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Schema Disruption *and* Identity in Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in the Wonderland*

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Abstract

This paper focuses on the importance of schema and context in the interpretation of literary texts and its impact on reader and character identity. The understanding of literary texts is aided and enhanced when a reader is able to create a text world in their mind. A reader's comprehension of a text is partly dependent on their background knowledge, which forms their already existing schema. The reader's existing schema may be supported, challenged, or disrupted in a literary text, which may lead to the creation of new schema and a new reader identity. The newly created schema that might be similar to or different from the reader's existing schema makes a text world for them, helping them in textual comprehension and an analysis of their self. This paper examines the first three chapters from *Alice's Adventures in the Wonderland* by Lewis Carroll in the light of these notions. Carroll has been able to create a non-sense text world by manipulating the semantic complexity of language, and leads the main character to self-search. The paper draws on Elena Semino's Schema Theory (1995) for the analysis.

Keywords: Schema Theory, Text World, Homonymy, Lewis Carroll, Reader Identity, Deixis, Context

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Introduction

Alice's Adventures in the Wonderland by Lewis Carroll is a literary manifestation of linguistic devices in deviant use. Carroll's manipulation of social and linguistic context and schemas in this literary piece has created a non-sense world that disrupts the reader's existing schema and yet they accept and even identify with it

by the end of the narrative. His play with the semanticity of words makes this piece as interesting and rich for a linguist as it is for a literary critic. Carroll has been able to create a non-sense text world through the interplay between semantic deviation and pragmatic interpretation of language.

Alice's Adventures in the Wonderland contains many instances of a play on context exploiting the disruption of schema giving rise to humour as well as creating a text-world that is very different from the ordinary world around us. For a better understanding of how context can be manipulated in a literary piece, it is important to have a clear comprehension of the factors that enable a reader to interpret linguistic devices used in a context. Thornborrow & Wareing (1998: 88-91), have discussed four different factors of context that need to be kept in mind when the context of language is being interpreted. These factors are deixis, homonymy, other similar texts / discourses, and the prior knowledge of the reader/ hearer. Deixis is the information that is given to the text by the context. According to Levinson deixis is the manner in which language encapsulates linguistic and grammatical feature of the context of utterance and by doing so makes the context an important aid to the interpretation of an utterance (1983:54).

Homonymy is related with multiple meaning potential in lexicon. The context of utterance plays a vital role in identifying the intended meaning within the narrative. Alternatively, deliberate choice of unintended meaning can cause schema disruption. The third significant factor in the understanding of context is 'other similar texts and discourses'. This refers to the past experience of similar intertextual interactions of a reader that help them in interpreting the text. The fourth factor 'prior knowledge' refers to the experience of the world on the part of the reader or hearer. These experiences can be common to the cultural group one belongs to or they may be personal experiences that influence the interpretation of a text (Thornborrow & Wareing, 1998:90).

Schema and Context

The concept of schema is not new in cognitive science. Various philosophers, psychologists and linguist have been writing about it (Kant 1929, Bartlett 1932; 1995, Rumelhart 1977, Cook 1989).

Elena Semino (1995:3) has traced her discussion of schema back to its origin by Bartlett. Bartlett (1932) (cited in Semino, 1995:3) found proof that prior knowledge shapes people's perceptions, understanding, and memory. He termed this phenomenon as 'schema' describing it as 'an active organization of past

reactions, or past experiences, which must always be supposed to be operating in any well-adapted organic response' (p.201).

Human memory depends on cumulative schemata in order to operate and make sense of ever changing and varied interaction with the world at large. Cook (1989:72-73) elaborates upon the activation of several schemata for textual interaction and declares that real discourse must make recourse to several schemata at the same time that would connect with each other to make meaningful communication of thoughts and ideas. He concludes that schemata represent stereotypical patterns that from the data for these constructs and are recovered from memory stores as and when the need arises to make sense of the discourse.

Drawing from early researches (Bransford & Johnson,1972, Rumelhart,1980) Semino (1995:4) describes meaning potential within schema theory as not something that is actually 'contained' in the text but meaning is built by an interaction between the interlocutor and the text, where the interlocutor retrieves several schemata from their memory. If they fail in this to create a link between their pre-existing schemata and the text, then the communication between the text and the interlocutor is, at best, an abortive attempt to make sense of the text.

Schema is not fixed once and for all but instead keeps on changing and adapting with new information that is absorbed and retained by the mind. Black (2006: 36-37) discusses the inter-textual context that is created between the reader and the text, which also has a tremendous effect on the way a text is interpreted. Schema is relevant to the understanding of texts because as a reader we bring certain expectations to the text based on our previous experiences. These experiences might be the experience of other texts or it might be the experience one has had in the world. These experiences are usually considered as culture specific but they might at times be general and are equally essential for creating a link between the reader and the text.

Schema theory is relevant to the comprehension of literature because it creates text worlds that can only be comprehended if schemata are activated. Referring to Enkvist (1989:166), Semino elaborates on text worlds as mental constructs that are an outcome of interaction between prior background knowledge and comprehension (1995:6). She further links schemata to comprehension of literature. She argues that literature has a tendency to challenge and modify the readers existing schemata. She elaborates on Cook's (1990: 223) definition of literariness that focuses on 'schema disruption', which implies upset of the reader's pre-existing schema and a 'schema refreshment' which is a resultant new schema that arises out of the synthesis of the old with the new knowledge (p. 6-7).

This change in schema due to schema disruption or schema refreshment leads to the creation of a text world. This text world is either similar to the actual world of the reader, if the text is realistic; or it is deviant and abnormal in comparison with the actual world of the reader. Context plays a crucial role in creating schemata for a reader, which ultimately influences their interpretation of texts.

In the following analysis, the role of linguistic choices and patterns of language would be focused on to figure out their potential role in the creation of new schema or modification of the existing ones that eventually lead to a change in the reader perspective about the world/s and their own identity within these.

Alice's Adventures in the Wonderland

Analysis and Discussion

The first three chapters of *Alice's Adventures in the Wonderland* form one narrative episode within the novel and this paper examines them for the interplay of schemas and text world and their relation with character and reader identity.

Schema theory has definite influence on reading comprehension where the reader has to interact between his real world and the textual world. The characters within the textual world too need to adjust their schemata as the narrative moves and takes them through its world. The interplay between the real and text world schemata result sin literary interpretations:

> Expectations based on particular prior knowledge may need to be adjusted in order to accommodate new information provided in the text and to achieve a coherent understanding of the outcome of the narrative. (Fakhri, 2011:3)

An expectation through manipulation of context is created right from the beginning of the novel. Alice is seen as bored, having nothing to do, sitting by her sister's side, on the bank of a river. Her sister's book does not seem to attract her interest because 'it had no pictures or conversations in it'. Alice's remark '… and what is the use of a book without pictures or conversation?' creates an expectation in the readers mind about the importance of characters and conversations in the upcoming part of the novel. 'Pictures and conversations' suggest a reference to participants of a discourse and the discourse itself. So an indirect reference to the context is suggested here.

An impossible world is created as she sees a white talking rabbit with a watch and following this rabbit she falls down a long tunnel. From this onwards she finds herself in an impossible text world where the reader continuously experiences a schema disruption. As she is falling down the tunnel, she sees books in book-shelves, maps, pictures, and a jar that she picks from a shelf labelled 'orange marmalade'. The tunnel schema of this text world is an entire deviation from the schema of a real world tunnel. In the real world, tunnel schema would include darkness, insects, dirt and perhaps uncomfortable turns and twists. Alice's fall is also unnatural and deviant as is the fact that she does not get hurt at all when she finally reaches the ground. Her thoughts point out the strangeness of the act by comparing it to real world fall[1]:

> 'Well!' thought Alice to herself, 'after such a fall as this, I shall think nothing of tumbling down stairs!' (p.3)

This creates an expectation regarding an upcoming impossible world in the proceeding text. However, though she takes a talking rabbit very calmly but does question a rabbit who takes a watch out his waistcoat-pocket. And a little later on the narrator makes a comment:

> For, you see, so many out-of-the-way things had happened lately, that Alice had begun to think that a very few things indeed were really impossible. (p.6)

In this impossible world, she continuously changes in size and there comes a point when she starts speaking to her feet as her size grows beyond the normal range:

> Goodbye feet! ... Oh my poor little feet, I wonder who will put on your shoes and stockings for you now, dears? (p.10)

The impossible world turns into a non-sense world because the schema of human limbs in actual world is very different from the schema portrayed in this novel. In the actual world they do not change in size so drastically nor do we engage in conversation with them, neither would such a phenomenon taken so calmly. Once again, though Alice is talking to her feet and even planning to write a letter to them, she realizes the senselessness of her act:

> Oh dear, what nonsense I'm talking. (p.11)

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[1] The page numbers are according to *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, a publication of Harper Collins 2010 (See References).

Another such deviation from real world schema occurs when she meets a talking mouse in Chapter III: *A Caucus race and a long tale*. As she is swimming in a pool of her own tears she wonders how to save herself. Her thoughts clearly indicate a real world schema that she has formed of sea and its surroundings. It is encapsulated in brackets to show its lack of alignment with the existing text world where she is located now:

> (Alice had been to the seaside once in her life, and had come to the conclusion, that wherever you go to on the English coast you find a number of bathing machines in the sea, some children digging in the sand with wooden spades, then a row of lodging houses, and behind them a railway station) (p.15)

However, this real world schema does not interfere with the text world in which she is at the moment swimming.

In this Chapter Carroll plays on homonymy when the animals come out of the pool of tears along with Alice, all drenched, the mouse calls out:' 'Sit down all of you and listen to me! I will soon make you dry enough.' The word 'dry' can be used literally as well as metaphorically. It can be used as an antonym of wet and it can metaphorically mean tedious or boring as in such expressions as 'a dry subject'. The reader or the listener interprets the meaning according to the context. In this instance, the word 'dry' should have been taken literally but instead, the mouse uses it metaphorically and starts telling 'dry' accounts of history. The play upon the word 'dry' in this context creates humour through its contextual misinterpretation.

The same manipulation on homophony is observed when the mouse responds to one of Alice's queries: 'mine is a long and sad tale'. Alice looks at the mouse's 'tail' and says; 'it is a long tail certainly…. But why do you call it sad?' Here Carroll plays on two homophones i.e. 'tale' and 'tail' which sound the same but spell and mean differently. In usual discourse the context determines it for the listener or the reader to make the correct interpretation of such words. Alice's misunderstanding of the context leads to the misunderstanding of the language used by the mouse in this instance. Another similar illustration is that of the use of the two homophone "knot" and "not". When the mouse says, 'I had not!' Alice misinterprets it by ignoring the context when she replies 'a knot! … Oh do let me help you to undo it!'

The Caucus race' is a perfect deviation from the normal schema of our real world. The schema of a race in actual world includes a starting point and a finishing point; both temporal and spatial. It also includes a kind of a competition among the

participants who are supposed to start the race at the same time from the same point. The winner is usually one person who is given a certain prize for which all the participants competed. An impartial party that does not have a direct role in the competition gives the prize.

'The Caucus race' in this text is altogether deviant and abnormal when compared with the real world race- schema. The animals are all scattered in different parts of the race course when the race starts. The race starts without a particular announcement and the participants run without a particular point in mind as a point of destination because the racecourse is circular which is a deviation from real world race course that are linear. The Dodo makes an announcement of the end of the race when it sees that almost everyone is dry. When asked about a winner he announces that everyone has won. The prize is to be given by Alice who herself was a participant in the race. Alice herself is given a thimble that was earlier received from her. Although we are told that

> Alice thought the whole thing very absurd… (p.23)

Yet this deviant and atypical schema is taken up by Alice. A reason can be seen in the words of the narrator:

> … for this curious child was very fond of pretending to be two people (p.8)

A little later she is actually puzzling her mind over her identity issue. In a childlike manner she tries to imagine and compares herself to other children but realizes that she is none of them.

> I am sure I am not Ada,…and I'm sure I can't be Mabel…Besides, she is she, and I'm I— (p13)

She does not realize that she is actually Alice who is shuttling between two world, her physical world that we term as real world and the world of the textual narrative into which she has landed.

At the same time, a text world is created in the mind of a reader. This text world is not only an impossible world but also a non-sense world. The reader accepts this text world on the basis of the challenge it poses to their actual world. They can only understand it in a contrast to their own world. Their background knowledge, although not reinforced in this text-world, does help them in their understanding of new schema by being challenged or disrupted. This additional schema might add to their already existing schema or it might altogether modify it and change their

perception of the actual world around them. There are instances in the selected text where schema disruption of characters takes place during discourse. Such disruption leads to a humorous situation. The Mouse's attempt to dry up the gathering with his dry accounts of history proves the point:

> "…'and even Stigand the patriotic archbishop of Canterbury, found it advisable'-"
>
> "Found what", said the Duck.
>
> "Found *it*", The Mouse replied rather crossly; "Of course you know what 'it' means"
>
> I know what "it" means well enough, when I find a thing," said the Duck; "it's generally a frog or a worm. The question is what did the archbishop find?" (p.20)

The Duck's understanding of the historical account is impaired because the use of reference marker "it" differs in the Duck's own schema from the schema of the Mouse's narrative. The object of the verb "find/found" in the Duck's existing schema is a noun phrase. "A frog or a worm" refers to food items in the Duck's schema and it tries to interpret the text narrated by the mouse according to its own schema. The account narrated by the mouse is a text inside a text. This text inside the main text has its own schema which is apparently not understood by the Duck because its schema is limited and relatively simple. The schema of the narrated 'account' is complicated and so the verb "found" takes an infinitive clause as its object, showing a plan of action rather than a concrete object. This change in the syntax of discourse is determined by the schemas of the corresponding speakers. The historical account does not carry any sense for the Duck because its schema is too different from the schema in this particular narrative. By exploiting the notion of schema both in the readers and his characters, Carroll has been able to arouse laughter among his readers.

According to Kant (1929), the schema of a speaker mediates his perception of the world. An illustration of this notion can be seen in the difference of perception when Alice speaks to the Mouse about cats and dogs. In Alice's schema cats and dogs carry pleasant associations in comparison with the associations that these animals carry in the Mouse's schema. Their conversation almost reaches a deadlock when Alice continues to talk about cats and dogs and resumes only after Alice makes a promise that she would no longer refer to such animals. Alice continues to talk of her real world cat to text world Mouse and birds which causes this impasse in their conversation. This manipulation of the two schemas by Carroll has both linguistic and literary implications.

From a literary perspective, the deviant schemata not only create humour but also question the norms and traditions humans have set for themselves. It sensitizes the mind to the bonds and chains in a social setting which are imposed because they have been practiced that way for a long time and anything that goes against them appears nonsense.

Conclusion

Through challenging and disrupting the existing schema of both the reader and Alice, Carroll has been able to portray a non-sense text world. The comprehension of this non-sense text world becomes possible for readers only after they compare and contrast their existing schemas with the schema of the text world. Without the background knowledge of the real world, a reader would not have been able to consider the world of Alice as 'Wonderful'. The creation of this wonderful non-sense world arises from the disruption of the readers existing schemas. Carroll has been able to portray a wonderful world through the usage of certain linguistic and pragmatic notions such as schema, background knowledge and the patterns of language intrinsic to context such as deixis. Without these tools the creation of a non-sense text world would have been difficult. The importance of our existing schema in the understanding and interpretation of literary texts has been verified through the contrast between the two schemas between the actual world schema and the text world schema. However, Carroll never lets us forget that it is an impossible and at times a nonsense world through Alice's very realistic remarks. She keeps on juggling between the two worlds and takes the reader along with her but at times in doing so she loses sight of the real Alice as she ponders:

Who in the world am I? Ah, *that's* the great puzzle!' (p.13)

In the end, the reader is also left wondering and the challenge does not remain so much of the worlds that they are shifting between but becomes an identity issue. This juggling between worlds gives the reader multiple identities along with the lead character so that they can adjust to one and the other schemas as the text becomes more 'Wonderful".

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Maturity in Self and Psycho-spiritual Well-being

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Abstract

Using Jungian model of human development, the question of emotional maturity in relation to psycho-spiritual well-being was explored in the sample of 500 adult population of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The sample was composed of 262 men (52.4%) and 238 women (47.6%), whose age ranged from 17 to 47 with the mean age of 26.05 ± 6.381. Two main measures were utilized in this study, the Pearson-Marr Archetypal Indicator (to measure the degree of maturity in self) and Spiritual Well-being Scale (to measure existential and religious well-being). The results were discussed in terms of hypotheses involving the meditating role of the archetypes in psychological maturity and psycho-spiritual well-being. The evidence implicating psychological maturity in determining religiosity, spirituality and well-being was compelling. Most of the secondary predictions were confirmed. As predicted, psychologically mature respondents obtained higher scores on all measures of spiritual well-being. Spiritual poverty apparently resulted when a respondent's major identification was with the lower levels of personal growth. Moreover, neurotic tendencies significantly reduced with psychological maturity and religious participation. These results confirm the importance of psychological maturity for psycho-spiritual health.

Keywords: Personal growth, Spirituality, Maturity, Religiosity, Ego, Soul, Spirit, Archetypes

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Introduction

Spiritual health and maturity are different goals but are closely related. There is sufficient consensus among counselors and health care providers that maturity in self is significant to optimal human functioning. Maturity in self is important, and it seems likely that absence of it may contribute to a variety of psychological maladies. Various researchers (e.g. Westenberg & Block, 1993; Loevinger, 1997; Frankl, 1962) argued for much stronger conclusion-that development in self is essential to realize spiritual aspects of human nature. Ivtzan, Chan, Gardner & Prashar (2011) who equated psychological maturity with sense of completeness or wholeness in personality which is required to integrate social, psychological, and spiritual aspects of human development.

Although therapeutic utility of religion has been extensively documented yet very few studies recognize the risk factors associated to practicing religion without psychological maturity (Emmons & Paloutzian, 2003). Practicing religion without maturity can harm the great cause of religions. Although, reviews conclude that religiousness has been found to be related to positive traits such as kindness, compassion, forgiveness (Peterson & Seigman, 2004) and hope that provides buffer against depression and anxiety but a religions demeanor of immature individuals is associated with intolerance, prejudice towards members of out-groups, torture and extremism. Therefore, in the present research, it is argued with merit that maturity in 'Self' is necessary for practicing religion as without it one cannot achieve the same level of well-being as those who practice religion with considerable self maturity.

The recognition of personality for both religious and spiritual well-being is less documented in literature. Qualities associated to maturity in self provide individuals with a greater repertoire of skills and enhance behavioral flexibility due to which they can successfully draw benefits from personal, cultural and even religious recourses.

An extensive review, however, is available on a variety of mechanisms through which religion is favorable on psychological health (Hilll & Pargament, 2003). Latest researchers (e.g., Dambrun & Ricard, 2011; Plotkin, 2008; Seaward, 2011) have clearly delineated the importance of spiritual experiences for well being. In support to this various clinical studies (e.g., Johnson et al., 2000; Johnson et al., 2001; Greenberg, 2000) explained that lack of spiritual experiences may lead to social and psychological abnormality. Thus, today therapists and other mental health professional advocate incorporating religion and spirituality in their patients' treatment (Pargament, 2013). Unfortunately, this aspect of human development is less evident in the new paradigms. Without addressing the spiritual aspects, human

development theories provide incomplete knowledge of humanity. Therefore, the present research seeks to ensure that this oversight does not persist.

Further, this topic has great academic and applied significance because one cannot side step religion and its importance in today's world and the ways religion can support the development of maturity and ego strength. The links between self-development, psychological wellbeing and religiousness offer new ideas for helping people who are suffering emotionally and psychologically such as those living in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa or anywhere in the world.

Method

Sample

A total number of 500 participants took part consisting of Pakhtun attendees of ten representative of government and non government educational institutions of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The sample was made up of 262 men (52.4%) and 238 women (47.6%), whose age ranged from 17 to 47 with the mean age of 26.05 ± 6.381. Mean age of the men was higher (26.94 ± 6.00) than women (25.07 ± 6.64). All the participants belonged to Pakhtun and Muslim community.

Measures

The study was based on the primary data collected through standardized scales measuring the level of personal growth, and spiritual wellbeing. The Pearson-Marr Archetypal Indicator (PMAI) gauged the personal growth (Pearson & Marr, 2002). The average test-retest reliability of the twelve subscales of PMAI is .72 with coefficient averaging .68 (Pearson & Marr, 2002).

The Spiritual Well-being Scale by Paloutzian and Ellison (1991) was supplemented with PMAI. It is a self-report instrument that measure Existential (meaning and purpose in life) and Religious (connectedness with God) Well-being. It has a test-retest reliability of .93; the internal consistency coefficients ranged from .94 to .89 in 7 different studies (Paloutzian & Ellison, 1991).

Sampling Procedure

Initially, the population was contacted through the offices of their respective heads of the institutions. Later, a systematic sampling procedure was adopted to take on the participants for the present study. Young adult participants were enlisted from B.A./B.Sc./M.A./M.Sc. programs while, older adults were recruited from the M.Phil/PhD programs.

Hypotheses of the study

1. Subjects with less psychological maturity tend to experience existential crisis that can bring scores of existential and religious well-being to their lowest.
2. Subjects with high psychological maturity tend to score high on subjective psychological well-being.
3. Subjects who would neglect their spiritual growth and well being would more likely to suffer depression, anxiety, and stress.

Data analysis

For the purpose of comparing psychological maturity and well-being, Multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVA) which was supported by McPeek (2008), was used that allowed modeling the values of multiple dependent scale variables (personal growth levels), based on their relationship to categorical predictor (spiritual wellbeing). Cohen (1977) suggested the effect size of .20 as a small, .50 as moderate, and .50-.80 as greater difference in group means. In addition, mean scores (as was directed by the PAMI manual) were computed to determine the level of personal growth.

Results

Using a causal comparative research design, the present study attempted to determine the plausible relationship between the personal growth level and psycho-spiritual well-being among the adult population of age 18-45 of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Table 1

Mean Age of Respondents by Personal growth for N=500

	Level of Identification	Mean Age	N	Std. Deviation
High ↑ / Low	Ego (Preparatory stage)	27.1790	162	6.49597
	Soul (Exploratory stage)	20.6818	154	2.79754
	Spirit (Self-realization Stage)	29.5489	184	5.44800
	Total	26.0500	500	6.38130

F (2, n=500), 127.686, p<.01 (2-tailed) with Eta = 0.583

The finding suggests that psychological maturity is age dependent factor. Age was found a significant variable determining the level of personal growth, F (2, n=500), 127.686, p<.01. Mean age was higher (29.5489 ± 5.44) for those who identified with higher level of personal growth (Spirit) than those who shown lower levels of personal growth i.e., Soul and Ego (20.681 ± 2.79 and 27.179 ± 6.495 respectively). These statistics indicate that spirit level of identifications tend to increase with an increase in age.

Table 2

Frequency Distribution Matrix of Personal growth level according to Gender

Gender	Ego	Soul	Spirit	Total
Women	71	102	65	238
Men	91	52	119	262
Total	162	154	184	500

Pearson Chi-Square, X^2 (2, n=500) 33.476, p<.01.

Approximately, 32.4% of the respondents were at the preparatory stage of personal growth, with 30.8% at Soul level development, indicating they were in the process of exploring possibilities to develop a true Self. On the other hand, 36.8% showed signs of developed true Self. Gender-wise, results showed a significant difference between the distribution of personal growth levels for men vs. women, (X^2 (2, n=500) 33.476, p<.01). A majority of the men identified archetypal energies at Spirit level of development which is a sign of psychological maturity. On the other hand, women showed less psychological maturity.

In general, 35.6% of the subjects exhibited weak religious involvement, 38% of them showing neutral involvement whereas 24.4% high religious involvement. Majority of the individuals (78.39%) at Ego level of development reported neutral level of religious activity. Among those who were preoccupied in the process of self discovery, a majority (96.7%) reported weaker level of religious activity; however, the majority of the self-actualizers (61.41%) had shown strong religiousness. With $df = 4$ and α .01, the obtained chi-square value exceeded the critical value (13.28). Thus, a significant difference between the distribution of religious involvement for individuals with Ego, Soul, and Spirit level of development were confirmed, X^2 (4, n= 500) 508.6, p < .01.

Table 3

Frequency Distribution Matrix showing the Amount of Religious Activity depending on Personal growth Level

	Religious Activity			
		Weak	Neutral	Strong	Total
Level of Identification	Ego	20	127	15	162
	Soul	149	5	-	154
	Spirit	9	58	113	184
	Total	178	190	132	500

X^2(4, n= 500) 508.6, p < .01

Table 4 presents the potential relationship between psychological maturity (level of personal growth) and spiritual well-being (religious & existential). Individuals at Spirit level were more religious and scored high on Religious Well-being (M=39.85 and SD=10.436). Individuals at preparatory stage (Ego) were moderately religious with moderate level of Religious Well-being (M=30.93 and SD=8.863). However, individuals at Soul level of development, preoccupied with their personal inadequacies were found less religious. The mean score for this group fell well below the range of 30, which reflects low level of Religious Well-being in them.

Table 4

Descriptive Statistics of Spiritual Well-being by Level of Personal growth

	Level of Identification	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Religious Well-being	Ego	30.93	8.863	162
	Soul	24.64	5.750	154
	Spirit	39.85	10.436	184
Existential Well-being	Ego	38.36	9.330	162
	Soul	21.09	5.518	154
	Spirit	43.25	8.658	184
Spiritual Well-being	Ego	69.43	16.172	162
	Soul	46.14	6.026	154
	Spirit	83.38	16.949	184

Mean score on Existential well-being was found higher at Spirit level of self growth (M=43.250 and SD=8.658). Existential well-being was found moderate at Ego

development level with the mean of 38.364 and standard deviation of 9.330. It was also noticed that the existential well-being considerably reduced at Soul level of development (M=21.10 and SD=5.518).

Altogether similar trend was noticed in the case of Spiritual Well-being. The mean scores on Spiritual well-being by level of personal growths were 69.43 for Ego, 46.14 for Soul, and 83.38 for Spirit level of development which indicated that Spiritual well-being increased with an increase self maturity.

Table 5

Post Hoc Multiple Comparison of Spiritual Well-being by Level of Personal growth

Dependent Variable	Level of Identification				
	(I)	(J)	(I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Religious Well-being	Ego	Soul	6.28*	.979	.000
		Spirit	-8.93*	.938	.000
	Soul	Ego	-6.28*	.979	.000
		Spirit	-15.21*	.950	.000
	Spirit	Ego	8.93*	.938	.000
		Soul	15.21*	.950	.000
Existential Well-being	Ego	Soul	17.2668*	.90866	.000
		Spirit	-4.8858*	.86986	.000
	Soul	Ego	-17.2668*	.90866	.000
		Spirit	-22.1526*	.88179	.000
	Spirit	Ego	4.8858*	.86986	.000
		Soul	22.1526*	.88179	.000
Spiritual Well-being	Ego	Soul	23.30*	1.598	.000
		Spirit	-13.95*	1.530	.000
	Soul	Ego	-23.30*	1.598	.000
		Spirit	-37.24*	1.551	.000
	Spirit	Ego	13.95*	1.530	.000
		Soul	37.24*	1.551	.000

*. Mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Table 5 shows multiple comparisons supporting the hypothesis that the level of personal growth tend to influence religious, existential, and spiritual well-being. According to Post Hoc test, the scores on Religious, Existential and Spiritual Well-being scales varied at three levels of personal growths. The pair-wise comparisons revealed that all groups were significantly different from each other at the significance level of .05.

Table 6

Multivariate Test

	Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Pillai's trace	.622	34.960	4.000	728.000	.000	.307
Wilks' lambda	.378	38.968	4.000	726.000	.000	.377
Hotelling's trace	1.475	43.032	4.000	724.000	.000	.440
Roy's largest root	1.475	86.536	2.000	364.000	.000	.611

The four Multivariate Tests of significance indicate effects of personal growth level on indicators of Spiritual Well-being (SWB). Since Pillai's trace was found robust therefore, a strong effect of independent variable (maturity in self) on the dependent variable (SWB) was confirmed.

Table 7

 Correlation Matrix

	Life Satisfaction	RWB	EWB	SWB	Depression	Anxiety	Stress
RWB	.439**	1					
EWB	.662**	.668**	1				
SWB	.602**	.898**	.918**	1			
Depression	-.608**	-.664**	-.736**	-.771**	1		
Anxiety	-.639**	-.629**	-.680**	-.717**	.831**	1	
Stress	-.652**	-.560**	-.714**	-.700**	.815**	.847**	1

The correlation matrix in Table 7 indicates that Life satisfaction significantly correlated with the factor components of Depression, Anxiety, and Stress Scale (DASS) and Spiritual Well being (SWB). Factor components of DASS negatively correlated with Life satisfaction suggesting that life satisfaction increases with decrease in depression, anxiety and stress. On the other hand, factor components of SWB positively correlated with Life Satisfaction. These statistics confirmed the hypothesis that high scores on Spiritual Well-being tend to increase the level of scores on scale measuring Life Satisfaction. Similarly, among the other predictive variables, Religious well-being negatively correlated with depression, anxiety, and stress, r=-.664, -.629, and-.560 respectively. It seems that religious contents provide meaning which is reflected in the subjective feelings of the respondents and is translated into their psychological wellbeing.

