Abstract

Indigenization of English, especially in the creative writings of the former colonized countries, is an established phenomenon that is taking ever new forms and gaining popular
currency with the spread of postcolonial literatures around the world. Apart from the colonial experience, globalization and immigration are two other shaping forces that are contributing to the emergence of such works that appropriate English and incorporate the cultural sensibilities of the non-English societies.

The linguistic abrogation is the postcolonial writers’ rejection of the notion of a singular, Standard English. Postcolonial writing pursues this agenda. However appropriate may be the dominant language to capture and describe the local reality, the Standard English is no more the language of cultural imperialism.

Most of the times, in cross-cultural texts, it is the parenthetic translation of individual words that indicates the cultural difference. Such glosses indicate an implicit gap between the word and the referent. This gap turns the glossed word into a cultural sign. Another strategy of conveying the sense of cultural distinctiveness is leaving the words un-translated. Sometimes such words are left un-glossed with a context to give their meaning. In postcolonial texts, this political act of leaving the words un-translated indicates that the text is written in an ‘other’ language. Some postcolonial writers fuse the linguistic structures of two languages generating an ‘inter-culture’. Further, a blend of local language syntax with the lexical forms of English is also frequent in postcolonial writings.

Code-switching is the most common strategy of appropriating the language. Kachru sorted out some other strategies of appropriation – lexical innovations, translation equivalence, contextual redefinition, as well as rhetorical and functional styles. While the researchers of the present study, taking their cue from the strategies of language appropriation as pointed out by Kachru and Ashcroft et.al., have applied them to Khalid Hosseini’s novel *A Thousand Splendid Suns* (2007), they have discovered two new linguistic strategies in Hosseini’s novel.

**Keywords:** Language appropriation; Hosseini; *A Thousand Splendid Suns*; Postcolonial literature/English.
Introduction

The colonial experience left indelible marks on the cultures and languages of both the colonized and the colonizers. This has been famously theorized by Bhabha (1994) and sufficiently debated since. In the wake of colonization, the subsequent beginnings of the post-imperial age, globalization via the United Nations, and increasing interdependence of nations due to world trade agreements, English (and other colonialist languages) brought about a cultural and economic paradigm shift throughout the world.

In response to these changes and shifts, some postcolonial writers like Ngugi (1986) opposed the use of colonial languages for cultural expression or educational purposes, considering them a ‘cultural bomb’ (p. 3). He took a radical stance and considered English as a ‘means of spiritual subjugation’ and imperial domination (p. 9). On the other hand, writers like Wole Soyinka advocated of writing back to the Empire.

Thus a substantial body of creative cultural writings began to emerge in the former colonies as well as in the former colonial metropolitan centres. Such postcolonial writers devised linguistic strategies to express the indigenous themes. Achebe (1975), for instance, altered the colonial language considering that it can “carry the weight of [his] African experience” (p. 103).

Since Achebe’s groundbreaking linguistic experimentation, English has been adapted, appropriated and turned into numerous varieties by the postcolonial creative writers. In this regard, the contributions of such writers as Ngugi, Rushdie, Sidhwa, Khushwant Singh, Arundhati Roy, Khaled Hosseini, and others are massive. Interestingly some of these varieties have ceased to be varieties of English; they have been rather accepted as separate languages. African-American Vernacular English (AAVE) or Ebonics is a case in point which was earlier considered to be a ‘corrupt’ form of American English but now is accepted as a language as good as any other (Fasold, 1999; Louden, 2000, etc.).

There are different strategies of appropriation that gave birth to varieties of ‘englishes’. Some postcolonial writers fused the linguistic structures of two languages generating an ‘inter-culture’ – a term coined by Nemser and Selinker (as cited in Ashcroft et Language in India www.languageinindia.com
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Further, a blend of local language syntax with the lexical forms of English is also frequent in postcolonial writings. Code-switching is the most common strategy of appropriating the language (Ashcroft, et al 2002). Furthermore, Kachru (1983) sorted out some other strategies of appropriation – lexical innovations, translation equivalence, contextual redefinition and rhetorical and functional styles.

