

## Code-Mixing in Pakistani Newsrooms: A Critical Perspective on Unfolding the Political Ideology

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### ABSTRACT

*This study provides insight into assumed phenomenon that code-mixing is being practiced by every multilingual and bilingual society and can be assuredly observed in all day to day conversations. Besides all other areas of society, it frequently occurs in media as well. This paper more specifically reports on code mixing done by the speakers in Pakistani Urdu news room talk shows. The data collected from selected news room talk shows tends to explore the strong influence, frequency and function of borrowed English vocabulary. The explorations also suggest that majority of the speakers use English vocabulary just to lay emphasis on some viewpoint to maintain their say, for direct linguistic avoidance and to show authority. Critical Discourse Analysis divulges that how choice of linguistic elements helps the speakers to convey such meanings which are always implicit for the listeners. Further it explores that how speakers practise wordplay to veil ideology and power. The work is based on Van Dijk's (2002) socio cognitive model of Critical Discourse Analysis. Findings reveal that how power and dominance is reflected in the language.*

**Keywords:** Code-mixing, Urdu Newsroom talk shows, dominant language, CDA, Power

### INTRODUCTION

Being multi-ethnic and multilingual state, people of Pakistan vary both ethnically and linguistically as “language practices are socially and politically embedded” (Heller, 2007: p.1).

Coining of new terminologies with the suffixes and prefixes of different languages and the adaptation of entirely new terms has always been and is still a consistent trait of Urdu. There are equivalents available in Urdu languages to an extent but this is also an undeniable fact that Urdu Language has insufficient vocabulary in some cases. Sometimes it lacks the particular terminology for some specific objects so a lot of linguistic items are borrowed from English language therefore Code-mixing or Code switching has become an indispensable part of Urdu language.

English enjoys an unrivalled standing being official language of Pakistan. It is also taken as the language of upper class and learned people so mixing of English code with Urdu language in both written and spoken discourses to show sophistication to show sophistication is a common practice.

“..using a language involves something that goes beyond the acquisition of structures and the ability to make appropriate choices in the realizations of the particular language functions.” (Yalden, 1987, p 39)

The blending of English language with Urdu is named as Code mixing or intra-sentential switching. In Code mixing speaker makes the frequent use of the vocabulary of any other language while using one language. It may be in the form of words or complete phrases or

short sentences. Muysken (2000:p.1) uses the term code mixing to refer to “all cases where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence

Code-Switching refers to the phenomenon of bilingualism in which speakers switch to any other language while using one language. As Mesthrie, Swann, Deumert & Leap (2000: p.146) define code-switching as a “switch back and forwards between languages, even during the same utterance”. Kachru (1978) differentiates code mixing from code switching in the following way:

Code switching refers to categorization of one’s verbal repertoire in the terms of functions and roles. (Kachru 1978)

On the other hand code mixing is a hybrid form and is regarded as extended borrowing:

Code-mixing entails extended borrowing. It is not used merely for supplementing lexical sets for contexts in which borrowing language has ‘lexical gaps’. The transfer for linguistic items is extended to units higher than single lexical items, e.g. groups, clauses, sentences, collocations, and idiom.’(kachru:1978)

## REVIEW OF THE RELATED RESEARCHES

An investigation of code mixing into Bangladeshi language by Alam (2009) shows that code mixing is frequently done by the Bangladeshi people as a carrier oriented language and for a white collar-job. More often code mixing is done to draw the attention of others, for show off and for euphemistic reasons. Her article mainly deals with the Wardhaugh’s (1992) definition of conversational code-mixing which “involves the deliberate mixing of two languages without an associated topic change.”

In study, Mukenge (2012) critically analyzed the use of Code switching in the film Yellow Card. The study mainly deals with the topic of HIV and AIDS talk that revolves around the subject of sex; an issue which is considered Taboo in Africa. The paper manifests that Code-mixing and Code switching is done for such terms which are considered unspeakable in the public arena. CDA reveals that how code switching and code mixing plays a noteworthy role in veiling the topics that cannot be publically addressed. Ehsan (2014) studied Code-mixing in Urdu News Room of Pakistani Channels. It was found that Code mixing is done very frequently and subconsciously to convey the message in a best possible way. The study brings forth the fact that predominance of English language and imperialism of the western culture has emanated the code mixing in every field of the society including media. In spite of the fact that Urdu language is rich in vocabulary, tabulated data in the paper reveals that maximum English words do have their equivalents in Urdu language and can be used to convey the message but those terminologies have been discarded and replaced by English vocabulary.

In the same way Lau Su Kia (2011) studied Code-mixing of English in the entertainment news of Chinese Newspapers in Malaysia. The concern of the study was to identify the English lexical items that were mixed into the Chinese entertainment News from the linguistic perspective. Furthermore Juliet Akinyi Jagero (2013) conducted a research which focuses on the use of *Kiswahili* in blog discourse. *Kiswahili* language is told as the common medium of the bloggers to give information on the issues but English being dominating language is frequently mixed with this language. The results revealed that bloggers use non-standard words and non-standard abbreviations, code switching and code mixing. The critical discourse analysis of the data showed that mixing English language with *Kiswahili* has both negative and positive effects because when two languages are mixed with diagnostic relationship, one is considered powerful and the other low-lying.

Another study which was conducted by Al-Mulhim (2014) to investigate the effect of media on Code Switching and Code mixing among the people of Saudi Arabia. The sole purpose of this study was to check whether media plays any role to promote the use of Code mixing. It was found media does play a significant role to invigorate the use of English vocabulary.

## METHODOLOGY

Van Dijk's Socio Cognitive model (2002) is applied to analyze the spoken texts and to investigate the relationship among language, ideology and power. Qualitative research technique is applied and data is taken in chunks from two different private on-air news room talk shows.

The data tends to explore the frequency of Code mixing in News rooms to make communication effective. It further studies that why speakers of Urdu language resort to code mixing despite of having Urdu equivalents and how CDA deciphers the ideologies which are masked by choice of specific linguistic items.

## CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Discourse analysis unveils the facts when viewed with the critical eye. These facts then serve as a clue to reach the dominating agencies which are deliberately kept hidden. The same is actually the purpose of CDA because through it, the concealed truths are unmasked and brought to light.

“Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context.” (VanDijk, 2001, p. 352)

CDA plays a crucial role in assisting the analyst to discern the ideologies and manipulations which are ruling the society and have even affirmed their own school of thought.

As van Dijk (1996) is of the view that, “one of the central tasks of CDA is to account for the relationships between discourse and social power” (p.84). Further Van Dijk (2000) states, “if there is one notion often related to ideology it is that of power” (p.25).

## APPLICATION OF CDA

Discourse Analysis is fragmentary and partial without ‘coherence’ and ‘cohesion’ as these are known to be its formidable structures to accomplish the process of critically analysing discourse in all forms. The former entails the ways a text makes some sense through the applicability and accessibility of its presentation or a semantic unity fashioned with in a text. Context is a remarkable phenomenon in this regard as it enlightens the reader with an appropriate knowledge about the particular relation among participants, culture, beliefs and intentions. Cohesion implies the idea of the grammatical and lexical overt intersentential relationship between different elements of the text that is pivotal for its interpretation. Utterance always conveys a complete sense whether it consists of a few words or based on small sounds. As according to Dr. McGregor (2004) “*our words are never neutral*”. This statement makes it even more evident and striking that in Critical Discourse Analysis observations are made on the premises of concealed meanings of the statement. As the major concern of this study is to critically analyse and unmask the concealed objectives of politicians and entanglement of anchors via keeping in view that to what an extent speakers practice code mixing to make their words worth considering, certain political talk shows broadcast on Pakistani private television channels have been analysed. The aim of this study

is not to criticize media that how it foreshadows the ideologies rather the purpose of this paper is to carefully and insightfully probe into the hidden meanings of the dialogues uttered by the representatives of different political parties in of the two News Room talk shows of the TV channels with respect to the language structures and vocabulary being used by the speakers to serve their hidden purposes. It makes this fact evident that there is a sagacious and penetrating relation among the choice of words, structure of sentences and their explicit meanings that can be masterfully let cat out of the bag by applying CDA.

### SAMPLE # 01

Show: Capital Talk

Broadcast on: January 15, 2015. Geo T.V

Anchor: Hamid Mir

Guests: Chaudhary Barjees Tahir (PMLN)

ShaziaMarri (PPP)

Ahmar Bilal Sufi (International Law Expert)

This show is amongst the Flagship talk shows of the private news channels and one of the oldest and widely viewed shows on the political affairs of the Pakistan. It comprises of approximately one-hour discussion and aims to straighten out the flipside of the political stage of the country. This research study takes notice of the use of the code-mixing in order to display influential and instrumental role of the English language in achieving political goals. It further explores that how one political party pulls the foot of other part down by making a tactful use of linguistic skills. Language makes others to adopt the views of the speakers without exercising any obvious force. Politicians make recurring use of English vocabulary though their equivalents are available in Urdu language, in order to influence the public to countersign their policies and stances.

### Topic(S) Under Discussion

The said show was telecast on January 15, 2015 on Geo T.V at 20:00 accentuating the entirely new and controversial issues of the state regarding the application of “*International Human Right Law*” against the violation of the rules of engagement by the Indian forces on working boundary and “*Establishment of Military Courts*” for the immediate and expeditious justice. Both issues drag a considerable attention and surveillance of the all political parties of the country towards them.

Show consists of two halves and the selected dialogues for analysis have been taken in chunks from the both parts. In the First half of the show focus of attention remains the former mentioned issue i.e. *International Human Right Law* and second half intakes the later mentioned issue i.e. “*Establishment of Military Courts*”.

The show starts with a question put by the anchor, regarding a hypersensitive issue of security of the country:

“ *ye jo hmary faujij jawanon ko flag meeting k bahany bula kar goli maar dee gai phir firing ki gai in ki deadbodies per tou ap kia smjhty hain k ye waqiy international law ki khilafwarzi ha aur kia is par hum international court of justice me jaskty hain* ” (Urdu )

### English Literal Translation

“*The way our troops have been shot to death on the name of Flag staff meeting and their dead bodies were fired at so what do you feel that can we consider this act against the rules of international law and take this issue to the international court of justice?*”

There were three guests invited to shed light on the mentioned issue. Two were from the major political parties of Pakistan presenting the views of their parties. One guest was a defence analyst, Lt General retired Talat Masood and forth speaker, international law expert was taken on call.

The very question carries a lot of words borrowed from English language. Urdu language is rich in vocabulary and the terms borrowed from English language do have their Urdu equivalents. The purpose behind this code-mixing is to draw the attention of International media towards the inhuman and unjustifiable act of the neighbouring forces.

### **Analysis**

Since their independence as new sovereign states, Pakistan and India have followed the path of mutual hostility. The nations were birthed out of a bloody segregation hat fired up each to stipulate itself in the opposition of the other and even they have waged many wars against each other. Even during peacetime, numberless tensions loom over the political skies of both countries. The anchor emphasizes certain English terminologies like *international law and international court of justice* while speaking rest of the statement in Urdu just to culminate the issue. The anchor tries to fan off the fact that this done activity is highly unlawful and by switching to English terminologies, he intends to grasp the attention of international media and tries to endorse that this matter should be seriously taken by the International court of justice. Anchor tries to establish this fact that action of BSF (*Border Security Force*) Indian troops should be strongly condemned. He further unravels this phenomenon that action is the absolute violation of the commitment by both sides to maintain ceasefire along the Line of Control and working boundary. The borrowed terms not only illustrate the sensitivity and significance of the matter rather they also refer towards the possible moves to dole out. Their use elucidates that *rules of engagement of the forces* set by International law have been intentionally disregarded and transgressed to provoke violence and turbulence.

