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Deviations in English Consonants in the Speakers of Yousafzai Pashto

Ayyaz Mahmood

Abstract

This article aims to explore the way/s English consonant sounds are produced by the Yousafzai Pashto speaking people of Pakistan. Language changes horizontally (regionally) and (vertically) socially implying that people are linguistically different from one another, case to case (Milroy 2002). In addition to the region and social class, one's mother tongue seems to play a significant part in the production of the sounds of the target language (Brière 1966). If there is conformity between the first and the second/foreign language, it entails a carryover effect in the form of a positive transfer of L1 speech habits into the L2 and in a case otherwise, the transfer may be negative. In other words, similarity between a two languages can an asset (a facility) and dissimilarity a liability (hurdle) for foreign learners. English is taught as a compulsory subject in Pakistan and due to the existence of multiple regional languages, spoken as mother tongues by different people; there emerge multiple sub-varieties of the kind of English spoken in the country. The present article studies English consonants of the specific sub-variety spoken by the Yousafzai Pashto speakers which shares features with Pakistani English specifically, and the RP (Received Pronunciation) in general. In the study fifty graduates participated, who pronounced a wordlist containing the consonants. The data was transcribed for analysis to identify the distinct features. Praat software was used to facilitate further clarity to the study.

Keywords: Phoneme, Mother tongue, Target language, Negative/positive transfer, Language variety

1. Introduction

This article aims at exploring the English language spoken by the Yousafzai Pashto speaking people of Pakistan. The researcher being a language student has always been interested in the variety of languages spoken in our country. Urdu is our national language and is used as a lingua franca by the people of Pakistan who generally do not understand the languages of one another as there are many other (minor) languages in the country in addition to the four major regional ones namely Balochi, Pashto, Punjabi and Sindhi. The researcher has often observed when the speakers of the different regional languages of the country speak English; it is in a notably different form from that of the others' in many respects implying thereby that their language has a tinge of their first language (mother tongue). In other words one could say that it is not English but Englishes which are spoken in the country. To put it more simply Pakistani English is not just one variety but a collection of several sub-varieties. The language has its grammar, vocabulary, and of course its own distinct pronunciation. In other words English language spoken by Pakistanis in different regions is mostly affected by their respective mother tongue. This is with regard to geography as we have different languages in different regions of the country. It is a general observation that language depends a lot on one's socio-economic condition and thus we get different varieties of the language at vertical level also, for which technically the term *sociolect* is used. In this way we get multiple varieties of our second language regionally as well as socially. Horizontal (regional)

and vertical (social) varieties of the English language is an interesting phenomenon which the researcher would have liked to explore but naturally all could not be covered by one individual single-handedly, therefore in this work the researcher has tried to study critically that variety of Pakistani English which is spoken by the Yousafzai Pashtuns. To make the research easily doable only the consonants sounds of the language have been selected for the study.

1.1 Research Questions

- How do Pakistani Yousafzai Pashto speakers pronounce the English consonants?
- How do they conform to/deviate from Pakistani English and British Received Pronunciation?

2. Literature Review

We are a part of the Indian Sub-Continent and the region has been a British colony before partition in 1947. Work on this part of the English language dates back to the beginning of the 20th century. Writers such as Whitworth (1907), Goffin (1934) and Kindersley (1938) are some of the names in case. They viewed the differences as errors and mistakes in the speech of the colonized. Non-native researchers from this region started work on the local form of the English language in the second half of the 20th century. Kachru (1965, 1966) is one of the scholars who had a leading role in this regard as he first gathered data on the indigenous form of the language. Baumgardner (1987, 1988, 1993, and 1998) gets credit for working valuably on Pakistani English. His main focus, however, has been the structure and vocabulary of the language which clearly reflects in his research works. Tariq Rahman (1990) took the discussion even further through his works on the phonology of Pakistani English in addition to vocabulary and grammar bringing forth multiple sub-varieties of the language on the basis of the kind of English each category speaks as per his division based on the social classes in the country. As per his research there are different varieties spoken in the country on the basis of one's exposure to the English language. He names them as Anglicized English, Acrolectal English, Mesolectal English and Basilectal English. The varieties have to do more with the social background of the speakers as exposure to the English language is much dependent on that. The present article is a modest but different effort in this regard in which one of the sub-varieties of Pakistani English has been viewed with regard to Yousafzai Pashto being the mother tongue of the subjects which thereby becomes more of a regional subject. Since there are different regional languages spoken in the country, there emerge thereby multiple Englishes as each individual speaks it in the context and influence of one's own mother tongue. The author, in this article, will lay his focus on the English consonants only.

2.1 Theoretical Framework

Contrastive Analysis Theory (CA) was adopted to conduct this study i.e. all possible similarities and differences between the consonants of the two languages (Pashto and English) were marked to note down those phonological aspects which are difficult for the Pashto speakers and those as well which do not constitute any difficulty for the Pashto speaking people. The salients of the theory and the framework based on them, is discussed in the following.

Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis (CAH) is a framework that traces its origin to Lado's 'Linguistics across Cultures' (1957). This study concluded that the possible difficulties for learners in TL (Target Language) can be predicted by comparing language and culture of L1 (first/native language) with that of the L2/TL (second/target language respectively). Weinreich

(1953) and Haugen (1956) argued that the idea of such a comparison came to Lado from the massive movement of the immigrants to the United States of America which needed a long term study.

James (1985) differs in his approach to CAH from Winreich (1953) and Haugen (1956). Against their approach of a long term study, even for generations, of L1 and L2 for Contrastive Analysis (CA), the key points of James limited CAH to the way L1 affected the performance of L2 at any particular time. Differentiation can be made between these two distinct conceptions of CAH in the following three points:

1. CAH, according to James, is concerned with the study of the way NL (Native Language) affects/influences the TL (Target Language) learning (synchronic) while according to Winreich and Haugen it is a long term study, which may last even for generations (diachronic).
2. CA according to James is concerned with 'parole' i.e. performance or the product in the form of language in actual use while according to the other two it is related with 'langue' i.e. competence or knowledge of the language and the process of influence in the course of time.
3. CA is concerned with 'interference' according to James while according to the other two with 'integration'.

The first point distinguishes the approaches in temporal terms. According to the approach followed by James CAH studies the way L1 influences the L2 synchronically whereas according to Winreich and Haugen it deals with the influence over a long period of time and thus making it a diachronic process. The second point specifies the focus of this approach to the L2 performance only while at the same time drawing on the way L1 affects this performance. The last point draws a bit more delicate line between the two approaches. According to James' rendering, CAH studies only the ways L1 is found affecting the performance of the L2 without any regard to the causes in the backdrop, which worked over a period of time to establish such accentual habits, in a retrospective and diachronic way. According to Winreich and Haugen, causes in the backdrop are also important which make contrastive studies diachronic and retrospective. Thus James's approach studies the way L1 influence is apparent on the performance of L2 at a given time while the other one studies the possible causes, the ways involved in the development of these influences as well as the way they become a (permanent) part of the L2.

CA is also founded on the assumption that L2 learners will tend to transfer the formal features of the L1 to L2. Lado (1957) argues that L2 learners transfer features of the L1 to L2. This transfer according to Corder (1971) carries over the habits of the mother tongue into the second language. Whitman (1970) suggested a procedure that could be followed in contrastive analysis. The first step in this regard is the selection and description of the material of the two languages that is to be compared for CA. In the second step forms are gathered from the descriptions of the selected languages i.e. L1 and L2 that are to be contrasted. The third step involves making contrast while in the fourth step explanation/interpretation is given to specify the possible difficulties for an L2/FL (second/foreign) learner.

Brown (1989) suggests as does Wardaugh (1970) that CAH has a weak version (related to EA – Error Analysis) that focuses not on *a priori* prediction of linguistic difficulties but on *a posteriori*

explanation of the sources of errors in language learning. Brown suggests in this regard that many errors can be due to the negative transfer of L1 as it is quite common to guess from the foreign accent that where the learner comes from.

The current study traces its ground to the references made by all the major studies (e.g. Lado, 1957; Corder, 1971; Whitman, 1970; Brown, 1989; etc) conducted in this area, to the appearance of L1 features on L2 performance for its undertaking and the process followed. This study makes mainly use of Brown's approach of CAH i.e. to find *a posteriori* explanation of the deviations instead of *a priori* prediction of the problems. Since this study is concerned with establishing the English spoken by Pakistani Pashto speaking people having Yousafzai dialect as their L1 to be a sub-variety of Pakistani English, its concern naturally remains limited to the performance features of the English used by the population of this study. Therefore, the concept of a posteriori explanation of L2 features under the influence of L1 provides theoretical basis to this venture. On the other hand, the technique followed to analyze the data can be broken down into two stages, each following the approach propounded by a particular scholar. The first stage involved the four steps given by Whitman (1970) while the second involved the three types of transfer as conceptualized by Brown (1989). He viewed three different ways of looking at L1 influence (transfer) on L2 following CAH. They were categorized as positive, negative and zero transfer. The first according to him takes place where the L1 features align with those of the L2, second where they conflict with those of the L2 and the third where there exists neither of the two conditions. In the next part the adaptation made from the theoretical underpinnings (given above) has been discussed.

2.2 Operational Framework

The framework of this study has been conceptualized in the light of the approaches to CAH, discussed in the studies mentioned above. For this study the reliance was mainly on the weak version of CAH reflected in the approach given by Brown (1989). The reason for it was the relevance of this approach to the aim of the current study. This study was concerned with the identification, description and interpretation of the influence of Yousafzai dialect of Pashto (as L1) on the features of English (as L2). In keeping with the objectives of the study, synchronic analyses were to be made. It stood distinguished from the long term diachronic concern to avoid tracing the incorporation of L1 features into L2 in the evolutionary course of the development of the L2 among the learners of the L2. This is how this study distinguishes itself from the version of CAH given by Winreich and Haugen. This provides a theoretical justification to this undertaking. Adaptation of the four-step approach by Whitman for CA and three types of transfer by Stockwell et al. (1965) follows hereafter.