Discussion

The purpose of the study was to examine whether psychological maturity would be a predictor of psycho-spiritual well-being. The results support the long argued assertion for the benefits of psychological maturity on religious well-being and vice versa. The findings support that successful moral advancement can be made with increased psychological maturity. Further, based on the facts, there is evidence that age can play an important mediating role in psychological maturity. It seems that psychological maturity comes with age. Consequently, religious involvement also increases with age leading to psychological maturity.

Personal growth and spiritual well-being

Most aspects of wellbeing are affected by personal growth. Awakening inner resources (powers of the mind) tend to perk up general well being. The evidence implicating psychological maturity in the determining of psycho-spiritual wellbeing is compelling. In relation to PMAI scores, group exhibiting psychological maturity showed higher levels of psychological and spiritual well-being. Personal growth is related to religion for two reasons. First, psychological maturity causes "openness to experience" because realization of the powers of the mind can give access to understand physical and meta physical realities with little resistance. Second, meaning of life derived in religious context are more stable which can produce long lasting wellness. It is interesting to note that the psychological maturity not only provides helpful approximations of interior insights but help people to transform a mundane self into a spiritual self, to develop strong affinity with God for meaning in life, hope, health and well being.

Similarly, to understand the complexities of religious and spiritual matters, considerable psychological maturity is needed. In fact, a mature self recognizes the need to transcend which further encourages one to seek out existential spiritual connections. In this way personal growth tends to accompany spiritual growth in a person. It is the point in life where an ionized person (psychologically mature individual who is ready to ascend) tend to form a bond with religion to identify his spiritual self, parameters of life and purpose of life. If this spiritual quest is directed outward, the ultimate goal becomes to make the world a better place.

The above mentioned relationships help to conclude that the psychological maturity (conscious sense of self) tend to positively improve religious involvement. Self-awareness congregates the significance for both personal and spiritual growth. Self improvement and positive thinking tend to increase psychological wellness. While immaturity develops egotism, a mental state where self is the focal point.

With this psychological landscape, practicing religion could become detrimental to individuals and societies.

In Jungian literature, our specie has an innate predisposition in the form of Super-Ego to learn rules and social norms. It is important to note that this aspect of self serves society more than it serves individuals. It is, this tendency that creates religious impulse and if this religious impulse is not satisfied or acknowledged, it may produce psychological distress and unhappiness which may in turn lead to moral complex manifested as neurosis (psychological crisis due to psychic disintegration). Moreover, it is also possible that personal growth without religion would also create moral complex. This psychic disintegration would trigger unconscious impulse of soul to respond violently and irritability. Under these conditions, understanding of psychic motives and powers expands consciousness which is required to control ID and moral complexes.

Religion and Mental Health

Strong association of religion and mental health is not surprising because spiritually-based coping and practices provide beneficial effects for depressive symptoms, mood states, self-esteem (Simoni, Martone, Kervin, 2002). All religions intend to strengthen morality and existential wellness that are the hallmarks of well-being. Prayers and concept-oriented life may help people develop positive attitudes towards the life and improve the quality of life by reducing the risk of mental disorders. To account for this finding, it may be that when religiousness increases people enjoy prayers and follow clear goals in life. Such a sense of unity and goal-orientation in life maintains the inner psychological balance by reducing the risk of existential anxiety.

Since existential issues are related to personal worth, the failure may result in neurotic anxiety (Parry et al, 2007; Azimirad & Jalilvand, 2012; Tankink, 2007; Wortmann & Park, 2009; Peres, et al., 2007; Vis & Boynton. 2008). Many other studies (e.g, Koenig & Larson, 2001; Sawatzky et al, 2005; Ehsan & Pournaghash-Tehrani, 2012) do also support the role of religious association in improving the quality of life. For Bloom (2010), the religious activities are a major source of everyday pleasure. Spiritual, religious and concept-oriented life may help individuals have positive attitude toward self and others and improve mental health by lowering the incidence of neurotic anxiety, depression and stress. Contrary to this, some studies (e.g., Johnson et al., 1989; Maltby, 1999) were with the view that spiritual practices and beliefs sidestep or avoid unresolved emotional issues or unfinished developmental tasks. It is argued that such kind of practices keep people stuck at higher level that is only higher in conceptual sense.

In fact, the real danger lies when religions aim to Divine powers and encourage humans to be passive and grovel. This approach exerts harmful effects on the health of an individual and society. Without synergetic relationship of individual with God, the religion's role can mere be of regulatory. However to establish such a synergetic relationship considerable psychological maturity is required. For this happen a systematic educational campaign is needed such a campaign of course would be extremely complicated to implement under incredibly stressful circumstances in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Conclusion

In sum, the results of this study suggest that (a) a relationship does exist between psychological maturity level and psychological well-being. (b) Personal growth level is the best predictor of religiosity in this sample. (c) psychological maturity significantly reduce the risk of neurosis, and (d) Spiritual beliefs as coping mechanism are consistently related to psychological wellness.

Recommendations

The author suggests that social workers, educators, and mental health professionals should highlight the importance of psychological maturity for religion, personal health and wellbeing of the society. The researcher proposes academic attitude towards the religion because the implications of sidestepping religion could be dangerous. What is required is the need to respect this legitimate claim in educational setup because students already have religious speculations. Similarly, the academic world should try to develop tolerance for religions in their students as a marker of psychological maturity. It is recommended to weigh further the importance of religion which is most consistent and omnipresent element of human life. Therefore, future developments are awaited with eager anticipation.

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Ownership, Management and Utilization of Common Pool Resources in Mehlp Valley, Chitral, North Pakistan

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Abstract

In the remote mountainous valleys management of natural resources is closely associated with ownership regimes and perceived importance of resources for subsistence sustenance. Since livelihood strategies are quite similar in the Himalaya – Hindu Kush – Karakorum region of North Pakistan; however, the management techniques and utilization mechanisms adopted by the communities heavily depend on ownership regimes and availability of these resources within the territorial limits of a village. Usually, at micro level, locally available resources are kept under different ownership regimes. Access to, and withdrawal from the common pool resources is subject to a complicated system of rights, duties and responsibilities. With the passage of time autochthonous institution have been established for making appropriation rules without any external intervention. In this paper, an attempt is made to look into various aspects of ownership regimes, utilization pattern and management strategies of pasture resources in a remote valley in the Eastern Hindu Kush. Participant observation and focused group discussion were used for data collection. The results reveal that ownership and utilization pattern of the pasture resources is quite complicated. Though the ownerships are still held in de facto, however, the individual user groups are very effective in utilizing their resources in a sustainable way.

Keywords: Common Property Resources, Livelihood Strategies, Eastern Hindu Kush, Adaptive Mechanisms

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Introduction

In the mountainous regions around the world available natural resources are playing a crucial role in subsistence sustenance of the inhabitants. The researchers have found out similarities in the ownership, utilization and management of natural resources among the mountainous communities from the Andes in South America to Alps and the Himalayas, Karakorum and Hindu Kush regions of the Indian subcontinent and adjacent countries (cf. Fьrer-Haimendorf, 1971; Rhoades & Thompson 1975; Netting, 1974, 1976, 1997; Brush, 1976a, 1976b; 1982; Brush & Guillet 1985; Guillet, 1981, 1983; Kreutzmann, 1989, 2006; Ehlers, 1995, 1996, 1997, 2000; MacDonald 1998; Ehlers & Kreutzmann 2000 and Stьber, 2001). Though, socio-economic changes in the mountain societies of the world are quite rapid and the local inhabitants are trying their level best to adjust themselves to these transformations. However, with the passage of time, dependence on the available common pool natural resources is also increasing. To ensure equity in the distribution of resource-units amongst the co-owners and resiliency of the resource base, local communities have formulated comprehensives codes for resource management. These indigenous rules and autochthonous institutions established for the utilization and management of natural resources are dynamic and have proved sustainable for ensuring livelihood strategies of the local population.

In the entire mountainous belt of northern Pakistan including Chitral district natural resources are also kept under different ownership regimes such as individual or private ownership, state ownership, common property and open access (cf. Buzdar, 1988; Bromely, 1989; 1991, 1992; Ostrom, 1990; Ostrom et al. 1999; Schmidt, 2004a, 2004b; Nafees et al. 2009; Velez, 2011; UN-Habitat 2012; Ruiz-Ballesteros & Gual 2012 and Moritz et al. 2013). However, in Mehlp valley these regimes are very complex and cannot be accommodated within the existing classification system (Fazlur-Rahman, 2007, 2009). Moreover, local level economic organization, adjustment with the environmental trajectories and long time feudal rule in Chitral has further complicated resource ownership and utilization pattern (Barth, 1956; Staley, 1969 and Eggert, 1990). Neither the colonial powers (Schomberg, 1938: 102f) and nor the Pakistan government has shown any interest in changing the existing system[1]. In such a situation the ownership titles of individuals as well as communities are still de facto and access to and withdrawal from different resources varies from village to village depending on the availability and economic importance of the resource for subsistence survival. In this paper, an attempt is made to briefly look into different ownership regimes and detailed case studies are presented on the sharing and management of common pool resources that had evolved with the passage of time. For this purpose, a small village in Mehlp valley, village Odier, has been selected for detailed analysis.

Material and Methods

This research is mainly based on participant observation and focused group discussions. During the fieldwork, conducted in 2001 and again in 2012, almost all the user groups were consulted and detailed discussions were held with the knowledgeable persons of each lineage and user group. Unstructured questions were asked about different types of ownership regimes, extraction methods and appointment of the traditional watchmen (*darophal*). Moreover, the duties of watchmen, their rights and different mechanisms adopted for resolving the free rider problem were also discussed in detail. Discussions were also held with the respondents to know the primary owners of each pasture and secondary users or usufructs. At the same time data on other common pool resources of the study area as well as other villages of Mehlp valley were also collected through the same methods to look into the similarities and differences in the utilization pattern of different resources.

Characteristics of the Study Area

Mehlp valley is located in the north western part of Chitral district. This is one of the left-bank tributary of Torkhow River. It is typically a cul-de-sac type of valley with a total length of approximately 25 kilometres. There are three villages in this valley i.e. Mehlp proper, Shoat located on the south facing slope, and Odier has north facing exposure. Two main streams drain the whole area (Map 1). The entire valley is located in a single cropping zone and due to high altitude, in the summer settlements; crop failure is also a common phenomenon. Similar to other parts of the northern mountainous belt (cf. Saunders, 1983; Ehlers & Kreutzmann, 2000 and Kreutzmann 2006) combined mountain agriculture is practiced as a strategy for subsistence sustenance in the valley. Both sectors of the traditional economy – agriculture and animal husbandry – have been effectively integrated. However, at present off-farm income, through government services and out-migration, is also contributing substantially in the household income (cf. Fazlur-Rahman 2007). The important food crops grown in the valley include wheat, barley, maize and potato and the main livestock species include sheep, goats, cattle and yaks.

Fodder and firewood are the main pastures resources of the study area. All the villages of Melhp valley are located above 2900 meter above sea level, where livestock needs 8 to 9 months indoor feeding. Outdoor grazing in the nearby pastures is possible only for 3 to 4 months. Meanwhile, in a tree less milieu, most of the household highly depends on pasture resources for cooking and heating. Both fodder and firewood are supplemented by fodder crops, irrigated grasses and irrigated plantations on the privately owned land. Usually households having little cultivable land heavily depend on the pasture resources.

Population of the village is increasing quite rapidly. The number of households in study area increased from 120 in 2001 (cf. Fazlur-Rahman 2007) to 148[2] in 2012 and at the same time population also increased from 1100 in 2001 to more than 15000 in 2012. This increase has had a multiple impact on the natural resources. It has caused fragmentation of the cultivated land and the size of land holding is also decreasing rapidly. At present more than 95% of the households have less than subsistence level of holding as defined by Saunders (1983: 16) for the Karakorum region[3]. Increase in households also increases the number of livestock in the village. This situation is further increasing the pressure on common pool resources for the provision of basic household needs such as fuel wood and fodder.

The study area has five small pastures in the close vicinity. In the arid mountain milieu both the productivity and regeneration capacity of the pasture resources is very limited. For efficient and sustainable management of pastures resources with equity amongst the co-owners, user groups have been created for each pasture. Each of these groups manages their pasture independently. They usually extract fire wood and fodder from these pastures in addition to grazing of livestock. However, according to the existing pattern of common pool resource utilization, others households of the village and people residing outsider village/valley do have some rights that have been labelled as secondary rights. This system of ownership, management and differential access rights are quite complicated and had evolved with the passage of time. Moreover, these traditional usage patterns became part of the indigenous traditional knowledge and almost all the households have equal knowledge on the functioning of the system.

Results and Discussions

Resource Ownership in Mehlp Valley

In Mehlp valley, the individual villages have well-defined horizontal and vertical territorial limits and clear boundaries. Natural resources located within these limits are kept under different ownership regimes for proper utilisation. Except in the case of arable land purchased by the households, written records of ownership and inheritance are neither kept by the state and nor by the individual households[4]. The whole system of land boundaries and share-and-access rights is maintained through traditional knowledge, which is orally transmitted from one generation to another. In this way everyone knows their own rights and respects others' rights by performing their duties. In case of any dispute or conflict, physical witnesses are presented to the village elders or court of law, and the old usage pattern is considered to be a main supporting proof.

Usually, land that falls within the command area of an irrigation channels in both winter and summer settlements is held as private property, and is mostly owned by

a household head. Irrigation water, which is the single prerequisite for the productivity of arable land (cf. Fazlur-Rahman 2006, 2007), and pastures are treated as common pool resources and are kept under communal or joint ownership regimes[5]. Moreover, to maintain equity at village level and proper utilization of these resources, the villagers have formed different user groups with pre-defined membership and clear access rights. Due to physical and climatic constraints productivity of these resources is very low, with extreme seasonal fluctuation, and a single resource (arable land or alpine pasture) is not sufficient for the subsistence (survival) of a household. At the same time the whole livelihood system of the inhabitants still heavily depends on these resources. Therefore, all these resources, in various ownership regimes, are integrated to ensure the provision of basic household needs for the entire season[6].

Similar to the whole northern mountainous region and elsewhere (Saunders 1983, Ehlers and Kreutzmann 2000; Kreutzmann 2006 and Fitzherbert 2007) in Mehlp valley livestock species and herd size heavily depends on the amount and availability of winter fodder. Therefore, fodder crops are regularly grown in the privately owned fields and the few pastures are also reserved for seasonal grazing as well as for annual fodder collection. Therefore, pastures are considered important resource-base because they provide forage, fodder and fuel wood for the communities.

Pastures and Pasture Resource Management

In the study area pastures and pasture resources are well integrated into the domestic production systems. The designation of differential ownership regimes to such resources is another strategy designed to fulfil the households' fodder and firewood requirements and compensate for deficiencies. These resources are shared among the co-owners. Strict equity is maintained for some resources; but for others, no such measures are adopted. There are five named pastures owned by the user groups of the village (cf. Map 1). Three of them are exclusively reserved for firewood, and two for fodder collection (Table 1). Similar to other localities (cf. MCkean 1992a, 1992b; Netting 1976 and Stuber & Herbers 2000), in Mehlp valley a variety of systems have been devised to control and manage pasture resources. In the study area this system of pasture resource management is known as *Saq* and that is practiced in other parts of Chitral district as well.

For about a century almost all the nearby pastures of the study area had been declared a reserved (*Saq*). It is a basically a term of Khowar language and is usually applied to pasture area that is purposely reserved for single or multiple resources (fodder, firewood or both), agreed upon either by the concerned households or by all the households of a village, through the creation of a joint user group with a definite membership. Based on access, implements used and duration of *saq* period, Faizi

(1999:9) has identified three different types of *saq* in practice. In all circumstances, the boundaries of *saq* areas are properly demarcated, and the responsibility for guarding against free riders and non-owners is entrusted to a number of selected persons locally called *darophal*. The whole community or the concerned user groups appoint these watchmen through mutual consensus for an unlimited time period. Within the *saq* territorial limits nobody (not even members of the *saq* community) is allowed to extract the particular resources for which it has been reserved without prior permission from the community/watchmen. This management mechanism is popular in the whole northern mountain belt of Pakistan and in the treeless area of upper Ghizer district (cf. Baig 1994: 121f.) similar conservation and management practices have been recently introduced. Moreover, such arrangements have been reported from Shishi valley, in southern Chitral. According to Klaus Haserodt (1989: 126) "Dazu gehɯren die zeitweilige Schonung von dorfnahen Eichenbestɑnden fɯr eine stɑrkere Winternutzung oder das zeitweilige Herausnehmen von Gelɑndeteilen ɯber eine Reihe von Jahren aus jeglicher Nutzung (*hujjat*) zum Zwecke der Regeneration." [The general practice of the villagers through temporal restriction on grazing near the villages for winter use and reservation of land parcels for the purpose of future regeneration]

Usually these reserved pastures are open for the collection of fodder and firewood resources. Fodder collection normally starts in August and firewood is usually collected in spring season. In both cases the dates are publically announced after Friday congregation in the central mosque of the village. For the collection of fuel wood both the duration of access and number of loads (*bar*) per household are also determined. However, fodder collection, similar to the old practices in the Khumbu region of Nepal (cf. Stevens 1993: 166), no such mechanism is in vogue.

These general rules of *saq* are strictly applied to the pastures of the study area. Though the user groups are decentralised entities and decide almost all the management related matters on their own. To highlight the indigenous and self-supporting management, few case studies are presented from the study area.

Nichagh Pasture

The name *Nichagh* literally means an area having northern exposure. This area is located very close to the lower part of the village. It is a common property shared by 53 households of the village. The majority of the owners are Somalay (38 households); Bulay (6), Shadeyay (2) and Shaipay (5) and two households of the Nasketek clan are also included in this user group. Most of the owners have arable land and houses in the lower part of the village. For the last hundred years or so, the co-owners have declared this pasture a permanently reserve area (*saq*) for the

extraction of firewood. They have appointed two watchers (*darophal*) to control free riders and unauthorised users[7].

Map 1: Pasture Ownership in Mehlp Valley and Surrounding Villages
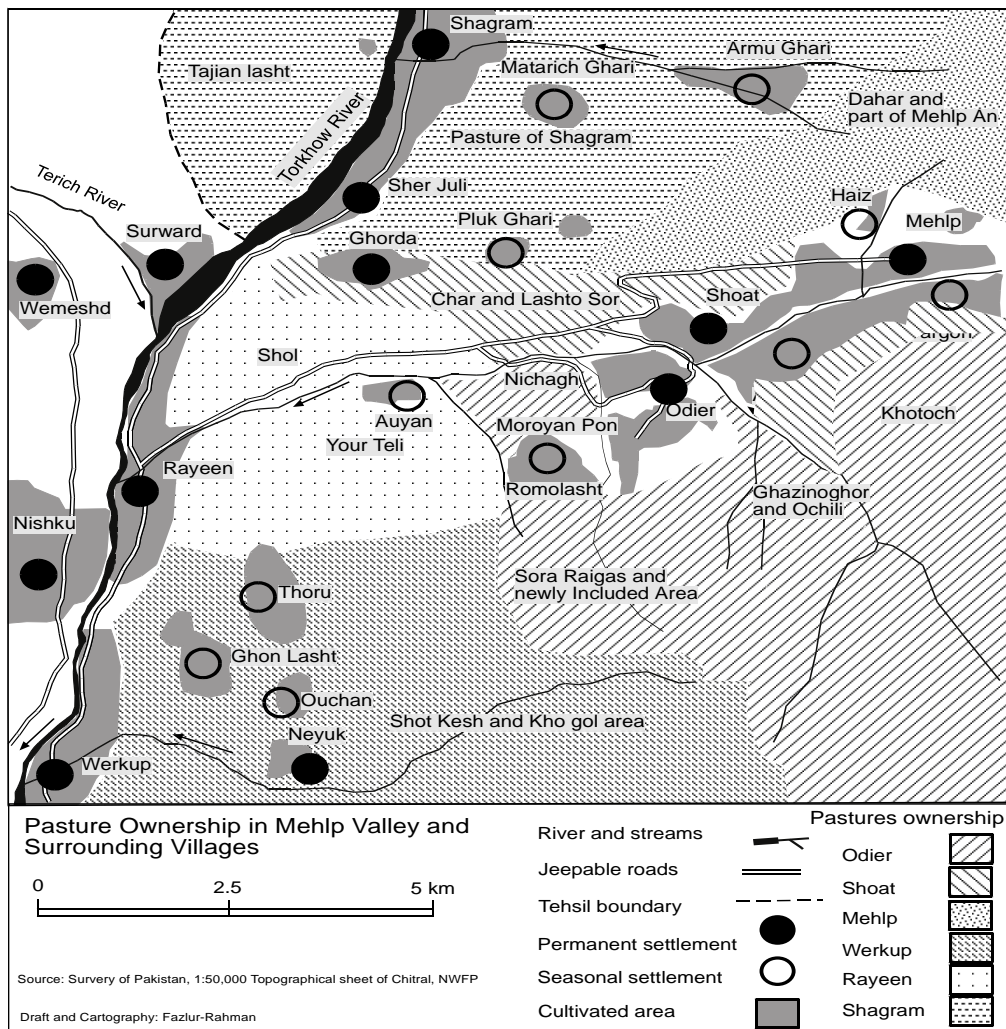
Source: Modified from Fazlur-Rahman (2007)

Different species of Artemisia and wild rose are grown here. The owners have the right to extract fuel wood and graze their sheep and goats in this area. Some non-owner households who have winter houses in the lower part of the village also have some secondary access rights and are allowed to graze their sheep and goats

here. This area has been divided into different named sections for the extraction of fuel wood, and every year one section is declared open upon consultation with the watchmen (*darophal*) and the elders of the user group. The system follows the general principles of reserve in open, i.e., there is a fixed designation of days, duration and number of loads per household. This ban is relaxed only in the spring season, shortly after the snowmelt. The spring thaw facilitates the extraction process, as the different species of Artemisia can be easily up-rooted from the soft, wet soil. Generally an owner can give his share to any member of the user group or any outsider, as he wishes. Members of this user group are also allowed to exchange their shares, on a permanent or temporary basis, with anybody else in other user groups, according to their convenience.

Table.1:Pasture Utilisation in Odier Village with differential rights

Pastures/ (Altitude in Meter)	De facto owners/ users	Primary owner (Hh)	Secondary users (Hh)	Resources	Extraction system	Watchmen (*Darophal*)
Nichagh (2700–3200)	Odier (defined user group)	53	-	Firewood collection, sheep and goats grazing	Reserved	Yes
-do-	Other households of Odier village	-	45	Only sheep and goats grazing	Allowed	No
Moryan Pon (3000–3200)	Odier (defined user group)	44	-	Firewood collection sheep and goats grazing	Reserved	Yes
-do-	Other households of Odier village	-	85	Only sheep and goats grazing	Allowed	No
Ghazinoghor (2900–3300)	Odier (defined user group)	51	-	Firewood, fodder collection and sheep and goats grazing	Reserved	Yes
-do-	Other households of Odier village	-	35	Only sheep and goats grazing	Allowed	No
Ochili Pasture (3100–3300)	Odier (defined user group)	80	-	Fodder collection only and livestock grazing for all households of Odier	Reserved	Yes
Sora Rai Gas (3200–3500)	-do-	118	-	-do-	Reserved	Yes

No: not relevant.   Hh: households

Source: Fazlur-Rahman (2006; 2007)

No fodder collection is allowed from the Nichagh pasture. Rather, it is reserved for spring-season grazing only. Because of its proximity to the dwellings, even the weak sheep and goats can be driven there for daily grazing. This time of year also coincides with the extreme fodder scarcity in the village, as most of the households have depleted their fodder stocks. Therefore, all the households with winter houses in this part of the village occupy their house in the late winter or early spring season to avail this grazing opportunity.

Moroyan Pon Pasture

The Moroyan Pon pasture is *saq* area belonging to another group of households of the village. It is located towards the western side of the summer settlement of Romolasht. It has a common boundary on one side with the Nichagh pasture, and on the other side with the pasture and birch groves of Rayeen villagers. The boundaries on both sides are well defined, without any confusion. It is relatively small in area and has a southern exposure. In general this pasture is used by most households of the village for grazing sheep and goats during spring and winter season. Previously, yak owners also used it as a winter pasture. No fodder is collected from this area. This user group consists of 44 households. Except for two households (one each from the Shaipay and Shadeyay clans), all the co-owners belong to the Somalay clan. The group also keeps two watchmen (*darophal*) for proper control and management purposes and extracts fuel wood according to self-formulated regulations. This pasture is also declared open in early spring season and similarly other rules of the *saq* also applied to it.

Ghazinoghor Pasture

This pasture is located on the north-eastern side of the upper part of the village, close to the dwellings. It was an area rich in both firewood and fodder, and until 1989, it was reserved as a *saq* area for both purposes. A total of 51 member/co-owner households were entitled to collect fuel wood only (the case of fodder is discussed below). The majority of these households were from the Bulay clan (24), followed by Shaipay (13) and Nasketek (10). One household of Shadeyay clan and all three households of the Khushay clan were also included in this group. Out of the whole group, only 35 households used the area as winter and early spring pasture for grazing goats and sheep. After the amelioration of the surrounding areas, the nearby households were entirely dependent on it as their sole winter pasture for goat grazing. The whole area was suitable for development by constructing irrigation channels, in which case there would be no longer any shortage of water. In one section of the pasture there was even no need to construct a channel, because one of the seasonal streams was flowing through it. In the late 1970s one of the co-owners from Nasketek clan approached the state

and got permission to reclaim some area in the easternmost part of the pasture. Later on, another co-owner from the Shaipay clan also got ownership rights there for reclamation. This situation made it difficult for the other *saq* members to maintain the pasture for grazing. Eventually, with the financial and technical assistance of Aga Khan Rural Support Program (AKRSP), the area was ameliorated and brought under individual ownership.

Ochili Pasture

Ochili pasture is located towards the eastern side of the Ghazinoghor pasture. It was considered to be part of Ghazinoghor pasture for the collection of fuel wood and belongs to the same user group. It was also reserved for haymaking. Due to its exposure and steep slope, the growth of natural grass and fodder plants were sufficient for seasonal haymaking. Along with other pastures of the village, it was protected as a *saq* from the last week of May until the first week of August; grazing of sheep and goats were not allowed here. The date for collective haymaking in the commons was formally announced around the first week of August, after the Friday congregation in the central mosque of the village. Then the user groups were allowed to cut fodder from all the reserved communal pastures.

After the development of Ghazinoghor pasture, the village community declared the Ochili section of the pasture an open access (*rai*) for the affected households of the former user group. This step was taken to compensate them for the loss of their nearby pasture, and to facilitate their seasonal sheep grazing. Unfortunately, this measure was not enough for the affected households due to several factors: the Ochili pasture is relatively far away from the dwellings, and due to its steep slope, there is a potential risk of avalanches in winter and rock fall in spring. In the past the poor households were able to collect considerable amounts of fodder and firewood from this reserved area. Since the area has been converted into private property, the fuel wood production has increased for individual owners, but the poor households are now restricted to their own small plots for haymaking and the seasonal grazing of sheep and goats here has been stopped.

Sora Rai Gas and the Newly Reserved Area

The Sora Rai Gas area is located in the upper part of the village above the area owned by clans, at an altitude varying from 3,300 to more than 4,000 masl. A part of this area is bounded by the summer settlements of Nashtani and Lashto Dok. This pasture was and still is used for grazing sheep in the summer and goats during the late autumn and early spring seasons. The area was and is reserved for fodder and firewood collection. Some parts of the area, mostly the uppermost watersheds, were kept as an open access for year-round fuel wood collection.

The newly reserved area, located above the arable land in the Romolasht summer settlement, is handled differently. In the past, it was used for seasonal grazing and was treated as an open access for firewood collection. With the passage of time clans residing adjacent to the pasture encroached on the pasture land and brought under individual ownership, thus creating stress for sheep grazing and intensifying the use of this open-access pasture. Thus this area became heavily stressed and over-utilised. The villagers generally feared that the natural re-growth cycle of the plants, especially *Echinops sp.* (*istorjochun*), was slower than the extraction rate. Therefore, to avoid further deterioration of the habitat, a permanent ban on the collection of fodder and fuel wood has now been imposed on this area in 2001 and this pasture has been added to the village reserve pool (*saq*) through a unanimous decision of the whole community.

The boundaries of the saq area have been properly demarcated anew for the purpose of natural regeneration, and in 2009 this newly *saq* area was declared open for the collection of firewood; and every household was allowed to extract eight loads of firewood in 10 days.