This incident occurred when a commander of the Indian Border Security Force in Shakargarh sector sought a flag meeting on January 01, 2015 at 11am. This sort of meeting is held on the borders or line of control. The basic purpose of this meeting is conflict resolution. At a specified time commanders of both forces come closer to each other to discuss the situation and make efforts at resolving the smaller issues. Diplomatic or larger issues are not discussed in this meeting. In this meeting Holding up a Flag symbolizes peace but the same was not maintained in the said meeting.

Anchor foregrounds this aspect that purpose of flag meeting was not served positively rather Flag Meeting resulted in the killings of two personnel of Pakistan army. To lay emphasis on the intensity of the incident and to point out the barbarity and illegitimacy of the act, anchor makes use of the English vocabulary like “*Firing*” and “*dead bodies*” to achieve the complete dominance of the subject matter. Secondly mentioning of International Law in his question can also mean to highlight the feature that this sort of action is a threat to international peace and security in this particular region because such type of violation comes under the domain of Infuriating acts. The choice of vocabulary has a particular and crucial role besides its own profound meaning and since this study critically investigates the hidden agendas of the speakers behind the code switching, such sort of practices matter a lot.

An International Law expert, Ahmer Bilal Sufi (A Law Expert) was taken on call to answer the above mentioned question. He at instant elaborated the complexity of the act and directed towards the solution of this grave matter in these words:

*“International criminal court me bhi rabta kar skty hain aur waha k prosecutor ko ye update kar sktyh ain k ye development hui ha jo k breach of Geneva convention k framework me ati ha.*

*Aur ye bhi kaha jaskta ha k jub aqwaam e mutehda me isko bator-e-Complaint file kiya jaiy,aur joaqwam e mutehdaka observer group working border aur line of control ko monitor kar raha ha is par bhi complaint kijai ykeh is traki violation jo provocative act me ati ha international peace and security ko is region me threat bhik rskti ha.”(Urdu)*

### English Translation

*“The development which has taken place comes under the framework of Geneva Convention so the ICC can be approached and the prosecutor may also be updated.*

*Since the working border and LOC are being monitored by the UN observer group, the complaint can be filed up against this act, considering it a violation which comes under the domain of provocative acts and can threaten the international peace and security in this region.”*

These statements carry a lot of terminologies borrowed from presently dominating English language in Pakistan. Further it is noted that the code mixing has been done on the word level largely and at phrase level rarely. It can be said in this case that Code Mixing is playing a two dimensional role i.e. on one hand it provides the speaker a supply of abundant vocabulary to word his views and on the other hand being the language of elite and ruling class, it grabs the attention of the people both on national and international level. The speaker has not practiced it for his own convenience solely rather this also shows that the matter is of immense importance.

Analysing the said statements, it might be noticed that to make the matter more consequential, speaker switched to English terminologies because of the dominance of English Language over other languages and secondly to ensure the direct involvement of the concerned agencies. All the used terms related to ‘Law’ and trial have not been translated into Urdu although they do have their Urdu equivalents rather speaker preferred to use them in English for making the whole matter more significant.

Furthermore, this statement has its own critical value as the speaker not only wants to engage International criminal court for making the enquiries and handling this matter rather by making use of borrowed terminologies, he intends to strictly warn the Indian forces that they should not take this kind of matter a joke. Sufi intentionally picks up English words like *observer group, working border, line of control, violation, provocative* and *monitor* to give particular emphasis for making his suggestions and deductions worth considering so that they may not be disregarded. It can be clearly felt by the choice of vocabulary that the matter cannot be dealt as a trivial issue and a serious complaint may be forwarded to ICC against this outrageous act.

The mentioning of the borrowed phrase “*international peace and security*” can have been driven out of two possibilities. Discourse arising out of it is that either Sufi aspires to make the matter more defensive or he plans to inform the whole world that disturbance and unrest in this particular area can gravely blight the peace and serenity of the entire world. He makes use of powerful vocabulary to highlight the matter by modelling it a necessity that it should undergo a trial. The very choice of words provokes the nations across the world to take notice of this activity. Several other things are linked to this fact for instance Geneva Convention. This convention refers towards the agreement of 1949 in which standards of International law for the human treatment were established. The Geneva Convention adequately defines the basic rights of the war time prisoners and establishes protection measures for the civilians and

military in and around the war zone. Mentioning of Geneva Convention button downs that Sufi may intend to stretch this situation to the endless argument because the linguistic elements or the choice of borrowed vocabulary used by him carries out this matter at a high level. One of the remarkable phenomenons of a powerful language is that it has the propensity to make some matter a paramount concern or of least importance by the selection of vocabulary so this code mixed speech has been done on some purpose.

Owing to have the lingering fear of bad consequences, United Nations have been indirectly notified not to turn a deaf ear towards this matter. Moreover, in this statement Sufi tactfully and smartly shifts the responsibility of trial over the United Nations because their observer group monitors the working boundary and LOC so it is the ultimate responsibility of their leadership to tackle this acute matter justly and earnestly. Thus clarifying the matter problem by proving verbally and insinuating possible solutions of this issue, he may gain the due attention of UN.

*“Hum nay protest kiya. Bilkul theak kiya. Is this protest enough? Does India justify it?”*

*Un k home minister Raj Naath Singh nay aik statement de ha. “I think Pakistan will come on the right track if not today then tomorrow.” (Urdu)*

### **English Translation**

*“We have rightly protested.*

*Is this protest enough?*

*Does India justify it?*

*Their home minister has come up with this statement; “I think Pakistan will come on the right track if not today then tomorrow”*

Here Anchor instead of commenting on the possible solutions of the matter proposed by Sufi, immediately turns towards another aspect of that act which is also a hot potato in the prevailing scenario. He diverts the attention of his viewers and guests to the reaction of Pakistani Government on this unpleasant development. Firstly, he throws a question about the response of Government on the mentioned incident then without giving time to the guests for commenting over it, he shifts the focus of attention to the statement given by Indian minister Raj Naath Singh. Here this fact does not go unnoticed as to why did the anchor not provide a possibility of commenting over it. Anchor might have tried to prove that protest is not a reasonable and fair remedy. He might have intended to prompt the aggression of the public by reading the statement in English in a loud and clear manner as it was uttered instead of providing its translation, just to foreground the views of Indian Government over this unlawful activity. The only reason to lay emphasis on this statement is to unmask the hidden agenda of the Indian Government and to procure public say over the activity.

