

# Deconstructing the Ideological Perspective of Benazir Bhutto's *Reconciliation, Islam, Democracy and the West*: A Systemic Functional Grammar Approach

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**Abstract**—Lexical choices employed in discourse convey implicit and explicit messages and ideologies. This study aims to linguistically analyze the ideological perspective in Benazir Bhutto's (2008) posthumous work, *Reconciliation: Islam, Democracy and the West*. Throughout this book, the author endeavors to validate her thesis that democracy and Islam are not mutually exclusive. To achieve the targeted goals, transitivity—a framework of Systemic Functional Grammar developed by Halliday (1971-1994)—has been employed to conduct a transitivity analysis of five extracts from the book. The goal of this study is to determine the frequency and indices of the components of transitivity analysis, namely, participants, processes, and circumstances. Additionally, the study aims to examine how Benazir Bhutto incorporates her political ideology within the context of various existing ideologies. Transitivity analysis of the selected texts discovered 121 complex clauses and 317 simplex clauses. Furthermore, a comprehensive range of processes, participants, and circumstances has been employed in that discourse. The use of maximum transitivity elements indicates Butto's extensive knowledge regarding the ideological conflict between Islam and the West. Material processes, accounting for 174 (61.26%) of the various processes, are predominant, suggesting that she is action-oriented and values tangible outcomes. The experiential analysis in the study indicates that, in addition to serving as a pacifist to reconcile Islamic and democratic ideals, thereby addressing the growing divide between the Orient (particularly Islam) and the Occident, Benazir Bhutto also promotes her philosophical and social ideology.

**Index Terms**—democracy, ideology, Islam, systemic functional grammar, transitivity

## I. INTRODUCTION

Benazir Bhutto served as Prime Minister of Pakistan on two non-consecutive occasions and was a significant political figure both nationally and internationally. She received acclaim, even among her political adversaries, for both her rhetoric and her contributions to the restoration of democracy in Pakistan. Bhatia (2008) characterizes her as liberal, whereas Suvorova (2015) describes her as secular. She disseminated her ideologies through speeches, discussions, and written texts. This study conducts a linguistic analysis of text samples selected from Benazir Bhutto's (2008) posthumously published work, *Reconciliation: Islam, Democracy, and the West*. In her pioneering work, she seeks to bridge the gap between the West and Islam by advancing and defending the argument that Islam and democracy can coexist. She defends moderate Islam from extremist interpretation and presents her journey as a case study of a modern Muslim woman leader. The author's linguistic choices implicitly convey their opinions, voices, viewpoints, or ideologies that align with their experiences and perceptions of society and the world (Caffarel & Rechniewski, 2009). The language's grammatical system constantly regulates these.

To conduct a discourse analysis study on excerpts from *Reconciliation: Islam, Democracy, and the West*, a Systemic Functional Linguistics/Grammar (SFL) approach, as developed by Halliday (1971-1994), is applied. It offers a method for examining meaning in language and linking language usage to social situations, thereby enhancing our understanding of language in social contexts. While numerous linguistic theories emphasize language as a mental process, SFL has consistently maintained a significant connection to sociology. O'Donnell (2012) indicates that Halliday's tradition focuses on how language functions within social contexts to accomplish specific objectives. SFL does not address the way language is represented or the cognitive processes in the human brain; instead, it focuses on the discourses generated in written or oral formats and the content included in texts. SFL emphasizes language use, prioritizing its purpose over its creation (Matthiessen & Halliday, 1997).

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A. Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

Halliday's systemic functional model of grammar (1994) holds that language has evolved to address three categories of social-functional requirements, as seen in Figure 1 below:

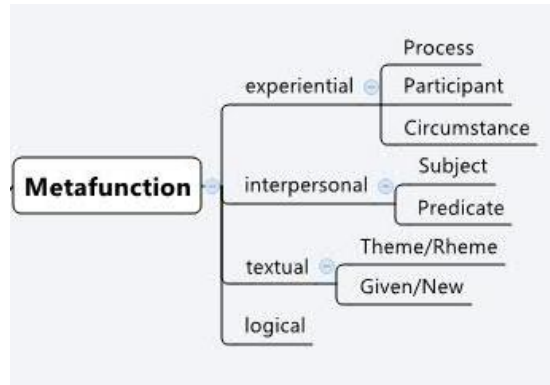


Figure 1. Three Meta-Functions of Language According to SFG

The present study utilizes transitivity analysis, a component of the experiential meta-function in Systemic Functional Grammar. Mills (1995) asserts that transitivity is a strategy within the ideational function of Halliday's theory. It is a core system that analyzes how clauses encode and represent the world of experience and knowledge through language. It focuses on the process (verb) and its participants (subject and object) and circumstances (adverbials, prepositional phrases) within a clause. Transitivity helps linguists understand how languages construct meaning and represent actions and relationships in the world (Megah, 2019).

Key aspects of transitivity in SFL are process, which refers to the action, event, or state being described by the verb, participants who are the entities involved in the process, including the actor (initiates the action), the receiver (receives the action), and the target (the entity affected by the action), circumstances which are elements that provide additional information about the process, such as time, place, manner, and cause. There are several categories of processes, such as the material processes actions or doings (e.g., "The dog barked"), mental processes of perception, thought, and feeling (e.g., "The child saw the tree"), relational processes that establish relationships between entities (e.g., "The table is red"), behavioral processes which are actions that are perceived as physical (e.g., "The baby cried"), verbal processes of communication and expression (e.g., "The man said something"), and existential processes that describe the existence of something (e.g., "There was a car") (Bartley, 2018). Figure 2 illustrates these subcomponents.

