Editorial Board Balochistan Journal of Linguistics

Advisory Board Balochistan Journal of Linguistics

Guidelines for Authors

Balochistan Journal of Linguistics is a journal published annually by the Department of English Language and Linguistics, Lasbela University, Uthal Balochistan. It accepts papers for consideration on any aspect of theoretical and applied linguistics. The authors are requested to send their papers according to the following guidelines.

I. **All manuscripts in English should follow the following format:**

The first page should contain title; author(s)'s name(s), affiliation, E-mail address; and abstract of 150-350 words, followed by three to five key words, main text, acknowledgment, endnotes, and references in subsequent pages. Key words should be given in italics.

II. **Manuscripts in English should use the following style for headings and subheadings:**

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The main heading should be written bold in font size 14. All other headings should be written bold in font size 12. DONOT underline any headings at all.

III. Tables, figures, and maps should have headings and be numbered consecutively and should be clearly presented. Notes and sources should be placed under each table and figure. Photo will be treated as figures.

Format

Use Letter size paper with Times New Roman writing style font size 12 for the main text with line spacing 1.5 and 10 for the abstract with 1.15line spacing. Left margin should be 3.5 but all other margins should be 2.5 mm. Tables and figures should not be split on two pages.

Other requirements

Give one paragraph introduction of all authors in five to seven sentences (for each author) describing their educational background and research achievements in a separate file. But do not use hyperlinks.

Plagiarism

Authors should submit similarity index along with the manuscripts of the papers. They are also required to submit an affidavit declaring that the material in the paper is their own and it has not already been published. Quotes should be properly acknowledged.

References

1) Use APA style of referencing.

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Contents

EXPLORING THE STRATEGIES USED BY LANGUAGE TEACHERS FOR URDU AND ENGLISH WRITING INSTRUCTION

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ABSTRACT: Writing skills hold a significant place in education; requiring years of schooling and proper training to be achieved by students. Urdu and English, regardless of being the medium of Pakistani education system and writing in these languages is inevitable, students go through troubles in developing a coherent piece of writing in either of the languages. There is a general perception that in Pakistan writing pedagogy devalues students' creative and communicative abilities by means of memorization and over dependence on teachers and books. This study explored teaching strategies used by language teachers (Urdu and English) at secondary level in developing writing skills of students. Using survey design twelve in-service language teachers of Urdu and English in semi-government schools were interviewed. The semi- structured and open ended interviews were scheduled with individual teachers and lasted for about 30 minutes regarding their writing instruction strategies. The recorded data were transcribed and thematically analyzed and divided into sub-themes, such as; types of strategies teachers follow, common strategies used by English and Urdu teachers, pedagogical strategies specific to Urdu and English teachers, language teachers' understanding and knowledge of writing pedagogy. The results revealed that Urdu and English language teachers are equally unaware of effective and standard strategies for developing writing skills of their students. Their writing instruction indicated lack of conscious planning for different stages of the writing instruction, absence of authentic writing tasks, and insufficient writing practice for learners. The study concludes with pedagogical recommendations that would be based on strategic and systematic writing instruction that caters to learners' needs.

Keywords: Traditional teaching method, Grammar translation method, Product approach, Communicative language teaching, Integrative approach.

1. Introduction

Urdu and English languages are taught simultaneously as part of the national curriculum in Pakistan where Urdu(L1) is the national language and acts as the local lingua franca for communication across different ethnic groups comprising the linguistic landscape of the country, and English(L2) as the international lingua franca. There are several commonalities in the way these two languages are taught and learnt beside their parallel introduction in the educational system. From the importance and need attached to the language education to the expertise and methods used to organize this activity, and from the attitude of the learners and other stakeholders to the

outcomes achieved at the completion of the entire undertaking, both Urdu and English languages offer similar patterns for applied linguists and others who are interested in studying the language education phenomenon especially with respect to Urdu and English.

Language education in Pakistan has been struggling to a great extent with the problems including a general lack of interest and awareness about its importance and scope, dearth of qualified teachers, outdated pedagogy that centers on content based instruction rather than treating language as a skill. Consequently, making dependent learners with zero motivation, lack of language awareness, confidence, ownership and creativity in both productive and receptive language skills. Considering the weaknesses in local education Mustafa (2011) calls for a 'sensible language policy and of enlightened education overall' while lamenting sixty years of neglect of language education, a situation, which she strongly believes, is affecting every aspect of Pakistani life.

Among four basic language skills, writing skill plays a crucial part for the three out of four skills, i.e. listening, reading, and writing are assessed through the medium of writing. Writing constitutes an essential component of early literacy development, literacy education, language arts and language education. To students, in academic settings, writing at the sentence and discourse level comprises core skill for conveying knowledge and ideas; and for professionals it acts as an instrument for their workplace communication and professional development (Crossley, 2013). Beside, being perceived as an indicator toward an individual's language proficiency, writing is also realized as knowledge construction within the academic contexts (Ryhshina & Byrnes, 2013). Paradoxically writing is the most neglected aspect of the education and language learning be it any native language, Urdu or English. It is a

very common observation that most native languages that people acquired, as they were growing up, are limited to merely speaking with very few capable of reading the script or writing in that language (Mumtaz, 2014).

Another significant challenge is added when the languages taught at schools are not spoken at home (Chen & Harris, 2009) or the children who are taught writing as part of literacy development come from parents, who did not receive education themselves. Consequently, there is a greater chance that writing skills will not be sufficiently practiced outside school for adequate development. Moreover the rampant plagiarism across all education levels and the low number of research publications in reputed journals (Mushtaq, Abid & Qureshi, 2012) are also pointing towards problems arising due to inadequate writing development and training.

Therefore, writing being a complex phenomenon (Flower & Hayes, 1981) and being indispensable in any language education, calls for intensive training and proper teaching through such writing activities which demand active engagement of students in order to nurture among students self -assurance and love for writing in both L1 and L2 (Freeman & Freeman, 2006) which would help them improve their writing skills. However, Pakistani education system writing religiously follow traditional practices that fosters demotivation, an easy way out attitude among learners, and the inadequate understanding of language skills that inhibits their expression through writing (Ahmad et.al, 2011; Khan, 2011; Warsi, 2004).

The current study sets out to reconnoiter the language instruction strategies that are prevalent in state-owned schools and to vouch for a holistic writing instructional model benefiting both learner and teacher at length in catering to the needs of language learners across the country; an instructional technique that should bring about active learning, increase students' engagement and collaborative learning

in classroom to ensure success in developing writing skills in Urdu and English respectively.

2. Research Questions

The study answered the following research questions:

1. Which teaching writing strategies do the secondary school language teachers (Urdu and English) employ for developing writing skills among students of class VI - VIII?

2. To what extent, language teachers have the knowledge and understanding of various teaching writing approaches?

3. Literature Review

L2 writing pedagogy began in the late 1950s and the early 1960s to cater to the needs of students who did not have English as their first language. The field focused on teaching writing in L2 to ESL students who enrolled in North America for higher studies (Jun, 2008). Since then the writing pedagogy has received attention of many researcher. Some researchers have asserted that there is a difference in the L1 and L2 writing theories on psycholinguistic and pragmatic basis (Johns, 1986; Santos, 1992) whereas others have pointed out the similarity of issues in both L1 and L2 writing instruction (Jacobs, 1982). On one hand, Silva (1990) has opined that L1 and L2 writing composition processes differ to a great extent. However, there have been studies concluding that L1 and L2 writing strategies are not only similar (Berman, 1994) but students usually transfer their L1 writing strategies into L2 writing processes (Matsumoto, 1995).

Writing in second language (L2) has always been investigated through writing theories in the first language (L1); mainly by means of process and product (traditional) approaches to teaching writing since 1980s (Dyer, 1996). On one hand,

language scholars posited the view that complications in writing faced by language learners in L1 and L2 compositions are identical (Jacobs 1982). On the other hand, linguists have emphasized greatly over the view that writing in L1 and L2 differ on psycholinguistic, cognitive, social, and philosophical basis (Silva &Matsuda, 2001; Santos 1992; Johns 1995; Flower & Hayes, 1981). It is important to study L1 and L2 writing processes and products to explain what it takes to write successfully and effectively (see Uzawa, 2002) since first language acquisition processes and competence are transferred to the second language as pointed out by Connor (1996),who discussed the role of first language on the second language usage particularly second language writing, and Wolfersberger (2003) who recommended L2 writing instructors to help their students in discovering their existing writing strategies in L1 and L2. Likewise, Keck (2006) and DeLarios, Marin and Murphy (2002) traced commonalities in LI and L2 writers; and Beare (2000) concluded that bilingual writers use similar strategies for L1 and L2 writing.

Teachers, in a writing class, are required to use some strategies to develop writing skills of the learners. Their chosen instructional strategy is presumably based on some language methodology or approach such as the product and process approaches, communicative language teaching methodology, genre and process genre approaches which are briefly described here.

3.1. Product Approach to Teaching Writing: The focus of product approach is on the end result of students' writing. Students are provided with standard writing guides by the teachers which they have to strictly follow, making it a teacher-centred approach (Badger and White, 2000; Brakus, 2003). According to Raimes (1983), the teachers following this approach first assign a writing task to students, then collect the written pieces, and finally return the writings to the students after assessing for errors.

The product approach, also called "the current traditional rhetoric" (Matsuda, 2003) focuses more on error correction, and has been criticized on this ground as being a demotivational approach. Also, the product approach aims at students producing a perfect first draft by following the mechanics of a standard writing piece, which is not realistic (Onozawa, 2010). The criticisms against product approach led to its replacement by process approach to teaching writing.

3.2. Process Approach to Teaching Writing: The process approach focuses on the construction of text, following certain steps, rather than the final product of writing. It helps students in thinking, and is therefore considered a student centred approach, as students easily grasp the process of writing (Hyland, 2003). The writing process has four stages, where students do some prewriting, write a draft, revise it, and finally edit it (Tribble, 1996). As students revise their writings based on the received feedback, they produce multiple drafts (Yan 2005; Nordin& Mohammad, 2006; Onozawa 2010). Nunan (1991) has mentioned another benefit of the approach, as it increases the amount of interaction in classroom, which in turn helps students develop better language skills. Further, the approach requires students to produce multiple drafts of writing, which is not possible during an academic exam due to time constraints (Horowitz, 1986).

3.3. CLT Approach to Teaching Writing: Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) is an approach based on Vygotskian notion of "Zone of Proximal Development" which believes that students can learn more through communication and interaction. There have been numerous studies highlighting the benefits of collaborative writing (e.g., Storch, 2005; Kessler, 2009; Elola&Oskoz, 2010; Kessler &Bikowski, 2010). It has also been shown that writing through collaboration can improve writing abilities in not only L1, but L2 contexts as well (Storch, 2005).

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Students get a chance to learn more through collaboration, as they cooperate with each other with the help of all four language skills (Harmer, 1991). Students help each other in their weaker areas, and thus learn and improve their writing skills (Hirvela, 1999).

3.4. Genre Approach to Teaching Writing: Genres classify the various academic or literary texts according to their use within a specific context (Hammmond & Derewianka, 2001) by a speech community (Sabouri, Zohrabi&Vafa, 2014). The genre approach to writing has been termed "English for Academic Purpose Approach" (Silva, 1990, pp. 16-17) and "English for Specific Purpose Approach" (Dudley-Evans, 1997, pp. 151-152) as there is a great emphasis on socially constructed writing in both the approaches. According to Cope and Kalantzis (1993), genre approach involves modeling of genre, teacher and students reproducing the genre model, and lastly, each student writing his own piece. But criticism has been raised against the approach, as it does not give any importance to the process of writing, hence making students passive learners (Badger & White, 2000).

3.5. The Process-Genre Approach to Teaching Writing: The varying approaches to teaching writing highlighted the need of an eclectic approach that would integrate effective pedagogies from product, process, and genre approaches to writing (Badger & White, 2000). The process-genre approach is one such approach which fills the gap in all the three approaches. The best methodologies are taken from product, process, and genre approaches, and are adapted according to the needs of learners (Badger & White, 2000). Teachers employing process-genre approach are more often facilitators than guides, and help students in using their own understanding of language and structure to draft their writings. These students are encouraged to write multiple drafts in order to come up with an appropriate socially constructed text.

Hillocks between 1984 and 1986 went for analysis of more than 500 experimental studies in L1 writing pedagogy done in 1963-1982 and concluded three possible ways in which learners' writing skills can be improved. First, duration of instruction, mode of instruction, and focus of instruction. It is commonly viewed that since writing skills development is comparatively slower process than speaking, therefore it requires huge amount of time on the part of instruction and learner (Burton, 1973). Hillocks, on the contrary established from his analysis that the quality instruction can bring improvement in the writing skills of language learners.

Thus, Hillocks classified modes of instruction into four categories: presentational mode, natural process mode, environmental mode, and individualized mode. The presentational mode can be best explained as a product approach to writing pedagogy emphasizing over the imitation of teacher provided samples to the passive recipients. The natural process mode reflects process approach to teaching writing where students produce multiple drafts after getting peer reviews on their write ups. Individualized mode fosters individual and independent learning on the part of the learner. Finally, environmental mode follows process- genre approach where instructions are structured around clear objectives, student interaction, peer reviewed multiple drafts, and overt teaching and assessment criterion.

Hillocks examination included the focus of instruction as a viable variable. It includes various classroom based writing activities, such as; grammar and mechanics, analyzing models, sentence combining, and working with rubrics (established criterion against which students assess theirs as well as their peer's written drafts).

4.   Methodology

This exploratory study uses interpretive study method to collect information from language teachers of grade VI - VIII at state owned schools in Karachi to answer

the posed research questions. The selection of the state owned schools was made on two reasons. First, the access and convenience of data collection that involved interviews with teachers. Second, the state owned schools are prestigious and leading institutes that follow uniform curriculum across Pakistan. For data collection, all teachers who were teaching English and Urdu course to classes VI - VIII at two state owned schools were interviewed. The study was limited to VI - VIII grades only since it is assumed that being the significant years of school education before high-stakes board exam years, investigation of writing pedagogy followed by language teachers would allow valuable insights into the writing instruction practices at state owned schools.

Since the study was set to reconnoitre the writing practices of state owned schools of Karachi, the semi structured interviews were scheduled with the language teachers (Urdu & English) of classes VI – VIII to answer the posed research questions. The interview protocols were observed during the interview including; prior consent, significant details of the study, and the assurance of anonymity and confidentiality of the participants.

Using personal contacts to gain access to teachers in schools, after formal consent with school and teachers, appointments were sought. The interviewers were the second and third author of this study, who had adequate and conscious training in conducting interviews based on formal training in research methods. The interviewers also maintained a shared list of do's and don'ts at the start of the study. The stages of interviews ensured interwoven ideas about respect and concern for the participant, creating a fear free environment by explaining to them at the very outset the purpose of the study , telling them they can withdraw or finish at any point during the interview, choice to be recorded or not. Each interview was thirty minutes long with

20 minutes recording time. The interviews were conducted in L1& L2 both. Every question after being asked in English was translated in Urdu for English teachers and Urdu teachers respectively. The recorded data was transcribed and coded around the themes. Thematic analysis of the obtained data was followed by logical and matrix analyses to compare the trends across L1 and L2.

5. Findings and Discussion

The data collected from the analysis of teachers-interview was analyzed thematically. The themes were derived from the review of literature and the data collected explained the on-going writing practices. The major themes include; writing skills and strategies targeted, writing activities or tasks focused during writing instruction, and language teachers' understanding and knowledge of writing pedagogy. The findings and interpretation of the analyses are presented below, and have been organized under the two questions raised in this study.

1. *Which teaching writing strategies do the secondary school language teachers (Urdu and English) employ for developing writing skills among students?*

The thematic analysis of the interview brought out three themes: writing skills and strategies targeted, writing activities or tasks focused during writing instruction, and language teachers' understanding and knowledge of writing pedagogy. The most notable finding of the interview data is that both English and Urdu language teachers acknowledge the significance of developing writing skills among students for future prospects, however these teachers were resistant in trusting students with their writing skills. Consequently, students are made to copy the answers provided to them by the teacher. These findings endorse the observations about Language Teaching in Pakistan which is still an activity undertaken using a traditional and content- based

approach since the Pakistani students are required to score in final exam. The analysis of data reveals that very little opportunity for students to practice and develop advanced writing skills.

Kausar (2010) argued that Pakistani teachers "struggle with large group of learners to cover the content with few textbooks or resources to help them with little reward or recognition" (256). During this struggle, language teachers, owing to the scarcity of time, opportunity, and the cooperative learning environment, remain neglected about learners' needs and their capabilities. "Teachers rely on Lecture Method and as a result students depend upon memorization to pass the examinations. There is no peer-group discussion or student-teacher interaction which could help construct a conducive environment where actual learning can take place" (Kausar, 2010, p 256).

Table 1: Thematic Analysis Findings

Themes	Urdu (L1)	English (L2)
Language skills targeted	Reading comprehension so that students can read, memorize, and then reproduce (write) the answer (N=6)	Speaking and writing skills are focused (N=6)
Elements of writing focused	Parts of speech and sentence structure (N=6) and handwriting (N=1)	Parts of speech and sentence structure, and grammar (N=6)
Instructional strategy	Copy answers from board and books, memorize definitions, and grammatical structures are taught deductively (N=6)	Copy answers from board and books, memorize definitions, and grammatical structures are taught deductively (N=4) Pre and post reading activities along with writing to prompt type activities with a greater emphasis on vocabulary building as well (N=1)
Problems faced by	Curriculum (N=6), Incompetence of students	Curriculum (N=4)

language teachers	(N=2), administrative pressures (N=4)	Incompetence of students (N=4), administrative pressures (N=2)
Sources utilized	Course Books (N=6)	Internet (N=1), self- made handouts (N=1), YouTube tutorials (N=1), Course Books (N=3)

On account of Teachers' responses, it would not be erroneous to state that the traditional teaching methodology, these teachers follow limit them to adhere to the prescribed books which are timeworn and do not align with the current requirements of the students (Warsi, 2004). Also, the authentic material, claimed to be a necessity for language acquisition in both L1 and L2 in view of social learning theory and ZPD (Tomlinson, 2013) is missing in the language classrooms in Pakistani context. Warsi (2004) concluded that inefficient books, the traditional teaching methodology, the stale examination system, and focus on information retention are the root causes of backward education system in Pakistan.

2. *To what extent, language teachers have the knowledge and understanding of various teaching writing approaches?*

In order to answer this question the transcribed interview data was analyzed against the themes in the questions that appeared on the interview. The findings of the data are presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Demographic Profiles of language teachers

Subject	Participant Code	Qualification	Pre-Service Training	Teaching Experience	Teaching Methodology
Urdu (L1)	RR1	MA (Urdu)	✕	15	Deductive grammar
	RR2	MA (Urdu)	--	12	Traditional method
	RR3	MA (Urdu)	--	13	Traditional method
	APR1	MA (Urdu)	--	10	Traditional method
	APR2	MA (Urdu)	--	15	Traditional method

	APR3	MA (Urdu)	--	15 and above	Traditional method
	RR4	MA (English)	✗	10	Process and product approach
	RR5	MA (English)	--	12	Traditional method
English (L2)	RR6	MA (English)	--	15	Traditional method
	APR4	MA (English)	✗	15 and above	Process approach
	APR5	MA (English)	✗	10	Process and product approach
	APR6	MA (English)	✗	12	Traditional method

Findings of the study revealed that only 40% of the sample (i.e. secondary school language teachers of state owned schools) received pre-service training. Whereas, the teachers so far could not participate in in-service training. The findings of the study are in the line of study conducted by Bashiruddin and Qayyum (2014) on Pakistani English Teachers' profile concluded that there is a dearth of appropriate qualification in Pakistani teachers; attempts should be made to promote pre-service teacher education and on in-service teacher development.