Conclusion

This study reveals that at micro level management of common pool resources in the remote mountains area is quite complex and complicated to understand (Fazlur-Rahman 2009). There is general variation in management systems with respect to the availability of resource and its economic importance for the subsistence survival of the local inhabitants. However, two aspect of resource utilization are very common i.e. equity and sustainability. It is because of the fact the villagers are aware of the fact that their individual as well as collective survival lies in the long-term sustainability of these resources. Therefore, based on the designed principles of Elinor Ostrom (1990) they have devised management mechanisms for their common pool resources. Access to pasture and withdrawal of resources has been properly defined for all the co-owners in each pasture. Both the indigenous institutions and locally formulated rules and regulation are robust and working for a very long time without any conflict.

The villagers are sensitive to the degradation and overexploitation of pasture resources. Therefore they have included new area in the village reserve pool through mutual consensus and successfully managing it. This study reveals that the inhabitants have formulated different rules for firewood and fodder collection keeping the significance of pasture resources. For fodder collection from the reserved pastures, they are reserved for the entire season and after the opening date no restriction is placed on the duration as well as amount of fodder collected

by a single household. Contrary to this for firewood collection the reserved pastures are opened for a fixed number of days and the amount of firewood per shareholder is also fixed.

The case studies also show that in the formation of user group have special care has been taken to include those households who belong to one clan and residing in the same neighbourhood. This mechanism has been adopted with few exceptions. However, the secondary rights of other households, residing permanently or temporarily in the proximity of the pasture, has been respected. In this way households have been divided into primary and secondary owners/user. These differential access rights are one of main findings of this research.

These case studies also highlight the villagers' environmental knowledge, sensitivity to resource degradation and managerial skills and capability for the conservation of natural resources. It is concluded that traditional resource management and utilization based on principles of conservation and sustainability in the fragile mountain milieu were in vogue for centuries. The inhabitants of the remote villages were successfully implementing these concepts which were unknown to resource managers and government officials.

Notes

[1] Nevertheless, despite strong resistance of the local inhabitants a few years ago the revenue department has started land settlement and cadastral documentation in the district. As a result measurement of cultivated area of many villages of lower Chitral has been completed and survey activities are in progress in the upper parts of the district

[2] These households belong to six lineage groups i.e. Somalay (78) Bulay (30) Shaipay (19) Nasketek (12), Khushay (3) and Shadeyay (6).

[3] According to Saunders (1983:16) "It may be suggested that with careful husbandry the average household of 7-8 members may achieve self-sufficiency in a double cropping with 1.5-2 ha (30-40 kanals) and in single crop area with 2.5-3ha (50-60 kanals). This assumes a reasonably fertile soil, adequate supply of irrigation water, under current agricultural management practices and at a moderate living standard.

[4] Cadastral survey of this village has been completed. Now the revenue officials are busy in documenting the ownership records and relevant information as well as preparing the cadastral map for the village. This will change the ownership of the individual households and at the same time detail records will be available in the relevant department for consultation in case of any dispute.

[5] Access and withdrawal rights with respect to irrigation water considerably vary from other common pool resources (cf. Israr-ud-Din 1992, 1995 Baig 1994 and Fazlur-Rahman 2006, 2007, 2009).

[6] For example, the villagers are dependent on water resources for drinking, irrigation and running their water mills; likewise arable land produces food, firewood and fodder; and pastures are the main resource for seasonal forage, grazing, firewood collection and haymaking. Thus, all resources falling within the territorial limits of a village in different ownership regimes are amalgamated and used as production inputs, as well as supplementary sources, to ensure subsistence livelihood at village and household levels.

[7] This pasture is located very close to the winter dwellings, there is no problem of free riders; however, an organisation is always needed to oversee proper management.

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A Minimalist Account of Structural Case Assignment
in Pashto Unergative Constructions

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Abstract

Pashto unergatives, like other Pashto constructions, are characterized by split-ergativity with reference to tense; thus the subject nominal shows the nominative Case[1] in the present and the future tenses, and the accusative Case in the past tense which requires the assignment of the two Cases by two different functional heads. Following the minimalist idea of agreement, we propose, for Pashto unergative constructions, that nominative Case to subject nominals is assigned as a result of ϕ-features agreement between the functional head T and the subject nominals, while accusative Case is assigned as a result of ϕ-features agreement with the functional head Voice; as υ in the past tense Pashto constructions is defective in the Chomskian (2001) sense. The overall conclusion for Case assignment in Pashto unergative constructions is that the minimalist idea of agreement between a nominal and a functional head as responsible for structural Case assignment is equally applicable to Pashto unergative Constructions.

Keywords: Structural Case; minimalism; assignment; nominative; accusative

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Introduction

Nouns and pronouns, with their varied Case forms, have always been of interest in the minimalist program, due to the latter's proclaimed aim of knowing the 'why' of syntactic phenomena. As such, studying structural Case assignment in different constructions has been a major aspect of the minimalist program. Unergative constructions have attracted generative linguists because of υ not being able to assign the accusative Case due to being defective in Chomskyan (2001) sense.

Added to this can be the behaviour of Pashto unergative constructions where subjects in the present and the past tenses show different Case markings referred to as split-ergativity. For structural Case assignment in Pashto unergatives this paper hypothesizes that ɸ-features agreement between the functional head T and a nominal results in assigning the nominative Case to that nominal, while ɸ-features agreement between the functional head Voice and a nominal results in assigning the accusative Case to that nominal. In addition, this paper proposes a morphological hypothesis, which is a sort of bye-product of our endeavour, namely, that, in Pashto, agreement for the nominative Case assignment is visible while agreement for the accusative Case is invisible.

This paper unfolds as follows: section 1 introduces the topic. Section 2 gives a thumbnail sketch literature review of unergatives and structural Case assignment in the minimalist program. Section 3 discusses the unergatives in Pashto. Sections 4, 5, and 6, describe structural Case assignment in Pashto unergatives in the three tenses of the present, the past and the future, respectively. Section 7 concludes the paper.

1. Unergative Constructions and Structural Case Assignment in the Minimalist Program

An important step in the generative enterprise vis-a-vis the intransitives has been Perlmutter's (1978) Unaccusativity Hypothesis, which says that the subject of unaccusative verbs, not being a true agent, originates in the complement to V position, while the subject of unergative verbs starts in the canonical subject position; i.e., the specifier VP/vP. The most important aspect of unergative verb constructions, from the minimalist perspective, has been the inability of its v to assign Case to the nominals. Thus, v in unergative constructions is technically defective (Chomsky, 2001) as it lacks [uϕ] features. This is shown by the fact that the canonical internal argument position to which v assigns Case remains empty. Interestingly, unergative verbs present the opposite side of the problem, the generative grammarians face, with reference to copular constructions. Syntacticians have been at pains to find V or v, because of the obvious absence of the θ-roles for the nominal, to some extent (see Masood, 2014) for detailed discussion); in unergative verb constructions, on the other hand, V and v are both present but there is no DP to take the role of the internal argument.

Different structures have been proposed to deal with unergative verb constructions. Adger (2004:140), after accommodating the UTAH (Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis) into its structure, has given the following structure for the unergative verb *laugh*.
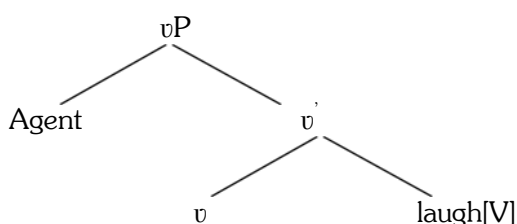
Figure 1

We will make use of this structure, along with the idea of Voice head (Kratzer, 1996; Collins, 2005; Roberts, 2010, n.d.; Holmberg, 2007) for Pashto past tense unergative constructions.

For structural Case assignment itself, in the minimalist program, different ideas have been proposed: a) features agreement between a functional head and a nominal is responsible for structural Case assignment (Schьtze, 1997; Carstens, 2001; Bejar, 2003; Tanaka, 2005; Chomsky, 2000, 2001, 2005, 2006; Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou, 2006; Bobaljik & Branigan, 2006; Richardson, 2007; Legate, 2008; Baker, 2008; and forthcoming; Baker & Vinokurova; 2010); b) Case is an uninterpretable tense feature [uT] (Pesetsky & Torrego, 2001); c) mood and modality are responsible for structural Case assignment (Aygen, 2002); d) aspect assigns structural Case (Itkonen, 1976; Ramchand, 1997; Arad, 1998; Kiparsky, 1998; Torrego, 1998; Svenonius, 2001, 2002; Kratzer, 2004; and *e*) person and location are responsible for Case (Ritter & Wiltschko, 2009). Thus, if looked at in the light of our hypotheses for Pashto unergative constructions, they are a version of 'features agreement between a functional head and a nominal' — mechanism for structural Case assignment.

2. Unergative Constructions in Pashto

The dominant majority of Pashto intransitive verbs are unergatives. Like other languages, the main difference between unaccusative verbs and unergative verbs, in Pashto, lies with reference to the initial placement of the subject DP. The subject of unaccusative verbs in Pashto, not being a true agent, originates in the complement to V position, while the subject of unergative verbs starts in the canonical subject position, i.e. specifier VP/*v*P. Morphologically, the subjects of unergative verbs in Pashto show nominative Case in the present and future tenses while the subjects of unergative verbs in the past tense show accusative Case:

1. *Thə*   *jaɽay.*
   you.NOM   weep.PRS.2SG
   'You weep.'
2. *Tha*   *wojaɽəl.*
   you.ACC   weep.PST
   'You wept.'
3. *Thə*   *ba*   *jaɽay.*
   you.NOM   will   weep.PRS.2SG
   'You will weep.'

In addition, the verbs in the present and future tenses show agreement with their subjects while the unergative verbs in the past tense do not show agreement with their subjects, as is shown by the examples above. Detailed treatment is meted out to Case assignment, Case marking, and agreement patterns, with reference to the three tenses of present, past, and future, in the next three sections.

3. Structural Case Assignment in the Present Unergative Constructions

To show how structural Case is assigned in Pashto unergative constructions, we give an unergative construction, followed by its minimalist derivation and explanation of each step:

3. *Aslam*   *khandi.*
   Aslam   laugh.PRS.3
   'Aslam laughs.'

In this sentence, the unergative Pashto verb, in its base form *khandəl/khand²*, bearing the c-selectional feature [V] and the uninterpretable feature [uD], finds no DP in its complement position to merge with. Semantically, the verb *khand/khandəl* is a mono-argumental verb, requiring one argument as an agent. The little v having [uInfl] and lacking [uφ] merges with VP, because of Hierarchy of Projections Principle[3], to form v'. Technically, v here is a defective probe in the Chomskian (2001) sense as it lacks [uφ] features, hence the ability to assign Case. In English, the movement of the verb to v follows this merge, however, in Pashto the verb remains in the VP. The [uD] of the verb that is still unchecked/ deleted gets projection on v'. To satisfy this feature, the subject DP *Aslam* having [D, uCase] features merges with v'; and, thus the vP is formed.

The little v has the uninterpretable tense feature [uInfl] and it ultimately gets projection on vP. A functional category T, empty in this case, having [*uD, uclause type, present, uφ] features, merges with the vP to form T'. This merge is very important as it results in many things. Firstly, the tense of the v is checked/satisfied

as 'present'. Secondly, an agree relation establishes between T and the nominal, in spec vP. T has the uninterpretable phi-features in terms of person, number and gender, thus acting as a probe, while the nominal has the interpretable features of person, number and gender, and acts as a goal. At the time of agree the two stand in the following relation:

$$[T_{\{P:?; N:?; G:?\}}] [\textit{Aslam}_{\{P:3; N:SG; G:M; CASE:?\}}]$$

Because of the agree relation matching and valuation occurs and T gets the values of 3rd person singular male. It is important to note that the interpretable phi-features in the present tense Pashto unergative sentences do not get pronounced on T. So here, the agreement remains invisible. Along with the tense value 'present' it gets pronounced on V. As a result, the verb gets the spell-out form as *khandi* instead of the base forms *khandəl/khand*.

Thirdly, we had hypothesized that phi-features agreement between T and a nominal in Pashto results in nominative Case assigned to the nominal. Here we have φ-features agreement between *Aslam* and T, in terms of person, number and gender, and the [uφ] of T are valued as 3SGM, while in return nominative Case is assigned to *Aslam*. Therefore, the subject DP *Aslam* gets nominative Case. That the DP *Aslam* does not have overt morphological markings for nominative Case is because of the nature of Pashto nouns, which, in most cases, do not bear overt markings for nominative or accusative Cases.

A natural question can be raised as why agree does not establishes between *Aslam* and the little v. The little v comes earlier in the derivation and consequently must be active before T. However, we see that T not v establishes agree relation with the DP. The main explanation for this phenomenon can be that the DP *Aslam* lies upwards the little v, and lies in the c-command domain of T. As is assumed that a probe can search for a goal downwards i.e. in its c-command domain and not upwards, therefore, this situation substantiates the assumption. More importantly, this situation/ configuration substantiates the assumption that v here is defective (Chomsky, 2001), lacking [uφ] features. As it is defective hence it remains unable to establish an agree relation with any nominal.

Now, let us get back to the final stage of our derivation. We had said that T has strong uninterpretable feature [*uD], commonly referred to as the Extended Projection Principal (EPP) (Hornstein, Nunes, & Grohmann, 2005), and for the convergence of the derivation this feature needs to be checked/satisfied. Movement of the subject DP occurs from spec vP to spec T due to this strong feature of T. Following Adger (2004), the enclosure of the DP *Aslam* in symbol < > shows that

the DP undergoes movement. The strike through [*uD] shows that the strong uninterpretable [*uD] feature of T has been checked/deleted. The [uclause type] of T still remains unchecked and C having [Decl] feature merges with the TP, to check/delete this feature. Thus, our CP gets completed as is shown below:
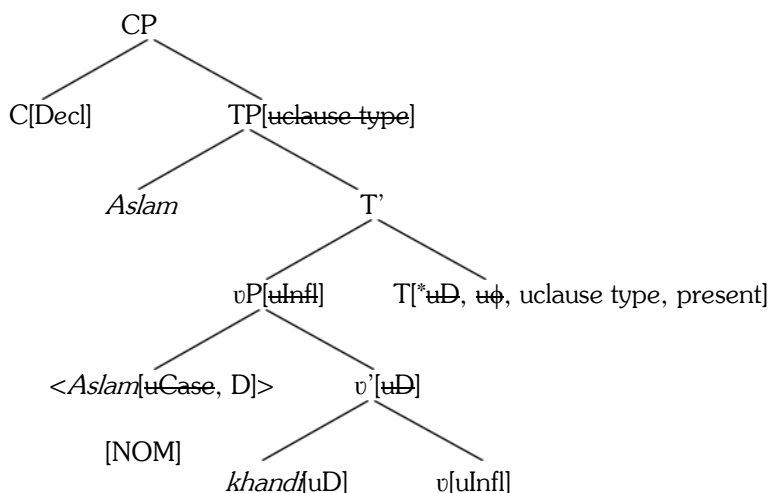
```
                        CP
              _____|_____
             |                       |
         C[Decl]               TP[uclause type]
                           _____|_____
                          |                 |
                       Aslam               T'
                                    _____|_____
                                   |                 |
                               vP[uInfl]      T[*uD, uφ, uclause type, present]
                          _____|_____
                         |                   |
                 <Aslam[uCase, D]>         v'[uD]
                         |              _____|_____
                       [NOM]           |             |
                                   khandi[uD]     v[uInfl]
```

Figure 2: Complete derivation for the unergative construction *Aslam khandi.*

As the subject in the example above is a third person singular, therefore, to show that the same pattern prevails in other unergative present tense Pashto constructions as well, we are giving examples of unergative verbs where all the pronouns along with their Cases have been used:

4. *Hagha*   *khandi.*
    he/she.distant.NOM   laugh.PRS.3
    'S/he laughs/ is laughing.'
    (The same form of the verb is used for the continuous and the indefinite.)
5. *Hagoi*   *khandi.*
    they.distant.NOM   laugh.PRS.3
    They laugh/ are laughing.'
6. *Day*   *khandi.*
    he.near.NOM   laugh.PRS.3
    'He laughs/ is laughing.'
7. *Da*   *khandi.*
    she.near.NOM   laugh.PRS.3
    'She laughs/ is laughing.'
8. *Doi*   *khandi.*
    they.near.NOM   laugh.PRS.3
    'They laugh/ are laughing.'

9. *Thə*   *khanday.*
    you.NOM   laugh.PRS.2SG
    'You laugh/ are laughing.'
10. *Thaso*   *khandai.*
    you.NOM   laugh.PRS.2PL
    'You laugh/ are laughing.'
11. *Zə*   *khandum.*
    I.NOM   laugh.PRS.1SG
    'I laugh/ am laughing.'
12. *Moong*   *khando.*
    we.NOM   laugh.PRS.1PL
    'We laugh/ are laughing.'

Two or three things emerge from these examples. Firstly, all the pronouns exhibit nominative Case. Thus, it substantiates the hypothesis that phi-features agreement between T and the nominal results in nominative Case, assigned to the subject DPs here. To substantiate this point further, we now give examples where the subjects bear accusative Case and see whether they are grammatical or not. If grammatical then the hypothesis is in serious troubles; however, if ungrammatical then it further substantiates the hypothesis.

13. **Haghə*   *khandi.*   (cf. *Haghə khandal*))
    he.ACC   laugh.PRS.3
    'He laughs/ is laughing.'
14. **Haghay*   *khandi.*   (cf. *Haghay khandal*)
    she.ACC   laugh.PRS.3
    'She laughs/ is laughing.'
15. **Ma*   *khandi.*   (*cf. Ma khandal*)
    I.ACC   laugh.PRS.1
    'I laugh/ am laughing'.

All these three examples show that if the pronoun bears accusative Case, then they are grammatically incorrect. Thus, it substantiates the claim/hypothesis.

4. Case Assignment in the Past Tense Unergative Constructions

Now, we are going to discuss Case in the past tense Pashto unergative constructions and see whether the same patterns of agreement and rules for Case assignment exist or not. We take an unergative Pashto example, as we had taken in the section on present tense unergative verbs with the change that the tense is past rather than the present:

16. *Aslam*   *wokhandəl.*
    Aslam.ACC   laugh.PST
    'Aslam laughed.'

The derivation for the past tense unergative constructions differs from their present and future tense counterparts in some important respects, due to the split-ergative nature of Pashto language. The derivation is the same until the vP stage. As in the past tense and passive voice Pashto constructions v is defective (Chomsky, 2001), hence it is unable to assign Case due to its lack of [uϕ] features; however, nominals in spec vP position, in the past tense unergative constructions, do carry accusative Case. Therefore, we introduce Voice functional category (see Masood & Rahman (2013) and Masood (2014) for the introduction of Voice in Pashto constructions). The functional category Voice (Kratzer, 1996; Collins, 2005; Roberts, 2010, n.d.; Holmberg, 2007) merges with the vP to form Voice'. Hierarchy of Projection Principle facilitates the merge of vP and Voice. An agree relation establishes between Voice and the subject DP in terms of person, number, and gender ϕ-features. Because of the agree relation, the phi-features of the Voice are valued as 3SGM, while the subject DP *Aslam* is assigned accusative Case:

CP
C[Decl]   TP[~~uclause type~~]
Aslam[D]   T'
VoiceP[~~uInfl~~]   T[~~*uD~~, uclause type, past]
vP[uInfl]   Voice[uϕ]
<Aslam[~~uCase~~, D]> v'[~~uD~~] [ACC]
wokhandəl[uD] v[uInfl]
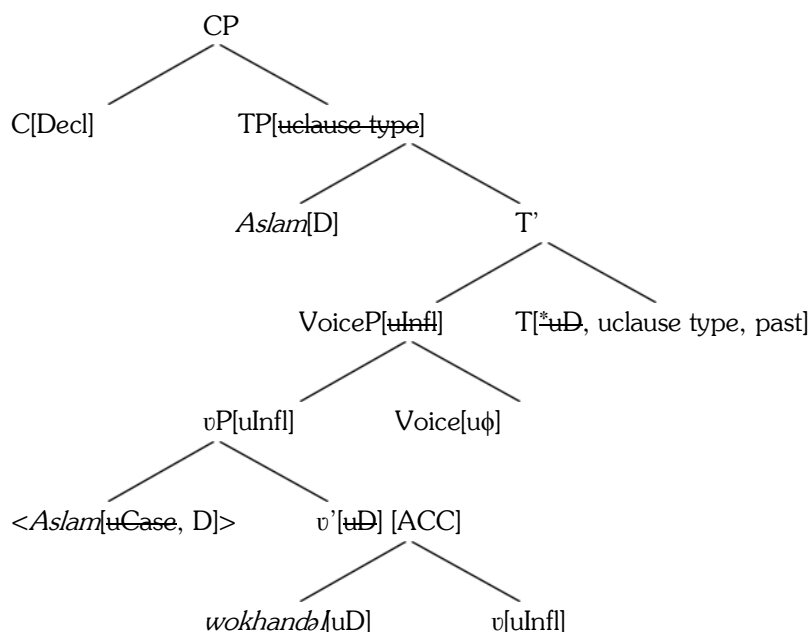
Figure 3. Derivation for the past unergative construction, *Aslam wokhandəl.*

The [uInfl] of v finds projection on VoiceP, and T having strong uninterpretable [*uD] or EPP, uninterpretable [uclause type], and interpretable tense 'past' features merges with the VoiceP to satisfy the [uInfl]. It is important to mention here that the T in the past tense Pashto unergative verb constructions lacks the [uϕ] feature. To check/delete the EPP or [*uD] the subject DP moves to spec TP position. C

having interpretable [Decl] feature merges with TP to check/delete the [uclause type], and thus the CP is completed.

In order, to substantiate the hypothesis that agree between Voice and the subject DP results in accusative Case, we are giving some examples of unergative verbs, where all the pronouns along with their Cases have been used:

17. *Haghə*   *wokhandəl.*
    he.distant.ACC   laugh.PST
    'He laughed.'
18. *Haghay*   *wokhandəl.*
    she.distant.ACC   laugh.PST
    'She laughed.'
19. *Hagoi*   *wokhandəl.*
    they.distant.ACC   laugh.PST
    'They laughed.'
20. *Də*   *wokhandəl.*
    he.near.ACC   laugh.PST
    'He laughed.'
21. *Day*   *wokhandəl.*
    she.near.ACC   laugh.PST
    'She laughed.'
22. *Doi*   *wokhandəl.*
    they.near.ACC   laugh.PST
    'They laughed.'
23. *Tha*   *wokhandəl.*
    you.ACC   laugh.PST
    'You laughed.'
24. *Thaso*   *wokhandəl.*
    you.ACC   laugh.PST
    'You laughed.'
25. *Ma*   *wokandəl.*
    I.ACC   laugh.PST
    'I laughed.'
26. *Moong*   *wokhandəl.*
    we.ACC   laugh.PST
    'We laughed.'

Let us now consider some examples wherein we use pronouns in the nominative Case with unergative verbs in the past tense and see what happens. In this respect, it is important to mention that some pronouns, especially in the plural form, have the same form for nominative and accusative Case. To avoid creating confusion for non-native speakers, we would not use such pronouns in the examples that follow:

27. **Hagha*   *wokhandəl.*
    he.distant.NOM   laugh.PST
    'He laughed.'

28. *Day   *wokhandəl.*
    he.near.NOM   laugh.PST
    'He laughed.'
29. *Da   *wokhandəl.*
    she.near.NOM   laugh.PST
    'She laughed.'
30. *Thə   *wokhandəl.*
    you.NOM   laugh.PST
    'You laughed.'
31. *Zə   *wokhandəl.*
    I.NOM   laugh.PST
    'I laughed.'

These two groups of examples reveal a couple of things. First, the examples in the second group consisting of no.28 through 32, show that the subject DPs of unergative verbs in the past tense do not have nominative Case and thus stand in stark contrast to the DPs in the present and future tenses. All the sentences became ungrammatical when we used the subject DPs in the nominative Case. Second, the first group of examples, 18 through 27, shows that the verbs do not agree with their subjects. Thus, they are different to the examples in the present tense section where the verbs agree with their subjects.

5. Case Assignment in the Future Tense/Time Unergative Constructions

Rules for Case assignment in Pashto future tense unergative constructions remain the same as those for the present tense. To see that this is the case, we take the same example that we had taken for the present and past tenses, with the only change that the tense of the example is the future tense.

32. *Aslam   ba   khandi.*
    Aslam.NOM   will   laugh.PRS
    'Aslam will be laughing.'

The derivation for the future clause is the same except with some minor differences. As this particular example has continuous aspect, therefore, we adjoin[4] the modal clitic *ba* with the ProgP to form the extended ProgP. The [uInfl], which is still not checked / deleted, finds projection on the extended *v*P. The rest of the processes are the same as we have described for the present tense. For our purposes, the most important step is that of Case assignment. An agree relation establishes between *Aslam* and T in terms of ɸ-features and the ɸ-features of the probe T are valued by the goal *Ahmad* as 3SGM, and in return nominative Case is

assigned to the subject DP *Aslam*. This agreement does not get pronounced on T; rather it finds morphological manifestation on V, in this particular instance.
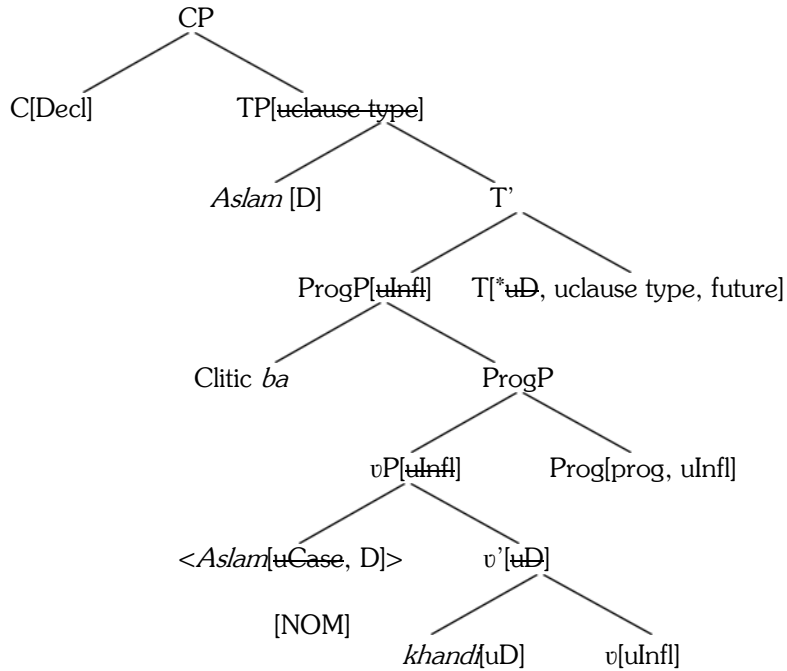
Figure 4: Derivation for the future tense unergative construction Aslam ba khandi

The nominal in the above example is a noun, while it is common in Pashto language that nouns normally do not show morphological markings for nominative and accusative Cases. Therefore, we are giving examples of unergative verbs where pronouns have been used to show and substantiate the claim that agree between T and the subject DP in terms of phi-features results in nominative Case:

33. *Hagha*   *ba*   *khandi.*
    he/she.distant.NOM   will   laugh.3
    'S/he will be laughing.'

34. *Hagoi*   *ba*   *khandi.*
    they.distant.NOM   wil   laugh.3
    'They will be laughing.'

35. *Day*   *ba*   *khandi.*
    he.near.NOM   will   laugh.3
    'He will be laughing.'

36. *Da*   *ba*   *khandi.*
    she.near.NOM   will   laugh.3
    'She will be laughing.'

37. *Doi*   *ba*   *khandi.*
     they.near.NOM   will   laugh.3
     'They will be laughing.'
38. *Thə*   *ba*   *khanday.*
     you.NOM   will   laugh.2SG
     'You will be laughing'.
39. *Thaso*   *ba*   *khandai.*
     you.NOM   will   laugh.2PL
     'You will be laughing.'
40. *Zə*   *ba*   *khandum.*
     I.NOM   will   laugh.1SG
     'I will laugh.'
41. *Moong*   *ba*   *khando.*
     we.NOM   will   laugh.1PL
     'We will be laughing.'

These examples show that all the pronouns exhibit nominative Case. Thus, it substantiates the hypothesis that phi-features agreement between T and the nominal results in nominative Case. To substantiate this point further, we give examples where the subjects bear accusative Case and see whether they are grammatical or not.

42. **Haghə*   *ba*   *khandi.*
     he.ACC   will   laugh.3
     'He will laugh/ will be laughing.'
43. **Haghay*   *ba*   *khandi.*
     she.ACC   will   laugh.3
     'She will laugh/ will be laughing.'
44. **Ma*   *ba*   *khandum.*
     I.ACC   will   laugh.1SG
     'I will laugh/ will be laughing.'