**Language Appropriation: A Strategy of Cultural Assertion**

Appropriation is an important component of Postcolonial studies. It is a process which reconstitutes the language of the centre to express the ‘differing cultural experiences’ (Ashcroft et al, 2002, p. 38). It seizes the language of the centre and replaces it in ‘a discourse fully adapted to the colonized place’ (p. 37). Zabus also considers abrogation and appropriation conscious strategies of decolonization where ‘writing with an accent’ serves to convey ideological variance (2007, p. xvi).

English “has often been felt to lack those virtues of warmth, sincerity, and local dignity associated with the minority languages” (Leith, 1983, p. 155). Now on the one hand, it is necessary to use English in order to take advantage of its status and scope, and on the other hand, to convey all the cultural meanings attached to virtues of warmth, sincerity, and local dignity which English lacks and the minority languages carry. Thus one purpose of appropriation is to bring all these virtues into English.

Sometimes English language is unconsciously appropriated by the non-native users. Joseph (2006) is of the view that a language undergoes a change because of the interference of mother tongue with its inherent resistance. Thus when a writer from a non-native country would produce something in English, there must be some changes under the influence of their mother tongue.

Pertaining to the development/spread of English(es), Omoniyi (2009) identifies two schools of thought – Manfred Gorlach School of English World-Wide (EWW) focusing on the nature of deviation of the varieties from native speakers and Kachru School of `World Englishes (WE) perceiving the spread of English, its indigenization and appropriation as
political and ideological (p. 172-173). Hosseini’s linguistic appropriation seems to belong to the later school of thought. Schooled in the West, he appropriates the colonizer’s language which appears to be political and ideological in nature.

**Appropriation in Postcolonial Writings**

Many writers from the formerly colonized countries have been appropriating language in their literary works. Achebe (2003) in his essay *The African Writer and the English Language* advocates his approach to English language and gives example from *Arrow of God* where he appropriates the language by using expressions like “I want one of my sons to join these people and be my eyes there.” and on another place he reproduced this Africanized version as “I am sending you as my representative among these people” (p. 62).

Kachru notes that the theoretical grounds of Englishization are almost the same in Asia and Africa, but the linguistic innovations are culturally specific. He considers the above given linguistic innovation as one specific to African culture. In another place, Ashcroft et al (2002) finds Rastafarians adopting various strategies to impart freedom to language from the abstractions, altering Jamaican Creole in different ways. In Jamaican Creole, *me* is usually used for first person singular. However, Rastafarians, considering *me* to be dominated by the subject, prefer using *I* for the personal pronoun (p. 47-48).

We have listed here the strategies of language appropriation as pointed out by Kachru (1983) and Ashcroft et al. (2002).
Historical Context of Hosseini’s Novel

For centuries, Afghanistan has been on the crossroads of history and the cusp of cultures. Due to the Russian occupation from 1979 to 1989, and the subsequent Taliban rule, millions of Afghans fled their country and have been living in many countries, most notably in Pakistan. The resultant cultural and linguistic hybridity is a natural outcome of this history of displacements and migrations. The literature of Afghanistan, particularly written since the coming into power of the Taliban in the early 1990s, could not remain unaffected by the historical, socio-political and cultural milieu which has left its deep influence on the people of Afghanistan.
Afghanistan’s literary history, like its physical history, reflects centuries of influence by neighboring countries and scholars and writers of invading countries, yet the product in its final form is altered, and is made unique by the counter influence of the people who absorbed and learned it and then changed it to fit their chosen style of expression (Emadi, 2005, p. 81).

Hosseini, in his latest novel, gives an inside view and depicts the situation before and during the Taliban rule. It is significant that *A Thousand Splendid Suns*, while dealing with the plight of women in Afghanistan, opens with an emphasis on Mariam’s hearing the word *harami* (illegitimate child) for the first time when she is only five (p.3).

**Analysis of the Strategies of Appropriation Used in *A Thousand Splendid Suns***

The language strategies that various postcolonial writers have been using to appropriate the English language have been studied by Kachru and Ashcroft, et al. as listed in the table above. Now we analyze them one by one with reference to their use in *A Thousand Splendid Suns* by Hosseini.

