Distinctive Features of Indo-Pakistani English

1 Introduction

There is little doubt that the English language is currently near the top of the list of the most widely spoken languages in the world. Despite being a distant second to Chinese in terms of the number of speakers for whom it is a first language, many people speak English in addition to their native tongue, contributing greatly to its current popularity. As a result, it is frequently employed when addressing a multinational audience who may not have a common first language since many of them are likely to have a working knowledge of English. The rise of the British Empire contributed a great deal to the growth of the number of English speakers, particularly speakers for whom it was a second language. The spread of English in South Asia can be attributed to many factors, most of which are linked with British occupation. Local tradespeople learned the language to facilitate dealings with the government. As British presence increased, it caused growth in the size of the local government infrastructure, the government hired South Asians for administrative, non-military positions which required a knowledge of English. Over a period that spanned approximately 200 years, South Asians imparted aspects of their native tongues to English and contributed to the evolution of the language. This process did not stop with the cessation of British rule in 1947, English was not only here to stay, it had evolved a new dialect, South Asian English.

In 1947, South Asia was divided up into two independent sovereign nations, India (Hindustan) and Pakistan. Indians and Pakistanis share many languages , though there are some that are spoken only in one country. Their national languages Hindi and Urdu have many lexical and grammatical similarities, but use different scripts. The dialects of English spoken in both nations are so similar that Indo-Pakistani English is considered a more accurate term to describe the dialect specific to India and Pakistan. The Indian and Pakistani dialects are so similar that much of the literature published on the unique features of

English in India also describes Pakistani English. In this paper, I will attempt to bring certain distinctive features of Indo-Pakistani English to the reader's attention, with particular emphasis on Pakistan. I have concentrated my focus on Pakistan because I am quite familiar with Pakistani English having grown up a native speaker and I am interested in learning what makes the English I speak Pakistani English.

2 Methods

To gain a working knowledge of the distinctive features of World Englishes, I consulted journal articles and book chapters in relevant journals and anthologies. As previously mentioned, the scholarship pertaining to Pakistani English was quite scarce compared to writings on South Asian and Indian English. Because much of the literature I consulted contained many examples of the described features, I could use these data to determine if they were restricted to Indian or Pakistani English, or shared by both. In order to make such a determination, I compiled a dataset of Pakistani English text from newspaper articles and letters to the editor from the on-line versions of English language Pakistani newspapers . Since newspapers feature local, national and international material, occurrences of region specific linguistic phenomena occur frequently in certain sections. In a few cases, when appropriate examples were not available in the data, I have resorted to my own knowledge of Pakistani English. Even though I have examined certain features that don't normally occur in written Pakistani English, I did not compile a separate dataset of spoken English. I have relied on informal conversation with other English speakers to get some of the examples provided.

3 Pakistan and the status of English in Pakistan

Before beginning my discussion of Pakistani English, I will provide some information about Pakistan and the current linguistic landscape of the country particularly that of English. Pakistan spans an area of 310,401 square miles in South Asia bordering India to the East; Iran and Afghanistan to the West; China to the North and the Arabian Sea to the South. Several different languages are spoken as native toungues by the

population of 162 million . While the national language is Urdu, only 10% of the population are native speakers. English literacy is currently between 3% and 5%, but is significantly higher amongst people who have received post-secondary education. Pakistan is classified as an Outer Circle country according to Kachru's three-circle model (1985). In Outer Circle countries English has the status of a second language. Because many Pakistani governmental agencies were closely modeled on their equivalents within the British Raj at the time of Partition, English features prominently in government correspondence among high-level civil servants and is used in the legal system to publish rulings alongside Urdu. The majority of business contracts and a large part of business correspondence are transacted in English. English literacy is on the rise (as is also the case in many other developing nations) because there are newly emerging opportunities for English speakers in Pakistan today. As previously mentioned, Pakistanis have imparted their own flavor to the English language and some aspects of this flavor are explored below.

4 Distinctive features

The linguistic evolution that has led to the establishment of Pakistani English is visible in several aspects of the language. Pakistani English speakers have introduced and modified features that have affected the syntax, morphology, phonology and lexicon of the language. It is not possible to neatly classify each feature under a single category because a particular feature may introduce a new affix and alter pronunciation of the root which affects both the morphology and the phonology of the language. It is important to keep this in mind during the discussion that follow. In most cases I have used the names given to a feature in the literature. I have referred to the appropriate source in the discussion. A list of the features I have analyzed is given below and I will follow this list in order.

