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On 'Sadiq and Ameen' Clause: An Ethnopragmatic Investigation of (Un)Truthfulness in Pakistani Culture

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Abstract

Despite being universal signifiers, the defining characteristics of truth and lying vary among cultures. Semantic and pragmatic explications of the labels employed to signify these concepts can be utilised to reveal the distinctive cultural imprints that these labels possess (Wierzbicka, 2003). With particular reference to the political context, the current study sets the broader aim of explicating the cultural understanding of (un)truthfulness in Pakistani culture and portraying it in culturally neutral terms using the Ethnopragmatic technique of cultural scripts. The data for the study comes from the standard semantic analysis of the relevant lexical items and the linguistic evidence gleaned from various constitutional petitions filed by invoking Article 62 (1) (f) or the *Sadiq and Ameen* Clause: A provision in the constitution of Pakistan that makes it mandatory for the public office holder to be truthful and honest. The findings are presented in the form of a set of cultural scripts written using Natural Semantics of Metalanguage (NSM), a mini-language comprising of non-artificial, universal



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semantic primes found in almost all languages of the world. Based on the evidence drawn from the analysis of the clause, the petitions filed on the basis of the clause and the resultant trials; the findings reveal that truthfulness in the Pakistani context refers more strongly to the integrity of a person rather than the truthfulness of the statement. The truthfulness of an individual is a stable, all-or-nothing personal attribute likely to be irreversibly impacted by mendacious as well as inconsistent or contradictory statements.

Keywords: Truthfulness, Lying, *Sadiq and Ameen* Clause, Cultural scripts, NSM

1. Introduction

The concepts of truthfulness and lying are thought to be universal which amounts to saying that all human beings share some intuitive understanding of what it means to be truthful or mendacious (Peeters, 2018). The proposition is valid to the extent that lying, as the diametrical opposite of truthfulness, seems to involve a universal pattern in which someone asserts something without believing it (Meibauer, 2014). However, judgment about what exactly constitutes a lie varies systematically across cultures (Meibauer, 2014; Vincent Marrelli, 2004a). The possible points of interaction between culture and the nature of truthfulness are too diverse and too numerous to be covered within the scope of one study. However, the cultural difference mainly rests on cultural dimensions, politeness and face-saving considerations, the premium placed on the value of truthfulness as compared to other values and predominant language ideologies found in any culture.

Each factor identified in the extant literature exerts a specific influence on the way (un)truthfulness is defined and perceived in the corresponding culture. For instance, the collectivist/individualist cultural dimension, believed to be the most common way of distinguishing between cultures (Yeung et al., 1999), poses different expectations about being consistent and coherent in one's speech. In an individualistic culture, truthfulness is defined in terms of being consistent in one's beliefs and expression, while on the other side, collectivist cultures prioritize maintaining a socially harmonious relationship and do not pose any strict expectations about being consistent in one's thoughts and actions (Lapinski and Levine, 2000). A natural corollary of this cultural expectation is that on one side, truthfulness is defined differently in collectivist cultures and on the other hand, there exist different evaluative responses towards lying and deception which are viewed as socially operative strategies.

Cultural norms and expectations about politeness and face-saving strategies are also reported to be directly linked with prosocial lying (Dyrel and Meibauer, 2016). Cultures exhibit a lot of variance in the ways the competing goals of being polite and truthful are assessed and evaluated. In individualistic cultures, the concern for the

accurate representation of reality precedes the concern for being polite while in collectivist cultures, prosocial lying is considered morally less reprehensible (Lapinski and Levine, 2000).

Language ideologies that constitute the folklore beliefs about the nature of language and how it works are thought to be very relevant by researchers who are engaged in cross-cultural explorations of truthfulness. Folk theory of information which prioritizes the exchange of information as the primary function of language, necessitates a strict adherence to the value of truthfulness than any other social consideration (Blum, 2005). Conversely, a culture governed by the non-informational, non-interactive and interpersonal function of language views language as a pragmatic resource available at the hands of skilled language users who know how to function linguistically for a variety of speech functions (Blum, 2005). In such cultures, truthfulness is valued differently, and the assessment is contextually variant depending upon the competing goals that are operative in a context.

