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Hybrid Language and Constructions of Modernity in Pakistani Advertising Discourse

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A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics, The University of Auckland, 2014
Abstract

Contemporary social changes associated with globalisation, New Capitalism and postmodernity have led to hybridization of societies all over the world (Fairclough, 2003) including Pakistan. These social changes shape many contemporary discourses, including commercial advertising. This thesis investigates how language mixing and multiliteracies are deployed in Pakistani commercial advertising in print and digital formats. Mixed varieties of English and Urdu are emerging in Pakistan as markers of modernity and middle-class status especially among younger members of Pakistan society.

This thesis deploys Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and theories of language contact to analyse commercial print and digital advertisement from three daily English and three daily Urdu newspapers published in Pakistan. These advertisements are analysed at micro (phrase and clause) and macro level (discourse) levels to show how language mixing in advertising is constructing versions of modernity and cultural hybridity.

The analyses show that print and digital commercial advertising discourse is complex and hybrid at various levels and across different linguistic categories. Pakistani advertising discourse is hybrid, complex and mixed at the levels of word, phrase and clause in terms of mixing English words and grammar with Urdu words and grammar and by representing English in Roman and Urdu alphabets. Advertising discourse’s hybrid features are revealed at the macro level in terms of genre mixing and multiliterate constructions of ideal commercial subjects, national subjects and ‘modern’ Pakistanis. The thesis also argues that hybrid and multilingual advertising is helping produce a new hybrid, mixed language in Pakistani public discourse, one which combines English and Urdu and is being frequently used by middle-class people and youth as part of their linguistic constructions and performances of modern Pakistani identities.
For Ammi, Abbu

and Ali
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Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Linguistic hybridity is evident not only in everyday conversations but also in mass media, academic and advertising discourses. In ads, language mixing or linguistic hybridity can be used for various purposes. Sometimes it can be used to represent the hybrid cultures where people from different backgrounds live together and use many languages for communication. In today’s age of hyper-globalisation, technological transformation, knowledge-based economy and cultural diffusions, language can be part of a broader semiotic medium. Language is used in combination with either audio-visual media or two or more languages can be mixed together. In former contexts hybridity constructs multimodal texts; and in the latter, mixed language situations are designed differently, in linguistic hybridity, as language contact, code-mixing or code-switching. Linguistic hybridity is the key concept in the present study. Based on my research in print and digital commercial advertising texts, I will discuss linguistic hybridity at two different levels micro and macro. My framework of analysis is an integrated version of language contact theories, critical discourse analysis (CDA) and multimodal discourse analysis (MDA) as explained in detail in research design section. (Chapter 1, section 1.7)

1.2 Background to the Present Research

According to Fairclough (2000) a fundamental social change is going on in our society at all social domains, a change also evident in language as language is part of social activity and it represents social activity. Kress (2000a) further emphasizes the point by elaborating that fundamental changes are occurring in the semiotic landscape, changes also related to social, cultural, economic and technological domains. As a result of these changes texts or discourses are becoming more complex, hybrid and multimodal as a consequence of complex social activity. Therefore, there arises the need for new theories of meaning and
representation. These new theories of meaning will replace the old theory of language use with transformations and remaking. In this complex sociolinguistic scenario and as a member of complex and hybrid Pakistani society, I have become interested in analysing today’s technologised, hybrid and multimodal advertising texts from the perspective of socio-semiotic theories. In this regard, I have analysed print and digital commercial ads from six leading daily English and Urdu newspapers of Pakistan.

1.3 Aims and Objectives

The aim of my study is to analyse the kinds and levels of linguistic hybridity across two discursive domains. The first is print ads from six mainstream newspapers published in Pakistan; and second is the digital versions of many of these ads on the websites of the same newspapers. What links these two discursive domains is the use of hybrid language, multimodality and textual complexity. Both domains are hybrid and multimodal to the extent that mixed language and mixing visuals with linguistic signs are frequent. There is a plethora of research on code-mixing and code-switching in spoken discourse. However code-switching in written language is not much researched in this regard. Moreover, my aim here is not just to study language contact but to research the causes and impacts of language contact in written print and digital discourse. The written advertising discourse in Pakistani newspapers is highly stylized and is designed strategically to persuade the consumers and sell the product. Mixing language in advertising discourse is not accidental, but rather, planned, strategic and manipulative. My hypothesis is that a ‘Mixed variety’, mixing of English and Urdu at the levels of lexicon, syntax and script, is emerging as a new variety in the Pakistani sociolinguistic scene and especially in advertising textual discourse. Advertising in the age of ‘super-brand and hyper-globalisation’ (Piller, 2003, p. 176) is increasingly multi-semiotic, multimodal, intertextual and hybrid at all levels. Language mixing is a key part of this multi-semiotic and multimodal discourse.

1.4 Significance of the Present Research

The history of visual commercial advertising goes back much further (2000+ years) and there has been widespread research conducted in this field. The relationship of word and
image is also quite old. What is relatively new is the fact that image has come to the realm of language and how different languages are being put together in one box consciously or unconsciously to manipulate power and business. This is the point where my research starts. My analysis focuses on an ad not just as an isolated ad but as a part of hybrid, multisemiotic, multimodal discourse, constructed through the social process of interaction of word and image and words of different tongues. I am looking at ads from print and digital media from the perspective of how language is significant in an ad and what does mixing of a language with visuals and with other languages and script represent. Social reality is constructed and represented by combining different modes and codes of communication. Mixing languages is not new in today’s world, but rather, has become the norm in spoken discourse as emphasized by Gafaranga (2007, p. 2) ‘bilingualism being the norm rather than the exception’. My research is significant in that it highlights language mixing, ways of and complexities involved in language mixing in written print and digital discourse, and shows various levels of language mixing in terms of lexicon, syntax, script and discourse. Secondly, I am combining various theoretical perspectives in my research such as the concept of language contact with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), and Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA).

1.5 Research Questions

The present research is based on the linguistic and discourse theories presented by Fairclough (1989; 1995; 2003), Halliday (1985), Kress & Van Leeuwen (1996, 2005) and Cope and Kalantzis (2000) as discussed in detail in data analysis (Chapter 1, section 1.7.2). The research questions belong to two different categories corresponding to micro and macro analyses in Chapters 4 and 5 respectively. The questions in the first category deal with language contact phenomena. The questions in the second category deal with the major themes presented by Fairclough (1989; 1995; 2003), namely multimodal, intertextual and inter-discursive analyses as applied to advertising discourse.
Category 1: The questions I discuss are:

1. What and how different languages are mixed together in print and digital advertisements?
2. What are the causes and impacts of language mixing and language switching within the advertisements?
3. What scripts are mixed together in the advertisements and what effects do they create for the reader?

Category 2: The questions I discuss are:

4. Is there any genre-mixing in the text, what genres are mixed together, and what are the purpose and effects of genre-mixing?
5. How does social practise of advertising in Pakistan is linked to global and international practices of advertising?
6. How are global themes such as ‘aestheticization of public discourse’, cultural globalisation, and ‘social informalization’ represented through the advertising discourses in Pakistan?
7. How do different semiotic modes interact in multisemiotic and multimodal texts and what effects do they create for the reader?
8. How does language mixing in advertising discourse relate to and target a particular class or specific audience in Pakistan?

1.6 Key Theoretical Concepts

Certain terms and concepts need to be defined and explained as I am using different theories in my research such as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Multiliteracies, and language contact analysis. Some of these theories are quite new in the sociolinguistic landscape, so understanding these terms is crucial before using these in the analysis.
1.6.1 Globalisation

Globalisation is a much contested term and is a buzz word in today’s world. I have used the term ‘globalisation’ in the sense Fairclough (2000a; 2003; 2006) has defined it: ‘globalisation is the contemporary tendency for economic, political and social processes and relations to operate on an increasingly global scale’ (Fairclough 2003, p. 217). While economic globalisation has received great attention, cultural globalisation is also important because it involves changes related to language practices (Lash and Urry, 1994), and ‘changing relationship between languages and the increasingly important role that a few major international languages –and most obviously English- are taking on at the expense of the great majority of languages’ (Fairclough 2000a, p. 165). Fairclough, further emphasizes, ‘Globalisation is represented as an agent which itself causes changes in the world’ (Fairclough, 2006, p. 4). Similarly Wise (2008) also defines globalisation and differentiates between what is international and what is global. International refers simply to inter-nation, and globalisation involves cultural, economic and political processes operating at a global scale within the ‘framework of the nation-state’ (Wise, 2008, p. 28).

1.6.2 Modernity/ Postmodernity

Modernity / post modernity refers to the ‘post industrialist’ and global tendencies of change where ‘mode of information’ has taken primacy over ‘mode of production’ (Chouliariki and Fairclough, 1999). (Post)modernity is associated with hybridity and emphasizes the blurring of social boundaries in the processes of the modern world such as mixing of discourse, mixing of genres, mixing of social practice of one domain of life with that of another. (Harvey, 1990; Jameson, 1990; Fairclough, 2003). A detailed review and discussion of Modernity and Post modernity is outlined in Chapter 5.

1.6.3 Discourse

Discourse is used across social sciences in variety of ways. Discourse can represent language, visual image or both. It is the representation of social life. Different discourses represent social life differently (Fairclough 2003). ‘Discourse with a big “D”, according to
Gee (2008) is always more than just language’ it is ‘saying (writing)-doing-being-valuing-believing combinations. On the other hand discourse with a little “d” is used for ‘language in use or connected stretches of language’ (Gee, 2008, p. 154). ‘Discourses are inherently ideological’ and they are ‘intimately related to the distribution of social power and hierarchical structure of the society’ (Gee 2008, pp. 161-162).

1.6.4 Order of Discourse

The term ‘order of discourse’ derives from Michel Foucault (1984) but in my research I am using ‘order of discourse’ as Fairclough (1989, 2000 & 2003) has used it. An order of discourse is a ‘particular combination or configuration of genres, discourses and styles’. In other words, an order of discourse is ‘the social structuring of linguistic variation or difference’. As there are different possible combinations in which linguistic structures may combine but the choices of combination are always socially structured (Fairclough, 2003, p. 220).

1.6.5 Discourse Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis

In The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics (1997), Discourse Analysis is a method of analysis used for text description, form the study of words and sentences to the larger units of text. The term was first used in 1950s by Zellig Harris. There are many versions of discourse analysis, some textually oriented and others non-textually oriented (Fairclough, 2003). Discourse analysis is basically a structural analysis of the text.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), on the other hand is a term used by Fairclough (2000, 2003) frequently. Fairclough (2003) emphasizes that CDA is not merely the linguistic analysis of the text, but rather, oscillates between a focus on a particular text and the ‘order of discourse’. Unlike structuralists and formalists, Fairclough (2001) uses discourse analysis critically to raise awareness of how power, inequalities, privileges, and status are constructed partly through linguistic or semiotic functions.
Fairclough (2003) further states that ‘CDA is an analysis of the dialectical relationship between discourse (including language but also other forms of semiosis, e.g. body language or visual image) and other elements of social practice’. Fairclough’s definition of CDA as a dialectal relation, between discourse and other elements of social practice, forms an important basis for macro analysis in Chapter 5 in this thesis. The macro analysis shows how advertising discourse in Pakistan is representing and constructing multisemioticity, multimodality, intertexuality and socio-cultural hybridity (see details in Chapter 1, section 1.7.2 and Chapter 5).

### 1.6.6 Interdiscursivity

Interdiscursive analysis of the text shows the mix of genres, discourses and styles and how the mixing of genres, discourses and styles is articulated and networked together in the text. This analysis mediates between linguistic analysis and other forms of social analysis of social events and practices (Fairclough, 2003).

### 1.6.7 Intertextuality

Intertextuality is the presence of elements of other texts within a text or allusions in a text to other texts, genres, or discourses. The most common form of intertextuality is reported speech in which there is the presence of other voices in the text beside the author’s own voice. All texts are said to be related to other texts in one way or another. (Bakhtin, 1981; Fairclough, 1995b; Fairclough, 2003)

### 1.6.8 Multiliteracies

Multiliteracies is the concept originated by the New London Group, a cohort of sociolinguists and discursive theorists from around the world, who met and tried to resolve the issues posed by new social and discursive transformations at all levels. The agenda of the meeting was to figure out how language will meet the demands put forward on it by ‘cultural and linguistic diversity’, by local diversity and ‘global connectedness’. How language will cope with social change in linguistic boundaries, modes and channels of communication and with changes at workplace, social, public and private spheres of life (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000, p. 4). There
arises a need of new theories of meaning and transformation, new pedagogies of teaching and learning and new concepts to interpret the social changes because of the ‘multiplicity of communication channels and media and increasing trends in cultural and linguistic diversity’. The New London Group decided to identify and develop the critical concept of ‘Multiliteracies’ as a result of their discussions (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000). I will use this concept in my research to analyse that how texts are enacting or creating multiliteracies.

1.6.9 Multimodality

Multimodality has become frequent phenomenon across all semiotic modes. There is a developing trend of crossing boundaries across various semiotic modes. The official documents, university reports, media texts are using visual along with verbal modes of communication extensively. The crossing of boundaries among various modes of communications is called multimodality and it is a very common feature of present day discourses, especially commercial advertising discourses.

1.6.10 Linguistic hybridity

Linguistic hybridity is a key term in my research. Linguistic hybridity here illustrates various kinds of mix at various levels. It refers to mixing of languages at inter and intra-sentential levels; mixing of language with visual images and mixing of discourses and mixing of genres. All sorts of mixing are analysed at different levels and explained in detail in Chapters 4 and 5.

1.6.11 Theme

The notion of ‘theme’ is used at the macro level in the interdiscursive analysis in its social sense. At this level ‘theme’ refers to social themes, for instance the theme of new capitalism, cultural diversity and cultural hybridity which are represented by a particular selection and combination of languages, scripts, genres, discourses and styles in the data.
1.7 Research Methodology

The present research is primarily qualitative in nature and aims at analysing verbal and visual data through a model developed by combining CDA (Fairclough, 2003), MDA (theories of multimodality by Kress, 2010; multiliteracies by Cope & Kalantzis, 2000) and language contact theories.

1.7.1 Data Collection

My data consists of print and digital versions of commercial advertisements from Pakistani English and Urdu newspapers. These advertisements usually occupy a quarter or half of the page in a newspaper in print and digital versions and are, like most of the advertisements, very colourful and prominent within the newspaper. These commercial ads promote frequently used products and services in our day-to-day life in contemporary urban Pakistan.

I have collected commercial ads from six mainstream daily newspapers in Pakistan. Three of the six newspapers are printed in English and the other three in Urdu. In addition to the print version, I have also collected ads from some newspapers’ websites. The three English dailies, I collected the ads from, are:

1. Dawn
2. The News
3. The Nation

And The three Urdu dailies used are:

1. Jang
2. Roznama Express
3. Roznama Nawa-i-Waqt

The ads were collected over a period of five weeks (from 1\textsuperscript{st} of January, 2010 to 10\textsuperscript{th} of Feb, 2010). The print database of ads consists of all the ads collected from the three Urdu newspapers, Jang, Roznama Express and Roznama Nawa-i-Waqt. The total number of print ads collected from these newspapers is 148 as shown in table 1.1. There were a few ads in Roznama Nawa-i-Waqt and 99\% of the print ads are collected from the other two Urdu newspapers. I have collected most of these ads which mix two languages or script, and a few
ads which are entirely in English. The hybrid ads or the ads which mix languages and/or scripts form main data for micro and macro analysis and the ads entirely in English language and Roman script are analysed and discussed more fully in Chapter 5 in section 5.2.1.

Digital data consists of hybrid ads collected from e-papers of these six newspapers. The e-paper is a part of the website of all the English newspapers and some Urdu newspapers. These digital commercial ads are for mainstream brands, products and services and usually appear on the first or second page of the e-papers. The e-papers of all the English newspapers are full of news, headlines, editorials and all the traditional kinds of texts found on the website of any newspaper. However, unlike the print version of the English newspapers, I could not find any ad within e-papers of these English newspapers. There were local ads scrolling on the sides and on top and bottom of the websites which were in video format but no ads in the form of one picture as they are usually found in print versions.

Contrarily, I found ads for mainstream products and popular brands on the first and second pages of the e-papers of two Urdu newspapers, Roznama Express and Roznama Nawa-i-Waqt. The e-paper of the third Urdu newspaper, Jang, was launched in late 2010 after I collected my data. Because of the availability of only two Urdu e-papers for my digital data collection, I collected digital ads for two months (February-March 2010), from the websites of Roznama Express, [http://www.express.com.pk/epaper](http://www.express.com.pk/epaper) and Roznama Nawa-i-Waqt, [http://www.nawaiwaqt.com.pk/](http://www.nawaiwaqt.com.pk/). These e-papers consist of 15 to 16 pages but all these ads which I have collected are mostly advertised on the first two pages of the e-paper. It is very rare that these main commercial ads appear on any other page of the e-paper than the first two pages. The total number of digital ads collected is 196 (see table 1.1).

I have classified the ads in both print and digital data into 13 different categories as shown in table 1.1. The first category is telecommunication which includes all the ads from various public and private telecom companies of Pakistan:

1. Pakistan Telecommunication Company Limited (PTCL)
2. Mobilink
3. Telenor
4. Ufone
5. Warid
6. Zong

I have also included ads for mobile phones in this category because in some ads they are advertised by the telecom company instead of by the manufacturer of the mobile phones.

The Second category is banking sector including ads for their services and promotions:

1. National Bank of Pakistan (NBP)
2. KASB Bank
3. Bank Al-Habib
4. Bank Al-Falah
5. Meezan Bank
6. Allied Bank
7. Askari Bank
8. First Women Bank
9. Soneri Bank
10. Khushali Bank

There are many more banks in Pakistan than are included here, and also cater to different social classes of Pakistan. I have only provided the list of the banks which are advertised in print and digital data here. Third category is electric appliances which includes all the appliances advertised in both print and digital media. The type of electronics and appliances of various brands advertised in this category are:

1. Refrigerators
2. Ceiling and Pedestal fans
3. Air conditioners
4. Washing Machines
5. Hot water pump

Fourth category is automobiles, including motor bikes and fuel. Fifth category is of clothing, jewellery and shoes. Sixth is commercial events which mainly consist of shopping festivals especially in Dubai. Seventh is food which includes packaged and ready-to-cook meals,
snacks, chewing gums and drinks. Eighth category is beauty products which include beauty bars, creams, shampoos and beauty procedures. Ninth category which includes products for daily health and hygiene like soap and toothpaste, washing powder, general flu prevention products, multivitamin and condoms and children’s nappies. Tenth category is fertilizers which are advertised at particular times of the year. Eleventh category is famous TV shows. One of the ads in this category is for the famous Islamic TV show ‘Aalim Onine’, which shows the association of Urdu usage with Muslim identity (see Chapter 5). Twelfth category consists of all the ads advertised by either the provincial or federal government or the government owned departments to promote and sell their services. A list of these government departments is:

1. Government of Pakistan
2. Government of Sindh
3. Government of Punjab
4. Federal Board of Revenue (FBR)
5. Pakistan International Airlines (PIA)
6. Pakistan Post (PP)
7. PEPCO
8. NAVTEC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Ads</th>
<th>Print</th>
<th>Digital</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Telecommunication</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Banking</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Electronics</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Automobiles</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Clothing, Shoes, Jewellery</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Commercial Events</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Food</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Beauty Products</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>04</td>
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</table>
9. General Category  29 11 40
10. Fertilizers  05 03 08
11. Famous TV Shows  03 05 08
12. Government Departments  15 25 40
13. Investment Companies  03 04 07
14. Educational Institutes  15 08 23

| Total    | 148 | 196 | 344 |

**Table 1.1:** Distribution of print and digital ads in the data

Thirteenth category consists of ads for investment and life insurance companies. Fourteenth category has ads for private and public sector universities and educational institutes. The distribution of print and digital ads according to the type of category is detailed in table 1.1. The total number of ads, including print and digital, is 344 which constitute my database for micro and macro analyses in Chapters 4 and 5.

**1.7.2 Data Analysis**

My analysis is based on combining Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Fairclough, 2003), language contact phenomenon and Multimodal Discourses Analysis (MDA) (Kress, 2000; Cope & Kalantzis, 2000). There are two types of analyses, micro and macro as detailed in Chapters 4 and 5. The main purpose of analyses is to analyse linguistic hybridity in the given discourses at different levels and to discuss how it emerges and what social impacts it has. Fairclough (2003) presented three dimensional framework of CDA. The CDA analysis includes textual analysis, intertextual analysis and interdiscursive analysis as shown in figure 1.1. I have combined linguistic analysis (from CDA, figure 1.1) with language contact theories and termed it as micro analysis (see Chapter 4). In macro analysis, I have combined intertextual and interdiscursive analyses (from CDA, figure 1.1) with MDA (see Chapter 5).
Linguistic hybridity at the micro level is when one language is mixed with another language at the level of clause, phrase, and word. This mixing of language at the micro level is language contact, code-mixing or code-switching. I have analysed linguistic hybridity at
micro level in detail in Chapter 4. I basically divided each language (English or Urdu) into three parts, code (lexicon), matrix and script. I further selected the options within code matrix and script for both English and Urdu and generated 18 possible combinations using matrices (see details in Chapter 4).

At macro level linguistic hybridity consists of mixing genres, which leads to genre chains, discourse mixing, mixing of the order of discourses and shifting ways in order of discourses. According to Fairclough (2003) mixing genres and mixing discourses represent linguistic hybridity at structural and social levels. A text is a part of social activity and also represents social activity. Therefore, hybrid language, genre and discourse represent hybrid cultures. These hybrid cultures in turn construct linguistic multiculturalism, which leads to cosmopolitanism and globalisation. By analysing linguistic hybridity at macro level I will deconstruct the texts of my data in terms of its macro level linguistic analysis followed by interdiscursive and intertextual analysis presented by Fairclough (2003). I carry out detailed macro analysis of the ads in Chapter 5.

Within macro analysis, linguistic hybridity is analysed using the critical concept ‘multiliteracies’ developed by the New London Group (2000). The New London Group consist of linguists and sociolinguists around the world who organised their meeting in New London, New Hampshire (USA) to develop new literacy design according to the needs of the changing world. According to the Multiliteracies Project the texts have increasing tendency towards multisemioticity and multimodality, as a result of transformations associated with globalisation. According to Fairclough (2000b) the critical concept of multiliteracies addresses two developments in our contemporary society, cultural hybridity and multimodality. Cultural hybridity is increasing as the interaction across cultures and linguistic boundaries is increasing. Multimodality is increasing as different modes of communication are mixed and used together as language with visual images, symbols and sounds. As language is mixed frequently with visual images and sounds in my data, so my analysis at macro level will deconstruct the multimodality and multisemioticity of texts. Moreover, I will use this concept in my research to analyse that how texts are enacting or creating multiliteracies.
Chapter 2
Literature Review

2.1 Introduction: Advertising and CDA

The postmodern world is undergoing economic and social changes at many levels including; ‘governance of new capitalist societies, hybridity or the blurring of social boundaries, shifts in space and time associated with globalisations and hegemonic struggles to give a universal status to particular discourses and representations, ideologies, citizenship and public space’ (Fairclough, 2003, p. 7). These economic and social changes are affecting many social activities, especially language. Language is both part of social activity and represents social activity. Kress (2000a) emphasizes that within postmodern culture fundamental changes are occurring in the semiotic landscape related to social, cultural, economic and technological domains. Texts or discourses have become more complex, hybrid and multimodal as a consequence of these social, economic and semiotic changes. Older theories of meaning or representation do not adequately account for these changes in audio, print and digital texts. We need new theories of meaning and approaches to representation to account for postmodern linguistic hybridity and textual complexity. Nowhere is this more the case than with advertising discourse.

Much media research has focused on analysing advertisements from the perspective of media and content analysis. However, my research focuses on advertisements as linguistic and discoursal data. Ads, as data, are taken as discourse consisting of words and images in print and digital formats. These ads are analysed on both micro (linguistic analysis) and macro levels (multiliteracies, intertextual and interdiscursive analysis) as detailed in Chapters 4 and 5. Much ground-breaking research has been carried out separately in the fields of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Language Contact. My research project combines these approaches with Multiliteracies and proposes a new model for analysing hybrid discourse, one which highlights the transformations going on in present-day print and digital commercial advertising discourse in Pakistan.
In this chapter, I briefly review significant theories in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA), and language contact as they relate to advertising discourse. I discuss Fairclough’s theory of CDA in detail and show how it serves as a basis for the analysis in this research. Multimodal discourse analysis is incorporated in the main CDA carried out at both micro and macro levels. My analytic approach to advertising discourse is eclectic, incorporating grammar based on Halliday’s work, multiliteracies, MDA and language contact. The eclectic approach strengthens CDA by bringing to surface different layers of meaning, power-play, ideologies and social constructs embedded in the Pakistani advertising discourse.

2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA): An Overview

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an interdisciplinary field and cannot ‘be viewed as a holistic or closed paradigm’ (Wiess & Wodak, 2003, p. 12). Numerous studies have been carried out in CDA from diverse perspectives, sociological, psychological, historical, anthropological, linguistic, philosophical and contextual, each with different theoretical models and research methods. Discourse, ideology and power are at the thematic heart of all CDA (Weiss & Wodak, 2003); the origins of CDA can be traced back to ‘Western Marxism’ (including key figures such as Antonio Gramsci, members of the Frankfurt School, Louis Althusser) where a greater emphasis is given to ideology and hegemony in reproducing ‘capitalist social relations’ (Fairclough et al., 2011, p. 360). I will review now the theoretical approaches and development in CDA research outlined by Fairclough et al. (2011).

**Critical linguistics and social semiotics:** The foundations of CDA were laid by critical linguistics developed in Britain in the 1970s (e.g., Fowler et al., 1979) and associated with Halliday’s systemic linguistics (1978). In this tradition of CDA research, grammatical (nominalizations, passive structures) and linguistic (metaphors, argumentative fallacies, rhetorical devices, presuppositions,) forms are analysed by keeping in view the social context of the discourse and deciphering power relations implicated in the language of texts. More recently, some key figures in critical linguistics (van Leeuwen, 2005a; van Leeuwen and
Kress, 2006) have developed social semiotics to analyse the multi-semiotic and multimodal nature of texts. Kress (1990) and Kress and Hodge (1979) highlight the communicative potential of visual devices in the media and explore how various societies value different modes of communication.

**Fairclough’s approach:** Fairclough (1992; 2003; 2004; 2005b; 2006) has developed a dialectical theory of discourse. Discourse is not neutrally representative but in dialectical relations with other elements of social practice (Fairclough, 2003). Fairclough’s theory of CDA analyses the linguistic and textual features of discourse on one hand and on the other explores how CDA is useful in disclosing the discursive nature of much contemporary social and cultural change and social power relations. The language of mass media is scrutinized as sites of power struggles where social transformations associated with hybridity, new capitalism, globalisation and knowledge-based economy are taking place and changing existing or more local social dynamics. Fairclough’s approach towards CDA is problem-oriented and aims to raise awareness of social issues, problems and power manipulation through texts (Meyers & Wodak, 2001; Fairclough, 2003; Fairclough et al., 2011).

**Socio-cognitive studies:** Teun van Dijk is a key figure for contextual and cognitive approaches to CDA. Van Dijk explores the cognitive model of how discourse operates in racism, ideology and knowledge (1993; 1998). He takes interests in units of language larger than sentences and emphasizes the context-dependency of meaning in discourse (Meyers & Wodak, 2001). Recent developments in CDA and cognitive theory include van Dijk’s (2008b) contextually based study of relations between knowledge and discourse; Koller’s (2004; 2005) cognitive metaphor theory in the area of corporate discourse; Paul Chilton’s cognitive linguistics approach to the analysis of political discourse (Chilton, 2002; 2003; 2004); and Wodak and Chilton’s (2005) development of a CDA research agenda (Fairclough et al., 2011).

**Discourse-historical approach:** The discourse-historical approach (DHA) was developed by Ruth Wodak and other scholars, following Bernsteinian sociolinguistics and the Frankfurt School in Vienna (e.g. Reisigl and Wodak, 2001; 2009). DHA combines sociological
(Hallidayan linguistics, critical sociolinguistics) and historical and philosophical (social philosophers such as Pecheux, Foucault, Habermas, Bakhtin, Voloshinov) approaches to critically analyse discourse. According to Fairclough et al. (2011), DHA has recently been used to analyse racist discourse (Krzyzanowski and Wodak, 2008a; Wodak, 2008) and identity modes of social construction in European politics (Wodak, 2007) and to critique anti-Islamic and other forms of racism in the British press (Richardson, 2004).

**Argumentation and rhetoric:** A range of studies, combining argumentation theory and CDA, effectively study a diversity of contexts and genres (newspapers, management, nationalist, populist, discriminatory and political discourses) to analyse argumentation in terms of legitimation strategies. A legitimation strategy (‘justification/reasons’) is seen as a discourse strategy which CDA deconstructs to unpack the ideological structures bound up in the rhetorics in the discourse. Van Leeuwen (1995) develops a grammar of legitimation (1997) and states four major types of legitimation strategies: authorization, rationalization, moral evaluation and mythopoesis, along with other sub-strategies (van Leeuwen, 1996b). Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) using these legitimation strategies, deconstruct how subtle racist ideologies are embedded in immigration policies and show how immigration legitimizes its control over the migrants tacitly. Similarly, Richardson (2004) explores discourse strategies used to legitimate anti-Islamic rhetoric in the UK press. Mulderrig (2011a) demonstrates ‘how certain modes of self-representation can serve as legitimation strategies in New Labour discourse’ (Fairclough et al., 2011, p. 365).

**Corpus-based approaches:** Corpus-based approaches combine CDA with contemporary computer-based methods of analyses in corpus linguistics. Mautner (2005; 2009) highlights the role and importance of corpus-based CDA in sociolinguistic research. Online databases and Internet resources can provide a large, readily accessible corpora for CDA, although they come with their own challenges (Mautner, 2005). Mautner outlines the advantages of using the web as a corpus as it has a ‘dynamic and ephemeral quality’ and a ‘diversity of voices’ (2005, pp. 816-817). This approach uses innovative corpus tools in CDA to explore specific themes and the recurrence, repetition or collocations of these themes over time. Mulderrig’s

2.3 Why Fairclough’s Theory of CDA?

I have used Fairclough’s model of CDA (see detailed CDA framework in Chapter 1, figure 1.1) in my research to analyse the linguistic hybridity and globalisation in Pakistani advertising discourse. There are a number of reasons for drawing upon Fairclough’s model of CDA in my research. He discusses social aspects of discourse analysis often overlooked by structural linguists and discourse analysts. Initially, discourse analysis (DA) focused on the structural, descriptive and organisational aspects of language but lacked a critical sociological perspective on language use. The development of DA in the 1970s shows that discourse analysis from a structural perspective is abstract and far removed from actual language use. It adopts a mostly non-critical approach to language use and communication (van Dijk, 1985). On the other hand, Fairclough (1995), Wodak (2000a), van Dijk (1985) and Gee (1990) have adopted a critical perspective on language and discourse. Fairclough, in his social and critical theory of language (1989; 2001) and extended theory of Critical Discourse Analysis (1995a), clarifies that his theory is an effort to raise awareness about the significance of language in society (Fairclough, 1989). Over the years he has applied his theory of CDA to different discursive domains of social life including media, academia, public sphere and education.

