in English and Urdu respectively. Urdu, originally being language of the ruled, happens to be less direct in its tone which explains the verbose character of this language overall. On the contrary, English, being language of the rulers; of the British Empire and now the American empire; is subtly direct and plain in its general outlook and performance. It is not purported that in the given analysis English would be deemed *amoral* as compared to Urdu language. Instead it is supported that English language reflects exactly what its speakers observe morally in its daily lives. Their culture allows them to voice even sordid, obscene details and it is taken as normal and interpreted as knowledge accurately represented. On the contrary, Urdu language and hence the society it hails from, is full of polite, indirect and coated and even exaggerated expressions of all kinds of human experiences, both positive and negative.

Issues of Translability

The proposition is that Urdu language itself is replete with English terms and their number is increasing at a dangerous pace due to availability of English language in all media as well as in academics. This fact finishes the possibility of

any speaker attempting to translate English terms into Urdu. Now the difficulty arises when the conversation has to be in English mainly.

The difficulty of *translability* has three versions. Firstly, there is a lack of knowledge of English names of certain fruits, spices, vegeFigures, furniture etc. that are conveniently known in Urdu language, such as *adrak, haldi, char-pai*,etc. Secondly, there are English words which are commonly used as no-option translations of many Islamic practices such as *wuzu, dua karna, sajda karna,roza rakhna roza kholna*. These words, though commonly translated in English and used, are quite different from the real essence of meaning. Lastly there is a full range of words, idioms and expressions in Urdu that has not been translated in English, for good.

Conclusion

When observed in Pakistani ESL learners, the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis appeared quite differently from the original idea conceived by Sapir and Whorf. The cognitive processes in a bilingual brain have proved to be exhibiting an array of strategies in communication. Especially the analyses through Long's Embryonic Category system (see 4.2.1) and Tarone's typology of communication strategies (see 4.2.2) have been quite revealing. These patterns do have linguistic causes (see 4.4.3) that pertain to the physical components of Urdu and English languages, and non-linguistic causes (see 4.4.4) that refer to those invisible elements that have a great bearing on the way bilinguals operate between two language systems.

A major concern of the present inquiry was whether bilinguals carry separate semantic and conceptual store for separate languages, or they have a mutually shared store of concepts for both languages in their cognition. This received mixed trends, showing both possibilities at different points in time. There were moments when it was clear that a speaker was comfortably moving between two "storehouses" of languages. But there were also situations when a speaker was appearing entangled in sorting proper words for proper moment, from a shared store perhaps.

Although most of the communication strategies and skills reflected that a bilingual speaker tends to exist in two modes of languages, that are of Urdu and English languages, at the same time, and when faced with any conceptual, semantic or lexical difficulty, s/he would switch to the convenient language for fluency sake. The difficulty to find pattern in this irregular behavior was multiplied due to the presence of English words in Urdu at large. So if a speaker would switch from English to Urdu, the change would be visible. But if the same individual would start mixing the two then, it would be hard to name the language of conversation.

Such a language would either appear the natural Urdu or an English with lot of Urdu words mixed with it.

During the analysis, it was evident that speakers would choose to continue in Urdu language, fully or partially, for some very peculiar reasons mostly. Primarily, the socio-cultural content of a language is exclusively relevant to its speakers. Any attempt to translate or even transliterate such content results in alienation and elimination of the real essence of that culture, ethics and norms. This discovery is exactly in line with Whorf who called language as "a cultural lens". So whoever tries to master any language has to see through this cultural lens, to fully understand that linguistic relativity is in fact cultural relativity, which means that each language partially represents the worldview to its speakers. These languages try to describe the same world from different geographical and societal positions. This incompleteness is natural and is owing to the fact the speakers of that language observe a culture that is observed in a limited locale. Language is invariably a bi-product of a culture that, in turn, is a product of cognitive processes of its people.

This anatomy explains the full breadth of SWH of linguistic relativity and determinism, and its delicate strands appear more vividly after it is investigated on Pakistani bilingual ESL learners. Here it is significant to mention that learning English language did bring certain changes in the way the participants made certain points. The "directness" that English language offers by virtue of its origin and current status in the world, renders a great deal of influence on its speakers. Moreover, with United States of American, as a super power in the past four decades, English language retained its status as language of the powerful. Hence it continues to rule most of the world media, business, education, etc. This, in turn, explains an ever increasing social worth and prestige attached with this language. In brief, English language is used for engaging in achieving higher aims of communication, persuasion and/or assertion. It is also rendered a more formal, decent and serious mode of communication. It was interesting to observe that, in OtO interviews, most of the speakers admitted that learning English language gave them confidence and courage to talk in front of other. Despite the fact that the participants were flawless in their L1 Urdu; they attributed attainment of confidence to their use of English language.

Recommendations

It is because of the neglect of this issue that Urdu speakers do not take pride in being Urdu speakers. Their fancies are glued to English language, due to its socio-political status. The sheer absence/invisibility or slow pace of the development makes Urdu appears as an orthodox language, portraying values that are not updated. To Urdu speakers, like hundreds of other world languages,

English language is an indispensable reality, for it exists in almost every emerging gadget, technology, global trend, research, publication, etc. This does not imply that Urdu language is not progressing because of its values and cultural element. Just that Urdu language needs to be made available/offered to its speakers in all they have to do in today's world.