- Lexical innovations
    - Borrowed words
    - Hybridized items
    - Translations

- IPE specific terms
- Weights and measures

Syntax Assonance based phrases

I have dedicated much of the feature analysis to the discussion of lexical innovations because they represent the largest number of unique features found in Indo-Pakistani English. The literature on lexical topics greatly outnumbers all the other features combined.

4.1 Lexical innovations

Kachru (1975) used the term Lexical innovations as an umbrella label for several processes. Any modification of the lexicon that results in a word that was not previously contained is a lexical innovation. Baumgardner provides a further explanation of the process of lexical innovation in the following quote:

> Like older varieties of English (e.g. British American, Australian), newer Englishes mirror their contexts of use, and lexical innovation in them as elsewhere is a common linguistic process through which local social and cultural phenomena find expression.
>
> (1996:174)

A new word or phrase can be formed through several different processes (as shown in the list above). Each of these processes is treated in a separate subsection below.

4.1.1 Borrowed words

Any item carried over into English from another language is considered borrowed. In most cases borrowed words are imported because there is no equivalent available in English. http://www.kamat.com/kalranga/admedia/2454.htmCharpoi is a particular kind of bed which is not easy to describe in English. Using the word charpoi allows reference to the object without having to present a lengthy and possibly vague description of the object. Urdu and Hindi speakers are instantly aware of the object being described and so the word is imported as a convenience. It is very common for words to be assimilated into other Englishes as speakers come into contact. Kachru considers words that have been absorbed into the mainstream English

lexicon as “assimilated items” (1975). In contrast, words that have not (yet) been ’assimilated’ are termed “restricted”, such words only appear in Indo-Pakistani English. In a few cases, words are borrowed even though the concept is well represented by a pre-existing English word. Chowk is a synonym for intersection. Yet “chowk” is commonly used instead of “intersection” in Indo-Pakistani English (Baumgardner 1993c). It is much more common for such words to remain restricted because there is no new information imparted to the language through the use of such a word. Words that convey unique meaning have a much higher likelihood of being assimilated than local equivalents of pre-existing English words.

Borrowed words occur frequently in the business sections of Pakistani newspapers. Urdu words are used in business transactions and these words are carried over unchanged into English stories to maintain accuracy. The term “desi” is used in the string “desi chick peas” in a story from the Dawn business section (Dawn (a)). The literal meaning of desi, of country or from this country but in this context it may also represent a variety of chickpea. Translating it to an English equivalent may result in information loss. So the term desi is borrowed into English instead. Similarly, the “badla” system present in Indian and Pakistani stock markets is mentioned in the phrase “badla shares” in a story from the business section of The Nation (The Nation (a)). Since the Urdu/Hindi word badla describes a unique feature of these stock markets, it is simply carried over instead of being translated into English.

Letters to the editor also frequently contain borrowed words. The issues being presented in most letters address local or national matters and use terms that are in widespread use within Pakistan. The word “Satabazee” is used to describe speculation in a letter about the stock market in the Business Recorder. A section from the letter is reproduced below.

> LETTER (April 18 2005): I make the following suggestions to make the stock market a stable and reliable institution.To avoid, hedging, Satabazee, daily intra-day insider trading, volatile rumours, speculation, frauds, monopolisation, manipulation by a few stock brokers:

(Business Recorder (e))

National news stories contain the largest numbers of borrowed words. In the provided data, the words “Begum” - a salutary title for wife of (Frontier Post (d)); moot - meet (Daily Times(a)); chowkidars - night watchmen/guards (Dawn (c)); Karo Kari - honor killing (Dawn (e)), occur in stories from the national sections of several different papers. Because the readership is expected to be local, the writers employ borrowed words to preserve the richness and precision of the borrowed words instead of attempting to translate them as they might do for non-native readers.

In contrast, international sections contain few borrowed words. On the rare occasions when borrowed words are used, the contextual information is sufficient to provide the reader with sufficient meaning to comprehend the story. I have avoided stories from international newswire services which have extremely low likelihood of containing borrowed words. Instead I have only looked at stories written by local writers. The subject matter of each of these stories does not lend itself well to being described using borrowed words. The environment being described is frequently unfamiliar, so it is not possible to employ borrowed words. The English language dailies of the countries featured in the stories in the international section may employ borrowed words in their reports because of familiarity with the environment.

