PAKISTANI ENGLISH

The Linguistic Description of a
Non-Native Variety of English

TARIQ RAHMAN

PCL-Press

Graz/Berlin
2022

Pakistani English

The Linguistic Description of a
Non-Native Variety of English

Tariq Rahman

Pakistani English

The Linguistic Description of a Non-Native Variety of English

PCL-PRESS

Graz – Berlin

TABLE OF CONTENTS

In the beginning was the Word…

To my Mother, Umme Latifa Begum,
who learned Urdu with her own effort
and wrote poetry and short stories in that language
With thanks for teaching me Words

Preface and Acknowledgements

This study began life as an M.Litt thesis at the University of Strathclyde, Glasgow in 1989. As I broke my arm when I was just about to begin writing it the actual writing in longhand was done by my wife Rehana Rahman. I used to dictate the book to her and she used to write it in our flat in beautiful Cumbernauld. I do not quite remember just how she drew the diagrams but I did some sketching with the left hand and she must have refined it for the person who word-processed it on the computer. I thank her for this and for looking after all of us during that difficult period.

When I returned to Pakistan and joined the National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University, the director of the Institute, Professor Fateh Mohammad Malik asked me to get this book published. So, this book was first published in the NIPS monograph series in 1990. Out of the three monographs published in that year only this one was sold out in a few years because it was relevant to the new discipline of English Language Teaching (ELT) which had emerged in Pakistan in the late eighties and early nineties. A slightly revised version was reprinted in 2009 when I myself was the director of NIPS. As there was no comparable description of Pakistani English (PE) photocopies of the book were used by students all over Pakistan.

Now, the PCL-Press in Graz, Austria, has kindly agreed to publish it. I am highly grateful to Professor Rudolf Muhr of the University of Graz for having encouraged me to submit the manuscript for consideration of the editorial board of the press. This will make the book available to readers across the world and especially to European ones.

I hope this study helps to dispel the popular notions about Pakistani English in Pakistan. These notions appear to be that this is not a variety of English but just a mass of ignorant errors which must not be encouraged. I am sure I would have persisted in this view myself if I had not come across Dr. Robert J. Baumgardner's pioneering articles on Pakistani English. I, therefore, end with compliments to Baumgardner upon whose work I seek to build the foundations of a serious academic analysis and description of Pakistani English. I should add here that this work is of the late 1980s and work on non-native varieties of English has gone far beyond this pioneering attempt of an M.Phil student in 1988-89. The minor revisions I have made do not take all this work into account. The value of this book then, such as it is, is simply to make a work which has historical significance because of its pioneering nature, available to stu-

dents in this field. While they may themselves have progressed far more in such kind of studies, such endeavours—incomplete, flawed and even erroneous at places—are the stepping stones upon which their far grander edifices have been erected. It is, thus, with a sense of humility that I offer this work to readers far more knowledgeable and sophisticated than I was in 1989 when I worked on it in Scotland.

I take this opportunity to thank all those who saw it through the PCL-Press. As always, the faults in the book are entirely mine.

<div align="center">

Tariq Rahman Ph.D, D. Litt (Sheffield, U.K).
Distinguished National Professor and Dean,
Beaconhouse National University,
Lahore.
14 February 2022

</div>

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Some of the IPA symbols used in this monograph are given on the following pages. Others are as follows:-

D   *Dawn* (Daily) Karachi, Pakistan.

FP *The Frontier Post* (Daily) Peshawar, Pakistan.

M   *The Muslim* (Daily) Islamabad, Pakistan.

MN *Morning News* (Daily) Lahore, Pakistan.

PT *Pakistan Times* (Daily) Lahore, Pakistan.

V   Viewpoint (Weekly) Lahore, Pakistan.

dz   /dʒ / /ʃ / as in IPA and the American phonetic notation. As in ju<u>dg</u>e.

ɒ   IPA /ɒ /

^   IPA /ʌ/

δ   IPA /ð/

∂   IPA /ə/

σ   Syllable

Word boundary

:   Indicates length if used after vowels

-   is used under dental phonemes i.e. /<u>d</u>/ as in Urdu /<u>di</u>:n/ = religion.

.   is used under retroflex phonemes i.e. /ḍ/ as in Urdu /da:l/=put.

Note on Transcription

I have used the broad form of transcription for convenience but phonetic details have been given wherever necessary. Stress has been shown in two ways:

(a). by subscript numerals, 1 being the heaviest e.g. intelligentsia.

(b) 1main stress and1 secondary stress e.g.1ob 1ject (verb); 1ob 1ject (noun).

CHART OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS

These are the phonetic symbols used in this book.

Consonants			Pure vowels		Diphthongs	
Symbol	Exam-ple	Type of sound	Symbol	Example	/eɪ /	day
/p/	<u>p</u>it	Stop	/i:/	feet	/aɪ /	side
/b/	<u>b</u>it	Stop	/ɪ /	fit	/ɔɪ /	boy
/t/	<u>t</u>in	Stop	/e/	bet	/əʊ/	so
/d/	<u>d</u>one	Stop	/æ/	bat	/aʊ/	found

Consonants			Pure vowels		Diphthongs	
/k/	<u>k</u>ill	Stop	/ʌ /	but	/ɪə/	fear
/g/	<u>g</u>un	Stop	/ɑ:/	cart	/ɛə /	share
/f/	<u>f</u>ive	Fricative	/ɒ /	cot	/ʊə/	sure
/v/	<u>v</u>ery	Fricative	/ɔ:/	cord		
/θ/	<u>th</u>ick	Fricative	/ʊ/	put		
/ð/	<u>th</u>en	Fricative	/u:/	mood		
/s/	<u>s</u>un	Fricative	/ə /	the		
/z/	<u>z</u>oo	Fricative	/ɜ :/	bird		
/ʃ/	<u>sh</u>ut	Fricative	/i:/	feet		
/ʒ /	lei<u>s</u>ure	Fricative	/ɪ /	fit		
/h/	<u>h</u>ill	Fricative	/e/	bet		
/tʃ/	<u>ch</u>arm	Affricate	/æ/	bat		
/dʒ /	ju<u>dg</u>e	Affricate	/ʌ /	but		
/m/	<u>m</u>an	Nasal	/ɑ:/	cart		
/n/	<u>n</u>u<u>n</u>	Nasal	/ɒ /	cot		
/ŋ/	si<u>ng</u>	Nasal	/ɔ :/	cord		
/l/	<u>l</u>ion	Lateral	/ʊ /	put		
/r/	<u>r</u>ight	Contin-uant	/u:/	mood		
/j/	<u>y</u>et	Semi-vowel	/ə /	the		
/w/	<u>w</u>et	Semi-vowel	/ɜ :/	bird		

INTRODUCTION

1.1   English in India and Pakistan

The English language first came to the Indian subcontinent with the merchants of the East India Company who were given a charter by Queen Elizabeth I on 31 December 1600 to trade with India. It was diffused in three phases: the missionary phase (1614 – 1765); the phase of local demand (1765 – 1835); and governmental policy following T.B. Macaulay's 'Minute' of 1835 (Kachru 1969: 19-22; for the 'Minute' see Rahman 2004: 73-90). English came to be used by the elitist administrative services of India (ICS: the Indian Civil Service), the officers of the armed forces, and in higher education. It is used in these domains as well as in the courts of justice and the Indian parliament even now after 75 years of independence. The constitution of India stated in 1950 that Hindi would replace English by 1965. However, it was amended in 1963 and again in 1967 so that 'the change-over from English to Hindi has been postponed indefinitely' (Apte 1976: 150).

Pakistan was carved out of British India in 1947 and the pattern of the use of English is basically similar in both countries. However, the areas which now comprise Pakistan, Sindh, Punjab, Baluchistan and the North West Frontier Province—came under British rule much later than parts of India. Partly for this reason the tradition of literary writing in English is stronger and more established in India (Iyengar 1973; Jussawalla 1985) than in Pakistan. The 1965, 1962 and 1973 constitutions have all articulated the desire to replace English by Urdu in all domains but, as in India's case, this has not happened so far. Thus, the central government of Pakistan, most provincial governments, and institutions of higher education do use English and there are several elitist schools—Aitchison College (Lahore), Burn Hall (Abbottabad), Grammar School (Karachi), some private schools and all convents and public schools—which teach all subjects in English and expect their pupils to use English in informal every day conversation (Rahman 2002: 288-309). The products of these institutions speak and write what I have called acrolectal Pakistani English (PE: Variety B) [see 2.5]. Pakistani writers with international reputations—Bapsi Sidhwa, Zulfikar Ghose and Ahmed Ali—use British Standard English (BSE) with some indigenous lexical items and idiomatic turns of speech for artistic reasons. Pakistani writers do not manifest as much concern with the creation of a genuinely in-

digenous English—in spite of Taufiq Rafat's call for a 'Pakistani idiom' (Rafat 1969: 60-73)—as Indian writers have done (Jussawalla 1985: 67-99).

Despite the passage of seventy-five years, the pedagogical norm in Pakistani elite schools remains BSE. However, English literature has been replaced, or at least supplemented, in colleges and universities, by English language teaching (called ELT, TESL, TESOL, ESP etc.). So, there is a lot of literature on the way English is taught in Pakistani schools. From these writings one learns that even now there is little realization that PE is an institutionalized non-native variety deserving description and codification (see Appendix F section 10 and 2.4).

1.2 Aim

The aim of this study is to describe the phonetic-phonological, morphological-syntactic and lexical-semantic features of Pakistani English with reference to its sub-varieties. This description will be used to make a pedagogical model of English which will be partly endonormative and will replace the BSE model which is prescribed at present.

1.3 The Collection of Data

The data for this study comes from the following sources:-

(a) Personal observation.
(b) The written English of Pakistanis.

The written sources are from newspapers, magazines and other Pakistani publications. I also observed Pakistani speakers and requested people to read out lists of words from which I abstracted the features of their linguistic usage.

1.4 Brief Outline of Chapters

Chapter 2 of this monograph discusses the concept of non-native varieties of English and the sub-varieties within them. Work done on other Pakistani varieties of English is briefly reviewed. Work done on Pakistani English, its sub-varieties and their users is also mentioned. Chapter 3 gives a description of the phonetic and phonological features of the four varieties of PE: Anglicized English (Variety A); the acrolect (Variety B); the mesolect (Variety C) and the basilect (Variety D). Chapter 4 describes the morphological and syntactic features of the same sub-varieties while Chapter 5 focuses on their lexical and semantic features. In Chapter 6 a pedagogical model of English based on these descriptions is outlined. Chapter 7 presents the conclusions of the study and

points out possibilities for future research. In the end there is a bibliography of works consulted.

The terminology "dominating" – "other varieties" (=non-dominating) has been introduced into sociolinguistics by M. Clyne in his 1992 anthology „Pluricentric languages – Differing norms in differing nations. Dominating varieties (DV) are usually identical to the varieties of the country where the language originates. In most cases the DV are also the ones with the largest population and the most powerful country behind them. Non-dominating varieties (NDV) are the varieties in all the other countries sharing that language – quite often they are also the "younger" ones. This is the case with Chinese, Dutch, German, French, Greek, and Swedish which are typical examples of "asymmetrical pluricentricity"[1], while Arab and English are examples of more "symmetrical pluricentricity" (at least for the major varieties). Portuguese is an example where the power relation has been reversed – all "new" varieties, especially Brazilian Portuguese have larger populations than the "mother variety". The language situation of the "other varieties" therefore differs considerably from language to language. Languages which are rather relaxed in respect to the inner-linguistic divisions are Arabic, English, Spanish and to some extent Portuguese.

---

[1] Clyne (1992:455)

2

NON-NATIVE VARIETIES OF ENGLISH

2.1 The Distinction Between EFL and ESL Countries

In 1963 Albert H. Marckwardt said that the British made a distinction in English as a Foreign and a Second Language.

> *By English as a Foreign Language* they mean English taught as a school subject or on an adult level solely for the purpose of giving the student a foreign-language competence which he may use in one of several ways ... When the term *English as a Second Language* is used, the reference is usually to a situation where English becomes a language of instruction in schools, as in the Philippines, or a *lingua-franca* between speakers of widely diverse languages, as in India (Marckwardt 1963: 13-14).

He found the distinction 'highly useful' and recommended its wider use especially in the United States. This distinction was mentioned by several scholars (Quirk et. al. 1972: 26; Christophersen 1973: 30-31) and Moag gave a list of both ESL and EFL countries along with their distinctive features (1982: 12-14). A similar list of features is also given by Smith who suggests that ESOL (English for speakers of other Languages) may be used as cover term for both EFL and ESL (1983: 15). He also suggests that when English is used as an international language, one of the uses of this language in ESL countries, or as an international language it may be called E11L (1983: 14). Smith's classification is important for those who want to focus attention on the use to which English is put. If one concentrates, however, on the distinctive features of the language itself, it is useful to distinguish between the native varieties and the institutionalized non-native varieties of English in ESL countries.

2.2 Non-Native Englishes

In the case of Indian English Kachru made this distinction from 1959 (see Kachru 1959) onwards. He also used the term 'non-native' English for Indian English (1965) and concentrated on 'bringing out the Indianness of the Indian uses of English, as opposed to the Englishness of British English or the Americanness of American English' (Kachru 1966: 99). In one of his later publications

he said that the 'formal manifestations of the nativization of English in Africa and South Asia have only recently begun to be studied' (1977: 121). Much of this study, especially in the case of Indian English, has been done by Kachru himself (1983 and 1986). Much was encouraged or was, in one (way or the other, connected with him or his associates (Kachru. ed. 1982). In any case we now have studies of the English of: Sri Lanka (Passe 1947); South East Asia (Noss ed. 1983); Singapore (Richard 1982); (Tay 1982); Singapore and Malaysia (Platt et. Al. 1983); Malaysia (Wong 1982; Lowenberg 1984); the Philippines (Llamazon 1969); the West Indies (Craig 1982; Haynes 1982; Christie 1986; Roy 1986); Africa (Spencer ed. 1971); Chishimba 1983; Bokamba 1982); Nigeria (Bamgbose 1971 and 1982; Jibril 1982); Ghana (Say 1973); South Africa (Magura 1984); and non-native varieties in general (Trudgill and Hannah 1982; Kachru 1986: 19-32 and Platt et. al 1984).

As for South Asia, Kachru followed up his pioneering studies mentioned above with others (such as 1996) and is credited with having established the sub-discipline of studying non-native varieties of English in South Asia and it is in his footsteps that I follow in this monograph.

After this publication, though I was engaged in other subjects, I tried to remain abreast of research on the role of the English language in non-native contexts and especially in varieties of English. While I cannot claim knowledge of all publications in the field, I mention some which caught my attention. Among the most profitable for me for the varieties of English was Edgar W. Schneider's book-length study of postcolonial varieties (Schneider 2004); Gorlach Manfred's study of such varieties taking into account recent developments (Gorlach 1995) and the most recent The handbook of Asian Englishes (Bolton et.al. 2020). Equally relevant for understanding the position of PE among other such varieties in the world, and also the linguistic contexts in which they function, is Communicating with Asia (Leitner et. al 2016) and Functional Variations in English (Giri et. al, 2020). I also contributed chapter to them summing up the latest research relevant to Pakistan (Rahman 2016 in Leitner et. al 2016: 13-27; in Bolton et.al. 2020: 280-296; in Giri et.al. 2020: 127-148).

The most interesting development, however, was that which the computer made possible as corpora, both spoken and written, comprising hundreds of thousands of items could be analysed for frequency of occurrence and contexts of usage. Schneider, for instance, used corpus linguistics to analyse I E (2000). Gerhard Leitner edited a comprehensive book-length study of developments

using corpora (Leitner 1992). And, most relevant for myself, because I found many of the lexical items and innovative linguistic constructions it dealt with common with PE, was Andreas Sedlatschek's study of contemporary Indian English (Sedlatschek 2009). This monograph, unfortunately, does not benefit from these new techniques of research but may be useful to the researcher in this field in order to place their research in the historical context.

2.3   The Characteristics of Non- Native Varieties of English

The indigenization of English occurs whenever it is used by a speaker of another language. This is a consequence of what Weinreich, in a pioneering study of language contact, calls 'interference'. He defines it as follows:

> The term interference implies the rearrangement of patterns that re-
> sult from the introduction of foreign elements into the more highly
> structured domains of language, such as the bulk of the phonemic sys-
> tem, a large part of the morphology and syntax, and some areas of the
> vocabulary (Kinship, color, weather, etc) (Weinreich 1953: 1).

Following this definition Quirk et. al. call Indian English an 'interference variety' of English. It is an institutionalized variety because it is used for different purposes in different domains and has certain distinctive features. Such varieties may be 'regarded as varieties of English in their own right rather than stages on their way to more native-like English' (Quirk et. al. 1972: 26). Thus, seeing them as inadequate or deficient forms of English, as 'linguistic flights' (Whitworth 1907: 6) or mistakes (Goffin 1934; Smith Pearse 1934), is both erroneous and presumptuous.

Kachru has emphasized the deterministic influence of cultural forces on language. For him the term 'interference' is 'merely indicative of linguistic changes in a culturally and linguistically pluralistic language-contact situation' (Kachru 1983: 2). He goes on to explain Indianisms in terms of deviation. The deviation is measured with respect to a norm which, in the case of India and Pakistan, is British Standard English (BSE). But one may also deviate from BSE, or in fact any, linguistic norm because one has not acquired the language. Such a deviation is a mistake. This important distinction between a 'deviation' and a 'mistake' comes from Kachru (1965: 130 and 1983: *ed.* 45-46) and is the distinctive feature of non-native or 'deviant' varieties of English. According to him:

A "deviation" has the following characteristics: it is different from the norm in the sense that it is the result of the new "un-English" linguistic and cultural setting in which the language is used; it is the result of a productive process which marks the typical variety-specific features; and it is systemic within a variety, and not idiosyncratic (Kachru *ed.* 1982: 45).

In other words, deviations are rule-governed and follow a distinctive pattern whereas mistakes do not. Thus, when the phonological rules of L_1 are used to pronounce words of L_2, the systemic deviations of the speaker are rule-governed and produce what we call an accent. In the same way when the cultural context produces new words or changes the meanings of words from L_1, what we get are lexical and semantic deviations. Studies of non-native varieties focus on these deviations and attempt to describe the distinctive features of these varieties with reference to them.