2.3 Four Steps of Whitman

Step 1) Selection of the inventory of the English phonemes ii) Data selected from the recordings

Whitman says that in the first step selection of material from both the languages has to be made for the contrastive purposes. This point was followed in the selection of the data through recordings from the L2 performance of the participants while Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary was used to make use of the features of the RP for the said purpose of the contrastive analysis.

Step 2) Pick (identify) sounds that mark deviation
In this step recordings were transcribed for focused phonological features and were held against the features of the items found in the dictionary. In this way the deviant sounds found in the data from the recordings were identified by the researcher, who is an English teacher and a PhD scholar. Phonological features of Pakistani English as identified by different studies of some prominent scholars such as Tariq Rehman were used to highlight the contours of the deviations.

Step 3) Find the ways the selected/picked forms mutually contrast. To implement this step possible systematicity/regularity was traced in the deviations marked by the contrast in step 2. Ascriptions were made on the basis of similarities and differences between the phonology of L1 and L2 within the purview of this study. It was searched as to why the deviations took place in the phonological features at certain places and not at the others. The possible reasons of L1 influence were identified and explained to move towards significant findings.

Step 4) Pinpoint the density and systematicity to establish the point (critical discussion). This point involved critical discussion on all what was achieved from performing the first three steps. At this stage the three types of transfer idea of Stockwell (1965) was incorporated. The possible reasons for any kind of transfer i.e. positive, negative or zero were traced to the L1 features. It was specified how far the deviations stood systematic and regular. The density or frequency of deviations was also traced to reach a conclusion about any particular deviation which purported to establish whether or not the deviation qualified to make a regular feature of the L2 performance of the participants. In case of the former it would be considered just a haphazard or careless performance while in case of the latter it would pass for a regular feature establishing in this way their English as a separate variety.

3. Research Methodology

In order to conduct the present research study first of all a suitable research instrument was designed in order to get the desired data. Along with the instrument the participants were given a history form to fill in so that their bio-data could be taken to be used to analyze the data in its backdrop. In the instrument there was a wordlist with words containing all the consonants of the English language in the initial position. Words were read aloud by the participants and recorded for examining them. The detail of the participant's history form is given below.

3.1 Participant's History Form

As mentioned above the participants were supposed to fill in a form to consent and thereby commit their availability and provide necessary information about themselves which was likely to be needed during the analysis phase of the work. The form was named the 'Participant's History Form' which asked them to provide their full name, mother tongue, qualification, place of birth and education, the medium their teachers used to teach and communicate with them, languages known, the duration of stay in their native town, place of stay other than the hometown along with the duration there, exposure to English channels with frequency, and frequency along with the nature of interaction with non-Pashto speaking people. The information obtained through this form was of significant value during the description and analysis of the research data. It was used to give reasons of deviations found in the phonology of the participants' language.

3.2 Wordlist

The instrument consisted of a wordlist containing all the consonant phonemes of the English language. The reason for giving them such words having all phonemes was to facilitate the participants as the production of phonemes individually is hard for a layman because normally they are not pronounced in isolation. In addition the present researcher wanted to know if the participants had any difficulty in pronouncing any phoneme or they could produce all of them smoothly. In this regard twenty-four words containing the consonants in the onset were given in the list. In the wordlist the simplest possible words were given so that the participants could pronounce them without any difficulty. Moreover, it was convenient for the researcher to identify deviations better in the data for accurate analysis and findings.

3.3 Recording and Transcription

The instrument i.e. the wordlist was given to the participants to read aloud and recorded by the researcher as per the requirement of the study. The recording was done in an isolated room in order to reduce noise and disturbance to improve the recording quality.

The data gathered through the recordings was transcribed in two versions. One of the two versions was of British Standard English and the other one was of the participants' language. All the different deviations related with the consonants were marked and noted down in detail on the transcription sheets for further analysis by the researcher, who is an English teacher and a PhD scholar.

3.4 Population

All the Pakistani Pashto speaking people constitute the population of the present research work.

3.4.1 Sampling and Criterion for the Selection of the Participants

Since it was a study of the language of a particular section of population of our country, therefore focused technique was used for sampling to appropriately represent the target population of the work. Focused group was first selected keeping in view the nature and requirement of the study. Fifty people were selected to become the sample out of which there were thirty-four boys and sixteen girls. Those people whose L1 (mother tongue) was Pashto were selected for being the subjects for the work. It was ensured that all of them were university graduates or at least under-graduates.

4. Data Description, Analysis and Presentation

The data was described in words as well as in numbers. For the sake of the convenience of the readers and beneficiaries of the present work the data has been presented through tabulation. There are two rows in each table; the upper one for the headings and the lower one for the results acquired from the data and five columns for the category, deviation/s, correct pronunciation, deviation frequency and the deviation percentage. Along with that the possible reasons of the deviations have also been given where it was possible for the researcher to pinpoint them.

4.1 Analysis of the English Consonants

4.1.1 The Phoneme /P/

/P/ was pronounced by fifty participants. The interesting fact was that only two participants pronounced it correctly with aspiration as is done by the natives; the other forty-eight participants

did it unaspirated showing a very big trend of deviation. The phoneme was not properly pronounced because of lack of proper training and practice as it is not difficult for Pashto speaking people to produce this sound. The data has been given in the table below.