Fairclough (1989) describes discourse as text, interaction and context. Discourse is a whole social process of interaction of which text is one part. Discourse includes, in addition to text, ‘the social process of production, of which the text is a part and the social process of interpretation for which the text is a resource’ (p. 25). Thus text analysis is a part of discourse analysis. Fairclough (1989) shows the relationship of Discourse as text, interaction and context (in figure 2.1).

Language and society are related to each other in ways which represent, on one hand, social determination of language use and, on the other hand, linguistic determination of society. Language is part of society; it is a part of socially conditioned processes, sometimes non-linguistic parts of society (Fairclough, 1989). CDA, according to Fairclough (2003, p. 2), is
based on the assumption that ‘language is an irreducible part of social life, dialectically interconnected with other elements of social life, so that social analysis and research always has to take account of language’.

**Critical Model Language**

![Figure 2.1: Discourse as text, interaction and context](source: Fairclough (1989, p. 25))

In my thesis I have applied this socially-oriented analysis of language approach (CDA) to Pakistani advertising discourse, using CDA tools to carry out both linguistic and social analysis of the text. Fairclough’s CDA model provides critical research tools to discourse analysts and social scientists and tries to transcend the division between social theory and discourse and text linguistics (Fairclough, 2003). The linguistic analysis shows the patterns of language use and the choices made by the social actors in the data; further, these linguistic
patterns and choices show how social actors enact, construct, and receive their identities in various ways. Both linguistic and social analysis highlight the critical understanding of the sociolinguistic fabric of Pakistani society.

Another important reason for using Fairclough’s model of CDA is that his stance towards CDA is problem-oriented. He looks at the sociolinguistics from a critical perspective and pin-points the social issues in the contemporary age of new capitalism, hybridity, information society and consumer culture. Through CDA, Fairclough raises social awareness by critiquing contemporary sociolinguistic issues and brings linguists and social scientists together as critical discourse analysts.

2.4 Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA): An Overview

Most of the work in multimodal discourse analysis (MDA) draws from Halliday’s (1978, 1989a) social semiotic approach to language in which other modes of language (gestures, images and music) in addition to language are considered crucial for the construction of discursive meaning (Paltridge, 2012). Meaning is made not only from language but ‘in many different ways, always, in the many different modes and media which are co-present in a communicational ensemble’ (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 111). Kress and van Leeuwen define multimodality as ‘the use of several semiotic modes in the design of a semiotic product of event’ (2001, p. 20). Multimodal discourse analysis mainly ‘aims to describe the socially situated semiotic resources that we draw on for communication’ (Paltridge, 2012, p. 170). Paltridge (2012, p. 172) summarises the basic questions while doing a multimodal discourse analysis: ‘What meaning is being made in a text? How is meaning being made in a text? What resources have been drawn on to make the meaning in the text? In what social environment is the meaning being made? Whose interest and agency is at work in the making of the meaning?’

Jewitt further explains that ‘multimodality approaches representation, communication and interaction as something more than language’ (2009, p. 1). Jewitt (2009a) illustrates four theoretical assumptions which are used as foundations in multimodal discourse analysis. Firstly, all the modes of communication, including language, equally contribute in the
meaning making; the image, gaze, postures are not just supporting the meaning but are equally participating in meaning making. Secondly, each of the modes of communication represent different meaning, so depending only on language, as a means of extracting meaning, can decipher only the partial meaning. Thirdly, the interaction between these modes and the distribution of meaning across these various modes of communication is part of the production of meaning. Fourthly, as language is social, the meaning made from these multimodal resources are social and are shaped by the norms and social conventions of a specific genre in a particular context.

Multimodal strategies and practices have been used across disciplines such as psychology, sociology, anthropology, film, television and media studies for making communication more effective and persuasive. Multimodality has been discussed from the perspective of social semiotics by Kress & van Leeuwen (2006), Kress (2010), Van Leeuwen (2005a), O’Halloran (2004a), and Painter, Martin and Unsworth (2012). Machin and van Leeuwen (2007) explore multimodality in relation to global media discourse. They show how newspaper advertisements put pressure on the consumer to buy the product through perlocutionary acts and by presenting a problem-solution rhetorical structure in the ads. Bednarek and Martin (2010) explore systemic functional perspectives on multimodality, and Bednarek and Caple (2012) investigate multimodality in news discourse.

Van Leeuwen (2005a, 2005b) explores speech acts in connection with multimodality and discusses how a consumer buys a product as a result of the perlocutionary force of the advertisement, which depends on the interaction between language and other communication ensembles. Bateman (2008) proposes a genre and multimodality framework, which in turn provides several layers for the description of multimodal texts, including content structure, genre, rhetorical structure, linguistic structure, layout, and navigation around the text. Caple (2009, 2010) and Knox (2007, 2010) discuss newspapers genres from a multimodal perspective.

Iedema (2001) proposes a multimodal framework of analysis for film and television genres by combining work from film theory and genre theory. The levels of analysis he identifies are frame, shot, scene, sequence (from film theory), generic stage and work as a whole (from genre theory). Moreover, Baldry and Thibault (2005) and O’Halloran (2004b, 2011) also investigate TV and film genres from MDA perspective.
The review of literature on MDA illustrates how the critical approach has been applied across various domains of society and has been used in combination with technical and linguistic approaches. Within linguistic approaches, MDA is combined with systemic functional grammar (Bednarek & Martin, 2010), speech act theory (van Leeuwen, 2005a, 2005b) and genre analysis (Bateman, 2008). Media analysis within MDA, such as framing, and shot, scene, sequence diegesis are used by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) and Iedema (2001), respectively. MDA at some stages can be very technical and like all discourse analysis can also be interpretive (Iedema, 2001).

In the analytical framework of my research, I have utilized MDA and its semiotic theory as an interpretive tool to analyse images, font styles, colour scheme and other visual features of the advertisements, which participate along with language in meaning making in advertising discourse (Jewit, 2009a), see Chapters 4 and 5 for details.

2.5 My Approach: An Eclectic Approach

I have combined CDA and MDA approaches eclectically and embedded them within my critical analysis and as part of linguistic, intertextual and interdiscursive analyses in Chapters 4 and 5. I have mainly used Kress’s (2010) notion of multimodality for my CDA analysis, as visual images are equal components along with linguistic signs in the meaning making of the texts. Multimodality is especially prominent in advertising discourse and is a strong feature of globalised hybrid discourses. Multimodality and semiotics of the text, in my analyses, are deconstructed and are critiqued to show the social and cultural hybridity prevalent in Pakistani society from which the texts emerge.

MDA shows how images and language in the ads are, on the one hand constructing an effective and persuasive advertising discourse in Pakistani context and also representing modern Pakistani identities. At the same time, MDA problematizes this discourse and these identities in relation to linguistic and social norms. MDA is also carried out at the micro level to analyse a range of mode and code mixing in the advertising discourse, including the use of colour schemes, fonts, Urdu and English scripts, and dress.
2.6 Language Contact

In the nineteenth century, research in language contact flourished partly because of disagreements as to whether or not language mixture is possible. Linguists such as Müller (1875) denied the existence of mixed languages at both lexical and grammatical levels. However, Whitney (1881) claimed that mixed languages are possible and gave the evidence of lexically and grammatically mixed languages (Winford, 2003). European missionaries provided further evidence for language mixing globally. In the twentieth century the topic of contact-induced language change was addressed by Sapir (1921), Bloomfield (1933), and other Structuralists.

Linguistically-oriented research in the field of contact linguistics was started by Kloss (1927), complementing other approaches which focused on social contexts for language contact. These studies helped establish the discipline of the Sociology of Language (see Fishman 1964, 2013; Fishman et al., 1966; Winford, 2003) or Sociolinguistics as a descriptive project.

Three general kinds of contact situations are distinguished by Winford (2003): language maintenance, language shift and creation of new contact languages (see table 2.1).

(A) Language maintenance

1 Borrowing situations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree of contact</th>
<th>Linguistic results</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Casual</td>
<td>Lexical borrowing only</td>
<td>Modern, English borrowings from French, e.g., ballet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>Lexical and slight structural borrowing</td>
<td>Latin influence on Early Modern English; Sanskrit influence on Dravidian languages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intense</td>
<td>Moderate structural borrowing</td>
<td>German influence on Romansh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## II Convergence situations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of contact</th>
<th>Linguistic results</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Contiguous geographical location</td>
<td>Moderate structural diffusion</td>
<td>Sprachbünde, e.g., the Balkans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intra-community multilingualism</td>
<td>Heavy structural diffusion</td>
<td>Marathi/kannada influence on Kupwar Urdu Tibetan influence on Wuturn; Turkish influence on Asia Minor Greek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intense inter-community contact (trade, exogamy)</td>
<td>Heavy lexical and/or structural diffusion</td>
<td>The languages of northwest New Britain; the languages of Arnhem Land, Australia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### (B) Language shift

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of shift</th>
<th>Linguistic results (substratum)</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rapid and complete (by minority group)</td>
<td>Little or no substratum interference in TL.</td>
<td>Urban immigrant groups shifting to English in the US</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rapid shift by larger or prestigious minority</td>
<td>Slight to moderate substratum interference in TL</td>
<td>English replaces Norman French in England after 1300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shift by indigenous community to imported language</td>
<td>Moderate to heavy substratum interference</td>
<td>Shift to English by Irish speakers in Ireland (Hiberno-English); shift to English dialects in seventeenth-century Barbados (intermediate “creole”)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### (C) Language creation (new contact languages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bilingual mixed</td>
<td>Akin to cases of maintenance, involving incorporation of large portions of an external vocabulary into a maintained grammatical frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pidgins</td>
<td>Highly reduced lingua francas that involve mutual accommodation and simplification; employed in restricted functions such as trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creoles</td>
<td>Akin to cases of both maintenance and shift, with grammars shaped by varying degrees of superstrate and substrate influence, and vocabulary drawn mostly from the superstrate source</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2.1: Kinds and degrees of language contact situations**  

In my research, I am investigating linguistic hybridity, within discoursal hybridity, by analysing English-Urdu mixing in Pakistani advertising discourse. Language mixing (e.g. English-Urdu mixing) can be of different types, as shown in table 2.1, in both spoken and written discourse. ‘Alternations between varieties, or codes, within a clause or phrase is called code mixing and if it occurs ‘across sentences or clause boundaries’, it is called code switching’ (Meyerhoff, 2012, p. 121). ‘Code switching’ is a cover term and generally includes code mixing as well (Meyerhoff, 2011). In my research, I use the term ‘language mixing’ for both code mixing and code switching situations.

### 2.6.1 Language Contact in Advertising Discourse

Language contact in advertising discourse with special reference to English has been the focus of linguists and sociolinguists since the work of Leech (1966). Research on language mixing in advertising has focussed on formal aspects formal aspects (Bruthiax, 1996; Rush,
1998; van Niekerk, 1999); stylistics (Gieszinger, 2001; Grunig, 1990); pragmatics (Schmidt, Shimura, Wang, & Jeong, 1995; Short, & Hu, 1997; Simpson, 2001; Tanaka, 1994); multimodal (Forcevelle, 1996; Gardner & Luchtenberg, 2000; Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996); and the ideologies aspects (Berger, 2000; Jhally, 1987; O’ Barr, 1994). However, regarding language contact in advertising, the analysis of English mixing with other languages in advertising has only recently occurred. My research adds an important, new understanding by critically analysing English mixing with Urdu in Pakistani advertising discourse and by presenting important findings about the language contact situation in Pakistan.

Present day English is the major world contact language in the advertising of non-English speaking countries. A number of studies in recent years have investigated mixing of English with European languages (Cook 1992; Forcevile, 1998; Geis, 1982; Goddard, 1998; Hermeren, 1999): French (Cheshire & Moser, 1994; Martin, 1998; 1999; 2002a; 2002b), German (Piller, 2000; 2001; 2003), Spanish (Callow & McDonald, 2005) and French & German (Hilgendorf, Suzanne and Martin, Elizabeth, 2001). In addition, English mixing with Russian is analysed by Ustinova & Bhatia (2005) and Ustinova (2006, 2008). As Ustinova points out, English mixing with Russian in print, internet and TV advertisement indexes ‘westernization, internationalism, modernization, innovation, prestige and fun’ (Ustinova, 2008, p. 97) and has become an identity marker among Russian youth. English mixing with Urdu has had similar effects on Pakistani youth. Micro and macro analyses in chapters 4 and 5 show how mixing English and Urdu has become a marker of modern Pakistani identity, as opposed to traditional Pakistani identity, among Pakistani youth and women especially in the middle classes.

While ‘open languages’ (such as Hindi) have been receptive to English mixing and borrowing, ‘closed languages’ (especially Chinese, Japanese, Koreans and French in Europe) have historically resisted English mixing and borrowing (Bhatia, 1992). Nonetheless, recently ‘closed languages’ such as Chinese, Japanese and Korean have also been mixed with English in advertising discourse. Such commercial language mixing suggests that linguistics hybridity is not only a feature of non-standard or non-dominant variety usage but is also part of dominant discourse. A number of studies have confirmed and analysed the

Harmann’s (1989) research on Japanese TV advertisements claims that mixing English with Japanese has not been for practical communication but rather is meant to induce positive attitudes in the viewing audiences towards internationalism. In Japan, as elsewhere, English has become a symbol of modernity, progress and globalisation, a ‘vehicle of modernity’ (Harmann, 1989, p. 15). Takashi (1990b; 1992) also argues that English mixing in Japanese is an index of modern, sophisticated and cosmopolitan Japanese identities, not simply a representation of Americanization or Westernization. The relation between global Englishes and emerging global identities further complicates English language mixing in different cultural contexts. Not all English language mixing is, strictly speaking, westernization.

In South Asian (India, Pakistan and Bangladesh) contexts with open languages, English usage has been widespread and developing since colonial times (early 1800s). The status and position of English in South Asia has developed in many public domains, and English is used as an official language along with national languages in Pakistan, India and Bangladesh. A number of studies highlight Hindi-English mixing in India at both structural and pragmatic levels (e.g., Bhatia 1987, 1992, 2001, 2006; Bhatt, 2005, 2008). Bhatia (1992) analysed mixing of English with six major world languages, French, Italian Chinese, Japanese, Korean and Hindi within advertising discourse. He analysed the formal properties of language mixing and also investigated the discourse functions of language mixing. Bhatia (1992) argues that English mixing in advertising achieves, across cultures, the functions of ‘modernization, Westernization, internationalism, [and] standardization’ (Bhatia, 1992, p. 213). Bhatia (2006) further connects English with commerce in the globalised world when he states that ‘international advertising and media is a fertile ground for the mixing of world Englishes, on one hand, and the mixing of English and other languages on the other.’ (2006, p. 615). For advertisers, mixing English with other languages ‘optimise[s] the strength and
appeal of their messages’ (Bhatia, 2006, p. 615). To account for this appeal, Bhatia proposes a critical and theoretical shift from globalisation to ‘glocalization’, which combines the features of both globalisation and localization: ‘The exclusive use of local language indexes local pride and patriotism; the exclusive use of English indexes globalisation’ (Bhatia 2006, cited in Piller, 2003, p. 176). Identically, my research corresponds to Bhatia’s (2006) findings. English-Urdu mixing in Pakistani commercial advertising indexes glocalization; the use of English is a symbol of prestige, modernity and globalisation and the use of Urdu indexes local pride, prestige, nationalism and nativism (see details in Ch. 5).

Colonization as part of the process of globalisation allowed English to enter into the discourses of India (Bhatt, 2008, among others). Bhatt further emphasizes that mixing English within advertising discourses in India has become a ‘legitimate practice’ among the ‘English-knowing bilingual middle class’ (Bhatt, 2008, p. 179). He elaborates the concept of language mixing or linguistic hybridity as a discursive space which provides ‘a third space’, enabling someone ‘to negotiate and navigate between global identity and local practices’ (p. 177). As we shall see, such so-called ‘third spaces’ are not unproblematic, especially when they combine not only different linguistic codes but also different cultural signifiers.

Bano & Sussex (2001) analysed the use of English in business and shop names in Bangladesh, while Meeraj (1993) analysed business names and English mixing in 800 print advertisements in different discourse contexts in Pakistan. Bano & Sussex (2001) compared mixing English with Bengali and mixing English with Urdu. They compared English in product names, script mixing and language of manufacturer’s name. Their research showed that Bangladesh had more instances of English in product names than did Pakistan (86% vs 70%). In Pakistani advertisements, based on Meeraj (1993), the ratio of Urdu to English script mixing in product names was higher (59% vs 9%) than in Bengali-English mixing in Bangladesh. The ratio of mixing languages in writing the name of the manufacturer was also higher in Pakistani advertisements (37% vs 24%) than in Bengali advertisements. Based on Meeraj (1993) and Bano & Sussex (2001) script mixing in product names and language mixing in manufacturers’ names in Pakistani advertisements were higher than in Bangladesh.
advertisements. I will discuss script mixing as part of language contact in more detail in Chapter 4.

Gender representations and identities are important aspects of language mixing in commercial advertisements. Employing Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA), Zubair (2010) analyses Muslim women’s identities in popular women magazines. Zubair did not analyse language mixing in advertising but rather investigated the representations of women’s multiple identities as part of popular magazine discourse. Zubair emphasizes that ‘magazine representations are a powerful resource Muslim women draw upon in constructing their identities, as women read these magazines not only as a source of pleasure but also in quest of their identity(ies)’ (2010, p. 176). Advertising discourse can be a pervasive and powerful means for representing and affecting the identities of its audience or ideal subjects. At the same time, readers can and do mediate their identities and cultural positions in ways not entirely determined by dominant discourses. In my macro analysis (Chapter 5) I show how English and Urdu language mixing is a marker of middle class gender and emerging youth identities in Pakistan.

Studies of mixing English with other languages are generally focussed on one of three categories: symbolism in use; identity construction; globalisation. Lee (2006) proposes, after outlining these three approaches to analyzing English language mixing in non-English advertising, that language mixing studies should integrate globalisation and identity construction issues as part of the social hybridization process. I agree, my research on linguistic hybridity in mixed language ads integrates modernity, globalisation and modern identity construction in both micro and macro analyses. I combine theories of language contact and multiliteracies with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to analyse linguistic hybridity in print and digital advertising in Pakistan. In addition to multiliteracies and language contact, CDA is an important tool for analyzing these social and linguistic constructs of modernity, hybridity, globalisation and modern identities. The following chapters use CDA and language contact theories as a framework for examining the form and functions of mixing English with Urdu especially in written print and digital advertisements in Pakistan.
The only previous research on language contact in advertising in Pakistan is Meeraj (1993). My research aims to expand the analyses and provide critical insights into the ideologies and impacts of globalisation represented in Pakistani popular and linguistic culture as contextualized in print and digital advertising discourse. Chapters 4 and 5 show how English and Urdu mixing is favoured in Pakistani advertising discourse and highlight how modern, sophisticated Pakistani identities are constructed. As I argue, these modern Pakistani identities are part of the social process of negotiation and re-negotiation in the ‘glocalized’ (Bhatia, 2006) third space of language mixing, a discursive space, where people and especially youth ‘negotiate and navigate between global identities and local practices’ (Bhatt, 2005, p. 177).

My critical research also locates Pakistani contexts for mixing English and Urdu within a broader language-mixing continuum worldwide. This continuum reveals the place of English or Englishes as a global language in multilingual contexts, and how Englishes are being mixed with almost many other world and local languages. My analyses also highlight how mixing English with other languages is a practice within the linguistic constructions of modern Pakistani identities.
Chapter 3

Language Situation in Pakistan

3.1 Introduction

3.1.1 Brief Demographic Introduction

Pakistan is located in South Asia with an estimated population of over 170 million in 2010, the sixth most populous country in the world. Pakistan has also one of the largest youth populations in the world with 60% of the population under thirty years of age. Pakistan is also the second most urbanized nation in South Asia. Many social changes have led to rapid urbanization and megacities in Pakistan. The overall literacy rate in Pakistan is 58% with 70% of the male and 47% of the female population. The literacy rate is defined in terms of people aged 10 and over can read and write in Urdu (Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement Survey, 2011-2012).

3.1.2 Social Class System

Pakistan is a complex nation, as shown in figure 3.1, in terms of its socio-economic class system, education, and language use. The nation is socio-economically stratified from upper class to middle to lower class with further gradation in each class. Nayab (2011) investigated the social class system in Pakistan mainly focussing on the structure of middle class in Pakistan. She measured the social class system in Pakistan on the basis of five indices: income, education, housing, occupation and lifestyle. Nayab came up with seven categories of social class system in Pakistan: Upper class (UC), upper middle class (UPC), middle middle class (MMC), lower middle class (LMC), upper lower class (ULC), middle lower class (MLC), lower lower class (LLC). ‘[M]ajority of the people of Pakistan’, argues Nayab (2011. P. 15), ‘falls in the lower classes, be it lower lower class (LLC), middle lower class (MLC) or upper lower class (ULC)’. 
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Categories for middle class</th>
<th>Proportion (%)</th>
<th>Numbers in millions</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Urban</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lower lower (LLC)</td>
<td>Vulnerable</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>23.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Middle lower (MLC)</td>
<td>Aspirants</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>21.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Upper lower (ULC)</td>
<td>Climbers</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>20.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lower middle (LCM)</td>
<td>Fledgling middle class</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>12.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Middle middle (MMC)</td>
<td>Hard-core middle class</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>8.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Upper middle (UMC)</td>
<td>Elite middle class</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>12.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Upper (UC)</td>
<td>Privileged</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.9</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
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**Table 3.1** Size of different classes through a Weighted Composite Index in Pakistan.

**Source**: Nayab (2011, p. 16)

**Figure 3.1** Pakistan as a complex society
Moreover, she also categorised upper class (UC) as ‘priviliged’ and lower lower class (LLC) as ‘vulnerable’. The detail of all the classes in terms of the number of people in Pakistan is shown in the table 3.1.

3.1.3 Ethno-linguistic Groups

Pakistan is a multilingual and multicultural nation. Various ethnic groups in Pakistan are identified and categorized on the basis of culture, religion and language. The majority of the population (more than 96%) of Pakistan is Muslim. Culture and language are the two major social categories which form the major ethno-linguistic groups in the country.

![Distribution of Major Languages Spoken in Pakistan](image)

**Figure 3.2** Distribution of major languages spoken in Pakistan
Source: Based on the information in Lewis (2009)

There are 70 to 80 known languages in Pakistan, but six major languages are spoken as native languages by 95% of the population: Punjabi, Pashto, Sindhi, Siraiki, Urdu, and Balochi. The following pie chart in figure 3.2 shows major languages of Pakistan and the percentage of Pakistanis who are native speakers of these languages.
3.1.4 Languages of Literacy

There are three major literate languages in Pakistan Urdu, Arabic and English. The three languages have different statuses and are used in different domains of power, knowledge and social groupings. Only Urdu out of the three languages is a major native spoken language in Pakistan. The use of Arabic and English is restricted to some domains of social life. Arabic is used mainly in Madrassas as the language for religious teachings, classical studies and research. Both English and Urdu are written and spoken as mediums of instruction in schools, colleges and universities and are the languages of national media, courts, commerce and public life in Pakistan.

3.1.4.1 Urdu as a Literate Language in Pakistan

Urdu is the national language of Pakistan, used for interprovincial communication within Pakistan. It is the ‘most widely diffused second language and language of literacy’ in the region (Rahman 2002, p. 9). Urdu is also the language of wider communication (LWC), and like English is the spoken and written discourse of many jobs, schooling, trade, and media. Though the number of native speakers of Urdu is around 8%, Urdu became the de facto national language of Pakistan after the country’s foundation in 1947. In addition to Arabic, and unlike English, Urdu symbolized Islam and Muslim identity during the Urdu-Hindi language controversy in pre-partition India. Urdu was promoted by the transition government as a national language and medium of instruction in education to counter ethno-linguistic and regional diversity in Pakistan (Rahman, 2002). Urdu has become lingua franca chosen to facilitate communication for country’s diverse linguistic population.
Figure 3.3 continued
As will be discussed in more detail later, Urdu is used as a medium of instruction and written discourse in all the national Urdu-medium schools, private non-elitist schools, and public universities and colleges. Urdu is written in a modified form of Persio-Arabic script, Nastaliq inscribed from right to left (Rahman, 2002, p. 11).
Rahman (2002) argues that Urdu, like English, is linked with power and is used in lower domains of power. Rahman describes the dominance of Urdu over the indigenous languages of Pakistan, but such dominances of Urdu like that of English doesn’t go unchallenged by ethnic groups of Pakistan especially Bengali, Sindhi and Pashtun speakers almost since the inception of Pakistan’ (2002, p. 9). Urdu is also the major ‘ideology-carrying language’ in Pakistan disseminating Islam, glorification of war and militancy and Pakistani nationalism (Rahman, 2002, p. 280).

3.1.4.2 Arabic as a Literate Language in Pakistan

Arabic is the language of religious literacy, both oral and written, in Pakistan. It is the language of the Quran and is used to teach Islamic theology. Arabic has long been the symbol of Muslim identity ever since Muslims entered South Asia. There is no indication whether Arabic was an official language or medium of instruction during the non-Arab Muslim rule founded by Alauddin Khilji (1290-1316) in South Asia. But Arabic is the language of classical studies, higher learning, literature and rhetoric in Islam. Since the inception of Pakistan in 1947, Arabic had been proposed as an official language of Pakistan on several different occasions and as late as October 1971 when East and West Pakistan were split into Bangladesh and Pakistan. At that time Arabic was proposed to be an official language by the people of East Pakistan, who also wanted Bengali to be the national language as opposed to Urdu. Arabic as a symbol of Muslim identity became the part of this debate of choosing the national / official language of Pakistan (Rahman, 2002).

However, Rahman (2002, p. 93) argues Arabic, in Pakistan, is ‘merely a symbol, a pious cliché’. Though it symbolizes and reinforces Muslim identity. Arabic is not taught as a compulsory language in a country where 97% population is Muslim. Arabic is limited to Madrassas only in Pakistan. While Arabic grammar, rhetoric and literature are taught at Madrassas, Arabic language is not used as a medium of instruction. Rather, Urdu is mostly used to explain and gloss religious texts in Arabic. Exams in Madrassas are also conducted in Urdu.
3.1.4.3 English as a Literate Language in Pakistan

English is also an official language of Pakistan since its inception. Haque (1982) arguing on using English as an official language in Pakistan at the time of independence states:

“The state apparatus, which had to be set up overnight from nothing, could not bear the burden of having to start with a new official language. The use of English was inevitable for system maintenance: the ruling elite were trained to do their official work in English. English perforce continued to be the official language of Pakistan.”

(Haque, 1982, p. 6)

English is used in Civil Administration and the bureaucracy, legal systems of the federal and provincial governments, Defence Forces, broadcast media, and domain of education (Abbas, 1993). Of course, it is a medium of instruction in the English medium schools, colleges and mostly private universities in Pakistan. According to Baumgardner (1990), the number of English speakers in Pakistan is one to three percent, which of course has been increased with the passage of time. English is the main language of internet (Thomason, 2001) and there are millions of online users of English in Pakistan. With the advent of digital literacies and web-based communication the English language usage is increasing worldwide as well as in Pakistan.

Since 1857, British rule replaced Urdu and Persian, as official languages, with English and it diffused in the subcontinent since then. Rahman (2002, pp. 8-9) explains the reasons for the growth and diffusions of English in Pakistan: a) ‘its preservation by Anglicized elite in its own interest, b) its role as a vehicle of modernization, c) its status as the world’s foremost language of wider communication (LWC)’. Since the British rule (1857) in South Asia, English has been associated with power, social status and language of ‘upward mobility’. It is the language of prestige, elitist identity and ‘elitist upbringing’. It is ‘more than a language, a badge of status, a marker of elitist identity’. English is a key for a good and secure future, and is firmly located within upper middle and upper classes in Pakistan. Apart from being associated with power, social status and education, English is also associated with rights (Rahman, 2002, pp. 297-298). Someone who knows how to speak English is considered as educated and educated people know how to get or fight for their rights. People feel they have been deprived of their rights as citizens if they do not learn English.
Thus, English language has created an ‘elite of knowledge’ within the Pakistani population apart from the ‘elite of power’ and ‘elite of money’ (Rahman, 2002). With the increase in the number of educated middle class people, the use of English in Pakistan is increased and has created ‘elite of knowledge’ in Pakistan. English as a ‘language of knowledge’ is the language with ‘biggest reservoir of information, knowledge and literature’ (Haque, 1983, p. 8) and is the language of science, technology, research, planning and development.

People in Pakistan, especially middle and lower middle classes, have a love-hate relationship with English language. They desire English because it empowers them but hate it because it dis-empowers them. ‘It gives power which is why people are so desperate to acquire it and also why they resent it so much’ (Rahman, 2002, p. 321), that English in Pakistan is a socially contested site. English has prestige attached to it as a vehicle of knowledge and technology; it is an important access to the job market in Pakistan and abroad. But people hate it because English carries along colonial sentiments and those who do not know it or cannot afford to buy it feel cheated (Rahman, 2002). In short English is a popular subject and a popular medium of instruction for many Pakistanis, especially among the elite. English is a spoken and written skill which ‘an enterprising, upwardly mobile, young adult should possess’ (Rahman, 2002, p. 321). At the same time English is driven with the baggage of South Asia’s colonial history, the native language of dominant administrators, military and foreign commerce. Positive attitudes towards English in Pakistan are shown by the groups in the green zone while negative attitude by the ones in the red zone in figure 3.4.

By contrast, Arabic and Urdu are symbols of Muslim identity opposed to Hindi and English in British India and after partition in 1947. Urdu came to symbolise Muslim identity in Pakistan by gradually replacing Arabic as the principal language of Muslims and as symbol of Pakistani nationalism. However, Urdu became the national language by marginalizing the other indigenous languages of Pakistan, creating a space in which English came to dominate all the languages of Pakistan (Rahman, 2002). Similarly, Mahboob (2009, p. 178) argues that as a result of ‘ politicization of local [indigenous] languages, English has been seen by some as a ‘neutral’ language’ and became one of the official and dominant languages in Pakistan (see figure 3.3 for language politics).
Figure 3.4 Positive and Negative attitudes toward English in Pakistan by various groups
Source: Based on the information in Rahman (2002)

3.1.5 Overview of Language Policy and Education System

Proper policing within education system in Pakistan has been overlooked by the experts and policy makers for decades. It is very polarized and complex, and there is no national education or language policy in the country. The main reason for not having a single educational or language policy is socio-economic inequality in Pakistani as various educational institutions cater to different socio-economic classes in the country. Another reason is the question of which languages are to be the medium of instruction. In short, Pakistani education system and language policy revolves around these two key factors: socio-economic class and Urdu or English as medium of instruction (Rahman, 2002).