Since non-native varieties are 'deviant' with respect to native varieties (such as BSE or GA), it is possible to see them as 'wrong' or 'deficient'. This was the approach of several native and non-native speakers earlier (Goffin 1934; Passe 1947; Smith-Pearce 1934 and Hocking 1974). However, if it is recognized that deviation need not be equated with inferiority or acquisitional deficiency, it is possible to see them as autonomous and 'correct' in terms of their own norms. Thus, to accept non-native English as varieties of English, it is necessary that they should be considered partly endonormative. On the other hand, in countries where English is not institutionalized, all the norms of its use are exonormative i.e. British, American, Australian etc. the varieties of English used in such countries (EFL countries) may be called 'performance varieties' whereas those used in ESL countries are 'institutionalized varieties' (Kachru *ed.* 1982: 38).

2.3   Acceptability and Intelligibility

The question of acceptability is not invariably linked with that of intelligibility. In the past non-acceptance of non-native English was partly motivated by ethnocentrism on the part of native speakers and snobbery on that of the non-native ones. Thus, as Kachru points out, 'to have one's English labeled *Indian* was an egocracking insult' (1982 *ed.* 40). In Africa too, attitudes towards English are similar. According to Jibril 'most Nigerian speakers of English think that Pidgin English is what is meant by Nigerian English, since in their view

they speak and write the Queen's English' (Jibril 1982: 74). In Sri Lanka, according to Fernando, writers are always 'dogged by the fear of being guilty of that greatest of linguistic sins—a *Sri Lankanism*' (Fernando 1982: 197).

These attitudes are, however, changing. In fact, according to Kachru, this kind of non-acceptance is one of the three phases through which the non-native varieties of English pass. In the first phase the very existence of a local variety is not recognized; in the second, described above, it is recognized but considered sub-standard. In the third it is 'slowly accepted as the norm, and the division between the linguistic norm and behaviour is reduced' (Kachru *ed.* 1982: 40).

Pakistani English is probably just entering the second stage described by Kachru. Before 1984, the term PE was almost unknown and the assumption in the English speaking circles was that educated Pakistanis use BSE. All deviations from it were considered mistakes and once people were made aware that a feature of their writing was Pakistani, they tried to avoid it altogether. In 1984 college and university lecturers began to be trained in teaching English as an international language in Islamabad every year. Now, in 2022, there is some awareness that there are non-native varieties of English though in private conversation people still manifest prejudice against PE and consider it only incorrect English.

Most non-native varieties of English, thanks to the efforts of linguists and years of campaigning by Kachru and others, are now passing through the third phase. Native speakers, especially linguists, too have started recognizing them as legitimate varieties (Firth 1957: 97, Halliday *et. al* 1964: 174[1]; Strevens 1977: 140; Quirk *et. al.* 1972: 26). There are some, however, who contend like Prator that very few speakers of non-native varieties of English 'limit their aberrancies to the widely shared features: each individual typically adds in his own speech a large and idiosyncratic collection of features...' (Prator 1968: 464). He especially singles out IE for attack as 'the most unintelligible educated variety' of English for 'the rest of the English-speaking world' (473). Prator's attitude towards IE in particular and other non-native Englishes in general is indefensible in many ways as Kachru has shown (Kachru 1986: 100-114). However, his concern with intelligibility is shared by many users of non-native varieties (Wong 1982: 285; Mehrotra 1982: 168-170; Serpell 1982: 185; Tay 1982: 68; Smith 1983; Nelson 1982 and 1984).

Intelligibility, however, is not always easy to determine though there have been studies of it with reference to non-native varieties of

English (Bansal 1969; Smith and Rafiqzad 1979; Nelson 1982). According to Smith and Rafiqzad, whose 'study was done with 1,386 people in eleven countries in Asia', 'a person speaking any variety of educated English, although phonologically non-native, can expect to be intelligible to his listeners' (1979-57). Nelson, who studied intelligibility that would coincide with the situations and functions at hand' (1982: 71). In a study of intelligibility of IE with respect to lexical and semantic innovations, Mehrotra concluded that 'numerous items in IE were found to be intelligible to some native speakers, while un-intelligible to others' (1982: 169). Such items, for instance 'fact cut' for facial features, were inadequately contextualized in Mehrotra's survey. In fact, most people who are willing to make some effort to understand non-native varieties of English, do find educated speakers of them intelligible. This insistence on 'educated' speakers is crucial because, as Kachru rightly points out, 'the intelligibility of the institutionalized non-native varieties of English forms a cline' (1982 *ed.* : 49). This cline can in turn be related to Halliday and Kachru's concept of the 'cline' of bilingualism (Halliday *et. al.* 1964: 77 Kachru 1965: 129). As interference from L_1 and culture-bound lexico-semantic features increase, intelligibility and acceptability decrease. Most educated speakers, however, may be said to be 'around the central point' on this cline (Kachru 1969: 26). According to Kachru:

This includes the large number of civil servants or educators in Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka who make use of typically South Asian *registers* of English their respective areas of operation (1969: 26).

A more technical account of language contact is given by Rajendra Singh (1995). Although this study argues that both the generativist and functionalist theories of language fail to explain facts about language contact in the 'Hindustani speaking area of North India' (Singh 1995: 9), it provided theoretical insights not only into Urdu-Hindi but also in the contact of English with South Asian languages.

2.4   Sub-Varieties Within Varieties

Kachru's concept of cline comprising the zero point, the central point and the ambilingual point (1965: 129) corresponds more closely to facts than the idea of there being sub-varieties within non-native varieties. However, as

long as it is remembered that such categorization is not rigid and that each category includes speakers whose usage includes features assigned to other categories as well as purely idiolectal features, it is convenient to recognize the existence of sub-varieties within each non-native variety. In general, four sub-varieties have been identified. Speakers near Kachru's ambilingual point fall into one variety, those near the central point into another one and those at the zero point into yet another one. Below this are those who 'cannot use the language in any serious sense' (Kachru 1969: 25). These are the speakers of pidgins or functional contact varieties labeled Babu English, Butler English, Bearer English and Kitchen English (Yule and Burnell 1886). This suggests the existence of at least three, if not four, sub-varieties. Brosnahan, in fact, identified four levels in Nigerian English (1958: 99) and Banjo, in his description of the same variety, identified four varieties (1971: 100-101). While Brosnahan excluded that variety of Nigerian English which was identical to BSE from the list of the sub-varieties of Nigerian English, Banjo included it as his Variety 4. Banjo, however, did exclude Pidgin English which corresponded to Brosnahan's level 1. Bamgbose, another Nigerian scholar, synthesized these two taxonomies to produce three varieties. Out of these, variety 3 or 'Educated Nigerian English', according to him, is 'the only plausible candidate for Standard Nigerian English' (1982: 102). In India according to Mehrotra, educated people speak the 'intermediate variety' which falls between the native-like variety of Indian writers and scholars and a Pidgin IE (1982: 160). Mehrotra also divides IE into four sub-varieties, international, national, regional and local (1982: 75). This, however, fails to distinguish between the various kinds of speakers of the 'intermediate variety' which seems to be required in the interest of accuracy.

Such a distinction is implied in Kachru's concept of points on a 'cline' discussed earlier and made explicit in descriptions of Nigerian English given above. The existence of a 'scale' or a 'continuum' corresponding to a 'cline', is also accepted in the case of the Singaporean variety of English which Platt divides as follows:

> Singapore English is a speech continuum, comparable to the post-creole continuum in Jamaica... There is a whole range from the 'lowest' variety, the *basilect*, through the medium range, the *mesolects*, to the 'highest' variety, the *acrolect* (Platt 1977: 84).

The terms *lect* and *lect switching* are somewhat problematic since they are not always used simply for sub-varieties within a non-native variety of English.

According to Richards 'Lect switching... describes the selection of a variable rather than a categorical feature from the speech code of the individual for particular types of speech event' (1982b: 231). Richards, following Haugen (1977: 94), distinguishes between 'rhetorical styles and communicative styles to refer to contrasting styles of speaking within an individual's speech repertoire' (1982b: 232). Thus, a mesolectal speaker in Singapore can speak in an acrolectal style in certain formal situations. In the case of such speakers the sub-varieties are lects which may be used as the occasion demands. In the case of Pakistan, however, sub-varieties are not lects in this sense. A speaker of one variety of English does not use another one in a different situation. Speakers do, however, indulge in code-switching in informal situations i.e. use Urdu or some other language along with English. This may indeed be called the communicative style whereas the use of any variety of English consistently may be called the rhetorical style. Examples of code switching are:

(1)   The ice cold *kharboozes* and the juicy *tarboozes*. (The Urdu words for melons and water melons with the English plural morphemes *-as* and *-es* have been used ot mark an informal style) [Personal letter].

(2)   They have been treated to the five *hevazatee teekas* (protective injections). The Urdu words make the article humorous) [V 25 May 1989: 17].

This kind of code switching is also a feature of Indian English (Kachru 1978: 193-207; Mehrotra 1982: 161).

In this study I propose to use the terms acrolect, mesolect, and basilect not as Richards uses them but in the sense of sub-varieties within non-native varieties. This corresponds to the usage of Tay with reference to the English of Singapore (1982: 60-66). With reference to IE Kachru also uses the term acrolect for the 'educated variety', mesolect for the 'semi-educated' one and basilect for the 'bazaar variety' (1985: 18). He also suggests that there is a fourth variety when he says that the acrolect is 'not to be confused with ambilingualism or "native-like" competence' (18). If we take native-like competence to be Anglicized English, it follows that the acrolect, the mesolect and the basilect are below this.

I believe Pakistani English, like other non-native varieties of English, also has four sub-varieties:

• There is, for instance, that variety which differs only in some phonological-phonetic features from RP but is otherwise identical to BSE. This variety is used by people who have been exposed, generally for long peri-

ods, to BSE spoken in the RP accent. Such people belong to highly edu-
cated, and often very Westernized families, and are either writers with
international reputations or academics and highly placed administra-
tors. This variety can be called Anglicized English and, in order to distin-
guish it from other varieties, we may call it Variety A.

- The acrolect (Variety B), differs from BSE in the dimensions of morphol-
ogy and syntax as well as lexis and semantics in addition to that of pho-
nology. It is used by Pakistanis who have been educated in English-
medium elitist schools or have had much exposure to BSE and RP later.
Many good journalists, administrators, professional people and other
upper middle-class people write the acrolect or, at least speak, this vari-
ety of English.

- Most people, however, write and speak the mesolect (Variety C) which
differs more markedly in every way from BSE than the previous two va-
rieties. These people are in middle and upper middle-class occupations
but they have generally been educated in Urdu medium schools and have
not been much influenced by native varieties of English.

- The basilect (Variety D) is used by clerks, minor officials and typists etc.
who have not had much education. This kind of English is full of bureau-
cratic clichés and is the least intelligible variety for foreigners. It is
probably this variety which is called Indian Pidgin English (Mehrotra
1982: 155) though, in the absence of any detailed descriptions of the fea-
tures of the sub-varieties of IE, it is difficult to be sure about this.

2.5   Research on Pakistani English

When this monograph was first written in 1989 neither the sub-varieties
mentioned above nor Pakistani English itself had ever been described in any
detail in its own right. The scholarly literature at that time was as follows.
Kachru referred to Pakistan in his survey of South Asian English on the
grounds that 'the indianness in Indian English is to a large extent shared with
other South Asian countries, namely Bangladesh, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Ne-
pal' (1983: 8-9). The concept of South Asia as a linguistic area was also found in
other studies (Emeneau 1955 and 1958; Masica 1976), and, in general, only In-
dian English has been described on the assumption that the description is valid
for Pakistan also. Thus, while agreeing with reservations that there is an 'In-
dian English', Halliday et. al. mentioned that both 'Indian and Pakistani speak-

ers' are expected to conform to it rather than aim at a British or American model (Halliday et. al., 1964: 173-174). Quirk et. al., did mention, however, that 'India, Pakistan and several African countries, used fairly stable varieties of English' (1972: 26). In 1982, in a survey of research in progress, it was reported that a questionnaire was being given to some countries to study the problems involved in the teaching of English. As Anjum Haque, a Pakistani woman researcher, was part of this team, Pakistan was mentioned (Bickley 1982: 87). Later, in a paper published by the researchers, Pakistan was included in the list of ESL countries along with Hong Kong, India, Malaysia, Philippines and Singapore (Campbell et. al., 1983: 42). However, in a comprehensive taxonomy of ESL and EFL countries published in 1982, Moag included Pakistan neither in the list of the one nor the other (Moag 1982: 14).

In an article published in 1984 and republished in a slightly revised form in 1986, Kachru expanded upon his concept of South Asian English saying that it 'refers to several broad regional varieties such as Indian English, Sri Lankan English and Pakistani English' (1986: 36). He also gave examples of culture-specific lexical items from Pakistani newspapers (1986: 42) and makes the point that varieties of languages are 'related to language function' (1986: 37). Some of these functions, however, are not different from those to which English is put in India. However, in Pakistan, the cultural reality is different. It is shaped, to a great degree, by Islam and Muslim history. Thus, concepts and values and lexical items to describe them are often borrowed from Arabic, Persian and contemporary Pakistani culture as Kachru's own examples show. Thus, as regards lexis and semantics, Pakistani English should have received separate attention as a non-native variety.

However, in 1989 there were only two papers by Baumgardner, an American scholar, who had given attention to this aspect of what he calls 'Pakistani English' (Baumgardner 1987: 241-252 and 1990). Baumgardner's main focus in the first article is, however, on the teaching of English through Pakistani newspapers and he describes some aspect of syntax—mainly complementation of verbs and adjectives so as to support his thesis that Pakistani newspapers can be utilized for teaching English in Pakistan. The second article is on lexico-semantic features and is very informative. Baumgardner does not divide PE further into sub-varieties nor does he distinguish between mesolectal and acrolectal usage.

However, as mentioned above, in 1989 though the only work on PE was by Robert Baumgardner., However, he also encouraged others to work with him and some interest in PE was created by his initiative (Baumgardner 1993). He also went on to keep writing on PE during the 1990s (Baumgardner 1993, 1995). Before Baumgardner's work there was only one brief study of the stress system of Urdu and English with reference to the use of English by Urdu-speaking Pakistanis. Unfortunately, this study is irrelevant since, according to Kachru, 'the observations of Usmani on the role of stress in Urdu and English are naive and misleading' (Kachru 1969: 30). Since my own research on Pakistani English in the form of an M.Litt dissertation submitted to the University of Strathclyde in 1989 and later published as a monograph (Rahman 1989 and 1990), other Pakistani scholars have advanced the work which Baumgardner and I initiated. Their works offer analyses of how the variety of English in Pakistan is influenced by Urdu and other Pakistani languages (Saleemi 1993: 33-40; Talaat: 1993: 55-62;: 83-203; Mahboob 2004, 2009; Mahboob and Ahmar 2004). At present—in 2022-- there are a number of Ph. D and M. Phil theses, journal articles and other writings on PE. Conferences on ELT and linguistics generally feature some contributions by young scholars of some aspect of it. In short, in these thirty-three years since the writing of this monograph, PE has become a flourishing field of research in sociolinguistics as well as ELT.

THE PHONOLOGICAL AND PHONETIC FEATURES

3.1 Introduction

There are several studies of the Indian pronunciation of English beginning with J. R. Firth's attention to the phonology of Indian Languages (Firth 1934 and 1936), out of which most are concerned with the pronunciation of Hindi speakers of English (Hill 1959; Sisson 1971; Bansal 1962; Rao 1961). Most of them refer to Indian English (Kachru 1959 onwards; Barron 1961a and 1961b; Lahiri 1965; Pandit 1964; Passe 1947; Verma 1957), or to general Indian English (Masica 1966). Indian scholars are, however, aware of the differences in the pronunciation of English from one part of India to another (Kachru 1969: 24). These differences are ascribed to 'interference' from the speaker's mother-tongue which is defined as follows:

> phonic interference concerns the manner in which a speaker perceives and reproduces the sounds of one language, which might be designated secondary, in terms of another, to be called primary. Interference arises when a bilingual identifies a phoneme of the secondary system with one in the primary system and, in reproducing it, subjects it to the phonetic rules of the primary language (Weinreich 1953: 14).

In acknowledgement of this theory, attention has been paid to primary languages (L_1s) and the way in which their speakers speak English L_2). Thus, there are studies of the English spoken in South India where Dravidian languages—Tamil, Telugo, Kannada, Malayalam—are spoken (Gopalkrishnan 1960); Bengali (Datta 1973); Orissa (Dhall 1965); the North-West of India (Verma 1957) and the Marhatti-speaking areas (Kelkar 1957). Urdu, which is only a Persianized form of Hindi, has also been given attention (Asrani 1964; Sisson 1971; Y. Kachru 1987). The descriptions of the phonological features of IE are only partially valid for PE since the languages which interfere in Pakistan are different. Because of this, a number of descriptions of PE with reference to interference from Urdu, Punjabi, Pashto and Sindhi (there are very few speakers of English from the other language groups) are required.

3.2   Aim

The aim of this chapter, therefore, is to describe the phonological and phonetic features of the English language as spoken in Pakistan. The chapter is mainly concerned with the segmental features of PE, but non-segmental features will also be touched upon briefly.

3.3   Variety A (Anglicized PE)

The pronunciation of these speakers shows least interference from L_1. it is, however, different from RP in the following ways:

3.3.1 Segmental Features

(a) The dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ are replaced by /t̲h/ and /d̲/. This is also true for Indian speakers of English (Barron 1961a: Pandit 1964) who also do not have /θ/ and /ð/ in their languages. Kachru calls this a case of transfer to substitution of elements from L2 into L1 (1969: 27). It should be noted, however, that Pakistani speakers do not perceive the phonetic difference between the realization and acoustic quality of these English phonemes and their own substitutions unless their attention is specifically directed to it.