All of these factors mentioned above influence how lying and truth are construed and perceived in a given culture. However, determining the cultural predictors of deception and lying is not an easy task. There should be a way to bypass the complex terminology and reach directly to the norms that form the crux of cultural thought. One way of circumventing this complexity is to look for cultural keywords and culturally salient texts. All cultural knowledge solidifies in the corresponding languages and the words and phrases become the repository of cultural norms, expectations and beliefs (Petrova, 2019; Vincent Marrelli, 2004c; Wierzbicka, 2003). The nature of any given phenomenon can be explored by investigating how we use the words to denote and describe that phenomenon (Hopper & Bell, 1984). This method has been used to study the concept of lying and truth. For instance, In their classical study, Coleman and Kay (1981) try to elucidate the meaning associated with the English verb *lie* in American English. They adopt a prototype approach that emphasizes the blurred boundaries between semantic categories. According to them, the applicability of a certain word to a category is a matter of degree and not a yes or no question. There is no definitive set of necessary conditions that define lying. Instead, there are prototype elements or lying parameters that lying consists of. A good or prototypical lie in English comprises of three basic features: “(a) falsehood, which is (b) deliberate and (c) intends to deceive” (Coleman & Kay, 1981, p. 28).

People in other cultures do not lie; they perform speech acts found in their own languages, which may or may not resemble their English counterparts (Peeters, 2018; Wierzbicka, 2002). For instance, Wierzbicka (2002) challenges the entire sense of what includes in the definition of the English verb ‘lie’ by giving examples from Russian culture. She notes that the Russians have two words, “*vrat*” and “*lgat*”, corresponding to the English word and both have almost the same degree of salience in

everyday discourse.” Lgat” denotes the intentional manipulation of facts and has a strong negative connotation. “Vrat” refers to the trivial or less serious misrepresentations which are done for the sake of playful amusement (Wierzbicka, 2002, p.418). At first blush, the distinction appears to be similar to the distinction that holds between *lie* and *fib* in English. However, Peeters (2018) identifies at least two senses in which the Russian terms are different from their English counterparts. First, English terms vary significantly in terms of their salience and degree of entrenchment and second, *fib* is not a speech genre in English while “Vrat” in Russian is an established verbal art. The absence of neat correspondence suggests that when Russians “vrane” (a verb form associated with the noun “vrat”), what they are producing is not a lie but a distinct verbal art (Peeters, 2018, p.171). Similar attempts have been made to understand the concept of lying and truth for other cultures, for instance, Makkan Arabic (Cole,1996), Columbian culture (Travis,2011) and Spanish culture (Hardin, 2010). However, despite being a dominant cultural value, no attempt has been made to explore the metapragmatic awareness about the concept of (un)truthfulness in Pakistani culture. The study uses this research gap and tries to explicate the cultural understanding of truthfulness found in Pakistani culture.

Set within this backdrop, the current study ventures to establish that truthfulness is a culturally variant concept and needs contingent elaboration. It aims to generate at least some initial approximations of the meaning of un(Truthfulness) in Pakistani culture. The specific objectives of the study are:

- To explore the meaning of (un)truthfulness in Pakistani culture with special reference to the political context
- To present the findings in culturally neutral terms.

2. Theoretical Framework and Methodology

The study uses the theory of cultural scripts as its chief theoretical framework. The cultural scripts approach is a key technique used in Ethnopragmatics to study speech practices from cultural insiders’ perspective. Ethnopragmatics is an emerging field in linguistic pragmatics that refuses to embrace a pan-human universal model of communication (Levison, 2016) and assigns culture a key explanatory force in the study of language (Goddard & Ye, 2014). Cultural scripts refer to the technique of explicating culturally salient shared norms and practices (Goddard and Wierzbicka, 2002, 2004; Wierzbicka, 1997). As an explicitly articulated code, the concept of cultural scripts is far more concrete than the indiscernible concept of culture (Wierzbicka, 2003). The core premise of the theory is that cultural thoughts and behaviours are closely related to culture-specific ways of speaking and the explication of these speaking norms can only be achieved by the nuanced understanding of norms, values and expectations of any culture under study (Wierzbicka, 1996). Interpersonal

interactions are evidently grounded in cultural norms, values and attitudes. The goal of this approach is to replace absolute conversation logic with cultural logic and understand speech practices from the perspective of cultural insiders (Goddard, 2009b). To create such understanding, the researchers must invest in concurrent cross-cultural semantic analysis of culturally salient keywords. Culturally relevant words used to code local values, social categories and speech acts often qualify as cultural keywords (Wierzbicka, 1997).

