

LEXICAL CHOICES IN UNVEILING THE CULTURAL IDENTITIES AND POWER
DYNAMICS IN MANTO'S THE NEW CONSTITUTION

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Abstract

The exceptional interplay of language, cultural identities and power dynamics is accentuated in various narratives to depict the true socio-cultural picture of the society particularly in the colonial and post-colonial literature. Sadat Hasan Manto has always unraveled the power dynamics of colonial India, giving vent to the marginalized voices but in combining all these unique features, he never forgets to make the cultural identity eternal through his exceptional masterpieces. The New Constitution is one of his unprecedented works in which he has assimilated the cultural identity and power dynamics by showing it through a lay man, Mangu who is a Tongawala. The deliberate linguistic variations in the narrative of the story has heightened the depiction of socio-cultural contexts with an implicit critique of the prevailing power structures. This study aims to reveal all the linguistic choices which have delineated cultural identity and power dynamics disguised in the language of the story. The theoretical lens of Labov's theory of linguistic variation has been employed to examine the linguistic choices of Manto's The New Constitution which probes the cultural positioning, social positions, social status and cultural backgrounds of the characters and Foucault's lens of power dynamics and assertive resistance enriched the unveiling of the colonial social stratification and power dynamics that develops from the hierarchy between English and indigenous languages. in the story. The blending of these two theories will surely highlight language use to unveil cultural identity and power dynamics in the colonial discourses with an innovative and unique framework.

Key words: Cultural identity, prevailing power dynamics, lexical choices, colonial era, social stratification, and, indigenous identity constructs.

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INTRODUCTION

Colonialism is discerned as a nightmare by majority of the colonized indigenous people in which hegemony and cultural identity distortion are the indispensable outcomes of colonialism and it gives birth to the binary oppositions where colonizers despite being foreigners and invaders are recognized as "Us", superior, enlightened, etc. while the indigenous people are labeled as "other", exotic, savages, primitive, etc. in the colonial and post-colonial era. These binary oppositions spark many controversies and debates, such as cultural identity and power dynamics. When colonizers endeavor to impose their views, they have to face the music in the form of resistance and counter-narratives by various post-colonial writers who use the magic of their pens and canvases to deconstruct the western narrative of the East as savages, aliens, and inferiors. They challenge the notions of exoticism and western stereotypes and portray the true cultural identity and unveil the prevailing power structures of the society with the power of language and literature. The fabula and plots presented in the remarkable works of the colonial and post-colonial authors depict the hegemony of the colonizers with their distinguished linguistic choices and unmask the true cultural identity and how rich their culture is! It's the power of discourse to bring such topics to light to make them perpetual and eternal in the pages of their masterpieces. *"Linguistic hegemony is not merely about power; it is about who owns the norms of discourse."* (Kachru, 1992, p. 56)

Saadat Hasan Manto is a prolific and audacious Urdu writer of the colonial and post-colonial era. He is considered to be a pillar of the Urdu south Asian literature who penned many turbulent historical moments and individuals going through these devastating conditions in British rule. He explored the themes of identity, partition, marginalized voices, human havoc, violence, defoliation, etc. He even portrayed the theme of sexuality in his works that was taboo at that time but he lion-heartedly faced all the backlash and continued his work with devotion. *"Manto's unabashed and brutal realism has shattered countless beliefs, creeds and concepts and has always dared to touch the flame of life with bare fingers."* (Rekhta, para. 4) He composed 270 short stories, many film dialogues and stories, more than 100 plays and many sketches of personalities in his literary career of almost 20 years. Manto gives vent to the marginalized voice of the colonized Indians who were treated so brutally in the colonized era as if they were the subjects of the colonizers. They were deprived of their basic human rights and were not given all the economic perks. The cultural identity of the indigenous people was also at stake in the power dynamics of the subjugated India. "Naya Qanoon" is one of such stories that probed the marginalized people of the subcontinent and their cultural identity in the power structures of the colonized "Hindustan". It is translated as "The New Constitution" by Khalid Hasan. Manto has not fallen a prey to the apparent sparkle of the West and wants an independent country where the indigenous identity and culture flourish and this desire is embedded in this short story using incredible linguistic choices. This story explores the colonial era of the subcontinent which is teemed with the stratification of class and authority where power is a societal and discursive construct which is portrayed with the fluidity of language. The use of the words like "gora", "tongawala", "ustad", etc. is an endeavor of Manto to explore power dynamics and cultural identity and to eternalize the indigenous words and language by incorporating Urdu words into English. *"When English travels, it takes on the hues and shades of the cultures it encounters."* (Kachru, 2005, p. 375). This study recognizes the research gap of lack of analyzing linguistic choices in the story, "The New Constitution" to accentuate the cultural identity of the masses of the subjugated