(b) The consonants /p, t, k/ are not aspirated word-initially or in the beginning of stressed syllables. In Urdu, Punjabi and Sindhi aspirated and unaspirated consonants are separate phonemes and form minimal pairs. The following chart from Yamuna Kachru (1987: 472) will help to illustrate this:

Labial	Dental	Retroflex	Alveo-palatal	Velar
P	T̲	ṭ	Č	K
ph	T̲h	ṭh	Čh	Kh
B	D̲	ḍ	Ĭ	G
Bh	D̲h	ḍh	Ĭh	Gh
		ṛ		
		ṛh		

  - In English, the difference between [k] and [kʰ] is allophonic and makes no difference in the meaning of words. The [ʰ] represents the

period of voicelessness which precedes the voicing of the following vowels. The onset of the voicing takes some time known as the 'voicing-lag'. Lisker and Abramson (1964) studied this phenomenon in a number of languages including 'several languages in which there is a phonological opposition between unaspirated and aspirated voiceless stops' (Catford 1977: 113). Hindi was one of the languages studied and the Hindi voiceless stops /ph, kh, th/ were treated like the English aspirated /p^h, k^h, t^h/. The mean voicing lag time in milliseconds (ms) for Hindi, which is also relevant for Urdu, is:

	Unaspirated	Aspirated
	/p, t, k/	/p^h, t^h, k^h/
English speakers	-	70
Hindi-Urdu speakers	16	78
(Catford 1977: 113)		

- That is to say, in Urdu-Hindi /ph, th, kh/, the onset of voicing takes longer and the [h] sounds more pronounced (for more details see Catford 1988: 58-59).
- /bh, dh, gh/ also represented as /b^h, d^h, g^h/ (Catford 1988: 60), are called the 'voiced aspirated stops'. This, however, seems to be a contradiction in terms as pointed out by Ladefoged (1971). However, Catford (1977: 113) resolves the problem by suggesting that there is a whispering voice but not normal voicing in these stops. He confirms this by adducing the following facts:

  ...instrumental recordings of intra-oral air-pressure in voiced aspirated stops show that the pattern of air-pressure in these stops in precisely the same way as does the intra-oral pressure in aspirated and unaspirated voiceless stops (Catford 1977: 113).

- Thus, in North Indian languages, 'the entire vowel following [b^h] [d^h] etc. may be phonated with a whispering voice (Catford 1988: 60).
- The implication of these feature of Urdu, Punjab and Sindhi for the pronunciation of English are that orthographic *p* is taken to stand for L^1 phone [p], Since these L^1s do not have an allophonic but a phonemic distinction between [p] and [ph], these speakers do not notice the allophones in English too. That is why Rao's suggestion (1961), that Indians do not aspirate these stops only because of the spelling and because they are not taught to do so, appears to be erroneous. The

fact is that, because of the greater length of mean voicing lag time (8 ms or more), Indian and Pakistani speakers pronounce [h] more forcefully. Thus [pʰ, tʰ, kʰ] does not appear to them to be the equivalent of their own [ph, th, kh]. Since neither orthographic nor acoustic signals exist to substitute [pʰ, tʰ, kʰ] for [p, k, t], the latter are used without aspiration in all positions.

(c) The alveolar stops /t, d/ are replaced by retroflex stops /ṭ, ḍ/. This, too, is a substitution of elements of L2 by elements of L1. In South Asian English, as Kachru rightly points out, "the whole alveolar series is replaced by a retroflex series" (1969: 28). The retroflexion is rather more for Sindhi speakers and Urdu speakers than others. However, most speakers do not perceive the phonetic difference between the RP pronunciation of these stops and their own unless their attention is first directed to this.

(d) Certain diphthongs of RP are replaced by monophthongs. Thus /ou/ and /eɪ/ are replaced by /o:/ and /e:/ and /ə/ is deleted in some /ɪ ə/ combinations. For example, RP /roud/, /reɪt/ and /mətɪərɪəl/ are pronounced as (ro:d), (re:t) and /mətɪərɪəl/.

This is given as one of the features of IE by Trudgill and Hannah (1982: 106) and explained by Barron (1961 b) and Bansal (1962). Bansal points out that the diphthongs /ou/ and /eɪ/ are missing in the vowel system of Urdu. It may be added that they also do not occur in Punjabi, Sindhi and Pashto. Thus, Pakistani speakers of English, even if they are highly educated, tend to substitute monophthongs in their place.

(e) /1/ is not velarized in positions where it is in RP. However, since it belongs to the series of alveolar phonemes, it is retroflexed. Thus /1/ is used for both the allophone [1] and [t]. The reason for this is that /1/ has no other allophone in Punjabi, Urdu, Pashto and Sindhi, so that the speakers of these languages use only one phoneme of /1/ in all positions.

(f) There is no intrusive /r/ between two vowels in the phonological system of the speakers of this variety of English, though, like the RP speakers, their accent is non-rhotic. Thus, whereas they would pronounce car as /ka:/ like RP speakers, they would not say [the idear is] as /ðə aɪdɪər ɪz/ but [the idea is] /ðə aɪdɪə iz/, thus failing to pronounce the intrusive /r/ between the two vowels when it does not exist in the spelling. This is probably because spelling does tend to influence pronunciation in Pakistan, though in this variety of English, its influence is minimal.

3.3.2 Non-segmental Features

- Deviation from RP comes from prosodic transfer from L$_1$. Most South Asian languages are syllable-timed while English is stress-timed (Nelson 1982). This gives Pakistani English a different rhythm from RP. This will be explained in more detail later. Moreover, since there are minor differences in the rhythm and the stress pattern of Punjabi and Urdu and more noticeable ones in those of Pashto and Sindhi, Pakistani speakers do not all use the same rhythm. However, since this variety of English is Anglicized, the pattern is not markedly different from that of RP.

- The intonation of Pakistani speakers of English is also different from that of RP speakers. Once again, this is because the intonation pattern of Pakistani languages is quite different, contrary to Usmani's assertion that Urdu and English follow the same pitch patterns (1965: 120). However, since this variety of English is much influenced by RP, the stress distribution and points of juncture are not deviant as they are in Urdu-Hindi speakers in India (Taylor 1969). That kind and degree of deviation is, however, to be found in Variety B.

3.4   Variety B (The Acrolect)
3.4.1 Segmental Features

In addition to all the features noted for Variety A speakers, the following features are also found in this variety:

(a)   Pashto speakers substitute /t̲/ for /t̲h/ in think. This is because, although Pashto has the glottal fricative /h/ (Mackenzie 1987: 550), it tends to be pronounced as a vowel.

(b)   RP vowels /ɔ :/ and /ɒ / are sometimes replaced by /a:/. Bansal (1962) has studied the vowel system of Hindi and his findings that these vowels do not exist in that language are also applicable to Urdu and other Pakistani languages. Thus, *horse* and *cot* may be pronounced as /ha:rs/ and /ka:t/. However, most speakers of this variety of English tend to use a vowel sound which is nearer the back and half-open position.

(c)   /v/ and /w/ are generally not distinguished. According to Rao (1961), who has studied this feature in IE, this is because they are not distinguished in

Hindi. Yamuna Kachru (1987: 472) has given /w/ as a Hindi-Urdu phoneme but /v/ as a phoneme used in Persianized Urdu.

(d) /r/ may be pronounced only pre-vocalically in some words though it also occurs in other environments in others.

(e) Spelling influences the pronunciation more that in Variety A but not entirely. Thus, in unfamiliar words, especially those which have un-English pronunciations, the speakers of this variety of English may use the spelling as a guide to the pronunciation. For instance:

	RP	*PE*
Derby	/dɑːbɪ/	/debɪ/
Gigolo	/ʒɪgðɪou/	/gɪgðɪoː/

3.4.2 Non-segmental Features

Apart from those noted in Variety A, the following may be found:

(a) Stress distribution and points of juncture are not always the same as in RP.

(i) The stress placement may be different:

RP	PE
America	America
Galileo	Galileo

(ii) Nouns and verbs may not be marked by stress as in RP. This is also a feature of IE. (Taylor 1969 in Kachru 1983: 31).

RP	PE
Object (noun)	Object (n & v)
	Object (verb)

(iii) The stress pattern for compound nouns, which should be primary/tertiary, is replaced by the stress pattern for free noun/noun combinations, i.e. secondary/primary stress patterns (Taylor 1969 in Kachru 1983: 31).

All these features are shared with other speakers of English in South Asia (Passe 1947; De Lanerolle 1953; Gopalkrishnan 1960; Hai and Ball 1961; Sisson 1971 and Taylor 1969), and may be considered distinctive features of educated English in South Asia. It should, however, be made clear that Variety B speakers do not deviate from the RP model in all the particulars mentioned in the literature referred to above. They have, for instance, more often than not, an accurate idea of points of juncture and sound much more Anglicized that speakers of Variety C. this variety of English is spoken by those who have generally been educated in English-medium schools. They are to be found in upper middle class and middle-class professions and constitute a small percentage of the population.

3.5 Variety C (The Mesolect)

In addition to all the features noted for Variety B speakers, the following features are also found in this variety:

3.5.1 Segmental Features

(a)   RP vowels /ɔ:/ and /ɒ/ are generally replaced by /a:/.

(b)   /r/ is pronounced wherever it occurs orthographically and tends to be retroflexed.

(c)   Many words are pronounced as spelled.

	RP	PE
Elite	/'ei ₁li:t/	/₁ɪˈlaɪt/

(d)   Epenthetic vowels are introduced in some consonantal clusters. It has been observed that in some consonantal clusters notably /sk/, /st/ and /sp/, Urdu speakers generally introduce an /ɪ/ word initially. This is also true for Hindi speakers so that Kachru (1969: 28) gives the following pronunciations of school, speak, and stall: /ɪsku:l/, /ɪspi:k/ and /ɪsta:l/.

This is the epenthetic vowel which Punjabi speakers also insert. However, they insert /ə/ between the three word-initial consonants, e.g. /səku:l/, /səpi:k/ and /səta:l/. These facts have not been expressed in the form of phonological rules so far. Such rules, however, express generality and have predictive possibilities. Some such rules in the form of distinctive features are offered below (the distinctive feature chart of

Chomsky and Halle 1968 has been used throughout):

i.   Insertion of the epenthetic vowel in word-initial consonantal clusters by Urdu-speakers:

i.a.   *Urdu speakers* insert /ɪ/ according to these phonological rules:

(1)   /ɸ /→ /ɪ/ / # --- [+ cont] [-cont]

As we are restricted to words beginning with /s/ in English and having /k, p, t, m, n/ following it, this rightly predicts that small and snail would be pronounced as [ɪsmaːI] and [ɪsneːI]. It should be added that the above pronunciations, which are common in Urdu speakers of Variety D and also occur in this variety, were not pointed out earlier nor described through rules.

But now take the pronunciation of the word sphere/s f ɪ ə r/. Hindi-Urdu speakers pronounce it as /ɪ s f ɪ ə r/. In other words, our rule does not cover all the possible cases. We need to refine it further. This refinement is as under.

/ɸ / → / ɪ / / # -- [+cons] [+cons]

This means that a vowel is inserted by the speakers of Urdu and Hindi before consonantal clusters if such clusters occur in the beginning of words.

Now let us look at another such rule for Urdu-speakers (Rule 2).

(2) /ɸ / → /ɪ/ / # [+ cons] --- $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{cons} \\ + \text{voc} \\ + \text{cont} \end{bmatrix}$

This rule states that if the second member of a consonantal cluster is a liquid /r/ and /I/, Urdu speakers will insert an /ɪ/ between the two phonemes. Thus the words in which Urdu speakers insert /ɪ/ are [with /I/ as the second phoneme]: sleep [sɪliːp], clip [kɪlɪp], glass [gɪlaːs], flower [fɪlaːwer], plate [pɪleːt], black [bɪlaek] and Vladivostok [vɪlaedɪwaːstaːk], [with /r/ as the second phoneme]: pram [pɪraem], brim [bɪrɪm], train [tɪreːn], drain [dɪreːn], creep [kɪriːp], green [gɪriːn], free [fɪriː] and three [t̲ hɪriː]. Once again formula (2) predicted many of the consonantal clusters found in the words given above. All of these words

with the pronunciations given in the square brackets do actually occur in the speech of some speakers of this variety and many of Variety D.

Rules for Punjabi-speakers are as follows:

i.b. Punjabi speakers insert /ə/ according to this formula:

(3) $/\phi/ \rightarrow /ə//\# [+ \text{cont}] \text{ --- [cont]}$

Thus the following words, in addition to the ones given earlier, are pronounced as in the square brackets below: small [səma:l] and snail [səne:l]. These pronunciations, both predicted by formula (3), are found in the speech of some speakers of this variety and most of Variety D. The latter also insert epenthetic vowels in word-final consonantal clusters. This, however, has been dealt with in Variety D. In both cases, the epenthetic vowel is inserted because these languages do not have these clusters in word-initial positions and the speakers try to preserve the structures of their own language when speaking English. However, while the case of Urdu-Hindi is clear enough, that of Punjabi needs more research. Punjabi speakers of Urdu very often use their own phonological rules in pronouncing some consonantal clusters and may omit /ə/ where it is used in Urdu e.g. [səli:m] (name) may be pronounced [sli:m] and /dʒawed/ as /dʒwed/. Both these examples have sonorants after the initial consonant but there may be other examples where other consonantal clusters are used. In short, this rule is much more complex for Punjabi than this study indicates.

Rules of Pashto-speakers:

Pashto does, however, have all the clusters in word-initial positions:

/spɪn/	white
/skəl/	Drink
/st̪əṛe:/	Tired

Thus, Pashto speakers do not insert vowels before or between these word-initial clusters.

It should be noted that the insertion of the epenthetic vowel is stigmatized in Pakistan and most speakers tend to drop them soon.

(e)   Pashto speakers do not pronounce /v/ in word-final positions. This is probably because Pushto does not have /v/ in this position. Thus /lʌv/ become /luo/. In any case Pashto only has the semi-vowel /w/ and not /v/ (Mackenzie 1987: 550).

(f)   Pashto does not have /f/. hence, Pashto speakers of this variety of English sometimes substitute /p/ in its place. However, since all the other Pakistani languages do have /p/, most educated Pashto speakers of English already have /p/ in their phonetic inventory. Persian or literary Pashto also has /p/ (Mackenzie 1987: 550), because of which many Pashto speakers can pronounce it anyway.

3.5.2 Non-segmental Features

Apart from those noted in Variety B, the following ones are also found:

(a)   The stress distribution and points of juncture are different from RP. The differences in stress are attributable to the use of L_1 stress rules in pronouncing words of English. The stress rules of Urdu-Hindi are described by Mohanan (oral presentation 5/79 in Hayes 1981: 79) and Yamuna Kachru (1987: 473). Mohanan's version of these rules is expressed by Hayes as follows:
(i)   Stress a final super-heavy syllable.
(ii) Otherwise stress the right-most non-final heavy syllable.
(iii) Otherwise stress the initial syllable (1981: 79).

The weight of the syllables is determined according to the structure of the rime of the syllable. The syllable has an onset and that which follows it i.e. rime. This rime can be branching or not. This will be clear from the following diagram adapted from Hayes (1981: 12):
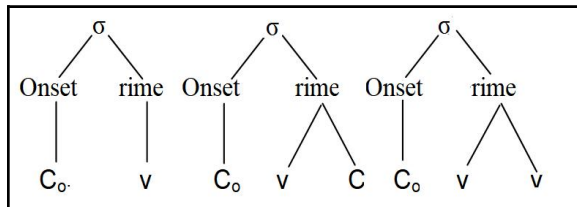
The Hindi-Urdu and Punjabi syllables may be classified as light (V), heavy (VC, VV) and superheavy (VVC, VCC). Yamuna Kachru calls them

light, medium and heavy (1987: 473). We may now derive the stress of PE in this variety and Variety D by using rules (i), (ii) and (iii).

	RP	PE
Majesty/	maedʒestɪ/	/mƏdʒestɪ/

The right-most non-final heavy syllable is /dʒ es/ as this diagram shows:
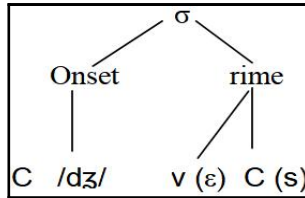
Thus stress falls as follows: /mƏdʒ estɪ/.

In the following words the stress is determined after deleting vowels which are not pronounced by PE speakers:

	RP	*PE*
America	/ Əmerɪka/	/^mri:kƏ/

Here the penultimate syllable is heavy (VV) since tense long vowels are considered VV. Thus, the stress falls on it.

The above facts can also be explained through the concept of extrametricality according to which 'the final SEGMENTS of Hindi words' can be marked as extrametrical i.e. not to be taken into account when calculating stress (Mohanan in Hayes 1981: 80). This helps us to assign the correct stress to the word photographer.

	RP	PE
Photographer	/fƏtɔgrƏfƏ/	/fo:ṭo:gra:fƏr/

First the word seems to be represented as made of two words in the minds of PE speakers. This gives the above stress to the first part of it. The stress for the second part can be derived by marking the last segment /r/ extrametrical since this leaves the penultimate syllable as the right-most heavy syllable (the rime of which is

VC).

Pushto speakers have a different stress pattern. According to Mackenzie 'Strong stress is comparatively free, in that it can occur on any syllable of a word, but it is mainly restricted to the first, last or penultimate syllables' (1987: 552). The stress pattern of these speakers is not clear to the present author though they do seem to stress the last syllable of many English words.

(b) There is no reduction of unstressed syllables and function words. Auxiliary verbs written as contractions are also stressed (Taylor 1969 in Kachru 1983: 31; Trudgill and Hannah 1982: 106).

	RP	PE
Oxford	/ɔːksfəd/	/₁aːks¹foːrḍ /
Of (in a cup of tea)	/əv/	/aːv/
To (in went to school)	/tə/	/ṭuː/

This also seems to be a consequence of syllable-timing. Since all syllables take the same time, there is no need to shorten unstressed syllables between stressed ones as in stress-timed languages.

3.6 Variety D (The Basilect)

The pronunciation of basilectal speakers is most influenced from L₁. Thus, all the features of Variety C, even the stigmatized ones which mesolectal speakers avoid, are used by these speakers. For instance, the epenthetic vowel /ə/ is used in word-final consonantal clusters according to the following rules by both Urdu and Punjabi speakers:

(4) /ϕ /→ /ə/ / [+ cons] -- [-cons] #

The following words have been heard with the /ə/ predicted by rule (4) by the author:

Words	PE (Variety D)	Words	PE (Variety D)
film	fɪləm	draft	draːfət
prism	frɪzəm	horn	haːrən

Words	PE (Variety D)	Words	PE (Variety D)
form	fa:r∂m	card	ka:r∂d
park	pa:r∂k	Charles	tʃa:rl∂s
risk	rɪs∂k		

The phonology of Persian, which does permit consonantal clusters in word-final positions, has influenced most speakers so strongly that /∂/ is not always inserted where, according to rule (4), one would expect it. Even while speaking Urdu, for instance, many speakers do not insert /∂/ on formal occasions or when reciting poetry whereas they may do so otherwise.