Transitivity is used to analyze the structure and meaning of clauses by identifying the process, participants, and circumstances. It is also used in Critical Discourse Analysis to explore how language choices in texts, such as newspaper articles or speeches, represent and construct meaning. In essence, transitivity in SFL is a powerful tool for analyzing language and understanding how it reflects the world and our understanding of it.

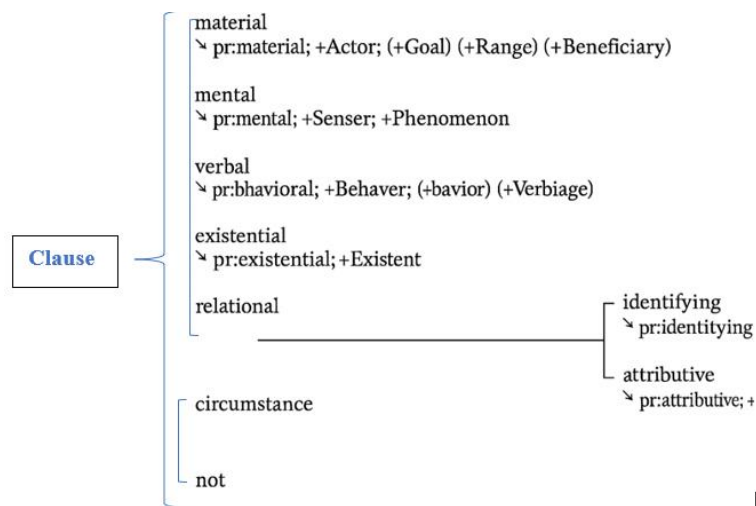


Figure 2. The Transitive Model (adapted from Eggins, 2004, p. 214)

B. SFL and Deconstruction of Ideology

The present study examines ideology, a pivotal concept in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). Its interpretation varies depending on the context. Cranston (2003) regards it as a discipline focused on the origins of ideas rather than the formation of biases (religious, political, and metaphysical). The foundations of ideology lie in Marxism, where it functions

as an essential term for representing consciousness, perceptions, and ideas, as well as all that individuals think, envision, or articulate (quoted in Felluga, 2002). Schaffner (1995) asserts that it embraces all elements of life, including political, educational, religious, cultural, social, and economic ties, and influences social lives through language discourse, which serves as a recognizable manifestation of ideology. An ideology exists within words, regardless of the reader's perception.

In systemic functional linguistics (SFL), ideology is seen as shaping the role of language as a semiotic system from multiple angles. Scholars such as Kress (1983, 1985), Hasan (1986), and Threadgold (1986) contend that ideology functions as a semiotic framework through which language is mediated in social interaction. As a result, linguistic structures assume heightened importance because they convey, represent, and shape underlying ideas (Van Dijk, 1998). Numerous studies have drawn on SFL as a tool for analyzing ideology across diverse text types. Since every text inherently reflects ideology, this dimension can be traced throughout all levels of the linguistic system and is realized through language by means of the three metafunctions: experiential, interpersonal, and textual (Caffarel-Cayron & Rechniewski, 2009). For example, Hasan (1985) applied this model in the study of verbal art, demonstrating how all three metafunctions could be integrated to interpret a poem. She regards verbal art or literary texts as significant because the "stratum of theme" lies closest to a community's ideology (Hasan, 1985, 1989).

Feminism advocates women's rights. Steeves (1987) states that feminist theory presumes that women are devalued in society. It purports to realize the rationale behind such disparity and devaluation between women and men in individualistic, biological, economic, and social psychological aspects. According to Steeves (1987), the devaluation of women is examined through four primary strands of feminist theory: radical, liberal, Marxist, and socialist feminism.

## II. PREVIOUS STUDIES

A wide range of linguists, including Halliday (1971), Burton (1982), Simpson (1993), Silva (1998), Ji and Shen (2004), Iwamoto (2007), Mwinlaaru (2012), Naz et al. (2012), and Qasim (2019), have applied the SFL framework to the study of literary discourse, showing that the transitivity model is a valuable approach for examining experiential meaning. The research studies established a foundation for investigating the role of linguistic choices in the selected data. Previous research has focused on fiction, short stories, and political speeches. This study contributes to the existing research on transitivity in literary texts. This study seeks to illustrate how transitivity choices reflect ideational meanings and political ideology (feminism) in the book. None of the researchers has examined this book through the lens of transitivity analysis. This study contributes to existing research by examining the relationship between transitivity choices and the meaning of a text.

## III. METHODOLOGY

The present investigation has utilized an interpretive and critical research framework. The study employed a mixed-methods research approach, incorporating both qualitative and quantitative techniques. Quantitative analysis examines frequency indices and statistically significant outcomes, facilitating the assessment of the magnitude of differences across various texts within the chosen book. The application of qualitative analysis allows for a more in-depth description of these differences. According to Creswell (1994), researchers employ the qualitative approach to explore how individuals interpret their lives, experiences, and the frameworks of their world.

This present focuses solely on transitivity, a component of the ideational function of language, among its three functions: ideational, interpersonal, and textual. Transitivity serves as a mechanism for elucidating the mental processes of participants, categorizing participants, detailing their actions, and providing a more straightforward interpretation of the text. The study does not cover logical meaning or ergativity, which provide alternative perspectives on the transitivity system and how processes are understood, mainly when they occur independently or are caused by something else (Thompson, 2004). The research aims to elucidate both the internal and external experiences of the writer's perspective regarding the issue outlined in the study's rationale. Consequently, this model is well-suited for this study.