RR2: *I did not get any formal training. I don't know about theories you are talking about. I love teaching English and I enjoy it. I don't follow any ideology …….Most of the time, I prepare my own material. I rarely take help from internet*

APR1: *I prepared myself for teaching writing in English through Montessori course in which language tools were taught to me, then in masters' in teachers' training . I used to prepare mostly my own material and definitely side by side through internet.*

RR1: *yes… yes…. I completed the entire course of Education… but there are some things in life that books cannot teach you…and I believe that my way of teaching guarantees success for my students [Translated]*

The results also highlight a marked difference between teaching methodologies adopted by teachers with pre-service training and teachers with no formal training. Teachers with pre-service training are more informed and structured than their counterparts, also they have an idealistic and optimistic attitude towards teaching learning process (Seo & Moon, 2013); serving as a motivation factor for such teachers against any odds they face in the course of their teaching.

Teachers in school in Pakistan still happen to be what Hargreaves calls the pre professional stage of teacher development when the educational system in most part of the world are moving towards what Hargreaves describes as the post-professionalism. Teachers are still struggling with large group of learners to cover the content with few textbooks or resources to help them with little reward or recognition (Kausar, 2010, p, 254)

6. Conclusion

The study intended plotting writing instruction at state owned schools through in depth study of two schools for approximation of the targeted writing skills' development among students of grades VI – VIII. In the line of the local studies language teaching (Urdu/English) is still happening under the traditional pedagogy. The writing practices, as conveyed by the interviewees, conform to the conventional methodology; lacking in communicative approach and language-skills focus, placing more emphasis on content based learning of language. Hence, writing instruction stressed on enabling students to know the content given in the textbook to be able to retain and reproduce in the final examination which clearly deviates from the way

writing instruction is explained in earlier works. A significant conclusion of the study is the fact that despite adequate in service teacher education, the teachers continue teaching through the old-fashioned ways and ignore their responsibility towards their students in not preparing them to brace the future language challenges, and towards the education department in not enabling them to induce desired academic changes through teacher development. Writing is a complex activity that requires critical cognitive skills in both L1 and L2. Writing, being complex in its core, demands teachers to be more creative and eclectic in their approach, i.e. they should not limit their teaching practices to one factor alone. They should relatively understand, analyze, synthesize, and criticize the theory or the method considering the context before implementation in their writing classrooms (IPEK, 2009).

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CODE-MIXING AND CODE-SWITCHING IN EFL/ESL CONTEXT: A SOCIOLINGUISTICS APPROACH

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ABSTRACT: Language and society are closely connected and cannot be separated as each has considerable impact on the other. Languages impact each other when they are in contact therefore variation or change in a language is a natural consequence. Code-mixing and code-switching are the consequent phenomenon of language contact and a marked feature of a multilingual society. The research related to the significant linguistic phenomenon, code-switching and code-mixing (hereafter CM and CS), has focused dominantly on two main aspects as its focus. The first is functional orientation towards CM and CS which aims to focus on the sociolinguistic perspective with its prime focus on the contexts of CM and CS. The other is theoretical orientation which focuses on the structural aspect of CM and CS and their types etc. Among multitude of these, the questions related to the reasons, motivations, functions of CM and CS as well as the attitude towards particular code have been of particular interest for sociolinguists. Providing a brief overview of the historical foundation of code-mixing and code-switching research, the present study thematically reviews the studies related to one of these questions i.e. the motivations that trigger CM and CS and the functions fulfilled by them in EFL/ESL context. The review of the previous research informs that there are social and socio-psychological motivations that trigger CM and CS; and many functions are served when they are employed as a linguistic resource and strategy.

Keywords: Code-switching, Code-mixing, EFL, ESL, Message-intrinsic factors, Motivations, Sociolinguistic

1. Introduction

"Language is vital to understanding of a society and the promotion of that society" (Sultana, 2009: 89). Languages have great impact on each other when they are in contact therefore variation or change in a language is a natural consequence. Code-mixing (CM) and code-switching (CS) are the consequent phenomenon of language contact and a marked feature of a multilingual society. Mushtaq and Zahra (2012) pointed out that "code-hybridization" is a significant phenomenon and a "natural by-product of language interaction and evolution". Code-switching and code-mixing have been researched by linguists, sociolinguists and psycholinguists who view this phenomenon with their respective lenses.

Research in CS and CM has focused dominantly on sociolinguistic and grammatical perspectives (Ge, 2007; Bokamba, 1988). Bokamba (1988) has reported that the research related to code-switching and code-mixing can be categorized into functional and theoretical studies. The functional studies focus on the sociolinguistic perspective with its prime focus on the contexts of CM and CS. The theoretical studies focus on the structural aspect of CM and CS and their types etc. The questions

related to the reasons, motivations, functions of CM and CS as well as the attitude towards particular code has been of particular interest for sociolinguists. Where linguists would focus on the structure of code-switched items, sociolinguists will be more interested to probe functions of code-switching. The present study aims to focus sociolinguistic perspective particularly functions and motivations for CM and CS in EFL/ESL context.

Before a detailed discussion on motivations behind CM and CS from sociolinguistics perspective, a brief look at the ways the terms code-mixing and code-switching have been defined by scholars is important. These terms are used synonymously by some researchers (Gumperz 1982, Myers-Scotton 1993a), but some view the two distinctly (Bokamba, 1989; Kamwangamalu, 1992; Sridhar & Sridhar, 1980). Bokamba (1989) distinguishes the two as CS at inter-sentential and CM at intra-sentential level. Ritchie and Bhatia (2013) agree with Bokamba as they also believe that CM refers to "the mixing of various linguistic units (morphemes, words, modifiers, phrases, clauses, and sentences) primarily from two participating grammatical systems within a sentence" (Bhatia & Ritchie, 2013, p.376). Halmari (2004) views CM mixing of two codes at any level, as he defined it that "the mixing of two or more languages within the same conversational episode" (p.115) or "in the same discourse" (Nunan & Carter, 2001, p.59). According to Gumperz (1982) it is "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems" (p.59). As CM is an attribute specific of bilinguals, CS is also viewed as an attribute specific to bilinguals or multilinguals; monolinguals are unable to switch as they do not possess the linguistic treasure of another language to switch into (Wong, 2000). However, CS is considered to be different from CM by Ritchie and Bhatia (2013) who state that CS is "the use of various linguistic units (words, phrases, clauses, and sentences) primarily from two participating grammatical systems across sentence boundaries within a speech event" (p.376). With these varied views, it is difficult to find an absolute consensus on defining these terms among the scholars.

It is also important to briefly elaborate the terms that have intrigued debates for the researchers. English as a Second Language (ESL) is defined as **"**the teaching of English to people, who are living in an English-speaking country, but whose first language is not English" (Longman's online dictionaries).English as a Foreign

Language (EFL) is defined as "the teaching of English to people whose first language is not English, and who do not live in an English-speaking country" (Longman's online dictionaries). Therefore in this study the focus will be on EFL and ESL where English is not the native language of the people such as Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Srilanka, Malaysia, Hong Kong, China, Vietnam, Thailand, etc. (Adjei & Agbozo, 2014; Arumawanti, 2013; Erwin-Billones, 2012; Chantarothai, 2011; Bi, 2011; Carra, 2009; Li, 2000).

2. Justification and Objective of the Study

Research in CS and CM has focused dominantly on sociolinguistic and grammatical perspectives (Ge, 2007; Bokamba, 1988). The objective of the present study is to focus sociolinguistic perspective particularly functions and motivations for CM and CS in EFL/ESL context. Pakistan is a multilingual society where more than seventy languages are spoken (Ethnologue: Pakistan, 2015). In multilingual societies like Pakistan, several languages are spoken which come into contact and leave significant influence on each other resulting in CM and CS. There is need to probe the functions and motivations for CM and CS in ESL/EFL context to provide an insight into the multiple and diverse aspects of multilingual societies.

3. Methodology

The present study thematically reviews the studies related to one of these questions i.e. the motivations that trigger CM and CS and the functions fulfilled by them in EFL/ESL context. It employs text analysis approach to review previous studies conducted to probe CM and CS in ESL/EFL context. The previous researches were approached through available literature on the subjects and themes were drawn and discussed.

4. Historical traces of research on CM and CS

In the early fifties, according to Milory and Muysken (1995), Uriel Weinreich's work *Languages in contact* which was published in 1953 had great impact in the research on CM and CS. They report that the history of research on CS and CM which started from Weinreich, who investigated bilingualism and CS from multiple approaches such as psycholinguistic, grammatical, and socio-linguistic. Einar Haugen's *The Norwegian language in America* (1953) also had great impact in the studies on CM and CS while focusing on the language of the immigrants and borrowing. The work of Gumperz's (1982) in the early eighties in the area was also influential as he emphasized on viewing CS as discourse strategy than simply seeing

it as a deficient behaviour. It was then considered an "additional resource through which a range of social and rhetorical meanings are expressed" (Milory & Muysken, 1995). Blom and Gumperz (1972) drew distinction between "situational code-switching" and "metaphorical code-switching" which later became important for sociolinguists. In addition to grammatical (micro approach) and sociolinguistic (macro approach), Ge (2007) found out the third approach "checklist approach" to include the functions which do not fall in either of the two approaches. The focus of the present study will remain sociolinguistic approach.

4.1. Sociolinguistic approach

"Sociolinguistics", states Wardhaugh, (2010), emphasizes to investigate "the relationships between language and society with the goal being a better understanding of the structure of language and of how languages function in communication" (p.13). Callahan (2004) also elaborates that "sociolinguistic approaches to code-switching are concerned with the social and pragmatic functions it fulfils for individual speakers and for social groups".

The researchers claim that CM and CS are not due to linguistic deficiency but these are rule-governed phenomenon triggered by social, socio-cultural and psychological motivations (Bhatia & Ritchie, 2013; Ndebele, 2012; Draemel, 2011; Kim, 2006). Motivation is a psychological construct but has been used by sociolinguists to discuss the phenomenon of CS and CM who refer to social motivations. One of the famous theoretical models related to sociolinguistic approach was proposed by Gumperz (1982). He categorized CS into situational and metaphorical CS. According to Gumperz (1982), CS is triggered by the speakers' choice of code appropriate for certain situations or topics. Another significant model proposed was Myers-Scotton's (1993) "Markedness model" which presupposes that the speakers choose to switch or mix code as "marked" or "unmarked" choice, that is, they switch or mix code consciously or unconsciously as each code is associated with different functions. The Markedness model can be used in explicating social and psychological motivations for choosing one code than the other thus further elaborating on why do bilinguals switch or mix code.

There are some universal factors that can motivate or trigger code-mixing and code-switching in all contexts therefore Kim (2006) found out why do bilinguals switch

depends on so many factors including interlocutors, situations, messages, attitudes, and emotions towards a particular code (Kim, 2006). According to Bhatia and Ritchie (2013) the choice of a code or code-switching is also determined by the relationship between the interlocutors. This solely determines when, where and why a bilingual will switch code, either to include or exclude the interlocutors for one code is more appropriate for a certain situation. Similarly, other d researchers have proposed the interplay of multiple variants that have an impact on motivations and functions of CM and CS, such as social class, gender, age, etc. (Bhatia & Ritchie, 2013). They further elaborate the reasons for CM that it "is constrained by grammatical principles and may also be motivated by social psychological motivations" (p.376). Bhatia & Ritchie (2013) emphasized that there are "social and psychological factors" in language-mixing which entail code-switching. They investigated the motivations of alternating between languages by bilinguals within a single speech or turn. They researched how do bilinguals perceive themselves when they mix language. They call this linguistic phenomenon of switching code "inter-sentential" which is specific to "discourse principles" and is triggered by "social and psychological factors" (p.376).

Obiamalu and Mbagwu (2008) noted that in Igbo, where English is used as a foreign language, CS and CM are triggered by some socio-psychological motivations. They state that some socio-psychological factors include: "language attitude", "subconscious linguistic behavior", "cultural disloyalty" (2008, p.34-35). The attitude of the speakers or users of language towards the language they use for different purposes motivates them to use either of the codes they are familiar with. As English is associated with social favour and respect, the speakers switch or mix English with their regional languages. Another significant factor behind motivation for CS and CM is the desire of the individuals to adopt foreign culture which may be considered "cultural disloyalty" for some, but it is of considerable attraction for the speakers to use language other than the regional ones (Obiamalu & Mbagwu, 2008, p.35). According to Obiamalu and Mbagwu (2008) speakers are unable to recognize when they switch code as they do it unintentionally or sub-consciously to manifest the prevalence of CS as a social norm.

There is ample research on CM and CS in spoken discourse and little is on written discourse. There might be difference in the form and frequency of CM and CS in written discourse as compared to the spoken discourse. Mareva and Mapako (2012)

found out the motivation for code-switching and code-mixing in the written corpus such as the readers' comments in newspapers in Zimbabwe where English is used as a foreign language. They concluded that the motivations were varied including lack of competence of the language users, sign of in-group solidarity and unison and the attitude held by the language users, readers, towards a particular language are some of the reasons for mixing code. Kia, Cheng, Yee and Ling (2011) identified the prevalence of CM in Chinese entertainment news in Chinese newspapers in Malaysia motivated by the sense of modernity English carries. Li (2000) reviewed studies conducted in Hong Kong to analyze the motivations for CS. He concludes that in Hong Kong Chinese newspapers the commonly found "context-specific motivations" are: "euphemism", "specificity", "bilingual punning", and "principle of economy" (p.312-317). Li's (2000) review of previous study manifested prevalence of English in the multilingual society in Hong Kong.

Bhatia and Ritchie (2013) state that code-switching and code-mixing are marked by "creativity and complexity" and "innovative multi-functions" thus leading to the idea that there might be some societal basis for mixing language. This is in contrast with the strongly held perceptions of people who regard any type of language mixing a threat to the purity of the concerned language and think that it is due to linguistic difficulty and lack in lexical treasure that leads bilinguals to switch code. Such a perception attributes "language-mixing" a negative light and bilinguals are merely seen as incompetent speakers who are not better in any of the languages. Bhatia and Ritchie (2013) dismiss such a view and conclude that there might be other motivations behind "language mixing". Weinreich (as cited in Muysken, 2000) has stated that it is the "intra-sentential code-mixing" which manifests speaker's linguistic deficiency. Muysken (2000) disagrees and states that speakers do not switch owing to linguistic deficiency rather they do it with certain fluency and for many it is "unmarked" choice. He also contends that it cannot be stated that "word-finding difficulty or cultural pressure lead to the mixture" (Muysken, 2000, p.2). Myers-Scotton (1993) also states that "code switching in general is a type of skilled performance with communicative intent" (p.6).

Apart from motivations that trigger CM and CS, there are specific functions performed by the phenomenon. One of the functions for switching or mixing code, stated Holmes (2000) is to mark in-group solidarity and exhibit unity in the group

(Holmes, 2000). The researcher further discussed how metaphorical switching is particular to rhetorical reasons. Code-switching is thus motivated by the desire to show inter-group solidarity (Bradby, 2002). Jamil (2012) reported instances of CS and CM in religious discourse, such as religious speech, with its main function of emphasizing important significant themes and concepts as well as to manifest shared identity with his listeners or interlocutors. Auer (1998) also reported that according to sociolinguistic approach, CS and CM are emblem of "group membership in particular types of bilingual speech communities" (p.3).

Chowdhury (2012) in her study on EFL classrooms in Bangladesh concluded that CS and CM serve multiple functions such as to exhibit membership or "solidarity" and also to facilitate learning in different ways suitable to fulfill the need of the teachers and the students. Ahmad (2009) pointed out that in EFL classrooms in Malaysia CM and CS are significant in providing "affective support" to the students with low-level of proficiency in the target language. Brandagh, Zoghi and Amini (2013) contended that in EFL classrooms in Iran CS and CM serve three major functions-academic, social and management purposes.

Appel and Muysken (1987) concluded that one of the functions of CM and CS is "referential" which implies that the motivation behind CS is lack of an appropriate word or item in a language (p.118). They also delineated "directive function" which presupposes to include or exclude the interlocutor using a particular code, "expressive function" to exhibit identity, "phatic or metaphorical function" to manifest change in the talk (p.118). They also discussed "meta-linguistic code-switching" which has its function of impressing the interlocutors (p.118-19). Using Jacobson (1960) and Halliday's (1964) works they proposed functions of CS and CM.

Many researchers in Pakistan have investigated the occurrence of code-mixing and code-switching from structural aspect or from socio-cultural one. Mohammad and Mahmood (2013) investigated the variation of Urdu as a result of its contact with English. They concluded that there is a pervasive influence of English on Urdu which is evident from the fact that there are frequent occurrences of English words in written Urdu text. They also contend that "Urdu is a flexible language and absorbing foreign vocabulary without facing any distortion in its very structure" (p.137-138). Qadir (2011), on the other hand, states that the occurrence of English words in Urdu textbooks leave a strong impact on the status and structure of Urdu. Some researchers

have investigated the phenomenon of code-mixing and code-switching in classroom discourse or interaction (Gulzar, 2010; Sipra, 2009) or textbooks (Qadir, 2011), while others have seen it out of the class interaction which can fall into social discourse (Ehsan & Aziz, 2014; Rafi, 2013; Aslam, Rehman, Qasim & Abbas, 2012; Mohammad, Mahmood & Asim, 2012; Mushtaq & Zahra, 2012). Gulzar (2010) probes the functions of code-switching in EFL classrooms in Pakistan and concludes that it serves various functions. They include switching code to clarify difficult concepts, to help students understand, to repeat or to build rapport with the students. Dar, Akhtar and Khalid (2014) have also pointed out that CS in Pakistani English language classrooms serves academic and social functions.

5. Conclusion

The present study reviewed the studies on the functions and motivations of CM and CS in EFL/ESL context where English is not the native language and there is prevalence of CM and CS from L1 to English due to multiple reasons. Looking at the history of CM and CS research it can be derived that the research has focused on the types, constraints and all the grammatical aspects and issues related to CM and CS; as well as functions and motivations which trigger CM and CS in discourse (spoken and written). In order to get an insight into the relationship between language and society, it is important to probe the functions that a language fulfils. This, therefore, has been the focus of the sociolinguists to examine the functions served by CM and CS and the social motivations to trigger the phenomenon.

Bilingual speakers are motivated to switch or mix code due to many social and socio-psychological factors. Although there are some universal factors which are in all the contexts and which motivate the speakers to switch or mix code, the social and socio-psychological factors are significant in EFL/ESL context including Pakistan. When the speakers want to show in-group solidarity or identity, they mix code to fulfil this function. CM and CS might not be due to linguistic deficiency of the speakers but these are considered manifestation of skilled performance by sociolinguists. It is the choice of the interlocutors to employ CM and CS as a social strategy to include or exclude the hearer with their marked or unmarked choice of code.