The cultural script approach allows addressing three caveats faced in the cultural exploration of truthfulness. First, since the factors affecting the perception and evaluation of truthfulness in culture are too numerous to circumvent in a single study, there should be a way that works independently of these factors to find out the meaning of truthfulness. Second, in a given culture, the interplay of various factors cannot be detangled. One cannot predict for sure how the amalgamation of all these factors would work in a culture. Third, the existing theoretical discussion is too much invested in Anglo jargon. The theory of cultural scripts challenges the universality of the pragmatic concepts of politeness, face and cooperative principle and offers a way to bypass complex and arcane terminology (Wierzbicka, 2003) by describing a culture through the semantic analysis of its cultural keywords and presenting the findings in culturally neutral semantic primes which are found in all the languages of the world (Goddard and Wierzbicka, 2004).

The data for the study mainly comes from Article 62 (1) (f) of the *Sadiq and Ameen* Clause in the Pakistani Constitution: A constitutional provision that makes it obligatory for the public office holders to be *Sadiq* (truthful) and *Ameen* (honest) (for details view section 3.1), and Panama Paper case initiated in 2016 by invoking the aforementioned article which eventually led to the disqualification of the then Prime minister of Pakistan Mian Muhammad Nawaz Shareef. Apart from the standard semantic analysis of the relevant lexical items, the study explores the linguistic evidence gleaned from the court proceeding, verdicts and political and journalistic reviews of the Panama Paper Case. The petitions and the resultant trials provide a rich ground for the hermeneutic process to unearth the cultural meanings of truthfulness. The findings are presented in the form of a set of cultural scripts written by using Natural Semantics of Metalanguage (NSM) which comprises standardized semantic primes found in all the languages of the world. The study strictly eschews any political position and restricts its focus only to the linguistic evidence explaining the nature of truthfulness.

3. Analysis

3.1 *Sadiq and Ameen* Clause

The *Sadiq* and *Ameen* clause is one of the most cited and discussed constitutional provisions which has always remained a hot topic in political and legal debate since its inclusion in the constitution of Pakistan. Article 62(1)(f) of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973 and Section 99(f) of the Representation of the People Act (ROPA) states that:

62. Qualifications for membership of Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament):

- (1) A person shall not be qualified to be elected or chosen as a member of Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) unless-
- (f) he is sagacious, righteous and non-profligate, Sadiq (truthful) and Ameen (honest), there being no declaration to the contrary by a court of law;

(Pakistan const. art.62, cl.1, sb cl.f)

The clause is a unique example of a prescription regarding the civil and moral character of public officeholders. Besides the universal rules for the general qualification which are observed across the globe in almost all of the democratic countries, including the U.S., U.K., Australia, Canada and India, the *Sadiq* and *Ameen* clause prescribes some extensive conditions for legislators which are unique to the constitution of Pakistan only (Malik,2017). It is imperative for the public office holders to be *Sadiq* and *Ameen* two chief attributes of the Prophet Muhammad celebrating his unwavering integrity and honesty. The requirement ensures that only honest and pious Muslims are elected to Pakistani assemblies (Khosa, 2017). Though the clause is believed to be inserted by General Zia-ul-Haq to achieve certain political ends (Malik, 2017), the inclusion and subsequent retention of the provision is testimony to the centrality of the value of truthfulness and honesty in Pakistani culture.

3.2 Semantic Components of Truthfulness

From the linguistic point of view, the concept of truthfulness has two components that constitute its meaning; linguistic truthfulness which refers to the quality of content/ or what has been said and speaker truthfulness which denotes the quality or intention of a person speaking the (un)truth (Vincent Marrelli, 2003). The distinction is similar to what Vincent Marrelli (2004b) calls the veracity of the statements or utterances or veridiction of the speaker. The first component denotes the truth of the statement while the other relates to the sincerity of the speaker. The distinction begs the question of what or who the bearer of truth is. The intuitive manifestation of these two types of truthfulness(es) lies in the fact that any instance of untruth not only makes the statement false but also dubs the speaker as a liar. The study proposes that though both of these components are an essential part of the concept of truthfulness, the cultures

differ in the preference placed for one of the components over another. *Sadiq* and *Ameen* clause supports the proposition that Pakistani culture favours speaker truthfulness over linguistic truthfulness.