### A. Data for Analysis

Data for this study is elicited from former Prime Minister of Pakistan Benazir Bhutto's *Reconciliation: Islam, Democracy, and the West*, published shortly after her assassination in 2007. The book is both a political manifesto and a personal reflection. Drawing on Islamic history and teachings, she presents evidence that democracy, gender equality, and human rights have deep roots in Islamic tradition. The book critiques both Western misconceptions about Islam and the rise of militant extremism in the Muslim world. Bhutto also reflects on her political struggles, offering insights into Pakistan's complex political landscape, and calls for a global reconciliation—a renewed dialogue between the Muslim world and the West based on mutual respect and understanding.

The book comprises five chapters as follows: Chapter one The Path Back, Chapter two The Battle Within Islam: Democracy Versus Dictatorship, Chapter three Moderation Versus Extremism, Chapter four Islam and Democracy: History and Practice, Chapter five The Case of Pakistan, Is the Clash of Civilization Inevitable?, and Reconciliation.

In the initial chapter of the book, Bhutto recounts her return to Pakistan to restore democracy despite imminent threats to her life, detailing her narrow escape from a suicide attack. Chapter Two addresses intra-Islamic political, religious, and sectarian disputes. She seeks to validate her thesis that Islam and democracy are mutually sustaining by presenting

references from the Quran, hadith, and the thoughts of Muslim scholars. In the third chapter, she clarifies that Islam and Muslims do not oppose democracy; rather, it is the sustained and intentional intervention by the West that has undermined the democratic process in the Muslim world. In the fourth chapter, the author compares the democratic scenarios of India and Pakistan, emphasizing that the premature death of Mr. Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, along with the absence of grassroots political organization, contributed to the failure of democracy and the dysfunction of politics in Pakistan. In the fifth chapter, she critiques the hypothesis of the Clash of Civilizations by examining the nature of historical conflicts. She categorizes critics of the Clash of Civilizations into two groups: 'Reconciliationists' and 'Clashers', identifying herself as a 'Reconciliationist'. Chapter five elucidates the perspective of reconciliationists. Additionally, she highlights the importance of civilizational reconciliation and intra-Islamic reconciliation. Bhutto argues that the challenges faced by the Muslim world cannot be attributed solely to the Occident; instead, Muslims must also reflect on their internal issues. Additionally, as a proponent of pacifism, she suggests specific measures such as promoting religious tolerance, advocating for the promotion of democracy, and ensuring a commitment to democratic principles. "There has been enough pain." The concluding sentences of her book state, "There has been enough pain. It is time for reconciliation." Bhutto ultimately became a victim of this suffering by sacrificing her life. In the current dynamic context, Bhutto's efforts can contribute to stabilizing peace and fostering global harmony.

#### B. Excerpts for Analysis

1. Text A has been chosen from the outset of Chapter 2 (The Battle Within Islam: Democracy Versus Dictatorship) (pp. 17-18).
2. Text B is selected from paragraph 12 of chapter 2 (pages 32-34).
3. Text C is elicited from chapter 4 (page 103), titled The Case of Pakistan
4. Text D is from Paragraph 21, which is located in Chapter 4 (pages 119–120).
5. Text E is from Chapter 5 (Page 168).

#### C. Analytical Framework

To conduct the data analysis, the following procedures were undertaken:

1. The selected text excerpts were broken down from complex clauses into their basic clauses.
2. Each clause in every sentence was manually counted.
3. Codes were assigned to the different components of transitivity to facilitate systematic counting and analysis.
4. Clauses were classified according to processes, participants, and circumstances.
5. The frequency and percentage of the labeled transitivity elements were calculated.
6. Separate tables were prepared to present the frequency and percentage of processes, participants, and circumstances.
7. A quantitative interpretation of each table was provided, highlighting ascending and descending trends.
8. A qualitative examination of the tables was then carried out to uncover the meanings and ideologies embedded in the texts.

## IV. RESULTS

The complete set of the analyzed data and the codes generated are available in Appendix.

### A. Transitivity Analysis of Text A

#### (a). Analysis of the Processes and Participants in Text A

Text A is selected from the outset of Chapter 2 (pp. 17–18) of the book. It highlights the rights granted to women in Islam, challenging dominant Western assumptions. The data presented in Tables 1 and 2 indicate the presence of 29 complex clauses and 60 simplex clauses, along with 88 participants, 59 processes, and 39 circumstances. Material processes constitute 32 (54.24%) of the text. Among participants, goal 23 (26.13%) and actor 16 (18.18%) indicate the highest proportions.

It means that material clauses are more numerous. Material clauses involve the depiction of participants' actions as well as events and occurrences brought about by both animate and inanimate agents. This extract discusses the position of women in Europe and Islam before and after the disclosure of Islam. In this extract, clauses 18 (*i-xxxvi*) and 19 (*i-xxxvii*) signify the niche of women in Islam and assert that Islam elevates the status of women to be equal to that of men in terms of legal rights, contrary to the established perceptions about the position of women in the West. Lastly, clause 22 (*i-xxlviii*) discloses the noble and dignified actor role assigned to women by Islam. The wife of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) comforts and encourages during the befall of the first revelation (God's message). The abundant use of material clauses in the text denotes that the writer presents solid arguments that show actions by Islam in terms of bestowing rights to women and actions performed by women at spiritual events.

The mental clauses reflect the perceptions, emotions, and thoughts of the participants. The extract contains five mental clauses. Clauses 2 (iv), (v), and (vii) depict the devaluation and treatment of women as entities belonging to men prior to the disclosure of Islam. However, the Prophet (PBUH) accepted women as equal partners in different walks of life. What is more, in clauses 6 (xiv) and 7 (xix), the wife of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) is delineated as a wise and discerning woman as she conceives the persona of the Prophet (PBUH) and marries him. Later, at the time of the first revelation (God's

message), when the Prophet (PBUH) was dubious about the message delivered by the messenger (angel Gabriel), she endorsed that it was a divine message. Through mental processes, it can be estimated how women were perceived and thought of, and how Islam perceives women.