The studies in sociolinguistics have taken their data from spoken discourse and very little study exists on written discourse which further leads to the scarcity of

theoretical models to analyze written CS. The functions and motivations for CM and CS will be different in spoken and written. As spoken discourse is spontaneous and written is a product of pre-planned discourse, there are more instances of CM and CS in spoken than in written language. In written text such as newspapers, magazines and other forms of print media, CS and CM reflects the influence of one language on the other as it might influence the readers as well. CM and CS in textbooks manifest prevalence of the dominant language which asserts its dominance on L1. In EFL/ESL classrooms as well CS and CM are led by specific motivations and to fulfill specific functions. The studies in EFL/ESL classrooms have highlighted that CM and CS perform the functions which prove fruitful for the learning process. Woolard (2004) pointed out that there is a need to investigate why bilingual speakers do not use all the options related to the choice of code than merely focusing on why they prefer a particular option to choose one code. She contended, "It could be argued that linguists, with their focus on constraints against rather than motivations for code-switching, do ask this alternative question" (p.91). Alim (2009) suggests looking beyond merely studying relationship between language and society and the power that they assert on each other. It is necessary for sociolinguists, states Alim (2009), to attempt to change relationship between language, power and society.

It is significant to see how CM and CS have been under investigation by researchers from EFL contexts or background. Sridhar (1996) has stated that sociolinguistic perspective is significant in its own right. He states:

> "As a discipline sociolinguistics provides the methodology for analysis
> and description of interactional contexts: who uses what language, with
> whom and for what purposes? It provides frameworks with which to
> analyze the linguistic choices available to the multilinguals and their
> reasons for choosing one code from among the several available to
> them" (Sridhar, 1996, p.56).

In studying languages or linguistic phenomenon, such as CM and CS, sociolinguistic perspective can provide insights into practices and use of language in different discourses such as classroom discourse, media discourse, religious discourse, etc. It can also provide framework to analyze the choices which are there for the

multilinguals and the answer and a possible answer to a frequently asked question by the researchers, that is, why do bilinguals switch or mix code?

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GENDER CONSTRUCTION IN THE ENGLISH POETRY OF FEMALE POETS: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

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Abstract: Women are generally considered weak, fragile, and dependent on men and therefore the way male poets present them in their poems, is no surprise. What is startling, however, is the projection of women in the same fashion in the poetry produced by female poets. The current paper aims to focus on the way women construct their own gender identity through poetry. The themes that female poets choose for their poems and the language they use for the construction of their own identity reflect how they view themselves in comparison with the opposite gender. The data for the study are based on the selected poems of female poets, writing in English. In order to explore the construction of gender identity in detail, English poems of female poets from different socio-cultural background and time periods have been selected and analyzed within the framework of *Critical Discourse Analysis* to discover the gender inequality that is projected through the process of identity construction. A detailed analysis of the female poets' work reveals that irrespective of their origin and era, the female poets construct a gender identity which is based on *dependence, self-pity*, *passivity, complete surrender, objectification of the self*, and in some cases *self-annihilation*. The construction of this kind of gender identity harmonizes with the roles society reserves for women, who to a certain extent are themselves responsible for the marginalization of their own gender.

Keywords: *Identity construction*, *Gender identity, Gender roles, Gender inequality.*

> Woman----a pleasing but a short liv'd Flow'r,
>
> Too soft for business, and too weak for Pow'r:
>
> A Wife in Bondage, or neglected Maid;
>
> Despis'd, if ugly; if she's fair----betray'd.
>
> (Mary Leapor's *An Essay on Woman*)

1.0   Introduction

The history of the world bears testimony to the marginalization of women, particularly, in patriarchal societies. Women are denied the freedom to express themselves in such societies; in societies where they are given the right to express themselves, they often project a weak image of themselves to satisfy the ego of male chauvinists. The gender ideology that is promoted in male-dominated societies is anti-feminist to such an extent that women are relegated to a low status irrespective of what post they hold otherwise. Each and every act of theirs is judged with a microscopic eye to detect even the minutest blunder in order to prove that they are less competent than men. The impact of this gender ideology is so strong that a vast majority of women develop a negative self-image and tend to believe that they are

inferior to men in every respect, while some of them because of this injustice develop a strong hatred for men assuming that men are responsible for all the injustice against women in the world, which of course does not hold true in all the cases. What women fail to realize is that their own gender has an equal role to play in the disempowerment of their female identity.

1.1 Aim of the Study

The aim of this study is to explore the construction of gender identity by female poets' writing in English. Although the major focus of the study is on exploring the female identity construction, how the female poets construct male identity is also examined through a comparative analysis of the selected works. Since it is beyond the scope of this paper to explore the female persona in all literary genres, this study is confined to just one literary genre ----- poetry. The reason for choosing this genre is the ample freedom that writers have in exploiting this medium. No other genre gives as much freedom to writers as poetry. Another reason for choosing this genre is that it is a medium that is exploited by female writers more than any other literary genre. Whether it is America, Africa, Asia, Canada, Europe, or Middle-East, one can find female writers exploiting the medium of poetry to give voice to their emotions. The poetry produced by female writers is enough to see the female voice and its impact on the minds of the readers.

1.2   Research Questions

1) What gender identity do the female poets' writing in English construct in their poems?

2) How does the female identity constructed in the female poets' work differ from the identity that they construct of the opposite gender?

2. Literature Review

Research on gender identity has received considerable attention since the publication of Lakoff's *Language and Women's Place* in 1973. Although most of Lakoff's findings were based on assumptions, lacking empirical evidence, the book provided the impetus to Sociolinguists, particularly female Sociolinguists and feminist scholars to further investigate the field. As a result of the seminal works of Spender (1980), Cameron (1985), Coates (1986), Holmes (1986), Tannen (1990), and Butler (1990), the approaches to gender identity have undergone a paradigm shift.

Owing to the substantial amount of research conducted in the field of Language and Gender, the term 'gender' is no more used as a synonym of 'sex' but is rather seen as a social and psychological construct which owes its existence to the actions one performs (verbal and non-verbal) for the construction of one's gender identity. Identity is no more understood in a traditional sense, as something that exists in itself; in fact, it is now understood as something which is based on the way one constructs it with the joint efforts of other members of the society. In other words, identity construction cannot take place in a vacuum, but is rather the product of one's interaction with the self and with the world outside. Seen from this perspective, gender identity is also based on '*performing gender*', a concept introduced by Butler (1990) in her work on gender. According to Butler (1990), one is not born a male or a female rather becomes one through performing gender and this performance is evaluated or judged against the social norms of the speech community one is a member of. This means that one cannot use the terms 'gender' and 'sex' interchangeably. According to Stoller (1968):

> [While] sex and gender seem to common sense to be practically synonymous and in everyday life to be inextricably bound together... the two realms (sex and gender) are not inevitably bound in anything like a one-to-one relationship, but each may go in its quite independent way. (p. xiii).

The study of language and gender took a different turn after the emergence of *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA), which aims to identify instances of power abuse and injustice with the intention to resist all such unjust acts. In the contemporary research in Applied Linguistics, CDA as a methodological framework has become very popular especially for analyzing texts that display power struggle with regard to gender (Fairclough, 1995; Janks, 1997; Lazar, 2007; Wodak, 2005). There are a few studies rooted in CDA that aim to study the language used in literary texts that are specifically constructed to manipulate power with reference to gender roles and display explicit or implicit signs of gender bias, particularly against the female gender (Hua, 2013; Khosravizadeh & Mahabadi, 2011; Sheikh & Khan, 2012). Besides using CDA as an analytical framework for exploring gender bias in both spoken and written texts, particularly in political discourse, linguistic analysis is also performed on literary texts based on different genres to highlight the element of gender bias in such

texts. One such study conducted by Ali (2005) traces gender discrimination in Shakespeare's tragedies. Not only does the study critically analyze the language Shakespeare put into the mouth of his female characters but also analyzes the language the male characters use for women in different tragedies. The results of the study reveal the bias against women showing a glimpse of the attitude the Elizabethans had towards women in general.

The current study is different from the earlier studies for two reasons. Firstly, the study focuses on the female writers from different eras as well as different socio-political contexts. Secondly, it exclusively focuses on one of the most widely exploited literary genres, i.e., poetry.

3. Methodology

The data for the study are based on the selected poems of nine female poets, writing in English, from different origins and eras. The reason for selecting female poets from different backgrounds and time periods is to explore identity construction involved in each case. The aim is to see whether their gender acts as a binding force in constructing their identity irrespective of their background and age or is there a difference in the projection of identity in each case. The female poets whose works have been analyzed include: *Emily Bronte, Anne Sexton, Lisa Zaran, Sylvia Plath, Maya Angelou, Margret Atwood, Kamala Das, Sujata Bhatt*, and *Muniza Alvi*. The reason for choosing these poets is that they represent different socio-political backgrounds and time periods. *Emily Bronte* (1818-1848) belonged to Britain and represents the female voice of the Victorian era. *Anne Sexton* (1928-1974), Sylvia Plath (1932-1963), and *Lisa Zaran* (1969-till present), represent American society. *Maya Angelou* (1928-2014) is the voice of African American women; *Margret Atwood's* (1939-till present) poems project Canadian women, while *Kamala Das* (1934-2009), *Sujata Bhatt* (1956-till present) and *Muniza Alvi* (1954-till present) represent South Asian society and its treatment of women.

The poems are analyzed thematically and linguistically using the framework of *Critical Discourse Analysis* to see how gender identity is constructed and how women are projected by their own gender. CDA is necessary to unmask the gender ideologies hidden beneath the discourses created by female writers in their poems, as it "aims at

investigating critically social inequality as it is expressed, constituted, legitimized, and so on, by language use (or in discourse)" (Wodak, 2002, p. 11). CDA is employed in this study with the intention of drawing the reader's attention towards the instances of injustice done by the female writers against their own gender.

4. Data Analysis

As stated earlier, the data based on the selected poems of the female poets included in this study are analyzed within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis. Following themes emerge on the basis of the analysis of the selected poems:

4.1 Dependence

Women are not only viewed as dependent on men by male chauvinists but also by their own gender which is evident from the voice of the female poets. Whether it is a female poet from Britain or America or any South Asian country, one can find the element of dependence in their projection of women.

> "You are a self made man.
>
> ----------------------------------
>
> ----------------------------
>
> **-----------------------------**
>
> You are the curve
>
> I burrow into. The strength
>
> I borrow. You are the red sun
>
> rising over the mountain.
>
> You are the mountain."
>
> (*You are the Mountain* by Lisa Zaran)

The two metaphors 'sun' and 'mountain' used for men are strong enough to indicate how women see men as emblems of power and strength and how they yearn to get strength from them. The desire to get power from men carries a very strong implication for women considering themselves devoid of any power.

> "In him I swim
>
> All broken with longing.
>
> In his robust blood I float
>
> Drying off my tears.
>
> Yet I never can forget

The only man who hurts.
The only one who seems to know
The only way to hurt.

…when he did not love,
Believe me,
All I could do was to sob like a fool."

(Lines from *The Suicide* by Kamala Das)

The last three lines quoted above reflect a woman's utter helplessness if she is denied a man's love. The poet's comparison of herself to a 'fool' shows how a woman underestimates her own worth and intelligence relegating herself to an insignificant creature as compared to a man. This feeling of worthlessness has its roots in the feeling of powerlessness and inferiority complex inculcated in females in patriarchal societies since their childhood. By the time, females mature, the feeling becomes so strong that it cannot be eradicated easily. Majority of women live with this sense of being worthless all their life and consider it to be an integral part of their personality, which obliterates their identity as women. The following lines from one of Kamala Das's poems reveal the same feeling of dependence on men:

"Until I found you,
I wrote verse, drew pictures,
And, went out with friends
For walks…
Now that I love you,
Curled like an old mongrel
My life lies, content,
In you…."

(From *Summer in Calcutta* by Kamala Das)

The theme of dependence is further reinforced by Kamala Das in the lines where she confesses living an aimless life before finding her man. Now that she has found him, she feels satisfied. The nature of this contentment, however, is extremely disturbing for any female reader as the poet uses the image of a 'mongrel'. By comparing herself with 'an old mongrel' the poet has mutilated her own identity as a female. The word

'mongrel' has two meanings: 'a dog that has an uncertain origin', and 'an obnoxious person', as given in *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (2012). Both the meanings are used in a highly pejorative sense.

In *Subtraction Flower*, Lisa Zaran, an American poet, speaks on every woman's behalf but the irony is that although she represents every woman, instead of projecting a better image, she presents an image that makes women appear inferior to men.

> "As women
> we blindly wish
> past the climax of passion
> as we vanish into a world of men
> whose ribcages we were scraped from"

> (Lines from *Subtraction Flower* by Lisa Zaran)

The choice of the lexical items, 'blindly', 'vanish', and 'scraped' implies that women lack vision, have no identity of their own and are inferior to men as historically their very existence depended on a man. Seen from historical point of view, the lines seem to imply that women are still dependent on the opposite gender. All the examples cited here indicate that women poets do not seem to be interested in presenting themselves as independent souls. Using CDA framework, one can easily detect the underlying theme that runs throughout these poets' work---- male dominance vs. female powerlessness and the female poets seem to endorse this theme through their projection of females as powerless and dependent.

The notion of dependence depicting gender inequality is projected with even greater force in the last line of Judith Wright's poem: *A Woman to a Man* in which the speaker makes a desperate plea to her lover saying "Oh hold me, for I am afraid." The line gives the impression that the touch of a man can have a magical effect on a woman as if all her fears would vanish with his mere touch.

4.2 Uncertainty

A general belief found in many societies is that a woman's voice is the voice of uncertainty. This uncertainty may be seen as a reflection of her lack of conviction in certain matters. In one of her poems, Sujata Bhatt gives voice to her uncertainty in the following lines:

> "I hesitate to say
> what I think:"

The same uncertainty is echoed in Lisa Zaran's poem *Subtraction Flower:*

> "Perhaps
> every flower you see
> is a woman"
>
>   (Lines from *Subtraction Flower* by Lisa Zaran)

The use of the word 'perhaps' reinforces the absence of authority in females. Besides this, the floral imagery used for women shows the poet's notion of women as delicate creatures and this delicacy is in turn associated with their frailty. Gardiner (1981) has made an apt comment "Women are encouraged to judge their inner selves through their external physical appearance and to equate the two. At the same time, they are taught to create socially approved images of themselves by manipulating their dress, speech, and behavior" (p. 360). What Gardner (1981) has stated holds true for women in all male-dominated societies, where their world view is shaped by the male members who are in complete control of their life.

4.3 Self-pity

Women's voice is the voice of sentimentality lying on the bank of self-pity, a river that women love to drown in. Self-pity is a sign of weakness and can be attributed to low self-esteem; it implies reinforcement of the notion of weak sex. Although there is not enough research evidence establishing the link between female gender and low self-esteem, the female poets' portrayal of women (themselves and others representing the same gender) provide some data for investigating the relation between self-esteem and gender. The following lines by *Emily Bronte* depict extreme form of self-pity, which springs from very low self-esteem.

> "I am the only being whose doom
> No tongue would ask, no eye would mourn;
> I've never caused a thought of gloom,
> A smile of joy, since I was born."
>
>   (Lines from *I'm the only being…* by Emily Bronte)

The same feelings are echoed in the lines from Sylvia Plath's poem *I am Vertical*:

> "Compared with me, a tree is immortal
> And a flower-head not tall, but more startling,
> And I want the one's longevity and the other's daring.
>
> Tonight, in the infinitesimal light of the stars,
> The trees and flowers have been strewing their cool odors.
>
> I walk among them, but none of them are noticing."

> (Lines from *I am Vertical by Sylvia Plath*)

Both the women poets referred to in this section project their female identity through underestimating their worth as women. Plath's complaint ("I walk among them, but none of them are noticing") in the poem, *I'm Vertical,* manifests a woman's desire to be noticed and admired, while the lines by Emily Bronte quoted earlier are steeped in self-pity and reveal the poet's sense of dejection. With regard to women poets of the Victorian age, Brown (2000) writes:

> Women were encouraged to write the pretty, sentimental lyricism that was considered to be a simple extension of themselves. This complied with the domestic ideology because it was neither time nor energy consuming, and so was seen as an accomplishment or pastime. They were deemed to not have the intellect, creative abilities, or privilege to attempt poetry. (p. 181)

These comments are not only apt for the Victorian female poets but also hold true for many female contemporary poets writing in different parts of the world. One example is that of Lisa Zaran's poem: *Homeless* in which a girl voices her helplessness. She pities her own state to invite sympathies from others.

"I ain't got no home....
~the Band
I lost my father.
I'm a lonely girl.

I bring home
no lover.
Only a son.

He's as weary
of me as any
husband would be.

The afternoon
yellows
into evening.

My father is gone.
I'm a lonely girl."

(*Homeless* by Lisa Zaran)

4.4 Objectification

Women are not only presented as sex objects by male poets, female poets also construct a somewhat similar female identity by presenting women as objects for the sexual gratification of men. Seen from another perspective, while presenting women as submissive, surrendering to men, there is an implicit acceptance of male dominance.

> "One day they hold you in the
> Palms of their hands, gentle, as if you
> Were the last raw egg in the world."
>
> (Lines from *Men* by Maya
> Angelou)

Another example is from the opening lines of *Lady Lazarus* by Sylvia Plath:

"I am your opus,

I am your valuable,

The pure gold baby

That melts to a shriek.

I turn and burn."

(Lines from *Lady Lazarus* by Sylvia Plath)

In *Buying the Whore*, Anne Sexton takes on the persona of a man whose referring expressions reveal how men look at women.

"You are the roast beef I have purchased

and I stuff you with my very own onion.

You are a boat I have rented by the hour

and I steer you with my rage until you run aground.

You are a glass that I have paid to shatter

and I swallow the pieces down with my spit.

You are the grate I warm my trembling hands on,

searing the flesh until it's nice and juicy."

(Lines from *Buying the Whore* by Anne Sexton)

The use of the lexical items, 'roast beef', 'boat', 'glass', and 'grate' manifest the theme of denial of human status to women. The assertive tone that Anne Saxton uses in this poem is not found in her other poems. Since in this poem she has taken on the persona of a man, the voice sounds like that of an oppressor. The arrogance in the couplet "You are a glass that I have paid to shatter/ and I swallow the pieces down with my spit" is the arrogance of a man who loves to control a woman to satisfy his ego and considers his right to treat a woman as a sex toy.

 In Sexton's *Anna who was Mad*, one gets to hear the voice of a woman whose voice is no different from that of any man who treats women as sex objects. The following lines from *Anna who was Mad* prove that it is not only men who see women as mere sex objects but women also project themselves in more or less the same way.

> "Eat me. Eat me up like cream pudding.
>
> Take me in."
>
> (Lines from *Anna who was Mad by* Sexton)

The use of the verb 'eat' and its repetition give the image of a desperate woman who is obsessed with the desire to be consumed by her lover and how she compares herself with a dessert. Moreover, the use of the expression 'cream pudding' further strengthens the idea of objectification of women. Women are often compared with eatables in English language. Although such terms are used for men as well, they are far less in number as compared to the ones used for women. Some of the terms used for women in English include: *cheesecake, duck, tomato, chic, hen, cracker, fish, cookie, cupcake, dumpling, honey, jelly,* etc. These terms imply the insignificance of women and this insignificance is not only accepted without any objection by women but they also feel flattered if they are referred to by these terms.