1. **Glossing**

   It is the explanatory comment attached to a text. It can be a word, a sentence or a clause, qualifying the non-English word. It is one of the most common devices used by authors in cross-cultural texts. The glossed words are the manifestation of cultural distance. As noted above, Hosseini has deliberately used the word *harami* in the very first sentence of the novel. Obviously, most English speaking western readers are not likely to be aware of the meaning of this word. However, when the writer repeatedly uses it, the readers gather the meaning in context and feel the sting attached to it:

   You are a clumsy little *harami*. This is my reward for everything I've endured.
   An heirloom-breaking, clumsy little *harami*. (p. 4)

   The writer first wants the reader to understand it unaided and does the glossing in its fourth occurrence. Apart from this being a language strategy, it may also be noted that the
intensity attached to this word in an Eastern society like Afghanistan may not be the same as in most European and American societies. Therefore, the use of *harami* significantly differs from its Standard English counterparts/alternatives like ‘bastard’ and euphemistic expressions like ‘love child’ as it entails a vast cultural/religious background embedded in social norms and beliefs. Further, a child born out of wedlock, in the US for instance, may be legitimized if the couple decides to register their relationship even after the birth of the baby; but in societies like the one under discussion, it is not accepted generally.

The novelist leaves the word *Kolba* (p. 3) unglossed in the beginning. When he glosses it, he is not content with a single word; rather, he places it in context, thereby constructing meaning around the word. Then finally the way of its construction is elaborated which installs a gap between *Kolba* and hut:

In the clearing, Jalil and two of his sons, Farhad and Muhsin, built the small *kolba* where Mariam would live the first fifteen years of her life. They raised it with sun-dried bricks and plastered it with mud and handfuls of straw. It had two sleeping cots, a wooden table, two straight-backed chairs, a window, and shelves nailed to the walls where Nana placed clay pots and her beloved Chinese tea set. (p. 10)

This description highlights the implicit gap between the word ‘Kolba’ and hut.

The writer has also glossed some words in reversed order. This seems to be an intentional attempt to reverse the positions accorded to both the languages. Usually a native word is used and glossed with a close alternative in English. For example, ‘an *inqilab*, a revolution’ (p. 101-102), ‘Didi? You see?’ (p. 6), ‘*Chup ko*. Shut up,’ (p. 89). However, in such examples as ‘Thank you. I'm sorry. *Tashakor*’ (p. 55), ‘my flower, my *gul*’ (p. 207), ‘the queen, the *malika*’ (p. 200), reverse glossing is adopted. Here where the glossed words convey more than their English equivalents.

2. Un-translated words
This device (leaving words unglossed/untranslated) allows the selection of certain untranslated lexical items to keep the cultural distinctiveness intact. This device gets additional importance by the fact that it not only highlights the difference between cultures but also points to the effectiveness of discourse in explaining cultural concepts, actively involving the readers with the contexts to find meanings.

Hosseini makes extensive use of un-translated words. A word peculiar to the writer’s culture is *Jinn* (p. 3) with an altogether different concept in South Asia when compared with its meanings in English speaking societies. *Jinn*, in South Asian countries, is considered to be an invisible power possessing an individual thereby making him follow his dictates, as it happens to Mariam’s mother, Nana, who commits suicide. Nana expresses her apprehensions even before committing this extreme act: “I will die if you go. The *jinn* will come and I will have one of my fits. You will see, I will swallow my tongue and die” (p. 26). This state of mind springs from a whole worldview and faith system. Therefore, for most western readers (and for many educated people even in Afghanistan and Pakistan), it would only be superstitious to believe in such supernatural creatures. Perhaps for this reason, Hosseini has used this word instead of Ghost or witch or fairy.

Similarly, since the action of the novel is located in a Muslim society, he uses religious terms such as *azan* (p. 56), *muezzin* (p. 157), *namaz* (p. 15) and *sajda* (p. 75). These terms do not have their equivalents in English language, though *azan* can be translated as ‘a call for prayer’ yet doing so will not convey its full associated religious significance.

He also employs words like *burqa* (p. 59), *hijab* (p. 20), *pakol* (p. 123), *chapans* (p. 29), *tumbans* (p. 183), etc. There is a variation in *burqa* and *hijab*. *Burqa* is a long garment, shaped as a shuttlecock that is used by many women in Afghanistan and parts of Pakistan to cover their bodies from the male gaze; *hijab* is a piece of cloth covering head and face only. In English, however, we do not find exact equivalents for these terms.