Communicative Urdu	Rhetorical Urdu
d∂r∂d (pain)	d̂rd
w∂q∂t (time)	ŵqt
m∂r∂d (man)	m̂rd

It appears that the insertion of the epenthetic vowel may affect syllabification while preserving language-structure[2]. Thus, new syllables are created. This is suggested by the way PE speakers move one member of a consonantal cluster to the following syllable e.g:-

		RP		PE (C&D)	
	σ	Σ		σ	Σ
Holdall	¹hould	₁ᴅl		¹ho:l	₁da:l
				PE (D)	
	σ	Σ	σ	σ	Σ
Burn Hall	¹b̂n	¹ha:l	b̂r	n∂	ha:l
	σ	Σ	σ		
Skyscraper	¹skai	¹skrei	p∂		

(Urdu: D)				
σ	Σ	σ	σ	σ
is	Kai	Is	kre:	p∂r
(Punjabi: D)				
σ	Σ	σ	σ	σ
s∂	Kai	s∂	kre:	p∂r

This general tendency to split up certain consonantal clusters, although counteracted by Persian phonological rules, seems to be responsible for certain differences in rhythm in PE in general and the PE of varieties C and D in particular.

These speakers are least intelligible to foreigners and their pronunciation is guided almost entirely by orthography except in words of common use.

3.7   Conclusion

This description of the phonological and phonetic features of English as spoken in Pakistan shows how distinctive patterns are to be found in this variety of English. As we have seen, these patterns are not identical to those of Indian speakers of English. However, Urdu and Punjabi speakers do share most of the phonological features of English spoken in North India. As in India, the ideal of pronunciation remains RP and certain forms of mesolectal and all forms of basilectal pronunciation are stigmatized. Thus, the four varieties of English can, in socio-linguistic terms, be seen to correspond to the class-structure as it obtains in the urban areas. Interference from L_1 is least in the Westernized elite and keeps increasing as one goes down the social and educational scale. As the ideal for teaching too is RP, all indigenous features of English are taken as deficiencies or errors.

4

MORPHOLOGICAL AND SYNTACTIC FEATURES

4.1   Introduction

Weinreich divides grammatical interference into (a) the transference of morphemes 'segments of utterances, including prosodic features which differentiate simple morphemes' and (b) such grammatical relations as (1) order (2) agreement, dependence and similar relations between grammatical units' (1953: 29). This theory helps to explain the differences in grammatical features between BSE and non-native varieties of English. There is much research on the morphology and syntax of IE, African and Caribbean varieties of English (see 2.2). this is the only area of PE on which there is some research (Baumgardner 1987: 241-252), though even this is limited to only one aspect of syntax nor does it take the different varieties of PE (A, B, C and D) into account as this chapter does. These varieties will be considered separately here.

Some of the data for this chapter comes from a questionnaire (Q2). 90% (9 out of 10) of the respondents of Q2 were, however, users of Variety C (the mesolect). Since Variety C contains all the deviant features of Variety B (the acrolect) in addition to some of its own, the users of this variety were used ot confirm evidence about Variety B usage obtained from other sources. In this case this evidence comes primarily from published material written by acrolectal users of PE. It also comes from the writer's personal knowledge of PE. The data for Variety C comes from Q2 as well as personal knowledge while that for Variety D (the basilect) is based entirely on the latter.

4.2   Variety A (Anglicized English)

Identical to BSE.

4.3   Variety B (The Acrolect)

The following characteristics were noted:

(a)   The omission of the definite article. The following sentences, taken from newspapers, illustrate this [the omitted the is indicated by ϕ].

PE: (1) He said that ϕ Education Ministry is reorganizing ϕ English syllabus (M 01 May 1984).

        (2)   ϕ   Government   has   …   denied   itself   the   privilege [V 04 May 1989: 6].

This omission of *the* is also common to IE (Dustoor 1954; 1955; Kachru 1969: 32); African E (Bokamba 1982: 80-81) and Educated Ghanaian E (Sey 1973: 29). The articles are used variably in Nigerian E (Jibril 1982: 78) and in 'typical' Singaporean and Malaysian E (Platt *et. al.* 1983: 14).

The reason for this deviation from BSE is 'the absence of a parallel category of the article' in the deictic systems of South Asian languages (Kachru 1969: 32).

(b)   The use of the progressive aspect with habitual and completed action and certain stative verbs. Trudgill and Hannah (1982: 110) give the following examples from BSE and IE to illustrate the difference between these two varieties:-

BSE: (3)   I do it often.

IE: (4)   I am doing it often (with habitual action).

BSE: (5)   Where have you come from?

IE: (6)   Where are you coming from? (with completed action).

Gokhale reached the following conclusions about this aspect of IE:

(i)   All the adverbials of frequency may be used with the progressive in IE whereas only some may be used in BSE.

(ii)   Such usage generally conveys emotional (generally pejorative) overtones in BSE whereas it may be neutral in IE (Gokhale 1988: 30-32).

(iii)   The progressive is used much more frequently in IE than in BSE (Gokhale 1988: 27-30).

These usages are common to PE also.

PE: (7) I am doing it all the time (letter of a Pakistani writer).

(8) Where are you coming from? (conversation).

Certain verbs considered stative in BSE are used in the progressive in PE. Through personal knowledge it can be attested that acrolectal speakers do use hear, see, have and other verbs in the progressive.

(c) Differences in complementation with certain verbs and adjectives. Baumgardner (1987) points out the following differences in two major types of complementation, adjective and verb complementation, between BSE and PE. His data, which is from Pakistani newspapers, is reproduced below with reference to these newspapers and to Baumgardner (1987), (references to the latter will be denoted by B followed by page number).

(i) Adjective complementation by an-ing participle clause is made up of an adjective plus an optional preposition plus a participle clause (gerund) in BSE.

BSE: (9) The government has not succeeded in reducing the problems of the people.

In PE, however, the adjective is frequently followed by a to-infinitive:

PE: (10) Anti-Islamic forces are busy to create differences among Muslims [M 8 Nov 1986 (B 244)].

(ii) Adjective complementation by a to-infinitive consists of an adjective plus a to-infinitive in BSE:

BSE: (11) Students are eligible to enter the contest.

In PE a preposition plus an-ing participle is used:

PE: (12) Students who are likely to be admitted by the end of January 1987 are also eligible for appearing in the qualifying examinations [MN 7 Nov 1986 (B 224)].

The following sentence in Q2:

PE: (13) Students are eligible for entering the contest (Q2: 25).

This is also found in IE (Nihalani et. al. 1979: 103) and Whitworth (1907: 149).

(iii) In BSE monotransitive verb complementation by a finite clause consists of a transitive verb followed by a that-clause as object:

BSE: (14) The clerks union has announced that they would take out a procession.

In PE, a to-infinite complement is used in place of the that-clause complement:

PE: (15) The Baluchistan Clerks Association has announced to take out a procession [D 8 Dec 1986 (B, 244)].

(iv) In BSE monotransitive verb complementation by a noun phrase as prepositional object is made up of a prepositional verb plus an-ing participle clause.

BSE: (16) I am looking forward to meeting you.

In PE the to-infinite is substituted for the prepositional verb plus an-ing participle clause. Thus, the following sentence:

PE: (17) I am looking forward to meet you (Q2: 1).

The following example also suggests this:

PE: (18) Javed ... was looking forward to become a millionaire [M 8 Nov 1986 (B 244)]. In IE (Nihalani 116).

(v) The third type of monotransitive verb complementation is complementation by a non-finite clause. The following three types differ from BSE: (a) –ing participle without subject (b) to-infinitive with subject (c) to-infinitive (without subject). The examples of (a) and (b) from BSE are:

BSE: (19) The police avoided entering the campus ... [of (a)].
(20) She said that her party wanted Pakistan not to intervene in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

In PE (a) takes a to-infinitive in place of the –ing participle and (b) takes a that clause in the verbs want and like in place of a to-infinitive with subject. The following is an example of (a):

PE: (21) Meanwhile, the police are avoiding to enter the campus where the culprits are stated to be hiding [D 2 Dec 1986 (B, 245)].

This also occurs in IE (Whitworth 1907: 146 and Nihalant 55). Here is an example of (b):

PE: (22) She said that her party wanted that we should not intervene in internal affairs of Afghanistan [N 20 March 1987 (B 245)].

This also occurs in IE (Nihalani 190). As for (c) Baumgardner given no examples from newspapers. He says, however, that want is used with a that- clause in spoken English (B 243). The sentence he cites:

PE: (23) I want that I should get leave (B 245).

Shah cites it as a 'common error' in Pakistani (1978: 461).

(vi) In BSE ditransitive complementation consists of (a) indirect object plus prepositional object (b) indirect object plus that clause object (c) prepositional phrase idiom. An example of (a) is:

BSE: (24) The students *prevented the Governor from taking charge* of his office.

In PE, a *to-infinitive* is used as follows:

PE: (25) The students *prevented the governor to take charge* of his office

An example from a newspaper is:

PE: (26) The resolution banning Americans to enter the University campus is still in force [M 01 July 1986 (B, 246)].

For similar usage in IE see Whitworth (1907: 142) and Nihalani 143. An example of (b) is:

BSE: (27) The minister reminded the audience that the public wants transport.

In PE the indirect object is frequently omitted (to be indicated by ø):

PE: (28) The Minister told ø that the pay committee has recommended for a solid pay structure for employees of different categories [PT 21 March 1987 (B 246)].

For similar usage in IE see Nihalani: 176. An example of (c) is:

BSE: (29) The Prime Minister ... has shown keen interest in sending ...

In PE a to-infinitive is substituted for the preposition plus gerund in these idioms:

PE: (30) The Prime Minister of Sri Lanka has shown keen interest to send his agricultural scientists to interact with Pakistani scientists [N 28 March 1987 (B 246)].

The following sentence also taken from a newspaper.

PE: (31) The Government was attaching importance to remove the procedural difficulties [D 8 Nov 1986 (B 246)].

This also occurs in IE (Nihalani 103).

(vii) In BSE the infinitive of purpose is similar to a to-infinite complement and has 'in order to' or simply 'to' to answer the question 'for what purpose? Or simply 'why'?

BSE: (32) He went to China *to learn* Chinese.

In PE the *for* + gerund replaces the infinitive of purpose.

PE: (33) He went to China *for learning* Chinese.

The following example from a newspaper also illustrates this:

PE: (34) While awaiting response to their ransom, the bandits *went out for committing* their crime in a nearby village (FP 10 Oct 1986 (B 247)].

This is also found in IE (Whitworth 1907: 143; Nihalani 83).

(d) The auxiliaries *would and could* are used for *will and can*.

BSE: (35) English *will* gain still firmer roots ...

The PE sentence from a book corresponding to (35) is:

PE: (36) English *would* gain still firmer roots in every department. [Zulfiqar et. al. (1986: 120].
BSE: (37) The decline in educational standard can be traced to the language policy.

The PE sentence corresponding to (37) is:

PE: (38) The decline in educational standards *could* be traced ... to "the language policy or the lack of it" [D 20 May 1983].

Also note:

PE: (39) We hope the President *would* investigate this matter.

This use of *would* was pointed out by Kindersley for IE also (1938: 28). According to Trudgill and Hannah IE speakers use the past forms of the auxiliaries because they 'are more tentative and thus more polite' (1982: 109). However, sentences (36) and (38) suggest that this is not necessarily true in PE.

(e) Differences in the use of prepositions: The differences are: (a) no preposition is used in PE where BSE uses one:

BSE: (40) To dispense with (Trudgill and Hannah 1982: 108).
PE: (41) To dispense (as in IE).

(b) Addition of preposition:

BSE: (42) To combat poverty.

The following idiomatic phrase is seen in the Pakistani press:

PE: (43) To combat *against* poverty.

This is also a feature of IE (Trudgill and Hannah: 108).
(c) Different preposition from BSE:

BSE: (44) What is the time by your watch.
In PE *in* is used for by

BSE: (45) Get *off* (a vehicle).

In PE *out* or *from* is used for *off.* Such difference in the use of prepositions
are also found in IE (Trudgill and Hannah 1982: 108).
Prepositions are also different from BSE in other non-native varieties of
English e.g. Nigerian E (Bamgbose 1982: 106; Jibril 1982: 80).

(f)   Differences in count/mass-noun distinctions:
(i) Certain BSE mass-nouns are pluralized like count nouns:

BSE	PE	BSE	PE
Aircraft	Aircrafts	Vegetable	Vegetables
Fruit	Fruits	Wood	Woods

The following sentences are encountered very often:

PE: (46) They gather *woods* in the forest
    (47) We eat *fruits* and *vegetables* of the same type every day

Trudgill and Hannah include *litter* in their list of mass-nouns which are
pluralized in IE (1982: 107). It is not, however, pluralized in this variety
of PE though it may be used in Variety C. This feature is also found in Ni-
gerian E (Kirk Greene 1971: 134); Ghanaian E (Sey 1973: 26-27); Nigerian E
(Bamgbose 1982: 106); Kenyan E (Zuengler 1982: 116) etc.

(ii) Some nouns which are used only in partitive phrases in BSE are used
    alone in PE:

BSE	PE
a piece of chalk	a chalk
two items of clothing	two clothes
pieces/slices of toast	Toasts

The following sentence was used by Pakistani university students:

> PE: (48) I have a chalk, two clothes and two toasts

This is also common in IE (Trudgill and Hannah 1982: 107) and Malaysian E (Wong 1982: 277) as well as other non-native Englishes.

(g)   The reflexive pronoun is omitted in the reflexive verbs enjoy and exert. In PE enjoy is used for enjoy yourself etc or in IE (Kindersley 1938: 25 in Kachru 1983: 34). This usage occurs more often in spoken than in written English in this variety of PE so that no published examples are available [for a printed example from Variety C [see 6.62 (e)].

4.4   Variety C (The Mesolect)

In addition to al the differences from BSE noted in Variety B, the following differences were also noted.

(a)   The use of the progressive aspect with verbs which are considered stative in BSE.
        Stative verbs are those which 'refer to relatively permanent physical or psychological states, mental perception or the relations of representing, including, excluding etc' (Gokhale 1988: 32). On the other hand verbs relating to actions such as *run* are non-stative (Comrie 1976: 49).
        In BSE stative verbs are not used in the progressive. According to Gokhale, who has done extensive research on this aspect of IE, the following verbs are considered stative in BSE but are used in the progressive in IE: see, hear, think, feel, believe, know, understand, remember, forget, doubt, want, wish, cost, weigh, belong and have (1988: 34-35).
        Gokhale refers to what he calls Standard Indian English but he makes no distinction between the different sub-varieties of IE. Consequently his 'educated Pan-Indian Variety of English (1988: 10) is identical to Das's intermediate variety which 'is spoken and written by millions of Indians' (Das 1982: 142). In other words Gokhale's Standard IE is probably what I call Variety C in this study.
        Even on this assumption it appears that the progressive is not used with as many stative verbs or as often in Varieties B and C of PE as it is in IE. According to my survey *see*, and *have* were used in the progressive. The following sentences were given:

PE: (49) I am seeing the sky from here.
(50) They were having a horse

Sentences with *weighing* and *belonging* were considered correct by some educated Pakistanis. As Kachru points out the 'Hindi-Urdu verbs *sunna* "to hear", *dekhna* "to see" are used in the progressive in Urdu' (1976: 78). Thus, one does hear the following utterances in casual speech:

PE: (51) 'I am *hearing* you. You are loud and clear' (On the telephone).
(52) 'It's *costing* a lot these days' (one friend to another).

It could not be determined whether the speakers used Variety B or C most often.

(b) Differences in reporting indirect speech:

BSE: (53) He told me that he would come today.
PE: (54) He told me that I would come today (casual speech).

This usage appears to be a direct translation of Urdu and other Pakistani languages in which indirect speech is reported in the words of the other speaker e.g.:

Urdu: (55) Us nay kaha ke main a raha hoon.
English: (56) He said that I coming am (He said that I am coming).

(c) Only one question tag *is'nt it*? May be used instead of different tags in BSE:

BSE: (57) You are ill, *aren't you*?
PE: (58) You are ill, *isn't it*?

This generalized question tag *isn't it*? Or *is it*? Has also been reported in basilectal Singaporean English (Tay 1982: 64), Malaysian English (Wong 1982: 277) and IE (Kachru 1976: 79; Verma 1982: 181; Trudgill and Hannah 1982: 111). African varieties of English (Serpell 1982: 114) as well as other non-native Englishes.

(d) There is no subject-verb inversion in direct questions and the use of such inversion in indirect questions.

BSE: (59) What is this made from?
PE: (60) What this is made from?
BSE: (61) I asked him where he is?
PE: (62) I asked him where is he?

Baumgardner notes this feature of PE out the letter to the editor he quotes as evidence for its use is not from an editor or a good journalist who write acrolectal English (1988: 242-243). The relevant sentence from the letter is:

> PE: (63) Why a step-motherly treatment is being meted out to the poor peons [PT 3 Oct 1986].

In fact acrolectal users almost never fail to confirm to BSE usage in this respect. Baumgardner, like most other researchers, does not distinguish between the sub-varieties which makes him give the impression that this is a regular feature of PE. This is also a feature of some varieties of other non-native Englishes: IE (Kachru 1976: 79; Verma 1982: 181), Malaysian E (Wong 1982: 280) and mesolectal Singaporean E (Tay 1982: 63).

(e)   Omission of the dummy auxiliary do, does, did.

> BSE: (64) How did you get here?
> PE: (65) How you got here? (casual speech).

This is also reported to occur in Malaysian E. (Wong 1982: 282); basilectal Singaporean E (Tay 1982: 64) and other non-native Englishes.

(f)   Lack of agreement of the verb with the subject:

> BSE: (66) He always goes there.
> PE: (67) He always go there (casual speech).

Singaporean English (Platt 1977 in Richards 1982a: 163; Tay 1982: 64), Nigerian E (Jibril 1982: 79) and Malaysian E (Wong 1982: 278). It should be added that no written examples of this usage were found and most users of even Variety C would not consider (67) correct in the written form.