Since Pakistan came into being in 1947, people have debated whether Urdu should be the medium of instruction throughout the country. Pakistani educational institutions are categorized into five types (Rahman, 2002) on the basis of the language of instruction and the socio-economic class they cater to:

a) English-medium Schools
b) Vernacular / Urdu-medium Schools
c) Madrassas (Religious Seminaries)
d) English-language Teaching Institutions

e) Institutions of Higher Education

English medium schools are further categorized into three types: (i) state-influenced elitist public schools, (ii) private elitist schools and (iii) non-elitist schools. All the top public, federal government and armed forces schools fall into the first category (English-medium) and are based on the aristocratic model of the English public schools. These schools cater to the children of the elite of military and higher bureaucracy (Rahman, 2002). These schools inculcate values and norms similar to those found in English Public schools.

In the past, private elitist schools were run by western missionaries. Today the number of such private schools is increased in Pakistan. English language is the medium of instruction and the students in private elite schools typically use English informally to communicate with each other. These schools cater to the rich and privileged upper and upper middle classes of Pakistan. The upper class is only 0.4 % and the upper middle class is 6.0 % of the whole population of Pakistan (Nayab, 2011). The curriculum of the elitist English-medium schools is very different from that of the vernacular medium schools. While Urdu is taught as a subject in these schools, all subjects are taught in English. Most students in these schools sit for the British O-levels and A-levels exams and lesser students take the matriculation examination which is for student-year ten. English language in both state and private elite schools is not only the medium of instruction but also a symbol of prestige and power. It is a badge of students’ (and their families’) modern identity which they wear in their daily life, while look down upon the rest of the people (non-English speakers of course) from middle and lower classes for not using English more (Rahman, 2002).

By contrast, non-elitist private schools use Urdu as a medium of instruction and teach English as a subject. They are different from the vernacular/Urdu-medium schools only in that they teach sometimes maths and science subjects in English. Rahman (2002, p. 301) claims that ‘a pretence is made of teaching most subjects in English’ in these schools. There are so many types and numbers of these schools that they ‘defy classification’. English is more often taught by rote and memorization. According to Rahman (2002), in these non-elitist schools the teacher writes the answers to all the questions on the board in English and students faithfully copy down the English answers and memorize them without actually knowing the full meaning of the words. Today, the owners of these schools mostly rent a small building or a house and set up a school in it. The number of the private non-elitist
schools is increasing in Pakistan, as a small business, because of the poor condition of vernacular /Urdu medium school in Pakistan which are operated by the government.

Vernacular/Urdu medium schools use Urdu or vernacular language (Sindhi and Pashto in some areas of Sindh and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) as a medium of instruction. English is a foreign language in these schools. English ‘is alien and intimidating both for teachers, who are not competent in it, and students’ (Rahman, 2002, p. 309). Instead of teaching all the four language skills (speaking, listening, reading and writing), teachers instruct English as a subject using Grammar translation method. These vernacular / Urdu medium schools cater to the lower and working classes of Pakistan which constitute about 65 to 70 % (Nayab, 2011) of the population of Pakistan.

Madrassas are religious seminaries in which religious education and teaching Arabic are carried out. Religious education in Madrassas in Pakistan consists of teaching the Quran and Islamic theology. Students learn to read, recite and memorize the Quran by heart. Arabic grammar, syntax, morphology, rhetoric and literature are taught at the advanced levels in Madrassas. Though the Arabic language is claimed to be the medium of instruction in Madrassas, actually it is Urdu which is used to explain the Arabic texts and grammar. Most of the Madrassas are affiliated with the central organizations so Madrassas have a more uniform curricula and examination systems. ‘Madrassas were meant to conserve the traditional Islamic world view’ and English which symbolizes west and modernity was resented and resisted in Madrassas. The state put her effort to integrate Madrassa education with the mainstream education by introducing English, Urdu and Social Studies. As a result some Madrassas shifted from conservatism to revivalism and started incorporating English into their syllabus. They realised that they can retain some power-giving aspects of the modern age while teaching the traditional form of Islamic education. Since 1980s ‘Madrassa degrees have been placed at par with the degrees given by the universities provided a candidate passes in English as a subject’ (Rahman, 2002, p. 315).

In addition to schools, there are many English language teaching institutions in Pakistan. They range from American and British institutions, English language institutions, and offers programs and scholarships for Pakistani students and teachers. Some private language schools in Pakistan offer short and long term courses to teach English language. With the growing use and significance of the English language in Pakistan, teaching of English has become a highly commercialized and profitable industry. Hundreds of sign boards and
billboards can be seen in cities and towns from private schools claiming to teach English proficiently and quickly. Most of these advertisements are found in lower middle and working class areas where people do not usually have opportunities to learn English in schools and colleges (Rahman, 2002).

In Pakistan, in higher education (colleges and universities), most degrees in science subjects, arts, business, management, maths, stats and some social sciences are offered in English. English textbooks are used during the course of study as in many other universities worldwide. Sometimes Pakistani lecturers use Urdu orally in class, to explain certain concepts and terminologies in the discipline. Strict adherence to English as a medium of instruction is observed in private universities and colleges which mostly cater to the elite and upper middle class students.

Most traditional state universities in Pakistan offer the M.A in English literature. Few state universities also offer courses in ELT, Linguistics, American literature and Pakistani literature in English. Private bodies also offer functional English and English communication skills courses (such as British Council, American Cultural Centre and NUML) (Rahman, 2002).

An overview of the types of educational institutions in Pakistan clarify that Urdu and English go side by side as a medium of instruction in the education system in Pakistan. The controversy of using English or Urdu as a medium of instruction started since the inception of Pakistan in 1947. It is obvious that the position of English in the country ‘continues to be both vitally important and highly controversial’ (Haque, 1983, p. 8). Mahboob (2009, p. 179) argues that the religious parties in Pakistan see the ‘privileged status of English’ as a new form of colonization, ‘a linguistic colonization’. However Mahboob (2009) states four strong reasons of why English is still retaining its position as a dominant language in Pakistan. Firstly the lack of material produced in indigenous languages to be used in educational institutions leave the space for English to be used in education system. Secondly, the indigenous languages are politicized and English replaces them. Thirdly, the religious parties and the lower classes who criticise the dominance of English in Pakistan do not have political power to assert their opinion. Last but very vital reason in the promotion of English is the support of the ruling elite, the status quo, groups with ‘economic, social and political strength."
3.1.6 Mixing English with Urdu and with Indigenous Languages in Pakistan

The English language in Pakistan has become the symbol of status and modernity and is associated with being educated beyond the primary level. Also English in Pakistan is being used not only as a separate variety but also mixed with Urdu and other indigenous languages in both speech and writing. I will explain language mixing in detail in Chapter 4. Mixing English with Urdu is becoming more common with the passage of time and is producing new ‘mixed varieties’ of English-Urdu languages, as I shall argue, this mixed or hybrid variety of Urdu-English is part of an emerging hybrid culture and also highlights the gaps and tensions between the two linguistic and social extremes in the production of Pakistani identities namely, the ‘traditional Pakistani Identity’ and the ‘modern Pakistani Identity’.

We can categorise how people in Pakistan use English and Urdu, in addition to their mother tongue (Urdu is the mother tongue of only 8% of the people of Pakistan). The typology shown below reflects the usage of Urdu and/or English in formal, educational professional or other social settings both in spoken and written communication.

1. Those who use Urdu but prefer to use English all the time.
2. Those who use both Urdu and English and also code-mix and code switch.
   We can further distinguish language mixing or code-switching usage as follows:
   a) Those who mostly use English and switch to / or mix Urdu with it.
   b) Those who mostly use Urdu and switch to / or mix English with it.
3. Those who use Urdu all the time and do not know how to speak read or write English and also mix their mother tongue with Urdu.
4. Those who use their mother tongue all the time and knows some words of Urdu and English.

It is important to note that people in the third and fourth category also use some English words and phrases knowingly or unknowingly and consciously or unconsciously because English has been widely adopted in people’s daily lives, in the form of internet items, product names, corporate logos or slogans, and other commercial phrases. Later, we will discuss in detail why and how these words and phrases are seeped or diffused into the daily usage of people in Pakistan. These words and phrases are mixed with Urdu, which is the national language, as well as with other regional languages in Pakistan. As a member of a
wider Pakistani speech community, I also mix English with Urdu and with my mother tongue Siraiki. Mostly my mixing of English with Urdu and Siraiki is unconscious.

Due to the dearth of research culture and published research in Pakistan, in linguistics generally and in sociolinguistics particularly, I can only rely on my observations over the years and as a member of the speech community. As an ‘insider in a community’ as Holmes (2013, p. 376) argues, I can provide the linguistic evidence of language mixing and the diffusion of English in the linguistic repertoire of both formally educated and un-educated people. People, as stated above, mix English with Urdu and with their mother tongue. In later case, people even do not know how to speak, read or write English but know some of the English words and their meaning through the widespread usage of English in both print and electronic and digital media. I quote the example of my mother here to illustrate it further.

My late mother (died on August 8, 2011 at the age of 57), who spent her whole life in Bahawalpur, a small city in Punjab, Pakistan, was not formally educated or not literate beyond minimal competence and did not know how to speak English. Her native language was Siraiki and she was not very proficient in Urdu. Nonetheless, she knew many English words and used them in her daily life while speaking Siraiki. My mother grew up in a lower middle class household, received Islamic religious education but did not attend any formal primary school because there was not any school in the vicinity of her home at that time.

Her only means of learning a new language or literacy was through the religious education, consisting of learning how to recite the Holy Quran, and learning the other Islamic rituals in Arabic. Though the content of learning was in Arabic but the medium of instruction was in Siraiki. Today, however in Madrassas the same Holy Quran and Arabic ritual materials are taught in Urdu. My mother’s family lived in the outskirts of the main city and she did not go to any Madrassa as there were not many Madrassas available at that time. Rather, she went to a respected family’s house in the neighbourhood where some other girls from the community were being educated by the females in the house. The tradition was and is still now in Pakistan that girls got religious education in houses who volunteer and the boys in the mosques in the community. However, Today the Madrassas and Islamic education in schools is replacing this old practice of acquiring religious literacy at homes. My mother’s only source of education or exposure to another language was this religious Arabic education conducted in Siraiki. She did not have exposure to TV, Newspapers and other
media except radio. She later memorized the Holy Quran by heart in the guidance of her father, which makes her part of the ‘oral cultural tradition’ mentioned by Gee (1990, p. 67). Though she was not literate according to the traditional notions of literacy but was literate according to the New Literacy Studies (NLS) which emphasizes the socio-cultural aspects of literacy and removes the strict divide between ‘oral culture’ and ‘literate culture’ (Gee, 1990, p. 67).

I talked to my mother, when I was writing this section, about her upbringing and education in some details. The sources of literacy for my mother were limited to Arabic literacy at that time. She learnt how to recite the Holy Quran and recite prayers in Arabic, but she did not get any training in speaking or writing Arabic. Since Arabic script is also used in writing Urdu, my mother’s Arabic literacy education led her to have some access to Urdu literacy. She could read written Urdu but could not write or speak the language fluently. I do not know when she began to have some knowledge of English words.

Gender difference and stereotypical gender roles also played a part in not attending formal schooling in my mother’s life. My maternal grandparents (her parents) did not intend to send my mother to the formal schooling. Her family lacked resources and there was not a single girl’s school in the area and there were no general expectations to send the girls to school at that time. My mother’s four brothers did attend vernacular /Urdu medium schools and got their formal education at that time. One of her brothers is a very fluent English speaker, knows Arabic grammar very well, knows several regional languages and is teaching in a vernacular/ Urdu medium high school in Bahawalpur. He influenced me greatly in learning English in Pakistan.

When my mother was married to my father, who was formally educated and attended school to year 12, she moved closer to the central part of the city. My father from an early age is a multilingual. His mother tongue is Siraiki and he is fully proficient in Urdu as well. Though he does not speak English but he can read and write English as can most youth who come from vernacular / Urdu medium schools in Pakistan. Unfortunately, Oral skills such as listening and speaking of English are deemphasized in favour of reading and writing English text due to poor language teaching methods. Students in these schools mostly cram the contents in English without knowing much of the meaning of what they are reading and writing. I have studied in these vernacular medium schools and know the situation very well. I have been going to after school academies, during school and college, to study science and English to improve my grades.
According to my mother’s reports, moving from a less urban to more urban environment influenced her language learning. I do not know exactly when she began mixing English words with her Siraiki speech but I feel that her mixed English-Siraiki speech began and was greatly influenced by moving to an urban area, being with my father who is a multilingual, being exposed to electronic media such as TV and by being with children who were getting education and learned new English words and brought that knowledge home.

There can be several reasons as to why my mother, who is representative of so many 20th century women in Pakistan, began mixing English in her Siraiki speech. The major reason is the widespread usage of English language in Pakistan especially in print and electronic media. Her exposure to TV, radio, signboards, billboards and tags of daily life goods has helped her acquire discourse-specific English vocabulary which she in turn used in her speech. I and my siblings also helped her acquire English vocabulary unconsciously as we knew many English words from school, friends, and media and used them in our daily lives.

As my mother’s example shows, English is currently being used more frequently by more people than in the past. The result is that English, Urdu and regional languages are becoming more mixed and hybrid. A hybrid or ‘mixed variety’ is emerging on the Pakistani linguistic scene as shown in figure 3.5. My mother’s language experiences of English also illustrate the gap and differences between two generations among middle class Pakistanis. I am a young, literate, highly educated, middle class Pakistani woman using English, Urdu and Siraiki and mixing English and Urdu or English and Siraiki. My mother, on the other hand, used a mixture of Siraiki or Urdu with some English in her daily life. We both are using almost the same varieties but score differently with respect to the level of proficiency in English. The point I want to make here is whether one is educated or not educated, proficiently literate or minimally literate, people in Pakistan who mix Urdu or a regional language with English are using the same variety with differences mostly in the frequency of English vocabulary and the grammatical differences are less marked. The diffusion of English vocabulary to this level is a proof enough that use of English in Pakistan has been increasing and thus is shaping and transforming traditional Pakistani identities into more modern contexts and frames. Just using spoken and written English in Pakistan today shifts the speaker/ writer from ‘traditional’ to ‘modern’. Modernity in Pakistan is being disseminated through the use of English or the mixing of English with other national or regional languages. Figure 3.5 shows the emergence of mixed variety in Pakistan as a result of mixing English and Urdu.
Figure 3.5 Emergence of Mixed Variety in Pakistan as a result of Mixing Urdu and English.
3.2 Attitudes Towards English and Language Contact (Mixed Variety) in Pakistan

Both positive and negative attitudes towards language switching and language mixing can be observed in Pakistan. For instance, people who mix English with Urdu to a large extent regard doing so as being modern and are marked as high. Using a mixed English-Urdu variety is their way of speaking or living out their modern identity. It is important to note the difference: speaking English is a status (class) marker, while mixing English and Urdu is a marker of modernity. This transition towards speaking the mixed variety is more of a middle-class and reflects the struggle and tension, in Pakistan, between what is traditional and what is modern. Bhatt (2008, p. 179) also approves of the mixing phenomenon as a marker of middle class youth and states that ‘mixing has now become a legitimate interactional practice, especially among the young, English-knowing bilingual middle class’ in India. Similarly, people in Pakistan and specially youth have a positive attitude towards mixing English and Urdu and its becoming natural to them. Sixty percent of the population in Pakistan is below 30 years of age and their demographic majority is a powerful reinforcement for naturalizing the mixed variety. According to my observations, TV celebrities, students, university graduates, people from the fashion industry are using this mixed variety of English and Urdu to express themselves as ‘modern Pakistanis’. Similarly Bhatt (2008, p. 177), while analyzing hybridity and language mixing in Indian linguistic context, claims that mixing as a ‘linguistic hybridity’ provides a discursive space, ‘a third space’ to ‘negotiate and navigate between global identity and local practices’.

Some people in Pakistan oppose mixing English and Urdu in conversation and writing. They resist accepting this mixed variety strongly and overtly say that such mixing is unacceptable because English contaminates the indigenous languages. They are not against speaking English per se. Rather they want to encourage the trend of speaking what they regard as ‘Pure’ English or ‘Pure’ Urdu.

Sometimes certain types of English and Urdu mixing are ridiculed or are the butt of jokes. I have witnessed that certain styles of mixing English with Urdu or with other regional languages in Pakistan appear funny and people laugh at the speakers. I have observed some Pakistani women in Auckland and in Pakistan who fall into this category. It all depends upon the frequency of English words they mix, the way they mix English and Urdu and the way they pronounce English words in a regional or non-standard way. However there is no
set norm for how to mix two languages or for determining the extent to which two or more languages should be mixed to construct a conversation which is culturally and linguistically appropriate instead of being humorous or dangerous. Mostly women, who do not have good proficiency of English, when deliberately mix English, with Urdu or with their mother tongue, excessively and frequently in trying to appear modern, fail to use appropriate communication strategies which is one of the key parts of communicative competence (Hymes, 1966). Canale and Swain (1980) extending the theory of Hymes’s (1966) communicative competence, coined the terms ‘sociolinguistic’ and ‘strategic competence’ in addition to ‘grammatical competence’. According to Canale and Swain (1980) sociolinguistic and strategic competence are the integral parts when learning a second language. Similarly, these women, not knowing the proper and appropriate communication strategies of using and mixing English with other languages, fail to construct an appropriate speech.

In Pakistani social and professional contexts, mixing Urdu and English is very frequent and acceptable, but there is no stated rule whether English verbs should be used while speaking Urdu or whether English nouns should be given preference in Urdu Speech. There is no expectation to use English along with Urdu words or just English structure words construct a phrase or sentence using Urdu content words. Lexical insertion is relatively random, as we shall see there are patterns in discourse specific contexts. It all depends on appropriateness and acceptability. Certain linguistic expressions or speech styles appear more appropriate and acceptable than others just because they are widely used and have become naturalized over time. Particular insertions become naturalized in speech styles because they are used extensively in electronic media. We will examine in detail the relations between language mixing and public media in Chapter 4 and 5.

But such language mixing is not uniformly distributed across Pakistani society. Lower and lower middles class speakers often fail to acquire the sociolinguistic and strategic competence (Hymes, 1966, Canale & Swain, 1980) for English Urdu mixing, and when they do mix English and Urdu the results can appear funny or inappropriate to others. Masud Alam (2007) in a newspaper article on BBC News states that, ‘The language of the urban Pakistani is now a hotchpotch of Urdu, Punjabi and a few words of English spoken with an accent that can be understood only by someone who speaks the same way’. People make fun of speakers’ inappropriate usage of English words in Urdu and their non-standard or regional pronunciations of English and refer to them as ‘paendoo’. Paendoo (also used by Rahman, 1997, p. 309) is a derogatory term used in Pakistan, especially in Punjab to refer to
people who do not speak proper English or Urdu. Paendo is a Punjabi word derived from Pind means village and the connotation of villager is negative and is associated with one who is not urban, modern or doesn’t know about the city life and in turn doesn’t know how to speak proper English and Urdu. In other words, it refers to a ‘country bumpkin or someone from the ‘back block’.

Green (1997), while discussing the hegemony of Standard English accent, argues that the standard language ideology is introduced right from the schools, is spread and ‘promoted by the media’ and is ‘institutionalized by the corporate sector’ (Green, 1997, pp 59-60). She further states that ‘language variation is stigmatized and language varieties are hierarchized according to their approximation to an idealized (mythical) standard language’. Similarly in Pakistan people are marginalized and stigmatized on the basis of their non-standard English and Urdu accents and also the way they mix English with Urdu.

Mrs. S’s usage of English and her mixing of English with Urdu show how inappropriate mixing of English and Urdu and non-standard English accents are marginalized and stigmatized in Pakistan like the rest of the world. Mrs. S migrated to Auckland almost 15 years ago with her husband and lives in Auckland with her husband and a daughter and a son 15 and 13 respectively. She did not complete her formal education and came to settle in NZ after her marriage. She learnt English in Auckland. When I met her first at a social gathering of other immigrant Pakistanis, I heard her speaking Urdu and mixing a lot of English words and phrases. Although she was using English words correctly according to their grammatical and semantic contexts, there was something which appeared inappropriate in her speech.

I first noted, she was inserting unusual English adjectives into her speech. For instance, she said in response to something as:

Mrs. S: *Ye tou ‘too much’ hai.*

Translation: This is too much.

I observed that when Mrs. S left, the other ladies ridiculed her mixing the English phrase ‘too much’ with Urdu words. Mrs. S’s saying ‘ye tou too much hai’ was not an appropriate mixing strategy according to the ‘unsaid shared norms’ of mixing English with Urdu in Pakistan. Usually these small clauses or phrases are inserted in the mixed speech completely in Urdu or in English but Mrs. S mixed words within this small phrase which proved a
wrong mixing strategy and became the reason of her stigmatization by other women. The mixing style of Mrs. S was grammatically and semantically correct but she did not use appropriate sociolinguistic and strategic competence, the shared norms of mixing in Pakistani society, in her discourse which made her sound unusual and marked her style.

Afterwards I theorized, she wanted to appear modern by speaking many English words in her speech and wanted to show that she knew how to speak English. By letting other Pakistani women know she can speak English, she was representing linguistically, her modern identity, an identity complemented by her western-style clothes and make up. But ‘modern Pakistani identity’ is not represented solely by mixing English and Urdu languages. There has to be an appropriate level and style of language mixing. Otherwise, the behaviour seems inappropriate, affected or incompetent.

3.3 English Pronunciations in Mixed Variety Based on Urdu Orthography

One of the most interesting ongoing phenomena in Pakistani English is how English words are being pronounced. Apart from Standard English Pronunciation of English words, there are other forms of pronunciations which are non-Standard English pronunciations in Pakistani English. Standard pronunciation in Pakistani English is based on approximating either British or American English pronunciations. These forms of pronunciations are spoken and heard daily in conversations and in electronic and digital media in Pakistan and are associated with educated, non-educated, sophisticated or modern pronunciations. Examples of mainstream British English pronunciations are compared with a Pakistani English pronunciation in tables 3.2 and 3.3. This comparison shows the change of vowels in English words in Pakistani English due to influences of Urdu orthography which is being stigmatized and marginalized in the society by educated and upper classes. Greens’ (1997) work on English accents emphasizes that various accents of English even within United States are being marginalized in favour of the Standard English language accent. Similarly in Pakistan, people are marginalized because of the variety of their English accents and pronunciations. Green (1997, p. 73) further points out that ‘[a]ccent discrimination can be found everywhere in our daily lives’. English pronunciation in Pakistan is affected by the phonology and intonation of indigenous languages and Urdu and is also greatly affected by Urdu orthography.
There are several reasons for why Pakistanis make various pronunciations of English words: social class system, education system and Urdu orthography in Pakistan. These three reasons are interconnected. Due to social class stratification, the Education system is not homogenous or evenly distributed in Pakistan, as we have seen. People belong to upper, middle and lower classes in Pakistan, do not have the same opportunities to utilize the resources in the country including education and learning a foreign language. The elite class and upper middle class attend the prestigious English medium schools, whereas, the lower middle and lower classes attend Urdu medium schools. The unequal distribution of access to English language leads to various pronunciations of English words.

People from the elite class go to the top English medium schools in Pakistan and then go to US, UK, Canada, and other foreign schools and universities for higher studies. Within Pakistan, the elite English medium schools are based on the American and British models of schooling where students get native like fluency, accent and pronunciation of English Language. They even have native speakers as their English language teachers in Pakistan. Consequently, the elite students acquire Standard English accent and pronunciations and are distinguished from the lower classes that are marginalized because of their financial status and their English accents.

The language marking in the middle class is hard to identify as the people from the upper middle class usually go to English medium schools and those from the lower middle class attend Urdu medium school as well as private schools who call themselves English medium but are quite different from the big English medium chains of schools such as City School, Beacon house, Bloomfield Hall in Pakistan. Some individuals start these ‘new English medium’ schools by renting houses in residential areas and setting up school. Pakistan is full of these new English medium schools which are part of the non-elitist English medium schools mentioned earlier in this chapter. The way the English language is taught in these schools is quite different from how it is taught in the big chains of English medium schools. Unlike the mainstream English Medium schools, the medium of instruction in these schools is not English, though most subjects are in English. All students who attend these ‘Newer’ English medium schools and Urdu medium schools do not get to native like proficiency in English. Moreover, teachers in these schools are not well trained and do not have good proficiency of English, so they do not impart standard pronunciation of English words to the students.
In addition to the social class and the education system, Urdu orthography is another important reason for the presence of different pronunciations of English words in Pakistan. In Pakistan many English words in ads and in newspapers and other places are transliterated and written in Urdu script. When these English words are read out loud or sotto voce from Urdu Script they are pronounced differently from their Standard English pronunciation. Examples can be seen in tables 3.2 and 3.3. The reason for writing these Urdu words differently in Urdu script is that the vowels in English language are not exactly the same as the vowels in Urdu language. For instance the back vowel used in the word ‘Talk’, /t Ɔ: k/, does not have any equivalent in Urdu language. Therefore when this word is written in Urdu script it is pronounced as /t ɑːk /. When a Pakistani reader reads English from its translated version s/he acquires different pronunciation as /t ɑːk /. The vowel sound is shifted during the process of transliteration. In this way the pronunciation of English words in Pakistan has slowly been transformed. Other word examples are; Telenor, Song, Chalk, Online etc in which the back vowel is replaced with the front vowel. This transition from the mainstream English vowel sound to the transliterated Urdu version is observed in the mixed variety of English and Urdu languages now emerging in Pakistan. Moreover, due to this vowel transition, a dividing line is drawn between two groups of people as educated versus non-educated or modern versus traditional by the ruling elite or by the educated classes with good proficiency of English. Those adults and youth who have good and near native like proficiency of English and can read and write English inscribed in Roman script will always pronounce these words with standard English pronunciation even if the words are written in Urdu Script and show the transliterated version. These people are, for an argument here, educated and modern. Those, on the other hand, who have no or only minimal English proficiency will always acquire some part of the English vocabulary from the transliterated version in the mixed variety. Instead of acquiring the mainstream pronunciation of English words, these people will learn the stigmatized version of the pronunciation. Apart from being a status symbol, English is also the marker of being educated.
Table 3.2 Urdu Orthography based pronunciation of random English lexicons in the database

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Words</th>
<th>Standard English Pronunciation</th>
<th>Pronunciation based on Urdu Orthography</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Talk</td>
<td>/t Ɔ: k/</td>
<td>/t ɑ: k/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Chalk</td>
<td>/ʧ Ɔ:k/</td>
<td>/ʧ ɑ:k/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Telenor</td>
<td>/telenɔːr/</td>
<td>/telen ɑ: r/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Song</td>
<td>/s ɑ: ηɡ/</td>
<td>/s ɑ: ηɡ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Online</td>
<td>/ɔ:n laɪn/</td>
<td>/ɑ:n laɪn/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.3 Urdu Orthography based pronunciation of English lexicons starting with consonant clusters with initial ‘s’.

3.4 Role of Youth and Digital Literacies in the Emergence and Growth of Mixed Variety in Pakistan

Pakistan has one of the largest youth populations in the world. Sixty percent of the population is under 30 years of age. Youth worldwide and especially in Pakistani are emerging as self-identified social groups, which is ‘more about youth whose territories have non-local connections’ (Wise, 2008, p. 54) and for whom English is a key language. The
representation and construction of global youth identities are the result of social transformations associated with globalized transnational connections and social hybridity, which are sometimes also associated with the New Global Capitalism. Pakistani youth uses English as a global language to express and perform their global, mixed and hybrid identities. Because English language in Pakistan symbolizes the social and ruling elite and is proficiently spoken by only 3 to 4% of the population, young people, not as proficient in English, mix English with Urdu and with other indigenous languages to express their global and modern Pakistani identity. Hybridity and language mixing are more associated, in Pakistan, especially with youth discourse as well as middle class discourse. Mixing English with Urdu and with indigenous languages has become 'a legal interactional practice, especially among the young, English-knowing bilingual middle class' (Bhatt, 2005, 2008, p. 179). Similarly, Thomason (2001) argues that bilinguals mix languages as a symbol of their emerging ethnic identity.

English is also mainly the language of internet (Thomason, 2001) and advertising for people of every age group and especially youth. In Pakistan, young people like others around the world, frequently use social networking sites and use mixed language as popular tools of communication. Advertising and mixed languages are sites of language contact. Advertising discourse is mainly targeted to women and youth as the ideal subject(s) of advertising discourse. Youth identities worldwide and in Pakistan are not only influenced by the local and global products advertised in the ads but also by the type of language mixing in them. According to Wise, ‘Global youth can refer to the use of the products of global culture (this is globally circulated media products, clothing, technologies, and so on) by youth in their own territorialization’ (Wise, 2008, p. 62). Mixed languages are becoming the norm among youth and representation of their hybrid identities.
Chapter 4

Micro Analysis: Linguistic Analysis

4.1 Introduction

A purely linguistic analysis is carried out in this chapter. As I have explained in the methodology section that there are mainly two types of analyses; micro analysis and macro analysis. A macro analysis basically refers to analyzing the advertisements as a whole discourse and analysis of mixing of discourses, shifting ways of order of discourses, mixing of genres and intertextuality. It is more discursive in nature and positioning the analysis in relation to larger social phenomena like modernity and is the focus of next Chapter. A micro analysis, on the other hand, is a purely linguistic analysis and is carried out in this Chapter.

A purely linguistic analysis, within micro analysis, of the advertisement involves dividing the ad into its functional units of analysis in terms of phrases and clauses. Because of my focus on analyzing linguistic hybridity in the advertisements, I am not analyzing every phrase or clause in an ad; I concentrate on those, which are hybrid. Hybrid phrases or clauses are those clauses in which more than one code, script or matrix language is used. Code (lexicons), matrix language and script are the three main variables in my linguistic data as shown in figure 4.1. Changing one variable or a combination of these variables can lead to linguistic hybridity at the level of phrase or clause.

According to figure 4.1 there are three possible choices within the code column; English lexicon, Urdu lexicon and English and Urdu lexicon mixed together within a phrase or a clause in the ads. This suggests that Urdu and English codes are used either separately or mixed together within a single phrase or a clause in the ads and is what makes the ad hybrid. If the lexicons used within a phrase/clause are from Urdu or English then the code of that phrase will be Urdu or English respectively. If the lexicons are used from both Urdu and English then we can say a mixed code is used within the phrase/clause in those ads. The main distinction between the code and matrix in my data is that code is the lexicon of a language and matrix is the syntax used in the ads.
Figure 4.1: Choices within Code, Matrix and Script in the database

The matrix language is the language in which a phrase or clause is constructed according to its grammatical rules. If a phrase or clause is constructed according to the grammatical rules of English, e.g. ‘det mN’ within an NP, then the matrix language will be English and I will label it an English Phrase or Clause and if it is constructed according to that of Urdu, e.g. ‘N m’ within an NP, then I will term it an Urdu matrix and Urdu clause respectively (where ‘N’ stands for noun, ‘m’ for modifier and ‘det’ for determiner).

In individual ads, Roman script and Urdu script or a combination of the two scripts may be used. Roman script, as everyone knows, is processed from left to right while Urdu script from right to left. When a combination of these two scripts is used within a phrase or clause, it gives rise to a complex script-processing task that requires unifying the whole phrase/clause from left to right and right to left or vice versa. Hybridity at the level of scripts is a graphic component of the broader linguistic hybridity I am focusing in this chapter. Within a phrase or clause, the processing of script from left to right and then right to left in written code-mixed languages seems relatively easy to me and to other experienced users of English and Urdu languages. However, someone not familiar with Urdu script may well find it difficult to process a hybrid written phrase or clause by
moving visually in two different directions. This dual processing of script within a phrase or clause is explained in detail in the examples later in this Chapter.