subcontinent people in the diversified power structures where the colonizers were given every privilege and the commoners were impoverished of all the leverages. Their destitution through linguistic choices and code mixing is probed in this study using the theoretical lens of William Labov and Michael Foucault. William Labov presented the theory of social stratification in which he discusses that the language variations depend on the social class and is influenced by a number of factors such as occupation, education, income, etc. He argues in his book, "The Social Stratification of English in New York City," (1966) as; "Individuals are influenced by the linguistic norms of their social networks, which can either inhibit or promote linguistic change." (Labov, 1966, p. 321). The theoretical framework of Foucault has also been employed to show how power is asserted using language and how language unveils the power dynamics. Foucault's theory also probes how resistance comes through language because according to Foucault, "Where there is power, there is resistance." (Foucault, 1978, p. 95). The analysis is enriched with these two theories to abridge the research gap.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- 1) How cultural identities are delineated using various linguistic choices in the colonial India?
- 2) How lexical choices depict the prevailing power structures of the subjugated subcontinent?

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literary prospects of the short story *The New Constitution* have been inquired in innumerable research papers probing how it demonstrates the disparity and depravity of the colonial era. The pragmatic analysis of *The New Constitution* has been effectuated to highlight various pragmatic aspects mentioned by the author. The analysis of linguistic choices to shape cultural identity and to unveil power dynamics is still a stone which needs to be turned to add to the existing ocean of research on this magnificent masterpiece of Sadaat Hasan Manto. The literature review of this study mainly focuses on two aspects: 1) the study of works that analyze thematic interplay and linguistics analysis of the story, and 2) the application of Labov's and Foucault's theory in order to lay a solid foundation for the current study.

William Labov (1966) research establishes a crucial framework for understanding how language reflects social stratification. His study on linguistic variations in New York City demonstrates the link between speech patterns and class distinctions, showcasing how society influences individual language use. When Labov's theory is applied to Manto's *The New Constitution*, characters are seen modifying their language—switching between English, Urdu, and Hindustani—depending on the context and audience. This linguistic flexibility underscores the protagonist's aspirations, internal conflicts, and the broader colonial environment shaping his identity. Labov emphasizes that linguistic variation is inherently connected to social hierarchy, asserting that "the structure of linguistic change is not independent of social forces but is shaped by them" (Labov, 1966). His work offers a vital lens for analyzing how Manto's language choices mirror socioeconomic divisions and cultural negotiations.

Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin (2002) argue that linguistic hybridity serves as both a marker of resistance and a marker of subjugation in postcolonial identity formation. It illustrates how colonial subjects often navigate between languages, resulting in new forms of cultural expression. Manto's characters oscillate between English and Urdu in *The New Constitution*, reflecting their cultural displacement. As the authors state, "Language

becomes the medium through which a hierarchical structure of power is perpetuated, and the medium through which conceptions of 'truth,' 'order,' and 'reality' become established" (Ashcroft et al., 2002, p.7). This study contextualizes Manto's depiction of colonial subjects and their fractured identities through an analysis of his linguistic strategies.

Rahman (1996) reveals the complex connections between language and politics in South Asia while revealing how linguistic choices help construct and shape cultural identities. Through his research he reveals that British colonial rule shaped Urdu and Hindi development which led to linguistic distinctions that spread through literature and everyday usage. Manto presents multiple languages in *The New Constitution* to illustrate the struggles of power and identity through his use of English and Urdu and Hindustani. Rahman examines Manto's linguistic choices from a socio-political perspective which links the writer's language choices to the wider discourses of cultural hybridity and colonial opposition. "*The interaction between languages in colonial South Asia was not simply a matter of communication but of identity, power, and resistance*" (Rahman, 1996, p. 45).