These three examples show that if the pronouns bear accusative Case in the future tense unergative constructions, then they are grammatically incorrect. Thus, it substantiates the claim/hypothesis that in the future tense Pashto unergative constructions agree between T and the subject DP results in assigning nominative Case to the subject DP.

The visible/ invisible agreement pattern in the examples for the present, past, and future tense sections, needs attention. In the present tense examples, all the verbs agree with their subjects. In the past tense examples, no verb agrees with its subject. In the future tense, all the verbs agree with their respective subject DPs. Thus, all

these results substantiate our morphological sub-hypothesis that in Pashto agree between T and the relevant nominal for nominative Case assignment becomes visible on υ or V, or both. While agree for accusative Case assignment between υ or Voice and the relevant nominal does not become visible in the morphological component.

6. Conclusion

Thus, in this paper we analysed the assignment of structural Case in Pashto unergative constructions. We observed that subjects in the past tense showed accusative Cases while subject DPs in the present and future tenses showed morphological forms for nominative Cases. We ascribed this difference to the presence/ absence of the functional head Voice in Pashto unergative constructions. This paper also substantiated the hypotheses that we had propounded in the beginning of the paper. These hypotheses were, ϕ-features agreement, in Pashto unergatives, between the functional head T and a nominal results in assigning nominative Case to that nominal, while ϕ-features agreement between the functional head Voice and a nominal results in assigning accusative Case to that nominal. The derivations/ structures suggested for unergative constructions in the present, past, and future tenses were able to describe adequately different Pashto unergative constructions. In addition, in this paper, we saw the substantiation of a morphological hypothesis, namely, that agreement for nominative Case assignment, in Pashto language, between T and the relevant nominal is morphologically visible while agreement for accusative Case assignment between υ or Voice and the relevant nominal remains invisible.

Notes

[1] Normally, a capital C is used in spelling for syntactic (abstract/structural) Case, while a small c is used in spelling for semantic cases, morphological cases, and cases in general.

[2] Among Pashto grammarians, there are two schools of thought on the nature of the base form of the verb. Raverty (1855) and most of the traditional grammarians after him believe that *məsdər* which can be roughly translated as infinitive form, is the base form of the verb in Pashto. This form of verb is characterized by the morphological marking of ل at the end of the word. This is similar to the English alphabet L in its phonetic realization. However, Tegey & Robson (1996) came with the idea that infinitive is not the base form of the verb, rather different verbs have different base forms, having different endings. So following the majority of grammarians our verb will have the base form *lekəl*, while following Tegey & Robson (1996) our verb will have the base form *leek*. On a personal note, we think that the formulation of Tegey & Robson (1996) may have some sophistication but the formulation of the rest of the grammarians has the advantage that it is very easy to learn. To avoid any controversy and to give a comprehensive picture, we have given both forms of the verb.

[3] Hierarchy of Projection Principle is an innovation on the part of Adger (2004). This is what he says about Hierarchy of Projection:

In order to keep the relation between little υ and VP conceptually distinct from selection, we will just assume that there is a special Hierarchy of Projections, such that whenever we have a little υ, it always has a VP complement.

In an intuitive sense, little υP is an extension of the projection of VP, in that it is still verbal, but it adds further semantic information. We will state the Hierarchy of Projections as follows:

(112)   υ > V

If the Hierarchy of Projection is not met, then the structure will be ruled out. This means, for example, that the following structure is not generated by the system:

(113)
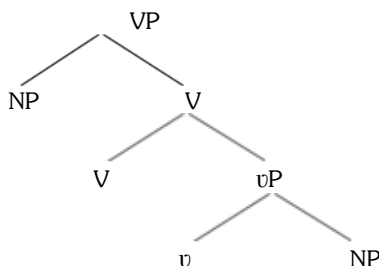
[Adger (2004:135]

Later on, he completes his hierarchy of projection and gives it the following order:

Hierarchy of Projection:
Clausal: C > T > (Neg) > (Perf) > (Prog) > (Pass) > υ > V
Nominal: D > (Poss) > n > N   (p. 333).

The items enclosed in round brackets show that they are optional.

[4] The terms adjunct, adjunction, adjoin, etc. have been the topic of a lot of discussion during the last three decades. We will try to keep ourselves away from the thorny issues involved with these topics. We will restrict ourselves to the use of adjunction/adjoin in the sense that the merge of an adjective/adjunct with a nominal is not a pure merge of the kind that we find, for example, between a verb and a nominal, where the valuation of features and in most cases theta role assignment is involved. Rather, it is a merge, where neither the valuation of features takes place nor there is an assignment of theta-roles. Moreover, as adjuncts cannot be the heads of their constructions, therefore, whenever an adjunction/adjoin occurs the adjunct does not project, rather, the new formed structure is only the extension of the old structure, as for instance: an adjunction/adjoin of an adjunct to an NP will be an extended NP.

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Focalization and Narrator in James Joyce's *Counterparts*

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Abstract

This paper analyses James Joyce's short story *Counterparts* from the perspective of the narrator and the concept of focalization. The paper begins by giving a brief theoretical exposition of the two terms 'narrator' and 'focalization' and proceeds to examine the text in its natural narrative sequence. Joyce's skilful manipulation of focalization as a narrative tool takes the reader on a journey through the protagonist's private thoughts and feelings as the events in the story unfold. The focalization keeps on shifting as the action advances in its temporal and spatial parameters. The reader gets a glimpse into the consciousness of the main character as encapsulated in the narrative leading to multiple cognitive interpretations.

Keywords: Narrator, Narrative, Diegesis, Focalization, Joyce, *Counterparts*

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Introduction

Narratology has always been a fascinating area of research in both literary and linguistic inquiry (Propp 1928, Greimas 1966, Genette 1972, Labov, 1972, Barthes 1975, Toolan 2001, Rimmon-Kenan 2005, Bal 2009). Within applied linguistics, the narrative technique distinguishes between the actual action of the tale and its discourse aspects.

Focalization is an important aspect within the discourse of a narrative. Within narrative theory, it is a tool to determine 'who sees' and 'who speaks' (Genette, 1980:186). The mental processes of the character/s, the narrator, and the author lend a varied perspective to the narrative. It provides '…crucial insights into the representation of consciousness in fiction' (Horstkotte & Pedri, 2011:330).

Joyce's *Counterparts* is an interesting tale that narrates one day's events in the protagonist's life. He is badly treated by his boss and in end he is juxtaposed against his own treatment towards his little son. This study is an attempt to examine the pattern of focalization in the tale to establish the manner in which Joyce represents the protagonist's consciousness.

The paper begins by establishing the theoretical constructs of narrative, narrator, and focalization. The analysis of the tale follows in the light of the discussion.

Narrative and Narrator

> We define narrative as one method of recapitulating past experiences by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually occurred. (Labov, 1972:360)

Narrative has been variously defined as '…verbal productions recounting one or more events…', '…any kind of representations of events…', '…Some maintain that they must involve causality, that they must be populated with individual beings and things, that they must be anchored in human experience, that they must constitute a whole'(Prince, 2008:19).

Rimmon-Kenan (2005:3) defines narrative as '…a succession of fictional events'; its basic aspects are described as 'the events' [story]; their 'verbal representation' [text] and the act of telling or writing [narration]. The text undertakes the telling of events, not necessarily in a chronological order and '…all the items of the narrative content are filtered through some prism or perspective (focalizer)'.The text as a written or a spoken discourse '…implies someone who speaks or writes it…Within the text, communication involves a fictional narrator transmitting a narrator to a narrate'(2005:2-3). The figure who tells the story may be fictional or factual, may speak in their own voice or may assume a character's voice; may interfere and interrupt the narrative or may stay implicit; may have the knowledge and control of everything or may be a narive character. The creator of a narrative can choose from a range of such narrators. 'The narrative level to which the narrator belongs, the extent of his participation in the story, the degree of perceptibility of his role

and finally his reliability are crucial factors in the reader's understanding of and attitude to the story' (Rimmon-Kenan, 2005:97).

The narrator who stays above the level of a story is 'extra diegetic' and the ones at lower level are called 'intradiegetic', 'hypodiegetic' and 'hypo-hypodiegetic' (Rimmon-Kenan, 2005:97). A narrator's participation in the story determines if they are hetrodiegetic or homodiegetic. The degree of perceptibility '…ranges from the maximum of covertness… to the maximum of overtness' (Rimmon-Kenan, 2005:99). Rimmon-Kenan (2005:99-101) refers to Chatman (1978:220-252) for a list of perceptibility signs. The narrator is liable to indicate their presence in 'description of setting', 'identification of character' in a 'temporal summary', 'definition of character', 'reports of what characters did not think or say' and in 'commentary' which may include judgments and generalizations. A narrator's knowledge, involvement, and colouring of the events determine their reliability in the eyes of a reader.

According to Mieke Bal a narrator is '…the (linguistic, visual, cinematic) subject …which expresses itself in the language that constitutes the text' (2009:15). Bal makes a clear distinction between the agent who speaks and the agent who 'sees'. This leads us to the concept of focalization (p.145).

Focalization

'Scholars of narrative have long proposed a split between the narrative functions of seeing, via focalizer, and telling, via a narrator. Whereas the narrator in traditional fiction most often functions as seer of the action as well as teller, focalization separates the narrative operations of telling and seeing'(Held, 2013: 34-35). Focalization is the 'the relation between the vision and that which is 'seen', perceived' (Bal,2009:145). "Perception depends on so many factors…To mention only a few factors: one position with respect to the perceived object, the fall of the light, the distance, previous knowledge, psychological attitude towards the object; all this and more affects the picture one forms and passes to others'(2009:145-5).

Bal considers focalization as a 'technical term' that covers already existing terms 'vision', 'narrative perspective' and 'point of view' (2009:145-146). The term bears an element of technicality owing to its origin in photography and film. This in itself is an advantage. But at the same time it has other advantages over the previously used terms. It distinguishes between the narrating agent and the seeing agent and a subject and a verb can be derived: the verb 'to focalize' and the term 'focalizer' (2009:147)

Bal puts focalizers into two main categories. External focalizer or EF is '…an anonymous agent situated outside the fabula'. An internal focalizer could be one of the characters of the fabula situated inside the story and is labelled CF i.e. Character Focalizer (2009:151-152). '…there exists a focalization axis in linguistic and literary representation of consciousness. This axis…covers the spectrum from internal to external focalization…'(Bundgaard, 2010:67).

The object of focalization also plays an important role in the narrative: How, who and what focalised object determine a reader's interpretation of the text. As Bal states:

> …the image we receive of the object is determined by the focalizer. Conversely, the image a focalizer presents of an object says something about the focalized itself. (Bal, 2009:153)

Focalization can take place at different levels and the focalized may or may not be perceptible. Embedded focalization entails the vision of a CF '…within the all-encompassing vision of the EF,' who always keeps the vision but '…delegates focalization to an internal focalizer' (Bal, 2009:161-162).

Rimmon-Kenan (2005:79-84) mentions three facets of focalization: the perceptual, the psychological and the ideological. The first two cover the spatio-temporal, emotional and cognitive orientation of the focalizer, whereas the ideological facet refers to ideologies, norms and the standards presented by the narrator for the evaluative purposes. 'Whereas the perceptual facet has to do with the focalizer's sensory range, the psychological facet concerns his mind and emotions…' (p.81). Another, self-explanatory distinction that she makes in this regard is that 'An external focalizer may perceive an object either from without or from within' (p.78).

Toolan has used the term 'orientation' for focalization suggesting that it is '…usefully wider and less visual…' and that it could help us remember '…that cognitive, emotive and ideological perspectives…' may also be chosen by the focalizer (2001:60).

Toolan's contributions towards identification of focalizing agents is the presence of discourse features such as deixis, tense choices and adverbs which according to him:

> …means that the discourse is consequently interpreted as grounded or anchored, coming from a particular speaker at a particular place, at a particular time   (Toolan, 2001:59)

Focalization, then, remains a powerful tool in the hands of the storyteller that they use to control the stance that the reader might adopt from the perspective of the action and the character.

Narrator and Focalization in Joyce's *Counterparts*

Life at Work

The narrator of *Counterparts* is both extradiegetic and hetrodiegetic, who according to (Genette, 1972:255–6) quoted in Rimmon-Kenan (2005:98) is a narrator who is above the level of 'diegesis' or story and who does not participate in the events. The narrator appears to be a covert narrating agent who faithfully reports what happened in a day in the life of a Dubliner. Of Chatman's perceptibility criteria in Rimmon-Kenan (2005:89) only two are minimally met. Both the description of the setting and identification of the characters are accomplished as if subservient to the events which seem more prominent. The reader meets a series of past tense verbs, preceded by a subject phrase, creating a chain of events almost throughout the text. This smooth pattern is disturbed either by a dramatic discourse situation or by inclusion of a 'narrated monologue'. As Mr. Alleyne finishes his tirade the narrative follows its usual pattern: 'Mr. Alleyne bent his head…', 'The man stared…', 'A spasm of rage gripped…', 'The man recognized…felt…'. With this associative trigger, the narrative slips into the imagination of the man and his reader meets a new pattern: 'The middle of the month…and if he could…Mr. Alleyne might…'. The narrator resumes as the next event calls back his attention only to report actions imperceptibly and unauthoritively. The narrator's next phrase 'as if he had been unaware…' signals that the narrator is not an 'all knowing omniscient' one. From the very beginning the reader is prepared not to expect a lot of information from the narrator who does not formally introduce any of the characters or situation. The answers to questions like 'who, when, where' have to be inferred from the discourse context for the sake of reader orientation.

The speaking agent speaks about the events whereas a seeing agent presents a perspective. In *Counterparts* the voice and the 'vision' do not seem to correspond all the time. The reader faces an ambiguity right at the beginning. The opening line of the text relates three expressions to human perception, or to the sense of hearing to be more precise. They cannot possibly belong to an extra diegetic speaking agent. Perhaps it is the people in the office who perceive the sound of the bell, the voice of Mr. Alleyne and his 'North of Ireland accent' to be 'furious' and 'piercing'. 'The bell rang furiously and when Miss Parker…' denotes not only a perceptual but also a cognitive orientation of characters as focalizers. The marking of a perceiving agent here serves the narrator's purpose. The reader can infer

easily that there is an unfriendly, unpleasant atmosphere in the office and the workers have a rather unsympathetic attitude towards Mr. Alleyne. He is introduced as a 'furious voice' before the reader knows his name. The other character, '…a man who was writing at his desk…' is next focalized by the EF. 'When he stood up, he was tall…' presents a photographic image of the man as he appears before the lens. His description is what Rimmon-Kenan calls a 'verbal communication' (2005:85) of a nonverbal focalization. The voice and the vision coincide here and the reader sees what the narrator and EF see, and accepts the account as reliable and objective.

The next event in the story is Farrington's visit to Mr. Alleyne's room in compliance with his orders. The narrator and EF keep a close proximity with the character and while his movements are being described in phrases like '…with a heavy step…', '…he went heavily upstairs…', '…puffing with labour and vexation…' and 'The shrill voice cried…'; the expressions are at the same time expressive of Farrington's emotive orientation towards his boss. Focalization lies with EF with the above mentioned embedding of CF viewpoint. It is then transferred to Farrington as he enters Mr. Alleyne's office and stands before his desk. The reader's view is now limited to Farrington's view which is quite restricted due to his spatial position. The reader comes across phrases which refer to his head only. In Bal's words: 'A (narrator) sees what B [Farrington] sees what C [Alleyne] is doing' (2009:149). Farrington's cognitive orientation is reflected in his limited vocabulary. The repetition of certain phrases like 'furious', 'egg shaped' , 'shot up' are evidence of this orientation rather than of a lack of vocabulary on the part of the narrator. The reader hears Mr. Alleyne's shrill voice as Farrington would have heard it. There is hardly any contribution by Farrington in the conversation between the two. The speech here is presented in free direct mode. There is a reporting clause in the beginning but the rest of the dialogue flows freely. Mr. Alleyne's words are reported verbatim. The narrator withdraws to let the reader listen to the authority as it speaks. A report of this speech would not have been so effective as perhaps the narrator would have to intervene and be brief. The authority is breaking the maxims of quantity and manner. This implies that the speaker is in a higher position and is using his powers to insult a subordinate. The narrator's external focalization of this part has a foregrounded effect which enhances its sharpness. On both sides of the free direct speech Farrington's consciousness is focalized which reflects his helplessness. The 'labour and vexation' and the 'heavy step' indicate an anticipation of some unpleasant event. And when the speech is almost over, the reader sees a contrasting figure, lost in thought, feeling a 'sharp sensation of thirst' and thinking of ways to quench it. This shift of focalization between external and internal, not only enhances the effect of speech but presents a sharp contrast between the boss and the bullied.

The reader is also free to infer from the situation that 'the man' is an inefficient man of slow responses, or that he is an unhappy man. The internal external contrast may also be interpreted as a neutralizing strategy. The reader gets the flavour of Mr. Alleyne's sharp words as they are uttered and that of Farrington's unspoken thoughts, which cannot be externally manifested.

Referring to Bal (2009:162) we have 'attributive signs' in the text which indicate that both subject and object of focalization is an internal agent or the character. Typically, these are 'verbs that communicate perception' (2009:162). Some such occurrences in the *Counterparts* are '…stared fixedly', '…heard Mr. Alleyne cry…', '…continued to stare stupidly…'. Rimmon-Kenan identifies verbs like 'he felt', 'he recognized', 'he thought' as markers of focalization from within (2005:83) Reporting clauses like 'The man recognized…', and 'he felt that…' indicate the man's state of consciousness. Toolan's criterion of deixis is also being met in the phrases '…in a few minutes…' 'Then he could write…', which are anchored in the character. Even the association of a drink with a falling evening and of thirst with humiliation belong to the character's psychological world.

This narrative stretch presents internal external contrast. The shift of focalization and the narrator's withdrawal and non-intervention in speech and thought process creates an effect of conflicting forces within the author's represented world.

The narrative continues as the speaking agent reports events and the focalizing agent 'watches along' the character. The EF does not take the privilege to present a bird's eye view of the situation in the office or to describe the weather outside, or to show the reader what is happening at the pub or at Farrington's house simultaneously. The reader experiences everything along with the character. 'Darkness, accompanied by a thick fog was…' coincides with Farrington's coming out of the pub. The reader shares the experience of darkness, fog and dusk with Farrington. The language belongs to the narrator and the view to the external focalizer who 'keeps' the encompassing vision with him now. Farrington's furtive attitude is objectively reported.

 'Pat, give us a g.p, like good fellow' is one of the few direct utterances by Farrington. Its plainness and colloquial style sharpens the effect of the narrator's language on both sides of this utterance. From such indicators as '…filling up the little window with his inflamed face, the colour of dark wine or dark meat', '…to grope for it in the gloom…', 'retreated ….furtively' the reader can see the difference between the two. However, because of the close proximity between EF and CF the character's point of view is occasionally embedded in the narrative without breaking its flow. 'He was now safe…' seems to be grounded in

Farrington, marked by 'now'. Similarly, '…a moist pungent odour of perfumes…' and 'evidently' are likely to be character oriented relating to his 'realm of experience' and perception. The narrator has control and the thought is presented indirectly although 'This' of the coordinated subject phrase of the verb 'confused' in 'This address in the presence …so confused the man…' indicates a distance from the narrator.

In the scene enacted in Mr. Alleyne's office, vision can be attributed to EF if we go by the 'verbs of action'. There is no verb of perception to signal a CF but according to Bal, a change takes place implicitly(2009). The narrating agent is perceptible in setting the scene, 'She was sitting…had swiveled his chair…', and by referring to Farrington as 'the man'. On the other hand adverbs 'jauntily' and 'respectfully' reflect the man's attitude and his interpretation. 'The moist pungent perfume' is already anchored in him and the narrator's '…was said to be sweet on her…', '…came often…stayed a long time'; the scene appears to be based on opinion not of the speaking agent; '…as if to say…' appears to be the man's inference of the gesture, and even more 'now' can be interpreted as Farrington's now who is the only beholder of the scene. On the basis of this evidence, it can be claimed that spatio-temporal and psychological orientation lies in the character implicitly yielded to him with no verbs of perception to mark. The effect on a reader is likely to be biased by such presentation of events and scenes through a medium. Why has Farrington been given this privilege to focalize Mr. Alleyne for readers? The answer becomes obvious in the end but it is worthwhile to quote Bal here:

> If the focalizer coincides with the character, that character will have a technical advantage over the other characters. The reader watches with the character's eyes and will in principle be inclined to accept the vision presented by the character. (Bal, 2009:149-150)

Mr. Alleyne's caricatured image in the reader's mind had been formed via Farrington's 'angle of vision'. An underlying hint of jealousy has also been portrayed thus very effectively.

His return to the lower office and his intention to set to work is reported next. There are indicators here that the focalization is being yielded again. 'He stared intently…','…thought how strange…', and '…listened to the clicking…' mark this shift. The encompassing vision of EF is focalizing CF from within by describing his state of mind. 'His head was not clear and his mind wandered away…' is a narrative report. But the next line 'It was a night for hot punches…', without a reporting clause, seems not to belong to the narrating agent. The next sentence is a narrative report of an action followed by 'Blast it! He couldn't finish in time'. This has all the

likeliness of a free indirect thought (FIT). The sign of exclamation, the directness of expression and the pronoun 'he' indicate   that this is an embedded thought. The following sentence report a thought act and a resulting act. The next few lines describe Farrington's state of mind again: 'he felt…', 'His body ached…', '…All the indignities of life enraged him', and with this indignity and fury comes the associative desire to drink. The narrator here withdraws and leaves the characters with the reader, 'Could he ask…', and 'No, the cashier… no damn…' is free indirect thought. There is no thinking clause and the original flavour of the thought is preserved here. The self-questioning and answering is typical of this mode. Leech and Short say about Free Indirect Thought that it has the effect of '…apparently putting us directly inside the character's mind' (1981:344).

The mode of the narrative changes and slips over this stretch, but the object of focalization remains the man's consciousness. A concentration in his interior monologue of *angry* lexical items likes 'Blast it! 'enraged (2 times), execrate aloud', 'violently', 'rush out in violence', 'emotional nature', 'spell of riot' reflect his agitated state of mind as a contrast to the envying scene in Mr. Alleyne's room.

The use of FIT saves the external focalizer the responsibility of presenting another person's thoughts. At the same time it also maintains neutrality on the part of the narrator. The extradiegetic narrator and an external focalizer, in principle have access to every character's thoughts. Yet the focalizing agent in *Counterparts* reveals only one character's mind to us. The reader may ask why this is so. Leech and Short have provided part of the answer:

> If a writer decides to let us know the thoughts of a character at all, even by the mere use of thought act reporting, he is inviting us to see things from that character's point of view. (Leech, 1981:338)

The external agent resumes control on focalization from this point in the narrative to the end of Part One. This part of the text is apparently focalized by a detached, higher degree agent. The narrator is more explicit and overt here. He describes the scene, summarizes, and reduces the conversation to a narrative report of speech acts. Farrington's thought is reported indirectly and the representative parts of the speech come directly (both norms according to Leech & Short (1981:344). Mr. Alleyne's words are reported verbatim to preserve their strong illocutionary force.

Mrs. Delacour's description as 'an amiable stout person' differs from her previous description as 'a middle aged woman of Jewish appearance' which the reader can retrospectively attach to an internal agent, or to Farrington, justified perhaps, by

his jealousy. In this neutral narrative account *colouring* is still anchored in the character. Phrases like 'little egg shaped head…', '…his mouth twitched with a dwarf's expression…' and '…seemed to vibrate like the knob of…' betray Farrington's emotive attitude. The narrator, thus, distances himself as much as possible and avoids any direct evaluative techniques. The responsibility of presenting things lies not with an external figure alone.

Farrington's day in the office ends with an 'abject apology', another humiliating event of the day.

Life in Pubs

The beginning of the second part of Farrington's day is spatially and psychologically oriented in him. "Watching to see…' is a perceptual and his position opposite the office is spatial clue to his restricted vision. 'He felt…' soon comes as a psychological clue to his still restricted consciousness. In the following 'sustained inner view' his knowledge of the world, his opinion, his past experience, memory, attitudes and biases not only affect his monologue but also reflect a narrow, self-centered angle of vision. By setting this angle within the man, the speaking agent maintains distance and creates an ironic situation and the narrative assumes a FIT mode. Retention of question form and question mark 'Could he not keep his tongue in his cheek?'; deictic 'this time', performative adverb 'of course', repetitive phrases and colloquialism 'could he touch Pat…he could not touch…more than a bob…and a bob was…' and associative changes of topic are all evidence of this. 'That was the dart! Why didn't he think of it sooner?' are further instances of FIT embedded in Indirect Thought. This part of the narrative presents an interior portrayal of Farrington's emotional condition.

Density of 'furious lexicon': 'thirst, revengeful, annoyed, savage, hounded'; and his individual perception of events '…what a hornets nest…', '…his life would be a hell to him…', 'yet he must get money somewhere…'; make this part of the narrative solely his. It an echo of his previous mental 'aside', but now he is preoccupied with the money problem. His inner repressed anger creates a counterpart effect of Mr. Alleyne's externally manifested fury , and comes as natural reaction '…to his abject apology'.

With the idea of pawning his watch Farrington's spirit's seem to rise. It goes on like this until his '…funds run low' and so do his spirits. His life until then appears to be more eventful than before. In this part of the narrative, the external focalizer keeps a close watch on him assuming familiarity with people, places, streets and pubs. The narrator refers to Farrington as 'he' in this section. The narrative mode

is mainly restricted to a report form; reporting of events, speech acts and thought contents. Free direct thought and direct speech occurs at dramatic moments. The responsibility of reporting has been neutralized by preserving speech features of characters. The use of special pub register, which is appropriate to the characters and situation, use of colloquial expressions and the use of direct speech are all the narrator's distancing techniques in this part of the text.

Focalization is not attached to a single agent. The narrative here is action packed. There is more of listening, speaking, smelling, drinking, and watching in this section. This requires second degree focalizers, characters situated in the story. Farrington is focalized by EF from 'without' in a detached and reliable way. He gradually exposes this man to the reader. Farrington's rehearsed speech, his pleased with himself version and his response to a joke are some examples of EF within action packed events.

The external vision merges with character vision as Farrington's attention is focused on the young lady. 'Farrington's eyes wandered…' signal transition of focalization. The reader sees what Farrington sees and experiences. The woman's charms and attraction can be seen only from his eyes. 'The way in which an object is presented gives information about that object itself and about the focalizer' (Bal, 2009:156).

He finds the woman's appearance 'striking' and her 'oblique staring expression' fascinating. 'He watched her leave the room in hope …' prompts an associative mechanism and the reader gets access to his inner self; a rejected, frustrated and angry self. This internal experience of deprivation is followed by an external humiliating event.

This is final event of his evening outside, focalized objectively from outside. The speaking and seeing agents withdraw and leave the stage to people whose 'national honour' is at stake. They become focalizers here as the use of passive voice indicates; Farrington '…looked very serious and determined…' to the audience.

A defeated, ridiculed, broke, rejected, shunned, and lost man returns home. The privilege of focalization has been withdrawn from him and the character has been distanced thus from the reader and the focalizer.

Life at Home

The focalizing agent presents a new person to the reader. It develops later in the text that the man is in fact a very different man at home. The narrator's reference to him as 'A very sullen faced man' and 'His tram let him down…' denotes a

distance between the two. Farrington is focalized as a defeated man in his own eyes. The external agent allows the reader to have a look at this man as he feels at the end of a humiliating day. The narrative report of his thought summarizes everything from his point of view. When he thinks of the woman, his 'fury nearly choked him'. His desire to go back to the 'hot reeking public house' and his hatred for home and family creates an ironic effect on the reader, who knows the reality.

The narrative report seems to be slightly coloured as he settles in his house and eventually beats little Tom: '…sat heavily…', '…jumped up furiously…', '…striking at him viciously…', '…banged his fist…', 'shouted', 'seized', 'whimpering', wildly', '…a squeal of pain…', '…shook with fright…' are expressions anchored in the reporter and external focalizer. These words do not equal the viciousness, cruelty, and brutality of the action. Perhaps because Joyce's evaluative technique seems to be the evaluative action technique in which a narrator '…is to tell what people did rather than what they said '(Labov1972:380). Farrington's actions at home speak for themselves. The perspective in this section belongs to an all-encompassing, non-perceptible higher degree focalizer whose vision is reliable and who is capable of interpreting character's thoughts and be objective. Farrington's angry words come directly and remind the reader of Mr. Alleyne's words. The child's helpless offer to say a prayer for his father's sins reminds the reader of his father's helplessness under financial and social pressures.

The narrator's distance and nonintervention leave the reader to infer and think. The effect is deep down sadness. The reader is left to 'grope in the gloom'.

