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Identity Construction through Code-switching: An Analysis of Novel *How It Happened* by Shazaf Fatima Haider

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ABSTRACT

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This paper investigates the various societal values and designs for which code-switching, hybridization and echo words are employed by the characters of Shazaf Fatima Haider's novel *How it Happened*. A methodological framework for this investigation has been adapted from Coulmas (2013), Myers-Scotton (1993); (Myers-Scotton, 1998, 2006), Albakry and Hancock (2008), and Thornborrow and Morris (2004). The results reveal that codeswitching is a purposive and preconceived literary device employed by the bilingual author to show the construction and depiction of various cultural, social and religious identities and acculturation. The study concludes that code-switching in the selected text portrays the communal customs of contingent social order along with demonstrating the author's ingenious and artistic calibre.

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1. Introduction

sectors.

Code-switching generally refers to a conscious or subconscious shift in the linguistic behaviour of a bilingual speaker which occurs when the speaker uses two or more languages in a single conversation. This shift usually occurs as a result of certain social contextual factors in a bilingual/multilingual society in spoken communication; besides, the stances of the same phenomenon are found quite frequent and are exercised purposefully by authors in literary (Bakhtin, 1981; Myers-Scotton, 1998, 2006). "Code-switching occurs where speakers are aware of the two varieties being distinct and are able to keep them apart. Code-switching is regarded as a controllable strategy" (Coulmas, 2013). Language hybridization is another important phenomenon that occurs frequently in a bilingual/multilingual society. When two or more languages are frequently mixed, a hybridised variety of languages emerges. This new variety may share some characteristics of both languages, and it may have its independent grammar and vocabulary that may not correspond to any of the mixed languages. In its basic form, hybridization refers to a mixture. Language hybridization occurs not only at the lexical but also at the phrase level. An echo word is a word or phrase with two identical or very similar parts. Echo words are distinguished by the reduplication of a complete word or phrase, with the reduplicant's initial segment or syllable being overwritten by a fixed segment or syllable. In most languages where this phenomenon occurs, echo words are used to express the meaning of "and such; and things like that". Echo words are also used to express a depreciative meaning. Echo words are commonly used in informal speech and are generally avoided in formal speech and writing.

The present study investigates the linguistic issues: code-switching, language hybridization and echo words in Shazaf Fatima Haider's *How It Happened*. It is a story of three generations of a Syed Shiya Bandian family, in which a strict matriarch Dadi Gulbahar Bibi tries to marry off her grandchildren under the custom of arranged marriages. The grandchildren are the third generation, who challenge all the rules and traditions of the family and prefer marriages

as per their own will. The first-generation Dadi established rules and traditions like arranged marriages. The second generation, the parents, obediently follow all the rules and traditions. The main theme of Haider's story is the struggle of modern Pakistani society to balance traditions and modernity. The research questions are as follows;

- What are the various types of code-switching, language hybridization and echo words used in Haider's "*How it Happened*"?
- How does the author objectify the societal norms and designs of the circumstantial society through Urdu code-switching, language hybridization and echo words in the novel?

2. Literature Review

Code-switching and alike linguistic phenomena are frequently occurring phenomena in multilingual societies (Bassiouney, 2017; Ezeh, Umeh, & Anyanwu, 2022; Kunarawong, 2014; Martínez, 2013; Tahereen, 2016). These linguistic phenomena become a part of the sociolinguistic patterns of multilingual communities (Bashir & Musavir; Shay, 2015), and thus they are quite common throughout the world (Alkhresheh, 2015; Mabule, 2015). Since language is not only a means of communication but also a significant part of human behaviour, thus the related linguistic phenomena need to be in-depth explored (Dewi, 2021). Grosjean (1982) considers code-switching as an act in which the user within a single speech or dialogue interchanges between two or even more languages, whereas code-mixing involves a shift between languages and not the integration of one language which a user is conversant with (Odhiambo, 2021). Code-switching is the change of a word or a clause that demonstrates the competency and conscious behaviour of a bilingual/multilingual whereas code mixing depicts the interference of one language into the other. Code-switching has been divided into three kinds by (Bentahila & Davies, 1997).

Alteration

It is a type of code-switching in which the frequencies of both alternating languages are balanced.