The research of Singh (2018) demonstrates the difficulties of Manto's *The New Constitution* translation from Urdu to English as both linguistic and cultural nuances experience shifts in translation. The analysis suggests translation operates beyond language boundaries since it maintains or misinterprets cultural elements found in source materials. According to Singh the linguistic hybridity and humorous elements as well as ironic aspects of Manto's writing tend to fade during translation resulting in diminished representations of the socio-political content. "*In translating Manto's humor and wordplay, much of the cultural specificity is inevitably compromised, impacting the story's deeper meaning*" (Singh, 2018, p. 119). This research emphasizes that the analysis of literature for cultural identity construction requires maintaining linguistic authenticity.

Sheikh & Saleem (2021) elucidate the conventional implicatures in Manto's *The New Constitution*. The research design of the study includes defining various terms like pragmatics, implicatures, kinds of pragmatics, figures of speech; irony, idioms, allegory, personification, etc. and then the research accentuates the list of all of them and provides a table of the frequency and percentage of all the conventional implicatures. The researchers argue that the writer has deliberately used all these conventional implicatures and rhetorical devices to heighten the intended meanings and to highlight "*the closure that very clear intended meanings related to imperialism and colonization of British Emperors on India are hidden in the lexicons of the story.*" (p. 8) Various rhetorical figures have been probed to show how Manto communicates more than what is said.

Rizwan (2024) highlights the strong character of Ustad Mangu who defies the colonial hegemony and tries to give voice to the marginalized indigenous people of the subcontinent. The resistance, revolt, and rebellion against the colonial set up where cultural identity was at stake in the hands of the cultural hegemony. The researcher has employed the post-colonial theory of Harlow (1987) to analyze the text. The research emphasizes the character of Ustad Mangu as an unyielding opposition against the colonial authority. The study highlights how Manto "*emphasizes the colonized's repressed voices, challenging the dominance of colonial language while upholding their innate dignity and humanity*" (p. 9) The depiction of Ustad Mangu's character throughout the story is unparalleled and unprecedented.

Nawaz, Farida, & Fazal Dad, (2024) critically analyze *The New Constitution* as a colonial tragedy by highlighting different parts of the text and solidifying their arguments with the textual citations. The aim of the paper is to accentuate "*The New Constitution is*

all about the dream of freedom, hatred, rebellion, revolution, collapse, chaos and confusion of peoples of the subcontinent that suffers at the hand of the British Raj arrived along with their socio-cultural and political system” (p. 5). The study highlights how Manto has successfully portrayed the pangs of the colonized Indians where the people with the so-called slogan of "Burden of the White" treat the people under their thumbs. The conditions of the Hindustani people are equal to that of a slave or even worse. Ustad Mangu who retaliates a little bit has to face the consequences in the form of prison and thus, the story ends on a tragic note but with a hope that people will continue to revolt until the fruit of freedom is tasted.

AbdullaAlmaarroof, Hamid, & Abdullah, 2022, apply the Foucauldian power dynamics theory on the renowned Shakespearean play, *King Lear*. The researchers have defined the power dynamics theory of the recognized postmodernist philosopher M. Foucault. The study delves deep into the Foucauldian theory and then highlights the power structures of the play. According to Walzer (2013), the power is asserted in the play from the opening scene of division to the final tragic scene of the play. The study quotes the words of the okay and then argues how they convey power dynamics.

In a nutshell, the literature review of the mentioned brochures clearly hints at the ample space to analyze how deliberate linguistic choices contribute to cultural identity and power dynamics portrayed in the story.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study aims to employ the theoretical framework of the renowned sociolinguist, William Labov (1966) of social stratification i.e. how language varies from class to class under diversified factors that shape the cultural identity along with the theoretical perspective of M. Foucault which he has suggested in his different books about power dynamics as asserted by language. The unique blend of these two theories has aggrandized the theoretical foundation of the study.