According to figure 4.1 there are three choices within the code column, two in the matrix column and three in the script column. By mixing all these choices within code, matrix and script eighteen possible combinations can be created. For instance, take the first choice from code column, which is ‘English lexicon (EL)’, and mix it with the first from the matrix and script columns, which are ‘English syntax (ESy)’ and ‘Roman scripts (RS)’ respectively. The Category emerging as a result of these three combinations of EL, ESy and RS is as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
1 & \text{EL} & + \\
 & \text{Esy} & + \\
 & & \text{RS}
\end{array}
\]

This is the first Category out of the possible 18 combinations/categories. The example of this Category from my data is as ‘Jazz audio cinema’ (Appendix A, ad: 11). In this example all the words or lexicon are from English. English syntax is used to construct the phrase as evidenced by the order of head noun (N) and its modifiers, and the phrase is inscribed in Roman script. All the choices within code, matrix and script are combined in this way to generate eighteen possible combinations/categories as shown in figure 4.2. A key is given at the end of these eighteen categories to explain all the initials used in the figure. These eighteen categories give rise to six sets in total as shown in figure 4.2. I have kept two variables constant, and changed the third within each set to generate all these eighteen Categories. For example English lexicon (EL) from Code column and English Syntax (ESy) from Matrix column (from figure 4.1) are kept constant and the script from the third column is changed which has given rise to three categories in set 1 as shown in figure 4.2. The same procedure is followed to generate all the eighteen Categories. One of the choices from the lexicon column and one from the syntax column are kept constant within each set and the choices from the script column are changed within the set to generate all the possible combinations.

Examples for all the eighteen Categories are not found from the data used in this research. Some Categories have plenty of examples from the advertising texts and other have a few. Examples for some Categories are not at all present in the data (see explanation of Categories 4 to 9). Examples for all the Categories in sets 1, 5 and 6 (comprises of nine
Categories in total, see figure 4.2) are found in the database. Some of the Categories within theses sets have plenty of examples and other have just ten or less than ten examples in total. I couldn’t find any example for six Categories from set 2 and 3. In set 4 there are many examples for Category11 but couldn’t find any example for Categories 10 and 12 from the database.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SET 1</th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>EL</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>ESy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>EL</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>ESy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>EL</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>ESy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SET 2</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>EL</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>USy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>EL</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>USy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>EL</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>USy</td>
<td>+</td>
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</table>

<table>
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<tr>
<th>SET 3</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>UL</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>ESy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
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<td>ESy</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>ESy</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>SET 4</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<td>12</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>Usy</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>SET 5</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>(E&amp;U)L</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>ESy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>(E&amp;U)L</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>ESy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>(E&amp;U)L</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>ESy</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>SET 6</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>(E&amp;U)L</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>USy</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>(E&amp;U)L</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>USy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>(E&amp;U)L</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>USy</td>
<td>+</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>English Lexicon</td>
<td>UL</td>
<td>Urdu Lexicon</td>
<td>(E&amp;U)L</td>
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<td>English Syntax</td>
<td>USy</td>
<td>Urdu Syntax</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>RS</td>
<td>Roman Script</td>
<td>US</td>
<td>Urdu Script</td>
<td>USy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 4.2**: Eighteen (18) possible Categories / combinations of code, matrix and script
4.2 Explanation of the Template Used in the Analysis

I have used a custom template to show the basic analysis of the examples and this is followed by detailed explanations throughout the Chapter. In the template first of all the original example from a particular advertisement is written and this is then followed by three levels; transliteration, word-to-word translation and then meaningful translation. In the first level of the template, transliteration, the examples from the original code and script (whether English, Urdu or mixed) are translated into English, which is followed by its exact word-to-word translation in English and then its meaningful translation in English. Apart from these three levels in the template I have used arrows at each level to show the script processing either from right to left as in Urdu or from left to right as in English.

Two languages English and Urdu and corresponding two scripts Roman and Urdu are used in the text in the database to generate various combinations such as: English phrase written in Roman script or in Urdu script or in a combination of both scripts, and Urdu phrase written in Roman script or in Urdu script or in a combination of both scripts. English phrase here means a phrase constructed according to the grammatical rules in English and Urdu phrase means a phrase constructed according to those of Urdu, no matter what language or script is used.

4.3 Analysis of Examples from Categories 1 to 18

Before discussing examples in the individual categories, in the forthcoming analysis, I illustrate the unit of analysis first. Each ad as a discourse consists of words, phrases or clauses or can be seen as consisting of meaningful utterances. Instead of taking a phrase or a clause as a unit of analysis, at the micro level, I have chosen a meaningful utterance as a unit of analysis, which can be a phrase, a clause or a sentence. The reason for choosing an utterance, as a unit of analysis, is the grammatical length of the examples. As in all the categories some examples consists of words, some of a phrase, more of more than one phrase, some of a clause and some of more than one clause. It is better and convenient to term an individual example as an utterance instead of labeling as a word, phrase or a clause. Another reason for adopting this approach is the syntax of the phrase or clause. If an example consists of a single phrase then describing its syntax is much
easier and it will be the same syntax throughout the phrase. On the other hand if an example consists of a clause, it might have two different syntaxes used in it, one to construct an individual phrase and another to construct the whole clause. In other words a phrase in a clause, on the micro level, can belong to one Category because of the syntax used in it and a clause as a whole can belong to another Category due to the syntax used at the level of the clause.

**Category 1**

In this Category English lexicon (EL), English syntax (ESy) and Roman script (RS) is used as shown in the template and all the examples below. All the examples in this Category are mostly advertising slogans and names of the product or service advertised. These advertising slogans and names of the product or service are mostly used in English. Examples below show that these advertising slogans range from one word to a phrase, two phrases, clause or two clauses. The examples in this Category are as follows.

1. Ufone (Appendix A, ad: 9)
2. Jazz Audio Cinema (Appendix A, ad: 11)
3. Happy Valentine’s Day (Appendix B, ad: 24)
4. Nokia Connecting People (Appendix A, ad: 16)
5. Ready to Cook (Appendix A, ad: 5)
6. The Caring Bank (Appendix A, ad: 6)
7. Surveyed at the Jeddah International Dermatology and Cosmetic Conference in March 09 (Appendix A, ad: 3)
8. Song dedication (Appendix B, ad: 24)
9. 3G evo there is no end to it (Appendix A: ad: 14)
10. Bright smiles, Bright futures (Appendix B, ad: 18)
11. We keep growing for you (Appendix B, ad: 28)
12. Giving women the power to succeed (Appendix D, ad: 45)
13. We have more time for you (Appendix D, ad: 28)

**Example 1 of Category 1**

In this Category English lexicon, English syntax and Urdu script is used as shown in the template above. All the phrases constructed according to the grammatical rules of English are written or transliterated in Urdu script and are included in this Category. This shows that there is no script mixing therefore, no complexity in the examples on the level of script. Only one script is used to write the transliterated English phrases. All the examples in this Category are short in length ranging from 2 to 5 words and are mostly
single phrases. Among all the phrases there are noun phrases NP, adjective phrases AdjP and occasionally prepositional phrases (PP).

Example 1 of Category 2

Example 1 is taken from Bank Al-Habib ad (Appendix A, ad: 7). It is a simple adjective phrase AdjP. The arrows show the processing of script from right to left in the first three rows in the analysis template and from left to right in the final row where its meaningful translation is given. The word ‘Orders’ is transliterated as ‘arderz’ in the example, which shows its pronunciation in Urdu. If I, as a proficient user of English, read this transliterated version from Urdu I would pronounce it in my mind or while speaking as ‘orders’ instead of ‘arderz’. But in Urdu orthography the word is written to be pronounced as ‘arderz’. Due to this Urdu orthography of transliterated English words many people in Pakistan who are not proficient users of English language learn this varied pronunciation of the word ‘Orders’. It is not just this word rather there are many words in which the vowels of English words have been changed during the process of transliteration into Urdu orthography. An exhaustive list of these words is given in section 3.3 in Chapter 3.
Example 2 of Category 2

Example 2 is from an ad (Appendix B, ad: 17) in which children’s nappies named ‘pampers’ is advertised and a special competition for a ‘pampers super star’ is organized among children on the basis of their photos wearing pampers (nappy). This example is the advertising slogan of the ad and is an adjective phrase. The direction of the arrows in the analysis is the same in every example throughout this Category, which shows that there is no complexity in the examples on the level of script.

Example 3 of Category 2
Example 3 is taken from a ‘tooth paste’ ad (Appendix A, ad: 18). The phrase is again an advertising slogan and is an Adjective phrase AdjP. The pronunciation of the word ‘smile’ is transliterated as ‘ismile’ from Urdu orthography. Most of the consonant cluster starting with /s/ are transliterated with the sound /is/ in Urdu orthography and eventually in spoken Pakistani English by many English users in Pakistan. This is another example of a change in pronunciation or transliterated version or English words in Urdu in Pakistan. The addition of the vowel /i/ before /s/ is observed not only among ‘below average’ users of English but by many average users of English, in terms of language proficiency, while code switching and code mixing. The reason is the excessive usage of /is/ form in Urdu orthography.

Example 4 of Category 2

Example 4 is taken from a telecommunication ad Telenor (Appendix B, ad: 19). This example consists of a compound noun connected with ‘and’ unlike other examples in this Category, which are either noun phrases (NP) or adjective phrases (AdjP). The script processing is again simple as only Urdu script is used to write the English phrase ‘friends and family’.
Category 3

In this Category English lexicon (EL), English Syntax (ESy) and both Roman and Urdu scripts (R&U)S are used as shown in the template above. Each utterance, in the examples below, is constructed according to English syntax. A part of the utterance is written in Roman script and a part in Urdu script. The examples in this Category are not great in number (8 to 10 in total) in the entire database. Script processing is complex in this Category because of the usage of both English and Urdu scripts, and this accounts for the indeterminacy in the total. The arrows in the individual examples show left to right and right to left script processing within each example. The main advertising discourse in all the ads in the data is mainly in Urdu with mixed English words, phrases and clauses. Therefore, in all the examples in this Category the script processing of the whole phrase will start from right to left even if the first word from right is written in Roman script. It is explained in detail in the examples below.

Example 1 of Category 3
This example is taken from a telecommunication ad (Appendix B, ad: 19, 22) in which mobile phone connection is advertised. It is a simple and short prepositional phrase (PP), which is part of bigger utterance in the advertisement. Though English syntax is used to construct this PP, the syntax of the bigger utterance is in Urdu which is written from right to left. The arrows in the analysis show script processing from left to right and right to left. The abbreviation F&F in the example stands for ‘Friends & Family’, which is a noun phrase (NP) within the PP.

If someone listens to the phrase ‘off net F&F’ within its context, it appears simple, short and persuasive advertising slogan which aims at selling the telecommunication service. The complexity arises when one comes across the production of the same PP phrase in print media. The main reason for its complexity is, of course, the script. The phrase is simple in its own right as it is a simple prepositional phrase constructed according to ESy and all the lexicon in the phrase are from English. In writing, half of the phrase is written in US from right to left and half of it is written in RS from left to right as shown in the template with the help of arrows. This description of simplicity at the level of syntax and lexicon and complexity at the level of script applies to each example in this Category. Now days this sort of script processing and script production is the norm in Pakistani print and digital advertising due to several reasons (see more examples in this Chapter).

The word ‘off’ is written as ‘aaf’ in its transliteration to approximate its pronunciation written in Urdu script. The pronunciation of ‘off’ as ‘aaf’ is again due to Urdu orthography as mentioned in the example ‘orderz’ as ‘arderz’ in Category 2.

Example 2 of Category 3
Example 2 is taken from a Nokia mobile phone ad (Appendix A, ad: 16). It is an adjective phrase (AdjP). The arrows, in the template, show the complex processing of script from left to right and right to left at different levels of analysis. The script processing for the whole phrase is from right to left because the phrase is written in Urdu script with the exception of the word ‘1GB’ which is written in RS and is read from left to right. All the formulaic expressions like ‘1GB’ are mostly written in Roman Script throughout the data. The only complexity in this phrase is the script again which is changing with every word or two within each example.

**Example 3 of Category 3**

Example 3 of Category 3 is also taken from the same mobile phone ad (Appendix A, ad: 16) as example 2. It is a very simple noun phrase (NP). It is also a technical term specific to mobile phone jargon and is used in this ad. The arrows show the processing of script from left to right and right to left. Though there are only two words in the phrase, ‘Player’ and ‘MP3’ in which ‘MP3’ is written in RS and ‘Player’ in US, the processing of script for the whole phrase is from right to left as in Urdu.

The reason is that firstly, the main script used in the whole of this particular mobile phone ad, is Urdu script though this is not a sufficient reason for every phrase to be processed
from right to left. Secondly, while listing the features of the mobile phone advertised the bullet points are on the right hand side of the page layout as used in US. Thirdly some of the technical formulaic phrases of mobile phones, like ‘Mpz Player’, ‘Memory Card’, ‘FM Radio’, are transliterated in these ads and are written partly or entirely in Urdu script and follows the subject-verb-object (SVO) word order The word order in a phrase/clause in English and Urdu are different. In English it is SVO and in Urdu it is SOV. However, it is difficult, sometimes, to differentiate between an English NP and an Urdu NP due to excessive language contact. This point will be elaborated and discussed time and again in the description of various categories, in the data, because of the similar word order in simple NPs and AdjPs in both English and Urdu.

Example 4 of Category 3

Example 4 is taken from a banking ad (Appendix B, ad: 23) in which ‘HBL Freedom Account’ is advertised by Habib Bank Limited (HBL) Pakistan. It is also an Adjective phrase (AdjP).

The arrows show the direction of script processing from left to right for the word ‘free’ which is written in RS and Right to left for the phrase ‘Funds Transfers’ which is written in US from right to left. The overall script processing for the whole phrase is again from
right to left, the consistent pattern, in all the examples, throughout this Category. The term ‘funds transfer’ is also a formulaic expression or technological term usually transliterated in Urdu advertising and banking discourse. However the use of the word ‘free’ coming before it can be played in terms of lexicon and script. I have come across an interesting observation regarding the usage of the word ‘free’ in terms of script and lexicon in my data in different categories. It is used as an English lexical item ‘free’ and written in both English and Urdu scripts (فری) in various examples. It is also used as an Urdu lexical item ‘muft’ (مُفٹ), equivalent of English lexical item ‘free’ in which case it is only written in Urdu script. In my data I have various ads from the banking sector such as Habib Bank limited (HBL), Bank Al Habib Limited, Allied bank etc. In the HBL ad (Appendix B, ad: 23) it is used as an English lexical item and written in Roman script as ‘Free’ and is modifying all the formulaic expressions such as ‘funds transfers, ‘bankers checks’, ‘check books’ which are written in US. Contrarily, in the ‘Bank AL Habib’ ad (Appendix A, ad: 7) and ‘Allied Bank’ ad (Appendix B, ad: 21) it is used as an Urdu lexical item and is written in Urdu script as ‘Muft’(مُفٹ) and it modifies all the formulaic expression also written in US.

In the second example of Category 3 (free 1GB memory card), it is used as an English lexical item but it is written/transliterated in US and modifies the formulaic expression ‘1GB’. This usage of ‘free’ is different from both the types explained above.

**Categories 4 to 9**

There are no examples in the data for categories 4 to 9. Why? The answer of why there is not even a single example of any one of the above categories in the data can be found in the following discussion. If we consider figure 4.2 again, we find six sets in total. Set 2 consists of categories 4 to 6 and set 3 consists of categories 7 to 9. Within each set in figure 3.2, the first two columns of Lexicon and Syntax are kept constant and the script in the third column changes. The same pattern is followed to generate the rest of the categories in each set in figure 4.2. In Categories 4 to 6 (set 2) EL and USy are kept constant and script changes and in Categories 7 to 9 (set 3) UL and ESy are kept constant
and the script changes. Let us take the variable in Category 4 to find out why there is no example in the data.

Category 4, as shown in the template above, consists of English Lexicon (EL), Urdu Syntax (USy) and Roman script (RS). EL with ESy can be written in RS, for example, ‘Mobile Broadband’ and ‘Free funds transfer’ can be written in US and in both Roman and Urdu scripts. The script here is not an issue. Rather the issue is the compatibility between the lexicon and the syntax. English lexicons are usually grouped together according to the rules of English syntax and Urdu lexicons according to those of Urdu. In hybrid phrases, mixed English and Urdu lexicons are grouped together into a phrase according to either English syntax or Urdu syntax such as ‘Super Basant offer’. In the phrase, ‘super’ and ‘offer’ are English lexicons and ‘Basant’ is an Urdu lexicon, which are grouped together according to English Syntax. Another example is ‘mahana charges’ in which ‘mahana’ (monthly) is an Urdu lexicon and ‘charges’ is an English lexicon, grouped together into a phrase by Urdu syntax. Mixed lexicons can be grouped / constructed into a phrase according to either ESy or USy but English lexicons (EL) cannot possibly be grouped together using Urdu syntax or vice versa. It is grammatically possible somehow but is inappropriate. For instance, the phrase ‘On the table’ has only English lexicons and is constructed according to ESy. Can this phrase be constructed according to USy using the same English lexicons? There are several reasons that it is grammatically inappropriate. Firstly, the word order in English Syntax is SVO and in Urdu it is SOV. If I try to construct the above phrase using Urdu phrase structure rules the phrase will be ‘table on’ and in Urdu it will be pronounced as ‘Maiz per’. The phrase ‘table on’ can convey meaning but is inappropriate according to English phrase structure rules. In clauses we need structure words for binding all the phrases, therefore, constructing English clauses with USy or Urdu clauses with ESy will be inappropriate without the proper structure words apart from verb forms.

However, apart from the above discussion of grammatical inappropriateness, the examples for categories 4 to 9 can be made up at the level of simple noun or adjective phrase to illustrate the point further. This will not be true at the level of clause, verb phrase (VP) and prepositional phrase (PP) because of different word order in English and
Urdu in these phrases. But it can be partially true for some phrases such as compound nouns, simple noun phrases (NP) and adjective phrases (Adj P). I have observed while going through my data that the word order of simple noun phrases and adjective phrases in English and Urdu remains the same. All the examples I am discussing below for categories 4 to 9 are made up examples and these are either simple noun phrase (NP) or adjective phrases (Adj P).

**Category 4 to 6**

The combination of variables in categories 4 to 6 is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EL</th>
<th>+</th>
<th>USy</th>
<th>+</th>
<th>RS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>EL</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>USy</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>RS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>EL</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>USy</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>US</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>EL</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>USy</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(R&amp;U)S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I have taken two examples to illustrate the point here. In example a, ‘liquid’ and ‘calcium’ are used and in example b, ‘on’, ‘the’, and ‘table’ are used as English lexicons as explain the above three categories. I have to make the phrase by combining these lexicons by Urdu syntax and have to write the phrase in three different scripts; RS, US and (R&U)S. As mentioned earlier that the word order in simple NP and Adj P in English and Urdu remains the same so the phrase ‘liquid calcium’ will be read in the same order in both English and Urdu. But the preposition phrase (PP) ‘On the table’ will not be read the same way if I combine the three lexical items (on, the, table) according to Urdu syntax. Now I will write this phrase in RS, US and then as a combination of Roman and Urdu script as in categories 4, 5 and 6 respectively.

**Category 4**

a. Liquid Calcium

b. Table on the
Category 5

a. 

b. 

Category 6

a. 

b. 

The first example in each Category is possible because of the similar word order in simple NPs and AdjP in both English and Urdu but not possible or appropriate for PP, VP and for clauses or sentences.

Categories 7 to 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>7</th>
<th>UL</th>
<th>+</th>
<th>ESy</th>
<th>+</th>
<th>RS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>UL</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>ESy</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>US</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>UL</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>ESy</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(R&amp;U)S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Again for categories 7 to 9 I have made up the following examples to illustrate the potential of these categories. All these examples are theoretical possibilities to show that it is somehow grammatically possible to use the grammatical rules of Urdu to join English lexicons, or vice versa, for two-word noun and adjective phrases. But it is completely inappropriate when the examples are more than two words or consists of verb phrases, prepositional phrases, adverbial phrases, or clauses and sentences as shown in the example below. The possibility of same word order in simple noun and adjective phrase in English and Urdu also highlights the hybrid grammar of mixed language in
these advertisements. The hybrid grammar or the grammar of language contact is explained in detail in the following categories in this Chapter.

For the description of Categories 7 to 9 I have chosen two Urdu lexicons ‘bara’ means ‘big’ and ‘kamra’ means ‘room’. These two Urdu lexicons when constructed according to English syntax make the phrase ‘bara kamra’ which means ‘big room’. Again it is a simple Adjective phrase and the word order in both Urdu and English syntax remains the same i.e. ‘bara’ an adjective is preceding the noun ‘kamra’. This Adj P can be written in RS, US and (R&U)S as shown in categories 7, 8 and 9 respectively.

Category 7

Bara karma

Category 8

Category 9

Another example can be a noun phrase in which I have taken two Urdu lexicons ‘bank’ and ‘manager’. Though ‘bank’ and ‘manager’ are English lexicons, they are technical terms and are borrowed terms in Urdu and are transliterated as they are in Urdu advertising, public, legal, and social discourse. Therefore these lexicons can be termed as Urdu lexicons.

Category 7:

Bank Manager

Category 8:

Category 9:

Manager
The grammar of language contact or hybrid language is not simple and straightforward and is unlike mathematical equation in which two plus two equals four. It is much more complex and has grey areas in it. Hybrid language borrows the features of all the languages used in it so it gets very complex. Due to the similarity in simple noun phrase and adjective phrase structure in English and Urdu there is overlap between some categories. The overlap in categories shows the overlap between English and Urdu on the macro level as a result of language contact. The overlap is also emerging as one of the features of ‘mixed or hybrid language’ in this research. A detailed discussion on overlapping is given in later categories and is also in the concluding discussion of this chapter.

**Category 10**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>UL</th>
<th>+</th>
<th>USy</th>
<th>+</th>
<th>RS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Example 1 of Category 10**

Khas Chai EVERYDAY

khas chai everyday

special tea everyday

Special tea everyday
The example is taken from the ad (Appendix A, ad: 12) advertising ‘tea whitener’. There are only three examples in this Category in the whole print and digital data. As shown by the template above, this Category consists of Urdu Lexicon, Urdu Syntax and Roman script. In this case, we have ‘khas chai’ meaning ‘special tea’ being predicate of ‘EVERYDAY’ the product’s brand name. The example is perhaps somewhat controversial because the word ‘EVERYDAY’ is obviously not Urdu, rather it is the name of a Nestle product; a dry milk powder or a tea whitener. The word ‘EVERYDAY’ is repeated six times in the ad and is written in caps at five places out of six. The initials are written in caps as ‘EveryDay’ only once when it is written on the packet of the milk powder within the ad. The whole discourse of the ad is in Urdu syntax and the immediate context of ‘EVERYDAY’ in the phrase is either Nestle as ‘NESTLE EVERYDAY’ or Khas Chai EVERYDAY’. In the former example it is used only as a name of the product while in the later the use of ‘EVERYDAY’ is tricky as it has double meaning. It is not only used as a name of the product but is also used in the meaning of ‘daily’ i.e. drink ‘khas chai everyday or daily’/ special tea everyday or daily. If I do not take into account the literal meaning of the word ‘EVERYDAY’ and just take it as a name of a tea whitener then the phrase ‘khas chai EVERYDAY’ fits into the Category 10 as having only Urdu lexicon, Urdu syntax and Roman Script. ‘EVERYDAY’ as a name of a tea whitener is chosen cleverly by the advertiser as a pun. It should be fine to include this example in the Category 10 because ‘EVERYDAY’ is intended to have double or multiple meaning in the context of this ad. As far as the script is concerned, it is very simple and consistent at all levels in the template without any complexity. The arrows in the template show the processing of RS from left to right in a simple manner. The actual complexity lies at the level of semantics or theme discussed above.

The reason for only three examples in Category 10 is due to a particular trend in the advertising discourse. All the ads in my digital and print data have a dominant trend of English words, phrases and clauses written in Urdu script or hybrid phrases written in hybrid script. There are several reasons for this trend; these newspapers are all Urdu daily newspapers, and a large proportion of the audience, of these newspapers, are more literate reading Urdu script instead of Roman. The trend of writing Urdu words, phrases and clauses written in RS is very rare in the data, which is why we have only three examples in this Category in the entire database.
Example 2 of Category 10

‘Bol kay suno’ is a very simple example to describe in this Category and is taken from the Ufone ad (Appendix B, ad: 24). It is important in the context of the discourse of the ad as it is one of the three examples in this Category. It is an Urdu imperative clause constructed according to Urdu syntax and is written in Roman script. The direction of the arrows shows the processing of the Roman script from left to right, which is consistent throughout the template.

The telecom company ‘Ufone’ is advertising its special service for Valentine’s Day in this ad. The clause ‘bol kay suno’ is written in very small font under the name of service being advertised, ‘Utalk’. This offer is basically ‘Utalk’ in which the customer dials the number 777 and then speaks the name of the song he/she likes and then listens to it through his/her mobile phone connection. Writing Urdu phrases and clauses in Roman script is not the norm in the advertising discourse in Pakistan which is why the clause ‘bol kay suno’ is backgrounded by writing it in very small font. All of the 5 services advertised, in the Ufone ad, on the special occasion of ‘Valentine’s Day’, consist of English phrases like ‘Utalk’ written in big, bold and Roman script in various types of font styles. Writing the phrase ‘bol kay suno’ in small font can be indicative of a problem of space in the ad or that the advertiser doesn’t want to push the main service ‘Utalk’ in the
background of the ad. Whether writing ‘bol kay suno’ in small font is deliberate or not, it is certainly significant in the analysis. It shows the dominance of Urdu script in the ad. The dominance of Urdu script doesn’t mean that the Urdu language is necessarily dominant in this ad or in all the ads. In the tension and struggle for dominance and space in the advertising discourse in Pakistani print and digital advertising, the English language and Urdu script seem to win the battle. A detailed discursive analysis on this struggle is given in Chapter 5.

**Example 3 of Category 10**

‘Mahana Khazana’ which means ‘monthly treasure’ is the third and last example in Category 10. This example like the two other examples is grammatically simple and consistent on the level of script as shown in the template. An arrow from left to right is pointing for the processing of the Roman script throughout the template. The phrase literally means ‘monthly treasure’ which means ‘monthly savings’ in the context of the ad. It is taken from the ad of KASB Bank Limited (Appendix B, ad: 25) advertising ‘Mahana (monthly) Khazana (savings)’ a feature of the saving account.
The phrase ‘Mahana Khazana’ is repeated five times in the ad in which it is written only once in Roman script as shown in the example and four times in Urdu script as if it were an ordinary Urdu phrase. The whole ad is loaded with Urdu script, except for the name of the bank at the top left corner, the phrase ‘Mahana Khazana’ with a small image of a money bank between the two words towards the bottom left of the page and the contact details of the bank in the bottom left corner which are written in Roman script. Unlike the previous example where the phrase ‘bol kay suno’ was written in a very small font and was backgrounded beneath the name of the service advertised, ‘Mahana Khazana’ is written in bold and bigger font and is foregrounded in the ad. The main reason for this contrast is that the former was a minor detail of one of the services advertised in the ad and later is the name of the service itself. Secondly, in the previous example there is a balance between the Urdu and Roman scripts i.e. there are a lot of other phrases which are written in Roman script so writing ‘bol kay suno’ in bigger or smaller font will not make any difference on the part of the advertiser unless he/she wants to make it prominent in the ad. In the present example, however, the whole ad is loaded with Urdu script and there are only a few words and phrase which are written in Roman script so whatever is written in Roman script is automatically prominent and foregrounded by the advertiser so that it should catch the eyes of the audience. Moreover mixing both scripts is an ‘important source of attention-getter’ (Bhatia, 1992, p. 204) by the advertiser who wants to persuade the audience by using multiple scripts.

Category 11

This Category consists of Urdu lexicons, Urdu syntax and Urdu script. All the examples of Urdu language written in Urdu script present in the data are included in this Category. This Category is the mirror image of Category 1 in which all the examples are from English language written in Roman script in the data.
Example 1 of Category 11

The analysis is quite simple showing the arrows for Urdu script from right to left throughout the whole clause as only one script is used. The example is taken from a toothpaste ad (Appendix A, ad: 4).

Example 2 of Category 11
Example 2 is taken from a telecommunication ad (Appendix A, ad: 8). The direction of the arrows in the template suggest that it is complex script processing but it is actually not. It is usual script processing in Urdu language when the script has numbers in it, as Urdu (like English) uses the Arabic numeral system. The arrows for Urdu script are from right to left and for number they are from left to right. This type of script processing comes natural to all the frequent users of Urdu script. It is important to note that the examples in this Category are not in majority as it appears in the advertising discourse. The ad appear to have Urdu language all over but it is revealed in the analysis that though the Urdu script is dominant but mostly lexicons from both English and Urdu are used and is shown in graphs 4.2 and 4.3 at the end of this Chapter.

**Category 12**

There is no example of Category 12 in both the print and digital data. The above combination is grammatically possible and appropriate according to language rules and universals. Still there is not even a single example in the data. The above combination shows in simple words a purely Urdu phrase constructed according to Urdu syntax written in both Roman and Urdu script. The combination of Urdu phrase /clause in written in Roman script is shown in Category 10 though there are only three examples in total. A combination of Urdu phrase/clause written in Urdu script is also shown which is, basically Urdu language, written in Urdu script and is shown in Category 11. Interestingly there is no example of an Urdu phrase/clause written in both R&U scripts.

It is interesting to observe that there are no examples of Category 12 in the data. Contrarily, there are plenty of examples of English phrase/clauses written in both R&U scripts as in Category 3. The reason probably is associated with English and Urdu literacies. All these hybrid ads are found from daily Urdu newspapers. I have used the word ‘found’ instead of ‘collected’ because I tried to collect hybrid ads from three English dailies and three Urdu dailies. The hybrid ads were only found in Urdu dailies as discussed in the methodology section in the first chapter. The majority of the target
audience of the Urdu dailies is literate in the Urdu language and Urdu script. In addition to Urdu language and script the majority of the population in Pakistan can also read and understand English words/phrases if they are transliterated in Urdu script. Therefore it is convenient on the part of the advertisers not to write any Urdu words/phrase in the hybrid script rather it is more desirable for them to write English/phrases in hybrid script. By hybrid script I mean a script, which consists of both Roman and Urdu, scripts. In this way the advertisers can maintain the balance between both the scripts that seems to be desirable in modern day advertising discourse. The advertisers can also make their ads more persuasive by having some English words/phrase in Roman script and some difficult ones in Urdu script. As a result of language contact, globalisation, modernizations, and technologization, people in Pakistan do know the meaning of many English words and phrases because they are frequently used in print, digital and electronic media. The consumers from the lower and lower middle classes can associate the meaning of the words and phrases with their sound instead of the script. The problem is all of them, unfortunately, cannot read those English words because they do not have good proficiency in English language and Roman script.