(g)   Yes/No questions are answered differently from BSE:

> BSE: Q: (68) I hope you won't mind looking after my cat?
>   A: (69) No, I won't.
> PE: A: (70) Yes, I won't.

This answer to questions with a negating particle is also found in African E (Brokamba 1982: 84); Zambian E (Serpell 1982: 114) and IE (Kachru 1983: 12).

(h)   The use of the perfective aspect instead of the simple past with past-time adverbs: The following sentence was given in Q2:

> PE: (71) I have seen him yesterday (Q2: 9).
> Or

BSE: (72) I saw him yesterday.

In casual usage most people, however, tend to conform less to BSE usage. For IE see Verma (1982: 182) and Trudgill and Hannah (1982: 110).

(i)   The use of the present tense with durational phrases (indicating a period from past to present) where BSE requires the present perfect. The following sentence was given in Q2:

PE: (73) He is studying Sindhi since 1960.
Or
BSE: (74) He has been studying Sindhi since 1960.

Sentences such as (71) are used even in writing although sentences such as (73) are used rarely by acrolectal speakers. For IE see Trudgill and Hannah (1982: 109).

(l)   The indefinite article may be omitted.

BSE: (75) My father is a lecturer.
PE: (76) My father is lecturer (casual speech).

This feature also occurs in mesolectal Singaporean E (Tay 1982: 64).

4.5   Variety D (The Basilect)

There is no work on this variety of PE that I know of. In fact it is difficult to justify the claim that this is a rule-governed variety in its own right at all. Mehrotra (1982: 155-160) gives an analysis of what he calls Indian Pidgin English (see Todd 1984: 72-74 for more examples of Indian Pidgin English). According to him this sub-variety of IE is characterized by:

(a)   The absence of the copula.
(b)   Lack of concordial agreement between subject and verb.
(c)   Absence of verb in a sentence.
(d)   Absence of prepositions (Mehrotra 1982: 157).

To this it may be added that Variety D speakers in Pakistan also.

(e)   Either omit articles or add the definite article even before proper nouns, and
(f)   Use the tense haphazardly.

The following sentences were either read by the present author in drafts prepared by clerks or heard from guides in Karachi, students from Urdu medium schools and JCOs (Junior Commissioned Officers) and other petty officials.

PE:	(77) This Peshawar very old city [example of above].	(a)
	(78) Nobody know how we works.	(b)
	(79) Red colour the big car.	(c)
	(80) I went city.	(d)
	(81) ɸ/The England is ɸ/the/a/good place.	(e)
	(82) His father is ɸ/the/a/ great teacher.	(e)
	(83) I did not understood it.	(f)

It should be emphasized that the users of this variety are inconsistent in their use of the language. They do not speak or write English except for purely functional reasons and never use it, unlike people in Nigeria and other African countries, for social communication (Todd 1984: 15). In fact Pidgin Englishes, in the sense of *lingua francas*, are not found anywhere in Pakistan and one agrees with Todd when he says: 'it is not certain whether or not pidgin Englishes do exist or even have existed in India' (1984: 72). However, the process of simplification which creates Pidgins (Todd 1984: 13) and the universality of the techniques for this process has given the basilect some of the characteristics of all Pidgins (Todd 1984: 26-27).

The following speeches by two characters in Zulfiqar Ghose's novel *The Murder of Aziz Khan* (1967) gives some idea of basilectal English:

I have each and every culler for your sootability, pink, saalmun red, turkwise, emmaruld green, purrpel ... (p. 104).

The deviant spellings are meant to indicate a Punjabi pronunciation of English. Here is the other passage:

What I doing to myself, *Amma-ji*, throwing good money like that and not taking advice? (p. 76).

The following passage, this time from Bapsi Sidhwa's novel The Crow Eaters (1978), attempts to reproduce the speech of Jerbanoo who speaks what I call Variety D:

'Why you not wear long gown? Silly frock. It shows you got a terrible leg!' 'Why you not have bath! Water bite you?'. 'You sit, and drink tea cup every two minutes'. Mind demon of laziness make your bottom fat! (p. 317).

These speeches are fictitious since in Ghose's novel the characters, the first one a shopkeeper and the second one a money lender, actually speak Urdu or Punjabi. Jerbanoo, however, does speak English because she is talking to an English woman. Both Ghose and Sidhwa were not recording the actual speech of people but creating from their idea of what such speech would be like. However, from personal experience I can confirm that their representation of basilectal speech is as authentic as it can be in a country in which nobody uses the basilect to communicate except with foreigners.

4.6   Conclusion

This chapter has described the syntactic and morphological features of four varieties of PE (A, B, C and D). It has emerged that in grammatical features PE is different from BSE in a rule-governed manner like other non-native varieties of English. It is almost identical to IE though some minor differences in educated usage and in the basilect were noted. It is not clear, however, whether educated IE corresponds to acrolectal or mesolectal PE. Since descriptions of IE do not take sub-varieties separately into account, it is not possible to account fully for these apparent differences. As for the basilect, sufficient data to describe at adequately is not available at present.

5

LEXICAL AND SEMANTIC FEATURES

5.1 Introduction

The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, especially its strong version, emphasizes the deterministic influence of language on the categorization and articulation of experience (Sapir 1931; Whorf 1956: 252). However, even before this hypothesis became well known, anthropologists had observed that socio-historical forces determine cultural patterns (Kohler 1937: 271-288; Durkheim 1912; Malinowski 1950: 396). It appears that culture determines language and language, in turn, determines consciousness. When a foreign language is used to refer to one's cultural reality, the language is changed so as to be able to express the thoughts of its new users. This is what happened to English when it was transplanted to other cultures. This awareness of the relation of culture to non-native Englishes is the focus of much research in discourse patterns nowadays (Y. Kachru 1987a; Kachru 1986: 125-140; Locastro 1987; Clyne 1987; Guo-Zhang 1987; Tarone and Yule 1987). With this in mind it is possible to understand the lexical and semantic changes English has had to undergo in order to refer to the distinctive culture of Pakistan as it has taken shape after the separation from India in 1947. However, only Kachru (1984) and Baumgardner (1987 and 1990) have referred to this aspect of PE. Baumgardner's second paper is quite through but does leave room for research.

5.2 Aim

This chapter aims at exploring the lexical and semantic features of PE so as to determine in what ways this variety of English is different from other varieties of it. It will add to the list of words Baumgardner has given, touch upon the usage of the armed forces etc and refer to sub-varieties of PE. In this way it will supplement Baumgardner's useful article of 1990.

5.3 Theoretical Background

As in other areas of language, these differences are attributable to interference which, according to Weinreich, takes place as follows:

The ways in which one vocabulary can interfere with another are various. Given two languages, A and B, morphemes may be transferred from A into B, or B morphemes may be used in new designative functions on the model A-morphemes with whose content they are identified; finally, in the case of compound lexical elements, both processes may be combined (Weinreich 1953: 47).

Thus, according to Weinreich, words can be (a) borrowed (b) semantically changed (c) translated (d) hybridized. Kachru has written about the lexis and semantics of IE in several major articles (1955; 1966; 1969 and 1976) and Nihalani *et. al.* (1979) have provided a lexicon of words used in IE. Most of the lexical items used in IE are shared by PE since the experience of British rule was shared by both Pakistan and India. Thus words from the register of the administration and the police as well as a number of other words are shared (see Wilson 1885 and Yule and Burnell 1886). Some words in PE which are not shared with IE are those relating to Islam, Pakistani culture and history. In the following pages some such words, as well as words shared with IE, are given. It should be noted that the unmarked words are used by Pakistani journalists, civil servants and academics who are generally users of variety B English (the acrolect).

5.4   Borrowing

Borrowing is from (a) the register of Islamic culture and religion (b) the concepts and historical experiences of Pakistani culture (c) Pakistani languages (d) Arabic and Persian. Borrowings from these languages express culture-bound concepts. However, since Arabic is the language of Islam and Persian that of elitist Muslim culture, borrowings from these languages also fall under the category of Islamic culture and the language of polite society respectively.

5.4   (a) Islamic Culture and Religion

Borrowing from the register of Islam: Box 1

Examples	Explanation
(1) This is what the Mujahideen leaders tell me [M, 19 Oct 1990]	Fighters in the way of God.
(2) Which candidates will the pir of Pagara ... back? Herald, Oct 1990: 71]	Pir means old in Persian. Used for a spiritual guide in South Asia. Here it has been used as a hereditary title.

(3) Maulana Tahir ul Qadri ... used to deliver the Khutba ... [V, 1 June 1989: 11)	Maulana is a Muslim priest and the khutba is the ritual sermon in Friday's prayers.
(4) A namaaz-e-Janaza ... was offered ... [M, 12 Oct 1990]	Special prayers said at funerals.
(5) He made a madrasah here [M, 12 Oct 1990]	School meant to teach the Quran and basic Islamic studies.
(6) ... dubbed it as the language of Kafirs [M, 19 Oct 1990]	Unbelievers in Islam.

Note: Words like jihad, zakat (alms tax), shariat (Islamic jurisprudence) etc. are so commonly used that not even Variety B users translate them any more.

In India the Muslims had settled down and a composite Indian Muslim culture had evolved through the influence of the courts of the Mughal Kings and their officials. The official language of the government was Persian rather than any of the mother-tongues of the Muslim conquerors (Baber's mother tongue was Turkish) or Arabic, the language of religion. However, gradually Urdu, an Indian language with much Persian vocabulary, became the language of the composite Muslim culture all over urban India. This culture was highly sophisticated, even effete, and valued politeness and ceremony over simplicity and directness. The main centres of this culture were Delhi, Lucknow and Hyderabad (Deccan). The influence of Persian and the institutions which distinguished this culture are found in both Pakistan and India. Box 2 indicates how speakers of English show the influence of this culture in their use of the language.

<div align="center">Borrowing from the composite Indian Muslim Culture - Box 2</div>

Examples	Explanation
(1) Zaban-e-Khalq dealt with child labour problems [V, 11 May 1989: 31] (zaban [Persian]=voice, tongue, language; khalq [Persian]=people, i.e. voice of the people	The morpheme -e- has been used to create a compound noun as in Persian.
(2) Zarb-i-Momin Army Exercise 1989 [Headlines in Pakistani newspapers in Nov-Dec 1989] (Zarb [Persian]=blow; Momin [Arabic]=pious Muslim).	The morpheme -i- has been used as above.

(3) 'the melody made that night's Mehfil-e-Sama a charming item' [mehfil [Persian]= a song, music generally with the dances of mystics; music especially meant to induce ecstasy.	These special assemblies used to be held under the influence of mystics and are a part of culture.
(4) "... the excellent qawwali was marred". [D, 9 Dec 1988: iv] (Qawwali [Arabic]= signing with repetition of the chorus).	These were held only among Indian Muslims
(5) Mushaira will be held tomorrow at ... [Notice] (mushaira [Persian]=poetic symposium).	Such recitation sessions were a distinctive part of Indian Muslim culture.

Note: other words which require a rough paraphrase to make their meaning clear are *pulao* (a Mughal dish of rice cooked in soup); *shahnai* (a clarion or hautboys used in marriages); *kabab* (cakes made of minced meat and condiments, kebabs) etc. They are translated only before foreigners and are so distinctive as to be virtually untranslatable (italics are mine).

5.4 (b) Pakistani Culture

Pakistan has some historical and cultural experience which can only be expressed through words especially made to refer to them. Also, there are many regional customs and mores which did not exist in the composite Indian Muslim culture but are found in areas now comprising Pakistan. Some of these social realities and ideas are expressed in English as given in Box 3.

Borrowing from Pakistani culture: Box 3

Examples	Explanation
(1) *Teddy* boys and *teddy* girls wearing *teddy* shoes have disappeared ...[Academic seminar in Lahore, 11 March 1988]	*Teddy* was used for people who wore tight fitting clothes and pointed shoes in the sixties
(2) "The *Pakki Pakai* disappeared ..." [V, 01 June 1989: 4] [*Pakki* [Urdu]=cooked).	Refers to the baked loaves which were mass manufactured in the seventies.

(3) "*Hathora Group* kills Two More" [D, 15 Nov 1986] [*Hathora* [Urdu]= hammer)

This group was supposed to murder people with a hammer between 1983-1986.

(4) "As for the increasing *biradari* politics ..." [*Herald,* Oct 1990] (*biradari* [Punjabi, Urdu)= clan).

The kind of politics in which voting is influenced by kinship affiliations in parts of Pakistan.

(5) "... is almost entirely *mohajir*-dominated" [*Herald*, Oct 1990: 122] (*Mohajir* [Arabic; Urdu] = emigrant.

Uses for Urdu-speaking people who came from India as an aftermath of the Partition.

(6) "*Lakhtaye* dance in parts of the Frontier." [Coversation]. *(Lakhtaye* [Pushto]= dancing boys).

The dance of these boys is part of the culture of some areas of Pakistan.

Note: Italics are not necessarily used in such borrowings.

5.4 (c) Pakistani Language

(1) *Jirga* imposes Rs. 2000 Fine On Air Firing [FP 04 Nov 1986. Quoted by Baumgardner 1987: 242] (*Jirga* = the Pushto word for a council of tribal elders).

(2) The level of the *Neevin* Masjid in fact represents the ground level of the walled city [V 18 May 1989: 18] (*Neevin* [Punjabi] =low).

(3) *Sain* he said ['Billo Dada' by Ayaz Qadri, V 18 May 1989: 17] (*Sain* [Sindhi] = Sir).

(4) Clerks had *gheraoed* the National Assembly building [V 01 Jan 1989: 11] (*Ghera* [Urdu] = circle—used with the English-ed verb ending for surrounding somebody or something in order to get grievances redressed).

5.4 (d) Arabic and Persian

(1) Five years R. 1 10 stripes for committing Zina. [D 26 Aug 1986. Quoted by Baumgardner 1987: 242] (*Zina* [Arabic] = fornication).

5.5   Semantic Change

According to Weinreich "if two languages have semantemes, or units of content, which are partly similar, the interference consists in the identification and adjustment of the semantemes to fuller congruence". However, in the

examples given below the semantemes of English and indigenous languages are not always similar. The list in Box 4 also includes lexical items used in senses in which they were never used in BSE or are no longer so used.

English words used in different senses from BSE in PE - Box 4

PE	Semantic Change from BSE
Academician	Used for *academic*. The word is used for scholars or intellectuals as well as people connected with university teaching and not members of official academies of learning.
Academic	Not used much as members of the faculty of a university are called 'teachers' not even 'university teachers' and academician is used for academics as mentioned above.
Black (money)	Used for illegal gain or buying something through unlawful means. In IE (Nihalani op. *cit*: 34).
Chips	Used for potato crisps as well as finger chips.
Colony	Used for an area of residence. In IE (see Nihalani: 51).
Educated Class	Used for the urban middle-class as an ingenuous and euphemistic term for the newly emerging middle class which is much better off than the working class.
Family	Used for the extended family including parents, grandparents and even aunts and uncles in Variety B. Some users of Variety C and most of D use it only for their wife since they consider it impolite to refer to her.
Feel	Used in Varieties C and D for *taking offence*.
Feudals	Used without *lords* or *lobby* for the feudal lords as a class in C and even in B.
Give examination	Used for the taking of examinations by the students. (These verbs are direct translations of Urdu/Hindi i.e. *imtihan dena* = examination giving. In IE (see Nihalani: 89).
Hail	Used for come e.g. I *hail* from Pakistan. This meaning is almost obsolete in BSE.

Healthy	Used for fat or overweight people in Varieties C and D but not in B.
High Gentry	Used for upper middle-class people with Western life-styles in Variety C and less often in B.
Hotel	Used for a restaurant and not only for a place of lodging.
Lemon	Used for lime as well as lemon.
Likeness	Used for liking or love in Varieties C and D.
Lower Class	Used for working class.
Professor	Used for college lecturers and even school teachers and not only for the equivalent of a professor in a university.
Sir/Madam	Used in varieties C and D to refer to teachers and administrative superiors in place of their names and title e.g. *Sir* is busy.
Source/Jack	Used for influence which can be used for one's advantage. Also used in IE (Nihalani *et. al. 105).*
Take examination	Used for the examiner's act of giving examinations.
Teacher	Used not only for school teachers as in BSE but for all those who teach at any level including universities.
Teacheress	A female teacher. The word does exist in the *Oxford English Dictionary* but is no longer in use in BSE. It is used in Varieties C and D along with *female* or *lady* teacher.
Ticket	Used for stamps as well as bus and train tickets.
Toast (noun)	Used for slices of bread whether toasted or not (see Q2: 27) [Appendix D].
Wheat-complexioned	Olive-complexioned. In IE (Nihalani *op. cit:* 193).

In *ET* (1990: 61) Baumgardner has asserted that *cabin* is used for office; *medical hall* for a drug store; and *half pants* for shorts. This might be true for some contributor to the *daily* newspapers but it is not true for most users of PE. Mostly *office, drug store or medical shop or store* is used in the same way as in BSE. *Knicker,* however, is used for boys' shorts in Varieties C and D.

A number of such peculiarities of Pakistani English are discussed in an article by Mohni Mohsin (Mohsin 2009: 30). She tells us that she received let-

ters addressing her as '*lady journalist*' not '*journalist*' and '*Miss Mohsin*' not Ms. Mohsin. Other usages of PE given by her are: *safety* (for razor); *hippy* (women with ample curves); *getting sugar* (for diabetes); *taking breakfast* (for eating it) and *good wife* (for wife). Military officers, however, use *lady wife* (personal observation).

Some words and constructions noted after the first edition
was published are as follows - Box 5

Word	Meaning
Booty	Material prepared for cheating in an examination. It probably comes from the Urdu word booty, which means a herb. Some people, however, maintain that it comes from the English word meaning 'loot', 'captured wealth'. Also used in IE.
Bun-Kabab	A young person educated in Urdu-medium schools belonging to the lower-middle and middle classes. Opposite of burger.
Burger	A young person educated in English-medium schools
Children	Besides the ordinary meaning of the word, it is also used for 'students' of all ages even those in a university. In the latter sense it is a direct translation of the Urdu and Punjabi words '*bachche*'.
Copy	Notebook. Also used in IE
Curd	Yoghurt. Also used in IE
Dish	Voluptuous, sexy girl. Used only in conversation among boys.
Drone	Verb from *drone*, meaning 'to destroy'
First and family name	There is no strict distinction between first and family names so titles and formal forms of address are used with first names. Farzana Khan is more likely to be referred to as Miss Farzana than Miss Khan and so on. Also used in IE.
Gulluism	Disruptive conduct presumably supported by figures in authority. Gained currency in Pakistan's English-language press from June 2014, when a policeman called Gullu Butt, in plain clothes, vandalized vehicles allegedly to intimidate the Chief Minister of Punjab, Shahbaz Sharif's, political opponents.
Lift	To encourage, or give attention to someone (especially in a romantic way); e.g, 'the girls give lift to boys in good cars'. However, lift also means elevator and to allow someone to ride one's car as a favour.