William Labov (1966) examined linguistic variation as a social phenomenon, highlighting the systematic connection between language and class structures. His study, *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*, illustrated that various linguistic features—including pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary—are associated with socio-economic status, education, and group identity. Labov posits that linguistic variation is not arbitrary but is intricately woven into social hierarchies, as individuals modify their speech patterns in response to their social aspirations, identities, and environmental factors. Labov's theory plays a vital role in the analysis of *The New Constitution*, as Manto's characters navigate a colonial environment where English, Urdu, and Hindustani represent indicators of class, power, and identity. The protagonist's changes in language illustrate desires for social advancement and the conflict between colonial and native cultural identities. Utilizing Labov's framework, this analysis explores how language serves as a means of social positioning and resistance, illuminating the profound cultural ramifications of linguistic choices within the text.

Foucault (1976) probes the irrefutable role of language in upholding the power dynamics in discourse. According to him, language has the power to construct, reinforce and challenge the prevailing power structures of the society through discourse. Analyzing discourse can accentuate how discourses create various social realities and define the "truth" which is considered true worldwide no matter if it coincides with the reality or not. Discourses define behavior, identities, norms, traditions and knowledge. Foucault (1975) alleges power as a social and discursive phenomenon which is not centralized i.e. not

owned by the government but it is conveyed through everyday language, the medium of discourse. It shapes knowledge and it is not just repressive rather it is productive too i.e. power formulates social identities, norms, culture and social structures. Foucault's genealogical method (1975) how power forges historical events. He argues that language evolves under the influence of power structures, such as globalization, colonialism, and digital media to probe power shifts and what is considered "politically correct" with various linguistic shifts. Foucault (1976) puts forward the bio-power of language and linguistic identities i.e. how power shapes gendered language, identity, naming, and surveillance. Foucault (2000) argues that power gives birth to linguistic norms, and it institutionalizes knowledge about language i.e. grammar, dictionaries, etc. are under the influence of power. In the same work, he highlights the resistance in the prevailing power structures through language use. He highlights how language builds counter-narratives.

This model is applied to parse how English unravels educational, economic and political supremacy. This model also probes the linguistic hegemony in the global discourses. This theoretical framework endows the effective foundation for this study. Language is closely linked to power dynamics and political beliefs. The manner in which language is utilized, established, and governed often mirrors larger socio-political structures. Likewise, linguistic dominance shows how English prevails in global discourse, reinforcing economic and political authority. In *The New Constitution*, Manto illustrates linguistic transformations that reveal colonial relations where English stands for power, while Urdu and Hindustani signify resistance and cultural heritage. Language in Manto's work serves as a site for power conflicts, identity development, and political oppression.

ANALYSIS

The manifestation of cultural identity and unraveling the preponderant power dynamics of the colonial era with "gora raj" is the hallmark of the short story, and Manto has meticulously chosen such lexical choices that give vent to the tumultuous condition of the marginalized and subaltern inhabitants of the subcontinent. This study attenuates these two main themes of the Manto's masterpiece with deliberate lexical choices as a particular spotlight. The story is a testament to the miserable agony of the Indians and Manto's unparalleled portrayal.

UNRAVELING LANGUAGE USE TO EXPLORE CULTURAL IDENTITY CONSTRUCTS

Saadat Hasan Manto's *The New Constitution* presents a remarkable narrative that illustrates the intricacies of colonial power dynamics and cultural identity through intentional choices in language. Analyzing Manto's linguistic approach—especially regarding word choices, code-switching, and the narrative tone—reveals how these language elements influence the socio-political context of the story. The linguistic tactics utilized in the narrative serve not just as a way to communicate but also as mechanisms for resistance, domination, and identity construction. This examination relies on *Labov's Theory of Social Stratification*, and *Foucault's Concepts of Power Dynamics* to explore how language in *The New Constitution* exposes cultural identities and conflicts over power in colonial India.