This statement carries a diplomatic reply. Raj Naath Singh had not brought the fact before the media and entire world. He does not come up with any clear cut cause of the done activity rather he talks in a roundabout way which neither unveils the intention of their Government nor does it reflect the aftermath of the activity. His statement does not clarify the point i.e. which track is directed in the statement to be followed by the Pakistan and on what grounds they had made this objectionable and repellent activity possible. Raj’s statement keeps the intentions of the government secret. He might have generated these remarks out of certain hidden policy or out of embarrassment which he has to face internationally in the case of straightaway accepting the activity a violation of the *rules of engagement* between forces.

On the surface level it can be inferred that Indian home minister did clear himself off the charges and this may also be assumed that he could have gone for this vague statement just to keep up his incentives.

Shaziamrri states:

*“Pakistan ko jobhi jawabi karwai krni ha wo diplomatic front par ho ya aur tareeq e kaar ho wo bri musbit hon ichahiay.... Na is waqay k hawaly se assembly me btayagya k kia action lay rahi ha hakoomat... Daikhain (Hakumat) kiu keh authority ha..... hakoomatki priorities aj bhi humain nqr ni aa rahi jo k honi chahiay..zimidaraan chuhn keh maujood ni thy.”(Urdu)*

### English Translation

*“Whatever has to be done as a reaction, that should be positively on diplomatic front.....it has not been made clear in assembly that what sort of action is to be taken by the government as being an ultimate authority. Government has not shown its due priorities.....Because concerned ministers were not present in parliament.”*

For the application of CDA, it is mandatory to have proper knowhow of the positions of all the political parties whose stances are to be taken for data analysis. PPP is a party who has been in power previously before PML (N). As for as the position of PML (N) is concerned, it is in power these days and they tried hard to take the matters of the Government from the hands of PPP no matter either by hook or by crook, ultimately made their dream come true .

Shazia Muree being the representative of PPP, a party which is in opposition these days holds ice towards the decisions taken by the government. So besides suggesting to adopt a diplomatic strategy against the Flag meeting incident she also puts clear cut blame on the government for not dealing it adequately. The linguistic elements which she opts from English language as for instance ‘authority’ and priorities not only gives penny to the public for thoughts but also questions the due responsibilities of the government in a very blunt way. Code mixing has been done here to inflame the matter and trigger the response of the government by making the matter more notable. It could be out of professional jealousy that Shazia criticized the performance of the current Government and threaten its position by throwing ball in their court. Whatever the possibility may be, Shazia indirectly taunts the preferences of the government and demands some drastic measures for drastic time. It is a very weighty statement if analysed critically, in a sense that opposition party does not come up with this stance out of nothing rather it actually hits the nail on the head.

Viewers are made known to the concealed facts regarding the inability of the government because PPP’s member breeds such queries in the mind of the viewers that foster them to question the policies and activities of the Government to put their position in jeopardy. She discloses this fact that present Government is not moved even by such gruesome incident and tries to establish such a background which shows that ruling party is least concerned about the welfare of the general public as theirs desired ministers were not present in parliament.

Anchor judging that opposition’s pun over the government, *Hamid Mir*, anchor-person of the show regrets over the immature dealings of the political parties. His statement bears this fact that instead of being united against Indian aggression as the need of the hour is we are fighting among ourselves. Afterwards he turns to the representative of the present Government and asks him his say on whatever has been blasted off by the by the representative of the opposition party i.e. Why did your ministers not bother to be present at parliament even after such an important incident?



In response to this question Barjees Tahir (Federal minister) instead of clarifying the position and policies of the present Government, flashes on other activity done by the opposition parties;

Barjees Tahir PML (N) says:

*“Main soch raha tha k ewaan ko kisi rule k tehat chlay ajata ha. Aj jab house business advisory committee ki meeting the... us me ye kaha gya tha keh ajka question hour cancel kiya jaiy ga. Hum nay 259 move k tehat motion move karnay ki koshish ki.....hum rules ko suspend karnachahty thay.....khursheed sahb nay bilkul start e liya 5% GST se aur pona ghnta is par baat ki sath e kaha k hum WALK OUT kr tay hain..... Rules k mutabiq Peshawar k shohda par leader of opposition nay debate open karna the....hum halt e jang me hain tou Taanabazi k muamlay se wqtitaur par guraiz karna chahiay. Article 91 main constitution main collective responsibility ha” (Urdu)*

### English Translation

*“I was thinking that parliament functions under certain rules. Today during the meeting of House Business Advisory committee, it was decided that the question hour would be cancelled.*

*As per article 259 we tried to practice ‘motion move’. We wanted to suspend the rules. From the very start, Mr. khursheed took up the matter of 5% increased GST (General Sales Tax) and dragged this issue till 45 minutes then said that we declare walk out.*

*As per rules, opposition leader was supposed to open the house for debate over shohada of Peshawar incident. Being in a state of war, we would have avoided the criticism on each other.*

*As per article number 91 of constitution, it is the collective responsibility of all parties to....”*

Such type of badgering statements makes CDA more fascinating. The explicit nature of these sentences given by the political parties helps to chew one another out in a logical and defensible manner.

It is a frequent practice in politics that the ones in command either jump to piercing conclusions in opposition to other parties or would throw light on their own policies to show their efficacy, disregarding the adopted policies of the present government.

The exchange of these derogatory remarks against each other is rational. The most probable fact behind adapting such tactics is the conspiracies which they hatch against each other.