Table 4.1.

Phoneme	Deviation/s	Pronounced Correctly	Deviated	Deviation Percentage
/P/	Aspiration Missing	02	48	96

The speakers of the Yousafzai dialect are familiar with two independent phonemes having aspiration as mutually a distinctive feature. In English the stop /p/ exists as two allophonic variations whereas in Urdu the given sounds (aspirated and unaspirated) occur in parallel distribution and hence each one of them is a separate phoneme in its own right. Owing to this, there is a tendency among the majority of Pashto speaking to produce an unaspirated /p/ until they are given intensive training enough to help them overcome this psychological barrier (which exists due to internal resistance towards merging the aspirated and unaspirated /p/ as a single phoneme).

4.1.2 The Phoneme /b/

/b/ was pronounced by fifty participants. The notable fact was that all the participants pronounced it correctly as is done by the natives showing no deviation. The reason for the phoneme being pronounced correctly by all the participants is its presence in the Pashto language. The data has been given in the table below.

Table 4.2.

Phoneme	Deviation/s	Pronounced Correctly	Deviated	Deviation Percentage
/b/	No Deviation	50	Zero	Zero

In case of this sound a positive transfer (Stockwell 1965) is expected to take place due to the similarity between features of the Yousafzai dialect i.e. the L1 and the English language i.e. the target language. It is to be noted that Urdu also shares similarity in this case with both the languages. Thus the participants here have obviously no reason to deviate from the phonetic features of the phoneme /b/ of the English language. /b/ is a sound having common phonetic contours in both the languages selected for the contrastive purposes.

4.1.3 The Phoneme /t/

/t/ was pronounced by fifty participants. The amazing fact was that only two participants pronounced it correctly with aspiration as is done by the natives; the other forty-eight participants did it without aspiration showing a very big trend of deviation. It is important to mention here that the major difference between English and Pakistani /t/ is that of articulation. In British English this consonant is alveolar whereas in Pakistan it is produced as a retroflex consonant. The data has been given numerically in the table below.

Table 4.3.

Phoneme	Deviation/s	Pronounced Correctly	Deviated	Deviation Percentage
/t/	Aspiration Missing; Different Manner of Articulation	02	48	96

The trend here clearly shows a negative transfer. The percentage of those who deviated from the RP features of this sound is found to be very high. Thus the deviation in this case suffices as evidence of deviation of the Yousafzai speakers of the English language. The cause of this deviation is clearly the absence of a sound having similar phonological features in Yousafzai Pashto. It is important to mention here that the aspirated /t/ does exist in Urdu and the participants who aspirated the sound might have had exposure or training in producing it. There should not be any problem for the Yousafzai speakers in producing it as aspiration is done by the Pashto speakers when underscoring or stressing something informally or humorously. The problem occurs in phonological distribution of these sounds because in English the aspirated and the unaspirated /t/ exist in complementary distribution whereas in Urdu and Pashto they are in parallel distribution. The first kind of distribution makes them as various (distinct) realizations of the same phoneme in different phonological contexts while the latter merits them as two separate independent phonemes in their own right. This phenomenon actually becomes the cause of this deviation from the RP for the Yousafzai Pashto speakers of the English language. They are obviously reluctant to treat them as allophones due to the psychological barrier/s disposed against the RP rule to the case in point.

4.1.4 The Phoneme /d/

/d/ was pronounced by fifty participants. The important fact was that all the participants pronounced it correctly as is done by the natives showing no deviation. The reason for the phoneme being pronounced correctly by all the participants is its presence in the Pashto language. The data has been given in the table below.

Table 4.4.

Phoneme	Deviation/s	Pronounced Correctly	Deviated	Deviation Percentage
/d/	No Deviation	50	Zero	Zero

Positive transfer can be seen in this case because of the similarity features of the phoneme /d/ between Yousafzai Pashto and the RP English. The articulatory features regarding place and manner of this sound in English are similar to the features it possesses in Yousafzai Pashto. This is why the participants obviously had no problem in producing the /d/ sound with its features true to the RP version of it. Hence zero deviation is the result of all these reasons.

4.1.5 The Phoneme /k/

/k/ was pronounced by fifty participants. The noteworthy fact was that only two participants pronounced it correctly with aspiration as is done by the natives; the other forty-eight participants did it without it showing a very big trend of deviation. The phoneme was not properly pronounced because of lack of proper training and practice otherwise it is not difficult for Pashto speaking people to produce this sound. The data has been given numerically in the table below.

Table 4.5.