4.5 Inferiority Complex

Female poets are often engaged in an effort to judge their worth in comparison to men but ironically give the judgement in favour of men instead of themselves. They seem to give this impression to their readers that their existence depends on men. Most of the poems produced by the female poets under investigation project male superiority over females giving a very biased message to both the male and the female readers that without a man's love, a woman has no worth; she is a deprived soul. While projecting her inferiority as a female, Kamala Das also reinforces male supremacy in her poem *The Suicide*.

> "O sea,
>
> You generous cow,
>
> You and I are big flops.
>
> We are too sentimental
>
> For our own
>
> Good."   (Lines from *The Suicide* by Kamala Das)

Kamala Das has very openly attacked her own gender by using the expression 'big flops' and has also criticized the sentimentality of women. Like Kamala Das, Sylvia Plath also talks about her insignificance as a woman in her poem *I am Vertical*.

"Compared with me, a tree is immortal

And a flower-head not tall, but more startling,

And I want the one's longevity and the other's daring.

Tonight, in the infinitesimal light of the stars,

The trees and flowers have been strewing their cool odors.

I walk among them, but none of them are noticing."

(Lines from *I'm Vertical* by Plath)

In her poem *Sheep in Fog*, Plath views herself as a worthless creature who disappoints both, living as well as non-living entities.

"The hills step off into whiteness

People or stars

Regard me sadly, I disappoint them."

(Lines from *Sheep in Fog* by Plath)

'Sheep' is often used as a symbol of innocence and naivety. By using the metaphor of 'sheep' Plath presents her own naivety and innocence, while the metaphor of 'fog' is used to represent blurry vision. Through the use of these metaphors she weaves a web of dejection and uncertainty. The same sense of failure and loss is echoed by Margret Atwood in the following lines from her poem *Flying Inside your Own Body:*

"The sun's white winds blow through you,

there's nothing above you,

you see the earth now as an oval jewel,

radiant & sea blue with love.

It's only in dreams you can do this.

You try & try to rise but you cannot."

(Lines from *Flying Inside your Own Body*)

(Atwood, 1976)

55

By making the addressee of the poem (who is a female) realize that she can only achieve her ambitions in dreams, Atwood makes her and by extension all women believe that in reality they cannot attain the heights of success. In other words, success is only within the reach of men.

4.6   Passivity and Complete Surrender

Female poets present themselves as passive creatures as opposed to males, which is yet another way of mutilating their own identity. Since women are expected to remain passive, those who deviate from this passive role to actively participate in social, political or educational domains are either discouraged through severe criticism from society or are ostracized from the mainstream society which implies disapproval of their active engagement in the spheres of life other than the home domain.

Attached to the notion of passivity is the idea of complete surrender to satisfy male ego. Men do not like women who question male supremacy and speak for their own rights. Women poets are no different from ordinary women who make continuous efforts to please a man in their life to seek his approval.

> "Gift him all,
>
> Gift him what makes you woman."

(Lines from *Getting a man to love you is easy* by Das)

These lines reflect women who think that their only purpose in this world is to satisfy the carnal desires of men. They believe that the gratification of men's desires is the only thing that can make women worthy in their eyes. While commenting on women's surrender to men, Berger (1972) writes:

> Women are depicted in quite a different way to men – not
> because the feminine is different from the masculine – but
> because the 'ideal' spectator is always assumed to be male
> and the image of the woman is designed to flatter him. (p.
> 64).

4.7 Marginalization

Marginalizing the weak is a common practice all over the world. In majority of the cases, the marginalized groups are either religious or ethno-linguistic minorities or women. Since it is easy to suppress their voice, such groups are often made the

victims of oppression. As far as women are concerned, they are the easy target in such societies where gender discrimination against women is the norm and is therefore reflected even in the literature produced in such societies. The surprising thing is that it is not only the male writers who project women as marginalized souls but the female writers do the same. This trend is found in all literary genres and poetry is no exception.

Feminist critics often accuse male poets of marginalizing women in their work. What the feminist critics fail to notice is the marginalization of women by female poets themselves. In *This is a Photograph of Me,* Margret Atwood, a Canadian poet, projects the marginalization of her own gender.

> "I am in the lake, in the center
> of the picture, just under the surface.
>
> It is difficult to say where
> precisely, or to say
> how large or small I am:
> the effect of water
> on light is a distortion
>
> but if you look long enough,
> eventually
> you will be able to see me."

<div align="right">(This is a photograph of me by Atwood).</div>

4.8 Stereotyping women's role

Women are considered devoid of intellect and are often projected as creatures reserved for domestic chores only. There are numerous proverbs in different languages that project women as creatures who lack wisdom and are incapable of any intellectually productive work.

The following lines by Maya Angelou indicate how hard the life of a woman is as she remains busy from morning till evening. Nevertheless, the work she is does is petty and does not require intellect. She is shown doing household chores which are not even acknowledged.

"I've got the children to tend

The clothes to mend

The floor to mop

The food to shop

Then the chicken to fry

The baby to dry

I got company to feed

The garden to weed

I've got shirts to press

The tots to dress

The can to be cut

I gotta clean up this hut

Then see about the sick

And the cotton to pick."

(*Woman Work* by Angelou)

4.9 Self-annihilation

Self-annihilation is an extreme form of mutilation of one's identity as an individual which is a common feature found in female poets' writings. According to Lipking (1988), "Women poets create from a sense of loss; the myth, not of hope pursued, but of hope abandoned" (p. 180). The poem *'Tulips'* which represents Plath's own battle with mental illness and psychiatric treatments is a classic example of self-annihilation.

"I am nobody; I have nothing to do with explosions.

I have given my name and my day-clothes up to the nurses

And my history to the anesthetist and my body to surgeons"

(Lines from *Tulips* by Plath)

The above lines mirror the helplessness of the persona, as she gives herself away to the nurses and doctors in the hospital. This specific act of surrender on the part of the poet can be considered as an instance of self-annihilation of the female identity. Commenting on Plath's poetry, Lant (1993) writes: "For her, the body stands not as a shimmering emblem of the soul's glory but seems, rather, an embarrassing reminder of the self's failures, an icon of the poet's vulnerability." (p. 625)

The feeling of self-denial was not only limited to Plath, but can also be observed among other female poets from different origins. Below is a line from one of the poems of Lisa Zaran in which she laments having no lover and therefore having no

identity. The line carries a very strong implication that a woman's identity is tied to her lover. Absence of a lover implies annihilation of female identity.

"I am no one and nobody is my lover." (a line from *Tenderness* by Lisa Zaran)

Since women are denied the freedom to assert themselves, many of them develop thick walls of ignorance from their surroundings and develop a desire not to be noticed as is evident in the following lines by Muniza Alvi, a Pakistani poet, who expresses the wish not to be noticed at all.

"I would like to be a dot in a painting by Miro.

Barely distinguishable from other dots,
it's true, but quite uniquely placed.
And from my dark centre

I'll never make out what's going on
around me, and that's the joy of it.

The fact that I'm not a perfect circle
makes me more interesting in this world.
People will stare forever"

(Lines from *I would like to be a dot…* by Muniza Alvi)

5. Conclusion

The analysis of the poems produced by female poets proves that females have unconsciously developed a negative self-image. If they had been conscious, they would not have distorted their own image through their poems. Nevertheless, if we assume this representation to be conscious, then it can be seen as a diatribe projecting the discrimination against women and its impact on the female psyche. Whatever the case, it cannot be denied that the texts that are produced by these poets reinforce gender inequality rendering women powerless. It is true that gender equality is a myth but the kind of inequality that is reflected in the female poetry is particularly disturbing for the female readers; it can convince them that they are powerless and

this thought of having no power can have a very shattering effect on the female intellect which in turn can deprive them of whatever power they have otherwise. No ending can serve the purpose of this paper better than the following words by Wollstonecraft (1792, p.69):

> *"*I do not wish [women] to have power over men; but over themselves."

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NEXUS BETWEEN ENGLISH LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY AND ECONOMIC GROWTH: AN EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS FROM SELECTED ASIAN COUNTRIES

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Abstract: This study highlights the empirical nexus between English Language Proficiency (ELP) and economic growth for 16 Asian countries. The assumption of this paper is that the level of ELP is a part of human capital. It proposes that the ability to avail innovative information and to boost the level of knowledge is positively related to ELP. Consequently, those countries which have highest level of ELP are likely to grow faster than those which have low level of ELP. The empirical results of this study show a positive correlation between ELP and economic growth for the selected sample. The ELP not only encourages Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) but is also positively associated with Human Development Index (HDI) and provide helpful environment for FDI. Thus, it is argued that the increase in ELP inspires more knowledge to accelerate economic growth and development.

1. Introduction

Researchers from various disciplines have argued that language can play an important role in economic growth and development of a country. According to Romer (1990), Grossmann and Helpman (1991), and Jones (1995), it is generally accepted that the increase of knowledge is positively associated with economic growth. While on the other hand, researchers such as Nettle (2000) find no clear evidence in this regard and opine that the empirical evidence leftover inconclusive. We know that knowledge diffusion is growing at a faster rate and the contribution of developed nations is very high in the stream of knowledge as compared to the developing countries. Therefore, to use the new and emerging knowledge for the betterment of general masses English Language Proficiency (ELP) is very important to utilize the prevailing knowledge and technologies without time lag. It is because the rate of dispersion of the new knowledge significantly depends upon economy's absorption capacity of new knowledge and the absorption capacity of new knowledge in the short run completely

depends upon ELP. Consequently, high will be the English proficiency; high will be the absorption capacity of knowledge (see Coe and Helpman, 1995; Falvey *et al* 2002; and Falvey *et al*, 2004).

The absorption of new knowledge greatly depends on English proficiency due to the fact that on average most of the new technical knowhow is emerged from English speaking countries (developed and high income countries). To understand such new knowledge and its appropriate on time application, one has to be proficient in English language. Therefore, it could be said with confidence that English as a language has a special status for promotion of knowledge and transformation of technology around the world. It is known that majority of the developing countries enjoy spillover and benefits of the knowledge produced by developed countries (Caselli & Coleman, 2000; and English being international language is getting popular all over the world and majority of the new knowledge is going to be preserved in this language. Thus, English proficiency is one of the basic determinants for rapid utilization of the new knowledge across the globe. Moreover, English language is the most effective instrument and easy way to access the new knowledge since majority of the academic publications are produced in English language. English is the language of global trade and venture. For instance, with the rising economic strength of China, the use of English language is also dramatically increased in China for business purposes. This clearly indicates the importance of English language for new ventures and businesses. Billions of people around the world are trying to learn English for self-improvement and as an economic necessity because English proficiency helps to get job nationally as well as internationally. It is easy for those people who born in English speaking countries but people from emerging economies such as China, Russia, Pakistan, India and Brazil are trying hard to learn the language.

Machines usually come with English instructions and manuals. Hence, ordinary illiterate workers are not able to use these machines effectively for production purpose because of the lack of a basic knowledge of English language. It is therefore, Keller (2002) suggests that the language of communication must be English in Germany and Italy among engineers in R&D. Sometimes when new creations and discoveries are translated to local languages from English then most of the times it creates further problems for the non-English speakers and users owing to the lack of command over English language, culture differences and miss-understating of terminology while translating English into any local language. Furthermore, the transaction costs are lower in countries with a common language that facilitates communication among people, besides, the common language of communications; produce a lot of positive externalities vice versa. Therefore, to minimize the negative effect of the differences in languages, the best strategy is to introduce a common language of communication as English.

In the contemporary world credit transaction is the lifeline of today's business. It has a vital role to encourage aggregate demand and boost all macroeconomic variables such as investment, consumption, saving, employment and productivity etcetera. However, there are two critical determinants of credit transaction i.e. technology and communication. Hence, to facilitate a productive credit transaction common language is a basic requirement. Network externalities can occur when society, economy, and a country converged to the use of one language. Such types of externalities may be easier in adoption of new knowledge to encourage trade and commerce among nations.

Generally, English language in developing countries is considered the language of elite but in the last 20 years the role of the English language has changed significantly

due to globalization, urbanization, and the use of internet. Presently, English language is considered as economic benefits for the knowledge and getting a job. It is because English is the basic requirement for majority of jobs especially in developing countries.

The rest of the study is organized as follow: whereas the next section highlights the methodology and data of the study while forthcoming sections of the study offers the empirical results and conclusion respectively.

2. **Methodology and Data**

Before the introduction of any type of methodology, it is important to give detail of the variables which has been used in empirical analysis of the study. Thus, to capture the effect of economic growth GDP Per Capita Income (PCI) is used as proxy for economic growth. However, to compute the PCI of a country the total real GDP is divided by the total number of inhabitant living in that country. PCI represent the average income level of that specific area and it is not compulsory that all people get the same amount of money per year.

The Education First developed an index in the result of the global language survey which is called the "English Proficiency Index (EPI)". This index ranks the world countries on the basis of adult English speaking skills and proficiency. Presently, the index was estimated for 70 countries but with the passage of time it (the index) is including more countries. Therefore, to estimate the ELP of a country we have used the proxy of EPI. Similarly, to capture the outcome of human capital we used Human Development Index (HDI) as proxy. The HDI is a compound index concentrating on three basic dimensions of human development: a) life expectancy at birth; b) years of schooling and expected years of schooling; and the ability to achieve a decent

standard of living; and c) measured by gross national income per capita (Human Development Report, 2015). This study selected the sample for 16 countries, the complete detail of the countries are reported in appendix 01.

Table01: Details of the Variables

Variable	Proxy	Data Source
Real Per Capita Income (PCI)	Economic growth	International Monetary Fund World Economic Outlook (2015)
Human Development Index (HDI) of respectively country	Haman Capital	International Financial Statistics (IFS) database, IMF
English Proficiency Index	English Language Proficiency	EF English Proficiency Index. Comparing English skills between countries. EF EPI. Ef.com.

Table 02: Descriptive Statistics

Country	EPI	HDI	PCI ($)	FDI stock (Millions of dollars)
Singapore	63.52	0.912	23,053	912,355
Malaysia	60.70	0.779	9,548	133,767
Philippines	60.33	0.668	2,991	57,093
India	57.30	0.624	1,719	252,331
South Korea	54.87	70.3	27,633	182,037
Vietnam	54.06	0.666	2,164	90,991
Indonesia	52.94	0.684	3,636	253,082
Japan	51.69	0.891	37,304	NA
China	50.94	0.727	8,262	1,085,293
Pakistan	48.78	0.538	1,474	30,892
Kazakhstan	47.42	0.788	7,138	NA
Thailand	47.21	0.726	5,662	199,311

Sri Lanka	46.58	0.757	3,870	10,511
Mongolia	42.77	0.727	3,704	16,693
Cambodia	39.48	0.720	5,623	13,035
Laos	38.45	0.575	1,921	3,630

Source: Human Development Index (HDI)United Nations Development Programme (2015), GDP Per Capita Income (PCI) by International Monetary Fund World Economic Outlook (2015) and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) by Source: UNCTAD, FDI/MNE database (www.unctad.org/fdistatistics).

Table 02 gives us rough idea that there is positive association between ELP, PCI, and HDI. The leading economies of Asian, both in terms of economic growth and PCI, are Japan, Singapore, Malaysia, China and South Korea and they all showed a quite good indicator of English proficiency. Moreover, countries such as Indonesia and Vietnam have shown significant gains in proficiency of English as the follow-up study in 2007 began. India and China also indicate real improvements in abilities of English language as the EPI 2015 showed. On the other hand, the English proficiency of the countries such as Thailand, Sri Lanka, Mongolia, Cambodia and Laos is not that much high and therefore, they are enjoying moderate level of PIC. Additionally and for further clear and concrete investigation, we estimate the correlation coefficients to measure the strength of the relationship between English proficiency, PCI, HDI and FDI.

3. Results and Discussion

For the purpose of achieving the objective of this study, the partial correlation coefficients between EPI, PCI, HDI and FDI has estimated. And to test the statistical significance of these correlation coefficients, the "t-test" has been applied respectively. Table 03 offers the results of the correlation coefficients which show that there is a very strong correlation between EPI and FDI following by PCI and

HDI. This is because English skills play an import role to fascinate more FDI and foreign investors.

Tables 03: Empirical Results

	Correlation coefficient	P-value
r_{y,x_1}	0.5621***	0.0500
r_{y,x_2}	0.4718**	0.0510
r_{y,x_3}	0.6012**	0.0500

Where: ***p<0.01, **p<0.05, * p<0.10

$r =$ Correlation coefficient; $0 \leq r \leq 1$; $X_1 =$ Real Per Capita Income (PCI), $X_2 =$ Human Development Index (HDI), $X_2 =$ Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), $Y =$ English Proficiency Index (EPI) of the respective country

In table 03 the correlation coefficient of PCI and EPI is 0.5621 which shows that the correlation between EPI and PCI is quite stable and robust. Moreover, the value of the correlation coefficient is statistically significant at one percent of critical level. The positive correlation indicates that those countries which have high level of ELP are enjoying high PCI and stable standard of life. Besides the life expectancy, social and living conditions are also much better and hygienic in the countries which have high EPI vice versa. Furthermore, the correlation between EPI and HDI is reasonable. The strength of the relationship is 0.4718 which is statically significant. However, the high EPI countries are not falling below the benchmark of HDI. Similarly, the correlation between EPI and FDI is quite high, the value of correlation coefficient is 0.6012, which is statistically significant. It shows that those countries which have high level of ELP have more stock of FDI as well as attract more FDI.

4. Conclusion and Recommendations

The results of the study show that in case of the Asian countries there is strong association between ELP and economic growth. Similarly, ELP is also helps to attract more FDI to boost economic growth. Besides, ELP also helps to create a favourable environment for foreign investors. The relationship of English skills and HDI shows that ELP has significant positive relationship with human capital. As we know that the increases in stock of human capital further accelerate economic growth. Moreover, it is important to remember that although the study finds a positive relationship between ELP and economic growth for 16 Asian countries but this relation can vary for one type of empirical framework to another type of framework due to intermediation by a lot of extraneous variables. However, on the basis of our results, we can suggest that, it is important to invest more and more on ELP by providing training to the teachers for teaching English as a second language. Furthermore, it is also the need of the hour to set national standards for English training programs.