**Category 13**

Category 13 consists of English and Urdu lexicons grouped together according to English syntax and written in Roman script. There is only one example which fits into this Category and also belongs to Category 16. The only difference between Category 13 and 16 lies in the syntax: in Category 13 it is English syntax and in 16 it is Urdu. The reason that the only example that fits into both the categories is the same principle discussed in the explanation of categories 4 to 9. As discussed earlier, the word order in compound nouns and in simple noun and adjective phrases is undifferentiated in English and Urdu. Therefore it is very difficult to decide whether the following adjective phrase (Adj P) belong to Category 13 or 16 or both.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category 13</th>
<th>(E&amp;U)L</th>
<th>+</th>
<th>ESy</th>
<th>+</th>
<th>RS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>


The word ‘khas’ means ‘special’, whether it is English or Urdu, the adjective ‘special’/’khas’ modifies the noun ‘tea’. So the phrases ‘khas tea’/ special tea’/ ‘khas chai’ are compatible with either English syntax or Urdu syntax or both. If it is English Syntax then this example belongs to Category 13 and on the other hand if the syntax of the phrase ‘khas tea’ is Urdu then the example belongs to Category 16. In language contact and hybrid discourse this is the grey area where the boundaries between languages are quite diffused. As a result of contact and diffusion a hybrid and mixed language is emerging on the Pakistani linguistics scene. This ‘mixed variety’ is hybrid in terms of lexicon, script and syntax. The English and Urdu syntax are overlapping and creating the grammar of hybrid language or discourse. The hybridity at the level of script and syntax is mentioned in this chapter and is discussed in in detail at the level of discourse in chapter 5.
Category 14

Category 14 consists of both English and Urdu lexicons grouped together by English syntax and written in Urdu script. The examples of this Category are quite frequent in the data. There are plenty of phrases, which have both English and Urdu lexicons, constructed according to English syntax and written in Urdu script. This type of combination is very frequent in my database along with two to three other hybrid combinations shown in the graph in the concluding section of this chapter.

Example 1 of Category 14

This is a typical example in this Category which shows mixing of both English and Urdu lexicons which are written in Urdu script. The arrows show the processing of script from right to left as only Urdu script is used in this Category. This example is taken from the Pakistan Telecommunication (PTCL) ad (Appendix A, ad: 1) at the time of ‘basant festival’. ‘Basant’ is a kite-flying festival which is celebrated in Pakistan and India during Spring season every year. The pronunciation of the word ‘offer’ as ‘afer’ shown in the transliteration is again due to Urdu orthography.
The company’s acronym occurs as LCTP in transliteration, read from right to left in the template, is PTCL, but of course to the literate reader of Urdu this is understood as PTCL.

**Example 2 of Category 14**

Example 2 is also taken from a telecom ad (appendix B, ad: 29). It is a simple noun phrase with both English (Charges) and Urdu (‘Mahana’ which means ‘monthly’) lexicons. It is a simple noun phrase NP with a structure N1N2 where N1 is noun modifier and N2 the head noun. It is also very difficult to decide the syntax of this phrase whether it is English Syntax or Urdu syntax. As discussed earlier that the phrase structure or the word order in simple NP and AdjP is the same in both Urdu and English. Therefore, it is hard to decide whether the syntax of the above phrase is English or Urdu. I have also included this example in Category 17 where we look at examples that have both English and Urdu lexicons and Urdu script, but Urdu syntax instead of English syntax (discussed below). The reason I have included the phrase ‘Mahana charges’ in Category 14 (English syntax) is due to the use of the plural ‘charges’. The structure of this noun is ‘bf’ according to the rules of systemic functional grammar (as described in Muir, 1972;
Martin et al., 1997) in which ‘b’ is base and ‘f’ is postfix. The word can be represented as:

\[ b^f \]

charges

The above description shows that the rules of English morphology are followed at the word level which is also a part of syntax. The noun phrase ‘monthly charges’ is written as ‘mahana charges’ in the example showing English syntax in this phrase.

**Example 3 of Category 14**

The third example is also taken from a telecom ad (Appendix A, ad: 10) from ‘telenor’ company. It is again a noun phrase NP where ‘easypaisa’ in this example is the name of the mobile account being advertised here. ‘paisa’ is an Urdu word for a unit of money and is comparable to a ‘cent’ or ‘penny’ in a dollar. The whole ad is written in Urdu script except the words ‘telenor’, ‘mobile account’, ‘easypaisa’ and ‘Tameer’. Both English and Urdu lexicons are used in the ad but they are written only in Urdu script unlike lots of other ads in my data. The word ‘easypaisa’ is foregrounded with all Urdu script in the rest of the ad. The word ‘easypaisa’ itself is interesting as it is coined by mixing English lexicon ‘easy’ and an Urdu lexicon ‘paisa’. It is a ‘hybrid compound noun’ emerged as a result of language contact. It also best reflects the contemporary trends or language
mixing in Pakistani language scene. The rest of the analysis of the ad is quite simple and the arrows show the processing of the script at different levels.

**Example 4 of Category 14**

This example is taken from a telecom ad (Appendix A, ad: 8) which is advertising a ‘24 hour offer’ for ‘Jazz’ account holders. It is again a noun phrase with a structure ‘onh’ in which o is a numeral, n is noun and h is the head noun according to the rules of systemic functional grammar. The analysis in the template is simple like the rest of the examples in the Category. The transliteration of the word ‘offer’ is written as ‘afer’ showing its adaptation to Urdu orthography. The Arabic numerals are written the same in Urdu and English except that they are pronounced differently in Urdu language. The example of Arabic numeral here is 24. The word ‘chobis’ (means ‘twenty-four’) at the level of transliteration in the template represents the pronunciation of the numeral ‘24’ in Urdu. As Urdu script is used in the phrase and the first word ‘ghanta’ (means ‘hour’) of the phrase is also from Urdu, it is pronounced as ‘chobis’ instead of ‘twenty-four’. The whole phrase will be read as ‘chobis ghanta afer’ as shown in the transliteration. In the meaningful translation the whole phrase will be read as ‘twenty-four hour offer’.
Category 15

In this Category, as shown in the template above, the hybridity exists in two variables; the lexicon and the script. Both English and Urdu lexicons and scripts are used in this Category with English syntax. This Category is very rare as there are only two examples from the data that fit into this Category. The reason for the rarity is the syntax used. Most of the hybrid examples written in hybrid scripts are mostly found with Urdu syntax (as in Category 18) instead of English syntax (as in Category 15) in my database. There are many examples in which both Urdu and English lexicons grouped together according to Urdu syntax and are written in both Urdu and English scripts (as in Category 18), but we have no such examples with English syntax (as in Category 15). Actually these types of hybrid examples consist of more than one phrase or clause unlike the examples in the rest of the Categories I have already discussed. In all the previous Categories discussed, the examples are single noun NP or adjective phrases AdjP. Contrarily, the examples in Categories 15, 17 and 18 are complex phrases consisting of more than a phrase or a clause.

Example 1 of Category 15
This is one of the two examples in this Category. It is quite different from the rest of the examples I have analysed in previous Categories. This example is taken from another telecom ad (Appendix B, ad: 26).

The example consists of a full clause and an elliptical clause preceding immediately the first one. The reason of choosing these two clauses as a unit of analysis is that, it is a meaningful utterance, which is making meaning within the discourse of the ad. The usage of the term utterance or meaningful utterance as a unit of analysis has already been discussed earlier in the beginning of this Chapter.

Coming back to the analysis, the template shows the processing of script from left to right for the phrase ‘hunt for heroes’ as it is written in Roman script and right to left for ‘no samjhota’ because it is written in Urdu script where the word ‘no’ is preceding the Urdu word ‘samjhota’. The syntax used in both the phrases is English syntax with mixed lexicons and mixed script.

The examples in this Category are rare. The syntax of the hybrid clauses used in this Category is English, whereas, the syntax of majority of the hybrid clauses in my database is Urdu rather than English. For the examples to fit into Category 15 the syntax of the phrase or clause, with mixed lexicons and scripts, should be English, which is very rare. The main discourse in almost all the advertisements in my data is mainly in Urdu language with English terms, words and phrases used within the larger Urdu phrases or clauses.
This is the second and last example of Category 15. This example is taken from the ad of packaged milk (Appendix A, ad: 2). This example is a typical long advertising phrase telling the attributes of the product (milk). It is an Adjective phrase (AdjP) in which the phrases ‘tetra pack packaged’ and ‘UHT treated’ are modifying the noun ‘doodh’ (milk). The direction of the arrows here gets complex because both English and Urdu scripts are used. There are lots of arrows because of the presence of more than one phrase and script within the nominal group. The first arrow is from right to left for the first phrase written in Urdu script, the next arrow is for UHT written in Roman script, and then from right to left for the phrase ‘treated doodh’ written in Urdu script.
**Category 16**

There are a few examples in this Category, almost ten. As shown in the template both English and Urdu lexicons are used in this Category with Urdu syntax and Roman script. The examples from both categories 13 and 16 can be compared on the basis of syntax. Both the categories have the same lexicon and script except that Category 13 has English syntax and Category 16 has Urdu syntax in it. There are only nine examples in this Category and all of these examples are quite interesting and rare in the data. The list of all the examples in this Category, along with my translation is as follows:

1. Khas tea /special tea/ (Appendix A, ad: 12)
2. Menu Har season ka /Menu for every season/ (Appendix A, ad: 5)
3. Life ka network /network of life/ (Appendix B, ad: 22)
4. Bank AL Habib /Al Habib Bank/ (Appendix A, ad: 7)
5. Easypaisa /easy money/ (Appendix A, ad: 10)
6. Awaz e Mail /audio e mail/ (Appendix A, ad: 9 )
7. Soneri Bank /Soneri Bank/ (Appendix B, ad: 28)
8. Apnaye…Natural Khoobsurti! /be naturally beautiful/ (Appendix A, ad: 13)

**Example 1 of Category 16**

Example 1 is taken from the banking ad (Appendix A, ad: 7). It can be argued to included or exclude this example from Category 16. It is not any kind of phrase but the name of a bank. There are a couple of arguments for and against it. It can be included in this Category because the name of the bank has two words in it and it is constructed according to Arabic morphology. The prefix ‘AL’ is an Arabic prefix which is mostly used to make a plural. It has the English word ‘Bank’ and an Arabic prefix ‘al’ coming before the name ‘Habib’. In this scenario this example can be included in this Category because it has both English (bank) and Urdu (Al Habib) lexicons, has Urdu syntax is written in Roman script.
However there is an equally strong argument against the above thesis that the above example cannot be included in this Category. First of all, the word ‘bank’ is used as it is in Urdu so it has acquired the status of a borrowed / loan word and so may be considered as an Urdu lexicon. In this way we are only left with Urdu lexicon (bank) and an Arabic lexicon (Al Habib) in this example. To be included in Category 16 a phrase or word should have both Urdu and English lexicon in it so it is disqualified to be in Category 16. Secondly, the prefix ‘Al’ before ‘Habib’ is according to Arabic morphology and not in Urdu morphology. There are certain rules of grammar/syntax of Arabic, which are used in Urdu but not all of them. Therefore, the syntax in this phrase is Arabic not Urdu which is a second reason that the example cannot be included in Category 16. The question is, which Category this example belongs to if not 16? If I treat both the words as Urdu lexicons and the syntax of the phrase as Urdu syntax instead of Arabic then the example can be included in Category 10, which has Urdu lexicon, Urdu syntax and Roman script. On the other hand if I take ‘Al Habib as an Arabic lexicon and the syntax of the phrase as Arabic then the example doesn’t fit into any Category because my system was designed to take into consideration only the main two languages at play in Pakistani newspapers (Urdu and English). I have not observed any other example of Arabic lexicons and Arabic syntax in my data and, consequently, have not included them in the list of variables used
to generate the code-matrix-script (CMS) chart (see figure 4.2) in the beginning of this chapter.

Example 2 of Category 16

Example 2 (Appendix A, ad: 12) can belong to both categories 13 and 16 depending on the syntax. If the syntax in the above example is taken as English syntax then it belongs to Category 13 and if it is Urdu syntax then it belongs to Category 16 (see discussion of this example in Category 13).

Example 3 of Category 16

In this example (Appendix A, ad: 5) both English (‘menu’, ‘season’) and Urdu (‘har’, ‘ka’) lexicons are grouped together according to Urdu syntax and are written in Roman script. It is taken from an ad in which ‘Menu’ an instant, ready to eat meal is being advertised. A cooking oil company ‘Seasons Canola’ in Pakistan launches the product ‘Menu’. In the original example in the ad all the four words start with capital letters but the words ‘Menu’ and ‘Season’ are written in bold and in bigger fonts. The reason for
highlighting the word ‘Menu’ is because it is the name of the product itself. Highlighting the word ‘Season’ has two-fold meaning. First, it is referring to the availability of ready-made food for all seasons. Second, it is advertising a part of the name of the company ‘Seasons Canola’ which has actually introduced the product ‘Menu’ into the market.

The analysis in the template is simple to describe. The direction of arrows show the processing of script from left to right throughout all levels as the script is written in Roman script.

**Example 4 of Category 16**

This phrase is taken from an ad (Appendix A, ad: 9) by a telecommunication company, Ufone. The example contains an interesting image within the script, the alphabet ‘M’ in the word ‘eMail’ is actually replaced by the picture of an envelope, hence, also conveying the meaning of the word within the image in it. The whole ad is loaded with Urdu words and Urdu scripts in it except for some English words and phrases, which are technical telecom discourse. In all the ‘Ufone ads’ a similar trend is found, using mostly Urdu lexicons and Urdu script. The use of English lexicons and script within all the ‘Ufone ads’ is minimal. The reason is possibly that the call rates for Ufone are very cheap and the ads
target consumers from the lower and lower middles classes who are not very proficient in English.

**Category 17**

This Category consists of English and Urdu lexicons grouped together by Urdu syntax and Urdu script. There are plenty of examples of this Category from the data. The examples are in the form of multiple phrases and clauses. The trend of having phrases and clauses containing both English and Urdu lexicons, constructed according to Urdu syntax and written in Urdu script, is a common one in the data.

**Example 1 of Category 17**

This example ‘mahana charges’ taken from a telecom ad (Appendix B, ad: 29) and belongs to both categories 14 and 17. The detailed analysis was provided under Category
14. The reason that it can belong to both the categories is the syntax. The only difference between Category 14 and 17 is of syntax. Category 14 has English syntax in it while Category 17 has Urdu syntax. As noted, the order of words in simple noun and adjective phrases in both English and Urdu remains same that is why it is hard to decide whether the above example belong to Category 14 or 17. It can belong to both the categories simultaneously as a result of language contact.

**Example 2 of Category 17**

The example 2 is taken from a banking ad (Appendix B, ad: 21). It consists of two phrases. The only Urdu lexicon in the example is ‘muft’ which means ‘free’ and the rest are English lexicons. The adjective ‘muft’ is modifying the phrase ‘online transfers’. The whole phrase is about ‘online transfers’ in which the adjective ‘muft’ and the noun phrase ‘real time’ are modifying it. There is no doubt that both English and Urdu lexicons are written in Urdu script in this example but it is complicated to say that the syntax of the example is Urdu syntax.
There are two noun phrases in the above example constructed according to English syntax and these are written in Urdu script but these noun phrases are modified by the adjective ‘muft’ which turns the whole string into one big adjective phrase.

The statement can be written in the follow grammatical categories:

- Adj NP, NP
- Adj (NP (NP))
- Muft (real time (online (transfers)))
- ‘Free’ (real time (online (transfers))

The Urdu adjective ‘muft’ is modifying the rest of the phrase, as shown above so we can argue that the syntax of the whole phrase is Urdu syntax. There is another reason that the syntax of the adjective phrase may be considered Urdu and this is because the syntax of the main discourse in the ad is also Urdu which creates an immediate context for the quoted example. However, the syntax of both languages is used in this example but at two different levels each. At the level of smaller NPs it is mixed syntax (undetermined whether Urdu or English) and at the bigger Adjective phrases it is Urdu syntax. We know from the previous examples and discussions that the syntax for simple NP and AdjP in both English and Urdu remains the same so it could be both English and Urdu syntax at the same time at the level of NP and AdjP. In other words a ‘mixed syntax’ is emerging at the level of NP and AdjP as a result of language contact.

The analysis of the example in the template shows the arrows only in one direction because of the usage of only one script throughout. The word ‘online’ is transliterated as ‘aan line’ because of Urdu orthography.
Example 3 of Category 17

This example is taken from a toothpaste ad (Appendix A, ad: 4) and is similar to the above example except for the use of the conjunction ‘aur’ meaning ‘and’. The rest of the NP and AdjP construction is similar to that of previous example. The adjective ‘munfrid’ (means ‘unique’) is modifying the noun ‘formula’ along with other adjective and adjective phrases. The above example can be re-written in grammatical categories as follows:

Adj  AdjP and AdjP

Adj (AdjP and Adj N)

Adj (-AdjP and Adj (N))

Munfrid (liquid calcium and fluoride (formula))

‘Unique’ (liquid calcium and fluoride (formula))
**Example 4 of Category 17**

This example is taken from a banking ad (Appendix B, ad: 31) and consists of a single clause. English and Urdu lexicons and English phrases (‘prize bonds’, national saving certificates, and personal loan’), are grouped together according to Urdu syntax at the level of clause and are written in Urdu script.

The conjunction ‘aur’ (and) and the verb ‘dillain’ (passive form of get) in the clause are from Urdu lexicon and the rest of the lexicons are from English.

The syntax at the level of clause is Urdu and at the level of noun and adjective phrases can be both English and Urdu because of ‘overlapping’. The above example can be written in grammatical categories as follows:

```
NP, NP (Urdu conj) N (Urdu V) AdjP
```

```
NP, NP aur N dillain AdjP
```

Prize bonds, national saving certificates aur deposits dillain personal loan

Prize bonds, national saving certificates ‘and’ deposits ‘passive form of get’ personal loan
The syntax in this example is also hybrid and complex and consist of ‘mixed syntax at the level of the phrase and Urdu syntax at the level of clause. A ‘contact induced’ hybrid syntax is emerging at the level of phrases in mixed language.

**Example 5 of Category 17**

This example is taken from a banking ad (Appendix B, ad: 21). All the lexicons in the above examples are from English except the preposition ‘per’; (‘of’), negative verb form ‘nahin’ (‘is not’) and the determiner ‘koi’ (‘any’).

All the Urdu structure words are from Urdu and the content words are in English, which reflects the use of Urdu syntax in the clause. The processing of script is from right to left as the entire clause is written in Urdu script. The example in grammatical categories is written as follows:

Adj P Prep. determiner N (–ve Verb)

AdjP (per) (koi) N (nahin)

Outward check return (per) (koi) charges (nahin)

Outward check return (on) (any) charges (no)
Example 6 of Category 17

The example is taken from a telecom ad (Appendix B, ad: 32) Ufone. The only English lexicon in this example is ‘charges’ and the rest of the lexicons are from Urdu. The phrase is in Urdu syntax with an exception in the plural form ‘charges’. According to English morphology the lexicon ‘charges’ is used in its plural form with the word ‘charge’ and a post-fix ‘-es’. Therefore, English syntax is also used in this example at the morphological level, which is interesting and important to note and is another evidence of the ‘emergence of hybrid syntax’ in the ‘mixed variety’.

Example 7 of Category 17

Example 17 is taken from a telecom ad (Appendix A, ad: 10) in which an online service of bill payment through mobile phone is being advertised.

The example consists of two clauses, and English lexicons used in them are ‘utility bill’ and ‘transfer’, which are technical terms and are mostly transliterated in Urdu in Pakistan. Urdu syntax and Urdu script are used in both the clauses in the ad.
Urdu script dominates the ad with transliterated technical and formulaic expressions from English. This sentence is the representation of the entire discourse of the ad in terms of the usage of lexicons, syntax and script.

**Example 8 of Category 17**
This example is taken from another telecom ad (Appendix B, ad: 33). The only English lexicon in this example is ‘internet’ which is actually a technical term and is transliterated in many languages.

If the lexicon ‘internet’ is considered as a quasi-universal linguistic term then Urdu lexicon, syntax and script dominates this example. In Category 17, some examples are as simple as the current example we are analyzing and some are complex and hybrid in terms of mixing of syntax at the levels of word or phrase. For instance, examples 2 and 5 are hybrid in terms of usage of mixed syntax at the level of individual phrases and usage of Urdu syntax at the level of the entire phrase or clause in the example.

**Example 9 of Category 17**

This example is taken from another telecom ad (Appendix A, ad: 14), advertising its ‘broadband service’. The English lexicons and phrases in this example are ‘broad band service’ and ‘phone line’ and the rest of the lexicon is from Urdu. The adjective phrase ‘tez tareen broad band service’ is split between Urdu and English lexicons as observed in other examples consisting of adjective phrase. The Urdu adjective ‘tez tareen’ (fastest) is modifying the English phrase ‘broadband service’. The syntax of the clause is Urdu but at the level of phrase it is again complex as seen in previous examples.
Category 18

The examples in this Category are the most complex of all the categories because it turns out that hybridity in this Category is possible at all the levels: lexicons, script and syntax. In the beginning when I generated 18 possible combinations of code, matrix and script, shown in figures 4.1 and 4.2, I used only two choices in syntax column, English and Urdu. The reason for choosing English and Urdu syntax as individual choices was based on the assumption that only one syntax (either English or Urdu) can be used in a single phrase or clause at a time. However, in practice, while analyzing examples in Category 17 and 18, I was unable to distinguish between English and Urdu syntax within simple NP’s and AdjP’s, because of the similarity in Urdu and English Syntax at the level of these simple phrases. Moreover, the examples in Categories 17 and 18 show that either English or mixed syntax may be used at the level of phrases and Urdu syntax used at the level of the clause, which creates a hybrid syntax Category like the hybrid lexicons and scripts documented in the database.

Though there is only one syntax used in this Category in the main clause or phrase, the hybridity exists at the level of syntax as well. The examples in this Category mainly consist of complex or multiple phrases or clauses therefore the syntax at the level of phrase/s may be different from the syntax at the level of the main phrase or clause. The syntax described in the above template (showing the combination of lexicons, syntax and script) is referring to the syntax of the main phrase or clause or where the example is one utterance.

There are plenty of examples in the database belonging to this Category. The frequency of tokens in this Category reflects the popular trends of complexity and hybridity within the advertising discourse in Pakistan at all the three levels of lexicon, syntax and script.
This is a very interesting example in terms of lexicons, script and syntax. It is taken from a banking ad (Appendix B, ad: 23) advertising the features of a personal account ‘HBL Freedom account’. The whole utterance consists of one complex elliptical clause, consisting of smaller phrases. Both English and Urdu lexicons are used in Roman and Urdu script and are constructed into phrases in English and Urdu and mixed syntax. First, I will show the clause in terms of its grammatical categories and then will describe the complexity at the levels of script and syntax. In this clause, there are further two phrases; an adjective phrase (AdjP) and a prepositional phrase (PP). The phrases, which are written in mixed script in the template shown, can be re-written in grammatical categories as follows to describe the complexity of the clause.

Adj P = ‘Free ATM transactions’

PP = ‘Through HBL network’

In Roman script and English syntax these phrases look quite simple to unite into one larger phrase or clause. But in original example the construction of these two English phrases into an Urdu elliptical clause and its inscription in both English and Urdu scripts
make the entire clause complex and hybrid at all levels. The actual word order of the above phrase in the actual example is different because of the usage of both Roman and Urdu scripts and the usage of both English and Urdu syntax. The above two phrases can be rewritten into its grammatical categories as follows to describe the actual word order in the example.

Phrase 1: Prepositional phrase phrase
(HBL network) ke zariye
(HBL network) through
(NP) preposition

This description shows that in prepositional phrase in Urdu the NP precedes the preposition, which is the opposite to the facts in English. As the NP is preceding the preposition so the syntax of this phrase is Urdu syntax.

Phrase 2: Adjective phrase
Free (ATM transactions)
Free (NP)
Adj (NP)

In both Urdu and English the word order remains same in simple adjective phrase, therefore, the syntax of this phrase can be English or ‘mixed syntax’.

The syntax of the clause is Urdu because the Urdu preposition ‘ke zariye’ meaning ‘through’ is binding the adjective phrase and the prepositional phrase and constituting the whole clause as shown below:
(HBL network) ke zariye (free ATM transactions)
(HBL network) through (free ATM transactions)
(NP) Urdu version of ‘through’ (AdjP)

The whole clause is bound through the Urdu structure word ‘ke zariye’ making the syntax of the clause Urdu.
The analysis in the template points out the arrows in various directions to show the complex processing of script. For instance, take the phrase ‘HBL network’ in the example. The phrase is starting from right to left because it is part of the clause in which Urdu syntax is used therefore, the script processing is starting from right to left. In the beginning of the utterance there is a sudden shift of script as we start reading the larger chunk from right to left we come across the first word in the phrase, which is written in Roman script so the processing for this acronym ‘HBL’ will be from left to right as shown in the arrow and then from right to left for ‘netwok ke zariye’, then again from left to right for the word ‘free’ and then right to left for ‘ATM transactions’ which is written in Urdu script.

Example 2 of Category 18

This example is taken from a Nokia mobile phone ad (Appendix A ad: 16). It is a prepositional phrase with two noun phrases in it. The Urdu conjunction ‘aur’ (‘and’) is coordinating the two noun phrases, ‘MP3 Player’ and ‘FM Radio’, and both the NPs are connected with the preposition ‘ke saath’ (‘with’). The only Urdu lexicons are the two Urdu structure words, ‘aur’ and ‘with’ in the examples. Like the rest of the examples in this Category the script processing is very complex because of the mixing of English and
Urdu scripts. The syntax of the two noun phrases is English and/or Urdu or mixed, but is Urdu for the larger prepositional phrase.

The phrase is shown in term of its grammatical categories as follows:

\[((NP) ‘Urdu conjunction’ (NP)) ‘Urdu preposition’\]

(NP aur NP) ke sath

MP3 player aur FM Radio ke saath

In this prepositional phrase in Urdu the preposition is coming at the end of both the coordinate noun phrases quite opposite to the word order in English prepositional phrases.

**Example 3 of Category 18**

The example is unique in its script processing and is taken from the ad (Appendix A, ad: 3) of an anti-dandruff shampoo. It consists of a clause containing two noun phrases and a verb. Both the noun phrases ‘head & shoulders’ and ‘77% Dermatologists’ are written in Roman script and the verbal group is written in Urdu script and consist of Urdu lexicons. The main syntax of the clause is Urdu because of the placement and use of the Urdu verb.
The word order in Urdu is SOV, which is also true for this clause. The interesting point in this example is the placement of the subject and object or the two NPs in the clause. There is nothing wrong in the way the subject and object/complement are placed in the clause. The sequence of S and O is perfect according to Urdu syntax. It is actually the script, which would have caused confusion for the reader if the whole example were written on one line. As shown in the template the phrase ‘77% Dermatologists’ is written in one line and the rest of the clause ‘head &shoulders istemal karte hain’ is written in the next line. The clause is constructed according to Urdu syntax and the Urdu word order shows that it should be read from right to left in the template like the rest of the examples. However, the script processing starts from left to right in this case because the first NP ‘77% Dermatologists’ is written in bold and in bigger font in Roman script in one line so the reader starts reading from left to right then comes down to next line and moves from right to left making a loop and suddenly again read the phrase ‘head & shoulders’ from left to right within that loop and then again moves back from right to left to finish reading the VP ‘istemal karte hain’ coming at the end of the clause. This script processing is very different from both English and Urdu script processing individually and is unique to this example.

The same example with the addition of a noun phrase within it is also written differently again within the same ad but in one line. This time the only NP written in Roman script is ‘head & shoulders’. The processing of the scripts for a variant of the same example, is shown as follows:

Transliteration

77% dermatologists khushki se tahafuz ke liye head & shoulders istemal karte hain

77% dermatologists (to prevent dandruff) Head & Shoulders (use)

77% dermatologists use Head & Shoulders to prevent dandruff.
Example 4 of Category 18

This example is taken from mobile phone ad advertising the ‘BlackBerry Bold 9000’ phone. It is an adjective phrase in which the only Urdu lexicon is the adjective ‘naya’ (‘new’). The rest of the phrase contains all the English lexicons.

Both English and Urdu scripts are used in the phrase with both English and Urdu syntax. The syntax of the Adjective phrase is Urdu because the first adjective ‘naya’ is Urdu lexicon and it is written in Urdu script from right to left modifying the rest of the phrase (‘white BlackBerry Bold 9000’) which is written from left to right in Roman script. Again the syntax in the second part of the phrase can be both English and Urdu. The script processing is again quite unusual as the phrase starts with the Urdu lexicon, ‘naya’ written in Urdu script, and is read from right to left and then suddenly there is a quite long jump from left to right to read the rest of the phrase written entirely in Roman script (see the template). (The example is drawn from the text database and its hard copy is not reproduced in the appendix).
Example 5 of Category 18

This example is in the same format as example 4 in this Category and is taken from a banking ad (Appendix B, ad: 23) and is exactly on the same pattern as the previous ad. Mixed script processing is quite unique in this ad like the previous example.

Example 6 of Category 18
This is a typical example in the data (Appendix A, ad: 35) in terms of hybrid lexicon and script mixing which leads to complex script processing.

Example 7 of Category 18

This example is taken from a telecom ad (Appendix A, ad: 15) and advertising its new SIM card named ‘acchi sim’ (‘good sim’). The complex script processing alternates between right to left and left to right with almost every word and shows mixed English-Urdu script in the ad. Only Urdu syntax is used in this clause with mixed script and mixed lexicons.

Example 8 of Category 18

This example is taken from a telecom ad (Appendix B, ad: 33) and is an interesting example in terms of processing of script in different directions. It is an elliptical clause, which is common and its usage is one of the features of advertising discourse. There is one adjective phrase ‘hairankun speed’ (‘amazing speed’), and two prepositional phrases; ‘3G evo broadband ke saath’ (‘with 3G evo broadband’) and ‘3.1 Mbps ki’ (‘of 3.1 Mbps’), in this elliptical clause. Along with both English & Urdu lexicons and Scripts, Urdu syntax is used at the level of clause. The prepositions ‘ke saath’ (‘with’), ‘ki’ (‘of’) and the adjective ‘hairankun’ (‘amazing’) are Urdu lexicons. The word order in both the
prepositional phrases is also from Urdu syntax in which the preposition is following the noun phrase.