Here Barjees Tahir moves back to the square one. Instead of bringing out the planned strategies of the Government to avoid any mishandling of such issues in the future, he uplifts another matter. Thus, this does not result in the additional information which was the actual requirement. Such nagging statements and to make judgmental calls on their basis is what make CDA more absorbing.

Barjees intentional diversion from the issue shows the inability of the Government and besides this it could also be the reason that he might felt a bit under the weather because of the direct hit of the opposition. Barjees talks about the rules regarding the functioning of the parliament. On a surface level he may diverts from the subject matter to brag his political sensitivity and awareness or to mock over the opposition for having less expertise in politics. Two possibilities can be taken into notice on deep level as well. One is that he may mean to cloak the negligence of the Government because it has not come up to the expectations of the people or to grab the opposition for being taken flawed steps.

But one thing is quite clear that he intentionally raises a false alarm to shift the focus of the on lookers.

The rising GST was a deep-dyed corruption therefore it was not trouble free to make this unjust implementation of increased GST logically fair. Barjees in an attempt of saving his party from humiliation and dishonour, steps in other direction when he could not get any other way to save his skin. He through the powerful use of vocabulary, considered the matter of GST a non-issue, not worth of taking so acutely when country is already falling on harder times.

Talking about the rules of the parliament he again puts the burden on the shoulder of the opposition to take up the matter for it was the duty of opposition leader to open the house for debate. In doing so he tactfully brings back the subject matter of the discussion but this time it is the opposition who has been shown incautiously unconcerned. Furthermore by declaring it a *collective responsibility* he gets off scot-free as collective responsibility means that every political party though in Government or not is equally responsible for this negligence. Thus, he maintains this stance that criticizes the present government is nor the solution of the problem neither it is justified to raise fingers over one party for the whole fuss.

Such sort of galling comments are thrown at one another to hide the defectiveness of the parties and to put the leading party in an uncertain position. Political parties exercise such tactics for manipulation in order to achieve their ends. In their discourses language is a potent instrument to show power and solidarity. The choice of particular linguistic elements not only determines their place in the political scenario rather it reflects their power and authority as well.

When the anchor person moves back to the representative of the PPP woman Shazia she bursts off:

*“Har hakoomat ka numainda khaas taur par wo hakoomat jo perform nahi kar rahi ha, wo koshish tou karay ge keh apna ydefense main behtar se behtar argument kray.*

*Prime Minister leader of the house hotay hain ye keh daina keh collective responsibility ha ain k andar koi bhi na aiy aik e minister baitha ho touphir is say ap andaza lga lain me minister sahb ki sanjeedgi par koi comment ni karna chahti. Phir brday loopholes hain brday provisions hain.*

*Ajagr token pehlay hum ny walk out kiya tau brdayehm issue par kiya. hmaray concerns hain...keh Peshawar sanaha ko Pakistan k liay turning point bnain lakin in k halaat se ni lgta keh wo turning point hoga.” (Urdu)*

### English Translation

*“Representative of every government, especially the one which is not performing well, will definitely try to give arguments in its defence. Prime Minister is known to be the Leader of the house. Just to say that it is a collective responsibility in the constitution and hence no one bothers to be present in the parliament less one. Just imagine how sincere Prime Minister is? I don't feel like commenting over it for then there will be a lot of loopholes and provisions.*

*If today, we walked out we did it on a worthwhile issue and because we are concerned to make Peshawar incident a turning point for Pakistan but it does not seem from their intentions it would be so.”*

These statements are condensed with the blunt criticism. Here it is a food for thought that as to why anchor intentionally provides a chance to the one in power to give its opinion over

this raging issue and then asks the comments of opposition on the same issue instead that he could have gone for an open question to all the parties present in show.

Shazia being a representative of the opposition, once again puts the charges back to the present government. She mocks at the term 'Collective responsibility' used by BarjeesTahir to indicate that such kind of arguments show the inability of the government for handling this grave situation. Though she does not give a direct hit yet she exposes the very fact which was her design. She associates the words like *loopholes* and *provisions* with the Government to report its shortcomings.

She justifies her 'walk out' by cross contradicting the other party and to construct this thing that have their concerns are not personal ones rather genuinely in the favour of public.

Even in her last comment she exhibits a kind of disappointment on the basis of her deductions and again leaves a sarcastic remark that nothing could be the turning point for present Government.

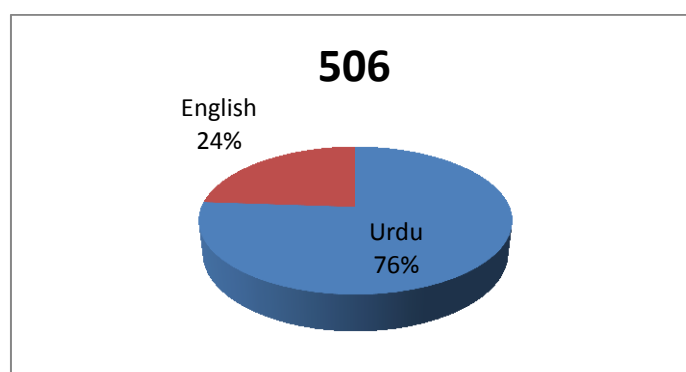
This conclusion can be drawn out of analysis that the single deficiency or flaw can blemish the one in the power because it has to countenance all kinds of criticism be it negative or positive.

The analysis of the *Capital Talk show* ends here.

It is to be kept under consideration that the complete talk show was not taken for analysis. Data was taken in Chunks from the mentioned shows for the application of CDA.

While applying CDA these facts are brought to the light that how self-governing bodies play with the words. How they practice Code mixed speech for political manipulation, in order to foreground certain realities by making them more significant and to conceal the truths regarding their hidden agendas.

The below given pie chart represents the proportions of the English Code mixing in Urdu language through divided proportions. This graph represents that in this sample almost 24% borrowed vocabulary from English language has been used by the speakers whose national language is Urdu just to exert power over the others.