Conclusion

> There are many different ways to tell the same story, to make very different points or to make no point at all. (Labov, 1972:366)

Counterparts makes its point in the title. It is a complete abstract and summarizes everything. There are several factors that contribute to make this point; focalization is just one of them though a vital tool for probing into the consciousness of the narrative, narrator and the characters in fictional narratives.

It has been observed in the text that an external agent presents a character to the reader focalized from both outside and inside. This character is granted vision by the EF to view his inner self and to view his boss Mr. Alleyne. The reader knows Mr. Alleyne only through his direct speech and through the image passed on by Farrington. At the end of the day when Farrington hits little Tom viciously, he is exposed to the reader as a counterpart of Mr. Alleyne whom he himself has always

viewed with disgust. The external agent does not have to interfere, evaluate, or pass judgments. Farrington fits his own self-represented nasty image. Ironically, he becomes a victim of his own focalization.

The possibility of a design behind such manipulation of point of view is indicated by Rimmon-Kenan:

> In principle, the external focalizer (or narrator focalizer) knows everything about the represented world, and when he restricts his knowledge he does so out of rhetorical considerations. (Rimmon-Kenan, 2005:81)

Another point that appears as significant is the fact that Farrington is focalized from 'within and without'. In him the author has created for us a character true to life. It is up to the reader who knows him through, to hate him, detest him, and sympathize with him or to identify with him, or find a counterpart in oneself.

The reader is so frequently encountered with Farrington's consciousness that they are likely to develop an understanding with him. The FIT and free indirect focalization privilege is withdrawn from him gradually as the story develops but the original impressions and a kind of empathy, if not sympathy, is retained. His thoughts reveal his ordinariness, his stupidity, his selfishness, and limited interests. His speech exposes him as a very plain person. His actions are rather disgusting, but the internal and external focalization neutralizes the effects. He can be identified as an everyman and the reader ends up not hating him but thinking about him.

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Bendrix, not Sarah:
Transfiguration vs. Apotheosis

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Abstract

Though *The End of the Affair* brings Sarah's name to the forefront, it is Bendrix's character that makes her more fascinating for the readers. Sarah's sainthood evolves out of Bendrix's insatiable love for her. For Sarah's journey towards divinity, Bendrix proves the first and last ladder. His radiating and jealous love for Sarah remains alive even after her death. It is he who suffers in Sarah's love before and after her death. He seems to be paying the cost of Sarah's divinity. As his object of love is not around so he has to express his love for Sarah in hate and jealousy against God. There is no hypocrisy in Bendrix since he confesses openly what he feels and why he feels so. This paper presents a deconstruction of Bendrix's character in order to validate our point that Sarah wins divinity at the cost of Bendrix's suffering. His love, jealousy and hatred foreground the sainthood of Sarah.

Keywords: *The End of the Affair*; Sarah; Bendrix; deconstruction; Graham Greene

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Introduction

The End of the Affair is regarded at once a "masterpiece" (Kermode, 186) and an "artistic failure" (Wyndham, 22). It is also "the most complex of Greene's major novels" (Land, 72), "structurally . . . most complex" (Miller, 83). But this is not the end of the affair. Critics also have divergent opinions regarding who to consider the protagonist of the novel: Sarah or Bendrix? Some consider Bendrix as the central character (for example, Kermode) while others give importance to Sarah (for

example, Huben). These contradictory reactions and evaluations show that the work in question is indeed intriguing. Perhaps, the question that perplexes the reader's mind about *The End of the Affair* is whether it is a tale of love or hatred! "I hate Sarah because she was a whore, I hate Henry because she stuck to him, and I hate you and your imaginary God because he took her away from all of us" (181).

We hold that Bendrix's love, jealousy and hatred overshadow Sarah's sainthood. By deconstructing the text through close textual analysis, we aim to show how Bendrix's feelings trigger a movement which culminates in Sarah's ultimate resignation and divinity or apotheosis which leads to Bendrix's transfiguration.

Apotheosis vs. Transfiguration

Sarah's journey to sainthood has made her one of the most celebrated characters of this novel, yet it is Bendrix's worldly love that elevates Sarah to the status of a divine and spiritual being. He is the cause behind the sainthood of Sarah. Whether it is Parkis's son or Richard, Bendrix's love is in the foreground in Sarah's road to divinity. He is soaked and drenched in Sarah's love. It is his love for Sarah that makes Sarah respond to it so intensely. She tries to forget his love but fails to do so even by being away from him: "for two years we haven't seen each other or written but it doesn't work" (117). The more she loves Bendrix, the nearer she gets to divinity and spirituality. Thus, divinity in Sarah springs from the mundane, corrupt and worldly love of Bendrix. The first sign of her spirituality manifests itself in giving new life to Bendrix. It is Bendrix's enigmatic love that makes her bow before God for a divine miracle. She owes her interaction with Parkis's son to Bendrix's jealous love. It is to win back Bendrix's love that she visits Richard Smythe. These two prove to be the two other testimonies of her sainthood later on. It seems quite strange that despite Bendrix strong and perpetual presence, Sarah's character fascinates more eyes. Nonetheless, her divinity, however, is indebted to Bendrix's worldly love "Could I have touched You if I hadn't touched [Bendrix] first" (123).

The End of the Affair is the last of Green's four Catholic novels. It has fascinated a huge readership, especially critics who hold diverse opinion regarding the two major characters Bendrix and Sarah. To Bosco, the whole credit goes to Greene who has successfully created two such enriching characters. This is why, he believes, critics have failed to ascertain as whose story it is — Bendrix's or Sarah's. He, however, quotes several critics who consider Bendrix to be the central figure of the novel[1]. Some of the critics hold a different opinion. Huben labels this work as women's novel in Christian bookstores implying Sarah's importance in the novel[2]. Gordon, on the other hand, undermines both the characters saying neither of them fighting evil emerges in the novel.

If Sarah is a personification of divine and spiritual love and Henry Miles an emblem of silent and passive love, then Mr Bendrix is the one who bridges the gulf between the two. He is a human being with all human susceptibilities. His hate, jealousy and venomous feelings for Sarah, Henry and father Crompton are purely human. Henry's passive and impotent love for Sarah is a rare commodity. Similarly, Sarah's spiritual love again is commonly uncommon in today's world. But Bendrix's love is real, genuine and it appears quite natural to the readers of today. It is the very normal and natural human love that every human being is prone to. Such a love remains incomplete without an element of hate and jealousy. Bendrix cannot be blamed for his hatred, anger and jealousy as they emerge from his true and real worldly love for Sarah. He believes in complete love, a type of love where no one else can have access to Sarah, no one to love her in any way but only he "There are times when a lover longs to be also a father and a brother; he is jealous of the years he hasn't shared" (172). His radiating and jealous love for Sarah remains alive even after her death. It is he who suffers in Sarah's love before and after her death. He seems to be paying the cost of Sarah's divinity. As his object of love is not around so he has to express his love for Sarah in hate and jealousy against God. There is no hypocrisy in Bendrix since he confesses openly what he feels and why he feels so.

As already mentioned at the outset of the discussion, Bendrix's confession — "this is a record of hate far more than of love" (7) — takes the reader to the beginning of an affair that has had a tragic and suggestive end. The novel seems to be shrouded in the hatred of Bendrix, who uses the word "Hate" eighty seven times in the novel. Despite being shrouded in hatred, Bendrix admires Sarah's sincerity to her husband: "She had an enormous loyalty to Henry (I could not deny that)" (10). Similarly, he praises Henry and does not feel hesitant to point out "[Henry] never took other people's hospitality easily" (13) though it hardly mitigates his envy and bitterness. Bendrix lives in constant dread of losing Sarah. Despite her forgiving nature, he truly speaks out the way he troubles Sarah: "She had forgotten the quarrel, and I found in her forgetfulness a new cause" (11). He confesses these quarrels to be the result of feeling of insecurity of losing Sarah to someone, of moving to the end of their relationship. It is this sense of insecurity that he sincerely confesses "For every lie I would magnify into a betrayal, and even in the most open statement I would read a hidden meaning. Because I couldn't bear the thought of her so much as touching another man, I feared it all the time"(59). It is this insecurity that incites him to bring this relation to an end well before its logical end by plaguing her with his venomous jealousy. He tries to forget her "If I can take her out of my system" (56). He picks a young girl but fails to feel any desire for her "My passion for Sarah had killed simple lust for ever" (58). The extreme hatred that he nurtures for Sarah comes out of his ignorance about Sarah's love for him which he comes to know after reading her diary. How can the readers

blame Bendrix when he does not know the real cause of Sarah's refusal to meet him and her risky and hurried departure soon after the first 'miracle'?

Bendrix presents a juxtaposition of love/happiness with those of hate/jealousy in his person. He seems more like a paradox in himself. His intense hatred seems to nullify his deep love. His jealousy seems to kill his happiness. He laughs with tears in his eyes. Thus, his positive feelings have their death incorporated in themselves. Sarah's love is the cause of his happiness, while her being wife to Henry is the cause of his hatred for her. Similarly, Sarah's body is the cause of his happiness but her relation with other men is the cause of his hatred. Anyone, anything that takes away Sarah from Bendrix becomes a cause of jealousy and hatred for him. He hates Henry as he is an obstacle in their love. He hates Sarah and her divinity which keeps her away from him since June 1944. Catholicism personified by father Crompton becomes an object of his hatred and jealousy after Sarah's death. Bendrix gives the impression of being genuinely in pain, anger and in an intense feeling of jealousy as the story proceeds. This makes him a personification of jealousy and hatred itself. It adds to his intense and bitter expression which grips the reader as Bendrix starts speaking out his venom. He knows the cause: "In misery we seem aware of our own existence" (47). This is fairly evident as Bendrix's words become harsh, bitter, venomous, and penetrating when he expresses his hatred, jealousy and unhappiness. His relation with Sarah is based on an intense love — which none of them denies — much deeper than the love between a husband and wife. His love for Sarah stands at the very foundation of his multifaceted and multidimensional hatred, anger and jealousy. His visit to Cedar road to see Richard Smythe accompanies all his jealousy but, deep in his heart, he wants to dispel his suspicions against Sarah but it turns out to be the other way round. In these circumstances it seems unjustified to blame Bendrix for the way he behaves. In most of the cases, circumstances mould his positive intensions into jealousy and hatred.

Bendrix comes to know about the reality of Sarah's reticent love against his vocal one the moment he finishes reading Sarah's diary. The feeling of being loved so intensely by Sarah further multiplies his love for Sarah: "I had never known her before and I had never loved her so much. The more we know the more we love, I thought" (127). The diary dispels all his mistrust about Sarah. In fact, his trust for Sarah has been renewed with a new vigour. He calls Sarah and despite her adamant reluctance to meet him, he rushes to see her. He is hopeful to get started with their previous way of life. He is so much overwhelmed by winning Sarah back that he seems quite sure to go back to his previous happiness. After "Me too" (129) from Sarah, he feels certain that he has won her back from God: "hadn't I in the end proved stronger?"(130). He is at peace to have won Sarah from Henry as well: 'I couldn't speak to Henry now, for I was the victor" (134).

During their long period of separation, from June 1944 to January 1946, Bendrix has always been looking for an opportunity to see and meet Sarah. When at last he meets Sarah, he falls into the same abyss: "the old disturbance had returned" (19). Both his conscious and unconscious are occupied with Sarah. He dreams of Sarah though he says: "If a woman is in one's thoughts all the day, one should not have to dream of her at night" (19). With all his intense love for Sarah, he hates Sarah. Despite not being Sarah's husband, Bendrix, in his unconscious, decides to visit Mr Savage's office: "until one morning I woke up and knew, as though I had planned it overnight, that day I was going to visit Mr Savage"(20). Again his visit to Smythes also seems more like that of a husband's visit to confirm the presence of a secret lover. It seems, in his unconscious, he considers Sarah his wife. Mr Savage, in the beginning also mistakes him to be Sarah's husband. He seems to be carrying Henry's share of jealousy as well.

It is extremely difficult for a person to be close and distant simultaneously. The passion of love consumes as much as hatred. The co-existence of both passions makes Bendrix a complex character. Bendrix hates his hatred for Sarah: "I looked at hate like an ugly and foolish man whom one did not want to know" (29). But disappointment in intense love normally results in hatred for the person one loves. This is what happens to Bendrix in his love for Sarah. His intense love for Sarah is blended with a deep sense of mistrust for her. He fails to get what he desires for. As a consequence, he is left with extreme disappointment leading to his hatred and mistrust for Sarah. He meets Mr Savage both out of his love and hatred for Sarah, as he mentions: "Hatred seems to operate the same glands as love: it even produces the same actions" (27). It seems very true when Sarah asks him for a lunch, he forgets of his hatred for a while and starts thinking of loving Sarah once again. He feels extremely disappointed when he comes to know that Sarah wants to talk about Henry, whereas he expects Sarah to be interested in reviving their broken relationship. He seems more like a paradox in himself: he loves as well hates Sarah; he pains himself as a masochist and troubles Sarah as a sadist: "I knew that the only way to hurt Sarah is to hurt myself" (57). This is how he grows up as a complex character during his one and half year of separation from Sarah. He expects the same Sarah who loved him ardently till June 1944. But Sarah is no more the same Sarah. Unlike past, she now calls him "Maurice" (33) which seems to be an insult to Bendrix and infuriates him. He hates Sarah for her prayers to bring him back to life as the life given is to be lived without Sarah: "You sacrificed both of us once you bring me back to life."(182). It is his love for Sarah that even makes him hate himself. He hates himself for his failure to win her at the end. He is so possessive about Sarah that he does not want anyone to talk about her. He can afford only the harmless Henry and no one else to share memories of Sarah: "To save her for ourselves we had to destroy all her features" (190).

Sarah's death renews the intense strain of pain, hatred and jealousy. He knows it is not Henry that has taken Sarah away but this time God seems to be his real enemy "No, I don't hate Henry. I hate You if You exist" (136). He sees God to be the one who has taken away Sarah from his life. He believes God to be the cause of Sarah's death. Her death arouses the same jealousy against God as is caused by her meeting Richard and Dunston. He seems to fight God as he is sure now that Sarah will not come back. He needs something to keep Sarah alive in his memories and it is only his jealousy that can keep Sarah alive in his mind. He knows quite well that the death of Sarah has triggered his own episodic death. But he is all prepared to take it. He wants to live with this soothing pain because he finds the combination of love and hatred lethal.

Bendrix discovers Sarah's real love for him and her divine promise in her diaries, he seems convinced that God has won Sarah away leaving him in the lurch: "You didn't own her all those years: I owned her. You won at the end" (165). The harsh and strong language he uses for God manifests his deep love for Sarah; and not his hate for God. His anger against God is irresistible. He seems to be revengeful at any level. He wants to challenge Him and displease Him for the irreparable loss he suffers. The only feeling that Bendrix wants to own and possess is his love for Sarah "I have no love except for you, you" (190).

Love needs a medium to express itself; it can be hate: "love had not the same conviction of being heard as hate had" (161). Sarah, too, in her frustration expresses her hatred for God as she mentions in her diaries "I begin to believe in you, and if I believe in you I shall hate you" (100). How would one justify a saint's hate for God? Bendrix professes no religion so his hatred for God seems well understood while Sarah, who professes a different love, confesses in her diaries that she feels almost the same jealousy when after six weeks of her promise she calls Bendrix and hears a female voice. She feels as if he has started a new affair with someone else "I had wanted Maurice to be happy, but had I wanted him to find happiness quite so quickly?"(100). If a believer of spiritual love can fall a victim to the feeling of jealousy for a while, then Bendrix shall not be blamed for being susceptible to jealousy and hatred since he confesses to know only worldly and ordinary love.

Bendrix does not want to give a Christian burial to Sarah, the way God would like it to be done. He is quite vocal in expressing his hatred for God. Richard Smythe's pleadings to arrange a Christian burial for Sarah multiplies Bendrix's disgust for God. He is in pain, even his laughter springs out of his pain "The tears ran down my cheek as I laughed" (143). After reading the last letter written by Sarah, he recognizes father Crompton as the one who puts an end to Sarah's hope of marrying him. He strongly opposes a catholic burial for Sarah as suggested by father since Bendrix believes to know Sarah better than anyone else. He feels and

believes that he can only love Sarah and none else "I am incapable of love. Except of you, except of you" (159). It is his very much living love for the dead Sarah that repels him to have a date with Sylvia; and compels him to implore the dead Sarah to play her part in taking him away from the proximity of Sylvia.

Bendrix hates Henry with a soft heart. He gets irritated and feels jealous of Henry who seems to be the main obstacle due to which Sarah cannot meet Bendrix: "Henry. Henry. Henry — that name tolled through our relationship, damping every mood of happiness or fun or exhilaration" (73).Isn't it his love for Sarah-- the ordinary human love, the only love that he knows — that makes him jealous of Henry? His jealousy becomes a scale to measure his love. His jealousy like his love is in a state of flux. Hatred and jealousy hem him as he sees Henry and Sarah's photograph in Tatler. He hands over Parkis reports about Sarah which burns Henry into anger. It seems he does it deliberately out of his jealousy springing out of his intense love for Sarah. He pains Henry but feels sorrow for him as well "It seemed so strange to me to feel sorry for my enemy" (66). In fact, Bendrix seems to be helping himself out to get out of the affair by telling Henry the truth about Sarah. He seems to consider that bringing Henry in the picture would help him to end his affair with Sarah.

Bendrix's genuine helplessness to control the flux in his emotions and feelings takes him beyond any blame and dislike. He is not happy rather feels guilty with the way he implants Parkis as a spy on Sarah. He defends Sarah despite his hatred for her (that is paradoxically full of love): "I could feel sorry for her, hemmed in as she was. She had committed nothing but love" (62). He is a human being and he believes his love to be a human love. He is not convinced to believe that there can be some other type of love (divine love) but human love "That's not our kind of love" (69). Even Sarah's strong arguments fail to convince him about loving someone in his/her absence. He so strongly loves Sarah that he would love to be killed during their very act of physical love "Death never mattered at those times — in the early days I even used to pray for it" (70).

After the V1's devastating raid, the 'end of the affair starts.' It is the beginning of Sarah's transformation as she puts life into Bendrix's dead body of which the latter is oblivious. Sarah's abrupt departure precedes her continuous absence for which she has her solid reasons but Bendrix has no idea about what has happened to Sarah. He thinks Sarah to be in some one's else bed. Only in three weeks of separation, he decides to commit suicide as he cannot live in the hell-like tormenting life but does not execute his words into action as he feels it is what Sarah desires for "Then the date came and the date went on and on and I didn't kill myself. It wasn't cowardice: it was a memory that stopped me — the memory of the look of disappointment on Sarah's face when I came into the room after V1 had fallen" (75).

Conclusion

A chain of events that befall Bendrix complicates his situation and makes it difficult for the reader to decide whether he can be classified as an insignificant character as compared to Sarah or not! "Yes" may be a conventional answer. But the intensity of his love for Sarah; his sensitivity as a human being ; his honesty in expressing his feelings; his compassionate attitude towards Henry and later on towards Sarah's mother; and above all, his helplessness to cope with the fluid circumstances that he comes across are reasons sufficient to say an unconventional "No".

Notes

1   For details see, S.J.Mark Bosco *Graham Green's Catholic Imagination.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2004..pp 170,he quotes Frank Kermode, David Pryce Jones, Herbert Haber, and John Atkins supporting Bendrix as the central character of the novel.

2   For details see, Huben, Ellyn Von. The World on Fire. Book Club. July 2012. Accessed on 24 December 2012. http://www.wordonfire.or_WoF-Blog/July-2012/Book-Club-Graham-Greenes-The-End-of-the-Affair.aspx.

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Voice Onset Time (VOT) for Voiceless Plosives
in Pashto (L1) and English (L2)

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Abstract

This is a study of voicing onset time for Pashto (L1) and English (L2) plosives with focus on acquisition of English plosives by adult Pashtoon learners. VOT for Pashto and English plosives were measured in carrier sentences. The results show that the overall direction of increase in the VOT for plosives in Pashto and English is from labial to coronal to velar but Pashto retroflex [ʈ] does not accord with this directionality. No influence of adjacent vowels on VOT of the preceding stops is noticed. The learners equate aspirated and unaspirated allophones of English labial /p/ and coronal /t/ with the corresponding L1 sounds neutralizing the aspiration contrast in the English plosives. However, they have separate phonetic representations for the allophones [k kʰ] of English velar stop /k/. The findings of this study pose a challenge for feature model (Brown 1998, 2000) which predicts that a new L2 feature cannot be acquired by adult L2 learners whereas the participants of this study have acquired the feature [spread glottis] by developing two separate phonetic representations for the two allophones of English velar stop.

Keywords: Aspiration, L2 acquisition, Feature Model, Pashto, VOT

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Introduction

Since the introduction of the contrastive analysis hypothesis (Lado, 1957) research on second language acquisition (SLA) has been mostly focused on comparative analysis of the L1 and L2 of learners. Several different models have been presented which identify origin of errors of adult L2 learners in L1 grammar.

Feature model (Brown 1998, 2000) predicts that problems in acquisition of new L2 sounds originate in the feature geometry of L1. The current study is based on acoustic analyses of Pashto (L1) and English (L2) stops produced by Pashtoon learners of English. Voice onset time is the most commonly studied acoustic correlate of plosives. Therefore, the current study focuses on voice onset time.

Voice onset time commonly called VOT is, in the words of Docherty (1992, p. 13), a term coined by Lisker and Abramson (1964) which denotes 'the interval (in ms) between the release of a stop closure and the onset of voicing for a following voiced segment'. In the classical study of Lisker and Abramson (1964), plosives are divided into three major types on the basis of VOT. If the voicing for the following segment starts soon after the burst of stops, such stops are called stops with short-lag VOT. English [p t k] and Pashto [p ʈ t̪ k] are examples of stops with short-lag VOT. If the voicing of the following segment starts fairly long after the burst of the stops, such stops are called plosives with long-lag VOT. English [pʰ tʰ kʰ] are examples of stops with long-lag VOT. If the voicing of a plosive starts before the burst, such a stop is called pre-voiced or truly voiced stops and the VOT is measured in negative values. The phenomenon is called pre-voicing. Voiced stops are prevoiced in languages like Spanish (Flege & Eefting, 1988), Saraiki (Syed, 2012), Dutch (Simon, 2009), Japanese (Nasukawa, 2010), Arabic (Flege & Port, 1981; Simon, 2011), etc. The voiced stops in Pashto are also pre-voiced[1]. Phonologically, stops with long-lag VOT are called aspirated stops and those with short-lag VOT are called unaspirated stops. The VOT for unaspirated stops is below 40 ms and that for aspirated stops is above 40 ms in the world languages. The feature [spread glottis] differentiates between aspirated and unaspirated stops. In English, aspiration contrast is allophonic in that the aspirated [pʰ tʰ kʰ] and unaspirated [p t k] stops do not make minimal pairs. In some languages like Urdu, aspiration contrast is phonemic because the aspirated and unaspirated stops make minimal pairs in Urdu. There are no aspirated stops in the phonemic inventory of Pashto (Elfenbein, 1997). In other words, Pashto does not have aspiration contrast and the feature [spread glottis] is not active in it. The current study focuses on voicing onset time for plosives in Pashto (L1) and English (L2).

The remainder of this paper is divided into the following six sections. Section 1 is about theoretical background of the feature model (FM) providing a brief review of the existing literature on the FM. Section 2 provides research questions and section 3 is about the research methodology. The results will be presented in section 4 and analysed and discussed in section 5. The paper ends with conclusion in section 6.

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[1] To the best of my knowledge, there is no published work on VOT for voiced stops in Pashto. In a separate unpublished study I have measured VOT for voiced stops of Pashto.

1. Theoretical Background: Feature Model

The feature model by Brown (1998, 2000) is one of the potential models of SLA. The FM claims that acquisition of a new L2 sound depends on the feature geometry of L1 of learners. According to the FM, if two new L2 sounds which do not exist in the L1 are distinguished by a feature which is already active in the L1, learners will perceive the contrast between such a pair of the L2 sounds, and if the particular feature required to distinguish between the two L2 sounds is not active in feature geometry of the L1, the new L2 sounds will be difficult to perceive and acquire for the learners. If the feature required to distinguish the new L2 phonemes is inactive in the L1, the L1 feature geometry moulds the L2 phonemes according to the corresponding features of the L1 and the learners perceive the L2 sound the same as the closest L1 sound. This results in negative transfer from the L1.

The feature model is based on the findings of Brown resulting from empirical studies with speakers of some East Asian languages like Chinese, Japanese and Korean. The English consonant contrast [l r] is non-existent in Japanese and Chinese. However, according to Brown (1998), the feature [coronal] which differentiates between English [l r] is active in Chinese but inactive in Japanese. Brown (1998) found that Chinese learners could perceive the difference between [l] and [r] but Japanese learners could not perceive the same contrast accurately.

English [f v] and [b v] contrasts do not exist in Japanese but the relevant features [voice] and [continuant] which are required to differentiate between the consonants of the pairs [f v] and [b v] are active in Japanese. English [f] is [-voice] and [v] is [+voice]. Therefore, the feature [voice] is required to discriminate between [f] and [v]. There are some other pairs of sounds in Japanese which are also discriminated on the basis of the feature [voice]. This means the feature [voice] is active in Japanese. Similarly, the feature [continuant] which is required to differentiate between [b] and [v] is also active in Japanese. However, the feature [coronal] which is needed in the discrimination of English [l] from [r] is not active in Japanese. Brown (1998) studied the perception of English [b v], [f v] and [l r] contrasts by Japanese learners. The results show that the participants could only discriminate [v] from [f] and [b] but not [l] from [r].

Brown (2000) also studied the perception of English [p f], [b v], [f v], [s θ] and [l r] contrasts by Japanese, Chinese and Korean learners. English [s] is [-distributed] and [θ] is [+distributed]. Thus the feature required to discriminate between [s] and [θ] in English is [distributed]. The features required to discriminate between the members of the other pairs as discussed above, are [coronal], [continuant] and [voice]. These contrasts do not exist in Japanese, Korean and Mandarin Chinese. However, the

features [continuant] and [voice] are active in Japanese, Korean and Mandarin Chinese and the feature [coronal] is active in Mandarin Chinese only. The feature [distributed] is not active in these languages. In this context, the feature model predicts that the pairs of English consonants [p f], [f v] and [b v] are easy to acquire for Japanese learners because the feature [voice] which discriminates between [f] and [v], and the feature [continuant] which discriminates between [p] and [f] and [b] and [v] are active in Japanese. But [s θ] and [l r] contrasts will be difficult for them to perceive because the features [distributed] and [coronal] are not active in their L1. Similarly, Chinese learners of English can easily perceive the difference between the members of the English contrasts [p f], [b v], [f v] and [l r] because the relevant features are active in their L1. Korean learners may acquire [p f], [b v] and [f v] contrasts owing to the same reason. However, the [s θ] pair of English consonants may be difficult for Korean and Chinese learners. The [l r] pair may also be difficult for Korean learners because of the L1 feature geometry. The results of the study by Brown (2000) were according to the predictions of the feature model. The performance of the Japanese and Korean participants was poor on [l r] and [s θ] contrasts, and that of the Chinese on [s θ] contrast only. All the participants performed excellently on all other contrasts. On the basis of these experiments Brown (2000) concluded that new L2 features cannot be acquired but new L2 sounds can be acquired if the relevant features are already active in the L1 of learners.

Larson-Hall (2004) points out two shortcoming of the FM; 1) that it gets most of its empirical support from Brown's own experiments, and 2) that it mostly focuses on the speakers of a specific group of languages; i.e. East Asian languages. The current study focuses on speakers of Pashto which is a language of a different family. The feature [spread glottis] which is required to discriminate between aspirated and unaspirated consonants of English is not active in Pashto. Accordingly, Pashtoon learners of English cannot perceive the difference between aspirated and unaspirated stops of English. Consequently, they may not acquire the aspiration contrast in English. The main aim of the current study is to test the prediction of the FM. According to our knowledge, there is no previous study on voice onset time for stops in Pashto. Therefore the study of VOT for Pashto voiceless stops will also make part of this experiment. The influence of vowels on the adjacent stops will also be studied. The study is mainly concerned to the following research questions.

2. **Research questions**

1. What is the voice onset time (VOT) for voiceless stops in Pashto?
2. Is there any influence of the adjacent vowel on the VOT?
3. Can Pashtoon learners acquire aspiration contrast of English which is non-existent in Pashto?

To address these questions we conducted a production test with a group of 12 Pashtoon learners of English. The details of the experiment and the participants are given in the following section.

3. Research Methodology

Twelve Pashtoon learners of English who were from Khyber Pakhtoonkhaw province of Pakistan, participated in this experiment. Eleven of them were recorded in Colchester (Essex) and one in London. All of them were university teachers in Pakistan doing PhD in England. The participants did not accept any reimbursement for their time. They rather participated in the experiment voluntarily.