The use of word *Kichiri Rice* (p. 15) is intentional as the writer finds no apt English substitute. *Halwa* (p. 223), *kofta* (p. 145), *oush soup* (p. 145), *daal* (p. 62), *sabzi* (p. 15), *qurma* (p. 71), etc are some other words from the South Asian cuisine with a characteristic...
native tint. Since these are cultural-specific words, they remain untranslated, just as in the Continental cuisine, the names of French and Italian dishes are retained as such. Replacing such terms with two or three words to explain makes no sense and even then the concept remains vague. The word *halwa*, for instance, can be translated in English as a sweet/dessert like pudding but this explanation fails to make one understand what *halwa* is.

3. Syntactic Fusion

It is the combination of two different linguistic structures mixing the syntax of local language with the lexical forms of English. It results from the influence of two linguistic structures. In the postcolonial text, neologisms, ‘an important sign of the coextensivity between language and cultural space’, is a particular form of syntactic fusion which emphasizes that words do not embody cultural essence as new lexical forms in English may be evolved employing the linguistic structures of the mother tongue.

Syntactic Fusion is another strategy that Hosseini has employed in the novel. He makes use of plurals like *chapans* (p. 38), *hamwatans* (p. 92), *wahshis* (p. 283), *garis* (p. 28) and *haramis* (p. 100). Here the author uses native words, though applying the syntactic and grammatical rules of English.

4. Codeswitching

It is the method of switching between two or more codes in the process of appropriation thereby bringing change in the modes of expression. This device is used by polydialectical writers and serves as an interweaving mode of illustration.

The choice of a particular language code by a multilingual author is an indication that the selected code is the most appropriate for the given occasion. Thus in *A Thousand Splendid Suns*, the author’s preference in switching to local languages of Afghanistan on some occasions indicates their suitability and appropriateness to describe those situations. Hosseini uses the strategy of codeswitching employing its different types – intersentential, intra-sentential or intra-word and tag switching. The author has the advantage of being a
multilingual himself. He, at times, does codeswitching between English and Persian or Pushto or Arabic codes.

4.1. **Intersentential Codeswitching**

Most of the examples of codeswitching found in the novel belong to intersentential codeswitching which occur at the boundary of a clause or sentence confirming the rules of both the languages. For instance, instead of giving only a translation of a patriotic song, the author prefers to codeswitch and presents verses of Ustad Awal Mir’s Pashto song first:

\[
\text{Da ze ma ziba watan, da ze ma dada watan. This is our beautiful land, this is our beloved land. (p. 151)}
\]

Instead of adapting the couplet into English, the author’s deliberate choice to use it in its original form is part of his political-cultural stance throughout the novel, satiating his own instinctive inclinations towards his culture which may not be satisfactorily expressed in any other language.

Likewise, on other occasions in the novel the author expresses the deep religio-cultural convention permeated in the Afghan society. “He raised his hand.” *Salaam, Khala Jan.*” (p. 60)

The greeting ‘salaam’ is deeply rooted in the Islamic culture of Afghanistan and saying ‘khala jan’ is a strong indicator of the family bonds in this traditional society. The following expressions also bring out the psyche of various characters in the novel. “*La illah u ilillah. What did I say about the crying?”* (p. 58). While *la illah u ilillah* (means *there is no God but Allah*) and *Wallah o billah* are Arabic utterances, they are used here as exclamations, signifying amazement, disbelief, and anger. It is an expression of the characters’ close Islamic orientation, deeply embedded in their language. Similarly, when a Talib makes an announcement on radio, he says, “*Listen. Listen well. Obey. Allah-u-akbar*” (p. 249). Instead of using the English translation of Allah o Akbar, *God is great*, the writer prefers to
codeswitch to the actual expression which is in fact a slogan, and signifier of strength and power in Muslim discourse.

On another occasion, Hosseini codeswitches and writes *zendabaad Taliban* before giving its translation: “On it, someone had painted three words in big, black letters: zenbaad taliban! Long live the Taliban!” (p. 246).

The author wants the readers to see the proclamation as it is written – in a language other than English. Likewise, he codeswitches inter-sententially in a number of other places in the novel such as:

“‘You woke up the baby.’ Then more sharply, ‘Khosh shodi? Happy now?’” (p. 213)

"'No, na fahmidi, you don't understand.’” (p. 41)

It is important to note how the writer separates the deliberate use of codeswitching in writing from its reflexive use in speaking.