## SAMPLE # 02

Show: Samaa

Broadcast on: January 15, 2015. T.V

Anchor: Nadeem Malik

Guests: Tariq Azeem (PMLN)

Shafqat Muhammad (PTI)

Qamar u Zamaan Qahira (PPP)

This recently on aired show is conducted by Nadeem Malik, a renowned journalist of Pakistan with a comprehensive experience of hosting political talk shows.

It is a famous live program which holds discussion on the current political scenario prevailing in the country covering the realm of all hot issue issues, be it political or social. It has the tendency to take informative input from the guests. It has been preferred for analysis on the basis of its acceptability and the subject matter it put in the spotlight. This show is telecast on SAMAA a private news channel and on the same date like the previously mentioned show i.e. January 15, 2015 at 08:00 hrs.

Here CDA will reveal long-form and long-range dimensions of political fabrications.

### **Topic(S) Under Discussion**

The anchor starts off with a hotly debated issue of these days “*the establishment of military courts*” and “*the issue of constitution amendment for this purpose*”.

It is to be kept in consideration that this show further precedes the issue of previously mentioned show i.e. *the establishment of military courts* and throws light on the views of different political parties related to the same issue. Counterstatements in political talk shows is not something off-centre or unusual but the thing which is to be noticed is the element of *controversies* which reflect internal wrangles of the political parties.

### **Analysis**

In the wake of Peshawar terror attack, both military and civilian officials decided to establish military courts in Pakistan to ensure a speedy justice. The distressing massacre of innocent children forced the military officials to take the serious steps against terrorism. The debate on the 21<sup>st</sup> amendment to the constitution was initiated by the authorities soon after this tragic incident. The sole purpose of taking this step was to provide a legal cover in order to deal with the terrorism related issues. Different opinions from different political parties have been trotted out in this regard. If taken a bird eye view of the history of civil-military relation in Pakistan, this seems an undeniable fact that military has been enjoying a strong hold over the politics of the country since decades. If the role of civil government is observed, it is but a puppet in the hands of military though it appears to be otherwise. It can be judged beyond a reasonable doubt that crucial steps regarding the security and other sensitive issued of the country are taken by military officials. Keeping all these aspects in view, the anchor-person gives the facts about the determination of the army chief regarding the establishment of military courts. Then opens up the show by posing a question to the PPP’s representative Qama Zaman qahira;

*”Apki jamat nay pehlay din endorsement de the (keh) Special courts headed by Military officers honi chahiay. Abtareeq e kaar k oper ikhtilaaf e raiy saamny ata ha. kitna time lgay ga aur final outcome kiya ha? Aini tarmeem ya sirf military act main tarmeem?”*  
(Urdu)

### **English Translation**

*“In the beginning, your party had endorsed the (establishment of) special courts headed by military officers. Now contradiction has been observed regarding the same policy. How long will it take to decide whether to go for constitution amendment or amendment in military act?”*

The very first question of anchorperson demands clarity of the views of party related to the very important issue. Nadeem brings this fact that the PPP is yet not coming up clean as for as the matter of the military court is concerned. He bluntly asks him to illuminate this fact

that whether he favours constitution amendment or amendment in the military act. He tries to digout the hidden intention of the party which the online member is either reluctant to disclose or he has not the authority to do so. In reply PPP's representative Qahira says;

*“Aik issue yeh tha keh jo terrorists pakray jain gay un k khilaf hmara jo aik normal procedural law ha ya jo courts hain ya jo systems hain wo in k cases trial ni ka rraha .....hmara nukta e nZR yeh tha keh koshish kijiay keh agr apko aiyen me amendment kiay baghair.....”*

### English Translation

*“It was an issue that the cases against terrorists which are being caught are not being trailed by our normal procedural law, courts or respective systems.....as for as our viewpoint is concerned, we tried that without making any amendment in constitution.....”*

In the very start he acknowledges the fact that all the concerned institutions have shown an absolute failure and that all these agencies like procedural law, courts or other systems lack the capacity and the will to deal terrorism related cases. At the point when he says that without making any amendment in the constitution, the anchorperson cuts off immediately to put the online person in a jeopardizing sate;

He says this;

*“Ain me aisi kia chiez ha jo apko khofzda karti ha?” (Urdu)*

### English Translation

*“What scares you in the (amendment of) constitution?”*

The purpose of interrupting online person is to trap him linguistically in order to reach the veiled truths by putting them in an uncertain position. Here in the sentence ‘*aisi kiya chiez ha*’ (*What is that thing*) is a kind of clever ‘wordplay’ which the anchor intentionally practices to know about the hidden fears of the PPP which were not letting them endorse publically the establishment of the military courts. Such sort of vague quizzical questions are posed to perplex the online persons and make them reveal their shield truths. Here the on-going negotiation in points a lingering fear of the PPP's representative that they (civilian officials or political opponents) may also be victimized by the military courts (as in the past it has happened during Gen. Zia's tenure). Being accused of so many crimes regarding the misuse of power and corruption his guilt ridden conscious and so called strategy does not permit him to favour the establishment of military courts. Overwhelmed by the fear of becoming the victim of military courts, Qahira tries to turn the tables. This sort of explanation requires a verbal dexterity of CDA. The way anchor person intervened; shows that he wanted to bring Qahira under the cloud so that he may disclose the hidden uncertainties which are actually not to be made public in his wisdom.