The participants were asked to read words of English and Pashto (stimuli) in carrier sentences. The stimuli carried voiceless plosives. The carrier sentence for English was 'I say ……….again' and that for Pashto was 'da …..dei' (*This is …..').* The target sounds were recorded in the carrier sentences to maintain naturalness in the productions. Each of the target sounds was produced in the context of three vowels i.e. [i a u]. It was extremely difficult to find out Pashtoon monolinguals in England. Therefore, four of the twelve participants who produced English words were asked to produce the words of Pashto carrying the target sounds each three times. (See the list of the stimuli in the appendix). In this way, we obtained 36 productions (3 vowels*12 participants for English and 3 vowels*3 repetitions*4 participants for Pashto) of each of the target consonants. Each of the productions of the Pashto sounds was considered a case in the quantitative data analysis. In this way, both sets of English and Pashto plosives had equal number of recordings for analysis. For English, three aspirated [p^h, t^h, k^h] and three unaspirated stops [p t k] stops and for Pashto labial /p/, laminal coronal /t̪/, retroflex /ʈ/, and velar /k/ stops were the target sounds. Only voiceless sounds were studied in the experiment. The productions were recorded using M-Audio Track-II digital recorder and analyzed using Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2012). Following the standard method commonly used in the literature, the voice onset time was measured from the burst of the stop to the beginning of first complete cycle of periodic vibration of the vocal folds (Foulkes, Docherty, & Jones, 2010). Although the measurement was based on the waveforms, the spectrograms were also considered for determining the burst and the onset of the periodic noise for the following vowel.

Before recording, the researcher conducted an interview with the participants. The interview carried questions regarding their age of arrival and length of residence in the UK, speaking listening habits, etc. The detail of the participants given in the following table is based on the information obtained in the interview.

Table 1: Detail of the participants

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Age (years)	27.00	38.00	32.75	3.82
Age of arrival in UK (years)	24.00	36.00	30.00	3.79
Length of residence in UK (months)	4.00	96.00	29.17	24.20
Speaking English hours/day	1.00	8.00	4.25	2.70
Listening English hours/day	1.00	10.00	5.25	2.60

The above table shows that the participants of this study were of an average age of 32.75 years who arrived in the United Kingdom at an average age of 30 years. According to their own statement, they listen to English for approximately 5.25 hours daily and speak it for an average of 4.25 hours daily. Their average length of residence in the UK was 29.17 months.

4. Results

The results of the experiment are presented in this section. The voice onset times for plosives in Pashto (L1) are presented in 4.1 and for English (L2) plosives are presented in 4.2.

4.1.   VOT for Pashto stops

In a repeated measures analysis of variance (RM ANOVA), the effect of vowel on the preceding stops was found to be non-significant (p>.1) in Pashto. Therefore the repetitions obtained in the three vocalic contexts were averaged. The following table shows the average VOT for Pashto stops.

Table 2: VOT for voiceless plosives in Pashto

Sound	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
[p]	6.00	30.00	14.94	5.86
[ʈ]	15.00	45.00	28.25	7.96
[t]	6.00	30.00	13.83	6.58
[k]	18.00	55.00	33.58	10.09

The overall effect of place of articulation is signficant ($F_{3,11}=44.82$, p>.001)[2] but the effect of vowel on the adjacent consonant is non-significant (p>.1). This means the VOT for voiceless stops of Pashto at different places of articulation are significantly different from each other. However individual comparisons show that

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[2] A non-parametric KS test confirms that the data are not significantly (p>.1) different from normal distribution and hence qualify for parametric analysis.

the VOT of labial and retroflex stops of Pashto are not significantly different from each other (p>.1). Retroflex sounds always have smaller VOTs than non-retroflex sounds (Steriade, 2001, pp. 224-225). Therefore, the findings of the current study are in line with the existing literature. If we exclude retroflex stops, the remaining plosives of Pashto have a linear increase of VOT from labial to coronal to velar which is reflected in the following figure.

Figure 1: Linear increase in the VOT for Pashto plosives
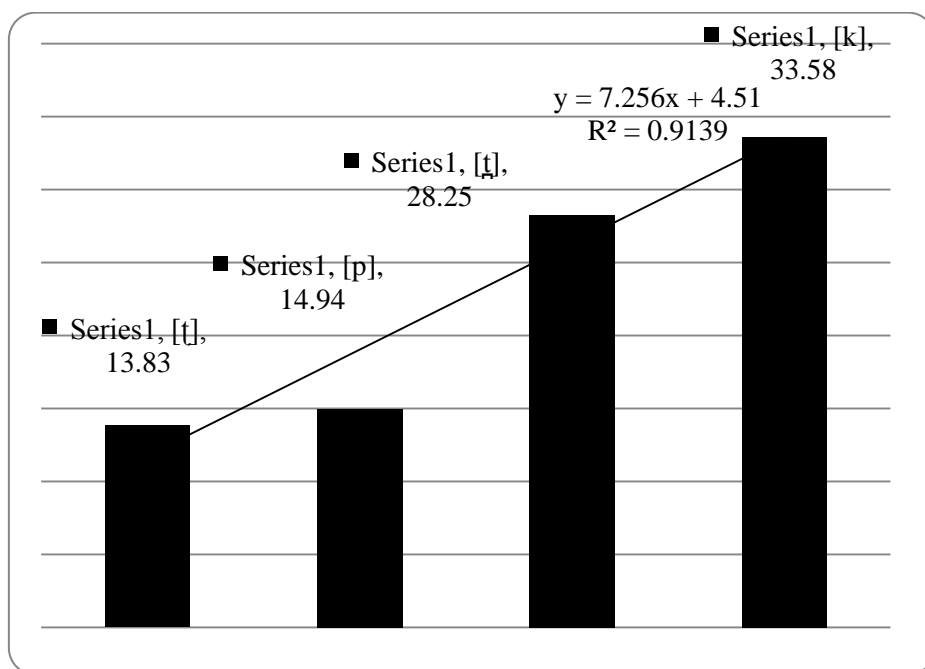
4.2.   VOT for English stops by Pashtoon learners

The effect of vowel was found non-significant (p>.1) on the VOT of English stops produced by the participants. Therefore the repetitions were averaged. The following table shows average VOTs for English stops produced by the participants.

The overall effect of place (Wald Chi-square=43.182, p>.001)[3] and aspiration contrast (Wald Chi-square= 6.832, p=.009) is significant whereas the effect of the following vowel on the VOT of the preceding consonant is non-significant (p>.1).

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[3] A non-parametric KS test confirms (p<.05) that the data do not qualify for parametric test. Therefore a non-parametric test was applied.

This means that the VOTs of the aspirated stops are significantly bigger than those of the unaspirated stops. The direction of increase in the VOT is from labial to coronal to velar in both aspirated and unaspirated stops. However, the adjacent vowels do not change the VOTs of the preceding stops.

Table 3: Average VOT of Pashtoon learners of English

Sound	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
[pʰ]	5.00	66.00	22.44	15.97
[p]	6.33	47.33	18.47	12.29
[tʰ]	12.67	98.67	35.64	22.88
[t]	17.67	61.33	33.17	11.84
[kʰ]	37.67	82.33	59.03	15.38
[k]	24.67	79.33	46.94	13.53

The most important finding in the above results is that the aspiration contrast is significant in the productions of the participants, which shows that the learners have developed two separate ranges of voice onset time for aspirated and unaspirated stops of English. We already know that the L1 of the learners has only unaspirated stops. The above table shows that the VOT of labial and coronal aspirated and unaspirated stops are very close to each other. Therefore, for further confirmation of the above analysis we compared the mean VOTs of the aspirated and unaspirated stops separately. The results show that the differences between the VOTs of the aspirated and unaspirated labial and coronal stops produced are non-significant (p>.1). Only the difference between the aspirated and unaspirated velar stops is significant (Z= -2.907, p=.004). This means that the overall significant difference between the VOT values of the aspirated and unaspirated stops is based on only the difference between the two allophones of velar stops.

This confirms that the learners have developed two separate representations for the allophones of velar stops of English although they have similar phonetic representations for aspirated and non-aspirated labial and coronal stops of English. In other words, there is some learning observed on velar stops but no significant learning for labial and coronal stops of English is observed in the performance of the participants. It raises a question whether the learners have transferred the L1 VOT values for some of the L2 stops or developed separate representations on account of learning. In other words we need to tease apart the effect of positive transfer from the L1 and development. The mean VOT values for Pashto and English plosives are compared to identify the effect of the L1 and development on the acquisition of the L2. The following table shows the results of the test.

Table 4: Comparison between the VOTs for Pashto and English plosives

Sounds	Z	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
English [pʰ] & Pashto [p]	-1.90	0.057
English [p] & Pashto [p]	-0.43	0.664
English [tʰ] & Pashto [ʈ]	-0.28	0.778
English [t] & Pashto [ʈ]	-0.89	0.376
English [kʰ] & Pashto [k]	-5.23	0.000
English [k] & Pashto [k]	-2.94	0.003
English [tʰ] & Pashto [t]	-5.42	0.000
English [t] & Pashto [t]	-5.76	0.000

The above table confirms that there is no significant difference between the L1 labial and laminal coronal stops and the allophones of the L2 labial and coronal stops. This confirms that the participants have transferred the L1 VOT values for the aspirated and unaspirated allophones of labial /p/ and coronal /t/ stops of English. However, they have developed separate ranges of voice onset time for allophones of velar /k/ stop of English which are significantly different from the L1 velar stop. We shall further analyze and discuss these results in the following section.

5. Analysis and discussion

We can summarize the above results in the following points;

1. The effect of vowels on the voice onset time for stops is non-significant in Pashto and English.
2. The direction of increase of VOT for plosives in Pashto (L1) and English (L2) is from labial to coronal to velar but the retroflex sounds of Pashto do not accord to this pattern.
3. The learners equate aspirated and unaspirated labial /p/ and coronal /t/ of English with the corresponding L1 stops but develop two separate VOT ranges for the aspirated [kʰ] and unaspirated [k] allophones of English velar stop /k/.

We will comment on these points one by one. The findings of this study are different from some of the previous studies which have found significant effect of the adjacent vowels on the acquisition of L2. Iverson et. al (2008), Johnson and Babel (2010) and Kluge et. al (2007) found strong effect of vowel on the adjacent

consonants. Syed (2011) found significant effect of the adjacent vowels on the perception of English voiced alveo-palatal fricative by Pashtoon learners but the effect of vowel on the perception of other consonants of English was not significant at the alpha level of .05 in the same study. In the current study, the effect of the vocalic context is neutral on the plosives of the L1 and L2.

The direction of increase in the voicing onset time for plosives in Pashto (L1) and English (L2) is from labial to coronal to velar. This is in line with the previous findings. Cho and Ladefoged (1999) studied VOT for stops in 18 Indian languages and found the same direction of increase in the VOT in most of the languages. Lisker and Abramson (1964) also predict the same direction of increase of VOT for plosives. It has been observed that VOT of stops is inversely proportional to the distance between the vocal folds and the place of articulation. Long distance between the place of articulation of stops and the vocal folds yields smaller VOT and short distance between them yields bigger VOT (Stevens, Keyser, & Kawasaki, 1986). The reason for this is that the air coming from lungs is compressed between the vocal folds and the point of contact between active and passive articulators. The pressure is high if the area of the compressed air is smaller and low in a big area. A highly built pressure takes longer to normalize than a low-built pressure. The vocal folds start vibrating when the organs of speech come to their normal position. In this way, a longer distance between the place of articulation and the vocal folds yields a smaller VOT. That is why labial stops have small but velar stops have big VOTs.

Another point of view is that a wider contact area between active and passive articulators yields a big VOT (Lisker & Abramson, 1964). The reason for this is that if the contact area between the articulators is wide, it will take longer for the organs of speech to separate and normalize. On the other hand if the contact area between the articulators is smaller, it will take a short duration of time for the organs to separate and normalize. That is why velar stops having bigger contact area between the articulators have relatively bigger VOT and coronal stops having smaller contact area between active and passive articulators have smaller VOT in most languages of the world. From both points of view, velar stops are predicted to have the biggest VOTs. The findings of this study are also in accordance with the attested pattern.

The most important finding of this study is that the learners have developed separate phonetic representations for English aspirated and unaspirated allophones of velar stops. The mean VOT of /k/ in Pashto is 33.58 ms (see table 2) but for English [k] and [kʰ] is 46.94 ms and 59.03 ms (see table 3), respectively. This means that the learners have not transferred the L1 VOT values for either of the

allophones of English /k/ whereas they have transferred their L1 VOT values for both allophones of English labial /p/ and coronal /t/ neutralizing the aspiration contrast in the L2. The learners would have developed two categorically separate VOT ranges had they transferred the L1 VOT values for the unaspirated allophones of English plosives and developed separate VOT ranges for the aspirated allophones of English stops. But the results show a different picture. Whereas they equated both allophones of English labial and coronal stops /p t/ with the corresponding L1 stops, they developed two separate ranges of VOTs for the allophones of velar stops of English. This indicates real development. Previous research shows that most Pakistanis including Pashtoon learners neutralize the aspiration contrast in English plosives and produce both aspirated and unaspirated allophones of English stops as unaspirated (Mahboob & Ahmar, 2004; Rahman, 1990, 1991). When the Pashtoon learners realize the aspiration contrast in English on account of native input in the UK they increase the VOT of the aspirated stops of English. However, they over-generalize it and increase the VOT of unaspirated velar stops of English as well. Such overgeneralization is an expected outcome of hyper-correction which, in the current context, may be considered a developmental error (Major, 2001, 2008).

Table 3 shows that the average VOT for English voiceless aspirated labial [p^h] is 22.44 ms and unaspirated labial [p] is 18.47 ms whereas the average VOT for the corresponding Pashto stops is 14.94 ms. Although the difference between English [p^h] and Pashto [p] is non-significant (p=.057) the null hypothesis is rejected with a very narrow margin. Some linguists (Larson-Hall, 2010) recommend rejection of the null hypothesis at the level of .1 alpha value. Keeping this in view, we can claim that the VOT for Pashto [p] is significantly different from that of English [p^h] but not from English [p]. In other words learners have equated the unaspirated labial [p] of English with the corresponding Pashto [p] but developed a separate VOT value for the English aspirated labial [p^h]. Therefore, we consider the learners in the process of development and claim that they are likely to develop two separate VOT ranges for the allophones of all voiceless plosives of English.

Finally, we need to analyze the results of English coronal. We already know that most Pakistan-based learners equate English /t/ with their L1 retroflex sounds (Mahboob & Ahmar, 2004; Rahman, 1990, 1991). In the current study, we found that the UK-based Pashtoon learners have the average VOT values for the allophones of English /t/ (35.64 ms for the aspirated and 33.17 for unaspirated allophone), which are significantly different from the L1 retroflex [ʈ] (13.83 ms). However, their VOTs for English /t/ are not significantly different from the L1 laminal coronal [t̪] which is 28.25 ms. (see tables 2 and 3 above). This indicates that the performance of the UK-based Pashtoon learners is different from Pakistan-based

Pakistani learners in that, unlike the latter, the former did not transfer the VOT values of the L1 retroflex sound to the L2 /t/. These results confirm that the participants of this study are on the way to acquire accurate VOT ranges for English plosives and the direction of learning is from velar to labial to coronal.

This confirms that L2 learners acquire unmarked sounds before the marked ones (Archibald, 1998). As observed in most of the world languages, velar stops are the most unmarked for big VOT values. Pashto has unaspirated stops but not aspirated ones. Therefore the main task for the Pashtoon learners of English was to develop a new phonetic category for aspirated stops with VOTs significantly bigger than the unaspirated stops. The velars stops being most amenable for big VOT values are acquired first which confirms the role of markedness in L2 acquisition.

These findings pose a possible challenge for the feature model which claims that adult L2 learners cannot acquire a new feature in the L2 (Brown, 1998, 2000). We know that the feature [spread glottis] is not active in Pashto. But the participants of this study have developed two different representations for English [k] and [k^h] in their L2 phonemic inventory and are likely to acquire English /p t/ within the due course of time. According to Flege (1995), acquisition of separate phonetic categories for two L2 sounds means acquisition of the L2 sounds although the new representations are deflected away from the phonetic representations of monolinguals of the L2. Thus, the participants of this study have learnt aspiration contrast in English velar stops. These findings contradict the claims of the FM and point out a need for revision in the model.

The learning observed in the performance of the participants may be ascribed to the prevalent linguistic situation in Pakistan. Urdu being a national language of Pakistan is a lingua franca in the country. Almost all educated Pakistanis know Urdu very well. Urdu has aspiration contrast at phonemic level. This is yet to be determined whether these learners acquired aspiration contrast in the velar stops of English under the influence of already acquired aspiration contrast in Urdu or because of the input they are receiving from native speakers of English in the UK or both. It is also noteworthy that if they had transferred Urdu aspiration contrast to English, they would have performed equally well on all sounds. These questions need to be addressed in the future research. Anyway the findings of this study pose a possible challenge for the feature model which claims that a new L2 feature may not be acquired.

6. Conclusion

The current study was focused on the VOT of Pashto and English plosives. The results show that vowels do not have any effect on the VOTs of the adjacent stops. The direction of increase in the VOT of Pashto (L1) and English (L2) is from labial to coronal to velar with the exception of Pashto voiceless retroflex consonants. The findings demonstrate that, contrary to the claims of the feature model, the Pashtoon learners have acquired aspiration contrast in English velar stops. This points out a need for revision in the feature model. However, it must also be noted that the study was focused on the aspiration contrast in English which is only allophonic (not phonemic). For further confirmation of these findings, acquisition of aspiration contrast may be studied at phonemic level with a relatively larger sample.

Appendix

A. The following words of English each written once on a paper were read by 12 participants in the carrier sentence 'I say ……..again.' Peak, speak, pool, spoon, park, spark, teeth, steal, tall, stall, tool, stool, key, ski, car, scarf, coup, scooter.

B. The following words of Pashto each written three times on a paper were read by 4 participants in the carrier sentence, 'da ………..dei' "*this is ……….'. pa*ṭ (lying), peeṛa (chaff), pokh (paved, cooked), ṭeera (sword), ṭala (lock), ṭoot (melburry), ṭikala (loaf), ṭal (wood-merchant shop), tokha (cough), keegee[4] (be, happen), kargha (crow), kooza (water-pot).

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[4] The Pashto word 'keegee' was produced in the sentence 'da say keegee'.

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Community Based Natural Resource Management in Roghani Valley, Northern Pakistan

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Abstract

Facing the scarcity of natural resources, high environmental risks and threats, and undependable accessibility, most of the mountain communities have evolved indigenous sustenance strategies through adaptations. Adaptation is a two-way process either adapting human demands according to resource limitations or amending the resources according to the rising human needs and wants. Such adaptations make them able to cope with the growing gap between the productivity of natural resources and the demands of increasing number of dependent users. The present study is an attempt to investigate the indigenous resource management and utilization mechanisms in a mountainous community located in Dir district northern Pakistan. The study is based on qualitative information collected through interviews and focused group discussion. Like most parts of the northern mountainous belt of Pakistan, the resources are kept and managed under locally introduced ownership system in the study area as well. The inhabitants have evolved self-administered institutions for managing resources and there is no interference from the state authorities.

Keywords: Natural Resources; mountain communities; Northern Pakistan; the Hindukush

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Introduction

Most parts of the Hindu Kush-Himalayan region — extending from Afghanistan to Myanmar and covering eight countries — are not only poor, but also face problems of natural resource degradation at a very rapid pace. Mountainous areas exhibit different social and physical characteristics distinguishing them from the

plain areas (Biswas *et al.* 2012; Bernbaum 1997; Ives *et al.* 1997; Messerli & Ives 1997). The characteristics of mountainous areas have been called 'Mountain Specificities' by Jodha (1992), which include inaccessibility, marginality, fragility, diversity, resource potential and social adaptations. In general, the mountainous areas have limited natural resource base determined by the rugged topography and harsh climatic conditions. On the other hand, the population is continuously increasing, which results into an imbalance between the natural resource potential and the dependent users (Sharma & Banskota 1992; Pretty 2003; Steins & Edwards 1999; Eckholm 1975; Jodha 2007).

Nevertheless, the mountains' inhabitants are well aware of the opportunities, threats and constraints and have indigenous knowledge which enables them able to withstand the fragile environment. Facing low productivity issues, high environmental risks and threats, and limited and undependable accessibility options (Bjonness 1983; Thomas 1979), most of the communities in these areas evolve indigenous sustenance strategies through adaptations to the limitations and potentialities of the local natural resource base (Barkin 2012). Adaptation is a two-way process i.e. adapting human demands according to resource limitations; or amending the resources according to the rising human needs and wants (Bjurnsen *et al.* 2012; Britan & Denich 1976; Ehlers 1996, 1997; Pugh 2005). Such adaptations included seasonally and spatially diversified and interlinked land-based activities such as diversified agricultural mechanisms, farm-forestry, and indigenous resource management and utilization systems. Although there are internal inequities and occupation-specific differences in the stream of benefits from the natural resource base; however, the close dependence of the inhabitants on local resources created an integrated collective venture in their natural resources, reflected by cooperative actions to protect and manage them (Berkes 1989; Jodha 1998; Leach *et al.* 1997).

With the growing population, the natural resource use mechanism has shifted from supply-driven to demand-driven pattern. This shift is another major factor behind the imbalanced between the productivity of natural resources and their usage. Nevertheless, the relative isolation and small size of rural communities and proximity to environmental resources imparted indigenous knowledge and understanding of the constraints and usability of their natural resource base. It helped in the development of methodological practices for protecting and regenerating the resources while using them in a sustainable manner. Moreover, it facilitated the creation of local social institutions and formulation of locally implementable range of rules and regulations to insure the adequate utilization of natural resources. Such regulatory measures include rotational grazing, periodic fallowing of cultivated lands, reciprocal activities and cooperative actions and periodic contribution of labour and

capital in investment for trenching, fencing and other community based practices (Pant 1935; Jodha 1998; Tamang et al. 1996; Bijoness 1983).

The present study is an attempt to explore and analyze the indigenous natural resource management approaches and the effectiveness of local social institutions which monitor the management and utilization of natural resources. The study is focused on the Roghani Valley located in the Hindu Raj Mountains — an off-shoot of Hindukush Mountain Range – Northern Pakistan. Similar to most other parts of this mountainous belt, the resources are kept and managed under de facto[1] ownership. The inhabitants of the valley have introduced indigenous approaches and mechanisms for the management of natural resources. Certain rules and regulations have been formulated orally by the local inhabitants, which regulate and guide the utilization of natural resources.

Study Area

This study is conducted in Roghani Valley located in the Hindu Raj Mountain (an offshoot of the Hindukush Mountains Range) lying between $34°54'33''$ to $35°00'28''$ N latitude and $71°55'35''$ to $71°00'13''$ E longitude. It stretches northward from the right bank of River Panjkora in Lower Dir district and reaches up to the high mountains in Upper Dir district. The height of the valley ranges from 500 meters above mean sea level in lower parts to over 3,000 meters in the upper mountains. The whole valley is divided into four altitudinal belts locally known as *tal* including; Jelar, Sami, Shahkani and Shalkani and eleven villages (Figure 1). The first five villages, Shalfalam, Mano, Khararai, Shalkani Payeen, Shalkani Bala, are part of Lower Dir district while the remaining six villages including Umarkot, Shahkani, Naseerabad, Gato, Samai and Jailar are located in the administrative jurisdiction of Upper Dir district. The wide altitudinal variation determines the uneven distribution of natural resources in the valley.

The study area is inhabited by Roghani tribe which is divided into four main clans; namely Mahmood Khel, Kwadezi, Yaqoobzi and Enazi and each of them is further divided into three sub-clans making up a total of 12 entities. The population of Mahmood Khel and Kwadezi clans is distributed throughout the valley, while the other two clans are settled in few villages. These four clans are de facto owners and have equal share in resources located within the valley. However, the non-bona fide residents, such as blacksmiths (*ingar*), prayer leaders (*pesh imam*), and barbers (*nai*) have been given rights only in cultivated land and irrigation water in return for the services they perform to the tribe (Sultan-i-Rome 2005, 2007).
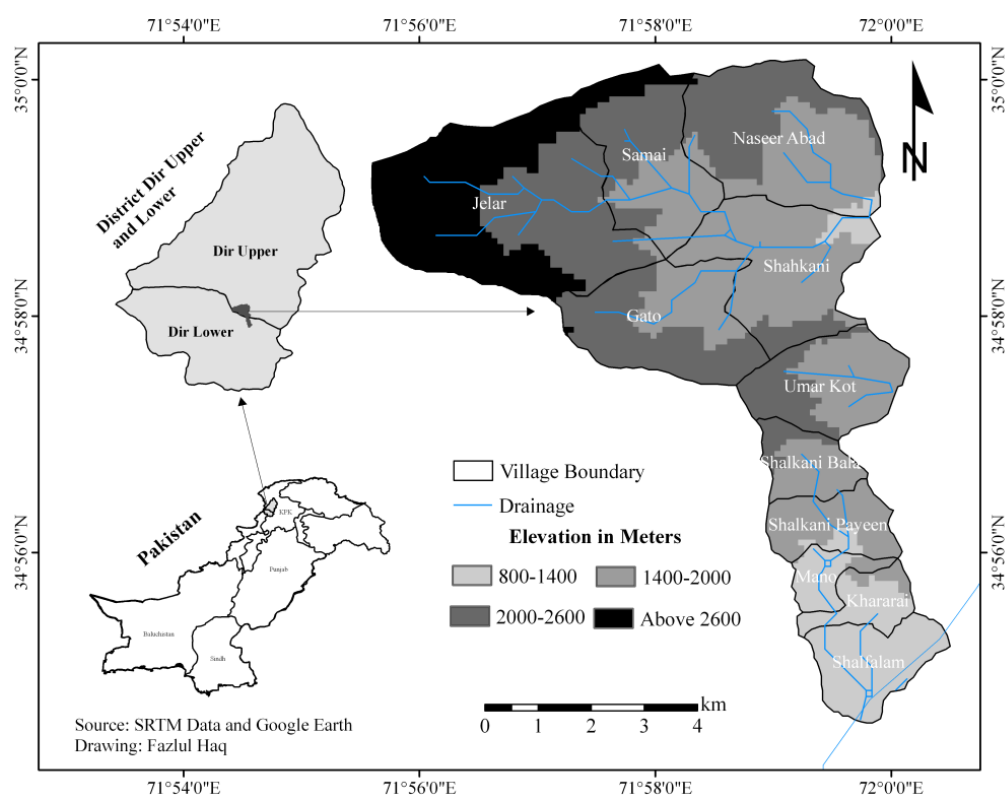
Figure 1: Location and Physiography of Roghani Valley

Research Method

Data Collection Method

As mentioned earlier, the resources are owned and managed by the local inhabitants with no interference from the state. The regulatory measures and management strategies are orally formulated and there are no written records regarding the institutional arrangements for natural resource management. Therefore, this study is primarily based on qualitative information collected through interviews and focused group discussions. Interviews were arranged with knowledgeable elders (17 in number) about the evolution and enforcement of institutional mechanisms for natural resource management. Moreover, at least one Focused Group Discussion (FGD) was arranged in each of the four *tals.* The FGDs were scheduled on Sundays (nonworking day) and were kept open for all the inhabitants of the valley in order to have maximum participation. However, it was made sure that the group contains at least one elder from each village located in that *tal* in addition to one representative from each of the four major clans. These

discussions were focused on the resource management strategies and their efficiency in the sustainable management of natural resource. The information provided the main basis of retrospective discussion on the natural resource management mechanisms and their effectiveness.

Frequently used Terms

A few important local terms, frequently used in this study, are explained below:

1. ***Dawtar:*** *Dawtar* is a common local term which refers to territory belonging to the bona fide members i.e. the original residence of an area. This term has been extensively used in literature, spelled sometimes *doftar* or *daftar* as well (Zarin & Schmidt 1984; Sultan-i-Rome, 2005, 2008).

2. ***Wesh:*** *Wesh* is a term implies for the allocation of shares in *dawtar.* Usually, *wesh*[2] is used for the temporal allotment of land or resources (Janjua 1998; Sultan-i-Rome 2008; Nafees et al. 2009). However, literally it means division, distribution or allotment; therefore it may be used to describe the permanent allotment as well.

3. ***Dawtariaan:*** The people having shares in *dawtar* by inheritance are known as *dawtariaan* (Sultan-i-Rome, 2008)*.* The shares in *dawtar* automatically transferred to the descendents.

4. ***Barkha/Brakha:*** *Barkha* literally means part or share and is used to describe the plots, strips or strata into which a land or forest area is divided for allotment among the shareholders.

5. ***Khasanry:*** *Khasanry* means drawing lot. It refers to the traditional method of drawing lots during *wesh* and through which the land and other resources are allotted among the users (Zarin & Schmidt, 1984; Nafees et al., 2009).