The words *Sadiq* and *Ameen*, two names given to the Prophet Muhammad, denote someone who has never told a lie and someone who has never breached anyone's trust, respectively (Baig, 2017). The titles signify truthfulness as an all-or-nothing personal attribute, not a situationally determined response. Unlike the close English equivalent 'truthful' which can be used to modify both the statement and the speaker, Urdu attributive adjective *Sadiq* refers to the speaker only. It's the speaker who is the primary bearer of the truth. Unlike Grice's Quality maxim which requires a speaker to *try* (emphasis added) to be truthful and not give any information that is false or that is not supported by evidence in any given moment (Danziger, 2010), the *Sadiq* and *Ameen* clause is binding upon the speaker to stay truthful under all circumstances. Put differently, the Quality maxim is instructive to the nature of the statement being produced while the *Sadiq* and *Ameen* clause is primarily about the moral nature of the speaker producing statements. The clause promotes truthfulness as a pan-contextual and trans-situational value that needs to be ceaselessly upheld by the speaker.

3.3 Temporal Permanence

One interesting corollary of prioritizing speaker truthfulness over linguistic truthfulness is that our judgment of truthfulness is stricter when we see it under individual control and responsibility (Harwood, 2014). The preference is reflected through the use of grammatical categories used to erect any moral expectation or describe any subsequent breach. Adjectives communicate more temporal stability than an action denoted by a verb (Semin and Fiedler, 1988). The contrast between 'He should be *Sadiq* and *Ameen*' and 'Do not say what you believe to be false' is striking for the temporal stability and generalized expectation the former invokes. It is not possible for someone to be mostly, occasionally or partly truthful and still enjoy the title of *Sadiq* and *Ameen*. In order to be regarded as *Sadiq* and *Ameen*, the cultural expectation is that come hell or high water, one needs to stay truthful and honest all the time and under all circumstances.

The temporal stability attached to the meaning is also reflected in the ways any breach of the *Sadiq* and *Ameen* clause is described. The difference between *He lied* vs *He is a liar* is also notable for the degree of culpability and the temporal permanence both sentences communicate. The specific charge against the former Prime minister of Pakistan who was disqualified by a five-judge Supreme Court bench on July 28, 2017, in the Panama Papers case was not that he lied on one particular occasion about the facts that were of material consequence to proceedings of the trial but the very fact that

by doing so he became a liar and ceased to be *Sadiq* and *Ameen*. The verdict of the Panama paper case states,

It is hereby declared that having failed to disclose his un-withdrawn receivables constituting assetsand having furnished a false declaration under solemn affirmation respondent No. 1 Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif is not honest in terms of Section 99(f) of ROPA and Article 62(1)(f) of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973 and therefore he is disqualified to be a Member of the Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament).

(Imran vs Nawaz, 2017,p.4)

The following excerpt from the supreme court verdict about the lifetime disqualification also reflects the permanent nature of the offence.

In the result, we are inclined to hold that the incapacity created for failing to meet the qualifications under Article 62 (1)(f) of the Constitution imposes a permanent bar which remains in effect so long as the declaratory judgment supporting the conclusion of one of the delinquent kinds of conduct under Article 62 (1)(f) of the Constitution remains in effect.

(Imran vs Nawaz, 2017,p.15)

These excerpts show that delinquency once committed, can neither be withdrawn nor repaired. Truthfulness and honesty are all-or-nothing traits that cannot be reclaimed if lost once. Even a single breach of the code of ethics is a sufficient condition to withdraw the status of being honest and truthful. The offence is of permanent nature.

3.4 Untruthfulness in the Political Context

The question of truthfulness is always closely associated with the question of untruth. Though in real life, the judgement about what counts as a mendacious statement is part of our intuitive knowledge, the legal and political context requires that knowledge be explicitly stated. The struggle over the meaning seems to reflect in multiple ways the untruthfulness is interpreted. Despite setting a standard that possesses irrevocable acceptance in Pakistani society, the clause becomes problematic when it comes to deciding the non-cases of *Sadiq* and *Ameen*. Contrary to the specificity of legal language, the clause under discussion is called 'a feast of legal obscurities' by Justice (Khosa, 2017,). Though the definition of truthfulness as sticking to facts as closely as possible seems to be intuitive, the converse is not simple and straightforward. The disqualification petitions (Constitutional Petitions 78, 79 and 85 of 2014, constitutional Petitions 29 and 30 of 2016 and constitutional Petition 03 of 2017) invoking Article

62(1)(f) and the Panama Paper case present an ongoing struggle over the meaning of lying. The apex court agrees with the fact that

The language of Articles 62(1)(d), (e) and (f) of the constitution (which is identical/similar to the language of sections 99(1)(d), (e) and (f) of the Act) is very wide and generalized, and may therefore be abused.