However he does not disclose the enshrouded facts rather in reply to this he says:

*“Humay khaofzda kuch ni kar raha..baat yeh ha keh agr aap aiyani act me tarmeem kar k military courts ko permission dy rahay hain keh aap trial ki jiy logon ka tou phir abuse of power ka khadsha ha ya tha ya ha aiyen ya qanoon me tarmeem ki soorat me ho skta ha..*

*Hmari jamat ka ikhtilaf ni ha..... hum yeh keh rahay hain k aiyen me tarmeem unnecessarily na ki jiy.... Agar ap army chief se puchain keh kiya military courts civilians ka trial karain tou kiya ye aini ha wo bhi kahain gay k ghair aini ha..aur yad rakhain parliament se approval k baad isy supreme court me jana ha.” (Urdu)*

## English Translation

*“We are not scared of anything. The thing is that (for instance) if you make amendment in the constitution and permit military courts to proceed the trial of the general public then there will be the fear of power of abuse which will be the definite result of constitution amendment.*

*Our party is not at odds with it.... we want that constitution should not be unnecessarily amended.*

*If you ask Army chief that whether this will be a legal act if military courts handle the trial of the civilians, he will also not favour it. And one thing should be kept in mind that even after being approved by the parliament, it has to go through Supreme Court.”*

These statements given by Qahira do not bear any clear cut opinion over the subject matter rather besides proving that PPP is not against the establishment of the courts he stretches the truth to the unending point.

Furthermore, he indirectly compels other worthy circles not to endorse it. The mentioning of high powered and commanding institution like Supreme Court and Army not only results in adding weightage to his say rather it also foregrounds another crucial aspect which is *Abuse of power*. What can be the possible deduction of using this terminology is that Qahira tried to warn the concerned parties that absolute power of the military officials will weaken and ultimately destroy the political structure of Pakistan.

The borrowing of this phrase manifests that Qahira stressed upon it to grab the attention of the on lookers towards the grave consequence of Military courts. If taken the most probable hidden meaning, it may mean that the online person has got objection with the military courts because their decision cannot be challenged by the civil courts or any other court of authority as per the stipulation in Pakistan Army Act 1952. This phenomenon will make the hold of military stronger in the country which is an undoubted threat to the stability of the democratic Government. There could be the possibility that the establishment of Military courts will act like a parallel justice system therefore it would have the ability to conflict with the civilian court system.

In his last statement he even brings this feature to the minds of the opponents it is not the army or parliament who has to endorse the establishment if the military courts rather it is the Supreme Court who is ultimate authority.

Anchor person again asserts his views throwing the light on the unsatisfactory performance of the civil judiciary (Supreme Court);

*“Is muamlay me supreme court ka aik qusoor yeh ha k adliya bahali k tmaam arsay me us ny is chiez par kaam ni kiya k speedy justice ho....3500 k qareeb missing person KPK aur mulk k deegar hison me hrastimrakaz me sirf is liay pray hain k is judiciary se faislayni ho pa ray. Suchai ye e ha . On air jhoot ni bolna chahiay.” (Urdu)*

## English Translation

*“It is the failure of Supreme Court that even during the restoration period of judiciary; it has not been able to ensure speedy justice. Roundabout 3500 missing persons from KPK and other parts of the country are apprehended in interrogation cells just because it failed to make decisions.... It is the truth! We should not lie (at least) on air.”*

Provoked by the hollow statements given by Qahira in the favour of Supreme Court, Nadeem lifts of the curtain from the murky past of judiciary. Emphasizing on the number of missing

persons, he makes it known to everyone that 3500 missing persons are in lockups just because this judiciary is not efficient enough to prosecute their cases timely.

Anchor person supports his judgment by alarming him that he is on air. Every statement will remain on record. If seen with critical eye he warns the online person that manipulation of truth while sitting in an online show is not possible because he can be challenged there and then.

Dragging the matter further in detail, he invites another guest Shafqat, a representative of PTI to tell about the inclination of his party regarding the same matter. Firstly he asks him the reason on the basis of which his party favoured the establishment of military courts in APC (All Pakistan conference) and now it has stepped back and rather asking for *Special Courts not military courts*. In reply Ishaq moulds his opinion accordance with the suitability and acceptability of the on lookers.

*“Me apni jamat ka pura mauqaf daita hun. Pehli baat tou ye ha k problem kiya ha. Aik tou speedy justice dusra yeh k judges ki security niha.aur teesra yeh keh investigation k issues memain do main chiezain ati hain. speedy justice k liay speedy courts honi chahiay.ye instrument kiya bany ga jis k teht military officers isko preside krain gy.”*  
(Urdu)

### English Translation

*“I clarify you the viewpoint of my party.... The problem is that neither there is (the availability of) speedy justice nor the security of judges and as for as the investigation is concerned there are two main things. For speedy justice, speedy courts should be there. What makes difference is that what sort of Instrument will be opted for making speedy courts and (how) military officers will preside them.”*

In his statement he tries to shift the focus of the viewers from the central point. Though he was supposed to answer that whether his party endorses the establishment of courts or not but instead he pulls another point worth considering that is the issue of the security of judges. Further he adds the term ‘speedy justice’ without solving the query of anchor and neglecting the point that what he meant by *Special courts not military courts*. Here CDA acts as a kind of instrument which helps us to trace out the hidden ideologies and incentives behind the manipulated statements of politicians. This is a deliberate effort because of the strong hold of the army none of the party’s representative openly disapproves the notion of military courts. However one way or the other way all online representatives play off but do not come to the point.

Anchorperson intervenes and this time he asks a question to the representative of PML (N) Tariq Azeem:

*“Ap logon nay Peace talks ka naam lay k itna time zaya kiya ha k us k baad ap baqi cheizon ko karna e bhool gy hain.”* (Urdu)

### English Translation

*“You have wasted a lot of time on the name of ‘peace talks’ that you even forgot to consider the due priorities.”*

In his question the term *Peace talks* is ironically stressed. Anchor ironically uses this term to highlight the fact that on the name of peace talks present Government is waking from its deep slumber. This sentence of the anchor conveys two possible meanings. One is that the anchor dawned upon the representative of PML (N) that they cannot deceive the people or gain their favour on the name of *Peace Talks*. Secondly anchor brings this point to his conscious that

Peace Talks does not mean that one should not care about the preferences or moral and legal duties. When Tariq Azeem feels that his party is being directly hit by the media person. He takes the support of dominant language to assert his views;

*“let’s not go in the past. Jo ap nay hmara resolve or commitment daikhi hai I can assure you ke hbht taizi se kaam ho raha ha.”(Urdu)*

### English Translation

*“All right let’s not go in the past. Our current resolve and commitment make it evident to you that work is speedily in progress.”*

Anchor person after this face saving statement, starts exposing the inability of his party on air. He questions him that what is that pressure which urged them to show the strong determination towards the solution of the problems and till how long will they remain consistent in this regard. This question again demands the name of that agency or institution which is being kept hidden by the speaker on the premises of rationale. The purpose may be that online representative does not want to exhibit the powerlessness of the party. Secondly he may think it disgraceful for his party that even being in the government they are being ruled by some other authority that is none of the other but military.