The direction of various arrows shows the processing of script in the clause. As the syntax of the main clause is Urdu so the script processing starts from right to left as in Urdu. Right in the beginning of the clause a part of the prepositional phrase ‘evo 3G’ is written in Roman script so the reader shifts the script processing from left to right and read it from ‘evo’ onwards. The important and interesting bit here is that there are two adjectives (functionally), ‘3G’ and ‘evo’ side by side in the beginning of the phrase, written in Roman script and these are modifying the noun ‘broadband’ (written in Urdu script) as shown in the template. The question is which one of the adjectives should be read first as they are both written in Roman script side by side while modifying an Urdu noun written in Urdu script from right to left. The common sense says that, although the reader is processing multiple scripts, the one at the left end should be read first and then the one coming after it at the second place which will make the phrase read as ‘evo 3G broadband’. The phrase ‘evo 3G broadband’ doesn’t sound correct according to the word order in the adjective phrase in English syntax because the numbers should precede the other adjective in an adjective phrase. Therefore, the correct order of the phrase should be ‘3G evo broadband’ and not ‘evo 3G broadband’. The technical knowledge of broadband...
and the internet will also make the reader read the phrase correctly as ‘3G evo broadband’ because this is the correct order in IT jargon.

When I was reading this clause for the first time I also got confused for an instance whether to read it as ‘3G evo’ or ‘evo 3G’ even though I have a lot of experience and knowledge of processing multiple scripts as a user of both English and Urdu. The placement of ‘3G’ and ‘evo’, written in Roman script, in the beginning of a clause which is being processed from right to left while reading poses serious questions: does the reader need the knowledge of both English and Urdu script processing, individually or in a mixed format, does the reader need the knowledge of the jargon used, or does the reader need more than all of it?

Because of having a knowledge of IT jargon I am able to process the script otherwise I was unsure how to process it because the knowledge of English syntax urged me to read it as ‘3G evo’ and the practice of using multiple scripts urged me to read it as ‘evo 3G’.

Ultimately the script processing for this clause becomes complex by starting the clause from right to left and then left to right for ‘3G’ and moving right further again left to right for ‘evo’ and then right to left for ‘broadband ke saath’ then moving towards right where again we have a bit of Roman script so jumping to ‘3.1 Mbps’ and reading it from left to right and moving further backward completing the rest of the clause ‘ki hairankun speed’ (‘amazing speed’) in Urdu script from right to left. It seems very complex in the description but actually comes with ease to someone like me who uses both the scripts frequently.

Example 9 of Category 18

There are some other examples in the data from IT advertising which pose similar questions and cause complexity at the level of script processing. A similar example (Appendix A, ad: 14 ) is shown in the template. A similar difficulty of word order arises here in the adjective phrase PTCL ADSL WiFi Modem. The words ‘PTCL’ and ‘modem’ are written in Urdu scripts limiting the start and end of the adjective phrase reading from right to left. The words coming within are ‘Wi-Fi ADSL’ with the same sequence. Again switching the script from Urdu to Roman I will read it as ‘Wi-Fi ADSL modem’.
If I treat the ‘Wi-Fi’ and ‘ADSL’ as separate chunks, or non-English words or say a name, then according to Urdu syntax I will start reading from right to left as ‘PTCL Wi-Fi ADSL modem’, which actually solves the problem. However, I am not trained to see something which is written in Roman script as a picture so as a first instinct I will see ‘Wi-Fi ADSL’ as one chunk unless it is separated by a comma or a period or anything else except single space. Therefore, I will read it from left to right as ‘Wi-Fi ADSL modem’.

My husband, a proficient user of both English and Urdu, happens to have good knowledge of IT, while I was reading this and was unsure I asked him to read it for me. He looked at it paused for a second and read it as ‘ADSL Wi-Fi modem’. He read it in this way because he has a good knowledge of IT and he knew that the phrase should be read this way correctly, regardless of the fact that which word is coming first or second and which word is written in Roman or Urdu script.

All of the examples in Category 18 show the complexity and hybridity at the levels of lexicons, script and syntax. These hybrid scripts, syntax and lexicons are the features of complex and hybrid ‘mixed variety’, emerging in the digital and print advertising discourse in Pakistan.
4.4 Concluding Discussion of Micro Analysis

After a detailed linguistic analysis of all the eighteen Categories a precise table (4.1) is shown below which displays the combinations of lexicons, syntax and script within all the eighteen Categories with the examples from the database. This table can be used as a quick reference point for the concluding discussion of linguistic analysis and the follow up emerging trends in the analysis.

I have selected a representative sample of sixteen ads from the database to show dominant trends in the data through tables, graphs and pie charts. There are different advertisements in the database ranging from products like beauty soaps, toothpaste, fans, dairy products, shampoo, cooked meals, and mobile phones and of services such as; telecommunication and banking ads as categorized in table 1.1 in chapter 1. I have gone through the database and selected sixteen different ads, which are representative of the entire data and are shown in table 4.2. Table 4.2 shows the name and distribution of all the sixteen ads against eighteen categories of lexicon, syntax and script mixing (CMS). These sixteen ads are shown vertically in the first column and the eighteen Categories or combinations of CMS are shown horizontally in the top row in table 4.2 against each ad.

After selecting these sixteen ads, I have gone through all the ads and counted the number of examples (in the form of phrases and clauses) and placed them in their respective Category of the eighteen Categories shown in table 4.2. For instance, the first ad in the table is from ‘Pakistan Telecommunication Company Limited’ (PTCL). In this ad, there is one example from Category 1, one from Category 2, five from Category 11, three from Category 14, one from Category 17 and none from the rest of the Categories. The whole table can be read in this way against each ad going from top to bottom. In the last row total number of examples in each Category is added across all the ads. Table 4.2 shows that total number of examples in Category 1, from the 16 representative ads are forty-five, in Category 2, it is thirty-eight and so on.
Table 4.1: 18 Categories of mixed language with examples from the database.

The unit of analysis while choosing and counting the number of examples for each Category is mainly the phrase. I am analyzing hybridity within and across phrases in this chapter as mentioned earlier. The majority of the example in all the Categories consists of phrases. Clauses also occur as examples in some Categories such as Categories 15, 17 and 18 which are hybrid at all the levels. There are no examples for Categories 4 to 9 and Category 12 in the whole database as discussed in the analysis. There are only three
examples for Category 10 and only two for Category 13 in the whole database as shown in table 4.2.

Dominant and hybrid categories are shown in graph 4.1, which is generated on the basis of information in table 4.2. The CMS combinations for the respective Categories can be seen from the CMS chart in the beginning of this Chapter in table 4.1 with examples for each Category. Categories 1 and 11 in the graph are not hybrid linguistically as Category 1 contains all the examples of English in Roman script and 11 contains those of Urdu in Urdu script.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AD</th>
<th>AD Title</th>
<th>CATEGORIES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>PTCL</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>TetraPak Milk</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Head&amp;Shoulders</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Colgate</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>MENU</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Bank Al-Falah Ltd.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Bank Al-Habib Ltd.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Mobilink Jazz</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Ufone</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Telenor</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Mobilink Jazz</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Nestle' EveryDay</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Palmolive Naturals</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>PTCL</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Zong</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Nokia</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| No. Of Examples In Each Category | 45 | 38 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 40 | 0 | 2 | 13 | 5 | 5 | 61 | 24 |

Table 4.2 Distribution of total number of examples across Categories from 16 representative ads in the database.
But these categories contribute towards hybridity at the level of discourse. The rest of the categories are all hybrids in terms of script, lexicons and syntax or a combination of these three variables.

**Graph 4.1** Graphic representations of dominant Categories in the data.

Category 17 in graph 4.1 is very significant as it has the highest number of examples in the representative sample. There are sixty-one examples in Category 17 consisting of phrases and clauses followed by Category 1 which has forty-five examples consisting of the name of the product, and services. Category 17 is a frequent hybrid Category in the ads, consisting of English and Urdu lexicons (E&U) constructed according to Urdu syntax (USy), in some examples, and hybrid syntax in other and are written in Urdu script (US).
As the number of examples in Category 17 increases in the database, so does the number of example written in Urdu script, which makes the Urdu script frequent and dominant in the ads. Graph 4.2 show the dominance and percentage of Urdu script against English and mixed script in the ads in the database.

A significant comparison between Category 17 and 14 can be drawn at this point. The only difference between Category 17 and 14 is the use of syntax. In both the categories mixed and hybrid syntax has emerged at the level of simple noun phrases (NP) and Adjective phrases (AdjP) as a result of language contact. Along with mixed syntax, Urdu syntax is used in Category 17 and English syntax is used in Category 14 at the level of main phrase or clause to be analysed with the combination of (E &U) lexicons and Urdu script.

Examples belonging to both the Categories 17 and 14, when written, appear similar as both are written in Urdu script and both have English and Urdu lexicons in them. The only difference is of syntax, which sometimes becomes unnoticeable in simple noun (NP) and adjective phrases (AdjP). Therefore, it is very hard sometimes to distinguish between the example of Category 14 and 17 at the level of phrase. The word order at the level of phrase in simple noun phrases, adjective phrases and compound nouns is same in Urdu and English, thus, making it hard to say whether it is Urdu syntax or English syntax. In all the examples, from the database, mostly English words, NPs, AdjPs and compound nouns are transliterated into larger phrases, clauses and discourse of the ad which makes the whole ad hybrid. All the examples from Category 14 and 17 have already been discussed in detail in the relevant sections to highlight the diffusion of boundaries in the Categories and to show the grammar of mixed language.

The similarity between Urdu and English NPs and AdjPs has given rise to the phenomenon of ‘overlapping’ in the data. Overlapping of Urdu and English syntax leads
to overlapping of Categories 14 and 17 where the boundaries of both the categories become diffused and the examples may belong to both the categories simultaneously. This overlapping of English and Urdu syntax and of Categories 14 and 17 eventually leads to overlapping of English and Urdu languages as shown in figure 4.3.

**Figure 4.3:** Overlapping of English and Urdu as a result of overlapping between syntax

This overlapping between Category 14 and 17 arises from the similarity in NPs and AdjP in English and Urdu, and is a part of the syntax. Therefore, I would suggest that the overlapping is at the level of syntax and results in a hybrid syntax, which in turn reflects the syntax of hybrid language. All the examples in Categories 14 and 17 have mixed
English-Urdu lexicons. Some of the English lexicons are borrowed in Urdu language and some technical terms and formulaic expressions are transliterated into Urdu which makes it confusing whether the lexicon should be labeled as English or Urdu lexicons. The overlapping or diffusion of boundaries between English and Urdu languages is shown finally in the sequence in figure 4.3 as an outcome of this extensive language contact. This overlapping and diffuseness of boundaries between categories and in turn between English and Urdu is an expression of hybridity at the levels in the advertising discourse in Pakistan.

This linguistic hybridity in advertising discourse in Pakistan reflects cultural hybridity in Pakistani society. Moreover, cultural and linguistic hybridity or the ‘blurring of social boundaries’ is one of the contemporary features of globalisation and postmodernity (Fairclough, 2003, p. 7). Figure 4.3 shows the ‘overlapping’ of English and Urdu syntax, of categories 14 and 17 eventually leading to overlapping of English and Urdu languages.

Category 2 in graph 4.1 is also significant as it is second popular hybrid Category in the representative sample. It consists of English phrases written in Urdu script.

This Category is also increasing the popularity of Urdu script (US) in the advertising discourse. Category 2 also looks similar to Category 14 and 17 only in writing as Urdu script is used in these three categories. There are lots of examples of Category 2 in the data as lots of English phrase are transliterated in the advertising discourse.

The popularity of using Urdu script in the advertising discourse to write English, Urdu or mixed language is shown in Graph 4.2 with the help of a pie chart. The chart shows that Urdu script is used to write 64% of the language in the ads. It is used in Categories 11, 2, 14 and 17. In Category 11 it is used to write Urdu phrase/clauses, in Category 2 to write English phrases/clauses and in Categories 14 and 17 to write mixed language phrases/clauses. The percentage of Roman script in the ads is 22%, which is also significant. Roman script (RS) is used in the ads strategically to write the name of
products and services. It is used in Categories 1, 10, 13 and 16. The use of mixed script (R &U)S in the ads is 14% and it is used in Categories (3, 12, 15 and 18).

Most of these hybrid ads were found in ‘Urdu Daily Newspapers’ and not in ‘English Daily Newspapers’, which implies that the main reason for using Urdu script is the target audience. As majority of the population in Pakistan is literate and proficient in Urdu, therefore, all the Urdu phrases/clauses and most of the mixed phrases phrases/clauses and are written and transliterated in Urdu scripts in these ads to increase intelligibility of the message in the ad and to reach the wider audience.

![Distribution of scripts](image)

**Graph 4.2:** Distribution of various scripts in the database

**US:** Urdu Script **RS:** Roman Script **(R&U)S:** Roman and Urdu Script

Secondly, the main discourse of the ads in the data is also in Urdu language that is why Urdu script dominates the advertising discourse. Using Urdu script is not a surprise because it is not just Urdu language written in Urdu scripts rather lots of English phrases and hybrid phrase (consisting of English and Urdu lexicons) are written in Urdu scripts. The uses of Urdu script to write English phrases and hybrid phrases actually make the whole discourse hybrid. The information about the product or service in the advertisement is complex in terms of mixing of English and Urdu words, phrases and clauses but it is manipulated and simplified by the advertisers by writing it in mostly Urdu script. These complex phrases written in Urdu script appear simple written in one
language, and are easy to read, but they are complex semantically having technological terms, formulaic expressions, and transliterated complex English and hybrid phrases. The use of Urdu script in these ads leads to easy processing of script from right to left but complex cognitive processing at the levels semantics and syntax of the of phrase and clause. The dominance of Urdu script does not imply that Urdu language is used predominantly in the data, rather graph 4.3 shows that mixed lexicons within individual phrases are used predominantly in the data and are a dominant feature of the commercial advertising discourse in Pakistan.

**Graph 4.3:** Distribution of lexicons in individual phrases and clauses in the ads

Mixed lexicon is used 45% in the database (i.e. almost half of the data) and this is a strong evidence of usage of mixed language in Pakistani advertising discourse. It also shows that though Urdu script is dominant in the data, mixed language is equally significant and is cloaked in the Urdu script.

Roman script is used in Categories 1, 10, 13 and 16. In Category 1, all the English phrases are written in Roman script. In the ads most of the advertising slogans, names of the product or service, which is advertised, contact details and the disclaimer, at the bottom of the ad, are written in Roman Script. In Category 10 Urdu is written in Roman script, which is very rare as there are only 3 examples in the entire database. Both English and Urdu lexicons are written in Roman script in Categories 13 and 16.
Use of Roman script is also strategic in the ads and increases the hybridity in the ads at the level of discourse, semantics, syntax and script itself. Category 1, where English is written in Roman script, is quite dominant in the data as shown in the graph and is not a hybrid Category in terms of mixing of lexicons, syntax or script. But it is increasing the hybridity at the level of discourse in the ads because most of the phrase and clauses in the ad are written in Urdu script and some in hybrid script as shown in graph 4.2. Using Roman script for using advertising slogans and names of the product in the ad among Urdu and hybrid scripts make the Roman script prominent on one hand and on the other hand, makes the ad look hybrid in terms of usage of various scripts in the whole discourse. The use of Roman script in Categories 13 and 16 is also very rare in the data.

Hybrid script (using English and Urdu lexicons) is 14 % in the data as shown in graph 4.2. Hybrid script is used in Categories 3, 15 and 18. It is also used in Category 12 but there is not even a single example of Category 12 in the data. The use of hybrid script in the data increases hybridity at all the levels and especially at the level of script processing between English and Urdu simultaneously with a phrase or clause. The example of complex script processing in Categories 3, 15 and 18 are shown in details by the help of arrows in the templates. Complex script processing in Categories 15 and 18 has given rise to a phenomenon of ‘looping’ shown in example1 in Category 15 and example 3 in Category 18. This ‘looping’ phenomenon is quite unique in script processing and increases hybridity at the level of script. Bhatia (2006, p. 610) while discussing the discourse functions of script mixing distinguishes between covert and overt functions. According to him the overt function of script mixing are puns, stylistic functions, paraphrasing, structural and linguistics accommodation in the advertising discourse. Meanwhile the covert function of script mixing in the advertising discourse is promoting ‘bilingualism through English’ and developing ‘positive linguistic attitudes toward English’. The advertisers in Pakistani advertising discourse, no doubt, are mixing English and Urdu scripts to accomplish all the above stated discourse functions. The benefits of mixing scripts are two-folds, overtly to make the message attractive, stylistically sophisticated and persuasive and covertly to promote English and develop positive attitudes toward English in Pakistan. In achieving these discourse functions, a mixed variety is dominating the advertising discourse in Pakistan. This mixed variety is hybrid at all the levels, ranging from micro, morphological level to the macro, discourse level.
Chapter 5

Macro Analysis: Constructions and Representations of Modernity and Globalisation

5.1 Introduction

In the first section of this Chapter, I discuss representations of Westernization, nationalism and modernity associated with English, Urdu and mixed language, respectively, in Pakistan. I explore how Westernization, prestige and modernity are associated with English usage in Pakistan and how Urdu is used strategically in commercial ads to represent nationalism and Muslim identity and English as a language is endowed with prestige and local notions of modernity unlike regional languages in Pakistan. Finally, I argue that despite English prestige, mixed varieties are increasingly emerging as a consequence of changes associated with modernity and globalisation.

In the second section, I analyse linguistic and discoursal representations of modernity and globalisation by deconstructing the ideologies and discourse practices of dominant discourse especially multimodality, intertextuality, mixing/chaining of genres and blurring of social boundaries in selected ads from the data. In Chapter 4, I argued that a mixed language variety is emerging in Pakistan due to increased mixing of English and Urdu languages and script (at the level of phrases and clauses). My evidence was commercial ads which indicate a great degree of linguistic hybridity. Now in this section, I explore linguistic hybridity at the levels of discourse and genre to highlight how linguistic hybridity is deeply rooted at all the levels of discourse. I further argue that the presence of linguistic and discoursal hybridity in the ads is a representation of socio-cultural hybridity which exists in the social fabric of Pakistan. The macro level of social discourse is reproduced in the micro level of textual discourse.

Before proceeding I discuss what constitutes modernity or late modernity and globalisation generally. I briefly review research on language in late modernity and further, I argue that advertising discourse in Pakistan is an expression of globalising practices based on dominant
discourse in the flux of late modernity. In this chapter, I use the terms ‘modernity’, ‘late modernity’ and ‘post modernity’ more or less interchangeably, to refer to the ‘post industrialist’ and global tendencies of change where ‘mode of information’ has taken primacy over ‘mode of production’ (Chouliariki and Fairclough, 1999). Although I recognise some will want to mark greater differences among modernity, post-modernity and late modernity, my focus here is to demonstrate how hybrid discourses and other discursive practices in the social systems are transforming as a result of changes associated with globalisation and modernity/ post-modernity or late modernity. Ironically, one of the biggest motivators of these is linguistic hybridity, often but not always in the service of dominant discourse. Linguistic hybridity plays more than one role in the discourses of modernity.

5.2 CDA and Critique of (Post)modernity and Globalisation

There is no unified theory of post-modernity (Chouliariki and Fairclough, 1999). Rather, modernity/ post-modernity and globalisation are widely used together in the same context. ‘Modernity is inherently globalising’, claims Giddens (1990, p. 63) while talking about modernity and globalisation with specific reference to advertising. Harvey (1990) presents a ‘historical-geographical’ materialist account of late modernity and focuses his analysis of late modernity with reference to economic changes with capitalism. He argues that economic changes have profound cultural consequences. Giddens has extensively developed theories of modernity and late modernity in relation to its institutional features and cultural characteristics. Giddens sees modernity as a complex of four institutional dimensions: industrialism, capitalism, surveillance and state violence (1990). Others have identified five emergent themes of discourses in late modernity: hybridity, globalisation, identity, reflexivity and commodification (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999) which can be used to analyse texts and discourses. In this chapter, I inflect Giddens’ institutional approach with a more critical discourse analysis grounded in linguistic hybridity.

Giddens sees modernity as ‘time-space distantiation’ which he refers to as globalisation. In the flux of late modernity, globalisation is the dialectic of the global and the local where discursive practices are mixed to create hybrid discourses and identities. In the context of linguistic practices, the ‘disembedded language practices increasingly flow across linguistic
and cultural boundaries’ and constitute hybrid discourses, which in turn create separate identities for different locales (Chouliariki and Fairclough, 1999, p. 94).

Globalisation, according to Giddens (1990), is related to a new modality of power as a significant feature of late modernity. This modality of power which supports domination in any social system can be understood in relation to time-space distantiation. Giddens argues that capitalist production depends upon the commodification of labour which presupposes commodification of time and hence the emergence of ‘clock time’. This emergence of clock time separates time from place and any specific circumstance and contents and makes it an ‘empty’ or abstract category (e.g. labour is measured in time). This ‘time-space distantiation’ acts as a modality of power which has a ‘transformative capacity’ (pp. 18-19).

Giddens (1990, p. 64) also argues that globalisation is the intensification of social relations linking ‘distinct localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring miles away and vice versa’. He claims that ‘all social interaction intermingles presence and absence’ (1995, p. 38), and different social systems differ in their ways of mixing presence and absence. The emergence of written and print language and, in modern era, the emergence of electronic media and their multimodal mixing with written forms has increased time-space distantiation. Giddens calls this globalising tendency of late modernity ‘action at a distance’. Globalisation is a significant force in the ‘detraditionalisation’ of late modern society, where the traditional type of social order is replaced with the modern social order, which has given rise to information society and consumer society (Giddens, 1990).

Similarly Hall, (1996, p. 619) proposes that ‘compression of distances and time-spaces are among the most significant aspects of globalisation affecting cultural identities’. Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) also emphasize how late modernity is a result of globalisation. While talking about the impacts of globalisation, Hall et al. (1996) argue that ‘modernity accelerated the pace of cultural innovation, the production of new languages, and the pursuit of novelty and experiment as cultural values’ (cited in Lee, 2006, p. 63). Modernity in the above discussion becomes a synonym for late modernity or post modernity.

Studies of globalisation generally emphasize one or more of the following facets: cultural imperialism, the local and ‘glocalization’ (Machin & van Leeuwen, 2003). English mixing in
advertising and mixed genres draw on the concept of globalisation by manifesting the scalar relations between the local, the national, the regional and the global. Bhatt (2003, p. 17), linking globality and locality, argues that English allows ‘language consumers to glide effortlessly among local, national, and international identities’ through hybridity. Bhatia (2001), addressing the issue of globalisation in advertising and language mixing, proposes the term ‘glocalization’, also extensively used by Robertson (1995) and others. Bhatia calls the strategy of ‘globalisation-to-localization’ globalization. Some ads according to Bhatia (2001, p. 613) shift from the strategy of ‘think-global-and-act-global’ to ‘safe and less risky globalization’ by way of ‘bridging with localization’. Representations of ‘glocalization’ in advertising discourse are achieved by integrating the global and local themes and by integrating the ‘participating linguistic systems and their scripts’ (Bhatia, 2006, p. 614). My macro analysis (Chapter 4) has confirmed this whereby English and Urdu languages and scripts are mixed together to achieve ‘glocalization’. The relations between linguistic glocalization and other versions of modernity form part of the analysis in this Chapter.

5.2.1 Reflexivity in Late Modernity

Due to the globalising tendencies of late modernity, social life can be highly reflexive (Giddens, 1991, p. 5) in that individuals are conscious of their self-image and their use of language, which is part of linguistic reflexivity. According to Chouliariki and Fairclough, this linguistic reflexivity refers to an increasing ‘awareness about language which is self-consciously applied in interventions to change social life, including one’s own identity’ (1999, p. 83). In the interdisciplinary study of CDA applied to late modernity and globalisation, we find that ‘language has actually become a more significant part of social life in the course of modernity’ (p. 74). Language becomes increasingly commodified in late modernity and within advertising words and images are produced and circulated as commodities or commodity attributes. The commodification of language entails both critical and aesthetic dimensions.

The themes of self-identity and reflexivity are also the focus of Giddens’ work on late modernity (1991, 1992). Giddens refers to the construction of self-identity as a ‘reflexive project’ which is ‘sustaining of coherent, yet continuously revised, biographical narratives’ (1991, p. 5). The theme of ‘life politics’ emerges in relation to reflexivity where the
individual ask questions on how to live one’s life, including one’s life in language. Fairclough and Chouliariki (1999) adopt Giddens on reflexivity and present the concept of ‘aestheticization of public identity’ to refer to individuals’ enhanced awareness of their image and self-identity in late modernity. Struggles over construction of identities are a salient feature of globalisation in that the struggle to find a voice is a struggle to find an identity. Rather than being at the mercy of a dominant discourse, individuals are ‘knowledgeable social agents who work reflexively’ with a wide range of available resources, materials and lifestyles and with access to many cultural traditions which they can draw from to constitute and enact hybrid social and linguistic practices and which enable them to struggle to transform their identity towards globally conscious selves.

5.3 Linguistic (Post)modernity

Some may wonder whether anything like linguistic modernity, let alone linguistic postmodernity, exists. I think it does, in that when we act and participate in social life we perform and construct our social and personal identities in large part through forms of language. Doing so in a modern and globalised world, in linguistic and physical performances, we become conscious of our ‘image’ and of our ‘self’ as images constructed dialectically within cultural codes and linguistic norms. This constitutes what I regard as the ‘aestheticization of public identity’ or more generally, ‘aestheticization of social life’ (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough 2003, p. 212). The conscious self-construction of one’s image, both individually and as part of groups is a fundamental human phenomenon, but inflected differently in different cultural contexts. Such self-conscious, self-fashioning is a part of contemporary modernization. As language is a key part of enacting one’s identity, linguistic modernity is central to the representation of one’s modern identity. This is particularly true in nation-states such as Pakistan, with a history of linguistic colonization, conflicts, ‘westernization’ and new empowering nativisms, often motivated by religion grounded in a non-western language (classical Arabic).

Before describing the concepts of linguistic modernity or postmodernity, I want to discuss some general concepts of modernity in the Pakistani context. In this macro analysis, I take
‘modern’ or ‘post-modern’ to be modernization and sophistication but not only or exclusively westernization. Modernity is the process of recognition and representations of changes going on in the contemporary modernized and globalised world. While talking about modern Pakistani identities I adopt the same notion of modernity as Takashi (1990b, 1992) when he argues that the ‘high incidence of English in Japanese advertising does not index Americanization or even Westernization, but rather indexes modern, sophisticated, and cosmopolitan identity, for the products, and implicitly, the consumers with which it is associated’ (cited in Piller 2003, pp. 175-176). As my macro analysis will show, mixing English with Urdu is also a marker of sophisticated, modern and cosmopolitan identities in Pakistani context.

As a native-born Pakistani woman, I have also presented these observations, experiences and intuitions to a critical analysis. The notion of modernity is relative in Pakistan as Pakistani society is socio-economically and ethno-linguistically diverse. A complex social class system (upper, middle and lower class) exists in Pakistan along with many regional languages (for details see Ch.3). Modernity from the point of view of the middle class in Pakistan is a dominant cultural practice. That is, the social and ethno-linguistic trends of modernity are more explicit in the middle class as they strive to identify themselves as global citizens. Most in the Pakistani upper classes are already modern, westernized and ‘Anglicized’ because of their access to money, power and English, which is perhaps the global language of the present time. The Pakistani middle class has become the ‘elite of knowledge’ (Rahman, 2002), has gained better access to English and is undertaking the ‘textual creation of a new discourse with new social identities’ (Gee et al. 1996, p. 26) in the new work order. Knowledge as ‘value’ is the central criterion in the ‘New’ or fast capitalism (Gee et al. 1996), used as a tool by the middle class and the youth of Pakistan to index their modern and sophisticated identities.

In ‘New Capitalism’ the ‘words are taking on new meanings, language and communication are being recruited for new ends and in the construction of new identities, and multiple literacies are being distributed in new ways’ (Gee et al. 1996, p. 158). The choice to use English or mixed language positions the user socially and discursively powerful. Most
importantly, the ‘acquisition of English linguistic capital is the necessary means of indexing modern identity in (this) context’ (Lee 2006, p. 59).

Based on the Pakistani print and digital ads in the database, I argue that linguistic modernity is being represented, constructed and then reshaped and reconstructed through various advertising strategies and formats, including mixing English with Urdu. In addition to linguistic constructions of modernity, the clothing of the actors in the ads, their accessories, their hair styles and their body language are non-linguistic markers of modernity and globalisation. The commercial images of modernity are fundamentally multimodal.

It is important to realize that linguistic modernity is being naturalized in Pakistan. Linguistic modernity is not recent, but overtime increasing with the advent of digital technologies, especially increased media coverage in society, widespread use of social media, a growing youth-oriented population, and growing urbanization. All these factors, commonly associated with transnational globalisation, are contributing towards Pakistani linguistic modernity and globalisation.

5.3.1 English: Westernization, Elitism and Modernity

In Pakistan, using English during conversation and communication has been considered as western behaviour since colonial times. English was and is a symbol of prestige in Pakistan, the language of upward mobility and a vehicle of mobilization (Rahman, 2002). It is also a dominant language in education, business, media and commerce (for details, see Chapter 3).

Most of the international and local fashion brands in Pakistan advertise their products using only English or English mixed with some Urdu. Many commercial ads which I collected from English and Urdu daily newspapers only use English combined with westernized images of dress and fashion accessories. In Pakistan, English newspapers are intended for audiences with good proficiency in English, mostly upper class of Pakistanis. The use of English alone combined with western images in some ads reinforces the concept of westernization.

However, in other ads, the use of English in combination with Urdu and/or traditional dress and imagery reinforces a local modernity and represents emerging modern Pakistani
identities. These ads are different from those directed towards the upper classes that use English only and enact western identity. A portion of upper middle and middle class educated people predominantly use English professionally along with their local languages. According to Rahman (2002), these people are an ‘elite of knowledge’ who associate themselves with English linguistic modernity but who struggle to construct their modern Pakistani identity different from traditional Pakistani identity and also different from the western identity enacted by the upper classes.

Local clothing fashion brands in Pakistan such as Gul Ahmed Lawn, Five Star Lawn, Al Karam Textiles, and Chen One (Appendix C), have all advertised entirely in English without a single word of Urdu, in their ads in English and Urdu Newspapers in both print and on the web. Some banking and mobile phone ads, interestingly, use English exclusively in English newspapers, but use mixed languages and script in Urdu newspapers (see Appendix A).

Consider for example the advertisement for Al Karam textiles’ Lawn Collection10 (Appendix C, ad: 36). ‘Lawn’ is a soft, thin fabric worn in South Asian countries in summer. In the Al Karam ad, the image of a well-known Pakistani actor, Nadia Husain, reproduces Leonardo De Vinci’s Mona Lisa with her hair style, make up, posture, smile and even the style of stitching of her dress. The actor is wearing a long one-piece dress similar to the contemporary floral dresses western women wear in summer. The advertising slogan ‘the art of style Lawn Collection 10’ also enhances the western aesthetic embodied in image of Mona Lisa. The word ‘art’ refers to the artistic style of the lawn (soft summer fabric) being advertised and which the actor is wearing by borrowing the ‘artistic Mona Lisa like’ image in the ad. The language in the ad mimics the flowery ‘art of style’, exhibiting a wide array of prints, colours and designs. This aesthetic discourse transfers features of the well-known Mona Lisa painting (art) to the lawn (mass produced women’s clothing), and also to the style of language used. The language in this ad is presented aesthetically in different font styles, sizes and colours, just like the lawn. The use of English and the ad images sharpen and complement each other as symbols of westernization and western aesthetics in this ad. Ironically, the Mona Lisa is an icon of Western Renaissance art, not a symbol of modernity in itself. But the idea of repurposing Mona Lisa-like-imagery to sell women’s clothing,
inter textually commercialising the image in the Pakistani advertisements, is what makes the text modern.