There are 22 relational processes in the given text. The relational clauses aim to describe the persons or things. The relational attributive clauses in 21 (*i-xxxix*) and 21 (*ii-xl*) state that the Prophet's (PBUH) wife was a businesswoman, negating the Western view of Eastern or Islamic views. Women can also run businesses like men. Moreover, clauses 7 (*xviii*), (*xix*), and (*xx*) attribute honour to women in terms of recognizing the first revelation of the Prophet (PBUH) as accurate. Lastly, clause 24 (*i-li*), (*lii*), and (*liii*) highlight that the Prophet's wife (PBUH) was the first person in the world to embrace Islam.

About the Quran (30:96), Bhutto articulates the importance of education for women within the context of Islam in relational clauses 26 (*i-lv*) and 28 (*i-lviii*) and in verbal clauses 27 (*i-lvi*) and 27 (*ii-lvii*). Relational processes in the text give a vivid picture of the dignity of women sanctioned by Islam.

TABLE 1  
PROCESSES AND PARTICIPANTS IN TEXT A

Processes	Frequency (59)	%age (100)	Participants	Frequency (88)	%age (100)
Material	32	54.24%	Actor	16	18.18%
			Goal	23	26.13%
			Recipient	2	2.27%
			Client	0	0.00%
			Attribute	0	0.00%
Mental	5	8.47%	Range	1	1.13%
			Senser	5	5.68%
Relational	16	27.12%	Phenomenon	5	5.68%
			Carrier	9	7.14%
			Attribute	9	7.14%
			Token	4	4.55%
			Value	4	4.55%
			Possessor	0	0.00%
Verbal	3	5.08%	Possessed	2	2.27%
			Sayer	3	3.41%
			Verbiage	3	3.41%
Behavioral	1	1.69%	Receiver	0	0.00%
			Behaver	1	1.13%
Existential	2	3.39%	Behavior	1	1.13%
			Existent	2	2.27%

The primary participant's role is associated with women, Islam, the Quran, and the Prophet. A woman is projected as an actor three times, a beneficiary two times, a sensor two times, and a phenomenon twice. In the clauses 21 (*iii-xli*), *Bibi Khadijah, the wealthy and successful businesswoman, hired* 22 (*i-xlvi*); *she comforted and encouraged* 24 (*i-li*). *The world's first person to embrace* the actor roles. It means women are doers of actions in the text and have a key role to play. Clauses 20 (*i-xxxviii*) *women* and 10 (*ii-xvi*) *girls* denote the beneficiary role. Actor and beneficiary roles signify that women are not only doers of actions but also primary beneficiaries in Islam. *The sensor role is illustrated in 21 (iv-xlii) with "she heard" and in 22 (iv-xlvi) with "who believed", demonstrating her sensing experience.* Not only do women appear in actor and beneficiary roles, but also in goal roles. A goal is a participant that is affected by an action, changing its status or position. Clauses 1 (*ii*), 1 (*iv*), 5 (*i-viii*), 9 (*ii-xiv*), 10 (*ii-xvi*), 17 (*i-xxxii*), 18 (*i-xxxvi*), 19 (*i-xxxvii*), and 21 (*iii-xli*) demonstrate women as goal participants. It denotes that Islam, the Quran, and the Prophet (PBUH) place ample emphasis on women's rights.

(b). *Analysis of the Circumstances in Text A*

There are 39 circumstances in the extract, and the circumstance of location 20 (51.28%) surpasses the circumstance of manner 6 (15.38%), cause 3 (7.69%), accompaniment 1 (2.56%), role 6 (15.38%), extent 1 (2.56%), matter 1 (2.56%) and angle 1 (2.56%).

TABLE 2  
CIRCUMSTANCES IN TEXT A

Circumstances	Percentage	Frequency
Location	51.28%	20
Manner	15.38%	6
Cause	7.69%	3
Accompaniment	2.56%	1
Role	15.38%	6
Extent	2.56%	1
Matter	2.56%	1
Angle	2.56%	1
Total	100%	39

Recurring circumstances of location 1 (iv) today, 7 (ii-xi) on mutual advice, to destruction, 12 (ii-xx) often, in western media, 13 (ii-xxii) in the growing Islamic populations of Europe and the United States, 14 (ii-xxiv) upon the democratic principles of consultation (shura), 16 (i-xxviii) during the darkness, 17 (i-xxxii) when etc. can be ascribed to the significance of the temporal, spatial, locational, and dimensional aspects of the objects and events in the text. They indicate that the narrator encompasses both spatial and temporal dimensions. The selected passage discusses the status and evolving position of women before and after the revelation of Islam, as outlined in clauses 17 (i-xxxii) as inferior members of the human family, 17 (ii-xxxiii) as property, and 17 (iv-xxxv) as equal partners.

## B. Transitivity Analysis of Text B

### (a). Analysis of the Processes and Participants in Text B

We have selected paragraph 12 from chapter 2 (pages 32-34) of the book. The text contains 43 sentences comprising a total of 124 simplex clauses. Tables 3 and 4 reveal that the text consists of 123 processes in the second highest position, 196 actors preceding the processes, and 87 circumstances. Quantitative analysis of Table 3 signifies that material processes 62 (50.41%) exceed relational processes 33 (26.83%) and verbal processes 12 (9.76%). Mental 8 (6.50%) and existential processes 8 (6.50%) are equally lower in frequency and percentage.