Mummy-Daddy type	Same as burger above.
Mutton	Used for goat-meat not sheep meat as in English-speaking countries. Also used in IE.
Pass out	Graduate. Also used in IE.
Ragging	Hazing; teasing; bullying. Also used in IE.
Shopper	Plastic bags for carrying goods.
Tension	Worry. To 'take tension' means to 'worry' (Mohsin 2009: 22).
Tight	Beautiful or sexy girl. Pronounced /taet/. Used only in conversation between boys.
Yo	More positive than burger. Fashionable in a Westernized way.

5.6 Translations

Simple and compound words may be translated verbatim (loan translation proper). Furnish a model for reproduction of similar units of meaning (loan renditions) or stimulate the creation of neologisms (loan creations) (Weinreich 1953: 51). The following examples from PE in Box 6, mostly identical to those found in IE, comprise some of these forms of translations. See Box 6 below.

Translations - Box 6

PE	BSE	Original Source (Urdu unless otherwise indicated)
Keep fasts	Fast	*Roza rakhna* (=fast keeping).
Fasts	Days of fasting	*Roza* (fast + plural morpheme)
Cousin sister/brother	sis- Cousin	(1) *Chachazad*
		(2) *Taiazad*
		(3) *Phupizad bahin* (sister)
		(4) *Mamoozad bhai* (brother)
		(5) *Khalazad*
		(1) Father's younger brother's
		(2) father's elder brother's
		(3) father's sister's
		(4) mother's brother's
		(5) mother's sister's
Uncle/Aunty		all the grown-up relatives mentioned above as well as all other people of the

			older generation provided they belong to the same class. The name comes before *uncle* or *aunt.*
Four-twenty	Scoundrel, or swindler	cheat	The section 420 of the Indian Penal code used to refer to cheats etc. also used in IE (see Nihalani: 85).

5.7   Hybrids

Among the hybrids, Weinreich distinguishes between those in which 'the item is transferred and a derivative affix reproduced' and those in which, 'the stem is indigenous and affix transferred' (1953: 52). Kachru classifies these as hybrids with 'South Asian item as head' and as 'modifier' (1975: 156). Some of the hybrids of IE are common to PE e.g. *Lathi-charge* (an attack by police with batons); police *thana* (police station); *zamindari* system (feudal system of ownership of land); *goonda*-looking (one who looks like a rough or a hooligan); miss *sahib* (*sahib* is an honorific used with many referents to show respect)' (Kachru 1975: 154 to 162).

Hybrids used only in PE refer either to Islam or to distinctive aspects of Pakistani culture e.g. *Ushr* tax (an Islamic tax on land); *Zakat* ordinance (a law meant to impose an Islamic tax); *nikah* ceremony (the marriage rites according to Islam); *bismillah* ceremony (a ceremony at which a child starts learning how to read the Quran); *aqiqa* ceremony (a ceremony at which a child is named); *ittar* bottle (a bottle containing a special type of scent); *Eid* card (a greeting card sent at the festival of Eid); *goonda* tax (illegal extortion of money through intimidation or force).

5.8   Innovations

Some lexical items are created in non-native Englishes. These are not always like the loan creations defined by Weinreich as created 'by the need to match designatives available in a language in contact' (1953: 51). Kachru distinguished between 'those items which have become parts of the lexical stock of the English language' (assimilated items) and those which are only used in South Asian Englishes (1975: 152). He gives the following example from PE:

(1) He [Major General S. D. Khan Niazi] was addressing various detachments of Mujahids who participated in the Mujahids mela held at

Kasur [D 04 Feb 1970 in Kachru 1975: 153] (*Mujahid* [Arabic] = fighter in a holy war; *Mela* [Urdu] = fair).

This example is consistent with his definition of innovation i.e. 'the transfer of South Asian lexical items into SAE' (1975: 152). However, such indigenous lexical items have been described under section 5.4 (Borrowing). Certain words are also coined through affixation (-*ism, ation* such as *mullahism* or *Islamization*) as explained by Baumgardner (*ET,* Jan 1990: 60-62). Examples of these words have not been repeated here. The following list in Box 6 consists of lexical items which are either from non-English sources or some originally from English but are no longer used in BSE. Most of them are also used in IE:

<div align="center">Box 7</div>

Item	Meaning
Cantonment	A special township set aside for military use (Nihalani: 42).
Dickey	The term was used for a spare passenger seat at the back of an automobile. It is used in IE and PE for the boot of a car (Nihalani: 67).
Stepney	Spare wheel of a vehicle. The word probably comes from the name of a street in Llanelly (Wales) where a mechanic is said to have supplied spare wheels to motorists (Nihalani: 167).
Tiffin	Lunch. Also used in compound words such as tiffin-carrier and tiffin-room. However, the word is almost obsolete in PE in all forms except tiffin-carrier. For IE see Nihalani: 179. the word is probably of British origin but is not used in BSE.
Ladies' fingers	Okra.
Peon	Office attendant or orderly. The word is pf Portuguese origin and is used in IE (Nihalani: 138). Since 1979 the Persian word *Qasid* (=messenger) is being used instead in Pakistani Government offices.
Playback (singer)	Refers to a singer who sings behind the stage while the person on the stage only mimes the act of singing. For IE see Nihalani: 141).
Bearer	Butler or valet. The origin of this word is obscure but it is not used in this sense in BSE. For IE see Nihalani: 31.

Bed-tea	A cup of tea taken in bed after waking up. This usage probably comes from the life of the British in India who would be served tea in bed by their servants. For IE see Nihalani: 32.

5.9   Other Productive Devices in PE

Apart from borrowing from non-English sources, using obsolete words of English and coining words in order to describe new experiences, speakers of PE as well as IE make compound words by omitting the possessive prepositions 'of' or 'for' in NP_1 + OF/FOR + NP_2 type of constructions. In some, one word is used in a special meaning while the other is used in its usual meaning in English. For instance, Eve-teasing means teasing or harassment of girls. In this Eve is used in a special sense for females. Incidentally, although Eve, as the mother of humanity, is part of the belief-system of Abrahamic religions, it is also found in India (Sedlatschek 2009: 79). Such constructions, called 'creative coinages' by Sedlatschek (2009: 79), abound in South Asian Englishes. Some examples of those in which both words are used in their usual meanings in PE are:

Freedom of the press	Press freedom (V 04 May 1989: 8).
Note of a meeting	Meeting notice (Trudgill and Hannah 1982: 107).
A box of matches	Match-box (Kachru 1966: 267)
An address of welcome	Welcome address (Nihalani et. al. 1979: 192).
Timings for prayers	Prayer timings.

This device reduces a syntactic unit of a higher rank [rank is defined as in Halliday's theory of systemic grammar (Halliday 1961: 251)] so that, according to Kachru, 'at places where a native speaker of English tends to use a group or a clause, an IE user might choose a unit of word rank' (Kachru 1966: 111).

5.10 The Usage of the Armed Forces and Elite Schools Controlled or Influenced by Them.

The following lexical items exist in the English of the officers of the armed forces:

Special usage Box 8

Item	Domain	Meaning
Cheeku	Army, navy, air force and their schools	A beardless good-looking boy or youth.
Dodger	Army, schools	One who malingers in order to shirk work.
Scrounger	Air force	As above
Jitter	Army	One who adheres to regulations rigidly and carried out all duties with excessive concern.
Panic-case	Air force	As above
Youngsters	All forces	Junior officers up to three years of service.
Seniors	All forces and the bureaucracy	Superiors (this usage is, however, shared by all varieties of English in certain registers).
Ragging	Armed forces	Physical punishments and invective to which junior cadets are subjected by senior ones.
Hot rod	Armed forces	Ace (pilot) or anyone outstanding in his job.
Professional type	Army	One who takes the profession seriously and is ambitious.
Ladies	Armed forces	The term women is not used even when it is not a matter of class. Lady is considered the formal or politer form of woman.
Tea break	Army	Not only the time for tea but also the things eaten in it. Used by Variety D speakers in the army like cooks, bearers etc only for the eatables.

The bureaucracy, both civilian and military, uses certain formulaic clichés, Latinisms Latinisms and very formal diction which give its English a characteristic factitious quality. This aspect of bureaucratic English is, in fact, also one of the most notable features of IE and PE on the whole (Goffin 1934: 28; Kachru 1969: 39; Mehrotra 1982: 163). One reason for writing *abode* for home, *demise* for death, *felicitations* for congratulations, *august* assembly for assembly is that rhetoric was fashionable in India and that English is used for rhetorical and bureaucratic functions rather than as a living language by most people.

5.11 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that PE differs from both BSE and IE in the lexico-semantic dimension. It differs from BSE in many usages but from IE in only those which are related to Islam, Pakistani culture or Pakistani languages. Most acrolectal users of English in Pakistan can, however, write Standard English with only some lexical items which may not be intelligible to other speakers of the language. Mesolectal users, on the other hand, cannot often avoid PE lexical items and would be less intelligible to other speakers of English. Basilectal users are the least intelligible internationally.

6
A PEDAGOGICAL MODEL OF ENGLISH FOR PAKISTAN

6.1   Introduction

One major change which has occurred in the eighties is that English language, English-language-teaching (ELT) and linguistics have begun ot be taught in addition to mainstream English literature. This has been possible only mainstream English literature. This has been possible only because of the efforts of the British Council, the American aid-given agencies, and the University Grants Commission which have organized courses and trained lecturers in ELT[4]. The prejudice of university teachers against language-teaching changed during the eighties so that in the English Language Conference held at UGC in 1983, most people spoke in favour of ELT[5]. However, it was in 1987 that the Allama Iqbal Open University offered its first distance-teaching M. A. course in TESOL. In the same year, the University of Azad Jammu and Kashmir offered a two-year M. A. in ELT and linguistics and the universities of Karachi and Punjab started offering one-year M. A. courses in linguistics in 1988. In a survey conducted by Chaudhry there was, "100% consensus on the importance of English language teaching at the tertiary level in Pakistan" (1987) among college and university teachers. Soon after this, I suggested that functional English should be taught for utilitarian purposes at all levels beyond the primary school, though literature in English need not be abandoned (Rahman 2002: 310). However, the question as to what model of English would be most appropriate for Pakistan was never touched upon by anyone in Pakistan.

6.2   Aim

The aim of this chapter is to suggest a tentative model of English for teaching in Pakistan. This model is intended to prescribe what features of English usage may be standardized for Pakistani users of English. These suggestions may be modified according to circumstances by concerned individuals or institutions.

6.3   Prescriptivism and Standardization

Prescriptivist attitudes are generally based on assumptions of superiority. Generally speaking, what is prescribed is implicitly, and very often explicitly, believed to be intrinsically superior. In fact, it is merely the norm of a dialect whose prestige rests on the political power and social prestige of its speakers. This negative prescriptivism lies behind attempts at standardization and complaints against changes in the language (Milroy and Milroy 1985). However, prescriptivism is not always motivated by snobbery.

In the International Conference on English held to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the British Council in September 1984, Randolph Quirk suggested that 'A single monochrome standard form may be valid for the whole world' (Quirk 1985: 6). In the same conference, Kachru pointed out that English is used by 'speech fellowships' of non-native speakers who are 'norm-developing' and not entirely dependent on norms upon native speakers (Kachru 1985: 15-16). Thus according to him, prescriptivism—in the sense of having some identifiable norms—was to be based upon 'linguistic pragmatism and realism' (Kachru 1985: 15). Quirk's concern with the retention of some norms was understandable. Without some such norms, teaching would not be possible since the language teacher functions only with reference to them. Even those who argue against linguistic centralization and authoritarianism concede that some notion of a 'standard' is required for pedagogical purposes (Christophersen 1960; Milroy and Milroy 1985: 102-116; Bloomfield 1985: 265-270; Chomsky 1966-67: 468). The essence of the problem reduces itself to this: what should this 'standard' be?

In Pakistan this standard was generally BSE. However, the language laboratories which were established during the 1960s were a product of American methods of language teaching. Even in the matter of pronunciation, the non-native teacher was supposed to provide 'authentic models' as follows:

> Teachers can now provide authentic pronunciation models easily for their students by means of tape recorder or a phonograph. Visitor and professional speakers can be recorded for the benefit of students (Lado 1964: 89).

Even now (2022), the standard accepted in Pakistan, in so far as one is mentioned at all, is BSE with the pronunciation of educated English people (Received Pronunciation or RP) as the ultimate norm for pronunciation. In practi-

ces, however, very few people write syntactically and lexically standard British English and nobody speaks RP at all.

In spite of this, it is not the 'standard' which is examined for its suitability for Pakistani learners, but the learners who are considered linguistically deficient. The model of English being proposed here takes the actual practice of Pakistani users of English and assumes that this can be used to create indigenous pedagogic norms for the teaching of English. Thus, what is being attempted in this chapter is not to impose a prescriptive standard for the first time, but merely to substitute a practical and attainable standard for an impractical and unattainable one.

6.4   Non-native Models and the Problem of Intelligibility

In pedagogical terms, 'A model provides a proficiency scale'. This scale can then be used 'to ascertain if a learner has attained proficiency according to a given norm' (Kachru 1982: 31). If the learner's aim is to 'identify with the members of the other linguistic cultural group' (Prator 1968: 474), this model must come from the group into which the learner seeks integration. In the Third World, however, most learners learn English for instrumental and utilitarian purposes (Christophersen 1960: 131-132; Kachru 1982: 42; Wong 1982: 266), which means that a native model need not always be necessary for pedagogical purposes. Thus, Prator's insistence on native models for all speakers may not be useful though his concern for international intelligibility is entirely justified (for intelligibility also see 2.4). The Ministry of Education of Malaysia stated clearly in 1971 that the aim of teaching English is 'international intelligibility' and explained their pedagogical objectives as follows:

> It should, however, be stated that our aim of 'international intelligibility' does not imply that our pupils should speak exactly like Englishmen. There would not be sufficient time to achieve this, nor is it necessary. What is aimed at is that they should be able to speak with acceptable rhythm and stress, and to produce the sounds of English sufficiently well for a listener to be able to distinguish between similar words (quoted in Wong 1982: 265).

There have been several attempts to create a simplified form of English for international communication. Some of these attempts were based on the reduction of lexical items such as 'Basic English' (Ogden 1938); 'Essential World English' (Hogben 1963) and 'World English' (Richards 1960: 204-266). Hogben

also suggested some simplifications in grammar (1963: 95-147) but it was later that a new model of English based upon grammatical simplification was given attention. This model was proposed by Randolph Quirk who called it 'nuclear English' (1987). He claimed that this kind of English would be easier to learn than standard English and eminently suitable as an international auxiliary language because of its international intelligibility. Basically, Quirk suggested some grammatical simplifications and the idea of teaching simplified English to non-native learners was discussed by Brumfit among others (Brumfit 1982: 4-6; Wong 1982: 266-272). Wong dismissed 'nuclear English' as an 'artificial construct' (1982:269) and suggested an indigenous model for teaching English in Malaysia (1982: 272-283) which has the drawback of being relevant primarily to Malaysia and not to other non-English-speaking countries.

6.5   The Choice of a Non-Native Model

The choice of a non-native model of English, not for the whole world, but for a particular country, and especially for language-teaching, has, however, met with somewhat more success. The very existence of such a choice is however, dependent on the recognition of the existence of non-native varieties of English.

Once a non-native variety of English exists, it should be acceptable as such by both native speakers of English and the speakers of that particular variety. Even in India, although IE has been described in detail it is still not preferred over British English by most students (Kachru 1982: 44), though scholars do accept it (Pride 1978: 30; Durant 1982: 151; D'Souza 1986: 8-9). Indian scholars have also related the question of a model to phonology (Lahiri 1956; Tickoo 1963) as well as syntax (Theivanthampillai 1968: 7-9). In other countries such as Singapore, Tay suggests the Singaporean acrolect as a pedagogical model (1982: 68). In Zambia, Serpell gives similar suggestions and makes a useful distinction between 'problematic' and 'non-problematic' Zambianisms excluding the former from his model (Serpell 1982: 114).

In Pakistan the situation so far is that all deviant features of PE, whether phonetic (Naseeruddin n.d: 1-6) or grammatical (Shah 1978), have been considered mistakes to be corrected. Baumgardner is the first to suggest that rule-governed deviant features of PE may be used to teach English (1987: 241-252). The previous chapters have described PE in much greater detail than over be-

fore. On the basis of this description the following pedagogical model is being offered.

6.6   The Suggested Model

Among the varieties of English described earlier only the acrolect and the mesolect can be possible candidates for a practical and suitable pedagogical model for Pakistan. If certain features of the two varieties are combined together, it might be possible to have an indigenous standard model which may be used in schools as well as colleges for teaching English. Those who specialize in English language and literature may, of course, go on to learn native varieties of English in university departments of English.

6.6.1 Phonology and Phonetics

Most of these may be as in Variety A. However, /v/ and /w/ need not be distinguished and /r/ may or may not be pronounced wherever it occurs orthographically.

6.6.2 Syntax and Morphology

(a) The definite article may be omitted as in Variety B e.g.
  (1) Army is a good profession in Pakistan.
(b) The progressive aspect may be used with habitual action, completed action [see 4.3 (b)] and certain stative verbs [see 4.4 (a)] as in varieties B and C respectively e.g:
  (2) I am doing it often.
  (3) Where are you coming from?
  (4) Are you wanting anything?

The following verbs may not be considered stative in PE: *see, hear, think, feel, believe, know, understand, remember, forget, doubt, want and wish.*

(c) The perfective aspect may be used for the simple past with past-time adverbs as in Variety C e.g.:
  (5) I have worked there in 1970 [4.4 (h)].
(d) The differences in complementation with certain verbs and adjectives as in Variety C may be accepted as the norm [see 4.3 (c)].
(e) The present tense may be used with durational phrases as in Variety C [see 4.4 (i)] e.g:
  (6) He is studying Sindhi since 1960.