William Labov's theory on the social stratification of language illustrates how variations in language are closely tied to class and social mobility. In *The New Constitution*, the main character, *Ustad Mangu*, is a tongawala—a member of the working class—whose speech reflects his socio-economic status. His dialogue is characterized by straightforward, colloquial Hindustani, showcasing his lower-class heritage and cultural identity. "*Ustad Mangu had intense hatred for the British. He used to tell his friends that he hated them*

because they were ruling Hindustan against the will of the Indians and missed no opportunity to commit atrocities.” (Manto)

In this context, Manto’s intentional choice of “Hindustan” instead of “India” emphasizes a nationalist viewpoint, aligning with Labov’s claim that linguistic variation serves as a marker of identity. This term represents an indigenous perspective, standing in opposition to terminology imposed by the British. Additionally, Mangu’s interpretation of the “New Constitution” is influenced by colonial discourse. His enthusiasm is apparent in his exclamation: “Give me your hand, I have great news for you that will not only bring you immense joy but might even make hair grow back on your bald skull.” (Manto)

Mangu’s heightened excitement reveals his linguistic innocence, indicating how the lower classes were marginalized from official conversations regarding governance. The irony present in his remarks highlights his limited understanding of its true significance, demonstrating that access to English and legal language is typically reserved for the elite. Mangu navigates a linguistic environment where English is perceived as a marker of status and power. His confusion regarding the New Constitution reflects the fact that, despite the prominence of English in the colony, it remains an inaccessible and oppressive force for the masses. “It is said that from 1 April, there’s going to be a new constitution. Will that change everything?” (Manto, p. 1)

Mangu’s inquiry illustrates the false sense of socio-political change, stemming from the linguistic and cultural divide between colonizers and the colonized. His assumption that the new constitution would result in freedom is a direct outcome of the colonial discourse he has internalized without fully grasping its consequences. When he is confronted by the gora, his realization reinforces Kachru’s critique of linguistic imperialism, where English remains a barrier, limiting the lower classes’ access to genuine political transformation. Manto skillfully weaves themes of resistance and cultural identity into his choice of language. The frequent inclusion of Hindustani and Urdu words in the English translation of the story reflects a purposeful intention to preserve the cultural essence of the indigenous people.

“The gora, remembering their last encounter, had decided not to be awed by the barrel-chested Ustad Mangu... This encouraging thought made him advance towards the tonga. With his swagger stick, he motioned Ustad Mangu to get down.” (Manto, p. 3). Here, the use of “gora” in place of “British man” or “Englishman” acts as a cultural and linguistic signifier, strengthening a native resistance to colonial language. Mangu’s defiance escalates when he responds physically, shouting:

“The same cockiness even on 1 April! Well, sonny boy, it is our Raj now.” (Manto). Mangu’s use of language challenges the established colonial hierarchies—he asserts his claim over India by stating “our Raj,” undermining the very narrative that has historically subjugated him.

UNVEILING POWER DYNAMICS IN MANTO’S *THE NEW CONSTITUTION*

Foucauldian power theory acquaints how language and words assert power, construct and reinforce power structures. He accentuates how the prevailing power structures are challenged through discourse and language in order to construct and define social realities, identities, behaviors, norms and knowledge. Language defines “truth”, and political language shifts. All these earmarks are the Hallmark of *The New Constitution* through deliberate linguistic and lexical choices. This study aims to unveil all these features in Manto’s meticulously composed masterpiece.

The story revolves around Ustad Mangu who is a tongawala. The word "tongawala" shows that he must have a low status in social hierarchy which is negated in the same line by the words "considered" and "man of great wisdom" portrays Ustad Mangu as a knowledgeable person because he has the gift of gab and he can unfold a wide range of topics from politics to that of a lay man handily. These lexical choices clearly show that the "truth" and knowledge are socially constructed and discourse can endow power and knowledge even to a lay man and everyone has to accept it because the discourse is clearly demonstrating a lay man as a knowledgeable person. Although the new line clears all the doubts about Ustad Mangu's education and declares that he has never been to school and hasn't even seen the face of any formal academic institute but still he is a knowledgeable person as his friends and social circle considers him "man of great wisdom". The content of the story constructs the power of education and delineates education as a source of power by calling Ustad Mangu as a "cipher" in "academic terms". Cipher means zero i.e. zero formal knowledge and the lexeme "academic terms" openly professes the idea of knowledge and education are the means of power because being an illiterate person, Ustad Mangu has been declared cipher i.e. zero. The lexical choice of "academic terms" defines the basis of knowledge, power and intelligence which is owed to education and academic institutes. Without formal education, a person is a "cipher", zero, nothing, and nonentity and thus the determinant of wisdom, and knowledge is education. Manto has stowed folk wisdom vs. formal institutional knowledge when he uses the terms "adda" and "versatility" i.e. he has used the "counter-discourse" (Terdiman, 1985). The counter-discourse is the one that challenges the set norms and ideologies of the power structures. Apparently, institutional knowledge and education are considered as the real knowledge worldwide but this notion is negated by Manto when he positions street wisdom against formal education. "Adda" is the place which is deciding that Ustad Mangu is a knowledgeable person because he has "versatility" in the worldly affairs and he can speak fluently about them and no one in the "adda" argues about his source of knowledge. It's not just a counter-discourse, it's "adda" vs. "academic institutes", "folk street wisdom" vs. "Academic intelligence", and "colonizer" vs. "colonized" too. Manto defies the superior notion of education being the basis of knowledge and power. He challenges the set political portrayal of colonizers in which they depict the colonized people as savages, primitives, illiterate, etc. to create power structures and hierarchies as depicted by Said (1978). He (1978) depicts the picture of the East drawn by the western literature and scholars which leads to power imbalance and generating derogatory stereotypes of the colonized. Manto has questioned this set "truth" by portraying "adda" as the source of diminishing this notion of educational supremacy by declaring Ustad Mangu as a well-versed man.