Insertion

It's a type of code-switching similar to Myers- Scotton's intersentential code-switching.

Leaks

It is a type of code-switching in which minor items from a speaker's L1 infiltrate the discourse language L2. Poplack and Tagliamonte (1999) proposes alternative types of code-switching based on the distinction of the location in a discourse where a switch can occur:

Tag Switching

A tag in one language is inserted into a sentence written entirely in the other language.

Inter Sentential Switching

When a switch occurs at the end of a clause or sentence in two different languages. It could happen in the middle of a speaker's turn.

Intra Sentential Switching

When different types are switched within a clause or sentence.

The following major approaches have been deciphered from the extant literature to study the reasons and purposes of code-switching in any society, text, conversation, or discourse (Kachru, 1986; Myers-Scotton, 1998):

- Grammatical or syntactic approach
- Pragmatic or sociolinguistic approach
- Conversational analytical approach

There is multi-shaded diversity in code-switching and needs to be investigated accordingly. "An answer to the question of why they code switch must be sought locally, conversation by conversation, speaker by speaker, turn by turn" (Coulmas, 2013). Holmes (1990) identifies some possible reasons for code-switching:

- A particular change in the situation.
- A lack of linguistic knowledge.
- A speaker's desire to signal group membership and shared ethnicity.
- A speaker's attempt to show a change in status, relationship with people, or level of formality.
- A speaker's expression of anger or disapproval.
- A speaker's attempt for amusement.

Sichyova (2005), through an empirical investigation of Russian-English code-switching, identifies the following reasons for code-switching:

- Depiction of bilingual and bicultural identities.
- Segregation of facts from feelings.
- Compensation for a loss.
- Expression of solidarity.

Kachru (1986) views code-switching as a means by which the English language acquires localised features, by interacting with regional languages or local environments. Authors attempt a partial nativization by employing switched versions of honorific titles, traditional events, ethnic values and discourse styles. Such nativization is also brought about using variations in grammar and vocabulary, in addition to sound variations in spoken and translational transfer. For nativization, bilinguals may bring nativity to the English language through the insertion of native lexical items. Cultural and societal standards are also shown by nativization along with the literariness and creativity of bilingual writers. Code-switching and code-mixing are common phenomena in countries where English is used as a second language (Fu, 2019; Odhiambo, 2021; Shet & Premkumar, 2022; Yang, 2020). Kachru (1986) considers the phenomenon of nativization of English a source for native varieties of English or "World Englishes". Both language hybridization and code-switching play an important role in the emergence of World Englishes (Mohanlal et al., 2014).

Culture and language are strongly interwoven (Zygmunt, 2016) and interconnected since language shapes the ethnic traditions of civilization. Thus the depiction of culture is a marked function of code-switching in literary texts produced by the authors of multilingual societies. An author's choice of code-switching is never purposeless rather it is done deliberately to represent the ethnic norms of the specific society. Wardhaugh and Fuller (2021) views dependency between the languages of such societies, and often the individuals comprehend a language the knowledge and understanding of the other. Bilinguals often employ discourse constructions containing code-switching and code-mixing (Ramzan, Aziz, & Ghaffar, 2021; Wibowo, Yuniasih, & Nelfianti, 2017). Both code-switching and code-mixing often occur in bilingual and multilingual societies (Moetia, 2018). Through code-switching, authors demonstrate diverse cultures in their writings to enrich their notions (Jonsson, 2005). Szymaniak (2002), through analysing codeswitching in Stachniak (2000) novel Necessary Lies by Stachniak (2000) endorses that codeswitching plays a role in acculturation (Sánchez & Pérez-García, 2020; Szymaniak, 2002). The process by which the cultural traits (food, musical, clothing preferences) or social patterns (speech patterns, ethics and values) of one group, especially of a dominant one are adopted by the members of another group is called acculturation.

Some researchers have attempted to investigate the social reasons and purposes in the backdrop that lead literary writers to code-switch. Bilingual authors use code-switching to construct their identities (Akhtar et al., 2020; Naseem, Khushi, & Qasim, 2019). According to Myers-Scotton (2006), the construction of individuals' identity plays role in literary code-switching, which is an implied goal of most writers if not of all (Myers-Scotton, 2006). Another language is introduced into a text's dominant language to depict the different or real character of the author/people of a specific social class. Jonsson (2005) views that personality always remains in flux; thus in addition to fixed identities such as ethnicity, heritage, and traditional norms, fluid identities such as modernity, sophistication, and education are also constructed through code-switching.