(Imran vs Nawaz 2017, para 07)

In his judicial remarks, Justice Saqib Nisar Malik (2017) appears to be struggling with the idea of what it means to lie or to indulge in punishable professional dishonesty. During the hearing of a landmark case in Pakistani history, he argues,

Both parties will have to assist the court in finding what is the purpose and true spirit behind Article 62(1)(f); Would a lie by a father to his son to inform someone who called him that papa was not home fall under the definition of dishonesty.

(Iqbal, 2017, para 3)

The remarks of the leading jurist of the Panama papers case reflect the intentional evaluation of the relevant weight and degree one can assign to an act of dishonesty to be regarded as a breach of the *Sadiq* and *Ameen* clause. Given the high-stakes context of the study, it can be seen how moral opprobrium and culpability associated with the act of lying is far greater than everyday low-context lying. Nevertheless, the apex court seems reluctant to form a clear judgment on the point and seeks validation from the participants regarding the distinction between consequential and small lies.

The presence of certain facts which would belie the stance of the accused form the primary evidence for the breach of the constitutional provision. The respondent indulged in the presentation of certain facts which are not backed by material evidence.

Untruthfulness means not only the blatant contortion of the facts but also an act of withholding important facts. Justice Khosa (2017b) remarked in the final verdict that there might be many definitions of the word honest but deliberately withholding or suppressing the truth is never one of them, rather, concealment is the antithesis of truthfulness. During the court proceedings and then in the final verdict, untruthfulness is equated primarily with the concealment of the information material to the proceedings of the court. In their landmark judgment, the apex court notes that the offence is not based on the misstatement but the non-disclosure of assets.

It is hereby declared that having failed to disclose his un-withdrawn receivables constituting assets respondent No. 1 Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif is not honest in terms of Section 99(f) of ROPA and Article 62(1)(f) of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973, therefore, he is disqualified to be a Member of the Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament).

(Imran vs Nawaz,2017, p.4)

Apart from non-disclosure of information, inconsistency of the narrative is another meaning of untruthfulness that repeatedly emerged during the disqualification petitions. The supreme court bench hearing the Panama paper case repeatedly conveyed their frustration over the inconsistency of the statements. Justice Khosa (2017) categorically warns lawyers to be consistent in their statements. He asserts that “If a story has been made up, you should stick to it,” (Khosa, 2017a, para 7). The final verdict disqualifying the then prime minister of Pakistan Nawaz Shareef based the evidence of the charge in terms of the inconsistency found in money trail documents.

Evasion is also considered a form of deception (McCornack 1992; McCornack et al. 2014) though cultures differ in their evaluation of the acts of evasion as acts of deception (Yeung et al., 1999). The data from the court proceedings show that evasion is also equated with untruthfulness in the Pakistani legal context. The final judgment of the Panama Papers case reads that ‘respondents were given ample opportunities to provide the trail of money and answer the questions asked in the order of the Court dated 20.04.2017 but they throughout have been evasive;’ (Imran v. Nawaz, 2017,p.13). Avoiding relevant information is also a source of untruthfulness and dishonesty. The verdict covers the full spectrum of untruthfulness strategies including evasive, equivocal and non-committal replies (Imran v. Nawaz, 2017).

4. Cultural Scripts of (un)Truthfulness in Pakistani culture

If we explicate the entire cultural understanding of truthfulness in the form of cultural scripts written in the Natural Semantic of Metalanguage, Pakistani cultural script will be something like this:

[A]

People think like this

Someone can say something true

The same someone can say something not true

Saying something not true makes that someone not true.

If someone says something not true, the person is not true.

[B]

When someone says something not true now, the same someone is not true after this for a long time.

If someone above other people says something not true, that someone is not true after this.

It is very bad if someone above other people is not true.

Cultural scripts A and B capture the cultural preference for the speaker's truthfulness and temporal permanence of the act respectively.

Explication of the cultural meaning of untruthfulness in the political context is as follows:

[C]

Untruthfulness is:

Someone saying something not true

If someone says only a part of something and not all

It is also not true

If people say one thing now and something else after

It is also not true

If someone has to say something about X,

Not saying something about X and saying Y instead is also not true

Though the script [C] may generalize to non-political contexts, in absence of any further exploration in other contexts and settings, it is safe to assume that it may be the specific nature of the Lego-political context that invites such a stricter sense of

scrutiny over various forms of information manipulations i.e., non-disclosure of information, inconsistency and evasions etc.