TABLE 3  
PROCESSES AND PARTICIPANTS IN TEXT B

Processes	Frequency (123)	%age (100)	Participants	Frequency (196)	%age (100)
Material	62	50.41%	Actor	38	19.39%
			Goal	45	22.96%
			Recipient	6	3.06%
			Client	0	0.00%
			Attribute	2	1.02%
Mental	8	6.50%	Range	0	0.00%
			Senser	7	3.57%
Relational	33	26.83%	Phenomenon	4	2.04%
			Carrier	19	9.69%
			Attribute	21	10.71%
			Token	6	3.06%
			Value	6	3.06%
			Possessor	5	2.55%
			Possessed	5	2.55%
Verbal	12	9.76%	Sayer	8	4.08%
			Verbiage	12	6.12%
			Receiver	4	2.04%
Behavioral	0	0.00%	Behaver	0	0.00%
			Behavior	0	0.00%
Existential	8	6.50%	Existent	8	4.08%

Excessive use of material processes is a continuation of the enjoyment of the executable nature of Islam. Relational processes, on the other hand, describe the attributes of Islam and the attributes that have been conferred on women by Islam. Mental processes are revealed through the interpretation of the Quran and Islamic texts, reflecting the writer's inner thoughts about the role of women. Verbal processes present the Quranic injunctions regarding the position of women from various perspectives.

In a total of 196 participants, goal 45 (22.96%) surpasses actor 38 (19.39%), attribute 21 (10.71%), carrier 19 (9.69%), verbiage 12 (6.12%), sayer 8 (4.08%), senser 7 (3.57%), recipient 6 (3.06%), token 6 (3.06%), value 6 (3.06%), possessor 5 (2.55%), possessed 5 (2.55%), phenomenon 4 (2.04%), receiver 4 (2.04%), and attribute 2 (1.02%) within the context of material processes.

Material clauses involve the participant actor, goal recipient, and attribute. The role of the actor has been predominantly attributed to the Quran, women, and Bhutto herself. Clauses 1 (i), 1 (iv), 3 (i-viii), 4 (iv-xii), 8 (iv-xxiv), 9 (iv-xxviii), 11 (ii-xxxiv), and 11 (v-xxxvii) elucidate the Islamic directives about veiling and attire. Bhutto believes that Islam does not prescribe a specific mode of dress and that the veil is a tribal custom. She cites Quran 33:59, in which God instructs the wives of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and all believing women to don their outer robes to seem distinct in public and to avoid harm. Islam also confers property and income rights, as illustrated by the example of the Prophet's (PBUH) wife, who was an entrepreneur. Bhutto articulates the ideologies of feminism and Islam in this text. Feminism is clearly articulated in clauses 14 (i-xlii), 14 (iii-xliv), and 15 (i-xlv) of the text. Bhutto presents her insights on women and the veil, referencing Quranic scriptures.

In material processes, the roles of actors are predominantly attributed to Islam, the Quran, Bhutto herself, women, and the populace. The author indicates that Islamic principles require women to dress modestly, as articulated in material clauses 1 (i), 1 (iv), 3 (i-viii), and 4 (iv-xii); however, they do not specify any particular style of attire. Furthermore, the burqa or veil and the encompassing chador are tribal customs. In these paragraphs, Bhutto cites verses from the Quran that encourage individuals to cover themselves to avoid harm (The Quran 33:59). The excerpt illustrates liberal feminism, which seeks gender equality in the public domain.

(b). *Analysis of the Circumstances in Text B*

Table 4 enumerates the types of circumstances present in the text. The statistical analysis of the table indicates that the circumstance of location occurs with a frequency of 36 (41.38%) and the manner with a frequency of 22 (25.29%), both of which demonstrate higher values. The text outlines various circumstances: cause 12 (13.79%), accompaniment 5 (5.75%), angle 4 (4.58%), role 3 (3.45%), and contingency 1 (1.15%), presented in descending order. The application of role, matter, angle, and contingency is limited.

TABLE 4  
CIRCUMSTANCES IN TEXT B

Circumstances	Percentage	Frequency
Location	41.38%	36
Manner	25.29%	22
Cause	13.79%	12
Accompaniment	5.75%	5
Contingency	1.15%	1
Role	3.45%	3
Extent	0.00%	0
Matter	4.58%	4
Angle	4.58%	4
Total	100%	87

The frequent references to location, such as *in the traditional past, in the Quran, at the time of the Prophet, to Medina, at all times, around their body, fifteen hundred years ago, and between men and women*, alongside the manner of expression—*modestly, directly, specifically, still, surely, clearly, hardly*—suggest that Bhutto places significant emphasis on location, place, time, situation, manner, and surroundings.

C. *Transitivity Analysis of Text C*

(a). *Analysis of the Processes and Participants in Text C*

The sample extract C is located in Chapter 4 (page 103), titled "The Case of Pakistan" of the book. Linguistic analysis reveals that the sample extract has 12 complex phrases and 20 simplex clauses. The use of complex sentences signifies the writer's purpose to provide additional information and detail for clarity. The text has 20 processes, 31 participants, and 24 circumstances. Participants outnumber circumstances and processes. Tables 5 and 6 document the processes, participants, and situations. According to Table 5, the following are the processes involved in the text: material processes 13 (65%), mental 2 (10%), relational 4 (20%), and behavioral 1 (5%). Material processes outnumber relational and mental processes.