The existing literature has some studies in the relevant domain but they are mostly conducted in other languages. Code-switching, in literary works, has previously been analysed between Spanish and English (Bishop, 2006; Jonsson, 2005), African languages and English (Bandia, 1996; Larsson, 2007), Chinese and English (Gao & Cohen, 2005; Kang, Haddad, Chen, & Greenberger, 2014), and Arabic and English (Albakray & Hancock, 2008). Code-switching and the related phenomena are also prominently visible among the works of Pakistani authors of different genres of mass media (Jabeen, 2018). However, code-switching in English and Urdu literary works of Pakistani bilingual/multilingual authors is still an area rarely explored. The current study endeavours to bridge this gap in the literature. The study is also expected to contribute to the literature on examining the writing patterns of bilingual authors.

3. Research Methodology

For the present study, one novel *How It Happened* by a bilingual author Shazaf Fatima Haider has been selected to examine various dimensions of code-switching and code-mixing including language hybridization and echo words in the selected text.

Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework is adapted from Myers-Scotton (1993) notion that language shift is done by a multilingual person deliberately and purposefully, and that such shifts should always be interpreted per their contextualized implications. Code-switching has been studied from a sociolinguistic view in this study to highlight the social functions performed by codeswitching in the selected novel.

Methodological framework

For data analysis, a methodological framework is adapted from (Myers-Scotton, 1993, 1998, 2006), Albakry and Hancock (2008), and Thornborrow and Morris (2004). Albakray and Hancock's (2008) 'classifications' have been used to analyse the functions of code-switching in a social context in the selected text. Various social functions in the selected text are examined qualitatively. Sociolinguistic approach has been applied to analyse the data since it appears an appropriate means of describing social functions of code-switching in the novel's storyline that attempts to represent the sociolinguistic norms of Pakistani society. Sociolinguistic approach helps to analyse and comprehend the reasons and motives that cause bilinguals to switch codes in mid-conversation. For this purpose, inspiration has been sought from Myers-Scotton (1998), Kachru (1986), and Bhatia and Ritchie (2014).

4. Data Analysis

Various types of code switches (code switches to Urdu words, leaks, tag switches, intersentential switches, intra-sentential switches), language hybridizations and echo words are found in the selected text.

4.1 Code-switched Urdu Words

The following table presents the list of Urdu words used in the selected text, along with their English meaning and the possible reasons for the use of these words:

Code-switches (Urdu words)	English meanings (context-based)	Reasons
Kismet	Fate	To show that females are dependent on patriarch's or matriarch's decisions (Gender identity)
Palloo	Border of long scarf/shawl	To show the importance of proper attire in Asian culture (Cultural identity)
Maghrib	Twilight To emphasize the importance give prayer in Islam (Religious identity)	
Kali	Black American girl	To highlight that racist behaviour is present in Asia as well (Ethnic supremacy)
Sheesh-nagan	Serpent	To show that the girls who talk freely to their future husbands are typed as bad girls in a patriarchal society (Gender identity)