One of the professes of the Foucault is that power brings forth knowledge and knowledge fortifies power. Ustad Mangu who is considered to be a very knowledgeable and wise man, has the power to uphold his point and shape the opinions of his community and social circle. According to Foucault (1978), power flows outside the official channels and one of the sources of it is rumors. This unofficial flow of power is depicted by the story with the word "rumor". Ustad Mangu overhears a rumor about the possible outbreak of the war in Spain and the source of his knowledge is one of his "fares" i.e. the passengers he is carrying in his tonga. This shows how knowledge and information is transmitted through various informal and unofficial networks using the words; "rumor" and "fares". Ustad Mangu designates himself as the oracle of knowledge and professes the "rumor" in a very authoritative and assertive language. He promulgates the "rumor" with absolute certainty

with the word "will see" while informing his friend, Chaudhry Gama, about the possible war in Spain. Although the news is not confirmed yet, Ustad Mangu informs it with certitude.

Said (1978) introduces the concept of "imagined geographies" in which the West depicts the East and colonies as the homogeneous entities with limited knowledge of the West and limited geographic awareness in the subjugated subcontinent. This phenomenon is manifested by Manto in the story with the lexeme "vilayat". Chaudhry Gama asks Ustad Mangu about the geographic location of Spain and instead of explaining the location of Spain he simply defined Spain's locale with the word, "vilayat", thus introducing the concept of colonial discourse in one word where the colonized people consider the West as one undifferentiated, unified and monolithic entity as illustrated by Said (1978). Language is a tool of unraveling colonial power and linguistic hegemony. It is unveiled in the story with the words "gora soldiers" and "British". These words are the linguistic markers that show the racial discourse in the colonial era that fueled the hatred in the hearts of the politically considered plebians i.e. the colonized. The colonizers inflame the hatred by calling themselves superior, privileged, entitled, and elite who have every right to rule the poor colonized. This racial discrimination and inferior behavior with the colonized created abhorrence which is portrayed with the hatred of Ustad Mangu. He is the archetype of the colonized and the reason for the hatred is the immoral and unethical behavior of the "British" and "gora soldiers".

Foucault (1975) argues that the legal discourse is a mechanism of action in which laws shape reality and define "truth". In the story, the legal discourse and its power is depicted with the idea that a new constitution will be enforced from 1st April with the passive voice "it is said" reflecting that power operates through anonymous sources and authorities. This announcement excited the people of the subcontinent who believe in the power of the law and have a trifling hope that law might protect them and their rights because law has the power. The use of the words "they say" while describing the new constitution again hints at the anonymous source of power and portrays power as diffused and hidden. The power hierarchy is depicted with the lexical choice "The Indians will be free" and the source is "they" i.e. anonymous. These words "will be free" represent the top-down hierarchical power structure showing that freedom will be granted to the marginalized by the colonizers in the upper level of the power hierarchy. The subjugated people are usually skeptic about the equality that power brings and the skepticism is delineated with the word "interest" when the colonized ask about their interest, will it be safeguarded by the new constitution or not? Law favors the powerful elite who design them, everyone knows and no one knows whether they will get their due rights and interests or not. Manto uses the exaggerated words and language to ignite hope, positivity and expectations among the masses with the declaration of the coming new constitution because political power structures rely on various rhetoric rather than the evident reality. "Immense joy" and "hair grow back" on the "bald skull" shows how the flowers of hope bloom in the desert just through law and new constitution that people start hoping even for the impossible things i.e. "freedom" and "interest" forgetting that these will be granted i.e. the political power structures create a new illusion, mirage and deception in the hearts of the colonized through the law. The text of the story is a counter narrative which gives voice to the colonized who are hopeful for the possible bright future.