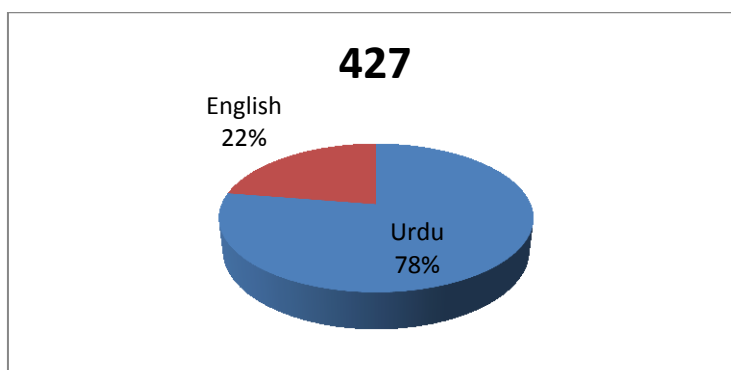
In reply Tariq Azeem again adopts the same strategy and switches to the English Language to show his authority and power. When he fails to defend his party and does want to accept the genuine weaknesses of his party, he uses English to strengthen his opinion and disregard the views of anchor person. He asserts in a powerful tone;

*“Me pehlay bhi keh chukka hun that you don’t go in the past. You learn from the past but you don’t live in the past.”(Urdu)*

### English Translation

*“I repeat the same that “you don’t go in the past. You learn from the past but (you) don’t live in the past”*

Power is signalled in this statement of Tariq Azeem through the use medium of English. He not only practices Code mixing rather he at the end completely switches to English language. Tariq Azeem through the use of influential medium tries to control the direction of discussion, finding it in opposition of his party.



Here the exercise of power is absolutely on the basis of language. There are some definite goals which are achieved by making the appropriate use of linguistic choice. Medium in such kind of multilingual country where one language is regarded superior and the other is known to be inferior matters a lot. So here Tariq Azeem may try to knock some sense into the anchor



not to proceed in an unwanted direction. He smartly directs anchor to take his way or the highway.

This graph shows that almost 22% Code mixed speech has been employed to show authority and to make the things explicit in a kind of language like Urdu which has ample vocabulary and is self-sufficient for illustrating every kind of thoughts except for a few terminologies regarding Science and Technology.

## DISCUSSION

Several deductions can be made out of the analyses of these talk shows. However the common phenomenon which can be observed is the tactful use of English vocabulary in some places while speaking rest of the sentence in Urdu. For instance a statement uttered by the representative of the PMLN Tariq Azeem, *“Let’s not go in the past. Jo ap nay hmara resolve or commitment daikhi hai I can assure you ke hbht taizi se kaam ho raha ha”* shows that he deliberately makes maximum use of the English vocabulary in order to assert his views. Generally every show holds a particular strategy to grab the maximum information from the online guests and to unmask the hidden ideologies of the political parties. In both these shows, anchor repeatedly tries to get acquainted with the unraveled truths of the major political parties like the statement uttered by Nadeem Malik, *“It is the truth! We should not lie (at least) on air”* warns the other person indirectly that he should not mask the reality.

He takes every chance to put the online speakers in a jeopardizing state so that baffled by the blunt interruption of the anchor person; they may come up with the clear cut facts. Anchor rarely succeeds to trap the political personages linguistically and mostly they exhibit a good show of ‘wordplays’. Another important feature which is common in both shows is that language has been instrumentalised to practice power. Code switching and Code mixing has been freely and widely practised by the speakers to seduce the onlookers by the power of language.

Considering both shows, the anchor persons Hamid Mir and Nadeem Malik took the views of every guest turn by turn by adopting different tactics. Every representative was bombarded with the questions. Their sole aim was to make the things clear regarding the political issues looming over the political skies of the country. Every given statement by the politician though stretched the truth but did not reach to its culminating point that is what CDA intends to decipher that how appropriate selection of linguistic elements from two different languages has been made to foreground certain things to hide other or to manipulate facts for their own good. However every speaker tried to lay down his own law to keep up with the bewildering and to bag the public favour.

## CONCLUSION

This goes without saying that language is a mighty instrument of authority and practiced undoubtedly to get a strong foothold in society where many languages are spoken and each enjoys a different status. Speakers use all possible tactics to have the upper hand and to take the matters under thumb. CDA has played a pivotal role to show that how power stems out from the appropriate use of linguistic elements and to exhibit a kind of political supremacy. It can be deduced that power actually resides in the language itself. When words are borrowed(Code Mixed) from a particular dominating language, the power of that language gets shifted to the ultimate power of the speaker thus helps him to achieve his intended goals despite of the fact that he uses it to persuade the people, to dominate other parties or to manipulate the facts to keep them veiled. For instance in former given sample the

representative of PMLN Chaudhary Barjees Tahir uses the word *collective responsibility* to play a blame game.

CDA brings the personal incentives, hidden rationales and implicit designs openly to the public attention as for instance the way power is being signalled by the representatives of different political parties throughout the whole show indicates that their intentions cannot be made to reveal easily rather a critical perspective should be adopted to dig out meanings from their guised talks otherwise all deep and manipulated meanings are hard to bring to the consideration. CDA by unmasking the intentions does not let the listeners dance into the tune of speakers.

#### **DISCLAIMER**

Note that the whole show was not taken rather data was extracted in chunks from News Room Talk Shows and solely for research purposes. It cannot be used for any other motives, though they may be political or personal.

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