5. Discussion

The study aimed at exploring metapragmatic awareness of truthfulness in Pakistani culture. Truthfulness as a primordial value in Pakistan culture has its roots in religious indictments. Although not all people adhere to Islam all the time, the widely recognized and respected moral beliefs and tenets in Pakistani society are derived from the religion Islam (Evason et al., 2016). Inglehart (2020) affirms that Pakistan (as one of those 18 Muslim countries included in the World Value Survey) is a strongly religious country preserving traditional norms and religious values (Inglehart, 2020). Islamic beliefs and values, which endorse the spiritual elevation of truth and link lying to stringent moral opprobrium, have a significant influence on the moral attitude toward lying. Lying is classified among one of the major sins in Islam. The judgement is even stricter for public leaders and figures of authority. The Prophet Muhammad has strictly warned rulers to refrain from lying to avoid divine wrath: He says:

There are three types of people with whom Allah would neither speak to on the Day of Judgment, nor would He look towards them, nor would He purify them (from sins) and there would be a tormenting chastisement for them: The aged adulterer, the lying ruler and the destitute who is full of pride.

(Sahih Muslim Book 01 Number 296)

The desire to cover the full spectrum of manipulations is quite visible in Pakistani settings. When compared with the parallels such as the Perjury Statute in American law, *Sadiq* and *Ameen* clause sets more generalized and wider expectations to stay truthful, relevant and consistent. For instance, the perjury statute does not attach culpability if the wrong statement is immaterial to the proceedings of the court or if the statement is based on interpretations of the fact. Neither it holds the speaker accountable for any omission as long as the statement made in court is based on facts (Perjury Statute, 1934). Contrarily, Pakistani script includes all these instances under the definition of untruthfulness.

The strict moral judgement about untruthfulness does not mean to suggest that lying is rare in the Pakistani context. The negative evaluation of lying is rarely correlated with the degree of the prevalence of lying in any culture. It is not the actual behaviour but the perception, beliefs and evaluation of that behaviour that vary across cultures (Blum, 2005). A culture that celebrates honesty may not be necessarily more honest in its social practices (Vincent Marrelli, 2004a), nevertheless, the cultural perspective defines the degree of resentment an act of lying will meet in the respective culture. The

presence of *Sadiq* and *Ameen* clause in the Pakistani constitution and subsequent trials are a testimony to that. Despite its controversial nature, the law is still present in the constitution because people may have a disagreement about its misuse, but nobody has challenged the condition it sets for public office holders. The actual practice may be entirely different, but the cultural ideal is to have *Sadiq* and *Ameen* political representatives.

The findings are in close conformity with what the theory of cultural script proposes to achieve. With no claim on what people actually do, it tries to explore what people think they do or what they think they should do. The findings are not the definitive description of what people do and speak or how they behave in Pakistani culture, but the formulation of shared thought that most people in the Pakistani culture accept, understand and believe about (un) truthfulness.

6. Conclusion

Out of two components of truthfulness, linguistic truthfulness and speaker truthfulness, the Pakistani data reveals that truthfulness in Pakistani culture refers more strongly to the sincerity of a person rather than the integrity of the statement. Pakistani political context favours speaker truthfulness over linguistic truthfulness as an absolute personal value derived from religious traditions. Truthfulness is more likely to be viewed as a temporally stable, all-or-nothing personal attribute likely to be irrevocably impacted by any act of perjury or falsehood in private or public life. It is also interesting to note that untruthfulness is not restricted to false or mendacious statements only. The globalized and generalized expectation about being truthful and staying honest bars public officeholders from all forms of deception other than blatant falsehood. The data reveals that withholding or concealing relevant information also counts towards the breach of the unwavering cultural expectation of speaking the truth at all costs. Similarly, inconsistent or contradictory statements are also considered a form of mendacious statements.

As the findings reveal, the *Sadiq* and *Ameen* clause sets globalized or generic expectations to stay truthful under all conditions, which may lead to misappropriation or misuse. It is imperative for policymakers, legal interpreters and future researchers to carefully pin down the specificity of the clause and define the terms according to approved legal standards. Furthermore, given the limited data and scope of the study, these findings are only the initial approximations of the concept of untruthfulness in Pakistan. The analysis of the *Sadiq* and *Ameen* clause can be taken as a methodological exercise or base for more nuanced empirical studies. Future researchers can turn these approximations into testable hypotheses and validate them using sophisticated experimental methods.

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