6. ***Salay:*** It is a conical shaped heap of stones also referred to as a pyramid of smaller stones[3] made on the boundary of two *barkha* in forests and barren hillsides. Usually the *salay* is whitened with lime in order to look prominent.

7. ***Qaumsaray:*** It refers to the common lands and resources, also known as *Shamilat* in some areas. In Roghani valley *qaumsaray* refers to an area inside or near the villages, which is still not divided among the people.

8. ***Mulan:*** These are the people who perform religious duties for the villagers (Sultan-i-Rome, 2008), like matrimonial rituals, prayer and funeral leading (*Imamat*), and mosques management etc. The descendents of *mulan,* who may not perform these duties, are also entitled as *mulan.*

9. ***Serai:*** It refers to the cultivated lands under the ownership of *mulan* and artisans, which is awarded to them in return for their duties (Sultan-i-Rome, 2008). *Serai* is usually the most fertile and high valued cultivated land in the village. The owners of *serai* are called *serikhwara,* who have no shares in other

privileges of *dawtar* (withdrawal rights from forests, rangelands and other common property resources of the village)

10. **Banda:** *Banda* refers to a hamlet in the remote mountains pastures (Sultan-i-Rome, 2008). Temporary dwellings and huts are constructed for animals' shelter. *Banda* is used as summer house where the herds are shifted for feeding and breeding during the summer months.

11. **Warsho:** *Warsho* implies to the rangelands (vegetation covers areas) inside and around the villages (Sultan-i-Rome, 2008).

12. **Nagha:** *Nagha* literally means ban, restriction or prohibition. The community forests or rangelands where the collection of forest products and grazing are banned are said to be in *nagha* or under *nagha*. It also refers to the absolute fine, which is taken from those who commit to violate the ban.

13. **Kakhy:** *Kakhy* is the person appointed by the community for monitoring of resources. The *kakhy* also called *zaitu*[4] in some areas, is responsible for implementing the ban, guarding the forests, rangelands, prevention of grazing and extraction of products from the restricted areas, check and report the actions of violators.

14. **Dhand:** It is a small pond constructed near a spring to store water for irrigation. Water storage in a *dhand* is a mechanism to regulate the discharge of water.

15. **Wala:** *Wala* (plural: *wale*) may be called a minor canal. It is the main water course taken off from rivers or streams from which further narrower extensions are branched off. *Wale* are usually constructed and concreted running along the uppermost margin of cultivated land up to which the water level can rise.

16. **Lakhtay** (plural: *lakhtee*): These are the narrow water courses taken off from *wale* or streams or taken out from *dhand*, which supply water to the fields also referred as *kuhls*[5] in some areas.

17. **Waar/Number:** *Waar* literally means turn. It is used for the turn in water utilization scheme and in sharing responsibilities such as animal husbandry, guarding the community protected areas i.e. forests and grazing lands etc.

18. **Godar:** It means spring. This term is usually used for the particular spring in a village which is specified for the fetching of drinking water only.

19. **Tal:** *Tal* literally means a set or a combination. This term is used to describe the combination of villages to form one large segment.

Ownership Regimes and Management of Resources

Natural resources are kept under various ownership regimes according to their nature, availability and importance (Fazlur-Rahman, 2005, 2009). The indigenous tenure system locally known as *wesh* provides base for the categorization of natural resources into different ownership regimes. The resources of the valley are

classified into the following major categories based on ownership status. Every category has a set of orally formulated rules and regulations and the resources under each ownership regimes are managed accordingly. Figure 2 gives a detailed description of the ownership regimes for different resources.

1. Private Ownership

Agricultural lands of all the villages have been privatized and distributed amongst the individual owners according to the *wesh* system. Three types of agricultural land can be found in the valley i.e. *sholgara* (irrigated land), *jwardara* (semi-irrigated) and *lalma* (rain fed). The distribution of these lands over different villages is determined by the availability of irrigation water. The allotments have been made in such a way that every member of the village is given share in all types of the cultivated land. Therefore, agricultural land throughout the valley is fragmented into small fields owned by individual users.

Residential lands within the villages' boundaries are divided among the shareholders of each village and owned individually. Due to a continuous growth in population, the residential areas of each village are expanding towards the nearby barren slopes and rangelands. The open lands and gentle slopes near and around the built up areas, are divided into *barkha* (plots) and allotted to the individual owners in most of the villages. These *barkha* are used for the construction of new settlements by the members separated from large joint families. However, in few villages the residential lands are not privatized due to certain factors and are still considered as *qaumsaray* (common), for example in Shalkani *Tal*. Here the people use to construct houses in the *qaumsaray* areas prior to the process of allotments. Then during the time of division, the people make certain adjustments. The *qaumsaray* land is divided into *barkha* and the area under the possession of someone is allotted to the clan or sub-clans whose member have constructed house or occupied it. Then the *barkha* is divided among the shareholders of the clan or sub-clan in such a way that every member may get equal share as well as the one who has already occupied a part, may also not suffer. The same is the case of g*harieza* (barren hillsides). The *gharieza* is also divided into *barkha* and allotted to the individuals, while in some cases these lands are still treated as *qaumsaray* or common.

Forest resources are treated differently in different villages. In some villages forest areas are divided among the individual shareholders and both the trees and land are privately owned (Fazlur-Rahman, 2005). On the other hand in few villages the trees are allotted to the owners, while the land under forest cover is considered as common. The trees are divided among the owners in two ways:

a) In case of widely scattered big trees like pine, the number is counted and divided among the shareholders. For example, in southern part of the valley, the pine trees are very few in numbers and sparsely distributed on the hill tops. Here the trees are counted and allotted to the owners.

b) The hillsides in the northern part of the valley; hence these areas have been divided into *barkha* for individual allotments. The forest *barkha* belonging to different owners are usually separated by watersheds or *salay* (heap of stones indicating boundaries).

2. Communal Ownership

The privatization of natural resources started almost a century ago, when the old tenure system was replaced by the present one. However, the process has not been concluded and many resources are still under communal ownership. The commons of Roghani valley can be classified into two categories on the basis of scale of ownership. (a) Commons of the whole tribe. (b) Commons of individual villages

(a) Commons of the Whole Tribe

During the process of permanent allocation of shares, Umarkot village was excluded from distribution. It was decided that the territory of this village including all the resources will be a common property for the whole tribe. According to the elders, there were two reasons due to which this village was not subjected to the process of distribution. (i) This village is very harsh and unfavourable for living due to its remoteness, rough topography and steep sloped hills, lack of cultivable land and scarcity of water. Due to these factors, no one was willing to settle here permanently and restrain themselves to this impoverished village. (ii) Umarkot village has a very thick forest cover with diversified species composition. It was supposed that the communal restrictions might prevent the uncontrolled exploitation of these forests.

(b) Commons of Individual Villages

Besides the commons of the tribe, there are certain resources which are common for the members of individual villages e.g. water, w*arsho* (rangelands) and forests (Fazlur-Rahman, 2005). Usually the village's commons are shared equally by all the inhabitants living there including the *mulan* and other migrants. For example, there are no exclusions in utilizing domestic water and no restrictions are observed on grazing in the rangelands for anyone residing in the village. However, in case of some resources the user rights are confined to the bona fide members only. For instance, the people with some other origin are not allowed to extract forests and rangelands products. Similarly, they cannot utilize the commonly owned barren

hillsides or other communal lands inside the village for cultivation or construction of settlements. The barren hillsides, rangelands and open spaces in the residential area within the territorial boundaries of each village are mostly undivided and are treated as common.

The communal management of such individually owned assets is due to the degradation of forests and rangelands. In the past few decades, the vegetation covers of Shalkani *tal* have been degraded at a very rapid rate. Almost 90% forests have been removed in a very short period of time (Fazlul-Haq, et al. 2011, 2012; Fazlul-Haq, 2012). From the last five to seven years the inhabitants of these villages have covered most of the barren areas with new plants. Every year the community contributes money to buy plants and participate actively in plantation. The newly grown plants and existing sparse vegetation covers are protected through implementing locally formulated rules and restrictions. A guard is usually appointed by the community known as *kakhy* who looks after these forests. The *kakhy* is paid in cash for his services on monthly basis, which is contributed by the community. However, in some cases the *kakhy* is given a fixed amount of grain by every household in both *Rabi* and *Kharif*. The *kakhy* is responsible for guarding the community forests and rangelands. Grazing of animals and extraction from these protected areas are strictly banned for the community members as well as the outsiders. In case of violations, sanctions are imposed on the defaulters, which are orally decided by the people.

3. Open Access Resources

The rangelands and pastures of the whole valley are treated in a way like open access resources for the inhabitants of Roghani valley as well as the herders from the surrounding valleys. Pastures are found only in the high mountains of Jailar village. This area is given the name *dhanda* (lake) because of the presence of two natural depressions where rainwater accumulates resulting into the formation of lakes. These lakes provide drinking water to the grazing animals during the summer grazing season. The people of Jailar village have built summer houses and huts in the area resulting into the development of a traditional *banda.* The inhabitants of Jailar village shift their livestock to these pastures in summer and spend from 4 to 6 months here. A number of professional herders or *gujjars* also come here along with their livestock to spend the grazing season. Similarly, the people from the surrounding valleys also graze their cattle in these pastures during the summer months. However, the property belongs to the bona fide residents of Jailar village only. The houses and huts are constructed and used by them, while the outside herders and *gujjars* drive their cattle daily for grazing and return to their residence in the nearby mountains at night.

Almost half of the members of each family of Jailar village spend the summer months in these high mountains with their livestock in their summer houses. The remaining members of family stay in their permanent dwellings in the village and perform other activities like agriculture, irrigation, fuel wood and fodder collection for winter and other economic activities. The pastures are snow free and favorable for grazing from April to the end of August. While in the winter months and early spring the pastures regain the greenery. The people of Jailar village have to look after these pastures, care for the maintenance of *dhanda*, repair paths to the pastures and construct huts. The outsiders have no obligatory duties regarding these activities. The daily use items for the herders and their families are supplied from the main village. The herders' community adopts a turn-wise (*waar*) mechanism for the transport of materials to these pastures by donkeys. A group of 5 to 6 members is sent along with a number of donkeys to the village, usually on monthly or weekly basis. Those members load the donkeys with the food stuff and other items required by the herders' and go back to the pastures.

Such pastures are not available in the rest of the villages of Roghani valley. However, every village has some rangelands locally known as *warsho*. There are no restrictions on grazing. As a property, the rangelands within the territorial limits of a village are owned by the bona fide residents; however grazing lands are treated as open access resources. Nevertheless, in case of those villages, where afforestation is in progress, grazing is prohibited for everyone, even the owners are not allowed. If someone is found violating the restrictions, will face sanctions formulated by the community. In case of rearing cattle and extraction of forest products from such restricted rangelands or community forests, certain *nagha* (fine) is imposed according to the severity of offence.

Water Management

The availability of water, both for irrigation and domestic use is quite limited in the valley. Due to limited availability, water resources are managed very carefully throughout the valley. Wherever irrigation water is available, the community has developed excellent storage heads, distribution channels and controlling mechanisms for the adequate utilization of water resources. Similarly, proper care is taken for the maintenance of springs which provide water for drinking, storage reservoirs and distribution networks which supply water for domestic uses.
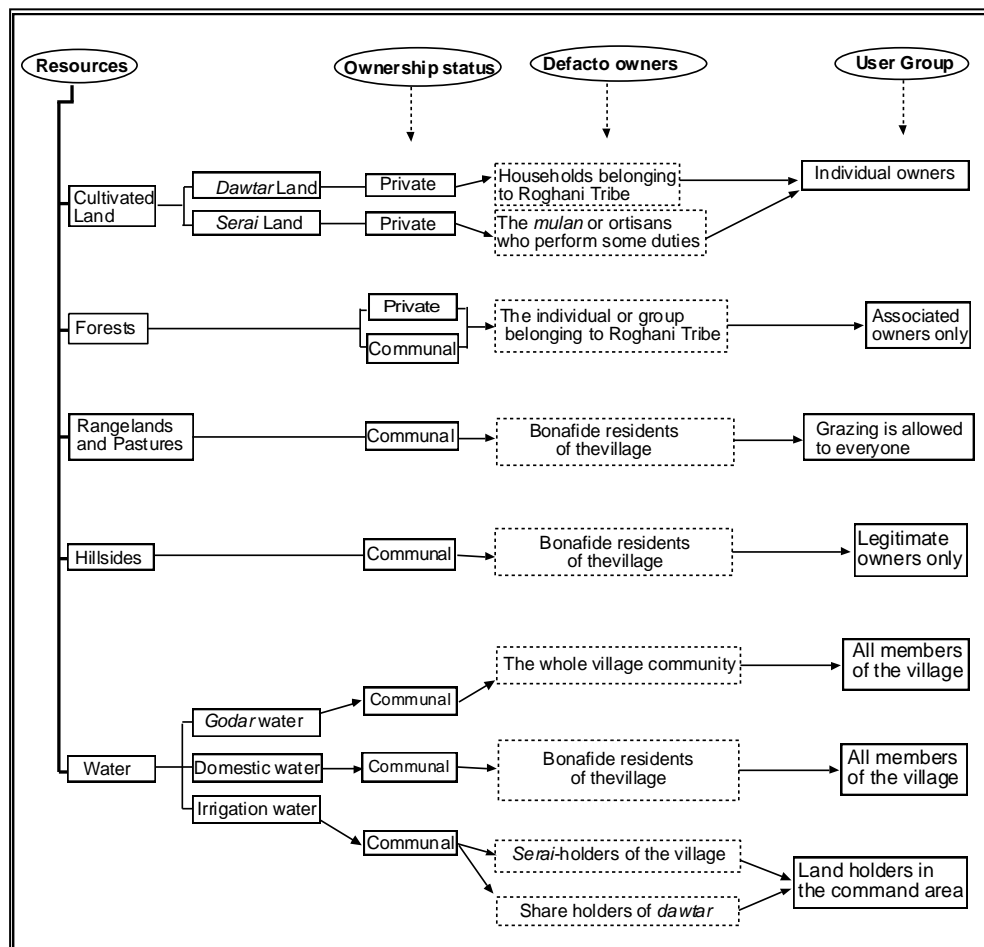
Figure 2: Ownership of Natural Resources

Management of Irrigation Water

The management strategies for water resources vary from village to village depending on the availability of water, clan-wise composition of population and cultivable command area in case of irrigation water. In Shalfalam village, the flood plain of river Panjkora is used for cultivation. Therefore, most part of the cultivated lands of this village lies in the command area of the river. Two minor canals locally known as *wala* are taken off from the river at different places with such an altitude to bring as much area under irrigation as possible. Water from the river is diverted into these *wala*, which are branched off into many narrow water courses called *lakhtay* (plural *lakhtee*). The main channel or *wala* is well structured and lined while the minor extensions i.e. *lakhtee* are mostly un-lined and made up of stones and

clay or excavated in the fields' surface. The *lakhtee* are driven throughout the cultivated lands, which distribute water to each and every field. All these structures for the distribution of irrigation water are constructed by the community (Velde 1992; Jodha et al. 1992; Fazlur-Rahman 2005) through collective actions. Those members of the community who have lands in the command area of a particular *wala* are responsible for the construction, repair and maintenance of water supply network (Ura & Gupta 1992). They have to contribute both physically in the form of collective labour force in order to carry out the work, and economically in the form of collecting money for other expenses.

In most of the other villages, irrigation water is not permanently available throughout the year. Here springs are the only sources of domestic and irrigation water. In each village there are one or more springs, which usually fulfill the domestic water requirements. In a few villages the surplus spring water is used for irrigation purposes as well (Velde 1992). However, the amount and availability of irrigation water in these villages, is not the same every year as it depends on precipitation. In dry years, irrigation cannot be practiced at all. In the years, when sufficient snowfall and rainfall takes place, the springs discharge some surplus amount of water which is used for irrigation. Small reservoirs or lakes locally called *dhand* are constructed near the springs in order to store the surplus water (Figure 3). The water is stored in the *dhand* at day time and released at the evening to irrigate the fields. At night the *dhand* is again filled with water, which is released to the fields in the morning. The water stored in the *dhand* is distributed to the fields through *lakhtay* (Figure 4) taken out from the mouth of the *dhand*, which is further divided into a number of branches running throughout the cultivated land (Velde 1992). The mouth or opening of the *dhand* is guarded by a valve or stone which regulate the discharge of water into *lakhtay.*

The *dhand* are constructed by the community, mostly concreted but sometimes may be made up of stones and clay. The distribution of *dhand's* water among the people is controlled and regulated by the traditional day and night *waar* mechanism formulated on the basis of *wesh* system. While irrigating fields, two persons of a family go to the site of irrigation in order to utilize their water *waar* efficiently. One person operate irrigation in the fields, while the other one regulate the discharge of water from the *dhand* and walk frequently through the course of *lakhtay* in order to prevent the wastage of water on the way.

Management of Drinking and Domestic Water

In every village certain springs are specially chosen by the community for fetching drinking water. Such springs are locally called *godar*, mostly associated with

women as fetching of water is exclusively female dominated activity in the area. Traditionally male are not allowed to visit the *godar* or interfere in the fetching of water. While filling the water pots in *godar*, the women follow the 'first come first served' rule i.e. the one who reached earlier to *godar*, will have an early turn to fill the pot. However, the elder women are respected by the younger ones and are allowed to fill water regardless of their turn.

Figure 3: *Dhand*   Figure 4: *Lakhtay*

Water for other domestic uses is distributed to the houses through water supply schemes operated by village communities. For household supply, water from one or more springs is channeled through a main pipe to a storage tank, which is properly constructed and protected. It is constructed at such a height that water can be supplied to the maximum possible number of houses through gravity (Figure 5). The tank opens into a big main pipe and the opening is guarded by a regulating valve. For every house a connection is taken from the main pipe. Water is stored in the tank for the full day and is released one time either in the morning or in the evening. For operating the valve, a man is appointed by the villagers to operate the valve, care for the cleanliness and maintenance of water tank and prevent the illegal use of water. The villagers contribute money for the fixed monthly salary of the valve-man. The money is collected on per connection basis both for the salary of the valve-man as well as the repair of main water supply schemes if needed.

Property Rights and Utilization of Natural Resources

Property rights, the claim to the stream of benefits from the resources (Bromley 1991; Ostrom 2004) involves a relationship between the beneficiary (right holder) and other members of the user group as well as the institution that supports the claim of the user by placing corresponding obligations on others (Gregorio et al. 2008). A property right does not necessarily imply the sole authority or full ownership of a resource to the user; rather it is a multiplex of different rights like access to resources, exploitation for economic purposes and rights to management etc. The access, withdrawal and utilization rights for different resources in Roghani

valley are clearly defined and well understood. These rules are formulated and implemented orally. However, these rules have been and are functioning successfully in guiding and governing the use of natural resources. Each ownership category has a defined set of access and utilization rights, restrictions and exclusions as well as the associated obligations. The ownership of *dawtar* is the key to utilization rights and exclusions from resources for the individuals. The access-withdrawal and utilization rights of the users in case of different resources are summarized in Figure 6.

Figure 5: Water Supply Scheme

Right to Land

Arable land, which is kept under private ownership, is utilized by the individual owners independently. However, certain customs do exist in the valley regarding the obligations concerned with the use of privately owned cultivated land.

The cultivated fields are used for free grazing after harvesting crops. Livestock belonging to anyone can freely graze on the stubble residue in all the fallow fields without any restrictions. No one can be excluded from the rights to graze livestock in the fallow lands whether he has share in *dawtar* or not.

As the sowing season starts, the entry of livestock into the cultivated lands is banned by the community.

The cultivated lands located along the paths need protection from livestock walking to the rangelands or returning back to the homes without a guiding shepherd. In such cases, the owners of the outermost fields (bordering the paths) are responsible to mend the fences before the cultivation of fields.

When harvested, wheat crop is dried and threshed in the fallow fields. The fields owned by anyone can be used for this purpose. The fallow fields are also used as pathways for thresher to pass through to the next threshing site. If needed, the retaining or boundary wall of a field or its part may be detached (destroyed) to give way to the thresher, while the owner of the field can pose no restrictions. However, the restoration of the detached walls is the obligation of the needful person and the owner of the field can claim it.

Similarly, in case of cultivated lands, *lakhtee* (water courses) pass from one field to the other. The owner of the field through which a *lakhtay* is passed is not allowed to destroy it or engulf it into his field area. Rather the owner is obliged to take care for the maintenance of *lakhtay* passing through his field. Some minor variations in the above mentioned customs can be observed from village to village. For example, free grazing is not allowed in few villages in order to protect the agro-forests.

Right to Forest Resources

Only the members of Roghani Tribe have the rights to utilize forests, while the migrated *mulan* or other outsiders are excluded from the access and utilization rights of forests. Forests are either owned privately or communally by small user groups, usually the members of a clan inhabiting in the village. The members of such a user group sharing a forest *barkha* have equal rights to extract benefits from their communal share as well as they equally perform the concerned duties. The members of the user group ban the extraction of forest products for the whole summer season, and release the ban for a specific period usually two or three months in winter (Figure 6). During this period, a fixed number of head loads of fuel wood and fodder can be brought by every household daily. Cutting of tree trunks, ripping up the plants with roots or any such extraction, which may result into degradation of vegetation cover, is not allowed. Selling of trees or exploitation of forests for income generation is also prohibited. Every member of the user group is responsible to check and monitor the exploitation of the communal *barkha* by the legitimate owners as well as discourage the entry of outsiders. In case of afforestation, every member has to participate in the collective actions and contribute equally (Ura and Gupta, 1992) in terms of labour force and money. If the rules are properly implemented, such small scale communal arrangements become very effective for the management and conservation of forest resources.

Pasturage Rights

The pasturage rights are not restricted to the village community or any other specified user group (Figure 6). The pastures and rangelands of a village can be used for grazing by the herders of other villages as well as the outside *gujjars*. The *gujjars* from outside the valley have no permanent houses and livestock shelters of their own. A member of the village community provides house and shelter to the *gujjar* in return for manure, dairy products and services like the collection of wood and repairing of fields etc. (Fischer 2000). The *gujjars* are restricted to grazing rights only (Stuber & Herbers 2000; Schmidt 2004) and are not allowed to use the pastures and rangelands for any other purpose like the extraction of wood or construction of dwellings and shelters etc. However, if a general ban is observed by the village community, then both the outsiders and the owners must tolerate the restrictions. For example, grazing is not allowed in the rangelands of the villages of Shalkani *tal* due to the afforestation. The plants are protected from the livestock for a period of 10 to 15 years, and grazing is allowed when the plants grow enough.

Water Rights

In case of irrigation water, the utilization rights are confined only to the land owners or the bona fide residents (Figure 6). On the other hand, there are no exclusions in case of domestic water. The *godar* water is utilized freely by the women of the village without any restrictions on the number of users from one household or the volume of water taken by a household in one day. The inhabitants of the village – regardless of their origin – can utilize *godar* water. For domestic water, every household has the right to take one connection at least, and a standard criterion of household size is decided by the village community for the right to take an extra connection. In most of the villages, if a household size exceeds 15 members, it is considered for the allotment of second connection.

Utilization rights in irrigation water are basically allocated to the lands not to the people, whether the lands belong to *dawtar* or *serai*. Irrigation water is utilized through the traditional *waar* mechanism (turn). The mechanism of *waar* and the distribution of water rights among the users are different in different villages, depending on the availability of water, overall value of villages in *dawtar* and clan-wise composition of population. In a general context, the *waar* is regulated on a weekly basis in the whole valley. The utilization rights are distributed among the users in such a way that every member can have access to water (Velde, 1992) once a week. The water rights of the individual users depend on the size of landholdings in the cultivated areas. The seven days of a week are allocated to the landholders in two major ways depending on the existence of *serai* lands in the

command area of a particular irrigation network. As a result two main types of *waar* mechanisms are developed:
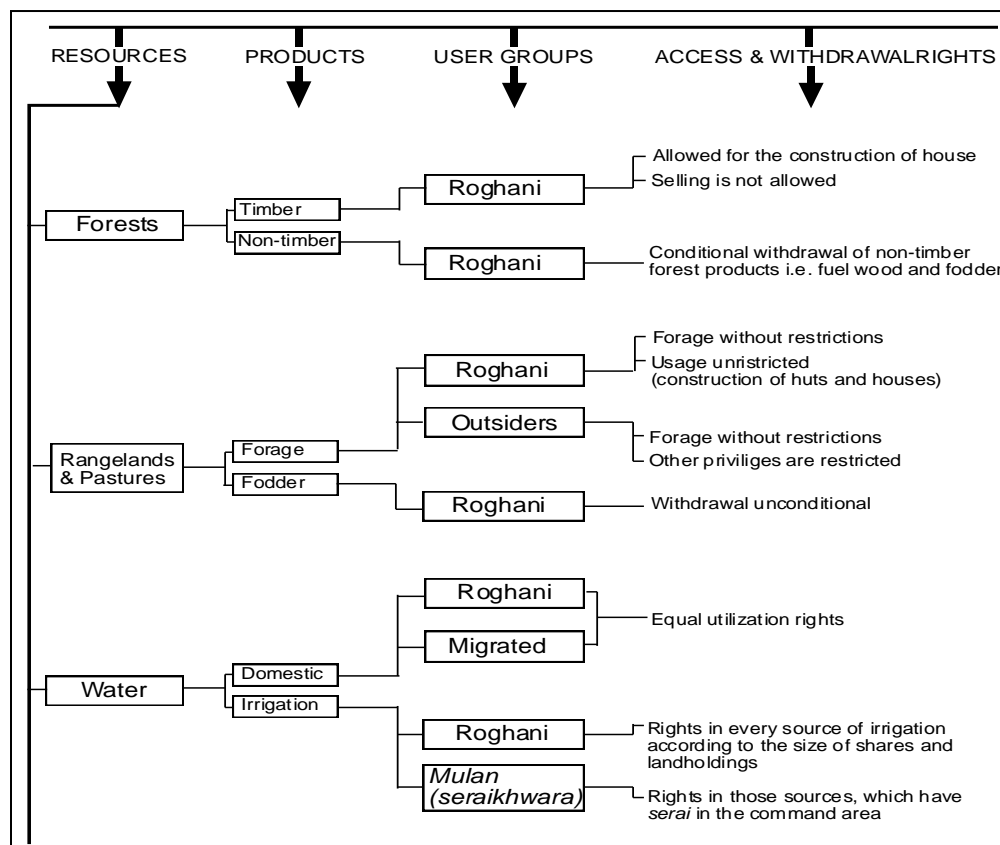

Figure 6: Utilization Rights in the Communal Resources

(a) *Waar* **with weekly rotation:** Those water sources (*dhand* or *wala*), which have no *serai* in the command area and irrigate the lands of *dawtar* only, are utilized on a rotating *waar* basis. Six days of the week are allocated among the users, while the seventh day is kept free in order to rotate the *waar*. For example a person having water *waar* on Saturday in the first cycle, will have his *waar* on Friday in the second cycle i.e. one day earlier in the next week.

(b) *Waar* **with no rotation:** Those irrigation channels, which irrigate both the lands of *dawtar* and *serai,* are operated on a fixed *waar* basis. One day of the week is specified to the lands of *serai,* while the remaining six days are allocated to the lands of *dawtar.* Hence, all the seven days of a week are allocated to the users permanently without any free day for weekly rotation. Every user has water rights

on a specified day of the week, either a full day in case of larger shares or few hours if he possesses smaller share.

Conclusion

This paper examined the mechanism of natural resource management in the mountainous regions of Pakistan. Most parts of the northern mountainous belt of Pakistan are unsettled and there are no cadastral records for the ownership of natural resources. Here the resources are kept under de facto ownership and the state does not interfere directly in any kind of activities regarding the management and utilization of natural resources. All kinds of resources are managed and utilized under the customary tenure arrangements or *wesh* which are introduced locally by the inhabitants. *Wesh* system has worked successfully for a long period of time in the whole Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province. However, this system was gradually abolished in the plain areas wherever cadastral settlements took place. Nevertheless, the system is still in practice in most of the mountainous areas such as, Swat, Dir, Malakand, Kohistan and other surrounding areas.

The local communities have designed social institutions which guide the management and utilization of natural resources. Certain rules and regulations have been orally formulated which define the rights and obligations of the users who own and use the resources. A set of rules and regulatory measures have been defined for all kinds of resources. The user groups and property rights are clearly understood and there are sanctions imposed by the community in case of violating the rules or disobeying the mandatory duties. Though there are no written codes but these orally formulated rules are respected by the community members. The community based natural resource management can be an effective way for the conservation of natural resource base. However, this argument depends on the proper implementation of the regulatory measures adapted by the community.

Notes

[1] Such type of ownership is not recognized by the state authorities; that is there is no interference from the state regarding the management and utilization of natural resources.