Table 1: Code Switches

Gulawat	Marriage between a bride' brother and groom's sister	To show the banal tradition that is no longer encouraged by educated people in Asian culture	
Nagori churail	Clever little witch	To emphasize the inferiority and wickedness of the rival, (Imposed individual identity in a certain context)	
Nirala reech	Dadi's pronunciation fo nouveau riche	r To create humour	
Moharram	The first month of the Islamic calendar, the month in which Hazrat Iman Hussain (R.A.) (the grandson of Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.W.)) was martyred	h To show the religious and moral corruption n of society n To use religion for their purposes or	
Bhurta	An Asian dish of mashed brinjal, a metaphor for messed up state of family affairs	a To create humour and to show the messed a up state of arranged proposals in y contemporary Pakistani society	
Ar-see-masaf	A tradition in which bride and groom see each other for the first time after nikah in a mirror placed between them	e To show cultural identity, to show a e tradition which has become almost a obsolete due to modernization	
Table 2: List of lea	aks		
Leaks	English meanings (context-based)	Reasons	
Hai, the number of spices		To show how abundantly people believe superstitions in Pakistan (cultural depiction)	
Ay, hai so why don't	Oh, by the way	To show anger over the chance of being deprived of her matriarchal power (political use of language)	
Ha-ray baap	Oh, my father	To show that she is about to begin tantrums, she will cry out loud about her miseries as if telling them to her deceased ancestors	
Toba, toba, may Allah forgive us all		To intensely show patriarchal values in Pakistani society	
Hai, hai Allah	Asking Allah what wrong she did to deserve such a fate that her granddaughter wants to marry out of love.	To show that in patriarchal society if a girl chooses a partner for herself, it is considered a fate and bad repute for her family members (Cultural identity)	
Arey wah! Who are you		To show the other person that he/she is not fit to challenge the other's power, making others inferior	
Toba, toba you are	Showing her extreme disapproval of intersectional marriage	To show that she is not agreed with the prospect of intersectional marriage (using religion to authenticate her point)	
Arey, have you	Blaming her son for not taking care of her wishes	Emotionally blackmailing her son to maintain her matriarchal power, political use	
Not allowedto sayuff	Referring to the ayat (verse) of the Quran that children are not allowed to speak in front of their parents	Using Islamic beliefs for implementing her ideology, to maintain her matriarchal power, even if she is demanding the continuance of sectarianism which Islam prohibits	
Hai, I will	She will ask Allah for her death so that they can do their own decisions	To emotionally blackmail her grandchildren so that they submit to her decisions	

Language is a fundamental way of establishing individuals' identities. Therefore, codeswitching, code-mixing, and language hybridization show a shift in the identities of characters in the selected text. Thornborrow and Morris (2004) supports the significance of language in the construction of individuals' self as well as social identity. In the selected text, code-switching, language hybridization and other alike phenomena have social significance since they serve some kind of societal purpose e.g. construction of multiple identities, depiction of culture, depiction of status differences, power, stigmatisation, otherness, nativization, acculturation etc. Code-switching, language hybridization and alike phenomena are supported by Coulmas (2005)because in multilingual societies different languages coexist: "Choosing one language or another or choosing elements of one language or another, therefore, invariably carries social meaning" (p.109).

The phenomenon of language hybridisation in the selected text indicates the nativization of the English language in Pakistan e.g. "maatham-ing", "sawabs", "tight kameezes" and the insertion of "beti" in the English phrase. These few stances also indicate the growing hybridization which may contribute to the native variety i.e. Pakistani English. Since language and culture are inextricably interlinked, therefore adoption of another language means the diffusion of its culture as well. Code-switching and language hybridizations in the selected text indicate the adoption of the English language by Pakistani authors. These phenomena also indicate the adoption of western culture, leading to acculturation. The phrase "fati phupps" (a paternal aunt, a second-generation member in the story) shows that her ideas, manners, dressing and norms are just like the third generation which is 'modern'.

Tag switches	Reasons	Echo words	Reasons	
Hain? What do youknow?	To show that it is not Pakistani culture that unmarried young Love-shove girls know about homosexuality business (depiction of culture)		To condemn the notion of love marriage, to make it look irrational	
acha? And what?	Though directly Dadi is asking Haroon what he would do if she disagrees with his choice, she uses 'acha?' rhetorically to show that her consent is what matters the most (depiction of matriarchal culture in their family)		To condemn the banal tradition of dowry, to make it look irrational	
So, Salehaho na ho?	In Asian culture, in a formal arrange marriage proposal meeting, a boy can't ask a girl about her choice, therefore Gullun is asking Saleha (ethnic identity)		To promote the notion of child marriage and to condemn the modern concept that early marriages of girls are a form of violence against them	
My fatheracha?	To intensely show the element of surprise that Asians feel when one of them gets admitted to a foreign university. To show the superiority of English standards	Checkups- sheckups	To show that the girl's family does not need to check the status of the boy's family, to make her family look superior and the other family look inferior	
What dohaan? say it!	Trying to make a scene over a trivial matter to maintain her monopoly, as Dadi gets emotional she switches	Look-shook	To show that she has to check whether the status of the girl's family matches her family's status, to make them look inferior	
Arey?you mean?	As Dadi gets hyper at Zeba's refusal, she rhetorically asks her	Pleasure- shleazure	To condemn the modern notion that both genders	