In the ‘Five Star Lawn’ ad (Appendix C ad: 37) the actor is wearing a long dress made of lawn (fabric) with a broad belt around her waist. Her accessories are contemporary and her hair-do and the big accessory, a big flower made of fancy cloth and mesh, in her hair are similar to what elite women of Victorian England used to wear on their heads. A western classical image metonymically signifies modernity in this ad in Pakistan no matter if it is classical or modern in the western world. The actor is reclining on the arm of the couch in an attractive and inviting manner. The majority of women in Pakistan traditionally make a three-piece outfit, Shalwar (loose trousers) Qameez (long shirt) and duppatta (long scarf), from the kind of lawn advertised. However, the actor in the ‘Fiver Star Lawn’ ad is wearing a one-piece long dress, made of lawn (fabric), a style commonly worn in the west with a belt around the waist. In effect, an image of a westernized Pakistani woman is used to advertise a local fabric. The actor’s dress and hair-do and the use of English in the whole ad together represent an elite western image only used in fashion imagery but is not a part of the daily lives of most Pakistani consumers.

The use of English language only in the ad deliberate and shows that English, as a global language, indexes modern and western identities for the actors represented in these ads. Other researchers have pointed out that English is preferred among other foreign languages, for example in French advertising, when the advertisers want to globalise the product’s brand image (Martin, 2002a). English is preferred over other national and regional languages of Pakistan, as in this ad, to globalise and modernize the brand image of lawn (summer fabric) advertised.

The Chen One ad (Appendix C ad: 39) foregrounds western image against more traditional Pakistani identities. In the ad, a group of young people wear jeans and T-shirts and hold shopping bags in their hands (this ad announces the Open House Sale in Chen One, a clothing outlet in Pakistan). The actors are all smiling and standing very close to each other, showing physical and emotional intimacy among themselves. The dress code (casual and western) and the physical intimacy in the ad suggest western social conventions which in fact
creates desires in the youth to look western and modern like the actors in the ads and go shopping and buy similar westernized outfits from Chen One.

In Pakistan, dress codes for men and women are different nationwide. Boys and men wear jeans/pants/trousers, T-shirts/dress shirts, suits and shalwar-qameez according to the occasion and level of formality. Women in Pakistan are expected to wear modest dress or the Pakistani traditional three-piece outfit, Shalwar-Qameez and duppatta (scarf) or a variant of the outfit.

Women who wear jeans in Pakistan are considered to be dressing in a western style. Among the middle and lower classes, there are negative attitudes toward wearing jeans, especially by women. According to Zubair (2010, p. 185) ‘women who wore Western clothes like jeans were frowned upon and viewed by other women as too liberal and Westernized, and regarded as morally lax by men’. However, the upper class doesn’t pay much attention to these attitudes among the middle and lower classes and has positive or neutral attitudes towards wearing jeans as well as having their own fashion norms. Even if a woman is modest in her dressing yet wears jeans, she will still be considered as western, deviant and at odds with the traditional Pakistani dress code. Alternatively, if a woman wears a Shalwar-Qameez but is not modest in her dressing, she will not be criticized as much compared to a woman who is wearing jeans. Wearing Jeans is like using English. They are symbols of westernization for women in Pakistan.

Gul Ahmed Summer lawn collection ad (Appendix C, ad: 38) illustrates modernity in a more explicit Pakistani context. It is not the dress itself but the way the actor in the ad wears traditional clothes that makes her look ‘modern’. The dress code in the ad is representing modernity rather than westernization as in the other ads (Ads: 36, 37, 39). The majority of women in Pakistan wear shalwar-Qameez with a duppatta (long scarf) either on their shoulders or covering their heads. However, now-a-days, especially in media, many women do not wear a duppatta at all. Also the Pakistani traditional outfit for women is being transformed from a three-piece to a two-piece outfit with the absence of duppatta as shown in the majority of dominant media images. Removing the duppatta from traditional Pakistani dress is considered non-traditional and Western according to mainstream Pakistani and general Islamic culture. The actor in the Gul Ahmed ad is not wearing a duppatta, is wearing a two-piece outfit and a very short sleeve shirt, also considered bold and modern. This ad
reinforces the relation between modern dress and English usage. The ad uses only English language without a word of Urdu.

In all four ads (Ads: 36-39) discussed here, modern, bold imagery is associated with English. In the Al Karam Lawn, Five Star Lawn and Chen One ads, the images show westernized dress, accessories, hair do, body language and physical proximity. While the Gul Ahmed ad does not use specifically westernized images, the overall image is still modernized by representing stylistic innovations within the traditional Pakistani dress code and by collocating modern dress codes with English usage. As linguistic modernity, using English reinforces the physical boldness and westernization in these ads. The analysis of all four ads illustrates how mixed notions of westernization, elitism and modernity are associated with English usage in Pakistan.

5.3.2 Urdu: Nationalism, Muslim Identity and Local Pride/Modernity

Is there something we can call Urdu linguistic modernity in Pakistani advertising discourse, or is modernity only attached to English and Urdu-English mixing? Sometimes Urdu modernity does exist, but I do not mean that Urdu usage in Pakistani advertising discourse symbolizes or stands in for globalisation or modern or western culture. In fact, Urdu has been used in national and local advertising before and since Pakistan came into being as a nation-state in 1947. Urdu is the national language of Pakistan, a ‘language of wider communication’ (LWC) and the language of ‘interprovincial communication’ (Rahman, 2002). As an official language, Urdu is used in educational institutions, government offices, courts and formal settings. Urdu is preferred over the regional languages throughout Pakistan. The exclusive use of local language (Urdu in this case) represents local pride and patriotism (Bhatia, 2000). Exclusive Urdu usage in Pakistan is associated with local pride, nationalism, nativism and represents Muslim Identity (see Chapter 3).

When the nation-state of Pakistan was created in 1947, the Arabic language was a symbol of Muslim identity in largely Hindi-speaking India. As soon as the idea of a separate state for the Muslims of the sub-continent was proposed in 1940, Urdu also became a symbol of Muslim identity and was preferred over Hindi as the language of communication in the sub-
continent (Rahman, 2002; cf. Chapter 3). Urdu then, has come to do national, local, ethnic and even religious work in social situations.

The association of Urdu with national and Muslim identity is also visible in the ads in the data. Wherever the ideologies of Islam and Pakistani nationalism are reproduced in some of the ads, explicitly and dominantly Urdu script is used in the ad space along with national or Islamic imagery complementing the written text and script. For instance, in the ad for Telenor, a telecommunication company (Appendix D, ad: 40), ‘Islamic service’ is advertised in the month of pilgrimage (Hajj), performed by Muslims all over the world, in Makkah, in the month of Zil Hajj according to the Islamic calendar. In the Islamic month of Zil Hajj, customers using the Telenor mobile phone connection can subscribe to the ‘Islamic service’ on their phone and get updates about Hajj, listen to recitations of the Holy Quran and Hymns, record their own hymns and dedicate different hymns to their friends. In the Telenor ad for ‘Islamic Service’, all the verbal text is written in Urdu script. All the ad vocabulary is in Urdu except for technical words and formulaic expressions such as ‘service’ and ‘dial’, which are widely used in telecom discourse throughout Pakistan. Roman script is only used in the Telenor ad for writing the name of the company ‘Telenor’ at the top left corner and for the website identification at the bottom left corner of the ad. To complement the script and the text of the ad, distinctively Islamic imagery of a mosque framed with the rising sun is used. The ad design, script, words, and picture are intended to be seen as holy, beautiful and Islamic. The Telenor ads’ prominent use of Urdu language and script evokes the long term association of Urdu with Islamic identity in South Asia and specifically in Pakistan (see the analysis of the relationship of Urdu and Islam in Chapter 3).

Other ads also use Urdu language and script to create a textual Islamic identity. In another Telenor ad (Appendix D, ad: 41) a special low-call-rate is announced for Telenor customers calling from Pakistan to Saudi Arabia. Again, only Urdu language and script are used except for the company logo ‘Telenor’ and the identification of the website. The environment of the imagery in the ad is thoroughly Islamic: a man in a special Hajj costume with two white cloths wrapped around his body. In both Telenor ads, Urdu language and script symbolize Islam and Muslim identity and deploy an emotional religious code to sell the telecom service to a Muslim consumer. Like English, Urdu can be recruited for global commercial purposes.
Urdu dominates all the ads advertising a product or service related to Islam or Muslim identity, including Islamic banking, programmes, etc.

Interestingly, Urdu language and script also dominate some Pakistani ads where national identity is fore-grounded to sell the products or services. In these ads Urdu script is dominantly used and highlighted. Urdu script is used for both Urdu and English words, thus visually ‘Islamizing; and ‘nationalizing’ the multilingual text. In another Telenor ad (Appendix D, ad: 42), advertising internet access nationwide in Pakistan, only Urdu script is used, except again for the Telenor logo and website identification which are written in Roman script. All the words in the ad are in Urdu except for technical telecom jargon such as ‘Internet’ and ‘call’, English words nonetheless written in Urdu script. The ad generalizes Urdu script and promotes nationalism as part of the spread of internet access and communication in Pakistan. The service advertised in this ad is described as the ‘idea of spreading the internet nationwide’. The English words ‘idea’ and ‘ideas’ are also transliterated into Urdu script. This ad associates Urdu and nationalism by using an Urdu sentence written in bold and large font and prominently framed in the ad. The Urdu sentence in the ad refers to a national trope of universalism: ‘this is a future Pakistan where Internet will be in every village in every home’ [my translation]. This Telenor ad sets off one sentence written in Urdu language and script in a separate frame, literally framing written language as a picture or an image promoting Pakistani nationalism. The text motivates and inspires potential customers to be part of one imagined nation, in Benedict Anderson’s phrase, part of a future developed nation. Anderson (2006, p. 58) illustrates the relationship of capitalism, language and print media to gives rise to imagined communities, ‘convergence of capitalism and print technology on the fatal diversity of human language created the possibility of a new form of imagined community, which in its basic morphology set the stage for the modern nation’. Similarly ads for PTCL and Ufone (telecommunication companies in Pakistan) also use Urdu language and script to promote national identity in Pakistan. The ad for ‘Super Asia Group’ (appendix D, ad: 46), a manufacturer of home appliances, uses the Pakistani flag along with Urdu script to produce a visual signifier of Pakistani nationalism.
These telecom and material goods ads reinforce the idea that Urdu language in Pakistan is prestigious although, in fact, its status varies across different social classes (for language politics in Pakistan, see Chapter 3). However, the elite upper classes use both English and less so Urdu as part of their western and modern identities in daily interactions and professional communication.

Even more sociolinguistics complexity exists with the middle class’ use of Urdu. The number of middle class speakers of English is very low compared to the number of elite English speakers in Pakistan. Middle class people construct their modern identities by mixing a larger proportion of Urdu with English. Given Urdu’s prestige, middle class people in Pakistan mix English largely with Urdu as an expression of their complex modern and hybrid identities, as opposed to upper class who mostly rely on English usage as a marker of their status and prestige. Bhatia (2000) refers to this mixing strategy as ‘glocalization’: ‘The exclusive use of local language indexes local pride and patriotism; the exclusive use of English indexes globalisation’ (cited in Piller, 2003, p. 176). The prestige and supremacy of Urdu over local languages in Pakistan associates Urdu usage with local modernity and pride, as well as with nationalism and Muslim identity.

The existence of a variety of ethno-linguistic groups in Pakistan and the status of Urdu created a need for Urdu as a national language in Pakistan after 1947. People in their day-to-day activities in various social settings, apart from their most personal relations, mostly use Urdu to communicate in Pakistan. The use of Urdu language as an official discourse is mostly restricted in two provinces, Punjab and Sindh. In Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, mostly Baluchi and Pashtu, respectively, are used within and outside the homes and both are preferred in informal settings. In these provinces, Urdu is less commonly used compared to its dominant usage in Punjab and Sindh. However, the lack of informal Urdu in some provinces does not indicate that people in those areas speak Urdu when the notion of prestige is still attached with the language.

Urdu as a national and official language is used in formal and official discourses in Pakistan and is preferred over the regional languages in schools, colleges, universities, government offices and markets in Punjab and Sindh. During my school, college and university days and in other social settings, I have observed that those who spoke their mother tongue, other than
Urdu, during conversation were judged by others as backward, *paendo* (a villager, one who doesn’t know the ways of urban life) or not modern. Urdu was and is expected in all Pakistani social settings and everyone who speaks Urdu is considered well-mannered, cultured and educated.

Of course, language prestige doesn’t just depend on using a preferred national language. Other factors also figure into prestigious usage. A lot of emphasis, prestige and judgment are attached to speaking Urdu with the standard accent. People who speak Urdu with a regional accent or who mix their mother tongue with Urdu are generally said to speak *gulabi Urdu* meaning *pink Urdu*, a derogatory term used for not speaking proper Urdu. This situation corresponds well to the standard language hegemony as described by Fairclough (1989, p. 57) ‘There is an element of schizophrenia about Standard English, in the sense that it aspires to be (and is certainly portrayed as) a national language belonging to all classes and sections of the society, and yet remains in many respects a class dialect’.

Urdu is the mother tongue of only 8% of Pakistanis but is the national language of Pakistan. Standard Urdu like Standard English has also become a class dialect in Pakistan and is stigmatized when accented by other regional languages. Because of this negative attitude and stigma associated with regional pronunciations of Urdu, a language shift is occurring in Pakistan. People are shifting away from using their regional languages to using properly accented Urdu on a major scale. We currently lack clear evidence about this language shift going on in Pakistan because the language research culture in Pakistan is weak. I intend to do more research on this topic in the near future. But as an insider of the speech community, I have been witnessing the language shift from mother tongue to Urdu for many years. Younger school children among my friends, family, relatives, neighbours and acquaintances, are unable to speak their mother tongue but do have good proficiency in Urdu. Urdu, along with English, is taking the place of regional languages among the younger generation of Pakistanis. The regional language shift to Urdu is much faster than that taking place with English because fewer people have access to English, despite the prevalence of English-based advertising. Therefore, those without English proficiency enact their modern, sophisticated identity by using Urdu.
Urdu like English, also plays an important role in the construction of linguistic modernity in Pakistan. Urdu modernity or modern identity is reflected in the ‘First Women Bank Ltd’ ad (Appendix D ad: 45). In this ad all the words (except for two English phrases) are in Urdu and Urdu script. The English phrases ‘First Women Bank Ltd’ and ‘Giving women the power to succeed’ are written in Roman script. The ad uses very formal Urdu diction to assert the power and freedom which the bank offers to women. The central ad image is of the late Benazir Bhutto, the only woman prime minister of Pakistan and an icon of modernity, gender power, emancipation and freedom for women in Pakistan. Surrounding the image of Bhutto are working women from different social classes and different professions. The ad image signifies equal opportunities and empowerment for women. Aside from a few English words, the ad uses mostly Urdu language and script to represent economic strength, freedom, equal opportunities and equal rights for women. Whereas modern Pakistani identity among elites can be associated with the use of English, mixed English and Urdu usage is more marked as modern among women in general and, as we shall see, middle class youth in Pakistan.

5.3.3 Modernity and Mixed (E & U) Language: Emerging Trend

In the micro analysis (Chapter 4), I argued that mixing English and Urdu languages is a dominant practice in Pakistani commercial advertising and leads to a linguistic hybridity which indexes globalisation and performs a rhetoric of modernity. Such language mixing actually constitutes two different modes of linguistic hybridity in Pakistani society.

What is new about contemporary language mixing in Pakistani advertising is the increased ratio of language mixing within advertising slogans and within the main discourse of the ads. My research supports Meraj (1993) and Bano and Sussex’s (2001) results but goes beyond product and manufacturer’s names which are only a very small portion of an ad. In earlier chapters I analysed ads in detail at both micro and macro levels and gave special attention to language mixing at the clause and discourse levels and across different scripts. My micro analysis shows that with expanding and intensifying globalisation, modernization, and urbanization, English language usage and script mixing are increasing in Pakistan and have emerged to create a separate ‘mixed variety’ which is functionally communicative and more importantly, culturally symbolic of transformations associated with late modernity in contemporary Pakistan. Use of this hybrid written English-Urdu is increasing with the use
and spread of new media, increased access to technology, and global access to different varieties of English. In effect, this new hybrid variety is being naturalised and disseminated throughout Pakistan.

Ads written in English-Urdu, rather than only in English, are found mostly in Urdu newspapers intended for middle class Urdu speaking audiences. Middle class speakers mix English and Urdu as a symbol of modernity. Speaking about neighbouring India, Bhatt (2008, p. 179) claims that ‘mixing [languages especially with English] has now become a legitimate interactional practice, especially among the young, English-knowing bilingual middle class’. A new mixed variety is also being used by Pakistani youth, who represent sixty percent (Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement Survey, 2011-2012) of the current population of Pakistan. Youth use this mixed variety to participate and identify with modern, globalised communities. In all of the ads I have discussed, the use of mixed language collocated with younger figures strengthens the association of mixed languages with modernity among Pakistani youth. Lamb (2004, p. 16) states that a global youth has ‘a vision of an English-speaking globally-involved but nationally responsible future self’. By using spoken and written English, youth in Pakistan represent and associate themselves with a ‘global or world citizen identity’ (Dornyei, 2009, p. 4). At the same time, Pakistani youth represent their local or national identities and subjectivities by using Urdu in their written or oral communication. This is a complex functional and symbolic practice of language mixing within a multilingual environment. Learning or ‘acquiring global language’ (Dornyei, 2009) in their day-to-day communication, middle class Pakistani youth are ‘acquiring [and constructing] global identity’ or modern Pakistani identity as opposed to traditional Pakistani identity. Such global identities are always multi-lingual and multi-cultural while regionally specific.

5.4 Linguistic and Discoursal Representations of Globalisation and Modernity in Pakistani Commercial Advertising

In Chapter 4, linguistic hybridity was analysed in mixed language advertising discourse at the level of individual phrases and clauses (micro analysis). In this section, I discuss linguistic
hybridity at the level of genre and discourse (macro analysis). Macro analysis focuses on the ads’ inter-discursive and inter-textual relations and their role in reproducing or decentring structures of globalisation at work in Pakistani commercial discourse. Language and discourse are social structures existing in dialectical relation with other social structures in society. Specific language is restructured and a discourse is reshaped when other social structures are remade or altered due to transformations associated with or resistant to New Capitalism and globalisation (Fairclough, 2003).

Fairclough (2003) discusses several facets of globalisation and New Capitalism’s discourses, including multi-semioticity, multimodality, inter-textuality, discourse mixing, mixing order of discourses, conversationalization of public discourse, social informalization, technologization and aestheticization of public identities (see details in Chapter 2). These discursive practices in print and digital ads reveal how cultural and social hybridity are constitutive of late modernity and globalisation in Pakistani commercial advertising discourse. As we shall see, these practices also open up alternative, third spaces as discursive prefigurations.

To read a single complex, hybrid ad as a multimodal discourse of modernity and globalisation, I have chosen to focus on a ‘Menu’ meal ad (Appendix A, ad: 5). This ad, in both print and digital forms in the data, promotes a ready-to-cook packaged meal. Where necessary, I also refer to relevant examples from other ads in my data. I discuss distinct discourse practices, especially multimodality, intertextuality, mixing/chaining of genres and blurring of social boundaries, as key features of hybrid modernity in Pakistan.

Discursive processes can be circular in that the activity, its representation, and its reflexive self-construction in commercial advertising operate simultaneously, affecting, shaping and reshaping the society and the discourse itself (Fairclough, 2003). That is, people come to describe or define themselves in terms of the descriptions and definitions they are given. I argue that the ‘Menu Meal’ ad as a ‘discourse’ is a part of the socio-cultural hybridity and globalisation currently enacted in Pakistani society and culture. First, the ad represents modernity, globalisation and social hybridity through linguistic, genre and discourse hybridization. Second, it constructs modernity, globalisation and socio-cultural hybridity
through reflexive self-construction of these practices. Third, the ‘Menu Meal’ ad figures in the construction of modernized Pakistani identity.

These three types of text/discourse meaning discussed above, action, representation and identification, are related to three elements of the ‘order of discourse’: genre, discourse and styles (Fairclough, 2003, p. 24). The macro analysis here addresses the relationship between text/discourse meaning and the elements of the order of discourse as socio-textual action.

First, I describe briefly the ‘Menu meal’ advertisement. ‘Menu’ is the name of the advertised product, a ready-to-cook, packaged meal which comes in a variety of native dishes and meal ideas. The ad depicts a mother spending time with her child and seeming to prefer a ready-to-cook meal. Since pre-cooked and packaged foods have been represented as modern, efficient and convenient, they can be described to save time in the kitchen. The ad implies that the woman (who use pre-cooked meals at home) can spend more time with her family and especially with her children.

Advertising is a key genre, a ‘promotional genre’ (in New Capitalism) to actively sell new products. As a result of the transformations and competition associated with New Capitalism and globalisation, advertisers need to even more actively pitch their products by making them attractive, modern and global. This process involves ‘chaining of the genres’ (Fairclough, 2003, p. 31). If we look at the ‘Menu Meal’ ad from this perspective, we see how the whole ad is made attractive by combining different semiotic modes, colours, images, symbols and languages. The language and script mixing is attractive and interesting in that different font sizes, colours, scripts, bolds, and italics are used to write the sentences and phrases. Gee et al. (1996, p. 158) argues that ‘In New Capitalism.....multiple literacies are being distributed in new ways’ to fulfil the demands of new consumers. In this case, literacy (orthography) is deployed in part for its aesthetic value. The practice of mixing English and Urdu languages and scripts to make new combinations (as shown in Chapter 4) makes the ad a multi-semiotic utterance.

In Barthes’ formulation, the product advertised is the denotation, while the ideology of modernity is the connotation (Barthes, 1972, pp. 114-117). Modernity is coded in the ‘Menu Meal’ ad by mixing English with Urdu and by the clothing of mother and child. The clothing
is modern, not traditional Pakistani dress. Of course the product itself is coded as ‘modern’. Traditionally, in Pakistani society women cook meals at home, so buying and preparing a ready-to-cook meal is foreign and not usually encouraged. However, ready-to-cook and frozen meals have been available for decades in many western countries as part of domestic modernity. Linking the local with the global involves the chaining of genres which ‘contribute to the possibility of actions which transcends differences in space and time, linking together social events in different social practices, different countries and different times……facilitating action at a distance’ (Fairclough, 2003, p. 31), as occurs in this ad. This ad represents the practice of buying a ready-to-cook meal as an international activity, with Pakistani bodies in modern dress. The increasingly blurred setting of local and global, the ‘glocal’, is represented in this ad as a contemporary feature of social life in Pakistan and is one of the facets of New Capitalism.

Advertising is also a genre of governance, and all genres of governance link up different scales such as the regional with the local, national and global. Genres of governance sustain the structural relations between business and social life and scalar relations (in New Capitalism) between the local, the national and the global. Any change in genre leads to restructuring and rescaling of social life (Fairclough, 2003, p. 32). The ‘Menu Meal’ ad is a very good example of how these structural and scalar relations are sustained or alternatively, restructured and rescaled. The ad negotiates the structural relations between the social life of a busy mother and the business of advertising. The modern Pakistani consumer will buy the ready-to-cook meal, thus identifying with an image of modern Pakistan which in turn increases business for the company and the advertising agency. The new nation is good for national and international business. The advertiser increases the manufacturer’s business by encouraging a new buying practice beyond that of traditional society where females cook fresh meal at home. At the same time, the advertiser links this practice with the global practice of ‘modern’ women buying the ready-to-cook meals because they are too busy being modern to cook in traditional ways. The ad’s genre is conventional in that it promotes a product to relieve the purchaser’s need. In this case, the particular need represented is caring for one’s family in a busy western-style life.
Genres of governance such as advertising take over the social relation between individuals and organizations by framing these relations as commercial and need-based for identity formation. Fairclough (2003, p. 75) also highlights the hierarchical relationship between individuals and organization in such communicative situations, ‘communication between organizations and individuals is high in both social hierarchy (organizations tend to exercise power over individuals) and social distance (organizations operate on national, regional or global scales whereas individuals occupy specific locales)’. Traditionally the social distance and social hierarchy between individuals and organizations are explicit and overt, but in New Capitalism and globalisation the social distance and social hierarchy ‘tend to mystify’ the relations between individuals and organizations because of ‘social informalization’, that is, shift away from explicit hierarchy markers (see Misztal, 2000, cited in Fairclough, 2003) and ‘conversationalization of public discourse’ (Fairclough, 1992). The more informal, conversational but distanced mode of advertising discourse conceals corporate power relations with/in global consumer capitalism to determine and apportion globalised modernity.

Due to ‘social informalization’ and the ‘conversationalization of public discourse’, the social and informal practice of daily interactions is incorporated within other genres such as advertising. The ad image, the ‘screen of desire’ which is the ad, replaces the more traditional relation between maker or manufacturer and consumer. The text in the ‘Menu Meal’ ad creates an Urdu dialogue, an implied question-answer sequence with the reader (the following is an English translation of the whole dialogue):

Q: ‘if the whole time is spent in the kitchen…….

When will (you) spend time with children?’

Ans: No problem!

It saves each and every minute in the kitchen

It is Menu for every Season
The question in the ad’s dialogue poses a problem, then follows with a solution for the convenience of the mother. The advertiser and consumer are represented as having an informal chat during which the advertiser is offering advice and help.

The first question in the quoted speech shows the presence of another voice within the ad text, its dialogicality. The mixing of ad image and conversation genre constitutes the text’s intertextuality. The most common form of intertextuality in any discourse is reported speech, the presence of other voices in the text beside the main narrating voice (Bakhtin, 1981). The TV live action version of the ‘Menu Meal’ ad makes this dialogism even clearer. The voice of a third person (voice over) actually utters this quoted speech in Urdu, *sara din kitchen kha jae to bachoon ko time kab dein gi* (English translation: If the whole time is spent in the kitchen, when will you spend time with your children?). The third person’s voice represents the advertiser or manufacturer acting as a ‘saviour’ for all the mothers of the nation recognizing their busy routines in the kitchen and helping them save time and be good caretakers by using the ‘Menu Meal’. The conversational genre is mixed with the advertising image genre to produce a hybrid genre ad in both print and TV multimedia versions.

Following on Habermas (1984), genre as discursive action can be distinguished according to two types: communicative action and strategic action. Communicative action is ‘oriented to understanding and exchange of meaning (e.g much conversations)’; strategic action is ‘oriented to producing effects (Fairclough, 2003, p. 214). Fairclough reworks part of Habermas’s (1984) ‘theory of modernization’, strategic action and the ‘lifeworld’ to describe the discourse of modernity, ‘modern systems (the state, the market) are specialized for strategic action but there is a tendency for them to ‘colonize’ non-systemic areas of social life (the ‘lifeworld’) and for strategic action to displace or appropriate communicative action’ (p. 214).

Incorporating features of the conversation genre and dialogue into advertising discourse reveals how advertising as a strategic action is represented covertly disguised, as a communicative action in this and many other ads: ‘What appears to be communicative action can be seen as covertly strategic action’ (Fairclough, 2003, p. 214). Habermas (1984) and others identify such covert representation as one feature of modernization and globalisation. The dialogue in the ‘Menu Meal’ ad reproduces a conversational genre to cloak strategic
action in order to decrease the social hierarchy and social distance between advertiser and consumer. Mixing genres and hiding the ad’s strategic action reflect key procedures in the representation and positioning modernization and globalisation in Pakistan’s consumer culture.

An advertisement is a mediated genre through print, TV or the internet, and it recontextualizes and transforms social life by presenting products and services and the desire for them as a normal part of life (Fairclough, 2003). Nonetheless, the social discourse practice of Pakistani motherhood reinforces the traditional Pakistani image of femininity and motherhood and is recontextualized in the ‘Menu Meal’ ad. The ad constructs women’s problem as how to save time in the kitchen and how to spend that extra time with their children. The solution offered by the ‘Menu Meal’ is a ready-to-cook meal, a product for purchase. The ad image of the mother and the child sitting together and the second image of the woman removed from the kitchen (reading a book) foreground an ideal motherhood and femininity. This happy mother-child image is projected through the ad to create a desire in Pakistani women to identify themselves with the ad image. The images of ‘Menu Meal’ in daily life recontextualize the social practice of motherhood as modern but traditional, thus ambivalently reshaping social practice within the society. The recontextualization and transformation of social practice from one domain of society to another ‘contributes to the shaping of how we live and the meaning we give to our lives’ within New Capitalism (Silverstone 1999, cited in Fairclough 2003, p. 34)

Advertisement as a mediated genre can also be read as textual action at a distance. The ad links social practices across various domains of social life (e.g. economy, education, family life, social class), across various scales of social life (global, regional, national and local) and across different media. Changes and transformations associated with New Capitalism and globalisation can change the networking of these social practices. The chaining of genres and texts in advertising increases the capacity of ‘action at a distance’ and is, according to Fairclough (2003, pp. 31-32), one of the ‘defining features of contemporary globalisation’. The ‘Menu Meal’ advertising text is mediated through various modes and is a part of a genre chain. The print version of the ad (retrieved from the Daily Express newspaper), the digital version (from the websites Daily Express and Nawai-e-Waqt) and the TV version constitute a
genre chain. The TV version of the ad changes systematically in structure from the print to the digital forms. The chain of ad texts is accessible to the audience locally (through newspapers), nationally (through newspapers and TV), regionally and globally (through the newspaper website and satellite TV). This ‘genre chain’ of the ‘Menu Meal’ ad mediates motherhood across various modes of social life and links modern images of motherhood using ready-to-cook meals with regional, national and local representations and more traditional ideals of motherhood in Pakistan. In doing so the ad transforms the local practice of motherhood, closely tied to domestic ideal, by linking it to the global image of the mother who uses ready-to-cook meals and therefore is supposed to have more time for more important things. With such complex and hybrid networking relations and genre chains globalised commerce promises people, especially women, a better life.

The mixing of discourses and orders of discourses in commercial and advertising texts are key textual practices related to modernization, hybridity and globalisation (Fairclough, 2003, pp. 26-27). There are many instances of mixing discourses and shifting orders of discourses in the advertising discourse in the database. As we have noted, in the ‘Menu Meal’ ad features of conversational discourse are used to render commercial pitches more informal in the advertising discourse. The question/answer sequence as a feature of conversational discourse increases the ad’s casual and informal tone and decreases the social and hierarchical distance between the advertiser and the consumer. ‘Strategic action’ disguised as ‘communicative action’ increases the sales. The practice of mixing conversational and advertising discourses is one of the facets of globalisation (Fairclough, 2003) and recontextualizes the familiar practice of conversation into advertising practice.