TABLE 5  
PROCESSES AND PARTICIPANTS IN TEXT C

Processes	Frequency (20)	%age (100)	Participants	Frequency (31)	%age (100)
Material	13	65%	Actor	9	29.03%
			Goal	9	29.03%
			Recipient	1	3.23%
			Client	0	0.00%
			Attribute	0	0.00%
Mental	2	10%	Range	0	0.00%
			Senser	1	3.23%
Relational	4	20%	Phenomenon	2	6.45%
			Carrier	3	9.68%
			Attribute	3	9.68%
			Token	0	0.00%
			Value	0	0.00%
			Possessor	1	3.23%
			Possessed	1	3.23%
Verbal	0	0.00%	Sayer	0	0.00%
			Verbiage	0	0.00%
			Receiver	0	0.00%
Behavioral	1	5%	Behaver	0	0.00%
			Behavior	1	3.23%
Existential	0	0.00%	Existent	0	0.00%

Participants in Table 5 show that Goal 9 (29.03%) possesses the highest proportion in terms of frequency and percentage. Other participants are as follows: actor 9 (29.03%), senser 1 (3.23%), phenomenon 2 (3.45%), carrier 3 (9.68%), attribute 3 (9.68%), possessor 1 (3.23%), possessed 1 (3.23%) and behavior 1 (3.23%).

The clauses primarily address the role of women in the Mughal Empire and their notable involvement in governmental affairs—the extract centers on women as the primary focus. The pluralistic nature of Akbar is evident in material clauses (2 (i-ii), 2 (ii-iii), and 2 (iii-iv)), where he functions as an actor participant. Material clause 3 (i-v) designates Akbar as

the actor who married women from prominent Hindu families to foster pluralism. Empress Noor Jehan was a significant figure in the Mughal Empire, participating in material clause 9 (i-xii). It refers to the empowerment of women within the Islamic state. Relational clauses 1 (i), 6 (i-ix), 8 (i-xi), and 8 (ii-xii) articulate the concepts of existence and ownership concerning women. They held a significant position during the Mughal rule. The influential role of women challenges the Western perspective that Islam fails to provide adequate rights to women. The extract illustrates liberal feminism, which seeks gender equality within the public domain.

(b). *Analysis of the Circumstances in Text C*

Incorporation of the predominant frequency and proportion of locational circumstances 14 (58.33%) indicates that the author acknowledges the significance of time and place in her narrative. Circumstance of manner 5 (20.83%) illustrates how specific events transpired. Other circumstances, namely cause 1 (4.17%), accompaniment 1 (4.17%), role 1 (4.17%), and extent 1 (4.17%), exhibit little frequency and percentage.

TABLE 6  
TYPES OF CIRCUMSTANCES IN TEXT C

Circumstances	Percentage	Frequency
Location	58.33%	14
Manner	20.83%	5
Cause	4.17%	1
Accompaniment	4.17%	1
Contingency	0.00%	0
Role	4.17%	1
Extent	8.33%	2
Matter	0.00%	0
Angle	0.00%	0
Total	100%	24

Circumstances constitute a component of the transitivity system within the framework of experience meaning. They typically provide further information within a clause. The contextual factors of location—specifically, (*in predominantly Hindu India, in the eyes of government and law, from leading Hindu families, during Akbar's reign, in poetry, politics, painting, and history, and in government, etc.*)—provide further insight into the significant status of women in India during this period, as well as their competencies in poetry, politics, and painting. The circumstances of manner (*through their husbands and fathers*) demonstrate how women exerted influence over their fathers and spouses. The circumstances of extent (*throughout the empire's lifetime, etc.*) demonstrate the significance of women throughout Akbar's rule. This signifies that processes, participants, and circumstances demonstrate the empowerment of women, dispelling the notion that Islam fails to grant women their rightful entitlements.

D. *Transitivity Analysis of Text D*

(a). *Analysis of the Processes in Text D*

Paragraph 21 exists in Chapter 4, Pages 119–120, of the book. An analysis of the text reveals that it comprises 15 complex sentences and 37 simplex sentences. Upon closer examination, it is revealed that Table 7 contains 39 processes and 56 participants, while Table 8 organizes 26 circumstances.

The material clauses involve three participants: the actor, the goal, and the attribute. Zia-ul-Haq, the dictator, serves as a significant participant in the extract. The material clauses (4 (i-ix), 5 (i-xiii), 9 (i-xxii), 10 (iii-xxvii), and 12 (i-xxx), among others) indicate that the paragraph focuses on the significant actions of the dictator. Material clauses detail the oppressive governance of the dictator who, as noted by Bhutto, morphed and mocked the constitution, thereby facilitating the rise of terrorism and the political Islamization of the state. The clauses outline the infringement of human rights via ISI to suppress ideological opponents. Mental clauses 3 (ii-vi) and 3 (iv-viii) illustrate Bhutto's internal state as she perceives the phenomenon and embraces the legacy of her father, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, to uphold his ideological position. The relational processes (3 (iii-vii), 4 (iv-xii), etc.) illustrate Bhutto's sense of patriotism and the festivities surrounding the collapse of PPP's government. The analysis of the text reveals traits of an iron lady in Bhutto's persona as she combated the inflictions of the then-dictator with an unflinching faith.

TABLE 7  
TYPES OF PROCESSES AND PARTICIPANTS IN TEXT D

Processes	Frequency (39)	%age (100)	Participants	Frequency (56)	%age (100)
Material	31	79.49%	Actor	14	25%
			Goal	26	46.42%
			Recipient	0	0.00%
			Client	0	0.00%
			Attribute	1	1.78%
			Range	0	0.00%
Mental	2	5.13%	Senser	2	3.57%
			Phenomenon	2	3.57%
Relational	5	12.82%	Carrier	3	5.36%
			Attribute	2	3.57%
			Token	2	3.57%
			Value	2	3.57%
			Possessor	0	0.00%
			Possessed	0	0.00%
			Sayer	1	1.78%
Verbal	1	2.56%	Verbiage	1	1.78%
			Receiver	0	0.00%
			Behavior	0	0.00%
Behavioral	0	0.00%	Behavior	0	0.00%
Existential	0	0.00%	Existent	0	0.00%

(b). *Analysis of the Circumstances in Text D*

According to Table 8, a formal examination of the text confirms that the circumstance of location 14 (53.85%) maintains the highest frequency and percentage in the text. Circumstance of role 5 (19.24%), manner 3 (11.54%), cause 2 (7.69%), and accompaniment 2 (7.69%) are among other circumstances that are outnumbered by circumstances of location.