4.2. **Intra-sentential Codeswitching**

Further there are some examples of intra-sentential codeswitching that is within a clause or sentence boundary or mixing within a word boundary:

For the last two years, Laila had received the *awal numra* certificate, given yearly to the top-ranked student in each grade. (p. 103)

*Bismallah-e-rahman-e-rahims*, (p. 317)

Salaam alaykums. (p. 351)

Since no equivalents of these religious/cultural expressions are possible in English, the writer retains them as such in the text.
4.3. Tag-switching

Insertion of discourse markers or Tag-switching is also found in the novel: “That it was my fault. Didi?” (p. 6). *Didi* has been used here in place of a discourse marker ‘you see’.

5. Lexical Innovation

It includes the lexicalization of various types in the text. One notable method of doing so is borrowing local words into English and combining the words from two distinct lexical sources (Kachru, 1980). There are three types of lexical innovations: Single Items, Hybridized Items (Hybrid Collocations, Hybrid Lexical Set(s), Hybrid ordered series of words and Hybrid Reduplication) and Lexical Diffusion. Hybridized Items are lexical items ‘comprised of two or more elements, at least one of which is from a South Asian language and one from English’ (Kachru, n.d.).

All the examples of lexical innovation in the novel are hybridized lexical items which can further be divided into three categories depending on the purpose they fulfill. In the first place, there are hybridized lexical items where the author chooses one element from the native language(s) to characterize the other element from English. Both the elements may otherwise be used as alternatives to each other and are considered identical in meanings as they convey largely the same meanings in their own contexts. Consider the example: *namaz* prayers (p. 15). The intent of the author, on the one hand, is to explain that the prayer he mentions is a specific type of a formal prayer of the Muslims. On the other hand, this hybridized item highlights the inherent disjuncture between the use of *only* prayers and that of *Namaz*. Further, this type of lexical innovation provides a scope for the coexistence of two otherwise divergent linguistic systems and cultural hybridization. Further examples are: ‘*tasbeh* rosary’ (p. 16), ‘*chapli* kababs’ (p. 337) ‘*inqilabi* girl’ (p. 101) (revolutionary girl). Similarly, ‘mule-drawn *garis*’(p. 28) is an innovation to convey the type of vehicle (*gari*). ‘*Khatm* dinner’ (p. 124), ‘*bulbul* bird’ (p. 16), ‘*spinach* sabzi’ (p. 15) and ‘*kichiri* rice’ (p. 15), are some other examples in this category.
Thirdly, there are some examples of hybrid reduplication where the author uses the elements from both native language and English, conveying same meanings. Consider the example: ‘dohol drums’ (p. 9). However, dohol and drums signify two different cultural backgrounds connoting the inability of a lexical item from one linguistic system to represent another. Shahnai flute (p. 9) is another example in this context.

6. **Translation Equivalence**

The use of Translation Equivalence allows the author to infuse the native beliefs, perceptions, setting and the way of taking things found in the belief space of the audience. Postcolonial politics of culture is inherent in the very refusal of separating the ‘event on a place’ from the ‘language of the place’ used to convey or depict that event. Instead of saying …*until she became pregnant*, Hosseini prefers *Belly began to swell* (which is the literal translation of the Persian expression spoken in Northern Afghanistan, that is, *Shikam in zan bramadah*), as in “Nana had been one of the housekeepers. Until her belly began to swell” (p. 6).

The author underscores the difference between becoming pregnant and being with swollen belly. *Belly began to swell …* explains that though Nana does not declare that she is pregnant – believing it to be shameful and unlawful, her belly starts exposing her pregnancy. The estrangement of the expression in this example of translation equivalence marks the difference between the cultures of two languages under discussion.

The impossibility of creating a context and setting a character in it without the use of an appropriate language compels the author to use the following expressions:

Anyone tries to harm you, I'll rip out their liver and make them eat it. (p. 207)

I'll beat you until your mother's milk leaks out of your bones (p. 286).