[2] According to colonial sources, this system has served for a long time in the entire Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province (cf. Barth 1956; Spain 1973).

[3] For more details see (Stuber & Herbers 2000)

[4] See (Janjua 1998 p.419)

[5] For details see (Velde 1992 p.572)

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Autobiography and Woman Empowerment:
Tehmina Durrani's *My Feudal Lord*

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Abstract

Autobiography has become an ideal vehicle to convey women's issues and experiences. This genre is also chosen by women to express their deference and resistance. This paper critically examines the autobiography of Tehmina Durrani 'My feudal Lord'. Durrani's biography throws light on the institution of marriage and family that are thoroughly embedded in cultural practices. It is a regular biography following a chronological order and the last part brings out the changes occurring in her personality. The author blames patriarchy, feudalism and cultural norms for women's oppression. Therefore, Durrani acts to discover herself when she decides to reject a life with a husband who mistreats and degrades her. Under terrible pressures, she struggles to become independent and pushes through to regain self-esteem and living fulfilment. By writing about her own life, Durrani has not only challenged the prescribed behavioural patterns but also gives vent to her angered feelings and finally comes out of the long silence indicating that she has an agency to confess and protest.

Keywords: Autobiography; women issues; women empowerment; Tehmina Durrani; My Feudal Lord; Pakistani women writers

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Introduction

Women writings have special relationship with the genre of autobiography. Fortunately, these forms offered more space and freedom to woman. The genre of Autobiography is being used by women to declare their resistance and

empowerment. Women writers could take up the pen in the privacy of their home and domesticity and scribble their thoughts. The crucial concept in woman cantered writings is truthful representation of female experience and identity. The portrayal has to be multidimensional not limited in scope as what Snitow (cited in Eagleton, 1986) observes:

> When women try to picture excitement, the society offers them one vision, romance. When they try to imagine companionship, the society offers them one vision, male, sexual companionship, when women try to fantasize about success, the society offers them one vision, the power to attract a man. When women try to fantasize about sex, the society offers them taboos on most of its imaginable expressions except those that when dealing directly with arousing and satisfying men. When women try to project a unique self, the society offers them very few attractive images. True completion for women is nearly always presented as social, domestic, sexual (138).

The women writer should go beyond this fantasy world since autobiographical writings closely correspond with the structures of society. Most of all, it should at least try to capture the ethos and mood of the period in which it is written. However, writing is a highly complex process and the common theme that women writers generally share with the reader is their oppression and how it affects them in different ways. Autobiographical writings have also contributed to identity formation for women. It celebrates the essence of womanhood and womanliness. Olney (1980) states that "the genre emphasizes the birth of experience, singularity of experience and the reconstruction of the sense of individuality" (135). Mitra (2009) states that being an artistic activity, the autobiographical process not only helps recreate the author's personality, it also helps them determine their true identity as well as gain deeper knowledge of the self through self-interrogation (150).

Generally, this genre is chosen by women to express deference and resistance. Watson (1989) writes that Gusdorf praises autobiography as the "conscious awareness of the singularity of each individual life, an awareness that he sees as marking the epitome of Western civilization, the previous capital of the biological self that achieves meaning by its separation and singularity. Autobiography is therefore, a genre for memorializing those who are self-evidently wise and great as their autobiographies show us, the great artist, the great writer lives, in a sense, for his autobiography" (59). Mason argues that women writers delineate identity relationally, through connection to the significant other, 'that the self-discovery of female identity' seems to acknowledge the real presence and recognition of another consciousness, and the disclosure of female self is linked to the identification of some other. "This recognition seems to enable women to write

openly about themselves" (69). Invoking the research of Nancy Chodorow in the Reproduction of Mothering, Friedman (1993) argues that "in women's text we can find a consciousness of self in which the individual [feels] …very much with others in an interdependent existence." Friedman (1993) also turns to Shiela Rowbotham to incorporate concepts of collective alienation, consciousness, and formation of new identities through reclamation of language and image. Friedman explores the notion of fluid or permeable ego boundaries to describe the sense of collective identification and yearning for maternal nurturance and community that she reads as characteristic of many women's autobiographies, particularly contemporary ones (55).

Women autobiographies talk about patriarchy which establishes values, and gender prescriptions. Despite rejecting male hegemony these autobiographies celebrate motherhood and wifehood clearly. Women replace their individual identity with the maternal one. The development of multiple and 'autonomous self' is rooted in relationship but also at times women resist coherent selfhood. Leigh Gilmar (cited in Mitra (2009) points out "Autobiography demonstrates that we can never recover the past, only represent it" (144). Bruner (1993)asserts that 'it is an extension of fiction that the shape of life comes first from imagination rather than from experience' (77).Therefore, autobiography re-imagines the past and re-interprets it in the present context which situates it on the border of fiction writing. The synthesis of past and present build the edifice of autobiography. More or less all autobiographies by women dwell on the growth of self-esteem which leads them to seeking empowerment. Both genres of autobiography and novel extend the social sphere in which the action unfolds. According to Ricouer (1984), "the time of the novel may break away from real time. In fact, this is the law for the beginning of any fiction. Therefore, both genres at times defy coherency and rely on teleological principles to achieve desired aims" (25). As far as the roles of the characters are concerned, it is necessary here to recall Propp's initial thesis cited in Ricoeur that functions are to be without taking into consideration the characters of the action, therefore, in abstraction from any specific agent or passive sufferer. But Bremond says, action is inseparable from the one who undergoes it or who does it. He presents two arguments in favour of this assertion. A function expresses an interest or an initiative that brings into play a sufferer or an agent. Also, several functions become interconnected, if the sequence concerns the story of the single character. It is necessary therefore, to conjoin a subject-noun and a process predicate into a single term the role. From here the logic of the principal narrative role begins. According to Ricoeur this inventory is systematic in a two-fold sense. First, because it gives rise to more and more complex roles either by specifying them or by successive determinations, whose linguistic representation more and more articulated. Second, because it gives rise to groupings of roles by correlating them, often on a binary basis (40).

The characters or the individuals in both genres live in the world, where the boundaries of the public and the private are increasingly fluid. Some fictional narratives are also autobiographical in nature. The striking example of this form is Bapsi Sidhwa's novels. Sidhwa has written four novels loaded with autobiographical elements. On the other hand, in Durrani's autobiography representations seems to have been negotiated. "Therefore, it is important to recognize boundaries between fact and fiction" says, Evan (2005:32). According to Ricoeur (1984) "the situation here is the same as in History, where inquiry of a scientific character and ambition was preceded by legends and chronicles. History at the same time also informs that women have always been constituted by others" (58). According to Waugh (1989) "subjectivity historically constructed and expressed through the phenomenological equation self/other necessarily rests masculine 'selfhood' upon feminine 'otherness' (8). Women then become commodities in such cases. Realizing the socio/political and the historical determinants of woman's oppression, the women writers have made an effort to counter the situation through voicing. The genres of autobiography and novel share many concerns related to women question. These genres thus, challenge historico/cultural positioning of femininity by showing that woman's situation becomes the site of multiple struggles, and that at times such struggles create in women the 'essential self' that may help to counter the fixities of femininity.

Pakistani English autobiographical writing is still a new body of work. More and more writers however, turn their attention to fiction side. Durrani's autobiography though not the first of its kind attracted lots of public attention. Her predecessors like Shaista Ikramullah, Banzair Bhutto and Sara Suleri are well-known figures, but it is the story of her life that gained wider readership at national and international level. Its distinctness lies in revealing even her personal life, in order to reflect oppressive feudal traditions. The purpose of her autobiography *My Feudal Lord* (1994) becomes quite clear when she dedicates it to the people of Pakistan:

> to the people of Pakistan who have repeatedly trusted and supported their leaders…. leaders who have, in written, used the hungry, oppressed, miserable, multitudes to further their personal interest … to my beloved children who, in our closed society, shall have to suffer the trials of the family exposed …. may my son never oppress the weak, may my daughters learn to fight oppression (dedication).

Her purpose is two-fold. First, to expose the corrupt politicians who betray the country and the people and second, depicting the crippling status of womanhood in Pakistani society. The focus of her autobiography is the institution of marriage and family which are thoroughly embedded in cultural practices. Pakistan is one of those

countries where unfortunately violence against women has traditionally dominated the cultural scene. Durrani's discourse closely follows helplessness in these circumstances and the overall patriarchal system which dominates both public and private sphere. Durrani's autobiography is a regular autobiography following a chronological order. It has three parts. The first and the second part deal with Durrani's victimization by her abusive husband and the last part bring out the changes occurring in her personality. Unfortunately, the autobiographies written in Pakistan become documents of self-justification. The writers make every possible effort to convince the reader that they are born Angels who live good life to write about it. Their whole being is presented as spotless. Both Pakistani and Indian autobiographies show the writers as an embodiment of perfection. Though, Durrani shows some pitfalls of womanhood but mostly the narration tilts in favour of the protagonist. Another problematic feature of her autobiography is its co-authorship. The cover of a book claims three authors. These three authors of an autobiography make it appear more a fairy-tale than life-writing. The authenticity of events becomes ambiguous, contradictory and controversial. This in fact creates a big obstacle in the development of the "real-self" the writers intend to portray in the text. Therefore, Durrani's picture of "self" may be lacking coherency, since it has been detailed by the writers who have never been a part of her life. Hence, Durrani's discourse lacks transparency. But at this stage, one must admit that life can never be transparent. It is also worth-mentioning here that the Western autobiography tends to give more realistic picture of life. The autobiographer does not lose touch with the ground realities of life and instead are more real. Ours are more heroic. According to James Olney (1980) 'the autobiographer is surrounded and isolated by their own consciousness, an awareness grown out of a unique heredity and unique experience. . . separates selfhood is the very motive of creation' (22-23).

In Durrani's case, this is true. All through the text, one can trace images of loneliness and isolation and being cut from the life of action. May be it is the effect of those moments of life that foster consciousness in her and force her to wield pen in the cause of women. Despite its weaknesses, the text has its assets in the action or activism of its writer. The last part of the book, titled as 'lioness', is most impressive enriching and resourceful. Though a regular autobiography, it is written in English and English co-authors, it is set on the Western models. Unfortunately, the unhealthy relationship with her mother and an unstable one with her second husband Khar, brings about disgrace and undeserved failures in her life. Until two decades ago in Pakistan, the discourse of activism for women rights was considered to be sinful. Durrani challenged this mind-set by writing *My Feudal Lord.* First, she posed a serious challenge to patriarchy which is the root cause of gender disparity. Second, she revealed her feelings on the themes of sex and sexuality which created a storm in the then society of the time. Finally, it also threw light on her role as a politician, for

the release of her husband from jail and then to get "herself" released from abusive marriage. It became the most popular book of the time, especially amongst women. It could be categorized as a "Consciousness Raising" book.

Feminism in Muslim countries is growing on the basis of the indigenous needs of the individual countries which are at different stages of religious revivalism on the one hand, and political, economic cultural and social complexities on the other. But there are many common features of women's movement in post-modern Muslim countries. Definitely *My Feudal Lord* marks the beginning of diverse discourses on feminism. Though, it being written with the help of English co-authors, however, it does not disturb the "innate Pakistaniness" of the text and the author. The married women in traditional Pakistani society face many problems. The South Asian societies have turned homes into an ideal location for the exercise of masculine aggression and domination. Generally speaking, women in South Asian countries are tied in such a way to the tradition and social custom of the country that it retards the development of women. Another contributing factor is that women are kept entirely ignorant of their rights as a woman and the law protection guaranteed to them by the constitution of the country. Spivak (1995) suggests, that 'the role of literature in the production of cultural representation should not be ignored.' (269). Durrani therefore, taking advantage of the literary genre registers her complaints and uses autobiography as a medium to unveil her hidden life. It also points to the fact that Pakistan is still in tight grip of feudal structures and at the same time makes an effort to restore the voice of the subaltern. Durrani follows a female approach which in the words of Guerin et al. (1999), 'Feminine logic in writing is often associational (whereas) male logic is sequential, that is goal oriented' (200). Like a native informant, Durrani in Spivakian (2003) spirit feels that "Literature can provide rhetorical space for subaltern groups to re-articulate the suppressed histories of popular struggles" (124).

My Feudal Lord and the Discourses of Power

My Feudal Lord shows a woman who has conventional existence and strained relationship with her mother. It is owing to Durrani's young age and alienation from her family that she opts to marry Anees who being a junior executive in Shipping Corporation. Durrani sought escape through marriage as she acknowledges, "I wanted to escape from my family" (37). Since she never loved Anees, therefore, there was always a sense of incompleteness in her. Most probably it was the lack of masculinity in Anees that blurred his qualities as a husband. Hence, when she sees Khar for the first time in her life she feels quite fascinated by his charismatic personality she describes, "my gaze settled open a tall, dark, handsome man in a black suit. His starched white shirt was set off by a

burgundy tie and matching handkerchief" (90). Her meeting with Khar is the first tragedy of her life. Though she classifies him as a rake but at the same time feels "a bit devilish in an appealing sort of way" (19). Throwing light on his personality she writes, "Mustafa Khar was the kind of man who could chose his place at the dinner table, and he chose to sit directly across from me….his words did not hold me, but his eyes had me riveted. Then their message was for from subtle. Perhaps I should have been frightened: instead I was drawn like a moth to a flame" (27). After this introduction Khar and Durrani continue to meet at different places but marrying Khar remained a distant dream. It is after that he musters the courage to take Durrani for dance and proposes her. She frankly confesses physical relationship with him, "common sense vanished along with caution, morality and decency, my emotion overwhelmed me" (68). Her first marriage is annulled. It is the mutual decision of both Khar and Durrani to get married, and upon their marriage the doors of the outside world are closed upon her.

Durrani being educated and brought-up in the cosmopolitan did not have the slightest idea of feudal culture. It is feudalism which considers woman a toy or play thing. Saeed cited in Babar (2000) who is a socialist says in this regard, "In the feudal system there is extreme oppression of women, while the capitalist system gives some artificial concession to women in order to get the maximum production and benefits from them" (16). Another writer Sibt-e-Hassan cited in Babar (2000) also observes that "the feudal system reduces a woman to be mere slave and that man and woman must first struggle to end this oppressive system perpetuated by the Feudal Lord" (16). Durrani throws light on her wrong decision, "at first I found irony in this situation. I had escaped from the domination of my mother by climbing into the lap of a tyrant" (128). Woman as a woman has no place in feudal culture. She can only survive as a mother, daughter, wife and sister. Women survive in terms of their relation with someone else. A woman is expected to be a submissive daughter, a caring mother and a docile wife. With the passage of time Durrani learns how to adjust with impulsive and abusive nature of her husband, "I had diagnosed his illness, he was confused and insecure product of his background and I had to find a cure . . . . I knew my personality had to change I had become submissive and weak like his previous wives. I had, somehow to learn to deal with him on a different level" (188). Life with Khar becomes an Herculean task for Durrani. Culture is ingrained in the personality of an individual. Khar represented feudal culture. It was reflected in his domestic habits especially in his treatment of women. Durrani testifies:

> I could only develop in the direction that he chose. To think independently was
> a crime that he had the right to punish. Many of his beliefs ran counter to
> everything that I considered right, but there was no way that I could engage

> with him in a rational debate. His values were steeped in a medieval milieu, a mix of prejudices, superstitions and old wives tale. High on the list was the role of the wife. According to feudal tradition a wife was honour-bond to live her life according to her husband's whims. A woman was a man's land a feudal lord loves his land only in functional terms. He encloses it and protects it. If it is barren, he neglects it. Land is power, prestige and property (107).

This points to the otherness of woman. The theme of otherness is also central to autobiographical writings. However, "women in South Asian societies like Pakistan are attached to the male member of the family. In South Asian cultures, for an upper class man both conditions need to be present; for example, a Feudal Lord, tribal leader or a big industrialist is considered honorable because he possesses material riches and exercises substantial control over the women and children in his family," writes Khan in her book *Beyond Honour (2006)*. To support my argument, I would quote Spivak here:

> within the effaced itinerary of the subaltern subject, the track of sexual difference is doubly effaced. The question is not of female participation in insurgency, or the ground rules of sexual division of labour, for both of which there is 'evidence' it is, rather that, both as object of colonialist historiography and as subject of insurgency, the ideological construction of gender keeps the male dominant. If in the context of colonial production, the subaltern has no history and cannot speak, the subaltern as female is even more deeply in shadow (28).

Khan writes, male bondage outlaws blood bondage. This practice is not a cultural or traditional phenomenon it has very much an economic basis and material motives (54). This bondage is strengthened in many ways remarks Khan,

The system of patriarchy can function only with the cooperation of women. This cooperation is secured by a variety of means: gender indoctrination, educational depravation, the denial of knowledge to women of their history, the dividing of women, one from the other, by defining 'respectability' and 'deviance' according to women's sexual activities, by restrains and outright coercion, by discrimination in access to economic resources and political power, and by awarding class privilege to conforming women (56).

The reason for this, as Spivak points out, is because the 'ideological construction of gender' in the colonial archives and the historical records of subaltern insurgency keeps the male dominant' (281). 'Women have been largely man-made' (Figes, 9). Therefore, women become the property of the relatives or her husband. Khan writes, 'women become the property of the large community of the

immediate blood relatives or marriage partner' (84). This in turn accelerates the gulf between women and their immediate family or the community. Khar used her (Durrani's) insight where appropriate and also accommodates her opinions. But he keeps her cloistered and does not allow her think independently or logically. According to Khan:

> Feudals have high sense of masculinity and power and therefore, a women's defiance and rebellion is considered a monstrous act that can shake the foundations of respect and esteem of the men of the family, whether man of a feudalist or peasant family living in rural settings, or upper or lower class man living in Urban centers. Men of the family from each strata of society in these regions do not hesitate to soak their hands in the blood of their own female blood relatives (53).

Many sociologists and intellectuals think that this practice could be related to the ignorance of the masses, who articulate tradition as religion. Other factors that contribute to constructing such attitudes are community and social pressures. It is owing to these pressures that men commit crimes against the women of their own families. There are various discourse communities that one way or another influence the thinking of the protagonist and complicate the situation for women. It is important here to highlight the role the society plays. In this context, it is important to mention Gebser's Paradigm here, since it explains the position of an individual in relation to society. Gebser's in examining the contemporary structure of reality has identified earlier shifts in mankind's consciousness throughout human history.

According to Gebser (1985) "the decisive and distinguishing characteristic of these epochs is the respective absence or presence of perspective. The first three epochs, the archaic, the magic (Per-perspectival) and the mythic (Un-perspectival) were marked by a lack of perspective. The third, beginning with the classical Greeks famously discovered perspective, articulated three-dimensional space and has been dominant in Western society since. This predominantly constitute the 'perspectival'. And finally, Gebser argues is the currently emerging epoch that is aperspectival" (9).

In Gebser's view, 'we as human beings, invariably retain elements of magic and mythic structure as we exist in the presently dominant perspectival or mental epoch' (9). Since the paper is presently discussing these elements with reference to *My Feudal Lord*, therefore, it should be mentioned here that feudal culture is based on collectivistic aims. Jafri (2008) writes, since identity is extremely collectivistic in the magic/ idyllic, the individual is merely a part of a standard family (39). Therefore, when Durrani demands divorce from Khar he resists. Durrani describes

the situation as such, "he could and would spirit me off to the tribal areas adjoining the remote village of Kot Addu, where I would live as his prisoner until — who knows when . . . there were numerous women who lived such lives of imprisonment and despair. In the environment, he could easily coerce me into rescinding the divorce" (360). Hence, the Pakistani patriarchy turns man into an unaccommodating, uncaring and exploitative being.

Gadamer (1976) explains, that since' one's consciousness is defined by one's culture, one cannot step outside of the culture one inhabits' (302). Feudalism is also entrenched in certain conventions and traditions that sustain it. Eventually, it becomes quite difficult to dislodge this status quo the very sense of identification, interdependence, and community that Gusdorf dismisses from autobiographical selves are key elements in the development of a women identity, according to theorists Rowbotham and Chodorow (cited in Friedman 1988). This model of women's selfhood highlight the unconscious masculine bias in Gusdorf's another individualistic paradigm. A woman cannot, Rowbotham argues, experience herself as an entirely unique entity because she is always aware of how she is being defined as women, that is, as a member of a groups whose identity has been defined in the dominant male culture (75). South Asian cultures believe that women should remain attached to the men at any cost. First, a woman is attached to her father's family. On marriage she becomes associated with her husband's family. After separation from her husband she stands at the 'in between station' belonging to neither family. This is the crisis world over as Durrani explains "I asked Mustafa, do you realize that you have taken away everything from me – thirteen years of my life my family, my children, my youth and everything I believed in? I have to start anew. He stretched took a deep breath and addressed me coolly. You have no identity of your own nobody knows you…. Because you have removed your name from mine." Hence, Khar by asserting that "you have no identity of your own" is in a way trying to create utilitarian matrix to lay down the ideals of women's conduct in society. Thus, Khar is translating the hegemonic discourse which is based on community's concept of good and evil and specially the feudal community. Second, he is emphasizing women's dependence on men. Women cannot live independently in collectivistic societies because they (the society) believe women have to be attached to a man whosoever, it be. Mirtaza & Baseer (2011) deftly contrasts aims of man and woman in a Pakistani society. Family life is not a man's cup of tea and it is the pivot of a woman's life (558). Suleri also supports this point. She writes, "a woman can't come home, home is where you have a mother, second where you are a mother" (68). Society considers women great, when she endures man and practices self-negation. Men on the other hand treat woman and children as his belongings. This hegemonic discourse enters into a painful phase when the clerics, the feudal and the influential start

using religion against women. They misinterpret and twist the facts to suit their needs. 'A woman was like a man's land' believed Khar (230). For his wife he had one criteria and for himself another. He would dye his hair asserting "I will only stop coloring my hair if you agree not to color yours, and besides it is sunnat" (231). This is the term denoting that whatever the Prophet (PBUH) did, you should follow his action. Khar reminded me that the Prophet (PBUH) had dictated that "old age should be combated in every way; it helps you to be more energetic. The Prophet says that you should look as young as possible for as long as possible" (231). Keeping the above context in view, it is important to correct the above quoted words being referred to Muhammed (PBUH). The Prophet (PBUH) never allowed dye to be used on hair. It is an extract of a plant called henna that could be applied on hair to change colour. The above quoted lines by Khar are an example of mythic discourse. Khar here is articulating patriarchal values shared by the community that discourages deviant behaviour of women and keep men empowered at all costs. It is transmuted into another language and the context mythologized. Barthes notes "myth hides nothing and flaunts nothing, it distorts; myth is neither a lie nor a confession; it is an inflexion" (129). The discourse of some clerics centres on favouring patriarchy, anti-women behaviour and representing men as an embodiment of perfection. As Durrani verifies this fact "I thought here is another example of Mustafa's convenient use of Islam. But his reliance upon Islamic law and custom was highly selective" (232).

Through such sacred discourses, the clerics with political motives try to justify social oppression of women. These patriarchal forces misuse Islam to match their agenda. In Khan's (1986) view when "it comes to keeping the women in a disadvantage social position, the men employ any weapon available to them. (103). "Hegemony, on the other hand, consists of interlocking active social and cultural force. Often in such social structures, that is in collectivistic societies, individuals are ignored, their rights subdued and expected to confirm to certain group norms. Collectivisim, therefore, favours oppressed women. This rhetoric of collectivity is popularized as such, one for all and all for one, only perpetuate the status quo which is obviously more brutally loaded in favor of the men" writes, Jafri (2008, 102).

Rowbotham (1993 cited in Friedman) argues, cultural representations of women lead not only to women's alienation but also to the potential for a new consciousness of the self. Not recognizing themselves in the reflection of cultural representations, women develop a dual consciousness . . . the self as defined according to cultural values or different from cultural prescriptions" (38). Since, South Asian cultures require complete domination of women therefore, women become quite vulnerable to customs and conventions of the society. In such conditions women's resist separation or divorce. Women do attach sympathies

with groups, families and other women; therefore, Tahmina defines her 'self' in the beginning with her sisters and later with her husband. However, after a certain period of time the new 'self' evolves in Durrani which apparently clashes with the socio/political structures of the society of the time. Durrani states regretfully, Mustafa demanded custody of the children and ownership of all of her properties …. the country house in England and our London flat, which was jointly titled, and house in Lahore, which was in the name of my daughter. My father expected these provisions with cavalier pronouncement, leave her penniless. She does not need anything from you. I can support her" (363).This points to the highly repressive laws which work against women. Jasam (2001) writes that "large number of women who are single, divorced or widowed cannot live independently. It is always the father, brothers, husbands, sons who provide them protection and women in general submit to this male dominated social arrangement" (8).

After her divorce, Durrani is deserted by her socio/political circle. She syas, "I was a social and political outcast. People whom I formerly respected turned their backs on me. I shuddered at the realization of the position that a woman falls into after divorce . . . especially if her ex-husband is an important persons. Increasingly, I experienced a humiliating lack of confidence and self-esteem. But although I cried often in bed at night I held on during the day with a determined strength" (37). Most of the time women comply with these traditions and hence become disciplined subjects, says Jasam (63). Gramsci argues that the States seeks to (cited in Khan 1986) disseminate their outlook (world views) as best as they can (127). In Durrani's case the society, and the values system promote patriarchal dominance. It can be concluded from the above discussion that the societies that are collective in nature require individual behaviour to conform to established norms. Durrani's mother was also a part of the hegemonic block, which produced patriarchal norms. However, Jasam (2001) beleives that "no matter how dominant the powerful structures are, resistances do happen. However, these resistances are not systematic and do not produce any discourse. They are independent revolutions which are not always successful but have a positive effect" (55). Similarly Durrani's bold decision to opt for *Khula* (divorce) creates problems for her in the beginning but later she was accepted into the fold of the society. Through her decision Durrani shows that she has the agency to resist the system, the society and her family. Despite facing lots of pressure from Khar she pledges "I am not your kind of woman anymore. It will never work, not for one day" (364). This proves what Rowbotham (cited in Friedman) says, women have shattered the distorting identities imposed by culture and left 'The sign' of their 'presence' in their autobiographical writings (58). Khan also concludes in her work that women do have an agency despite their vulnerability and poverty (106).

However, women live in different context and conditions and negotiate accordingly. The above lines assert that publically men are always in a position to dictate their terms and conditions for women to negotiate. Despite these odds Durrani sticks to her agenda of reform and her independent position is finally accepted into the society. She writes, "Gradually, the negative publicity decreased and my account began to be received in its intended spirit, as an insight into the socio /political order of our country. Although I remained a curiousity, I became acceptable" (387).

Conclusion

Durrani has to be commended for the courage for exposing feudal lords and Moulvis (Priests) openly who are hypocrites, ostensibly performing religious duties. Nowhere in her texts (Novel and Autobiography) does she complain that Islam discriminates on the basis of sex and gender. On the other hand, she believes that the feudal lords, socio/cultural norms twist the religion to serve themselves. Durrani feels that by breaking silence and sharing her experiences of traumatic marital life with Khar, she has exposed the evils of the system he was brought up in, since 'silence condones injustice' (375). Therefore, the act of writing about her personal life is equal to breaking her silence because the society expects her to remain silent. Durrani gives endless examples of an ideology based on culture which is the chief enemy of religion. She believes that certain alien ideological intrusions have distorted the true nature of Islam. Referring to Khar's use of Islam she writes, "the multitudes might be impoverished and illiterate, but invoke the name of Islam – no matter how erroneously . . . and they will rally (243). Religious practices get affected by cultural influences. Keeping this reality in view, Durrani ventures on a journey to depict feudal lords who use religion to achieve their objectives. "I realized I could do no greater service for my country and our people than to expose the camouflage" (375). It is only through bringing change in the tribal feudal and value system that a change in perception regarding women can be brought. Durrani also seeks reform through correct interpretation of Islam. She believes that real Islam gives respect to all family members equally and requires both the husband and the wife to act in a responsible manner. Marriage does not affect the legal status of women in Islam. She has the right to contract, to conduct business to earn and possess property independently. Durrani also affirms her commitment to feminism in these words in an interview:

> "Well I am a woman, so I naturally write from a feminine perspective. More than that, I am interested in reform. My work whether it's *My Feudal Lord* or *Blasphemy*, or Abdul Sattar Edhi's narrated autobiography *Mirror to the Blind* is about issues that concern our people, about breaking of a silence from a part of the society that cannot speak out. I am called bold because

these are the issues one does not talk about, nor does one talk about one's life. I suppose my passion for reform is overwhelming. And, I think, when anything overwhelms you that much you have a natural boldness because you step out of the realm of fear" (Online Interview).

This suggests that Durrani has an agency to confess and to protest. She becomes the mouthpiece of the women of Pakistan. Therefore, it can be concluded that Durrani becomes an important agent of change who boldly declares her invulnerable identity in these words, "Well Mustafa, now the world will soon know you only as Tehmina Durrani's ex-husband" (382).

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