Phoneme	Deviation/s	Pronounced Correctly	Deviated	Deviation Percentage
/k/	Aspiration Missing	02	48	96

/k/ in English has variants in complementary distribution. The important among these which could pose a problem to Yousafzai Pashto speakers are the aspirated and the unaspirated /k/. It is due to the different phonological distribution of these sounds in Pashto (Yousafzai dialect). Both these

sounds are in parallel distribution in this Pakistani language which causes similar problems for the Yousafzai learners/speakers of the English language. Thus a negative transfer has been evidenced heavily by the data gathered for the study. L1 influence is one of the highest to be noted here. Although the deviation is away from the RP but it goes along Urdu. This is why the deviation can be noted as a common feature to be found in Pakistani English. This common trend between Urdu and the Yousafzai speakers of English is a point of overlap where common features of Pakistani English are pooled up for a universal Pakistani variety of the language.

4.1.6 The Phoneme /g/

/g/ was pronounced by fifty participants. The important fact was that all the participants pronounced it correctly as is done by the natives showing no deviation. The reason for the phoneme being pronounced correctly by all the participants is its presence in the Pashto language. The data has been given in the table below.

Table 4.6.

Phoneme	Deviation/s	Pronounced Correctly	Deviated	Deviation Percentage
/g/	No Deviation	50	Zero	Zero

/g/ in English is a velar sound which has its equivalents in Yousafzai Pashto and in Urdu also. In view of the similarities between the languages to be contrasted here, a positive transfer is bound to occur. This is why the deviation in case of this sound is zero. It clearly proves that wherever the sounds of Pashto resemble those of English, both in place and manner of articulation, it facilitates the subjects.

4.1.7 The Phoneme /tʃ/

/tʃ/ was pronounced by fifty participants. The important fact was that all the participants pronounced it correctly as is done by the natives showing no deviation. The reason for the phoneme being pronounced correctly by all the participants is its presence in the Pashto language. The data has been given in the table below.

Table 4.7.

Phoneme	Deviation/s	Pronounced Correctly	Deviated	Deviation Percentage
/tʃ/	No Deviation	50	Zero	Zero

The /tʃ/ sound of English has articulatory features corresponding to a sound segment in Pashto (Yousafzai) as well as Urdu. Naturally a positive transfer, therefore, was theoretically expected which can be found clearly in the statistical trend of the data. There is zero deviation as per the results raised through the data analysis. Thus the /tʃ/ sound does not provide any basis of any contrast of the variety spoken by Yousafzai speakers of the English language with the variety spoken by Pakistanis in general or even RP speakers.

4.1.8 The Phoneme /dʒ/

/dʒ/was pronounced by fifty participants. The important fact was that all the participants pronounced it correctly as is done by the natives showing no deviation. The reason for the phoneme being pronounced correctly by all the participants is its presence in the Pashto language. The data has been given in the table below.

Table 4.8.

Phoneme	Deviation/s	Pronounced Correctly	Deviated	Deviation Percentage
/dʒ/	No Deviation	50	Zero	Zero

The use of the /dʒ/ sound is hardly different from that of the /tʃ/ sound. The articulatory features of /dʒ/ in English resemble a sound segment in both Pashto (Yousafzai) and Urdu. Consequently, a positive transfer can be seen in case of the articulation of this sound. A zero deviation, as evidenced in the data, suffices to establish the argument that the /dʒ/ sound does not add to the contrastive features of the Yousafzai variety of the English language. This is instead a common feature of Pakistani English, Yousafzai Pakistani English and the RP.

4.1.9 The Phoneme /f/

/f/was pronounced by fifty participants. The important fact was that all the participants pronounced it correctly as is done by the natives showing no deviation. The reason for the phoneme being pronounced correctly by all the participants is its presence in the Pashto language. The data has been given in the table below.

Table 4.9.

Phoneme	Deviation/s	Pronounced Correctly	Deviated	Deviation Percentage
/f/	No Deviation	50	Zero	Zero

Both Yousafzai Pashto and Urdu have sounds corresponding both in place and manner of articulation to the /f/ sound. Therefore a positive transfer has been observed in case of this sound. Statistical data shows no deviation at all from the RP pronunciation of this sound. Such statistical trend proves /f/ not to serve as a distinct feature of the Yousafzai dialect. It is common among all the three varieties of English under discussion i.e. Yousafzai Pakistani English, Pakistani English and the Received Pronunciation.

4.1.10. The Phoneme /v/

/v/ was pronounced by fifty participants. The important fact was that all the participants pronounced it correctly as is done by the natives showing no deviation. The reason for the phoneme being pronounced correctly by all the participants is its presence in the Pashto language. The data has been given in the table below.

Table 4.10.

Phoneme	Deviation/s	Pronounced Correctly	Deviated	Deviation Percentage
/v/	No Deviation	50	Zero	Zero

Sound segments corresponding to /v/ exist both in Yousafzai Pashto and Urdu. Therefore a positive transfer is to be observed in the trends shown by the data in this case. A zero deviation suffices to establish that the phonetic features of this sound are a point of similarity among English, Yousafzai Pashto and Urdu. Hence it leads to the conclusion that the case of sound in point does not contribute to establish Yousafzai Pakistani English as a separate variety of English because it does not serve as a mark of distinction for it.

4.1.11 The Phoneme /Θ/

/Θ/ was pronounced by fifty participants. The interesting fact was that only twenty-five participants pronounced it correctly as is done by the natives; the other twenty-five participants did it the way Urdu/Pashto alphabet letter 'ت' is produced showing a very large trend of deviation. The phoneme was not properly pronounced because of lack of proper training and practice otherwise it is not difficult for Pashto speaking people to produce this sound. The data has been given in the table below.