Table 3: Ta	g Switches	and	Echo	Words
-				

	bahu to indirectly pressurise Zeba (political use of tag switch)		are free to show a sex- positive attitude
Acha?in Lahore.	Since Dadi is infuriated at Zeba's refusal, she rhetorically tries to make her realise the boy's professional/financial worth.	Dating- shating	To condemn the western notion of (pre-marital) love
Whatgori?	The word 'gora' has a negative connotation as it was used for Britishers in the colonial period when they were considered clever, manipulative and deceptive. (Dadi is using the switch to express the same sort of notion.)	Ulcer-shulcer	To make fun of Falaq's condition since she was trying to make fun of Dadi's situation
		Gay-shay	To condemn the western notion of homosexuality
		McDonalds- shuck donnels	To show Dadi's disregard for marrying an American

This hybridized nickname also indicates the hybridization of her character. Similarly, Haroon (a character, who has studied abroad for two years) shows his disliking of the traditional "khussa" as "Abominable shoes: the saleem shahees". This phrase shows that he considers the cultural shoes worn by grooms and royals as abominable and unfashionable. This disliking of tradition and culture becomes evident by the hybrid metaphor "saleem shahees" which in turn signifies acculturation.

Sentence	Type of Switch	Reason
I was shalwar- kurta before.	Intra sentential switch	Dadi used 'shalwar-kurta' to emphasize that the traditional way of dressing is the proper way of dressing and to condemn the western modern style of dressing. (Constructing cultural identity)
I picked palloo.	Inter sentential switch	Dadi used 'palloo' to emphasize that the traditional way of dressing is the proper way of dressing and to condemn the western modern style of dressing. (Constructing cultural identity)
Hush! badmash! What matter?	Intra sentential switch	Dadi used this word to incorporate into Saleha's mind that good girls don't talk about romance and intimacy. (Constructing patriarchal identity)
What if gori ?	Inter sentential switch	The word 'gora' has a negative connotation as it was used for Britishers in the colonial period who were considered clever, manipulative and deceptive. Dadi is using the switch to express alike views. (Constructing racist identity)
Not even a kali !	Inter sentential switch	The author, assumedly, used this word to show that even Asians are biased against black Americans or Africans. (constructing racist identity)
Aren't you amma jee?	Inter sentential switch	The author, assumedly, used this switched kinship term to show the conflict of power that exists between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law in Pakistani society. (Constructing the notion of otherness and inferiority)
Did Lag raha tha it	Intra sentential switch	The author, assumedly, used the switch to highlight how in patriarchal societies women body-shame other women. (Constructing patriarchal identity)

 Table 4: Inter Sentential and Intra Sentential Switches

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She Aaj kal tou values.	Intra sentential switch	The author, through this switch, brings forth that matriarchs in a patriarchal society conceptualise and promote the notion that women should not be talkative and outspoken; they condemn gender equality and consider it a loss of tradition.
Ek toh I say.	Intra sentential switch	The author uses the switch to pinpoint the conflict that exists between generations, in which each member tries to prove their worth.
Dadi ` haan, haan, acha news!'	Intra sentential switch	The author has used the switch to show the rivalry that is a common phenomenon between relatives in Pakistan. Dadi used the switch to interrupt her cousin which shows that she considers her cousin inferior to herself. (Political use of a switch to accrue a position of superiority for oneself)
Don't warna a tortoise.	Intra sentential switch	As both Dadi and her cousin are old, the switch used by Dadi shows that she considers herself in a superior physical/health state than her cousin and she conveys her point to her cousin through the switch. (Political use of a switch to accrue a position of superiority for oneself)
Chalo sun lo! you!	Intra sentential switch	The author has used the switch to show the gap and conflict that exists between different generations. Dadi used the switch to show that members of her generation were better and that whatever the members of the next generation have to offer is neither right nor worthy of respect. (Political use of a switch to accrue a position of superiority to oneself)
Jee, there majalis her.	Intra sentential switch	The author has used the switch to show religious identity, as well as the generation rift wherein the youngsters, consider the older ones as religious hypocrites who claim to follow the religion but they mould its rules for their purposes. (Political use of a switch to accrue a position of superiority for oneself)
We lived na-mahram, back!	Intra sentential switch	The author has used the switch to highlight, how in a patriarchal society, a matriarch snatches the freedom of choice from younger women by the political use of religious beliefs to maintain her position of power. Dadi employs the political use of the switch to accrue a position of superiority for herself.
Arey sit display!	Intra sentential switch	The author has used the switch to show the effects of acculturation that are gradually becoming evident in Pakistani society. Apparently, western norms of equal gender roles and rights are referred to through the use of the switch.