The story contrasts Ustad Mangu's informal speech with the barristers' legal jargon who are the "fares" of Ustad Mangu and he overhears their conversation using the words;

"section II", "Act", "political angel", "no federation" etc., although Mangu couldn't make much sense of their conversation but he realized that the complexity of the legal language reflects the complexity is a form of power as well which is portrayed by using legal jargon. The commoners are unable to comprehend the legal jargon which implies that law excludes the masses and is only for the elites and authoritative lawyers who can apprehend what the law is!! The legal jargon is a sort of authoritative language which constructs "truth" as the fares of Ustad Mangu are constructing truth in Mangu's mind and shaping the public perception about the new constitution. Thus, legal jargon reinforces the power and knowledge cycle of Foucault (1975). The barristers are hoping for the glistening future for the poor colonized. They use the words like "raised my hopes", "new openings", reduction in ... unemployed graduates" etc. evince the power shifts that enunciate with the new constitution and how the ruling class raise hopes and shape beliefs in various systemic changes, but who knows whether it's true or just a politically created "truth" and illusion.

Foucault (1980) argues that the opinion of the masses was constantly changing as they were listening a lot "both for and against" the new constitution because the influential people have the power to shape public opinion. Ustad Mangu's viewpoint was also under the influence of his "fares" and his fellows of "adda". The author used the lexemes "usher" and metaphor "soothe his heart" to highlight how the public perceptions are shaped and what are the emotional rejoinder to power through language. Foucault (1975) discusses the panopticism in which the people present themselves when they are being watched. This panopticism leads to self-discipline, self-regulation, and surveillance which is reflected in the language uses as well. This is depicted in the story when the people start counting days to receive the new power change and to relish its leverages, though they don't really know what the new constitution is going to be and how the prevailing power structures will be modified after it? The language use with the lexemes "thirty-one days of March", "drew to a close", "rose early", "stable", and "set up this tonga" accentuates the self-discipline of the subjugated people who want a stark change in the prevailing tumultuous conditions.

Power operates through exclusionary language and constructs racial hierarchies in which power is ordained at every level. This idea is portrayed in the story as "allotting tonga number plates" i.e. the colonizers controlled even the petty issues like licensed number plates even of tongas. This racial, social and power hierarchies lead to racial power connotations that shape identities which are biased. The word "gora" who is "standing under a lamp post" is a symbol of colonial authority, visibility and surveillance who is "beckoning to him" (Ustad Mangu) because being the progeny of the colonizers, "gora" considers himself superior and the "beckoning" of a "gora" led to the "hatred rose" in the heart of Ustad Mangu. This "hatred rose " lexemes are the symbol of an internalized reaction to racial power dynamics. Language structures challenge the prevailing power structures as well in which silence is a form of resistance and defiance which is presented in the story with the words "pay no attention", i.e. Ustad Mangu has such immense hatred that he didn't even want to speak to a "gora". Later on, the economic benefits made him forget his hatred and he thought it "foolish" to leave in silence and to give the "man's money a miss". These words clearly reflect that colonizers have financial control due to which the internalized reaction and hatred sleep without sleeping pills just to gain economic leverage. The power hierarchies lead to the corruption of the authority and the ruling class abuses its power to keep the marginalized colonized under its thumb. The "gora" wants to go by tonga without paying because he had the power and threatened Ustad Mangu, saying; "again going to make trouble". The word "again" hints at the early

abuse of power and authority when the "gora was sozzled". The worldly wealth made them voluptuous and sensualist when that "gora" made Ustad Mangu take him to "heeramandi" while he was "sozzled". These lexemes show that the "gora" was corrupt and didn't give even the due fare to the poor colonized, Ustad Mangu and wanted to do the same with him. The power hierarchy often leads to pleasure-loving and debauchery who diddle Ustad Mangu. Ustad Mangu had borne all the past "insults hurled at him in silence" highlighting how the power dynamics suppress the verbal and physical retaliation from the colonized. Under the disillusionment of the new constitution, Ustad Mangu decided not to bear his insult this time and talked to him with a tone that was "like the stroke of a whip". He decided to play on fair and equal grounds but soon he realized that was nothing more than a disillusionment and disenchantment.