Table 4.11.

Phoneme	Deviation/s	Pronounced Correctly	Deviated	Deviation Percentage
/Θ/	Changed to Urdu/Pashto 'ت'	25	25	50

The sound in this case is a fricative by manner of articulation while it is a dental with regard to its place of articulation. The 'ت' sound of Pashto and Urdu however resembles a lot in its phonetic contours to the /Θ/ sound of the English language. However, there occurs a problem because in ordinary speech the place of articulation of the Pashto and Urdu sound, given above, is tampered by the casualness of the speakers. In principle or going by the rule, the given sound of both Pashto and Urdu is a dental fricative with regard to its place and manner while its articulation in common speech is as alveolar fricative which resembles the /s/ sound of English. Consequent to this generally Pakistani speakers confuse /Θ/ sound with a dental plosive which can be said to be the aspirated form of the /ت/ sound of both Pashto and Urdu.

4.1.12 The Phoneme/Ð/

/Ð/ was pronounced by fifty participants. The important fact was that all the participants pronounced it correctly as is done by the natives except one showing only a negligible trend of deviation. The reason for the phoneme being pronounced correctly by all the participants except one is its presence in the Pashto language. The data has been given in the table below.

Table 4.12.

Phoneme	Deviation/s	Pronounced Correctly	Deviated	Deviation Percentage
/Ð/	Pronounced with Aspiration	49	01	02

This dental fricative of English has got corresponding sounds both in Pashto and Urdu. Therefore a positive transfer of L1 features can be concluded on the basis of the evidence provided by the statistical trends shown by the data. Only one deviation can be seen in the data which is obviously negligible and can be attributed safely to carelessness on the part of the speaker. Thus the view can be established that the /Ð/ sound does not behave as a contributive feature in making Yousafzai Pakistani English as a distinct variety of Pakistani English.

4.1.13 The Phoneme /s/

/s/ was pronounced by fifty participants. The important fact was that all the participants pronounced it correctly as is done by the natives showing no deviation altogether. The reason for the phoneme being pronounced correctly by all the participants is its presence in the Pashto language. The data has been given in the table below.

Table 4.13.

Phoneme	Deviation/s	Pronounced Correctly	Deviated	Deviation Percentage
/s/	No Deviation	50	Zero	Zero

/s/ also has a case very similar to the sounds which are common among all the three languages i.e. Yousafzai Pashto, Urdu and the RP. It is an alveolar fricative corresponsive to which there exist sounds in the Yousafzai Pashto and Urdu. Thus as expected a positive transfer has been observed in the data. Hence the sound does not serve as a distinctive feature for the variety of English used by the Pashto speakers of the Yousafzai dialect.

4.1.14 The Phoneme /z/

/z/ was pronounced by fifty participants. The important fact was that all the participants pronounced it correctly as is done by the natives showing no deviation. The reason for the phoneme being pronounced correctly by all the participants is its presence in the Pashto language. The data has been given in the table below.

Table 4.14.

Phoneme	Deviation/s	Pronounced Correctly	Deviated	Deviation Percentage
/z/	No Deviation	50	Zero	Zero

/z/ being a voiced alveolar fricative of the English language has got corresponding sounds in Pashto as well as in Urdu. This obviously leads to the phenomenon of positive transfer of L1 features resulting in zero deviation as shown by the statistical trends of the data. Thus /z/ sound cannot be considered to be contributing towards making Yousafzai Pakistani English as a distinct variety of the Pakistani English.

4.1.15 The Phoneme /ʃ/

/ʃ/ was pronounced by fifty participants. The important fact was that all the participants pronounced it correctly as is done by the natives showing no deviation. The reason for the phoneme being pronounced correctly by all the participants is its presence in the Pashto language. The data has been given in the table below.

Table 4.15.

Phoneme	Deviation/s	Pronounced Correctly	Deviated	Deviation Percentage
/ʃ/	No Deviation	50	Zero	Zero

/ʃ/was also expected to have positive transfer owing to the existence of the corresponding sounds with similar articulatory features both in Pashto and Urdu. Therefore the statistical trends of the sound cannot be considered as a point of distinction for the English language spoken by the Yousafzai Pashto speaking people.

4.1.16 The Phoneme /ʒ/

/ʒ/ was pronounced by fifty participants. The important fact was that all the participants pronounced it correctly as is done by the natives showing no deviation. The reason for the phoneme being pronounced correctly by all the participants is its presence in the Pashto language. There are dialectal variations in Pashto regarding this sound but the focus of the present study is only the Yousafzai dialect. The data has been given in the table below.

Table 4.16

Phoneme	Deviation/s	Pronounced Correctly	Deviated	Deviation Percentage
/ʒ/	No Deviation	50	Zero	Zero

There exist sounds with similar articulatory features in Pashto and Urdu as those of the /ʒ/ sound of English. Therefore, positive transfer of L1 features has been observed in case of this sound. Its proof is found in the zero deviation shown in the statistical trends of the data. Thus /ʒ/sound does not tend to be a point of distinction in the specific variety of the English language used by the Pashto Yousafzai speakers of Pakistan.