Table 5: Language Hybridization

Language hybridization	Туре	Reasons
Pink shalwar-kurta	Hybrid phrase	To show nativization
Chappatis	Hybrid word	To show nativization
Fati phupps	Hybrid kinship term	To show nativization and acculturation because she is presented as a woman of the previous generation who has adopted the modern values
Brand-new kurta	Hybrid phrase	To show nativization
Chandas	Hybrid word	To show nativization
Phoonkification	Hybrid phrase	To show nativization
White kurta	Hybrid phrase	To show nativization
Istikharas	Hybrid word	To show nativization
Abominable shoes: the saleem shahees	Hybrid metaphor	To show nativization (The phrase "abominable shoes" shows acculturation.)
Mithai-wallahs	Hybrid phrase	To show nativization
Dhol-wallahs	Hybrid phrase	To show nativization
Tight kameezes	Hybrid phrase	To show nativization (The word tight shows acculturation.)
Ammas	Hybrid word	To show nativization

Look bibi	Hybrid sentence	To show nativization
Love dada	Hybrid sentence	To show nativization (The word 'love' shows acculturation because in patriarchal societies women are supposed to be dutiful towards their husbands, to respect and worship them rather than to love them)
Silly baccha	Hybrid phrase	To show nativization
Look here baji	Hybrid sentence	To show nativization
Sit down beti	Hybrid sentence	To show nativization
Thank you dadi!	Hybrid sentence	To show nativization
Thank you Falaq beti	Hybrid sentence	To show nativization
Sawabs	Hybrid word	To show nativization
Maatham-ing	Hybrid phrase	To show nativization

Another societal function of code-switching and language hybridization is the attainment and maintenance of power. For example, Dadi telephones her cousin to boost about Haroon's marriage and her cousin in turn starts telling Dadi about her niece; Dadi uses the switch "haan, haan, acha listen I have the most wonderful news". Since English is considered a prestigious language in Pakistan as compared to Urdu, therefore, Dadi's response in code-switched Urdu shows that she is using language to degrade her cousin. On another occasion, Dadi finds out that Zeba is dating a boy and she wants to marry him. Dadi chides Zeba, "We (Dadi's generation) lived segregated lives and never even looked at a na-mahram, my own granddaughter is acting like a prostitute behind my very back!" This highlights a matriarch snatches the freedom of choice from younger women by the political use of religious beliefs to maintain her position of power. Dadi often employs switches to gain a superior position for herself.

Code-switching is also a tool to arouse feelings of otherness in the text, and for marginalizing and stigmatizing a few characters. For example, Dadi refers to her father as "my father, Abba Hazoor", whereas she refers to her husband's father as "paternal grandfather". Likewise, to show her resentment over the elopement of her cousin with a financially and socially inferior person, she snorts: "ran away with haveli's chokidar son". Here the switched words refer to the differences in financial and social conditions to show the feeling of otherness in the stigmatized and marginalized strata (i.e. the poor) of society.

5. Conclusion

Code-switching, code-mixing, language hybridization and echo words have been purposively used as literary devices in the selected text for the construction and depiction of cultural, social and religious identities and acculturation. Dadi's character has been used to employ the sociolinguistic function through the above-mentioned linguistic phenomena. Dadi's character also constructs fluid identities. The linguistic phenomena of code-switching, codemixing, language hybridization, and echo words are not used as random and meaningless acts, but as deliberate attempts to spread deliberate ideology. Code-switching and other related phenomena are purposive and preconceived literary devices employed by the author to depict cultural, social and religious identities and acculturation. Moreover, these linguistic phenomena denote the prevailing societal and linguistic medians. The linguistic phenomena also reveal the communal and social trends of society.

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