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Appendix 01: List of the selected Asian Countries			
S.no	**Country**	**S.no**	**Country**
1	Singapore	09	China
2	Malaysia	10	Pakistan
3	Philippines	11	Kazakhstan
4	India	12	Thailand
5	South Korea	13	Sri Lanka
6	Vietnam	14	Mongolia
7	Indonesia	15	Cambodia
8	Japan	16	Laos

CONSONANT HARMONY IN BRAHVI CHILD PHONOLOGY

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Abstract: This study renders an Optimality Theoretic (Prince & Smolensky, 2004) analysis of words produced by a child Manahil (M) who was acquiring Brahvi as her L1 in the age of 12 to 32 months. The study focuses on the process of Consonant Harmony. This study tires to find out the segments which trigger CH in Brahvi child language and it also examines the target sounds which are harmonized. The data were collected through a diary study. The subject of this study, Manahil, had a pure monolingual setting as both her parents are native speakers of Southern (Jhalawani) Brahvi. The findings suggest that in the later stage of L1 acquisition around 15 months of her age M applies CH as a strategy to overcome her production difficulties. The child applies four types of harmony e.g. nasal, labial, coronal, lateral. Labial and nasal harmony were more dominant than lateral and coronal ones. In fact, nasal harmony appeared before other ones. In labial harmony, the segments /p/ and /b/ acted as triggers which targeted coronal and dorsal segments. In Nasal harmony /m/, /n/ spread their feature [nasal] to coronal and dorsal sounds. The direction of harmony in labial and nasal spreading was regressive only. M's productions also show lateral and coronal harmony. In the former, the segment /l/ triggers the harmony by targeting liquid /r/. And in the latter, /ʧ/ triggers the process of harmony by targeting dorsal fricatives and stops. The examples in lateral and coronal harmony show that directionality of harmony was both regressive and progressive. However, regressive harmony was more frequent than progressive harmony.

Keywords: Brahvi, Consonant Harmony, L1 acquisition, Optimality Theory

1. Introduction

Language is the most important phenomenon for a new born child because it is the basic phenomenon which apparently differentiates human beings from other species and it also plays a vital role for cognitive development of a child. First language acquisition seems to be easy for children because they seem to acquire language effortlessly and quickly, giving the impression that L1 process is straightforward and simple. But when we analyze the processes involved in child language acquisition, we come to the conclusion that children have to face many difficulties for mastering their L1.

Human children are not born with language (Clark, 2009) but they are born with innate God-gifted qualities which make it possible for them to perceive and acquire human language (Vouloumanos & Werker, 2007). Children acquire language step by step: crying, babbling etc. which are early stages appear in the early stage of acquisition. The easiest sounds are acquired and mastered before difficult ones. The segments which are easy to articulate, strong in perception, seem to be natural and normal, optimal, require less features for articulations, are considered unmarked and acquired earlier than the ones which are difficult in articulation, weak in perception,

seem to be unnatural and less normal, less optimal, required more features for articulation. To make their speech possible, children substitute the acquired segments with unacquired ones.

Consonant Harmony is a kind of substitution which is considered to be a simplification strategy helping children to deal with the task of language development. Consonant Harmony may serve to replace unacquired segments and simplify the articulation of difficult sequences and complex structures. The main purpose of this study is to record and analyze the consonant harmony process operative in the first language acquisition of Brahvi. This aim will be achieved through a thorough study of words produced by a child Manahil (M) aged 13 to 32 months, who was acquiring Brahvi[1] as her L1 at the time of observation.

Brahvi is a language mainly spoken in southern and central regions of Balochistan particularly Kalat and Quetta, and some parts of Sindh like Nawabshah and Karachi (Andronov, 1980; Bray, 1907). Besides Pakistan, Brahvi is also spoken in Iran and in Neemrooz province of Afghanistan. Brahvi has three dialects, Sarawani (Northern), Jhalawani (Southern) and Noushki. It has taken many words from its neighbouring languages as loans. The modern Brahvi has incorporated elements from Persian, Sindhi, Balochi and a number of other languages. Brahvi is the only Dravidian language spoken in Pakistan (Bray, 1907; Elfenbein, 1997). Although, Brahvi has been so Balochified, but still it has retained some of its exclusive features. The voiceless lateral /ɬ/ is the most characteristic sound of Brahvi which is not found in the neighbouring languages and even it does not occur in Proto-Dravidian languages (Subrahmanyam, 2009). It never comes in word-initial position but only occurs in post-vocal positions. But this sound is in danger as it has been observed that it is normally replaced by its clear variant /l/. (e.g. /ʈuɬ/⇒ [ʈul], /xəɬ/⇒ [xəl].

The current study will be conducted using OT as an analysis tool. Optimality Theory (Prince and Smolensky, 1993; 2004) has attracted the attention of linguists since its first publication from all over of the world and is considered as the heart of phonology. Recently, most studies have applied OT because OT best studies input and output relations in language acquisition (Tesar & Smolensky, 2004). OT succeeds in describing child phonology (Gnanadesikan, 2004). Since the introduction of OT researchers of L1 acquisition prefer to apply OT model as a framework in their

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[1]The word "Brahvi" is used for both the language itself and its speakers.

research as it has supplanted previous models applied on child language acquisition. OT not only represents what a child during L1 acquisition has produced but it also answers why a child has not produced a particular segment/structure. It also provides the reason beyond child's failure in production. In a nutshell, OT is the most modern theory in linguistics widely used and preferred for first language acquisition.

2. Consonant Harmony

 Consonant harmony (CH) is defined as assimilation of two non-adjacent consonants within a word sharing phonological feature(s).CH has been proposed to be some kind of a simplification mechanism, which helps a child handling the language acquisition task, by reducing the number of articulatory gestures (Waterson, 1978; Klein, 1981). In the process of CH, consonants share the place of articulation features. Various types of consonant harmony such as dorsal, labial, nasal, coronal, etc. are found in child language. CH does indeed target coronals and coronals also trigger CH if target are liquids (Goad, 1997). CH is a worldwide phenomenon found cross-linguistically in children. Why children harmonize words? It has been seen that in the earlier stages of acquisition children face production problems with complex structures and marked sounds. To overcome such production problems, they use the CH strategy to make their speech manageable. Some researchers think that CH is specific to child language (Johnson & Reimers, 2010). CH is a speech development error which automatically disappears from child phonology after completion of first language acquisition. The CH can be partial or full. In the former, consonants share a single feature; either place of articulation or voicing and in the latter, consonants share all features. The direction of CH can be progressive or regressive or bidirectional. In progressive CH, a consonant spreads its feature(s) to its neighbouring right consonant and it is reverse in regressive CH.

The source of difficulty has been studied from two perspectives: a specific phonological/phonetic perspective and a general data processing perspective. Vihman (1978) and Berg (1992) propose that CH may stem from a segmental source, i.e. that it is used for substituting consonants the child has not mastered yet. Children replace unacquired segments with the acquired ones. While many other studies suggest that CH occurs due to phonotactic demands that the child generally prefers harmonic over disharmonic productions or avoids the co-occurrence of certain feature sequences (Menn. 1983; Donahue, 1986; Bernhardt and Stemberger, 1998; Vihman and Croft

2007, Gerlach 2010, Becker and Tessier 2011). CH may be related to the development of prosody, where it simplifies the articulation to help the child focus on new prosodic positions or deal with long words (Keren-Portnoy et al. 2009).

Various types of CH have been reported cross-linguistically in children. In dorsal harmony, the dorsal sounds spread their PoA feature [DOR] to other non-adjacent consonants. In dorsal harmony, coronal and labial sounds anticipate the place feature of dorsal (Ingram, 1974). Directionality of harmony may be regressive or progressive. Regressive assimilation is much more common than progressive (Menn, 1971; Smith, 1973; Cruttenden, 1978; Vihman, 1978; Bernhardt & Stemberger, 1998; Goad, 2001; Webb, 1982; Jun, 1995; de Lacy, 2002). But Macken and Ferguson (1983) presented the data of a Spanish child named Si which show progressive CH. The data of a Spanish child named Si which shows progressive CH. Regressive dorsal CH can be explained through the following examples.

(1)

		Target	**Child output**
(i)	/dog/		[gɔk]
(ii)	/duck/		[gək]
(iii)	/dig/		[gik]
(iv)	/talk/		[kɔk]
(v)	/take/		[kek]

(Ingram,
1974)

We see in (1) that the coronal segments are targeted by dorsals. All coronal sounds lose their place [COR] feature and agree to receive [DOR] feature. All words in (13) have the structure of C1VC2. What is going on is that C1 consonants in each word copy the PoA features of C2 consonants in child form. All dorsal segments replace the coronals. We can say that coronals lose their PoA feature and receive the PoA feature of dorsal sounds. Directionality of harmony in (14) is regressive, i.e. right -to- left. In the cases of regressive harmony, the coronal sounds anticipate the PoA of final dorsal In labial harmony, labial sounds spread their PoA feature [LAB] to coronal and dorsal segments. Rose (2000) presents data regarding harmony by Clara. In her production,

dorsals are most likely targets and labials are the most likely triggers in labial harmony. Labial and coronal harmony is found before dorsal harmony as the former segments are acquired earlier than the latter ones. The hierarchy of harmony is sometimes changed within a language because all children do not follow the same pattern or strategy. The following examples of labial harmony illustrate this.

(2)

		Target	Child output
(i)	/sleep/		[wip]
(ii)	/stop/		[bɒp]
(iii)	/table/		[bebu]
(iv)	/knife/		[maip]

(Smith, 1973)

What is going on in (2) is that coronals are being targeted by labials and the direction of harmony is regressive. Regressive harmony is more frequent and common than progressive in child phonology. The above tokens show that coronal is the most likely target and labial the most likely trigger. It is cross-linguistically found that coronals are targeted by dorsal and labial sounds (Johnson & Reimers, 2014, p.32). It has been observed that dorsals and labials both act as triggers in English child phonology. Coronal sounds never act as a trigger and labials do not target dorsal in English child phonology (ibid). Therefore, Rose (2000) suggested the following hierarchy of CH for place of articulation on the basis of data collected from Amahl and Trevor.

dorsal > labial > coronal

The CH hierarchy of English children is very different from the children acquiring other languages. The data collected from Clara (Rose, 2000), a Canadian French child, presents the following CH hierarchy which is different from that of English acquiring children (Johnson & Reimers, 2010: 34).

labial > coronal > dorsal

The CH hierarchy of English children is very different from the children acquiring many other languages. According to Johnson & Reimers (2010, p. 36) Dutch, German and Jordanian Arabic have the following hierarchy in CH which is also different from that of English acquiring children.

labial > coronal > dorsal

Daana (2009), Levelt (1994) and Berg (1992) have provided data of Farah acquiring Jordanian Arabic, Robin acquiring Dutch and Melanie acquiring German. All these children prefer to retain labials. They target either coronal or dorsal segments. The following CH hierarchy is suggested for these languages by Johnson & Reimers (2010, p. 36).

labial > coronal > dorsal

Nasal harmony is also very common in children (Menn, 1971). In the process of nasal harmony, the nasal sounds like [m, n] spread feature [nasal] to other non-nasal segments to harmonize.. In the process of nasal harmony, the nasal sounds like [m, n] spread feature [NASAL] to other non-nasal segments to harmonize them. The following data exhibit nasal harmony.

(3)

	Target	Child output
(i)	/broom/	[mum]
(ii)	/stone/	[non]
(iii)	/plum/	[mʌm]
(iv)	/stand/	[næn]
(v)	/down/	[næʊn]

(Menn, 1971)

What is going on in (3) is that nasal sounds spread their feature [NASAL] to other segments of the same word. One thing should be noted that in the above examples labial and coronal segments are targets of nasal harmony. The direction of nasal harmony is regressive.

In the process of Lateral harmony lateral segments spread their feature [LATERAL] to other segments. In the process of Lateral harmony, we find not only coronal obstruents and nasals targeted but approximants are also targeted by labials and dorsals. The following data of Amahl acquiring English show lateral harmony.

(4)

	Target	Child output
(i)	/lorry/	[lɒlli]
(ii)	/really/	[lili]
(iii)	/usually/	[luli]
(iv)	/lorry/	[læli]
(vi)	/rolling/	[lolin]

(Smith, 1973)

We can see that approximants are targeted by the lateral. Approximants are not the only target of lateral harmony. It has been seen that non-laterals also have been targeted for lateral harmony i.e. /ceiling/ → [liling], /shallow/ → [lælo] and /shilling/ → [lilinŋ]. Ahmal (Smith, 1973) shows the same process of Lateral harmony.

3. Data Collection

The current study analyzes productions of the subject of this study Manahil (M) aged 13 to 32 months, who was acquiring Brahvi, a Dravidian language, as her L1. The subject had a pure monolingual setting as both her parents are native speakers of Brahvi. She was acquiring Southern (Jhalawāni) Brahvi. The research is father of the child. Both the author and the subject lived together in the same house during the study period. The researcher listened and talked to the subject almost 4 to 5 hours daily during this period. The researcher always had a diary with him in which he noted the words uttered by the subject. Most of the utterances of M were so clear that there was no need to listen them again for confirmation. However, some words produced by her were not comprehensible so the subject was stimulated to produce them again. After confirmation of the outputs, the researcher wrote the data. Four types of CH, namely, labial, nasal, lateral and coronal occurred in her speech which are discussed and analyzed in the following section using Optimality Theory.

4. Presentation and Data Analysis

Consonant harmony (CH) is a common phenomenon found cross-linguistically in child phonology (Vihman, 1978). First language acquisition is commonly characterized by consonant harmony (Goad, 1997). M's utterances show nasal, labial,

lateral and coronal harmony. The four types of harmony are discussed in different sub sections below.

4.1. Labial Harmony

The examples in (5) show that fricatives, stops and affricates are target of labial harmony. The child produces labials instead of other sounds. To use one articulator for production of sequence of sounds is easier and unmarked than to use more articulators. The following examples show labial harmony[2].

(5)

		Input	Output	Meaning
(i)		/ze.ba/	[be.ba]	'beautiful'
(ii)		/top/	[pop]	'cap'
(iii)		/ik.ba:l/	[ib.ba:l]	'a name'
(iv)		/tʃa:p.pe	[pa:p.pe]	'clapping'
(v)		/tʃa.bi:/	[ba.bi:]	'key'
(vi)		/xɘ.ra:.be/	[ba:.be]	'It is bad.
(vii)		/xɘ.ra:b/	[ba:b]	'bad'
(viii)		/tʃe.fɘ/	[be.pɘ]	'down'
(ix)		/tʃeif/	[beip]	'down'
(x)		/ki.t̪a:b/	[bi.t̪a:b]	'book'
(xi)		/kul.fi:/	[ʊp.pi:]	'ice-cream'
(xii)		/kop/	[pop]	'cup'
(xiii)		/kʌm.bəl/	[ʌb.bəl]	'blanket'
(xiv)		/sa.bo:n/	[ba.bo:n]	'soup'
(xv)		/da:l.si.wi:/	[la:l.bi:.bi:]	'an edible thing'
(xvi)		/xa.t̪ʌm/	[pa.t̪ʌm]	'finished'

It is regressive harmony and all targets except two are obstruent consonants. We can summarize the labial harmony process of the above data below.

(6)

	Direction	Domain	Trigger	Target
(i)	regressive	syllable	b	z

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[2]Labial harmony appeared in Manahil's grammar at the age of 18 months.

(ii)	regressive	word	p	ʈ
(iii)	regressive	syllable	b	k
(iv)	regressive	word	p	ʧ
(v)	regressive	syllable	b	ʧ
(vi)	regressive	syllable	b	r
(vii)	regressive	syllable	b	r
(viii)	regressive	syllable	b	ʧ
(ix)	regressive	syllable	b	ʧ
(x)	regressive	word	b	k
(xi)	regressive	syllable	p	l
(xii)	regressive	word	p	k
(xiii)	regressive	syllable	b	m
(xiv)	regressive	syllable	b	s
(xv)	regressive	syllable	b	s
(xvi)	regressive	syllable	p	x

The summary of labial harmony in (6) shows that coronals and dorsals are being targeted by labials and the direction of harmony is regressive. Regressive harmony is more frequent and common than progressive in child phonology (Cruttenden, 1978; Vihman, 1978) because regressive harmony is anticipatory; the child perceives the presence of labial in advance. The above tokens show that coronal is the most likely target and labial the most likely trigger. It is cross-linguistically found that coronals are targeted by dorsal and labial sounds in such spreading (Johnson & Reimers, 2014: 32). Dorsal and labial both act as triggers in English child phonology (ibid). Coronal sounds rarely act as a trigger and labials do not target dorsals in English child phonology. M's data show that dorsals are targeted by labials. The tokens in (iii, x, xii, xvi) show that labial sounds are spreading their feature [LAB] regressively to dorsals. The domain of harmony is not limited to only syllable boundary. It reaches its targets across syllable boundary. In some examples, the feature labial spreads within the syllable and in others it spreads across the syllable boundary.

In the above examples, labials target obstruents and sonorants. The case of change of /kʌm.bəl/ into [ab.bəl] is the only example of its type, so for a moment it is neglected as an exception. Although, /m/ has feature [LAB] due to which dorsal /x/ in (xvi) becomes the target of labial harmony. We find not only the coronal obstruents and dorsals targeted by labial but approximants are also targeted by labials. The words in

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(vi, vii and xi) show that /r/ and /l/ are also targeted by labials. The same words in (vi and vii) are disyllabic and tri-syllabic but the first syllable is deleted first and then the process of harmony starts. In other words, the input in (vi) changes from tri-syllabic word to disyllabic and in (vii) it becomes monosyllabic after deletion of first syllable. The child deletes the unstressed syllables because in the early stage of L1 acquisition children cannot perceive them.

The example (xv) is very interesting due to the occurrence of both lateral and labial harmony simultaneously. Both show regressive harmony. /l/ targets alveolar coronal /d̪/ for lateral harmony and in the process of labial harmony /b/ targets coronal /s/. In both, labial and lateral harmony the targets are coronals.

The triggers determine direction of spreading of consonant harmony. Examples are also found in the world literature (Fikkert, 1994; Kappa, 2001; Menn, 1971; Smith, 2010; Rose, 2000). In world literature, velars are found to be the most frequent triggers of consonant harmony (Johnson & Reimers, 2010). The literature also shows some data of world languages where labials target dorsals. Melanie (Berg, 1992) and Farah (Daana, 2009), who were acquiring German and Jordanian Arabic respectively, illustrate that dorsals are targeted by labials. In the current study, we also see dorsals are targeted by labials. In the following lines, we explain the process of labial harmony using Optimality Theory language. The relevant constraint which triggers harmony is defined below.

SPREAD[LAB] /L-PrWd: The feature labial spreads regressively to other consonants in the domain of a prosodic word.

Tableau 1: Labial harmony in consonants

/ʈop/	SPREAD [LAB]/ L-PrWd	IDENT-IO[F]
a. ʈop	*!	
☞b. pop		*

The candidate (a) which is faithful to the input is rejected on account of violation of SPREAD[LAB] which is higher ranked. Thus, the candidate (b) emerges as a winner because it satisfies the highly ranked constraint SPREAD[LAB] but violates only IDENT-IO[F] which is lower ranked.

The available data show that not a single token shows progressive labial harmony which indicates that M's grammar prefers regressive harmony.

4.2. Nasal Harmony

Nasal harmony is also common phenomenon found cross-linguistically in the child phonology. The following examples show that nasal harmony[3] is operative in Manahil's grammar.

(7)

		Input	Output	Meaning
(i)		/ga.na/	[na.na]	'song'
(ii)		/ka.na/	[na.na]	'(we) go.
(iii)		/ka:n/	[na:n]	'let's move'
(iv)		/ʧa:m.me/	[me:.me]	'it is night'
(v)		/bi:m.me/	[mi:m.me]	'a cartoon'
(vi)		/ha.mi:/	[ma.mi:]	'a name'
(vii)		/d̪o.no/	[no.no]	'like this'
(viii)		/ha.ni:/	[na.ni:]	'a name'
(ix)		/kon/	[non]	'cone'
(x)		/ka:m.bo/	[ma:m.bo]	'let's go'
(xi)		/kan.go/	[nan.d̪o]	'a game'
(xii)		/ha.mi:/	[ma.mi:]	'a name'
(xiii)		/ʧa:m.na/	[ma:.ma]	'at night'
(xiv)		/li:m.bo/	[mi:m.bo]	'lemon'
(xv)		/ən.go:.man/	[ən.no:.man]	'honey'
(xvi)		/pi:.ma:z/	[mi:.ma:z]	'onion'
(xvii)		/ja:m/	[ma:m]	'guava'

We can summarize the nasal harmony process of the above data in (8) below.