4.1.17 The Phoneme /h/

/h/ was pronounced by fifty participants. The important fact was that all the participants pronounced it correctly as is done by the natives showing no deviation. The reason for the phoneme being pronounced correctly by all the participants is its presence in the Pashto language. The data has been given in the table below.

Table 4.17.

Phoneme	Deviation/s	Pronounced Correctly	Deviated	Deviation Percentage
/h/	No Deviation	50	Zero	Zero

The /h/ sound is considered as a glottal fricative on the basis of its phonetic features. Sounds with similar features are found in Pashto and Urdu. Thus a positive transfer of the L1 features is the outcome as shown by the statistical results. The sound in question, therefore, is not a point of distinction for the variety of English spoken by the Yousafzai Pashto speaking people of the country.

4.1.18 The Phoneme /m/

/m/ was pronounced by fifty participants. The important fact was that all the participants pronounced it correctly as is done by the natives showing no deviation. The reason for the phoneme being pronounced correctly by all the participants is its presence in the Pashto language. The data has been given in the table below.

Table 4.18

Phoneme	Deviation/s	Pronounced Correctly	Deviated	Deviation Percentage
/m/	No Deviation	50	Zero	Zero

The /m/ sound in English is a bilabial nasal sound having voiced factures and with similar phonetic features there exist sounds both in Pashto and Urdu. Therefore, a positive transfer of the features is obvious. Its evidence can be found in the statistical trends of the data showing a zero deviation. Thus /m/ sound, as produced by the Yousafzai Pashto speakers of English, does not go to mark it as a distinct variety of Pakistani English.

4.1.19 The Phoneme /n/

/n/ was pronounced by fifty participants. The important fact was that all the participants pronounced it correctly as is done by the natives showing no deviation. The reason for the

phoneme being pronounced correctly by all the participants is its presence in the Pashto language. The data has been given in the table below.

Table 4.19.

Phoneme	Deviation/s	Pronounced Correctly	Deviated	Deviation Percentage
/n/	No Deviation	50	Zero	Zero

The /n/ sound of English as an alveolar nasal resembles Pashto and Urdu as both the languages have got alveolar nasal sounds similar in their phonetic features to the sound in question. Hence, as a result of a positive transfer, zero deviation is to be seen in the statistical analysis of the data. The /n/ sound therefore does not serve to give distinctive features to the variety of English used by Pashto Yousafzai speakers of English.

4.1.20 The Phoneme /ŋ/

/ŋ/ was pronounced by fifty participants. The important fact was that all the participants pronounced it correctly as is done by the natives except one who pronounced it like /n/ showing only a negligible trend of deviation. The reason for the phoneme being pronounced correctly by all the participants except one is its presence in the Pashto language. The data has been given in the table below.

Table 4.20.

Phoneme	Deviation/s	Pronounced Correctly	Deviated	Deviation Percentage
/ŋ/	Produced like /n/	49	01	02

The production of /ŋ/ does not create any problem for Pashto and Urdu speakers due to the similarity, in phonetic features, of the sounds in Urdu and Pashto. This similarity leads to a positive transfer of the features. It is reflected in the percentage and frequency of deviation which is negligible. Hence features of the /ŋ/ sound as produced by the Yousafzai Pashto speakers of English does not provide distinctive features to mark the variety spoken by them as distinct from the RP and Pakistani English.

4.1.21 The Phoneme /l/

/l/ was pronounced by fifty participants. The important fact was that all the participants pronounced it correctly as is done by the natives showing no deviation. The reason for the phoneme being pronounced correctly by all the participants is its presence in the Pashto language. The data has been given in the table below.

Table 4.21.

Phoneme	Deviation/s	Pronounced Correctly	Deviated	Deviation Percentage
/l/	No Deviation	50	Zero	Zero

Lateral sounds with similar phonetic features are found in both Pashto and Urdu. Thus a positive transfer was obvious in this case as evidenced by a zero deviation. In view of this the /l/ sound, as produced by the Yousafzai Pashto speakers of English, cannot be used as a distinct feature of the English spoken by these people.

4.1.22 The Phoneme /r/

/r/ was pronounced by fifty participants. The important fact was that all the participants pronounced it correctly as is done by the natives showing no deviation. Since this sound is present both in Pashto and Urdu which is pronounced fully unlike the English /r/. The /r/ produced by the research participants was more like the Pashto or Urdu one but at the same time not enabling it to become another phoneme to be marked separately as a deviation. The data has been given in the table below.

Table 4.22.

Phoneme	Deviation/s	Pronounced Correctly	Deviated	Deviation Percentage
/r/	No Deviation	50	Zero	Zero

There are different varieties of /r/ sound in English, such as the rolled /r/, flapped /r/ etc. (it has its phonological features also, like intrusive /r/ etc.). This sound is one of the problematic ones for Pakistanis as far as its fullness is concerned.