(f) The different uses of prepositions may be accepted as in Variety B [see 4.3 (e)] e.g.:

(7) What is the time in your watch?

(g) Auxiliary inversion may be as in Variety C [see 4.3 (d)] e.g.:

(8) What this is made from?

(9) I asked him where is he?

(h) Only one question tag isn't it? May be used for all questions as in Variety C [see 4.3 (c)] e.g.:

(10) You are ill, isn't it?

(i) Yes/No questions may be answered as in Variety C [see 4.3 (g)] as long as the answer is not simply 'Yes' or 'No' but adds an explanatory message making the meaning unambiguous after these words:

(11) Yes, I won't.

(j) The auxiliaries could and would may be used for can and will as in Variety B [see 4.3 (d)] e.g.:

(12) I hope the President would investigate this matter.

(k) Nouns which are used as mass nouns in BSE may be used as count nouns and nouns used in partitive phrases in BSE may be used alone as in Variety B [see 4.3 (f)] e.g.:

(13) Aircrafts, fruits, woods, vegetables and chalks, cloths and toasts.

(l) The reflexive verbs such as enjoy may be used without the reflexive pronoun as in Variety B [see 4.3 (g)]. The following example, however, is from a mesolectal speaker of PE:

(14) Bring food for your lunch ... so that you can share with others and enjoy. (Invitation letter from the Secretary of the Pakistan Students Society of the University of Strathclyde to all members, 10 July 1989).

6.6.3 Lexis and Semantics

(a) Only words of English should be used when communicating internationally.

(b) Words should not be used in senses in which they are not used in other varieties of English unless dictionaries give these special meanings too.

(c) Compound formations as in Variety B may be allowed when they are intelligible to other speakers of English.

(d) Words such as cousin-sister, black money or cantonment which can either be understood in the context of their use or have been used very frequently by writers may be retained.

This model of English, which may be called Pakistani Standard English or PSE, shares most of its phonological features with Educated Indian English and should be intelligible to Indians. It should also be fairly intelligible to other speakers of English since many of its features were found to be intelligible to native speakers of English in a fairly thorough survey of native speakers' reactions to non-native English (Hultfors 1986). In syntax and morphology, it shares most of its features with not only IE but also the other non-native varieties of English. It would not be very difficult to learn for Pakistanis as it is already being used by many people in the country. The model would have the additional advantage of being internationally intelligible, at least in its written form, and also acceptable to all those who accept the necessity of recognizing non-native varieties of English as legitimate models of English usage in certain contexts.

6.7   Conclusion

The model of English offered in this chapter is primarily intended for pedagogical purposes especially for Pakistan. Such a model is being offered for the first time here, since it has always been assumed so far that the British Standard of written English with RP as the ideal pronunciation is the only possible pedagogical standard. The model is based on the varieties of English iin actual use in contemporary Pakistan and accepts certain rule-governed and regular features of acrolectal and mesolectal English as standard features. Since English is required for international communication in addition to international use, indigenous features which may hamper intelligibility have been eliminated. The model, therefore, is deviant from BSE without being unintelligible. In fact, the model is also intelligible to users of other native and non-native varieties of English since it shares many features with the latter. The model is prescriptive because it sets out to establish endonormative pedagogical norms. However, it is not meant to be inflexible or unalterable. Since it is based on actual usage, it may be changed when usage changes. But this change in usage must be regular and rule-governed and the model will help in preventing chaotic changes from taking place. The acceptance of this model will enable Pakistanis to use English for utilitarian purposes without disproportionate effort and save them from feeling linguistically insecure which is the inevitable consequence of accepting British English as the standard model.

7
CONCLUSION

7.1   PE and its Varieties

Pakistani English is an institutionalized non-native variety of English like Indian, Singaporean or Nigerian English. Like most such varieties, it can be further subdivided into four sub-varieties (A, B, C and D) according to approximation to British Standard English in phonological, syntactic and lexico-semantic features. Variety A or Anglicized English differs only in some phonological features but is otherwise identical to BSE. It is, however, used by only a few Pakistanis. Variety B, the acrolect, differs from BSE in all features but the difference is slight and, except in the lexical dimension, does not hamper intelligibility. Variety B is used only by those few people who have been educated in English medium schools or have been exposed to English later in life. Most people, however, use Variety C, the mesolect, which differs more radically in all dimensions from BSE than Variety B. As such, at least in its spoken form, this variety is less intelligible to foreigners than Varieties A and B. Variety D, the basilect, shows most deviation from BSE and is consequently least intelligible to foreigners. The users of this variety are not consistent in their usage.

Linguistically, as we have seen, the varieties of PE are four convenient points on a scale of increasing interference from Pakistani languages and culture-bound aspects of experience. Socially, they correspond to the class stratification in the country with speakers of varieties A and B belonging to the Westernized elite of the country. Most speakers of Variety C, though they are also professional people, come from families which did not belong to the Westernized elite as the parents of Variety A & B speakers did. Users of Variety D are generally found in the impoverished lower middle or upper working class.

This description of the three kinds of features of PE—phonological, syntactic, lexico-semantic—also brings out other similarities and differences between it and other varieties of English. It has emerged that in most aspects of phonology and virtually all of syntax, standard Pakistani English is identical to standard Indian English. However, in the lexico-semantic dimension, PE is so different from IE that the English written by Pakistanis for use within Pakistan

might be as unintelligible, at least in respect to some borrowed and translated lexical items, to Indian as it is to other speakers of English.

7.2   The Pedagogical Model Based on PE

On the basis of these features of PE, the following pedagogical model has been suggested:

Phonology & Phonetics:	As in Varieties A and B.
Syntax & Morphology:	Features 1 to 12 in the chart given above may be considered the norm for PE
Lexis & Semantics:	Only internationally intelligible lexical items may be used.

This model can be used for teaching and evaluating functional English in Pakistan. Most of the phonological and syntactic features of Variety B have been given pedagogic legitimacy as standard norms for Pakistan. The model also includes some features of Variety C. However, all the lexico-semantic features of PE, except those given in dictionaries available internationally, have been excluded since it is felt that they would hamper international intelligibility. This model is partly endonormative whereas the model which is in use at present (BSE with RP as the model of pronunciation) is totally exonormative. The proposed model has the further advantage of being easier to acquire for Pakistanis than BSE which was, in fact, almost impossible to acquire to perfection.

7.3   Achievements of this Study

This monograph offers the first detailed description of PE and suggests a pedagogical model based upon it. The division of PE into four sub-varieties is being offered for the first time also. In fact, since no detailed account of IE takes sub-varieties fully into account, this aspect of the study may be useful for all studies of non-native English in South Asia. The chapter on phonology presents certain phonological rules which, to the best of my knowledge, have never been presented earlier. These rules have not only descriptive but also predictive value. This does not mean, however, that this study is by any means definitive.

7.4   Possibilities for Further Research

Among its major shortcomings is that, like most accounts of non-native Englishes, it mostly describes the features of PE without explaining why they are different from BSE in exhaustive detail. The area which requires much research is that of the non-segmental features of PE which have been mentioned only in passing. Lack of space does not permit me to go into the pragmatic aspects of PE and in such areas as code-switching and lect-switching which could have been investigated. This is another potential area of research for linguists.

This brief and limited study may be of some value to those who are interested in developing an international auxiliary English for communicating all over the world (Smith 1983: 1-2; Brumfit 1982). There is also scope for investigating intelligibility with a view to teaching Pakistani users—such as pilots, navigators on the sea and in the air, translators and others—to become intelligible to other users of English. This description may also be useful for making Pakistanis aware of the existence of PE. This awareness will make teachers more sensitive to the linguistic needs of their pupils and they will learn to differentiate between mistakes and genuine deviations from BSE and RP. This study, however brief and incomplete it may be, has inspired some understanding off Pakistani English in the nearly thirty-three years of its existence. Thus, to a limited degree, I believe it has served its purpose. However, I would be highly encouraged and gratified if more research of a theoretical nature is conducted by Pakistani linguists on this subject.

NOTES

1. Halliday *et. al.,* however, accept the status of non-native varieties of English with the following reservation: 'Those who favour the adoption of "Indian English" as a model, from whatever motive, should realize that in doing so they may be helping to prop up the fiction that English is the language of Indian culture and thus be perpetuating the diminished status of the Indian languages' (1964: 174).

2. I thank Dr. Nigel Fabb, lecturer in linguistics, University of Strathclyde, who first suggested this to me in 1989.

3. Tay's definition of the basilect differs from mine since her description of the grammatical features of Singaporean English is almost identical to my definition of Anglicized PE (Variety A) (1982:63). It is that 'there are no significant or consistent differences between the grammatical features of the acrolect variety of Singapore English and those of standard British English (1982: 63). This should be kept in mind whenever reference is made to Tay.

4. The Diploma in Teaching English as an International Language has been held since 1984 at the National Academy of Higher Education (NAHE) sponsored by the UGC in Islamabad. Till date (1989), 88 college and university lecturers have obtained this diploma. These lecturers are taught by experts sponsored by the American Aid-giving bodies, the British Council and the UGC [Personal letter from Mr. Geoffrey Kaye, English Language Officer of the British Council in Islamabad, to the author (2nd May 1989)].

5. Most teachers of English literature from Pakistani universities and some college teachers spoke in favour of teaching ELT, etc. These include: Amina Khamisani, Rafat Karim and Anjum Riaz ul Haq. Mrs. Riaz ul Haq, the ex-Director of the NAHE, deserves commendation for having introduced ELT in Pakistan. The views of the participants are available in: *English Language Teaching* (Islamabad: UGC, 1983).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ahmad, M. 1964. 'A Contrastive Phonological Study of English and Urdu with Special Reference to Some Major Problems of Pronunciation. Unpublished paper. University of North Wales, Bangor.

Apte, Mahadev L. 1976. 'Language Controversies in the Indian Parliament (Lok Sabha): 1952-1960'. In O'Barr and O'Barr. Eds.1976: 213-234.

Asrani, U. A. 1964. What Shall We do About English? Ahmadabad: Navajivan Publishing House.

Bailey, Richard and Robinson, J. L. 1973. Varieties of Present Day English New York and London: Macmillan & Collier Macmillan.

Bamgbose, Ayo. 1971. 'The English Language in Nigeria'. In Spencer ed. 1971: 35-48.

Bangbose, Ayo. 1982. 'Standard Nigerian English: Issues of Identification'. In Kachru. ed. 1982: 99-111.

Banjo, L. Ayo. 1971. 'Toward a Definition of "Standard" Nigerian Spoken English'. Acte due Be congress de la Societe Linguistique de1 'Afrique Occidentale Abidjan: Universite d'Abidjan: 166-175.

Bansal, R. K. 1962. 'A Study of the Vowel System of Indian English as Spoken by the Educated Hindi Speakers of Delhi, East Punjab and U. P'. Bulletin of the Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages (India) 2: 159-165. (Henceforth abbreviated as BCIEFL).

Bansal, R.K. 1969. The Intelligibility of Indian English Hyderabad: Central Institute of English and Foreign Language.

Barron, A. W. 1961b. 'English Vowels for Indian Learners'. BCIEFL 1: 77-83.

Barron, A. W. J. 1961a. 'The English Dental Fricatives in India'. BCIEFL 1: 84-86.

Baumgardner, R (ed.) . 1993. The English Language in Pakistan Karachi: Oxford U. P.

Baumgardner, R (ed.).1996. South Asian English: Structure, Use, and Users Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Baumgardner, R. 1988. 'Contextualizing Indian English', Rev. Article. World English 7: 3: 339-346.

Baumgardner, R. 1990. 'The Indigenization of English in Pakistan', English today 21 (January), 54-65.

Baumgardner, Robert J. 1987. 'Utilizing Pakistani Newspaper English to teach Grammar'. World Englishes 6.3: 241-252.

Benson, Philip. 1990. 'A Language in Decline? English Today 6: 4 (Oct): 19-23.

Bickley, Verner. 1982. 'The International Uses of English: Research in Progress'. In Brumfit. ed. 1985: 265-270.

Bloomfield, Morton. W. 1985. 'The Question of correctness'. In Greenbaum ed. 1985: 265-270.

Bokamba, Eyamba G. 1982. 'The Africanization of English'. In Kachru ed. 1982: 77-98.

Bolton, Kingsley; Werner Botha & Andy Kirkpatrik.2020. The Handbook of Asian Englishes New York: John Wiley & sons. Inc.

Brosnahan, L. F. 1958. 'English in Southern Nigeria'. English Studies 39: 97-110.

Brumfit, C. J. ed. 1982. 'English for International Communication Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Campbell, Donald; Eknyom, Pansiri; Haque, Anjum and Smith, Larry. 1982. 'English in International Settings: Problems and their Causes' English World-Wide 3.1. 1982. Quoted from Smith. ed. 1983: 35-47.

Carroll, John B. ed. 1956. Language, Thought and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf Massachusetts: MT Press.

Catford, J. C. 1977/1982. Fundamental Problems in Phonetics Edinburgh U. P.

Catford, J. C. 1988. A Practical Introduction to Phonetics Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Chaudhary, Sarfraz 1987. 'Tertiary-level English in Pakistan: Literature versus Language Controversy'. Unpublished survey submitted as a paper to the UGC Islamabad (Pakistan).

Chishimba, Maurice. 1983. 'African Varieties of English: Text in context'. Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Chomsky, N and Halle, Morris. 1968. The Sound Pattern of English, New York: Harper & Row.

Chomsky, Noam. 1966-67. 'Reply' to Ronald Wardhaugh's 'A comment on Noam Chomsky's "The Current Scene in Linguistics: Present Directions". College English 28: 268.

Christie, Pauline. 1986. 'Evidence for an Unsuspected Habitual Marker in Jamaican'. In Gorlach et. al. eds. 1986. 183-190.

Christophersen, P. 1960. 'Toward a Standard of International English'. English Language Teaching 14: 127-138.

Christophersen, P. 1973. Second-Language Learning: Myth and reality Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Clyne, Michael. 1987. 'Discourse Structures and Discourse Expectations: Implications for Anglo-German Academic Communication in English'. In Smith. ed. 1987: 73-83.

Comrie, B . ed. 1987. The World's Major Languages, London & Sydney: Croom Helm.

Comrie, Bernard. 1976. Aspect: an Introduction to the Study of Verbal Aspect and Related Problems, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Craig, Dennis R. 1982. 'Toward a description of Caribbean English'. In Kachru. ed. 1982: 198-209.

Crewe, W. J. ed. 1977. The English Language in Singapore, Singapore: Eastern Universities Press.

D'souza, Jean. 1986. 'Codification of Non-Native English: Is it Necessary/Possible?' Studies in the Linguistic Science 16.1 (Spring): 1-11.

Dar, Saeeduddin Ahmad and Ansari, Sarfraz Hussain. 1989. The State of Social Sciences in Pakistan Islamabad: Quaid-i-Azam University.

Das, Sisir Kumar. 1982. 'Indian English. In Pride. Ed. 1982: 141-149.

Datta, S. 1972-73. 'The Pronunciation of English by Bengali Speakers'. BCIEFL 9: 35-40.

De Lanerolle, K. 1953. 'The Intonation of Sinhalese and its relevance in the Initial Stages of the Teaching of English as a Second Language to Sinhalese Children'. Unpublished Paper. Institute of Education, London.

Dhall, G. B. 1965. 'Observations on Some common Peculiarities in the English Speech of the People of Orissa'. Indian Linguistics 16: 276-282.

Durant, Alan. 1987. 'English Literature Teaching in India: Background and Case for Curriculum Development'. Focus on English (Madras) January 2.4.2.

Durkheim, Emile. 1912. Les formes elementaires de la vie religieuse. Trans. Joseph Swain. 1947. The Elementary Forms of the Religious life Glencoe: The Free Press.

Dustoor, P. E. 1955. 'Wrong, Usurping and Dispossessed Articles in Indian English'. Allahabad University Studies, 32: 1-17.

Dustoor, Phiroze Edulji. 1954. 'Missing and Intrusive Articles in Indian English'. Allahabad University Studies, 31: 1-70.

Emeneau, M. 1956. 'India as a Linguistic Area'. Language, 32: 3-16.

Emeneau, Murray B. 1955. 'India and Linguistics'. Journal of the American Oriental Society, 75: 145-215.

Faruqi, Ismail Rajial. 1986. Toward Islamic English, Virginia: International Institute of Islamic Thought.

Fernando, Chitra. 1982. 'English in Sri Lanka: a Case Study of a Bilingual Community'. In Pride. Ed. 1982: 188-207.

Firth, J. R. 1934. 'A Short Outline of Tamil Pronunciation'. Appendix XXXIV to A. H. Arden. A Progressive Grammar of Tamil, Madras.

Firth, J. R. 1957. 'A Synopsis of Linguistic Theory, 1930-1955'. In Palmer. ed. 1965.

Fishman, Joshua; Ferguson, C.S.A & Gupta, Das. eds. 1968. Language Problems of Developing Nations, London: John Wiley & Sons.

Giri, Ram Ashish; Anamika Sharma & James D' Angelo (eds.). 2020. Functional Variations in English: Theoretical Consideration and Practical Chellenges Cham, Switzerland: Springer Nature Switzerland.

Goffin, R. C 1934. Some Notes on Indian English, S.P,E. Tract, No 41. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Gokhale, Sridhar. 1988. 'The Progress in Indian English'. Unpublished M. Litt dissertation. University of Strathclyde, Glasgow.

Gopalkrishana, G. S. 1960. 'Some Observations on the South Indian Pronunciation of English'. Teaching English (Bombay) 6. 2: 62-67, April.

Gorlach, Manfred.1995. More Englishes: New Studies in Varieties of English 1988-1994 Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Gorlach, M and Holm, John A. eds. 1986. Focus on the Caribbean Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Greenbaum, Sidney. ed. 1985. The English Language Today, Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Guo-Zhang, Xu. 1987. 'Code and Transmission on Cross-Cultural Discourse: a Study of Some Samples from Chinese and English'. In Smith. ed. 1987: 66-72.

Haj, Mohammad A. and Ball, W. J. 1961. The Sound Structures of English and Bengali, Dacca: University of Dacca.

Halliday, M. A. K, 1961. 'Categories of the theory of grammar'. Word, 17. 3: 241-292.