Due to the highly targeted nature of advertising, borrowing is employed very frequently in advertisements. A campaign for prepaid cell phone service in Pakistan combined the English branding “Jazz” with “aur sunao” (tell me more). Such constructions are very frequent in colloquial Pakistani English and since the intent of the advertisers is to create a catchy slogan that will be remembered by the reader, they have created one using a familiar lexical pattern .

4.1.2 Hybridized items

New lexical items can be formed using one word from English and one word from Urdu. The resulting new phrase is a hybrid made up of constituents from both languages. Kachru (1975) uses the term “Hybridized items” to describe such constructions.

Such phrases occur in several different forms, short explanations and examples of each are provided below, followed by more detailed discussions:

1. Two collocated words, one from each language e.g lathi charge, which is a baton charge usually conducted by the police to tackle an unruly crowd or baba suit which is a garment for boys (Baumgardner, 1993c:109).
2. Combination of an English word with a non-English affix or vice verse e.g kanjoos + ness, a hybridized synonym for miserliness; or cheap + pana, which is used to describe cheap or unbecoming behavior.
3. In some cases English and Urdu equivalents are used in a phrase e.g. cotton-kapas (Kachru:65). Kachru uses the term “hybridized reduplication” for such constructions.

As mentioned above, the word “desi” is frequently borrowed into English in Pakistani publications. It occurs on its own and is also collocated with an English word. The examples provided in the previous section are equally applicable here, since the phrases “desi chick peas” and “badla shares” are compound nouns formed through the combination of English and Urdu words. I have reused the examples because both of them are cases in which the Urdu words are used individually and as borrowed words. In the case of “badla”, it represents a financial mechanism employed in the stock market and combining it with “shares” creates a hybrid phrase used to describe shares that have been purchased by employing the badla mechanism.

Other Urdu words in hybridized items may not be used alone, as Baumgardner (1993c) notes that “lathi charge” is freely substituted for “baton charge” in English newspaper stories. However, the word “lathi” alone is not used with any observable frequency. I was unable to find an example of “lathi” occurring alone in a newspaper story. Another common example of an Urdu word that occurs exclusively as part of a hybridized collocation is “payya” (wheel), which is used in the term “payya jam” (a halt in the operation of public transportation”. Payya jam is commonly used in place of “wheel jam”, an IPE specific construction (Weekly Independent (b)) that will be discussed further in a later section.

Collocated items are present in business sections of the

newspapers used to gether date. Some constructions are illustrated by the phrases used in the examples above (references are also provided with the examples). The word badla is also used in several different phrases in one letter (Business Recorder (c)): “badla shares", “badla rate”, “badla system”, “badla brokers” are all terms that represent different entities connected to “badla” which is a specialized term that describes one aspect of the workings of the Indo-Pakistani Stock Exchanges. As argued in the section on borrowed words, the use of lexical innovations is less frequent in international news and so collocated items are less common in international news with one noteworthy exception. Salutary terms are carried over as in Maulana Dr. Gul Khan who happens to be a cleric as well as having a medical degree or a Doctorate is described in the same way in both National and International sections of Pakistani newspapers.

A commonly observed case of hybridization occurs in the formation of unique nouns through the attachment of an Urdu suffix. One of the most frequently attached suffixes “-walla” (or “-wallah” (Baumgarnder: 100)) combines with English nouns to create new descriptive terms (usually for people). A salesman in a shop that sells televisions or a television repairman is called TV-walla. Walla attachment has long been present in Indo-Pakistani English, such constructions are so common that they have been incorporated into surnames. The Sodawaterwalla families in Pakistan and India are among several others who have hybridized walla phrases for last names . For applications of -walla in constructions other than proper names (in which the gender is frozen), the walla suffix changes to walli if the described entity has feminine gender in Urdu. So a female car owner would be a Carwalli instead of a Carwalla.

Baumgardner discusses “-wallas” (1993c:100) but doesn’t provide any examples of hybrid walla construction. He deals exclusively with compound words formed from two imported Urdu words. The examples he has provided also contain hyphens between the word and the suffix even though it is more common to attach directly to the root word without hyphenating. An example hybrid construction is provided in a quoted sentence in a paper by Beverly Hartford (2004:590) “Panwallas,

hotelwallas and other such shopkeepers" and the English word "hotel" and Urdu suffix "-walla" are not hyphenated. The word "panwalla" (betel leaf seller) is present in one article (The Nation (a)) in the dataset I have compiled for this study, but "pan" is originally an Urdu word and so panwalla is not a combination of an English word with the walla suffix.