(8)

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[3] Nasal harmony appeared before labial, lateral and coronal harmony and was seen in M's production at 15 months of age.

	Direction	Domain	Trigger	Target
(i)	regressive	syllable	n	g
(ii)	regressive	syllable	n	k
(iii)	regressive	word	n	k
(iv)	regressive	syllable	m	b
(v)	regressive	syllable	m	h
(vi)	regressive	syllable	n	ḓ
(vii)	regressive	syllable	n	h
(viii)	regressive	word	n	k
(ix)	regressive	word	m	b
(x)	regressive	word	m	k
(xi)	regressive	syllable	m	h
(xii)	regressive	syllable	m	ʃ
(xiii)	regressive	syllable	m	l
(xiv)	progressive	syllable	n	g
(xv)	regressive	syllable	m	p
(xvi)	regressive	syllable	m	dʒ

The data in (7) and (8) show that the domain of nasal harmony is not limited to monosyllabic words but it reaches to polysyllabic words as well. The direction of harmony is regressive in all words as regressive harmony is more common and frequent in child phonology than progressive (Bernhardt and Stemberger, 1998; Cruttenden, 1978; de Lacy, 2002; Goad, 2001; Menn, 1971; 1995; Smith, 1973; Vihman, 1978; Webb, 1982).

We can see that nasals [n, m] act as triggers which spread their feature [nasal] to coronal (iv, vii, xiii & xvii), labial (v, x & vi) and dorsal (i, ii, iii, ix & xv) sounds. In world literature, we find examples of nasal harmony. Daniel (Menn, 1971) provides examples of nasal harmony in which coronal and labials are targeted by nasals. There is only one example (xiv) which illustrates that liquid [l] is targeted by nasal [m]. It is noticeable that dorsals are targets of harmony more frequently than coronal and labial segments. We apply Optimality Theory to analyze the data. The relevant constraint which triggers harmony is defined below.

SPREAD[NAS] /L-Pr-Wd: The feature nasal spreads regressively to the other consonants in the domain of a prosodic word.

Tableau 2: Nasal harmony in consonants

/ka:n/	SPREAD [nasal] / L-Pr-Wd	IDENT-IO[F]
a. ka:n	*!	
☞b. na:n		*

The candidate (a) is rejected on account of violation of highly ranked constraint SPREAD[nasal]. The candidate (b) is declared as winner because it satisfies the higher ranked constraint but incurs only one violation of lower ranked constraint IDENT-IO[F]. The nasal harmony in M's productions illustrates that the process of harmony reaches beyond the syllable boundary.

In the process of nasal harmony, we saw that the nasals /m, n/ acted as triggers. No single token illustrated that dorsal nasal /ŋ/[4] acted as a trigger because the child has not acquired dorsal segments. Thus, it confirms M follows the universal pattern of L1 acquisition in which labial and coronal nasals are acquired before the dorsal ones. All examples show regressive harmony which indicates that M prefers regressive harmony than progressive one. We have already seen in the process of labial harmony that the child preferred regressive harmony.

4.3. Coronal Harmony

The coronal harmony is not as common as labial, nasal, lateral and dorsal harmony because coronals are the most unmarked segments. Replacement of coronal fricatives with coronal stops is a process of substitution not consonant harmony because coronals are the most unmarked sounds. But affricates in comparison with fricatives seem to be more marked relative to other coronals as the former has two phases in production that is stop + fricative. On account of this, we can claim that the substitution of other segments with affricate /ʧ/ is coronal harmony. The following data show the process of coronal harmony[5].

(9)

	Input	**Output**	**Meaning**

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[4]M could not produce dorsal /ŋ/ even at the age of 32 months.
[5]Coronal harmony appeared late in Manahil's grammar at the age of 22 months of age.

(i)	/xɘ.ʧa.ne/	[ʧɘ.ʧa.ne]	'sleeping'
(ii)	/ʧa.ko:/	[ʧa.ʧo:]	'knife'
(iii)	/ʧɘk.ka/	[ʧɘʧ.ʧa]	'a six'
(iv)	/xʌs.sa:ʈ.ʈɘ/	[ʧʌʧ.ʧa:ʈ.ʈɘ]	'I threw it'
(v)	/xa:ʧ/	[ʧa:ʧ]	'sleep'
(vi)	/xa:.ʧe.wa/	[ʧa.ʧe.wa]	'I sleep'
(vii)	/xʌʧ/	[ʧʌʧ]	'dirt'
(viii)	/xʌʧ.ʧi:/	[ʧʌʧ.ʧi:]	'dirty'

We can summarize the coronal harmony process of the above data in (10) below.

(10)

	Direction	**Domain**	**Trigger**	**Target**
(i)	regressive	syllable	ʧ	x
(ii)	progressive	syllable	ʧ	k
(iii)	progressive	syllable	ʧ	k
(iv)	regressive	syllable	ʧ	x
(v)	regressive	word	ʧ	x
(vi)	regressive	syllable	ʧ	x
(vii)	regressive	word	ʧ	x
(viii)	regressive	syllable	ʧ	x

The data in (9) and (10) show that all velar sounds are target of coronal harmony and the trigger is affricate [ʧ]. The direction of harmony is both regressive and progressive but regressive harmony is found more than regressive which shows that M prefers regressive harmony. The case of coronal harmony is presented in the following tableau. The relevant constraint is defined below.

SPREAD[COR] /Pr-Wd: The feature coronal spreads to the other consonants in the domain of a prosodic word.

Tableau 3: Coronal harmony in consonants

/xa:ʧ/	SPREAD [COR] / Pr-Wd	IDENT-IO[F]
a. xa:ʧ	*!	
☞ b. ʧa:ʧ		*

The candidate (a) is rejected on account of violation of highly ranked constraint SPREAD[COR]. The candidate (b) is declared as winner because it satisfies the higher ranked constraint and incurs only one violation of lower ranked constraint IDENT-IO[F].M's productions show that process of Coronal harmony reaches beyond the syllable boundary.

There are two affricates /ʧ, ʤ/ in Brahvi. It should be kept in mind that the latter was acquired before the former which is opposite to the universal pattern of L1 acquisition in which voiced consonants are acquired after voiceless ones. M does not use /ʤ/ as a trigger for harmony. The question arises that why she only uses the voiceless affricate to harmonize other segments. For my understanding, it is easy for the child to use a voiceless affricate as a trigger when the targets are also voiceless segments. We see that all targets are voiceless sounds which are dorsal fricatives or stops only.

4.4. Lateral Harmony

Lateral harmony is also found in child language phonology cross-linguistically. Amahl (Smith, 1973) shows the process of lateral harmony in which the targets are only approximants. The following data illustrate that lateral harmony is operative in M's productions.

(11)

	Input	Output	Meaning
(i)	/reil/	[leil]	'train'
(ii)	/ril.li:/	[lil.li:]	'cloth sheet'
(iii)	/ei.la:r/	[ei.la:l]	'dates' (fruit)
(iv)	/il.la.re/	[il.la.le]	'did you keep'
(v)	/xo.li:.rə/	[ʈo.li:.lə]	'they get afraid'
(vi)	/bo.lə.ɽi:/	[/bo.lə.li:]	'monkey'

The process of Lateral harmony is summarized below in.

(12)

	Direction	Domain	Trigger	Target
(i)	regressive	word	l	r
(ii)	regressive	syllable	l	r
(iii)	progressive	syllable	l	r
(iv)	progressive	word	l	r
(v)	progressive	word	l	r

The above data in (12) show that the process of lateral harmony found in the grammar of the child is beyond syllabic boundaries. The lateral /l/is the only trigger which targets liquid /r/. The process of lateral harmony is presented in the following tableau. The relevant constraint is defined first.

SPREAD[LAT] /Pr-Wd: The feature lateral spreads regressively to the other consonants in the domain of a prosodic word.

Tableau 4: Lateral harmony in consonants

/reil/	SPREAD [LAT] / Pr-Wd	IDENT-IO[F]
a. reil	*!	
☞b. leil		*

The candidate (a) fails to emerge as winner on account of violation of SPREAD [LAT] /Pr-Wd which is a higher ranked constraint. On other hand, the candidate (b) only incurs a violation of IDENT-IO[F] which is lower ranked. Thus, the candidate (b) emerges optimal.

5. Summary

The main objective of this attempt was to study Consonant Harmony process in Manahil's acquisition of consonants of Brahvi as L1. We saw that CH was operative in the grammar of M. Labial and nasal harmony was more active than lateral and coronal one. In labial harmony, the segments /p, b/ acted as triggers which targeted coronals and dorsals. In nasal harmony, /m, n/ sounds spread their feature [nasal] to coronal and dorsal sounds. The direction of harmony in labial and nasal spreading was regressive only. M's productions also show the process of lateral and coronal harmony. In the former the segment /l/ triggers the harmony by targeting liquid /r/, and in the latter, /ʧ/ triggers the process of harmony by targeting dorsal fricatives and stops. The examples in lateral and coronal harmony show that directionality of harmony was both regressive and progressive. However, regressive harmony was more frequent than progressive. We could not observe dorsal harmony in M's data. This leaves room for further research whether other children of Brahvi also follow the same strategy applied by M or they use dorsal harmony in their speech. This can be confirmed by conducting more studies on Brahvi children. The segments /p,b,m,n,l,ʧ/

acted as triggers and /ʈ,ḍ,s,z,ʤ,k,g,h,,x, r/ were targets in M's productions. We can develop the following hierarchy of CH for place of articulation after analyzing the data of Manahil.

Labial > Coronal > Dorsal

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A CASE STUDY OF ATTRITION OF SARAIKI IN DELHI

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ABSTRACT: A large scale mass migration to and from Pakistan occurred as a result of division of the Subcontinent into two Independent dominions, Pakistan and India. Saraiki speakers who migrated from Pakistan became a linguistic minority on arrival in India. The current study analyzes the speech of 61 such migrants and 57 of their progeny who were born in Delhi after the migration. Half of the participants of both groups were female. The current study identifies the role of markedness, gender, attitude, incomplete acquisition and frequency of use in language attrition. The participants were asked to produce words carrying breathy voiced sonorants [m^h n^h l^h $ɳ^h$ $ɳ^h$], plan alveo-palatal nasal [ɲ], fricatives [z x ɣ] and implosives [ɓ ʄ ɗ ɠ] of Saraiki. The recordings were evaluated by 3 native speakers of Saraiki of the area from where the participants' families had migrated. The findings show that those participants who were more affiliated to Hindi were losing their L1 (Saraiki) consonants faster than those who were less affiliated to it. Those migrants who were young at the time of migration, were faster in losing Saraiki phonemes than those who were adults at the time of migration. The role of phonetic factors was evident in that the participants were losing coronal implosives more rapidly than labial implosives. It is because labial implosives are perceptually more prominent than coronal ones. The participants were not losing retroflex nasal because it is not only used frequently in Saraiki but it also frequently occurs in Hindi. The participants were more accurate in producing coronal fricatives compared to producing velar fricatives. This shows the role of markedness in language loss. The female participants were found to be less accurate in Saraiki consonants than male participants. However, frequency of speaking the L1 (Saraiki) does not seem to have any correlation with language attrition/maintenance.

Keywords: Attrition, Consonant, Hindi, Saraiki

1. Introduction

The British East India Company managed to occupy the Subcontinent of India and Pakistan in 1857. For the next 90 years, the Subcontinent remained under the British control as its colony. In 1947, the Subcontinent got freedom and two independent states of Pakistan and India appeared on the map of the world. The Sub-continent was divided on the basis of religion. Therefore, at the time of the division, there was a large scale transfer of population to and from Pakistan. Lots of Saraiki speaking Hindu families moved from Pakistan to India in 1947. Thus, Saraiki originally a language of the central Pakistan emerged as a minority language in India. The Saraiki speaking migrants who settled in Delhi and their sons and daughters slowly started shifting from Saraiki to the dominant language Hindi. This paper studies the direction of language loss among the Saraiki speaking migrants settled in Delhi. It is relevant to point out that in this paper, the terms attrition, loss, convergence and obsolescence will be used synonymously although experts have pointed out subtle differences between these terms. Since the study was conducted with a view to understand the nature of convergence of Saraiki into Hindi, this paper focuses on only those Saraiki sounds that do not exist in Hindi.

By comparing the phonemic inventory of Saraiki and Hindi, it becomes clear that the consonants of Hindi are subset of Saraiki consonants. Saraiki has in its phonemic inventory all consonants of Hindi. (Consonant phonemic inventories of both languages are given in appendix). Besides, Saraiki has breathy voiced lateral and nasals [mʰ nʰ lʰ ɲʰ ɳʰ], plan alveo-palatal nasal [ɲ] and implosives [ɓ ʃ ɗ ɠ] which Hindi lacks. The Saraiki fricatives [z, x, ɣ] although present in the phonemic inventory of classical Hindi, are substituted respectively with [ɟ kʰ g] in the daily informal conversation of Delhiite speakers of Hindi (Shapiro, 2007, p. 259). In the words of Iverson and Salmons (2008), Hindi is a stop-rich but fricative-poor language. Therefore, substitution of stops with fricatives is common in Hindi (Hock, 1991).The retroflex nasal [ɳ] and velar nasal [ŋ] have special status in both Saraiki and Hindi in that, [ɳ] is very frequently occurring phoneme and [ŋ], in contrast, is a rarely occurring phoneme in both languages. The current project aims to study the nature and direction of language loss in the phonemic inventory of Saraiki speakers of Delhi with a focus on plan [ɲ ɳ ŋ] nasals, breathy voiced [mʰ nʰ lʰ ɲʰ ɳʰ] sonorants and fricatives [z x ɣ].

In the process of attrition of a dominated language, the role of factors such as markedness (Seliger, 1996) and dominant languages (Ecke, 2004) has already been identified. Primarily, the current study tries to tease apart the effect of these two factors. A study of contribution of the following factors in L1 attrition is also one of the major objectives of this study:

a. gender,

b. L2 learning environment,

c. frequency of speaking L1 and

d. functional load of a phoneme

Hindi and Saraiki languages belong to Indo-Aryan family. In both languages, the retroflex nasal is used as a morpheme, a suffix to derive a noun from a verb. (e,g, Saraiki *a+ŋ > aŋ ~ aʊʌŋ 'arrival'*; Hindi *kʌr+ ŋ > karʌŋ 'doing'*).[6] According to the universal markedness scale, coronal sounds are less marked than velar sounds (de Lacy, 2007). On account of complexity, a retroflex nasal is more marked than alveo-

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[6] Let us remember that both Saraiki and Hindi are from the same family of languages i.e. Indo-Aryan; therefore, they have common in their morphological features.

palatal (non-retroflex) nasal because retroflexion involves complex articulatory gesture. On account of previously existing vast literature on the subject, we assume that markedness, influence of dominant language and frequency of use may be significant factors which contribute to language convergence. Therefore, we can develop the following hypotheses about this study.

If language loss is exclusively triggered by only universal markedness, the velar nasal of Saraiki should be lost prior to the coronal nasals, and among the coronal nasals, retroflex nasal on account of being more complex, is expected to attrite before the alveo-palatal nasal. Similarly, among other sounds including implosives, coronals should attrite after velar sounds. Alternatively, if only a dominant language is the cause of language loss, the Saraiki speakers of Delhi should be equally faithful to retroflex nasal and velar nasal because these sounds exist in the dominant language i.e. Hindi; in that case, among nasals, they may lose only alveo-palatal nasal which does not exist in Hindi. And if the effect of frequency of occurrence (functional load) also contributes to language loss, the alveo-palatal on account of being non-existent in Hindi should die first, and velar nasal on account of being a less frequently occurring phoneme, should disappear before retroflex nasal (a frequently occurring phoneme) from the phonemic inventory of the Saraiki speakers of Delhi. The implosives on account of being non-existent in the phonemic inventory of Hindi should also disappear from the phonemic inventory of the participants and the fricatives should attrite or substitute with the corresponding stops of Hindi.

To test these hypotheses, an experiment was conducted with 120 Delhiite speakers of Saraiki with focus on the above Saraiki consonants. In a way, it is a case study of convergence of L1 in the Saraiki speaking community of Delhi to L2 (Hindi). The data were collected in an interview and a word production task. In the interview, the participants were asked to provide information about their personal and linguistic background.

2. Literature Review

In this section some linguistic and non-linguistic factors have been highlighted which contribute to language attrition. In the existing literature, exposure to the L2 and frequency of use of L1 and L2, universal markedness, role of dominant language, age of acquisition and attitude of speakers to L1 and L2 have been found to have a

significant role in language attrition. The following section presents a brief description of these factors.

2.1. Exposure and frequency of use

The opinion of linguists is divided about the role of frequency of use in language attrition. The findings of some studies could not establish any link between these factors with language loss (Opitz, 2011; Varga, 2012, etc.) but some linguists give a lot of importance to frequency of use and recency on language attrition. For example, Activation threshold theory lays stress on the frequency and recency of use in language loss (Paradis, 1993). Schmid (2007) and Schmid and Dusseldorp (2010) found some link between the use of the attriting language in a professional setting and language attrition.

In the opinion of Schmid (2013), the frequency of speech may have negative impact on language maintenance in a vicious circle where speakers feel less confident in their own proficiency and start converging towards a dominant second language. In the current study we conducted a study of language loss to see its relation with language acquisition. The main proposition is that language acquisition is a mirror image of language attrition. In line with this argument, the factors which influence language acquisition may also inversely affect language loss. Previous studies also confirm a close relationship between language use and acquisition (Ellis, 2002; Garlock, Walley, & Metsala, 2001; Goodman, Dale, & Li, 2008; Tyler & Edwards, 1993). Usage-based phonology (Bybee, 2001) also highlights the importance of usage in language acquisition. These studies indirectly imply that language loss also has a correlation with language use.

2.2. Markedness

Markedness is a much used but less understood term in the world of linguistics. There is little agreement among linguists about the real nature of markedness. In the words of Hume (2003), the term markedness dates back to the linguists of Prague school, particularly Nikolai Trubatzkoy and Roman Jacobson. One view about markedness is that more complex sounds are relatively more marked than less complex sounds (de Lacy, 2007). Let us remember that markedness is a relative concept. As an example, compare retroflex consonants with non-retroflex ones. Retroflex sounds are produced with more complex articulatory gestures than non-retroflex ones. Thus, other things

being equal, a retroflex sound will be more marked than a non-retroflex phoneme. Another view is that if consonants are classified on the basis of major places of articulation, normally coronal sounds are least marked and dorsal sounds are most marked with labials in between (de Lacy, 2007).