Halliday, M; McIntosh, A and Strevens, P. D. 1964. The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching, London: Longman.

Haugen, Einar. 1977. 'Norm and Deviation in Bilingual Communities'. In Hornby. ed. 1977.

Hayes, Bruce Philips. 1981. A Metrical Theory of Stress Rules, Indiana, Blooming-
ton: Indiana University Linguistics Club. (Reproduction of doctoral disser-
tation, MIT).

Haynes, Lilith H. 1982. 'Caribbean English: Form and Function'. In Kachru. ed.
1982: 210-226.

Hill, Leslie. 1959. 'The Pronunciation Difficulties of Hindi Speakers Learning
English'. Teaching English, (Bombay) 6.1: 23-25, August.

Hocking, B. D. W. 1974. All What I was Taught and Other Mistakes: a Handbook of
Common Errors in English, Nairobi: Oxford U. P.

Hogben, Lancelot. 1963. Essential World English, London: Michael Joseph.

Hornby, P. ed. 1977. Bilingualism: Psychological Stress and Educational Implicati-
ons, New York: Academic Press.

Hultfors, Par. 1986. Reactions to Non-Native English, Bombay: Asia Publishing.

Jibril, Manzali, 1982. 'Nigerian English: an Introduction'. In Pride. ed. 1982: 73-84.

Jussawalla, Feroza F. 1985. Family Quarrels: Towards a Criticism of Indian Writing
in English, New York: Peter Lang.

Kachru, B and Quirk, R. 1981. 'Introduction'. In Smith. ed. 1981: 13-20.

-Kachru, B. 1965. 'The Indianness in Indian English'. Word 21: 391-410. Revised
Version used from Kachru 1983: 128-144.

Kachru, B. 1966. 'Indian English: a Study in Contextualization'. Bazell, C. E; Cat-
ford, J. C, Halliday, M. A. K. and Robins, R. H. eds. 1966. In Memory of J. R
Firth, London: Longman: 255-287. Version used from Kachru 1983: 99-127.

Kachru, B. 1969. 'English in South Asia'. Sebeok, T. ed. 1969. Current Trends in
Linguistics, Vol. 5. The Hague: Mouton: 627-678. Version used from Jachru
1983: 17-65.

Kachru, B. 1975. 'Lexical Innovations in South Asian English'. International Jour-
nal of the Sociology of Language, 4: 55-74. Version used from Kachru 1983:
147-164.

Kachru, B. 1976. 'Models of English for the Third World: White Man's Linguistic
Burden or Language Pragmatics'. TESOL Quarterly, 10: 221-239. Version
used from Kachru 1986: 100-114.

Kachru, B. 1977. 'The New Englishes and Old Models'. English Teaching Forum,
15. 3: 29-35. Version used from Kachru 1986: 115-123.

Kachru, B. 1982. 'Models for Non-Native Englishes'. In Kachru ed. 1982: 31-57.

Kachru, B. 1983. The Indianization of English: The English Language in India, Del-
hi: Oxford U. P.

Kachru, B. 1984. 'South Asian English'. Bailey, Richard W and Gorlach, Manfred. eds. 1984. English as a World Language, Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press: 353-383. Version used from Kachru 1986: 33-56.

Kachru, B. 1986. The Alchemy of English: The spread, functions and models of non-native Englishes, Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Kachru, B. ed. 1982. The Other Tongue: English Across Cultures Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Kachru, B.1985. 'Standards, Codification and Sociolinguistic Realism: the English Language in the Outer Circle'. In Quirk and Widdowson. eds. 1985: 11-30.

Kachru, Braj B. 1959. 'An Instrumental Phonetic Analysis of Some Prosodic Features of Indian English and Received Pronunciation. Unpublished Paper, School of Applied Linguistics. University of Edinburgh.

Kachru, Y. 1987b. 'Hindi-Urdu'. In Comrite. ed. 1987: 470-489.

Kachru, Yamuna. 1987a. 'Cross-Cultural Texts, Discourse Strategies and Discourse Interpretation'. IN Smith ed. 1987: 87-100.

Kelkar, Ashok R. 1957. 'Marathi English: A Study in Foreign accent'. Word, 13. 2: 268-282.

Kindersley, A.F. 1938. 'Notes on the Indian Idioms of English: Style, Syntax and Vocabulary'. Transactions of the Philological Society: 25-34.

Kirk-Greene, A. 1971. 'The Influence of West African Languages on English'. In September. ed. 1971.

Kohler, W. 1937. 'Psychological Remarks on Some Questions of Anthropology'. American Journal of Psychology, 50: 271-288.

Ladefoged, P. 1971. Preliminaries to Linguistic Phonetics, Chicago: Chicago U. P.

Lado, K. C. 1964. Language Teaching: A Scientific Approach, New York: Mcgraw Hill.

Lahiri, K. C. 1956. 'Peculiarities in Spoken English of Indians and the Question of a Standard for them'. The Research Bulletin (arts) of the University of Punjab, 19: 3.

Leitner, Gerhard.1991. The Kolhapur Corpus of Indian English—Intervarietal Description and/or intervarietal Comparison. In Johansson, Stig & Strenstrom, Anna-Brita (eds.).1991. English Computer Corpora: Selected Papers and Research Guide Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. Pp. 215-231.

Leitner, G; Azireh Hashim & Hans-Georg Wolf (eds.).2016. Communicating with Asia: English as a Global Language Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lisker, L. & Abrahamson. 1964. 'A Cross-Language Study of Voicing in Initial Stops'. Word, 20. In Catford 1977: 112-113.

Llamazon, Teodoro A. 1969. Standard Filipino English, Manila: Ateneo University Press.

Locastro, Virginia. 1987. 'Aizuchi: A Japanese Conversational Routine'. In Smith ed. 1987: 101-113.

Lowenberg, Peter. 1984. 'English in the Malay Archipelago: Nativization and its Functions in a Sociolinguistic area'. Unpublished Ph. D dissertation. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Mackenzie, D. N. 1987. 'Pashto'. In Comrie. ed. 1987: 547-565.

Magura, Benjamin J. 1984. 'Style and Meaning in Southern African English: a Sociolinguistic Study'. Unpublished Ph. D dissertation. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Mahboob, Ahmar .2004 'Pakistani English: Morphology and Syntax'. In Schneider et. al. 2004: 1045-1057.

Mahboob, Ahmar .2009. 'English as an Islamic Language: a Case Study of Pakistani English', World Englishes 28: 2: 175-189.

Mahboob, Ahmar and Ahmar, Nadra Huma .2004. 'Pakistani English: phonology'. In Schneider et. al. 2004: 1003-1016.

Malinowski, B. 1950. Argonauts of the Western Pacific, New York: E. P. Dutton & Coy.

Marckwardt, Albert H. 1963. 'English as a Second Language and English as a Foreign Language'. PMLA (May): 25-29. In Smith ed. 1983: 13-14.

Masica, C. 1976. Defining a Linguistic Area: South Asia, Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press.

Masica, Colin P. 1966. The Sound System of General Indian English, Hyderabad: CIEFL.

Mehrotra, R. P. 1982. 'Indian English: a Sociolinguistic Profile'. In Pride ed. 1982: 150-173.

Milroy, James & Milroy, Leslie. 1985. Authority in Language London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Moag, Rodney. 1982. 'English as a Foreign, Second, Native and Basal Language: a new Taxonomy of English-Using Societies'. In Pride ed. 1982: 11-50.

Mohsin, Mohsin.2009. 'My Intended Never Takes Tension', Friday Times, 25 Sept-01 Oct, p. 22.

Naseeruddin, Syed. nd. [1960] 'Speech Training: Difficulties of a Foreign Learner'. Cyclostyled Lesson Plan. Pakistan Military Academy, Kakul: 1-6.

Nelson, C. 1984. 'Intelligibility: the Case of Non-Native Varieties of English'. Ph. D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Nelson, Cecil L. 1982. 'Intelligibility and Non-Native Varieties of English'. In Kachru ed. 1982: 58-71.

Nihalani, Paroo; Ray, K. Tongue and Hosali Priya. 1979. Indian and British English: a Handbook of Usage and Pronunciation. Delhi: Oxford U. P.

Noss, Richard ed. 1983. Varieties of English in South-East Asia, Singapore: Regional English Language Centre.

O' Barr, William M & O' Barr, Jean F. eds. 1976. Language and Politics, The Hague: Mouton.

Ogden, C. K. 1938. Basic English: a general introduction with rules and grammar, 7th ed. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner.

Palmer, F. R. ed. 1968. Selected Papers of J. R. firth, 1952-59, London: Longman.

Pandit, P. B. 1964. 'Indian Readjustments in the English consonant system'. Indian Linguistics 25: 202-205.

Passe, H. A. 1947. 'The English Language in Ceylon'. Unpublished Ph. D dissertation. University of London.

Platt, J. 1984. The New Englishes, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Platt, John T & Webber, Heidi. 1980. English in Singapore and Malaysia: Status, Features, Function, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford U. P.

Platt, John. 1977. 'The Sub-Varieties of Singapore English: Their Sociolectal and Functional Status: In Crew. ed. 1977: 83-95.

Platt, John; Webber, Heidi & HO, Mian Lian. 1983. Varieties of English Around the World: Singapore and Malaysia, Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Prator, C. 1968. 'The British Heresy in TESL'. In Fishman et. al. eds. 1968: 459-476.

Pride, J. ed. 1982. New Englishes, Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House Publishers Inc.

Pride, John B. 1978. 'Communicative Needs in the Use and Learning of English'. Indian Journal of Applied Linguistics, 1978:4.

Quirk, R. 1978. "On the grammar of 'Nuclear English'", Paper presented at the Conference on English as an International Auxiliary Language, East-West Centre. Honolulu. As a "International Communication and the concept of nuclear English". Quoted from Brumfit. ed. 1982: 15-28.

Quirk, R. 1985. "The English Language in a global context". In Quirk & Widdowson eds. 1985: 1-6.

Quirk, R. and Widdowson, H. G, ed. 1985. English in the World: Teaching and Learning the Language and Literatures, Cambridge: Cambridge U. P.

Quirk, Randolph, Greenbaum, B & Svartrik, J. S. 1972. A Grammar of Contemporary English, London: Longman.

Rafat, Taufiq. 1969. 'Towards a Pakistani Idiom. 'Venture, 6.1: 60-70.

Rahman, Tariq. 1989. 'Pakistani English: The Linguistic Description of a Non-Native Variety of English', M. Litt. Dissertation, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow.

Rahman, T. 2002. Language, Ideology and Power: Language-learning among the Muslims of Pakistan and North India New York: Oxford University Press.

Rahman, T. 2004. Language and Education: Selected Documents (1780-2003) Islamabad: Chair on Quaid-i-Azam & Freedom Movement, NIPS, 2004.

Rahman, T. 2016. The development of English in Pakistan. In Leitner, G et.al (eds.), 13-27.

Rahman, T.2020. Pakistani English. In Bolton, K et.al. 2020: 280-296.

Rahman, T.2020. English in Pakistan: Past, Present and Future. In Giri, R et.al. 2020: 127-148.

Rao, K. S. N. 1961. 'A Footnote to the Indian Pronunciation of the initial /k, t, p/ and /v/ and /w/ in English'. Indian Linguistics, 22: 160.

Richards, I. A. 1960/ 1968. So Much Nearer: Essays Toward a World English, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc.

Richards, J. 1982 b. 'Rhetorical and Communicative Styles in the New Varieties of English'. In Pride ed. 1982: 227-248.

Richards, Jack C. 1982a. 'Singapore English: Rhetorical and Communicative Styles'. In Kachru ed. 1982: 154-167.

Roy, John D. 1986. 'The Structure of Tense and Aspect in Barbadian English Creole'. In Gorlach et. al. Eds. 1986: 141-182.

Saleemi, Anjum .1993. 'Native and Non-native Grammars of English'. In Baumgarder 1993: 33-40.

Sapir, Edward. 1931. 'Conceptual Categories in Primitive Languages'. Sciences, 74: 578.

Schneider, Edgar W.2000. Corpus Linguistics in the Asian Context: Exemplary Analyses of the Kolhapur Corpus of Indian English. In Bautista, Maria Lourdes S; Llamzon, Teodoro, A. & Sibayan, Bonifacio, P (eds.).2000. Paran-

gal cang Brother Andrew, Festchrift for Andrew Gonzalez on His Sixtieth Birthday Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines. Pp. 115-137.

Schneider, E. W. 2007. Postcolonial English: Varieties Around the World Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schneider, E.W.,Kate Burridge, Bernd Kortmann, Rajend Mesthrie and Clive Upton (eds.), A Handbook of Varieties of English 4 Vols. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2004.

Sedlatschek, Andreas.2009. Contemporary Indian English: Variation and Change Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Serpell, Robret. 1982. 'Learning to Say it Better: a Challenge to Zambian Education'. In Pride ed. 1982: 100-118.

Sey, R. A. 1973. Ghanaian English: an Exploratory Survey, London: Macmillan.

Shah, Syed Saadat Ali. 1978. Exploring the World in English, Lahore: Markazi Kutub Khana.

Singh, Rajendra. 1995. Linguistic Theory, Language Contact, and Modern Hindustani: The Three Sides of a Linguistic Story New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc, New York.

Sisson, R. R. 1971. 'The description and comparison of Stress in South British English and Hindi'. Linguistics: an International Review 17: 35-60.

Smith, L . 1976. 'English as an International Auxiliary Language'. RELC Journal 7. 1: 38-42.

Smith, L and Rafiqzad, K. 1979. 'English for Cross-Cultural Communication: The Question of Intelligibility'. TESOL Quarterly, 13. 13: 371-380. Quoted from Smith ed. 1983: 49-59.

Smith, L ed. 1987. Discourse Across Cultures: Strategies in World Englishes, New York & London: Prentice Hall.

Smith, L. ed. 1983. Reading in English as an International Language, Oxford & New York: Pergamon Press.

Smith, Larry ed. 1981. English for Cross-Cultural Communication, London: Macmillan.

Smith-Pierce, J. L. N. 1934. English Errors in Indian Schools, Bombay: Oxford U. P.

Spencer, J. ed. 1963. Language in Africa, London: Cambridge U. P.

Spencer, J. ed. 1971. The English Language in West Africa, London: Longman.

Strevens, P. 1977. New Orientations in the Teaching of English, London: Oxford U. P.

Talaat, Mubina .1993. 'Lexical variation in Pakistani English'. In Baumgardner 1993: 55-62.

Tarone, Elaine and Yule, George. 1987. 'Communication Strategies in East-West Interactions. 'In Smith ed. 1987: 49-65.

Tay, Mary, 1982. The Users, Uses and Features of English in Singapore'. In Pride ed. 1982: 51-70.

Taylor, Susan. 1969. 'Preliminary Study of the Stress System in Indian English'. Division of English as a Second Language. University of Illinois, Urbana, Mimeographed.

Thievanthampillai, K. 1968. 'Some Structural Differences Between English and Tamil and their Implications for Teaching. Part I'. English for Our Schools, (Sri Lanka) 1. 3: 7-9.

Tickoo, M. L. 1963. 'English Pronunciation in India: The Choice of a Model'. Language Learning, 13.3 & 4: 171-175.

Todd, Loreto, 1984. Modern Englishes: Pidgins and Creoles, London: Basil Blackwell & Andre Deutsch.

Trudgill, Peter, & Hannah, Jean. 1982/1985. International English: A Guide to the Varieties of English, London: Edward Arnold.

Usmani, Mufti A. H. 1965. 'A Study of the Teaching of English as a Foreign Language in the Secondary Schools of the Peshawar Region'. Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation. Texas Technological College.

Verma, S. 1982. 'Swadeshi English Form and Function'. In Pride ed. 1982: 174-187.

Verma, Siddheswar S. 1957. 'The Pronunciation of English in North-Western India'. Indian Linguistics, 18: 86-88.

Weinreich, Uriel. 1953. Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems, The Hague: Mouton.

Whitworth, George C. 1907/1982. Indian English: An Examination of the Errors of Idioms made by Indians in Writing English, Letchworth, Herts: Garden City Press, New Delhi: Bahri Publications.

Whorf, Benjamin Lee. 1956. 'Language, Mind and Reality'. In Carroll ed. 1956. 252.

Wilson, H. H. 1855. A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms and of Useful Words Occurring in Official Documents, Relating to the Administration of the Government of British India, London: W. H. Allen.

Wong, Irene. 1982. 'Native Speaker English for the Third World Today'. In Pride ed. 1982: 261-286.

Yule, Henry and Burnell, A. C. 1866/1968. Hobson-Jobson: a Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases and of Kindred terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographical, and Discursive, London: J. Murray. New York: Humanities Press, 1968.

Zuengler, Jane E. 1982. 'Kenyan English'. In Kachru ed. 1982: 112-124.

Zulfiqar, G. H. & Akhtar, Nasreen, 1986. Qaumi Zaban Ke Bare Men Ahem Dasta-vezat, (Important documents about the National language [Urdu] Vol. 2 Part 1, Islamabad: Muqtadra Qaumi Zaban.

This is the first detailed study of Pakistani English (PE). PE is a non-native variety of English with certain distinctive features of pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar which are different from such native varieties of English as have been standardized in the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

The monograph also describes the various sub-varieties of PE in terms of the degree of their deviation from British Standard English which is used as the norm of comparison in Pakistan though, as this work indicates, the distance from this aspirational norm is a matter of socio-economic class, level of exposure to English and other such variables. The monograph is of interest for sociolinguists, educators, teachers of English, travelers and tourists to South Asia, interpreters, writers, media persons and ordinary readers.

Tariq Rahman PhD is presently Dean, School of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences at the Beaconhouse National University, Lahore. He is also HEC Distinguished National Professor and Professor Emeritus at the National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad. Dr Rahman has been a guest professor in Denmark and Spain, and a Fulbright research scholar (1995-96) at the University of Texas at Austin, USA.

He was also the first incumbent of the Pakistan Chair at University of California, Berkeley (2004-05). He has been a research fellow at the Oxford Centre of Islamic Studies and the South Asia Institute at the University of Heidelberg. He is the recipient of several awards: the Presidential Pride of Performance (1994), HEC Lifetime Achievement Award, the highly prestigious Humboldt Research Award (2012) from Germany, and the Sitara-i-Imtiaz in 2013. In 2014, he was awarded a D. Litt by the University of Sheffield for all of his published research.