The need of the hour is to wake up to the urgency of identifying, containing and bringing to life the real content of Urdu language. This step is of paramount value in maintaining socio-cultural identity of a nation, as a whole. Currently, the norms, values, discursive practices and hence linguistic behavior of its speakers, are at stake, for the insurgence of English language has increased in recent years. It has clearly appeared in the linguistic conduct of the participants in this research. For them, Urdu language, though most convenient, does not rank higher than English language when it comes to social acceptability. In the face of such a situation, the efforts have to be accelerated for bringing Urdu language out of shadowy existence in our T.V stations, radio channels, newspapers, products, notices, offices and, most importantly, in our medium of instruction in the academics. It may appear as tough as going against the flow, but many countries have survived and so can we. It will require serious commitment, intellectual positivity and faith in our culture, our values, our language and us. These endeavors are not only for saving our language, but also preserving culture, moral values and norms. The survival of any language connotes survival of these too, which are the lifeline of any community.

Endnotes

[i] On one hand, in Plato's (427-347 BC) philosophy, language was subordinate to the primary existence of ideas. Similarly Augustinus (354-430) concluded "I exist because I am thinking" and later Descartes (1596-1650) came up with "lingua interna", language within the inner mind, and he continued to impact on medieval philosophy, with its focus on universals (Cottingham, 1986).   Later in time, with these philosophical strands, the huge research program on linguistic universals (Chomsky, 1995) emphasized the dependence of language on biological and cognitive constraints.

[ii] On the other hand, the reverse argument that language influences and shapes our cognitive operations may be traced back to Aristotle (384-322 BC). This position that is now commonly known as linguistic relativity was vividly articulated by Humboldt (1767-1835). Herder (1744-1803) also stressed on the issue of language altering experience and thought of its user. He suggested the deterministic capacity of language for thoughts.

[iii]These were some general guidelines for these discussions:

   i.   The researcher was present as one of the participants.
  ii.   Discussions were in a chain format with newer dimensions added and repetition avoided.
 iii.   Each participant had the liberty to speak his/her mind.
 iv.   Turn- taking was observed, so to give everybody due space.
  v.   Bilingual interplay (between Urdu and English) was permitted. It was a license, participants were asked to use carefully and honestly.
 vi.   Controversy, gender bias, political tilt, ethnicity and religious orientation, etc. were avoided.

[iv]Long's Embryonic Category System is based on the work of Barnes and Todd (1995), which looks at "a stretch of continuous discourse produced by students working free from teacher's control". For the present research, it has been adapted, where the first category of pedagogical skills has been adapted as moderator's skills, since there was no teacher-taught situation. The second category concerns different social skills employed by the participants in the whole process of talks. The last category, rhetorical skills, looks at the cognitive and logical processes of students during discussion (See Appendix 1).

[v] This typology covers major aspects of communication processes like paraphrase, language switch, etc. Yet there were two more communication practices that were observed by the researcher in the research process, that is repetition and topic shift. In order to analyse these, Chen's (1990) "repetition strategy" is included, which regards repetition as a mode of facilitation to cognition, during discourse. Moreover, Richard & Schmidt's (1983) "topic shift" is also included, which denotes shifting of topic as a means to multiple aims in communication process (See Appendix 1).

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Appendix 1

Moderator's Skills

M1.   Participant initiates discussion
M2.   Participant focuses discussion
M3.   Participant moves conversation to a new topic
M4.   Participant qualifies another person's contribution
M5.   Participant implicitly accepts a qualification
M6.   Participant extends a previous contribution
M7.   Participant provides an example
M8.   Participant uses evidence to challenge an assertion
M9.   Participant asks for information
 M10.   Participant gives information on request
M11.   Participant asks for clarification
M12.   Participant clarifies

Social Skills

S 1.   Participant competes for the floor
S 2.   Participant interrupts
S 3.   Participant completes other's unfinished utterances
S 4.   Participant contradicts
S 5.   Participant explicitly expresses agreement
S 6.   Participant explicitly expresses disagreement
S 7.   Participant jokes
S 8.   Participant avoids discussion
S 9.   Participant repeats others' points
S 10.   Participant confirms

Rhetorical Skills

R 1.   Participant makes an observation
R 2.   Participant deduces
R 3.   Participant induces
R 4.   Participant states generalization
R 5.   Participant defines
R 6.   Participant negates
R 7.   Participant expresses cause and effect relationship
R 8.   Participant categorizes

Communication Strategies

1) -
   a) Paraphrase
   b) Approximation
   c) Word coinage
2) -
   a) Circumlocution
   b) Transfer
3) Literal transfer
4) Language switch
5) -
   a) Appeal for assistance
   b) Mime/ Gesture
   c) Avoidance
   d) Topic avoidance
6) –
   a) Topic shift
   b) Passing turns to others

Appendix 2

Themes

Discussion	Prompt/Cue	Theme
1	An Urdu Inspirational SMS	General Human deviations and fallacies
2	A Newsflash (English) (Print)	Drone Attacks in Pakistan
3	A Newsflash (Urdu) (Web)	Waziristan Issues
4	Urdu Poetry	Condition of Muslims these days
5	A Newsflash (Urdu)(Print)	Suicide Bombing in Pakistan
6	A Picture	The science of rehabilitation
7	A Funny SMS	SMS fever among youth
8	An English Article	The continued unrest in Pakistan
9	A Video Clip showing different restaurants filled with people	Eating Out
10	A Video Clip of a drama (showing a joint family environment)	Problems and Privileges of joint family system