In order to show the feelings of anger or revenge, Hosseini prefers to use the expressions *I'll rip out their liver and make them eat it* (again a literal translation of the actual Persian expression, *Man jigar shan na mekasham wa mekhranam shan*), and, *I'll beat you*.
until your mother's milk leaks out of your bones (Me khaham latat kanam takaha sheer motherat az astkhanhayat brayad). These are frequently used expressions in the characters’ native culture. The intent of the author in providing translation equivalents is to demonstrate the untranslatability of certain emotions and related behaviour.

Achebe, in the same way, appropriates English language applying the strategy of translation equivalence in his novel Arrow of God: I want one of my sons to join these people and be my eyes there. Here Achebe has appropriated the language by using expressions like “be my eyes there”. Achebe’s re-writing this Africanized version illustrates the difference between an English version and translation equivalence: I am sending you as my representative among these people… (Achebe, 2003, p. 61-62).

Apart from the above discussed strategies (by Ashcroft et. al. & Kachru), two more strategies of appropriation have been discovered by the researchers of this study that Hosseini has used.

7. Contextual Redefinition

The author adopts a new context that is too remote from the English speaking world to have the same definitions for all the terms. Therefore, in the process of language appropriation, he redefines some terms particularly those related to kinship as the kinship patterns in Afghanistan are quite different from the western society. For example, he uses the expression kaka for uncle, ‘khala jan’ (p. 60) for maternal aunt, ‘dukhtar jo’ (p. 32) for daughter, ‘aroos’ (p. 115) for daughter-in-law and ‘hamshera’ (p. 61) or ‘hamshireh’ (p. 66) for sister. These relations have different definitions in the locale of the novel.

The author’s deliberate use of such kinship terms aims to distinguish the family institution of Afghanistan from that in the Western societies. These kinship terms also reflect the elaborate system of family relations and strong family ties in the Afghan (and in almost all Asian societies). They may also indicate the profound respect and reverence present in the indigenous context besides highlighting the concept of extended and multigenerational family institution in Afghan society.
8. Indigenous Metonymy

The employment of indigenous metonymy allows the text to demonstrate the gap between the expressive capacity of English and everyday life experiences. ‘Riding the Rickshaw of Wickedness?’ is an indigenous expression which may not be comprehended without understanding the Afghan culture and society. Same is the case with other expressions used metonymically such as ‘river of sin’, ‘impiety cake’ ‘making sacrilege qurma (153)’ and dil as in “Jalil didn't have the dil either, Nana said, to do the honorable thing” (p.6). ‘Dil’ and ‘the Lion of Panjshir’ metaphorically signify bravery and courage which is an important code of honour in the patriarchal Afghan culture.

While the author could have adapted in English all the indigenous expressions, mentioned above, which have been used metonymically in the novel, he prefers not to replace them with their English counterparts as they may not communicate and convey the overall thrust of the message and the cultural significance they carry in their original composition.

9. Indigenous Discourse Markers

Discourse markers used in a particular language are largely specific to that very language and the society where they are spoken. In the novel under study, the use of indigenous markers in English language serves as social markers confirming their specificity to the local setting of the novel.


That it was my fault. Didi? You see? (p. 6)

Of the nine strategies of appropriation, devised by Ashcroft et al and Kachru, Khaled Hosseini has exploited seven in this novel, including glossing, untranslated words, syntactic fusion, code-switching, lexical innovation, translation equivalence, and contextual redefinition. However, there is no significant example of inter-language, rhetorical and functional styles. Further, two new strategies, indigenous metonymy and indigenous
discourse markers, have also been employed by Hosseini, in the opinion of the researchers of this study.

By the extensive as well as intensive use of language appropriation in the novel, Khaled Hosseini has established himself as a postcolonial writer, who has come up with indigenous cultural assertiveness by the deft use of language. Cultural assertion is communicated through the use of indigenous languages in the novel. The author, despite being educated in the West and well-versed in the use of English language, finds it indispensable to appropriate English while presenting the Afghan society and culture. Though he selects English to write about the people of Afghanistan (keeping in view an international audience), he breaks the boundaries of its words, phrases and sentences by inculcating expressions and syntax from the indigenous languages, to depict the society and culture. Also, Hosseini appropriates English to suit the purpose of depicting Afghan life, and attempts to enrich English language with linguistic items from the Persian language, making it more Arabicized and Persianized to carry the cultural experiences of Afghan society.

References


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