Almost all the ads in my database incorporate conversational discourse to one degree or another. Such ‘societal informalization’ is a pervasive feature of modernity, especially in contemporary commercial, public and increasingly institutional contexts (Fairclough, 2003, p. 7). However, such discourse practices are often at odds with social conventions in more traditional societies. For instance, the ad for ‘Zong’ (Appendix A, ad: 15), a telecom company selling a pre-pay SIM card, uses very informal, colloquial Urdu especially verb forms, in the text (see table 5.1). In Urdu the verb changes its form according to the pronoun attached to it, whether singular or plural, formal or informal. For example, there are different
second person pronouns for ‘You’ in Urdu such as *aap, tum, tou*, depending on formal or informal, singular or plural usage. The verb forms in the Zong ad (in the slogans and main phrases, Appendix A, ad: 15) use according to the singular second person in the informal usage:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original clause in the advertisement</th>
<th>Translation (mine)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zong sb keh do</td>
<td>Zong say it all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zong ki acchi Sim lagao</td>
<td>Use (insert) ‘good sim’ of Zong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beshumar free minutes paaeo</td>
<td>Get unlimited free minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bas qareebi dukan per jaaoo</td>
<td>Just go to the nearest retailer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table: 5.1:** Use of casual and colloquial verbs as features of conversational discourse in ‘Zong’ ad

The underlined verbs in the above clauses agree with second person singular pronouns in an informal or casual setting. The verb forms illustrate how features of conversational discourse are mixed with advertising discourse in the ‘Zong’ ad. They make the ad seem colloquial, casual and accessible to the reader / consumer.

Another example of mixing conversational discourse with advertising discourse is the ‘easypaisa’ ad (Appendix A ad: 10). The ad text poses a question positioned at the top right corner of the ad: ‘Have you ever paid a utility bill or transferred money while cooking?’ The actual question is written in Urdu language and script with inserted English words, ‘utility bill’ and ‘transfer’. The answer given in the rest of the ad is in Urdu, in the form of itemized features and the benefits of using an ‘easypaisa mobile account’.

Many other examples in the advertising data show mixing of discourse from various social domains. Such discourse mixing conceals the strategic action of selling the product within a
communicative action of conversational sociality. The ads present themselves as outside commercial discourse and more as expressions of modern social life and friendship.

In some ads features of academic rather than conversational discourse are mixed with advertising discourse. For instance, the advertised ‘Bank Al Habib’ ad (Appendix A ad: 7) gives an extensive list of features available in the ‘Current Plus Account’. These banking features are printed in neat, organized bullet points in two columns. Structured bullet points are one of the features of contemporary academic and professional discourse, especially in word-processed academic or corporate writing and Power-Point presentations. The ad incorporates the academic or professional format to suggest that the banking system is high-powered and professional, even for a personal account. Another example is the ‘Tetra Pak milk’ ad (Appendix A ad: 2), which uses a flow chart showing the percentage of vitamins in the milk. The ad presents the consumer with facts and figures, technical information presented in modern graphic or digital format. The Nokia Mobile phone ad (Appendix A ad: 11) also uses bullet points, while the ‘Head & Shoulders’ ad (Appendix A ad: 3) uses facts and figures to convince the audience that the product’s purpose (washing your hair and getting rid of dandruff) is scientifically assured. In these ads personal banking, hair care and drinking milk are all portrayed in terms of contemporary technical and professional formats.

Within discourse of modernity, globalisation and New Capitalism, one of the most widely discussed aspects is how shifting ways of ordering discourses restructure and rescale social life. One of the ways this occurs is through the recontextualization of social practice in one domain of social life into another (Fairclough, 2003, p. 32). This practice can be observed in many of the hybrid discourses representing our hybrid societies in advertising discourse. The ads in my database are also rich in hybridity at the level of mixing of the order of discourses and shifting of order of discourses in Pakistan. Rituals or traditional practices are borrowed from many domains of social life and diffused into mainstream advertising discourses. Advertising and the product they mediate can be seen by the public as a part of mainstream social life, and social action is not separate from them. For instance, in the ‘Menu Meal’ ad discussed earlier, parenting or more specifically motherhood is recontextualized and normalized in the visual and verbal details of the ad. Such ads make modernity seem more naturalized even if they are representing products and services for a more educated, elite or
metropolitan audience. The social boundaries between social actions, practices and representations become blurred such that, eventually society as a whole becomes hybrid as a result of the recontextualization process.

The recontextualization process is vividly evident in the ‘Ufone’ ad (Appendix A ad: 9) advertising special Valentine’s Day services and packages. Valentine’s Day is hardly a traditional popular day in Pakistan. In this ad western romantic rituals associated with Valentine’s Day (sending love quotes, dedicating songs, sending gifts, sending SMSs or exchanging romantic images or words) are recontextualized as digital, electronic or internet activities. Using a mobile phone or using the latest modern digital technology to show one’s love through words, dedicated songs or virtual love boxes full of surprises are marked as desirable in the ad. Digital technologies remake romantic discourses and activities. The ad encourages consumers to spend money and use their mobile phones as part of romantic activities. The ‘Ufone’ mobile phone service, with a decidedly romantic context, is directly marketed to youth who use ‘new media’ much more.

As a native Pakistani, I have witnessed this circular process of representing social action through advertising which in turn can reshape traditional practice. Over a decade ago, Valentine’s Day was not a popular or special day in Pakistan. But due to emerging ‘new media’, digital technology, internet connectivity and extensive advertising have shifted the Pakistani social order, so now people in Pakistan imagine themselves celebrating Valentine’s Day as part of a growingly global consumer economy. In fact, as a result of advertising, many now feel obliged to celebrate the day. The business of flowers, chocolates, greeting cards, stuffed toys, cakes and new media to celebrate Valentine’s Day has flourished in the past ten years in Pakistan. It has become very popular day in modern Pakistan, hence, exemplifying how modernity and westernization are refigured as forms of consumerized social action.

Traditionally, Pakistani society did not actively participate in celebrating this day, but as an impact of modernization this day is being celebrated with excitement by youth who are identifying with aspects of western commercial discourse. The new celebration of Valentine’s Day in Pakistan also suggests how traditions of intimacy among young males and females are changing in Pakistan as a consequence of late modernity. Traditionally, free
mixing of males and females, especially in the context of romantic or social relations is considered as morally lax according to Islamic ideology, which is adhered to very seriously. Elders in Pakistani society expect this strict tradition of segregation to be followed by their children, siblings, young ones and the rest of the family. These changing codes of intimacy in Pakistan can be interpreted as a kind of ‘detrationalisation of modern society’ (Giddens, 1994, p. 5), one of the consequence of late modernity where individuals become highly reflexive in the processes of living their lives and draw on the social practices they see in new media and technology to construct new modern identities which are as often global as local, glocal.

Discourse, apart from being a part of action and representation, also figures in community identification (Fairclough, 2003). Celebrating Valentine’s Day as encouraged by commercial advertising imports a western structure and practice of romance into the commerce of Pakistani advertising, which in turn is linked to a network of social practices and other texts which create new subjectivities and social actors, all available within a dominant commercial paradigm. Pakistani youth identities have been shaped and reshaped by this and other westernized and global social practices. When they celebrate Valentine’s Day, they feel themselves to be modernized, westernized and globalised, positive rather than negative group identification. This process of conscious self-identification or ‘preoccupation with image’ (Fairclough, 2003, p. 212) can also be understood as the ‘aestheticization of public identities’ Within commercial, consumerist intersubjectivity, western images and capitalist ideology push aside Muslim, South Asian, or traditional images and representations of romance. This of course creates a tension within Pakistani society between traditional and more modern, western social norms and codes.

Several different social practices can be recontextualized in an ad. For example, in the ‘easypaisa’ ad (Appendix A, ad: 10) for Telenor’s telecom services, paying utility bills, cooking at home, being a responsible housewife and using a mobile phone are all practices brought into the same discursive space to create a new social practice of domestic and commercial agency, aimed specifically for Pakistani women. Online banking ads also signal changing social roles. Online banking, online transactions and especially transactions using a mobile phone are relatively new social practices in Pakistani society for the middle class in
general and especially for middle class women. Traditionally, paying utility bills and other expenses have been done by male members of the society, whereas cooking is mostly done by female members. In the ‘easypaisa’ ad (Appendix A, ad: 10) the young woman homemaker wears nail polish and bangles on her arm. She is pressing a button on her mobile phone while standing in the kitchen at the stove, with a cutting board and some freshly chopped vegetables visible nearby. The ad associates the woman with a prosperous, middle class social status. The ad replaces the traditional social practice of a man paying the bills by walking to a bank or a post shop with a new image of the woman in the house paying bills using new telecommunication technology while carrying out other domestic work. Traditional Pakistani gender stereotypes show that women stay at home and do the house hold chores. The images of chopped vegetables on a cutting board and a kitchen background conform the stereotype whereby women stay at home and men go out of the home and work as bread-winners. The ad image also conforms to religious and gender stereotypes for women in Pakistani society. Only a hand is shown in the ad; bangles are visible on the arm of a woman working in the kitchen. A housewife who stays at home and takes care of her family is considered pious and virtuous in Islamic tradition and is morally elevated. Although the ad image reproduces these traditional Pakistani signifiers of social hierarchy, the ad discourse is still empowering in that it introduces a new kind of social domestic practice, focussed on the housewife who, while maintaining her idealized female identity, can electronically pay her utility bills like any other woman in the developed or western world with a mobile phone and a bank account. This blending of a new social practice with the old practices connotes the struggle to construct modern Pakistani identity and represents the tension between the traditional and the modern selves as embodied in commercial advertising.

The Telenor ad image, just described also creates a new social reality. If housewives find it possible and empowering to use mobile phone technology to handle domestic affairs, this new practice could reshape society by creating a more egalitarian social practice because of the new technology. The social reality projected by the ad also rescales the relations between local, national, regional and global groups. In the Telenor ad the identity of a middle-class housewife is bounded by setting the ad in the kitchen, although the woman’s subjectivity is reshaped conceptually within a more globalised, digitally mediated context. Paradoxically, the ad represents the traditional Pakistani middle-class housewife as a global citizen. This
globalised, modernized Pakistani female identity, which is more empowering, is figured in the image of a middle class woman who prefigures the discursive shift occurring in traditional gender roles.

Using a three-way notion of discourse as action, representation, and identification, the macro analysis, in this chapter, has identified how hybrid commercial advertising discourses in Pakistan are actions and prefiguration of modernity, as well as representations of and identifications with modernity and contemporary globalisation. First, the hybrid advertising discourses discussed here are actions (speech genres) articulating a modernization and globalisation of consumer culture in Pakistani society. The ads are multisemiotic and multimodal with attractive layouts and modern visual appeal for audiences. These advertising discourses deploy genre chains and reflect both hybridizing and mixing discursive practices. Intertextuality and dialogicality inform the ads’ participation in various networks of linked texts across different modalities, in print, electronic and TV versions. These hybrid genres or actions of discursive hybridity are also linked on various scales, ranging from the local to the national, regional and global. As I have argued, they are having distinct impacts on generational identities and changes to traditional codes and behaviours within Pakistani society.

Second, the hybrid commercial advertising discourses in Pakistan discussed here are representations of socio-cultural hybridity, modernization and globalisation. Several discourses are mixed with advertising discourses, in particular, conversational and academic discourses, which create accessible authority or ‘facticity’ as part of the commercial appeal. The ads also produce images or frames for various social practices (parenting, cooking, banking, expressing love, etc.) anchored to commodities articulated in commercial advertising.

Third, the hybrid commercial advertising discourses discussed here produce identifications and subjectivities, at least as socially circulated images. These identifications and subjectivities prefigure new Pakistani identities, ones especially focussed on and addressed to middle-class women and young people. Women and young people from the middle-class are the dominant target groups within consumer markets worldwide and are the presumed audiences for most advertising campaigns. As such, the hybrid ads discussed prepare
Pakistani audiences to embrace these new globalised identities. It seems that discourses altering or reimagining the dominant social order are recurring as much in hybrid advertising discourses as they are in other more identifiably oppositional or transformative discourses in the political and social public sphere.
Chapter 6

Conclusion

‘[T]he overall picture being that of bilingualism being the norm rather than the exception.’

(Gafaranga, 2007, p. 2)

My research shows that mixed language usage is becoming a norm in Pakistani advertising discourse rather than the exception. The use of mixed language is a dominant trend in print and digital ads for all sorts of products except the ones referring directly to Islamic or national events. Ads related to Islamic and national events strategically use only Urdu because of the Islamic and nationalistic ideologies associated with Urdu language and script.

I have analysed linguistic hybridity in two discursive domains of advertising discourse print and digital media. The detailed micro and macro analyses in Chapters 4 and 5 show clearly how the advertising discourse in Pakistan is linguistically and socially hybrid in terms of language, script and discourse. The analyses demonstrate and develop my hypothesis, stated in Chapter 1 that the print and digital advertising discourses in Pakistan are hybrid, complex, multisemiotic, multimodal and intertextual and are embedded in and representations of global and postmodern forces shaping contemporary Pakistani society.

6.1 Major Features and Emerging Language Varieties

The analysis in Chapter 4 represents linguistic hybridity at micro level and highlights different ways and strategies of language mixing in print and digital advertising discourse in Pakistan. The main findings are the overlapping of boundaries between English and Urdu at the level of syntax, the looping phenomenon of reading mixed language and script, the emergence of dominant and rare combinations in language and script mixing and the dominance of English language and Urdu script in print and digital advertisements in Pakistan.
6.1.1 Overlapping

Overlapping boundaries between English and Urdu is illustrated in detail in Chapter 4. The data analysis points out that the overlapping of language boundaries in the Categories 14 \( [(E&U)L + ESy + US] \) and 17 \( [(E&U)L + USy + US] \) occurs at the level of simple Noun phrases (NPs) and Adjective phrase (AdjPs) of English and Urdu. This overlapping at the syntactic level reflects the overlapping or diffusion of English and Urdu languages as a result of language contact. As a result, grammar of hybrid languages emerges with features of both languages. It is well known that in print and digital media in Pakistan many technical and formulaic expressions are borrowed directly from English and have become part of Urdu discourses in Pakistan in various professional and technical disciplines. My research shows that the borrowing from English into Urdu is not restricted to the lexicon but extends to syntax at the level of simple NPs and AdjPs. The only difference between Categories 14 and 17 is syntactic, as shown in the combinations noted above. During my data analysis, it was often difficult to determine whether the syntax is Urdu or English because of the overlap between English and Urdu syntax. Also, the similarity in word order between simple NPs and AdjPs in Urdu and English generates more overlapping from the reception point of view. Such overlapping has emerged as a prominent feature of mixed or hybrid language in advertising discourse in Pakistan, most likely due to language contact.

6.1.2 Dominance of Mixed / Hybrid language

Another major finding of my research is the important relation between mixed or hybrid language and hybrid discourse as a linguistic and discursive development of modernity and globalisation in Pakistan. Discussing South Korean media discourse, Lee (2006, p. 65) claims that ‘the innovative use of English in Korean TV commercials is not merely an attention-getter. It is used to express Korean-English bilinguals’ engagement with modernity’. We make a similar case for English and Urdu in Pakistan. Graph 4.1 in Chapter 4 shows the dominance of hybrid language in print and digital advertising discourse in Pakistan. Out of 18 possible categories of language mixing, only Category 1 (English phrases written in Roman script) and Category 11 (Urdu phrases written in Urdu script) are not hybrid.
Category 1 is English phrases written in Roman script; Category 11 is Urdu phrases written in Urdu script. All other categories are hybrid in terms of code, syntax and script mixing. Although Categories 1 and 11 do not contribute toward the hybridity and complexity at the level of phrase or clause, they do contribute toward hybridity at the level of discourse. Each advertisement in my database contains English phrases/clauses, Urdu phrases / clauses and many hybrid or mixed phrases/clauses. While Hybrid or mixed phrases/clauses increase the linguistic hybridity, English and/or Urdu phrases/clauses, such as in Categories 1 and 11, contribute towards hybridity at the discursive level by establishing the monolingual and monoliterate norms in individual advertisements as one pole of discursive representations.

We also find hybridity in the advertising discourse at the micro levels of code, matrix and script. In Chapter 4, I have shown in detail that English and Urdu lexicons, syntax and scripts are mixed thoroughly in all the advertisements. In each category either one or two of these variables (code, matrix and script) are hybrid while in Categories 16, 17 and 18 all of the three variables are hybrid making the advertisements complex linguistically, syntactically, semantically, discursively and at the level of script. Such hybrid complexity raises intriguing questions about cognitive processing and linguistic complexity which I intend to study further.

Language mixing in commercial advertising discourse in Pakistan is a manifestation of global advertising practice and in turn a representation and effect of globalisation. Bhatia (2006, p. 615) argues that ‘language mixing in general and the mixing of world Englishes in particular is an unwritten law of international advertising which enables international advertisers to optimize the strength and the appeal of their message in terms of audience identity construction, product branding, and socio-psychological rendering of both audience and products’. The use of mixed language in the advertising discourse is also an expression of ‘glocalization’. Advertisers bridge the gap between the local and the global by the strategy of ‘glocalization; using local languages and scripts along with English to reach the masses (Bhatia, 2006).
6.1.3 Dominance of Urdu Script

One intriguing result of my analysis is the frequent and popular combination of English vocabulary (nouns, adjectives and sometimes verbs) with Urdu script in Pakistani advertising (see Chapter 4, graphs 4.2 and 4.3). The use of Urdu script in the advertisements does not necessarily entail the higher use of Urdu language in the data; rather, Urdu script is used to write mainly mixed language as well as Urdu or English, although less frequently. Graph 4.3 shows the distribution of lexicons in the data, where mixed lexicons are 45%, English lexicon are 36% and Urdu lexicons used in the ads at the level of phrases and clauses are only 19%. The percentages of scripts and lexicons used in the phrases and clauses show that mainly Urdu script is used to write mixed lexicons in the advertisements.

Before starting this research project I assumed that Roman script would be popular in the advertisements since names of products and services advertised are written in Roman script in almost all the advertisements. Roman script in the advertisements is important in that it contributes toward making the whole advertising discourse hybrid and complex on the macro level. However, on the micro level Urdu script is hiding the mixed language usage at the level of the lexicon. In certain combinations, the hybridity at the level of lexicon is coercive. For instance, in some dominant categories in the data, Categories 2, 14, and 17, Urdu script is used to write mixed or hybrid language whereas in Categories 3, 15 and 18 mixed scripts are used. The strategic use of Urdu script to write mixed or hybrid language in majority of the advertisements makes them coercively hybrid at the level of lexicon and further makes the advertisements appear to be in Urdu language rather than mixed language.

There are several reasons to why advertisers might use Urdu script in advertisements to write mixed language. The main reason is the advertisements’ target audience. The current literacy rate in Pakistan is approximately 57% which means 57% of the population are most likely Urdu readers and writers. According to surveys, only a very small percentage of Pakistanis can read and write English in Roman script. Therefore, many English words and phrases are written or transliterated in Urdu in the digital and print media. This is not true just for technical words but also for many English nouns, verbs and adjectives frequently used in daily life. A person from the middle or lower middle class knows the meaning of these words by their frequent use on electronic and print media even if he or she cannot read them in
Roman script. Thus majority of people from middle and lower middle class possess an oral knowledge of English vocabulary, which is accessible in literate contexts when written in Urdu in print and digital media.

6.1.4 Complex Script Processing

Another finding of my research is how reading a hybrid or mixed language written in mixed script requires a complex script processing and looping strategy in many cases. Usually, English script is processed from left to right, while Urdu script is processed from right to left. When both the scripts are used in a single phrase or clause, the reader needs to process the script in both directions (left to right and right to left) within a phrase or clause almost simultaneously, but still linearly. A non-proficient user of either English, Urdu or both will probably find it difficult to process both the scripts simultaneously within a single phrase of clause. Proficient users of both English and Urdu, such as myself, can process the English-Urdu hybrid script more easily. However, because of extensive mixing of both English and Urdu scripts in the advertising discourse, it becomes difficult to process the hybrid script even for a frequent user like me. Which shows the higher degree of cognitive processing required at the level of mixed script processing. During micro analysis, I sometimes was confused when processing hybrid script. For instance, example 8 of Category 18, which is explained and analysed in detail in Chapter 4, is very complex example of hybrid script.

Looping is a key strategy for complex script processing as shown in example 1 of Category 15 in Chapter 4. In addition to left to right and right to left, script processing also goes from top to bottom within a single clause. For instance, Example 1 of Category 15 (Chapter 4) starts with the English phrase ‘Hunt for Heroes’ reads left to right and then goes down to the next line and is read from right to left for the next Urdu phrase [‘No Samjhota’ (No compromise)]. Within the phrase ‘No Samjhota’ the script processing again goes from left to right for the word ‘No’ and for right to left for the word ‘samjhota’.

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Another rare but significant trend in the data is writing Urdu phrases in Roman script in the advertisements. Mostly, Urdu phrases and clauses are written in either Urdu script or mixed script, but there are three examples (Category 10) in the data in which Urdu is also written in Roman script. These examples are:

1. Khas Chai EVERYDAY (special tea everyday)
2. Bol kay suno (Say and listen to what you want)
3. Mahana khazana (monthly treasure)

I have labelled this type of combination ‘Anglicized Urdu’. Although the usage of ‘Anglicized Urdu’ is rare, it plays an important role in the individual advertisements when used. Writing Urdu in Roman script makes the Roman script socially and linguistically significant and salient in the advertisements. Some parts appear to be written in English. The use of Anglicized Urdu also suggests the advertiser is writing some Urdu phrases in Roman script to balance the ratio of English and Urdu scripts and make a particular advertisement attractive and appear modern for the target audience.

6.1.5 Hybridity at the Level of Discourse

My analysis also reveals the complexities of hybrid usage at the level of discourse (Chapter 5, macro analysis) by exploring the advertisements from the perspective of three-way notion of discourse as action, representation and identification (Fairclough, 2003). First, the hybrid commercial advertising discourses analysed are actions (speech genres) articulating a modernization and globalisation of consumer culture in Pakistan in terms of multisemioticity, multimodality, dialogicality, and intertextuality. Furthermore, these speech genres or actions
of hybridity are linked on various scales ranging from the local to the national, regional and global with influence on generational identities and cultural changes within Pakistani society.

Second, the hybrid commercial advertising discourses in Pakistan (as discussed in Chapter 5) also reflect socio-cultural hybridity, modernization and globalisation within society. Several discourses are mixed with advertising discourses. In particular, conversational and academic discourses are mixed to create authority or ‘facticity’ as part of the commercial appeal. The advertisements also produce dominant or modern images or frames for various social practices (parenting, cooking, banking, expressing love, etc.) within the domain of commercial advertising.

Third, the hybrid commercial advertising discourses produce some new identities and subjectivities as part of socially circulated images. These identities and subjectivities point to new Pakistani identities particularly centred on middle class women and young people, the dominant target groups within consumer markets worldwide and the audiences for most advertising campaigns. As such, the hybrid advertisements prefigure new globalised identities as powerful forces within the glocal environment.

However, within macro analysis, one use of Urdu is associated with local prestige, nationalism and Muslim identity. Urdu functions as a symbol of both national and Muslim identity in Pakistan (see Chapter 5). The advertisements, advertising for ‘pilgrimage to Makkah’, ‘Islamic mobile service’ and ‘Islamic banking’, are full of Urdu language and script. In addition to Muslim identity, national identity is promoted by the use of Urdu extensively in Telenor, Ufone, First Women Bank and in some PTCL advertisements. The exclusive use of Urdu in these advertisements symbolizes local and national pride and Muslim identity making them different from the rest of the data and highlighting the relationship of Urdu with Islam and nationalism in Pakistan.

6.2 Implications and Significance of My Research

Mixed or hybrid language is emerging as a distinct written variety in the Pakistani sociolinguistic scene. The emergence of mixed language in advertising and other discourses
is linked with the representation of mixed or hybrid cultural practices in Pakistani society. The representation of globalisation and postmodernity in Pakistani print and digital advertising connects Pakistan with a globalised social and commercial network. Pakistani hybrid written usage also reflects the values and beliefs associated with globalisation and modernity, which are increasingly valued and are helping shape contemporary Pakistani society.

The macro analysis in particular highlights the representation and construction of modern youth identities of Pakistan through mixed / hybrid language varieties and the importance of English as a social marker. The analysis emphasizes how modern youth identities are linked to the global youth identities and global citizenship in the modernized and globalised world (Dorneyi, 2009). Furthermore, the macro analysis correlates the mixed language usage with Pakistani youth and an increasingly modernized middle class as the target audience of the advertisements. More than 65 % of the population of Pakistan is below thirty-five years of age, and these advertisements are designed for and shaping the linguistic identities of young audiences in Pakistan and the young, ‘English-knowing bilingual middle class’ in India (2005, 2008, p. 179).

The dominance of Urdu script in the advertising discourse for writing mixed language leads to different pronunciations of English words and phrases when read by proficient and non-proficient users of English in Pakistan (see Chapter 3, section 3.3 for detail). Because vowel sounds in English and Urdu are different, the pronunciation of English words and phrases when transliterated in Urdu is accommodated and compromised. My research suggests some causes for varying and different pronunciations of English words which results from Urdu orthography. I plan to investigate this phenomenon in language contact and emerging varieties further in the future.

The issue of different pronunciations of English words and phrases is directly related to the marginalization and stigmatization of those speakers in Pakistani society not well trained and educated in English. The emergent and Pakistani-specific pronunciations of English words, often produced by Urdu orthography, leads to certain negative language attitudes among dominant Pakistani speakers of English, who marginalize and stigmatize other less anglicized members of Pakistani society. These issues need to be addressed in socio-linguistic research.
in order to help raise awareness of these attitudes and how detrimental they can be for building a modern, multilingual society. Critical sociolinguistic research can help develop more enlightened language attitudes among the public regarding variable usage and the distinctiveness of Pakistani English.

The phenomenon of overlapping between English and Urdu syntax and the emergence of a mixed English-Urdu language in Pakistan manifest aspects of language borrowing and language change. English-Urdu mixed language emerges from the borrowing of both English and Urdu words and syntactic features as a result of language contact. As I have shown, this mixed language is becoming a distinct written variety in print and digital contexts in Pakistan.

Research showing the high ratio of English and Urdu mixing in advertising discourse and the linguistic consequences of such mixing can potentially contribute to a different approach to language policy in Pakistan. Policy makers can use such analyses as a basis for devising a more balanced language policy in Pakistan, one which gives equal importance to English and Urdu literacy in Pakistan.

English is a significant language for the development of literacy in Pakistan. Since Pakistan came into being as a nation-state, English has become a symbol of prestige, elite status and education in Pakistan. As my research shows, English is no longer only the language of the moneyed and ruling elite. It is also becoming the language of knowledge elite and middle-class discourse, in commercial and social contexts (Rahman, 2002). Advertising discourse and its mixed language targets the middle class and especially the younger Pakistanis. English-Urdu mixed language is becoming a new empowering language especially among the middle class youth and the more glocalized public. Policy makers might recognize how mixed language can be a key to making English as well as Urdu literacy more accessible to the lower classes.
6.3 Research Caveats

Almost one third (124) of the print and digital advertisements in my database (344) analysed in this thesis are from the telecommunication companies and banking sector. These telecom and banking advertisements use many English technical terms and formulaic expressions which are transliterated into Urdu, but such mixing is not restricted to the telecom and banking advertisements. Other advertisements from categories such as clothing, shoes, jewellery, food, beauty products, automobiles, fertilizers also use mixed language and mixed script. Although results of micro analysis (Chapter 4) heavily rely on the telecom and banking advertisements, the ratio of language mixing in other categories cannot be ignored, since they forms two thirds of the entire database.

Contrary to the telecom and banking advertisements collected from Urdu newspapers, all the telecom and banking ads collected from English newspapers are entirely in English, but I have not included those advertisements in my database as they are not hybrid in terms of language mixing. English, as opposed to mixed language, is dominant in these advertisements in English newspapers. The data shows how in Pakistan the English language use exclusively is associated with elitist identities. The English-language newspapers target the highly and formally educated elite and upper middle classes. Urdu newspapers target middle and lower middle classes and advertisers use mixed language in the advertisements to influence and persuade the targeted middle class and youth.

6.4 Further Analyses of Mixed Language Texts

This thesis contributes to our understanding of how mixed language emerges and functions in spoken and written contexts. It also suggests avenues for further research. The phenomenon of looping in the complex script processing is very interesting and deserves further study. I want to explore such cognitive processes in other language contact situations and across time and investigate how bilinguals (Urdu and English) process such written mixed languages. The psycholinguistics of such complex script processing may open up deeper understanding of literacy in multilingual societies.
My analysis of overlapping boundaries of Urdu and English NPs and AdjPs also suggests several directions for future research. I am especially interested to explore whether the overlapping is restricted to simple NPs and AdjPs, as shown in this research, or whether it also encompasses complex phrases and other grammatical categories in both English and Urdu.

**Borrowing** is another important feature of hybrid use and language contact. In this research, I have focused on transliteration of English in Urdu. A further study could be devoted to lexical, morphological and grammatical borrowing of English into Urdu. For instance, there are instances of lexical and morphological borrowing in some contemporary comedy TV programs in Pakistan, and I plan to work on borrowing in media contexts. Just to give one example here regarding morphological borrowing from English to Urdu: The characters ‘Azizi’ from a political satire/parody talk show caricatures a popular film and TV actress ‘Meera’. The film actress is known for speaking English awkwardly, and she is marginalized and made fun of across Pakistani media. In one episode, the talk show host/character makes fun of the actress by pronouncing the word ‘tanqeedize’. The proper Urdu word is ‘tanqeed’, equivalent to English ‘criticize’. The English derivational morpheme ‘–ize’ is attached to the end of the Urdu word ‘tanqeed’ creating the hybrid form ‘tanqeedize’ which sounds like ‘criticize’. The host/character produces a hybrid form according to the procedures I have outlined in this thesis, regular procedures for language mixing, but he does so to satirize the speech of ‘Meera’. Language borrowing is linked to language attitudes, marginalization and stigmatization of certain individuals in the society, but the situations and contexts determine how those values are implemented.

**Pronunciation** is one of the interesting and important areas to research in language mixing in Pakistan. Pronunciation of English words based on Urdu Orthography can be analysed and language attitudes can be studied associated with various pronunciations of the same word.

**An attitudinal survey** of speakers can be conducted, using these advertisements, to understand their responses to and views of language mixing. Due to time constraints in the present research project, I have had to leave this part of the project for a later time. As a native Pakistani, I have observed both negative and positive attitudes towards language
mixing in Pakistan (as discussed in Chapter 3). An rich attitudinal survey will distinguish age groups, social status, and backgrounds more finely.

In addition, a longitudinal study can also be conducted to determine changes to the advertising strategies and languages mixing in two products whose advertisements are in the database. Such a study should be revealing to show as to whether the rate and types of language mixing in Pakistani advertising discourse have changed over time.
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Appendix A

Advertisements for table 4.2 and graph 4.1
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پیسے نہیں کوئی جواب دیکھیں وہ معلومات بہت بیاں ہے جسے اس فہرست میں لیکھا ہے۔

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لکڑ پاتی 5% نازع
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"The Daily Jang" (7 Feb, 2010)
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Advertisement No: 3

*Surveyed at the Jeddah International Dermatology & Cosmetics Conference in March 09
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Fluoride Toothpaste
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Great Regular Flavor
LiquiCAlciun

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Appendix D

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