4.1.23 The Phoneme /j/

The important fact was that all the participants pronounced it correctly as is done by the natives showing no deviation. Since this sound is present both in Pashto and Urdu, which is why Pashto speakers can pronounce it without any difficulty. The data has been given in the table below.

Table 4.23.

Phoneme	Deviation/s	Pronounced Correctly	Deviated	Deviation Percentage
/j/	No Deviation	50	Zero	Zero

A zero deviation in this case speaks about the positive transfer. It is due to the similar features of a sound that exists in both the languages i.e. Pashto and Urdu. The /j/ produced by Pashto speakers therefore does not go to serve as a distinctive feature of the English spoken by the Yousafzai Pashto speakers.

4.1.24 The Phoneme /w/

/w/ was pronounced by fifty participants. The noteworthy fact was that only nineteen participants pronounced it correctly as is done by the natives; the other thirty-one changed it to become the phoneme /v/ showing a very big trend of deviation. The phoneme was not properly pronounced because of lack of proper training and practice otherwise it is not difficult for Pashto speaking people to produce this sound. The data has been given in the table below to make it more clear and easy to understand.

Table 4.24.

Phoneme	Deviation/s	Pronounced Correctly	Deviated	Deviation Percentage
/w/	Changed to /v/	19	31	62

The percentage of deviation is evident of a negative transfer. In both Pashto and Urdu there is a labio-dental fricative which is confused with the /w/ sound of English. Thus the deviation takes place due to the L1 influence resulting in the replacement of /w/ with a sound of Pashto and Urdu resembling the /v/ of English. Due to the non-existence of two distinct sounds in Pashto and Urdu

corresponding to /v/ and /w/ of English, the Pashto and Urdu speakers tend to overlook the difference between /v/ and /w/. Training in this case makes difference and those who have been trained produce it correctly. Therefore the /w/ sound, as produced by Pashto speakers, makes it distinct from the RP but not from Pakistani English. Therefore, the deviated feature cannot be considered itself as a part of a sub-variety of Pakistani English rather it is a feature of the Pakistani English itself.

5. Conclusion

It is an established fact that every individual's speech is different from that of the others'. We are different linguistically even in our mother tongue and that is where we get the concept of idiolect from. Different idiolects combine to constitute a dialect of a community. At individual level our individual speech is our identity and at collective level we are recognized by the collective ways of speech of the particular community, which we belong to. If an L1 may vary from case to case, it is more likely to be so in ways of speech with regard to an L2 because of some additional factors in the backdrop which bring about variation. Change and variation is a normal phenomenon when we talk of language. Regarding an L2 we need to consider a number of other factors which are not significant from the point of an L1. In this study an effort has been made to the same end. The deviations marked and shown in the data lead to the fact that some features identified in the speech habits of the Yousafzai Pashto speaking people contribute to represent a separate variety of the language in its own right whereas others point to the fact that it shares features both with Pakistani English (in general) and with the RP as well. However, the researcher found that every deviation cannot be considered to be a feature of the Yousafzai English; it is rather a mistake which should be looked on as such and duly addressed by improving our language training standards.

6. Recommendations

As the present work has been done on the English language which is used as an L2 in Pakistani context, the following recommendations have been made in light of the conclusion drawn from the study.

1) First of all it must be acknowledged no matter how best a person may be at an L2; still they cannot be a good competition with the natives. In simple words those who have learned a second language speak language distinctly differently from those who are the natives. It is a reality which is hard to deny. However it can be improved reasonably if the environment needed to teach and learn a language is favorable.
2) Given that it is a fact that language changes regionally as well as socially but it should conform to the recognized standard. English in Pakistan is taught like a subject and not truly like a language. Language teaching and learning need a proper environment which is lacking in our country because of which there is a lot of variation in our language. Improper teaching should be abandoned to check deviations from the established norm.
3) Language teaching can be improved if all the four skills of the language i.e. listening, speaking, reading and writing are paid equal attention to which will enable the students to be linguistically competent overall. Deviations despite that will be due to the mother tongue influence which is a reality and a focal point of the present study.
4) To minimize the mother tongue influence such methodologies and techniques should be used so that no aspect of the language gets neglected. It will help us learn English better with the least of L1 influence.

5) Speaking skills be paid extra attention so that students' speech habits do not stray too far from the standard in terms of accent and pronunciation.
6) Maximum interactive strategies be used to give a chance to the students to use language as much as they should so that the language used in our region emerges as a variety of the English language worth recognition.
7) After due input students should be given a chance to give their output so that their performance is gauged on the spot and where needed remedial work could be done to avoid any unwelcome deviations likely to compromise communication.
8) Some deviations are caused by lack of exposure to the target language which should be provided so that effective learning may take place.
9) Some deviations may be a result of the students' unresolved queries which should be taken positively and resolved duly so that they should improve on daily basis.

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Appendix

Word Lists Containing the English Consonants

Consonants

Pen	Bed
Ten	Did
Cat	Good
Chin	June
Feel	Voice
Thin	Then
Soon	Zoo
Ship	Vision
Hat	Man
Nine	Sing
Light	Red
Yes	Win

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