TABLE 8  
TYPES OF CIRCUMSTANCES IN TEXT D

Circumstances	Percentage	Frequency
Location	53.85%	14
Manner	11.54%	3
Cause	7.69%	2
Accompaniment	7.69%	2
Contingency	0.00%	0
Role	19.24%	5
Extent	0.00%	0
Matter	0.00%	0
Angle	0.00%	0
Total	100%	26

E. *Transitivity Analysis of Text E*

(a). *Analysis of the Processes and Participants in Text E*

A detailed analysis of text 32 reveals 22 complex sentences (clauses) and 76 simplex clauses, which encompass 58 processes and 88 participants outlined in Table 9. Material processes 31 (53.45%) outnumber mental processes 12 (20.69%) and relational processes 12 (20.69%) at the same time, while verbal processes 3 (5.17%) are the lowest in frequency.

TABLE 9  
TYPES OF PROCESSES AND PARTICIPANTS IN TEXT E

Processes	Frequency (58)	%age (100)	Participants	Frequency (88)	%age (100)
Material	31	53.45%	Actor	14	15.91%
			Goal	23	26.14%
			Recipient	1	1.14%
			Client	0	0.00%
			Attribute	0	0.00%
			Range	1	1.14%
Mental	12	20.69%	Senser	12	13.64%
			Phenomenon	11	12.05%
Relational	12	20.69%	Carrier	9	10.23%
			Attribute	9	10.23%
			Token	0	0.00%
			Value	0	0.00%
			Possessor	2	2.27%
			Possessed	2	2.27%
Verbal	3	5.17%	Sayer	1	1.12%
			Verbiage	3	3.41%
			Receiver	0	0.00%
Behavioral	0	0.00%	Behaver	0	0.00%
			Behavior	0	0.00%
Existential	0	0.00%	Existent	0	0.00%

Bhutto serves as a dominant actor in material clauses (1 (i), 4 (ii-xiii), 12 (i-xxix), 15 (i-xlii), 18 (ii-xlvi), and 21 (v-lxxiv), etc.) as represented by the first-person singular (I), first-person plural (We), and possessive adjective (my). It involves both her individual and collective efforts. She observes that, in contrast to Pakistanis, Americans possess a strong awareness of their fundamental democratic rights. The role of the actor participant has been designated to women in clauses (14 (i-xl), 15 (i-xlii), 16 (i-xliii), and 21 (iii-lxxii), among others), where she underscores the equality of rights across genders by examining the various contributions of women such as Fatimah Jinnah, Nusrat Bhutto, and Mrs Liaquat Ali Khan. Bhutto asserts that democracy fosters moderation, while gender equality promotes peace. Mental clauses represent conscious processes that encode the meanings associated with feelings and thoughts, reflecting the cognitive activities of the participants. Clauses (2 (ii-v), 3 (i-ix), 7 (i-xix), 8 (i-xxi), and 13 (ii-xxxvi), among others) articulate Bhutto's perceptions, cognitive assessments, and desires regarding the democratic environment in America and Pakistan. Their work conveys the experiences related to the challenges faced by women in both countries. Bhutto recognizes women's freedom to select their roles as either career women or homemakers.

In relational clauses, women serve as carrier participants in clauses 12 (ii-xxx), 13 (vi-xxxix), 17 (i-xliv), and 19 (ii-xlix). The clauses indicate that Islam grants significant rights to women; however, at that time, Pakistan was not adhering to these teachings regarding women's rights. Women participating as carriers should have the right to choose between homemaking and career seeking. Women also hold a significant role in clause 12 (iii-xxxii), where their importance is emphasized through the example of the Prophet's (PBUH) wife, who was both the first convert to Islam and a career woman. It suggests that Islam does not restrict women solely to domestic roles. Bhutto assumes the carrier role in clause 11 (i-xxvii) and contributes her experience within a democratic context. Verbal process 12 (vi-xxxiv) articulates the significance of women, specifically mothers, on the Day of Judgment. The extract lucidly demonstrates the ideology of feminism.

(b). *Analysis of the Circumstances in Text E*

A thorough analysis of the text reveals a total of 46 circumstances. Among these circumstances, location circumstances account for 30 (65.22%) of the majority. The circumstances of manner and cause exhibit an identical number and frequency, i.e., 4 (8.69%). Likewise, accompaniment and role exhibit identical frequency and proportion, specifically 3 (7.32%). The circumstance of contingency 2 (6.52%) exhibits the lowest proportion within the text.

TABLE 10  
TYPES OF CIRCUMSTANCES IN TEXT E

Circumstances	Percentage	Frequency
Location	65.22%	30
Manner	8.69%	4
Cause	8.69%	4
Accompaniment	7.32%	3
Contingency	6.52%	2
Role	7.32%	3
Extent	0.00%	0
Matter	0.00%	0
Angle	0.00%	0
Total	100%	46

Circumstances of location (*in the fall of 1969, under a military dictatorship, in America, between two worlds, the world of dictatorship and the world of democracy, in my life, in democracy, on women's rights, women's choices and women's careers, and in the eyes of God, etc.*) offer additional perspectives on the current conditions regarding democracy and women's rights in both Pakistan and America, considering both spatial and temporal dimensions. The dignification of women in Islam has been outlined in circumstances of manner (*through his beloved daughter Fatima, largely, of course, etc.*). Details regarding the public's fearlessness in asserting their rights in America, the partial significance of women, and the limited opportunities available to women in Pakistan have been presented within the context of circumstances of accompaniment (*without fear, with much importance, and with too few opportunities for women in general, etc.*).