Another criterion to determine markedness is the frequency of occurrence of sounds in the world languages. A commonly accepted view is that the most frequently occurring sounds are the least marked and vice versa. According to the implicational scale of markedness, if sound X implies sound Y also but not vice versa, then Y is more marked than X (Archibald, 1998). This may be illustrated with examples from phonemic inventories of the world languages. Oral plosives exist in all languages of the world but nasals are not necessarily part of phonemic inventories of all languages of the world (Ladefoged & Maddieson, 1996). There are languages which have only oral stops and there are languages which have both oral and nasal stops. But there are no known languages which have only nasal stops without having oral stops in their consonant phonemic inventories. Thus, the presence of nasal stops implies that of oral stops but not vice versa. Therefore, nasals are more marked than oral stops.

Another important way to determine markedness is the direction of acquisition of sounds in L1. Normally, the unmarked or less marked sounds are acquired before the more marked ones. A similar pattern is followed in L2 acquisition (Eckman, 1991). It is also claimed that the reverse is direction of loss of consonants in language attrition. The claim that language loss is a mirror image of language acquisition implies that in language loss, the more marked sounds are lost before the less marked ones (Hansen & Chen, 2001). One of the objectives of this study is to test this claim in the current context. Another important thing related to this is that the direction of language acquisition and frequency of occurrence of implosive sounds indicates that there is a markedness hierarchy different from that observed in explosive sounds. From the viewpoint of language acquisition (Cissé, Demolin, & Vallée, 2011), articulation (Clements, 2002), and frequency of occurrence (Ladefoged & Maddieson, 1996; Maddieson, 1984), bilabial implosives are found to be the least marked and velar implosives are the most marked with coronal implosives in between. In this regard, if language loss is a mirror image of language acquisition, the direction of loss of implosives among the Delhiite Saraiki speakers should be from dorsal to coronal to

labial implosives i.e. velar implosives should disappear first and labial implosives finally in a language loss case.

2.3. Dominant language

One of the major causes of language attrition is that speakers cannot inhibit L2 influence in an environment where the L2 is dominant (Schmid, 2013). In the current study, we notice that Saraiki speakers are in a very small number in the sea of a people who are native or non-native speakers of Hindi language. Their language is quite unknown and of low profile in India. On the other hand, the dominant language of the society is Hindi which is also the first language of a very large number of speakers in India. There is strong probability of convergence towards Hindi in the Saraiki of the migrants and their progeny.

2.4. Age of L1 acquisition and attrition

It is a long debate on whether an acquired L1 can be lost. In the words of Opitz (2011, p. 20) "In cases other than language pathology, we do not expect an established L1 to deteriorate or diverge from the grammar that has been fully acquired". Some researchers have suggested a 'threshold of frequency of use' and/or proficiency level beyond which knowledge becomes immune to loss (de Bot, 1998). On the other hand, some claim that 'neither first languages nor second languages may lose. With non-use they fade, and though they keep their place in our memory system, they become less accessible up to the point where the knowledge has sunk beyond reach and is for practical purposes lost. In the view of Herdina and Jessner (2002, p. 94) it is possible for someone to lose first language if it is neglected for a long period of time. A compromising view is that of reduced accessibility of knowledge which claims that nothing is totally forgotten (Penfield, 1965; Penfield & Roberts, 1959).

There is a large body of literature on the relationship between age and language acquisition. According to the Critical Period Hypothesis, a language can be acquired perfectly only in a natural environment during the critical period of language acquisition (Lenneberg, 1967; Patkowski, 1990; Scovel, 1988). A related point of view about language loss is that a language once acquired in a natural environment during the critical period cannot be totally lost after puberty (Schmid & Mehotcheva, Footnick, 2007; 2012). Contrary to this, linguists like Flege (1995), Best (1995) and Brown (2000) claim that a new language can also be acquired after the critical period.

If this view point is accepted, then the related viewpoint about language loss is that a language once acquired can also be lost in adult age. A compromised view between these two extremes is that a language can be acquired after the critical period of language acquisition is gone; however, the learning outcome which occurs in adult age is different from a language acquired during the critical period. The difference lies in pronunciation. A language acquired during the critical period is produced with native like accent and that a language learnt after the critical period is normally produced with accent. Similarly, the pattern of language loss which starts during the critical period is expected to be different from that of language loss which starts after that period (Bylund, 2009). According to Montrul (2008) and Schmid (2012b), a language loss which starts during the critical period is actually not a language loss but incomplete L1 acquisition. The assumption that 'language attrition is a mirror image process of language loss' was first expressed by Roman Jacobson. He suggested this idea in his regression hypothesis (Jakobson, 1968). The empirical support to this idea came from Jacobson's study of aphasiac children. Later on, many linguists worked on it and provided empirical support to this idea from their study of healthy normal subjects (Herdina & Jessner, 2002; Keijzer, 2008; Schmid, 2002; Schmid & Mehotcheva, 2012, etc.). The current research study also aims to study the relationship between age and language loss.

According to Schmid (2013), there is not much research on the issue of correlation between attitude and language attrition. She assumes that attriters with positive attitude towards their L1 may undergo slow attrition than those who have negative attitude towards their L1. Very few studies have established a correspondence between attitude and language attrition (e.g. Schmid, 2011) while some studies did not find any correspondence between language attitude and attrition (Cherciov, 2011). Schmid (2012a) reports some contexts in which the holocaust stricken attriters did not want to remember or speak their L1. Such detachment definitely contributed towards their L1 attrition. On the other hands, she (ibid) also talks about a possibility that some traumatic memories afflicted in the holocaust survivors might have pre-occupied their minds to remain there forever. This paper attempts to identify the role of such factors in the process of attrition of Saraiki in the Saraiki immigrants from Pakistan in Delhi.

3. Research Methodology

This section details the methodology used to collect and analyze the data for this study. In the first section, a description of the participants and their grouping factors is given. In the next sub-section, the method and tools of research used for data collection and analysis are described at large.

3.1. Participants of the study

Two groups of participants, one consisting of 57 native speakers of Saraiki and the other of 61 such speakers were selected for this study. A detail of the participants' age and their speaking hours is given in the following table.

Table 1: Detail of the participants

	Group	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Age (years)	Immigrant	66.00	87.00	75.25	6.26
	1st Generation	27.00	64.00	52.53	8.90
Speaking Saraiki (hours/day)	Immigrant	.50	10.00	02.97	2.92
	1st Generation	.50	10.00	02.53	2.76

In the first group were those participants who were born before the division of the Subcontinent into Pakistan and India in 1947 in the areas which are now part of Pakistan. These participants moved to India on the eve of emergence of Pakistan in 1947. The second group comprised of progeny of these migrants. They are called 'first generation of Delhi-born Saraiki speakers' in this study. The number of male and female was nearly equal in both groups. The average age of Delhi-born first generation of Saraiki speakers was 52.53 years. Aged participants for this group were selected with a view that they must be born soon (i.e. only 13 years in average) after their parents migrated to India in 1947. It is expected (and the participants of this group also later on confirmed) that the parents of these participants were speaking Saraiki when these participants (their progeny) were born because it is quite unexpected that the Saraiki migrants must have stopped speaking their mother tongue

(Saraiki) only 13 years after their arrival in a new city i.e. Delhi. In other words, both the migrants and the Delhi-born first generation got input from native speakers of the same dialect of Saraiki and learnt it as their L1. The only difference is that the migrants were born in a monolingual Saraiki speaking area (now in Pakistan) while the Delhi-born participants were born in a multilingual environment of Delhi.

The above table shows that the migrant participants were 75.25 (st. dev. 6.26) years of average age and the Delhi-born first generation of participants were of 52.53 (8.90) years of age at the time of experiment. According to their own statements, the migrant group speaks Saraiki for 2.97 (std. dev. 2.92) hours daily and the 1st generation group speak Saraiki for an average of 2.53 (2.76) hours daily. The following table shows number of male and female participants in both groups.

Table 2: Gender-based detail of the participants

Grouping		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Group Migrant		30	27	57
1 Generation		30	31	61
Total		60	58	118

The above table shows that there is not a big difference between the numbers of male and female participants in each group. Details regarding data collection and analysis are given in the following sub-section.

3.2. Tools of research

Interview and word- production task were used as tools for data collection. The background information provided in the previous sub-section was taken from the participants in the interview. The second author of this paper conducted the interview in Delhi with the participants at places that were convenient for the participants. The interviews were recorded. The interview was conducted in Saraiki. Both first and second author are native speakers of Saraiki. The second author is also a son of a

Saraiki migrant family and speaks the same dialect which Saraiki speakers of Dehli speak.

Afterwards, a set of stimuli was presented to the participants one by one by the second author and the participants were asked to produce the same words in the best pronunciation of their L1. The productions were recorded. Twelve sounds were the focus of this study. There was a long list of stimuli which were produced by the participants including the target sounds to conceal the target consonants. Some of the words in the list of stimuli were also used as distracters.

In most of the cases wherever possible, words that were selected as stimuli had the target sounds on word-initial position. The word-initial position was selected for study because it is considered relatively more unmarked compared with coda position (Archibald, 1998). However, some of the target sounds do not occur word-initially or syllable initially. The retroflex and alveo-palatal nasal [ɳ ɲ] do not occur word-initially. Thus, the words with the retroflex and alveo-palatal nasal on word-final position were selected as stimuli for only these two sounds. Some other sounds namely [ŋ nʰ lʰ ɳʰ] occurred word-medially in the stimuli. For these sounds, words which had these consonants on word-medial position were carefully selected. (See a list of stimuli in the appendix).

For the evaluation of the target sounds, the recordings were presented to four native speakers of Saraiki. In some of the cases there were repetitions of the stimuli. Among the repetitions, the best productions were selected by the first author for evaluation. The evaluators were asked to evaluate only the target consonants in words on a given criterion. The evaluators were asked to strictly control themselves so that their judgements are not biased by the (in)correct pronunciations of the sounds other than the target sounds in the stimuli. Thus the evaluators marked the target sounds only, without getting influenced by the overall productions of the participants. The evaluators were also requested to determine by writing on a piece of paper, if the target sounds were produced incorrect, with which sound the participants had substituted it. The following Likert scale was used for evaluation by the evaluators.

Table 3: Likert scale used for evaluation

Score	Definition
5	Native-like
4	Near-native-like
3	Different from natives but understandable
2	Hard to understand
1	Unintelligible

There were four judges who evaluated the productions on the given scale. The opinions of the judges were different in productions. The four opinions for each of the productions were averaged for use in further analysis. The reliability of evaluation was determined by applying a Cronbach's alpha reliability test. The results of the test are given in table 4.

As table 4 shows, in all but one cases, the reliability coefficient is above 0.7. 0.7 is considered ideal reliability coefficient which indicates 70% agreement among judges (Larson-Hall, 2010). The column three in the table shows percentage of agreement among the judges. The overall high percentage of agreement among judges confirms reliability of the data. In the following section only averaged results are presented. The findings of this study have been discussed elsewhere but in separate sets of consonants which do not present comprehensive picture of the case of attrition of Saraiki in Delhi. The current study is an attempt to draw a thorough and complete picture of convergence of Saraiki towards Hindi in Delhi.

Table 4: Reliability of the evaluation

Sounds	Cronbach's alpha	Reliability (%)
[η^h]	0.785	79
[l^h]	0.607	61

[nʰ]	0.769	77
[ɲ]	0.787	79
[ŋ]	0.765	77
[ɳ]	0.746	75
[x]	0.890	89
[ɣ]	0.843	84
[z]	0.739	74
[ɓ]	0.821	82
[ɗ]	0.910	91
[ɠ]	0.854	85

4. Results

A comparative look at the phonemic inventories of Saraiki and Hindi (see the inventories in appendix) reveals that there are twelve sounds of Saraiki which do not exist in Hindi. Initially, the twelve different sounds of Saraiki and two common sounds between Hindi and Saraiki namely retroflex [ɳ] and velar nasal [ŋ] were included in the list of stimuli for this experiment. However, two sounds namely labial breathy voiced nasal [mʰ] and alveo-palatal implosive [ʄ] were later excluded from analysis due to technical reasons. Therefore, the current discussion focuses only on twelve consonants, ten consonants of Saraiki which do not exist in Hindi phonemic inventory and two nasal sounds which are common in Saraiki and Hindi. Out of the ten sounds which (we assume) do not exist in Hindi, are three fricatives namely [z], [x] and [ɣ] which although exist in written Hindi and in classical formal Hindi t have virtually disappeared from the colloquial Hindi spoken in Delhi (Shapiro, 2007). The purpose of adding only two nasal sounds which are common in both language is that the retroflex nasal [ɳ] is one of the mostly used sound in Saraiki and Hindi and that of including velar nasal [ŋ] in the study is that it is one of the less frequently used sounds of Hindi and Saraiki. Besides, the velar nasal does not have its representation in Hindi orthography (ibid). Like English, it is a consonant which only exists in the spoken repertoire of Hindi speakers but it does not have its representative letter in Hindi

alphabet. Studying these sounds may highlight the role of orthography and frequency of occurrence of sounds in this study.

The results are presented in this section in sets of sounds. The scores of each of the sets are presented separately initially. In the analysis section, generalizations will be developed on the basis of these results.

Table 5: Overall results for breathy-voiced sounds

Sound	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
$[\eta^h]$	1.00	5.00	1.78	1.05
$[l^h]$	1.00	4.50	1.81	0.88
$[n^h]$	1.00	5.00	2.01	1.18

The difference between the scores of the breathy voiced consonants is marginally (in)significant (F=2.859, p=.06). There is no big difference between the mean scores of the three sounds. This shows that the participants are poor in producing these three Saraiki breathy voiced consonants. Overall, the mean scores are between 1 and 2. According to the scale used for evaluation, a score of 1 was awarded for a thoroughly inaccurate production. In other words, a score of 1 indicates total loss of a sound. In the evaluation, a score of 2 stands for 'different from natives but understandable'. The results show that except for alveolar breathy voiced nasal $[n^h]$ other two sounds are *almost* extinct from the phonemic inventory of the participants. The alveolar nasal is also getting lost. The results of the plain (non-breathy voiced) nasals are given in the following table.

Table 5: Overall results for plain (non-breathy-voiced) nasal consonants

Sound	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
$[\textipa{\textltailn}]$	1.00	5.00	2.52	1.33
$[\eta]$	1.00	5.00	3.48	1.19

Sound	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
[ɲ]	1.00	5.00	2.52	1.33
[ŋ]	1.00	5.00	3.48	1.19
[ɳ]	1.00	5.00	3.92	1.30

The difference of mean scores for these consonants is strongly significant ($F=51.509$, p.<0001). The mean values show that the participants have scored the highest in production of retroflex nasal [ɳ] and the lowest in production of alveo-palatal nasal [ɲ]. A score of 4 indicates 'near native-like' production. The average production of the participants is 3.92 for retroflex nasal [ɳ] which indicates that overall the participants are closer to the near-native level in production of the retroflex nasal. The following table shows results for fricatives.

Table 6: Over-all results for fricatives

Sounds	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
[x]	118	1.00	5.00	2.21	1.41
[ɣ]	118	1.00	5.00	2.62	1.47
[z]	118	1.00	5.00	3.65	1.42

The above table shows the scores of the participants for [x] are lesser than for [ɣ] and those for [z] are more than for [ɣ]. A pair-wise parametric analysis confirms that the scores for voiced [ɣ] and voiceless velar [x] ($t=-3.107$, $p=.002$) and those for coronal [z] and velar [ɣ] ($t=7.431$, $p>.0001$) are significantly different from each other. The results confirm that the participants are losing voiceless [x] before voiced [ɣ], and velar [ɣ] before coronal [z]. The following table shows overall results of implosive sounds.

Table 7: Overall results for implosives

Sounds	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
[ɓ]	1.00	5.00	2.92	1.31
[ɗ]	1.00	5.00	2.15	1.20
[ɠ]	1.00	5.00	2.16	1.18

Table 7 shows the scores obtained by the participants in production of implosive sounds. A maximum possible score was 5 which was given on ideally accurate productions and the minimum possible score was 1 which was given on a thoroughly inaccurate production. These results show that the participants are worse on coronal and dorsal implosives than on the labial implosive. A parametric test confirms that the overall difference between the scores at different places of articulation is highly significant (F=45.64, p<.0001), however further post hoc pair-wise comparisons show that the difference between the mean scores obtained by the participants in coronal and velar implosives is non-significant (p>.1). Thus, the results indicate that the participants are going to lose labials lastly and dorsal and coronal implosives before labial implosive. This shows that the performance of the participants is relatively significantly less poor on bilabial implosive. The cumulative results for all consonants studied in the experiment are given in the following figure.
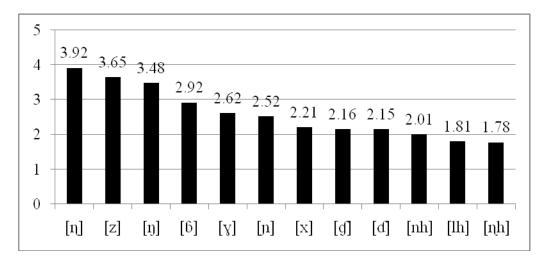
Figure 1: Overall performance of the participants

The figure 1 reveals that overall only three sounds could obtain a score between 3 and 4 and none of the sounds could obtain more than 4. A score of 4 was awarded to a

'near native-like' production and 3 to a production which was rated as *different from natives but understandable*'. Thus only three sounds in the L1 phonemic inventory of the participants are rated as closer to or near native-like category. The figure confirms that all target sounds are attriting. However, they are not attriting from the phonemic inventory of the participants simultaneously at the same speed. There is a specific direction of loss. The two sounds which are common in Hindi and Saraiki namely retroflex and velar nasal are among those (along with [z] which have won the highest scores in this evaluation. The reasons will be discussed in the following sections in detail.

The figure 1 presented an overall picture of direction of language loss. For a detailed analysis we counted the frequencies of the participants lying in different categories. Let us recall that the evaluation was based on a five point Likert scale given above. The table 8 presents a detailed view of how many participants lie in each category in production of the sounds.

Table 8: Number of participants in each category

consonant	1	2	3	4	5	Missing
[ɳʰ]	63	27	14	09	2	3
[lʰ]	49	34	29	5	1	0
[nʰ]	49	22	18	10	4	15
[ɲ]	31	28	22	23	13	1
[ŋ]	13	10	20	56	18	1
[ɳ]	11	7	10	36	53	1
[x]	51	10	19	11	27	0
[ɣ]	41	20	21	17	19	0
[z]	17	11	20	20	50	0

[ɓ]	26	19	21	39	13	0
[d]	48	22	27	16	5	0
[ɠ]	47	24	22	21	4	0

For further clarity, we summed up the number of participants who got 1-2 scores and those who got 3-4 scores together. On the scale used for evaluation, 1 denotes absolute loss and 2 means 'hard to understand' as the target sound. Those participants who earned 1-2 scores have *almost* lost the target sounds from their L1 phonemic inventory. Similarly, 3 denotes 'different from natives but understandable' and 4 denotes 'near native-like' which also means different from natives. Thus the candidates who obtained 3-4 scores show that they are on the way to lose their L1 sounds. And those who have scored greater than 4 points in the evaluation are those who have retained the target sounds. The summary of cumulative scores according to this classification is given in the following table. As the table 8 shows, there were missing values in some of the cases, so we converted the numbers into percentage.