The shifting power is depicted in the story through the negotiation of the "fare" of "five rupees" with the "moustache trembled" of Ustad Mangu. This negotiation is a symbol of power shift and "moustache trembled" reflects the suppression of the tension due to the new constitution. This left "gora" in utter disbelief and he repeated the fare "five rupees" twice because he considered the white supremacy should override all the social and economic norms and he should have a free ride to the "heeramandi". The "gora" astonishingly looked at "barrel-chested" Ustad Mangu, showing his strong physique, which emphasizes the shifting of the usual linguistic hierarchy. Seeing his strong and sturdy physique, "gora" used his "swagger stick" to beckon Ustad Mangu to get down his tonga. The "swagger stick" highlights the colonial authority who considers itself privileged and right in diddling the rights of the colonized. As it's *The White Man's Burden* (Kipling, 1899), "gora" had to rectify him and he wanted Ustad Mangu to submit to his subtle force rather than direct violence, so his polished cane "touched" Mangu's thigh two or three times so that he may submit. Ustad Mangu is physically sturdier than "gora" and as the new constitution is coming so he "looked down" at the "gora" standing so harshly as if the "sheer weight" of Ustad Mangu's "single glance" would "grind him down". All these words show the power reversal and resistance that would subvert the colonial powers hierarchy. The violence fuels the resistance in Ustad Mangu and linguistic negotiation is replaced by physical force which shows how discourse shows resistance. Manto has portrayed resistance using the lexemes; "fist rose like an arrow", "hit him", "heavy blows", "flames ... from his eyes", and "screams" with which Ustad Mangu violently beat the "gora". Police arrived and rescued "gora" because law is the bitch of the rich and does not impart justice. The English supremacy is shown in the story by replacing the word "gora" with "Englishman" i.e. replacing the racial word with a sophisticated word showing the privileged ruling class. Believing the change of constitution, Ustad Mangu kept on screaming, "The New Constitution. The New Constitution." but no one paid any attention to him for might is right. The illusion of the new constitution is broken with the words of the "gora constable" who negated Ustad Mangu's belief of the new constitution with the words, "same old constitution". There is no change in power dynamics and the symbol of resistance, Ustad Mangu, is "locked up". "Locked up" is not just a phrase, it's the deliberate choice of Manto to emulate the failure of legal discourse in the colonial era to give equality to the colonizer and the colonized. The resistance is crushed wickedly. The words in the inverted commas are the instances of Manto's volitional choice of words and lexemes to delineate the prevailing power structures in the subjugated subcontinent and how the resistance is crushed and the voices are marginalized. The story is an endeavor of Manto to

eternalize the indigenous agony and efforts to resist against the tumultuous conditions to armor their rights but all in vain.

CONCLUSION

Manto's lexical choices in *The New Constitution* are incomparable and exceptional. The deliberate linguistic choices convey more than what is said. Apparently, it's just a story of a tongawala, but its ultimate motif is to portray the resistance and revolt in the woes of colonialism. The words like "Hindustani", "tongawala", "gora", "heeramandi", etc., are used as the embellishment of the text, which is an endeavor of the writer to uphold the cultural identity, which is accentuated in the study employing the theoretical lens of Labov. Power dynamics of the colonial era that portray the pangs of the subjugated, marginalized indigenous people have been probed through the theoretical perspective of Foucault in the deliberate linguistic choices like roost for the Indians, gora for the colonized, short-statured gora to depict the physical inferiority as compared to Ustad Mangu, etc. *The New Constitution* is replete with such meticulous linguistic choices that have been examined in this study, which are the testament of Manto's proficiency in manifesting cultural identity and challenging the power structures of his epoch.

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