## V. DISCUSSION

This study aimed to uncover how linguistic choices—specifically, transitivity patterns—reflect Benazir Bhutto's ideological positioning regarding Islam, democracy, and women's rights. The five textual extracts drawn from *Reconciliation: Islam, Democracy and the West* offer rich evidence of how Bhutto constructs a discourse of liberal feminism grounded in Islamic principles and democratic values. The study discovered 121 complex clauses and 317 simplex clauses. The frequent use of complex clauses suggests that she articulated her ideological position in a detailed manner. There are 299 processes, 459 participants, and 218 circumstances in the text. The text employs all types of processes. The analysis highlights Bhutto's extensive knowledge regarding the ideological conflict under examination. The experiential study of the text demonstrated a dominant use of material processes (174, 61.26%), reflecting her action-oriented nature. This indicates her commitment to taking concrete measures for women, as well as fostering understanding between the East and the West. Bhutto also employed all participant types except for the client, which suggests her awareness of the diverse roles different entities play. Similarly, all circumstance types were represented, paralleling the range of participants. A synthesis of the quantitative and qualitative analyses produced the following findings.

### A. Ideological Engagement Through Material Processes

The predominance of material processes (61.26% of all processes) across all extracts underscores Bhutto's action-oriented rhetorical style. Through material clauses, she positions Islam as an active force in conferring rights upon women, and herself and other Muslim women as agents of political and social change. In Texts A and B, for instance, actions associated with women, such as managing businesses, embracing Islam, and participating in public life, disrupt Western narratives of Islamic oppression. This materialization of rights not only asserts the practical agency of Muslim women but also legitimizes Islam as inherently compatible with modern liberal values.

### B. Experiential Meaning and Feminist Voice

Bhutto's strategic use of mental and relational processes contributes to an experiential narrative that highlights both cognitive and descriptive aspects of her feminist stance. Mental clauses in Texts B and E, where Bhutto and women are represented as "sensing" entities (e.g., believing, recognizing, discerning), foreground women's capacity for intellectual and emotional agency. This dimension complements material actions and positions women as thinkers, not merely actors—a substantial liberal feminist claim.

Relational processes, used to assign attributes and identities (e.g., "women as business owners" or "the Prophet's wife as the first convert"), further strengthen Bhutto's representation of women as integral and respectable figures in Islamic history. Such clauses serve to reframe historical Islamic narratives in a way that legitimizes contemporary calls for gender equality.

### C. Circumstances as Ideological Anchors

The frequency and distribution of circumstantial elements, particularly of location and manner, reinforce the spatio-temporal contextualization of feminist and political ideologies. Circumstances like "in the eyes of God", "under dictatorship", or "in Islamic texts" root Bhutto's arguments in religious, historical, and socio-political realities. They allow her to draw clear distinctions between pre-Islamic, Islamic, and Western treatments of women, thus bolstering her reconciliationist thesis.

Moreover, the consistent reference to temporal and spatial settings creates a bridge between historical Islamic ideals and present-day democratic aspirations. These references help situate feminism not as a Western import but as a historically embedded Islamic value system.

### D. Liberal Feminism in an Islamic Framework

The findings strongly suggest that Bhutto advocates a liberal feminist ideology rooted in Islamic epistemology. Rather than opposing religion and feminism, she integrates the two, emphasizing shared values such as dignity, equality, and justice. Texts C and D are especially illustrative: while recounting women's roles during the Mughal Empire or under General Zia's regime, Bhutto underscores both historical instances of female empowerment and contemporary political struggles. These narratives act as counter-discourses to dominant Western representations of Islam as inherently patriarchal and undemocratic.

### E. Political Identity and Discursive Power

Bhutto's persona emerges powerfully through first-person material and mental processes. In Text E, where she narrates her experiences as a woman leader, she positions herself simultaneously as a product of democratic values and as a reformer committed to harmonizing those values with Islamic beliefs. Her use of verbal processes (e.g., "said", "articulated", "explained") highlights her role as a spokesperson for reconciliation, democracy, and women's rights.

This self-representation resonates with the interpersonal and textual metafunctions of SFL, though not explicitly analyzed here. Even so, these dimensions subtly support the study's claim that Bhutto's transitivity choices construct a coherent ideological discourse aimed at societal transformation.

## VI. CONCLUSION

The study confirms that transitivity analysis, as a method within the Systemic Functional Grammar framework, effectively reveals the linguistic embodiment of ideology in political texts. It also validates the argument that ideology—especially feminist ideology—is linguistically constructed through process types, participant roles, and contextual settings. Bhutto's discourse disrupts simplistic binaries like Islam vs. West or patriarchy vs. feminism. Her nuanced, linguistically articulated stance invites a rethinking of Islamic feminism not as a derivative movement but as an indigenous ideology with both historical depth and contemporary relevance.

The study located a significant feminist perspective in the text. Bhutto provides evidence regarding the status of women before and after the advent of Islam by citing pertinent examples from Islamic texts. She also references the contributions of women politicians who actively participated in politics and combated dictatorship. Islam and democracy are mutually inclusive, as both grant women rights across various aspects of life. The transitivity analysis of the text revealed the ideology of feminism broadly, with a specific focus on liberal feminism.

## APPENDIX

Data used for this study is available here: [in this link](#).

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