Table 9: Participants who have lost/retained/or are losing the target consonants

Consonant	Lost	Losing	Retained
[ɳʰ]	78.26	20	1.74
[lʰ]	70.34	28.81	0.85
[nʰ]	68.93	27.18	3.88
[ɲ]	50.43	38.46	11.11
[ŋ]	19.66	64.96	15.38
[ɳ]	15.38	39.32	45.3
[x]	51.69	25.42	22.88
[ɣ]	51.69	32.2	16.1
[z]	23.73	33.9	42.37
[ɓ]	38.14	50.85	11.02
[d]	59.32	36.44	4.24
[ɠ]	60.17	36.44	3.39

The table shows that more than 40% of the participants have retained Saraiki [z] and [ɳ] with native-like accuracy and 22.88% of them have [x] with native-like accuracy. Besides, more than 10% (but less than 17%) of the participants have also retained palatal nasal [ɲ], labial implosive [ɓ] and velar fricative [ɣ] with native-like accuracy. The remaining participants have either lost or are losing the target sounds. The four evaluators were also asked to determine the direction of change of the target Saraiki consonants. The following table shows the direction of convergence as unanimously determined by the evaluators.

In the following table, the phonological features involved in the convergence are also noted in column 3. It is important to note that all the sounds listed in column 3 also exist in Hindi. But this must not prompt us to jump to a conclusion that the sole reason of the loss is the dominant language i.e. Hindi. There may be other reasons for this. The substitution of [x] to [k] was noted in only a few cases. In most of the cases, those participants who could not produce [x] accurately substituted it with aspirated velar [kʰ].

Table 10: Direction of convergence of Saraiki consonants

S. No.	Saraiki sound	Convergence	Feature involved
1.	[ɳ̤ʰ]	[ɳ]	[breathy voiced]
2.	[lʰ]	[l]	[breathy voiced]
3.	[nʰ]	[n]	[breathy voiced]
4.	[ɲ]	[ɟ]	[nasal] [sonorant]
5.	[ŋ]	[g]	[nasal] [sonorant]
6.	[ɳ]	[n]	[retroflex]/[anterior]
7.	[x]	[k] [kʰ]	[continuant]
8.	[ɣ]	[g]	[continuant]
9.	[z]	[ɟ]	[continuant], [ant, dist]

10	[ɓ]	[b]	[constricted glottis]
11.	[ɗ]	[d]	[constricted glottis]
12.	[ɠ]	[g]	[constricted glottis]

5. Analysis and discussion

To reach a refined conclusion of these results, we analyze the whole data keeping in view the research questions in the following sub-sections. This section is divided into six subsections. In these subsections, the above data have been analyzed with reference to the role of factors like dominant language, gender, frequency of use, linguistic environment, age, and attitude of speakers in language loss.

5.1. Dominant language and attrition

Dominant languages play a vital role in language death. In the current context, the participants are found to perform better in three consonants which exist in Hindi also. Besides, they performed better in the production of retroflex nasal which occurs in Hindi most of all. Thus the current study confirms the role of dominant language in attrition of a moribund language. The non-coronal alveo-palatal nasal is the most unmarked among all nasals under study in this experiment. But the participants were the worst in accurate production of this sound. On the other hand, retroflex nasal which is more complex was produced most accurately by them. Similarly, velar place of articulation is more marked but the participants were better in velar nasal than alveo-palatal nasal (coronal). These results indicate that the role of a dominant language is stronger than that of universal markedness in language attrition. The participants are better in those more marked sounds which exist in the phonemic inventory of the dominant language Hindi but they are weaker in relatively more unmarked sounds which do not exist in the consonant phonemic inventory of Hindi. The sounds which exists in the dominant language, regardless of the level of markedness, are either retained by speakers or seem to last longer than the other sounds.

5.2. Gender in language loss

Almost half of the participants of this study were male and half of them were female. To identify the role of gender in language attrition was also one of the objectives of this study. The following table shows scores obtained by male and female participants in the production of the target sounds. The scores which are significantly different from each other are highlighted bold. We had two generations of participants in this study and both had male and female participants. Therefore, two variables namely gender and generation are considered in the analysis.

The difference between the scores of male and female participants for implosives is highly significant (F=24.10, p<.001). This confirms that male participants are better than their female counterparts in retaining their L1 implosives.

The role of gender is non-significant in the production of all breathy voiced nasal sounds. The interaction between non-breathy voiced nasal consonants and gender is significant (F=4.371, p=.014) but all other two or three-way interactions are also non-significant. This means that there is no difference in breathy voiced sounds between the pronunciation of male and female participants. The difference between the mean scores of male and female participants for the retroflex nasal is significant (t=2.353, p=.020) statistically but non-significant for dorsal and palatal (p>.1) nasal. A repeated measures ANOVA shows gender (F=.845, p=.360) has no significant effect on the pronunciation of [z]. There is no two-way interaction (p>.1) between gender and generation in the production of [z]. This confirms that there is no difference between male and female speakers in their production of [z]. The effect of gender (F=5.772, p=.018) is significant for [ɣ] but there is no interaction between gender and generation (p>.1). Similarly, the effect of gender (p>.1) is also not significant on the production of [x] with no interaction between gender and generation (p>.1). This means that there is no difference in the performance of male and female participants for these sounds. During the native evaluation, it was also observed that the participants who did not produce the target sounds of Saraiki [z x ɣ] accurately converged to the Hindi sounds [dʒ kʰ g], respectively.

Table 11: Gender-based results

Sounds	Male	Female
[ɳ̥ʰ]	1.75 (1.09)	1.66 (0.81)
[lʰ]	1.97 (0.92)	1.81 (1.02)
[nʰ]	2.04 (1.10)	1.98 (1.26)
[ɲ]	2.53 (1.21)	2.52 (1.45)
[ŋ]	3.57 (1.06)	3.39 (1.31)
[ɳ]	**4.28 (1.13)**	**3.56 (1.36)**
[x]	2.31(1.33)	2.09 (1.49)
[ɣ]	**3.03 (1.57)**	**2.13 (1.21)**
[z]	3.55 (1.47)	3.68 (1.37)
[ɓ]	**3.39 (1.11)**	**2.44 (1.34)**
[ɗ]	**2.57 (1.19)**	**1.71 (1.04)**
[ɠ]	**2.56 (1.26)**	**1.75 (0.94)**

Our main concern in this section is gender. Overall, the effect of gender is significant for voiced velar fricative [ɣ], three implosives and retroflex nasal [ɳ]. For all other sounds, the effect of gender is non-significant. A careful look at the results given in the above table shows that in the production of all these sounds, the male speakers have obtained better scores than female participants. It means the female participants are losing these sounds before their male counterparts. Apparently it seems strange because in the Asian society with male dominance as its prominent social norm, male speakers have more opportunities to come across speakers of other languages whereas females have to sit in homes for relatively longer time than their male counterparts. This unexpected trend in language loss is because females are more innovative than males. Therefore, they may be quicker than male counterparts to adopt Hindi language. Another reason for this is that females have to grow up their children. The

Delhiite Saraiki speakers realize that it is need of time that their sons and daughters acquire the dominant language Hindi as L1. Therefore, the female participants seem to be more responsive than their male counterparts to the demand of adopting Hindi as the L1 instead of Saraiki.

The scores of the male participants for all (except one i.e. retroflex nasal) sounds are also below 4 which means that they are also losing these sounds but their female counterparts are faster in convergence towards Hindi. Only in the production of retroflex nasal, the male participants have acquired more than 4 score which shows that they are between *native* and *near native* stage in the production of this sound. According to Schmid (email communication), in such situations as is the current scenario, it is very difficult to tease apart the effect of gender and sex. Therefore, there are not many studies on the role of gender and language loss. This issue also needs further investigation.

5.3. Effect of linguistic environment on language loss

The following table provides mean scores of those who migrated from Pakistan to India and their progeny who were born in New Delhi[7]. The migrants were born in pure Saraiki speaking monolingual environment but their progeny were born in a multi-lingual Hindi dominant linguistic environment of Delhi. A comparison of the performances of the two groups will help in identifying the effect of dominant linguistic environment on language loss.

The difference of scores between the two groups is strongly significant (F=4.771, p=.031) for breathy voiced nasals. The interaction between the breathy voiced consonants and grouping is also significant (F=3.613, p=.029). The group difference is significant (t=2.093, p=.039) for retroflex nasals. For the other two nasal sounds namely alveo-palatal [ɲ] and velar nasals [ŋ], the difference is non-significant (p>.1). The interactions are also non-significant. These results confirm that the pronunciation of the migrants is better than their sons and daughters for breathy voiced nasal sounds. A repeated measures ANOVA shows that generation has a very significant effect for [z] (F=8.732, p=.004), [ɣ] (F=21.807, p>.0001) and [x] (F=4.913, p=.038). During the

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[7] Since there are many consonants under study, a cumulative quantitative test may show the differences significant. Therefore, significant tests are applied on small sets of consonants which belong to the same class.

native-evaluation it was also observed that the participants who did not produce the target sounds of Saraiki [z x ɣ] accurately were inclined to converge to the Hindi sounds [ʤ kʰ g], respectively. The difference between the scores of the migrants and their progeny is also strongly significant (F=16.89, p<.0001) for implosives. The following table shows the mean scores of the two groups for the target consonants. Those data for which the group difference is significant, are highlighted bold.

Table 12: Generation-based results

Sounds	Migrant	Delhi-born
[ɳʰ]	**1.76 (1.01)**	**1.57 (0.76)**
[lʰ]	**2.08 (0.92)**	**1.78 (1.11)**
[nʰ]	**2.31(1.22)**	**1.80 (1.09)**
[ɲ]	2.76 (1.26)	2.30 (1.36)
[ŋ]	3.63 (1.69)	3.34 (1.20)
[ɳ]	**4.06 (1.30)**	**3.80 (1.29)**
[x]	**2.83 (1.43)**	**1.62 (1.12)**
[ɣ]	**3.15 (1.48)**	**2.06 (1.25)**
[z]	**3.94 (1.35)**	**3.31 (1.43)**
[ɓ]	**3.31 (1.21)**	**2.55 (1.31)**
[ɗ]	**2.59 (1.28)**	**1.73 (0.95)**
[ɠ]	**2.47 (1.18)**	**1.87 (1.11)**

In summary, the effect of generation is significant on implosives, fricatives and retroflex nasal [ɳ]. The above table shows that in all these sounds, the scores of the migrants are higher than their sons and daughters. However, except for retroflex nasal, in all other sounds, the scores of the migrants is also less than 4. This confirms

that the migrants are slower in losing their L1 than their sons and daughters. However, both the migrants and their progeny *are* losing their L1 consonants.

5.4. Critical period for language acquisition and loss

The age of migrants was between 4 and 21 years at the time of migration. Thus, some of these were in the critical period for language acquisition and others were beyond that period at that time. Normally, it is assumed that the critical period ends at the age of 13 (Lenneberg, 1967; Patkowski, 1990; Penfield & Roberts, 1959; Scovel, 1988). The participants who migrated to New Delhi were divided into two groups. In one group were those who were above the age of 13 at the time of migration and the other group comprised of the participants who were below the age of 13 at that time. It is assumed that those who were of 13 years of age or below were in the critical period of language acquisition and those who were above that age, were beyond critical period of language acquisition. In all, 18 participants of the migrant group were beyond their critical period of life and the remaining 39 were below the critical period at the time of migration. The mean scores of both groups for all target sounds are given in the following table. Those mean values which are significantly different from each other are highlighted bold.[8]

Analyses show that there is no significant effect of age on the performance of the migrants for dorsal implosive [ɠ], voiced coronal fricative [z], all breathy voiced consonants and plan nasals. The effect of age on attrition of labial [ɓ] (t=-2.86, p=.004) and coronal implosive [ɗ] (t=-2.44, p=.015) and for fricatives [x] (t=-2.270, p=.028) and [ɣ] (t=-2.792, p=.008) is significant. Most of these are the sounds in which the participants have shown better performance. In other words, the participants are still in the process of language loss for these sounds. Whereas most of the other consonants have either already been deleted are still quite alive in the phonemic inventory of both groups of participants. The results confirm that critical period of language acquisition has some effect on language loss. It has been called incomplete maturation. Those participants who were in the critical period of their life were immature in that they had not fully acquired their L1. Thus they converged to another language with relatively more ease than those who had acquired their L1

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[8] Standard deviations are given in parentheses.

thoroughly. But since both groups are losing their L1, we may infer that an L1 once acquired may be lost due to certain reasons.

Table 13: Critical Period Effect

Sounds	Within CP[9]	Above CP
[ɳʰ]	1.79 (1.04)	1.61 (0.92)
[lʰ]	1.97 (0.95)	2.30 (0.88)
[nʰ]	2.38 (1.30)	2.00 (0.91)
[ɲ]	2.63 (1.26)	3.00 (1.18)
[ŋ]	3.51 (1.17)	3.95 (1.22)
[ɳ]	3.96 (1.31)	4.24 (1.27)
[x]	**2.41(1.40)**	**3.32 (1.22)**
[ɣ]	**2.91(1.41)**	**4.06(1.29)**
[z]	3.80(1.51)	4.23(1.03)
[ɓ]	**2.99 (1.19)**	**3.92 (1.02)**
[ɗ]	**2.29 (1.23)**	**3.15 (1.22)**
[ɠ]	2.34 (1.22)	2.73 (1.08)

5.5. Frequency of use

One of the questions asked in the interview from the respondents was 'how many hours do you speak Saraiki?' A Spearman's correlation test was applied to determine correlation between number of hours they speak Saraiki and accuracy in their pronunciation. The results show that there was no correlation between frequency of use and pronunciation of the participants for all target sounds. Another correlation test

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[9] CP stands for critical period. In the second column are the mean scores of those emigrants who were within critical period of their life and in the third column are the means scores of those who were beyond the critical period in 1947 at the time of migration.

was applied on the scores of migrants only, with a view that they had acquired Saraiki in a monolingual setting so there is a probability of correlation between the number of hours they speak Saraiki and accuracy in their pronunciation. The results show that there is medium to small size positive correlation between frequency of use and four of the target sounds. The results are given below in table 15.

Table 15: Correlation between frequency of use of a language and accuracy

S. No.	Sound	Spearman's rho	p (two-tailed)
1	[ɣ]	.293	.028
2	[ɓ]	.271	.044
3	[ɳ]	.311	.021
4	[ŋ]	.308	.022

These results show that in most of the cases, there is no correlation between language use and language loss. It is also important to note that the correlation is significant for only those consonants which the participants have not yet lost thoroughly. For those consonants which have been lost or which are closer to total loss, frequency of use does not seem to have any strong effect. These results confirm a very minor influence of frequency of use of a language on attrition of that language.

6. Summary of findings and conclusion

First of all, we summarize the findings of this study one by one in the following paragraphs.

1. There was no significant correlation between the number of hours the participants speak Saraiki and their accuracy in pronunciation of the Saraiki nasal consonants. An important factor in this regard is that they speak Saraiki among themselves because there are no other communities of native speakers of Saraiki in Delhi. They are cut off from their origin (Pakistan) where standard Saraiki is spoken. It is also a language which does not have media channels in India. Thus the participants themselves are the only source of listening Saraiki for themselves. Since they themselves are converging to Hindi, their input is not accurate. Thus, an inaccurate input of L1 does not help in

protecting one's L1. This supports the view that the L1 spoken in the L2 environment does not accrue any benefit to the L1 speakers (Schmidt, 2012).

2. The results also confirm that contribution of a dominant language rather than universal markedness, is more effective in attrition of an L1. The participants are losing only those sounds which do not exist in the dominant language. They performed their best in the production of retroflex nasal which is a part of phonemic inventory of Hindi. The findings also indicate that more frequent occurrence (i.e. functional load) of the target sounds in the L1 and L2 is an effective resistant to language obsolescence. Although retroflex nasal is more complex, the performance of the participants is better in its production than velar nasal (despite the fact that velar nasal exists in all three languages (Saraiki, Hindi and English) which the participants speak). Since the performance of the participants is better in velar nasal (a non-coronal nasal) than alveo-palatal nasal (a coronal sound), the better performance of the participants in production of retroflex nasal (another coronal) may not be ascribed to the universal un-markedness of coronal sounds. Actually, the participants performed better in retroflex nasal because retroflex nasal occurs more frequently than velar nasal in Saraiki and Hindi. This supports the idea that a high functional load also resists L1 attrition (Babel, 2008).

3. The way the participants of this study pronounced the target words and the direction of loss shows a drift of phonetic categories of L1 consonants towards those of the corresponding L2 Hindi sounds. In other words, Saraiki vocabulary exists in the minds of the Saraiki speakers of Delhi but they have lost the phonemes from their phonemic inventory. The attriters may be slow in naming low frequency words but Schmid (2013) ascribes this to the system load on bilinguals and not particularly to language attrition.

4. Incomplete acquisition of L1, context of learning L1 and critical period have a very effective role in language loss. Those participants who were in the critical period of their first language acquisition or had not completely acquired their mother tongue at the time of migration have retained/lost their consonants as compared to those who were beyond the critical period of language acquisition at the time of migration and had already acquired their mother tongue. Similarly, sons and daughters of the migrants who were born in natural bilingual environment were better in replacing

Saraiki with Hindi as compared to their parents who started listening/learning Hindi in adult age after they had acquired Saraiki as their mother tongue.

5. The results of this study also indicate that females are more inclined to adopt a dominant language and lose a dominated L1 as compared to their male counterparts.

Appendices

Consonant phonemic inventory of Hindi (Shapiro, 2007)[10]

	Laryngeal	Labial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive	voiceless	p	t̪	ʈ	c	k	q	
	aspirated	pʰ	t̪ʰ	ʈʰ	cʰ	kʰ		
	voiced	b	d̪	ɖ	ɟ	g		
	breathy voiced	bʰ	d̪ʰ	ɖʰ	ɟʰ	gʰ		
Fricative	voiceless	(f)	s	ʂ	ʃ	(x)		
	voiced		(z)			(ɣ)		h (ɦ)
Nasal		m	n	ɳ	ɲ	ŋ		
Flaps	plain voiced			ɽ				
	breathy voiced			ɽʰ				
Tap				r				
Lateral			l					
Approx.		v			j			

Consonant Phonemic Inventory of Saraiki (Syed, 2013)

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[10] The inventory is adapted from Shapiro (2007) who has inserted a footnote that the loan phonemes have been given in parentheses.

	Laryngeal	Lab	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Alveo-platal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	Voiceless	p	ṱ		ʈ	c	k	
	Aspirated	pʰ	ṱʰ		ʈʰ	cʰ	kʰ	
	Voiced	b	ḓ		ɖ	ɟ	g	
	Breathy voiced	bʰ	ḓʰ		ɖʰ	ɟʰ	gʰ	
Implosive		ɓ		ɗ		ʄ	ɠ	
Fricative	voiceless	f		s		ʃ	x	
	voiced			z			ɣ	ɦ
Nasal	plain voiced	m		n	ɳ	ɲ	ŋ	
	breathy voiced	mʰ		nʰ	ɳʰ	ɲʰ		
Flaps	plain voiced			R	ɽ			
	breathy voiced			rʰ	ɽʰ			
Lateral	plain voiced			L				
	breathy voiced			lʰ				
Semi-Vowel	plain voiced	ʋ				j		
	breathy voiced	ʋʰ						

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