Reduplicated English Urdu hybridized phrases are used infrequently in newspapers. I did not come across a single example when compiling my dataset. I have relied on Kachru's observations for examples of such constructions. Reduplication occurs more often in speech than it does in text, so finding examples in a text based dataset presents some difficulty because of the rarity of such terms. Kachru (1975:65) uses the following examples: cotton-kapas; curved-kukri; lathi-stick. In each case the English and Urdu words have the same meaning, yet they are doubled up.

4.1.3 Translations

Certain Urdu nouns are gendered in cases where their English counterparts are not. "Teacher" can be used to describe both male and female instructors, but Urdu distinguishes between male teachers "Ustaad" and female teachers "Ustaani" by providing different suffixes for each gender. Many Indo-Pakistani English speakers carry the gender disinction over to English resulting in words and use "teacheress" (Mehrotra, 2003:24) when referring to female teachers. They choose the equivalent regular feminine ending and attach it to a word that is not gendered in mainstream English. Mehrotra's paper is restricted to a study of Indian English but this feature is also present in Pakistani English. The feminine ending is the same in Hindi and Urdu and so similar patterns are visible. Older nouns for which feminine forms are no longer used by in "Inner Circle" (Kachru, 1985) he Inner Circle countries are those in which English is the primary language such as the UK, USA, Australia and New Zealand countries are also used part of the Pakistani English lexicon. When referring to women of African origin, Pakistani English speakers still use the word "negress" along with the male version "negro" is falling out of common usage in more mainstream English dialects. The continued usage of a word

considered archaic is not technically a case of lexical innovation, but it does indicate a distinctive lexical and morphological trend in Indo-Pakistani English. In selecting newspaper items for my dataset, I did not encounter any examples of similarly gendered constructions. However, Mehrotra has noted such words in publications on current Indian English as recently as 2003.

4.1.4 IPE specific terms

Certain phrases, even though they are composed entirely of words are in the mainstream English lexicon are specific to certain World Englishes. Such phrases may simply be word combinations that aren't found in other Englishes e.g. "he prayed the court" that (Dawn (d), Dawn (j)) (appealed to the court/judge); and can be understood by speakers of other Englishes. Other phrases such as "horse trading" (Baumgardner, 1996) may be idiomatic and the meaning intended may remain hidden from speakers of other Englishes. Despite the differences described above, both examples given above provide sample cases that occur in Indo-Pakistani English and are not part of the wider English lexicon. In addition to phrases, individual words may also have meanings that are not shared with other Englishes e.g. the meaning of "source" that refers to influential contact or backing (Mehrotra, 2003:20), "wagon" which is a Pakistani word for mini-bus (Dawn (h)).

Because IPE Specific terms (as described here) are pre-existing English words, their distribution differs from that of borrowed words. An article in the International section of the Dawn states that:

> Musharraf seeks mechanisms to solve issues: Address to Asian-African moot
>
> (Dawn (b))

The italicized word "moot" has fallen out of general English usage, but is frequently used to describe important meetings in Pakistani newspapers and has been used in two other newspaper stories that are included in the dataset (Daily Times (b), Daily Times (a)) both of which are about significant meetings. Even though "moot" is commonly used, a speaker of another type of English can look up the word in a dictionary. Similarly, the phrase "do the needful" is not frequently used

outside India and Pakistan but most English speakers are able to understand what it means. Mehrotra notes that surveyed speakers of British English were able to understand the content of the term even though they would not consider using it themselves (2003:23-24). The noteworthy observation in Mehrotra's findings is that the meaning is visible to non-native speakers despite their criticisms of the phrase.

The other class of Indo-Pakistan specific terms contains idiomatic expressions that speakers of other Englishes cannot understand. An editorial from the Weekly Independent says the following about a strike:

> However, the strike's concomitant, 'wheel-jam', which MMA leadership thought would bring life to a standstill, was only nominally observed, except where the religious alliance is popular.
>
> (Weekly Independent (b))

The emphasized phrase in the quote above is also commonly called a "payya jam" ; in this case the Urdu word for "wheel" has been translated to English. However, the resulting phrase does not describe a sweet substance made of preserved wheels, instead the meaning of the hybrid phrase has been carried over to the translated version so "Wheel jam" is also used to describe a planned cessation of public transport services .

Several other IPE specific terms are analyzed in a paper by Baumgardner (1996) in which he focuses on the political terminology used of Indo-Pakistani English. He has devoted a large portion of the paper to the meaning of "horse-trading" in Pakistani English journalism. Horse-trade has an established idiomatic meaning in older Englishes which is: to "negotiate with much give and take" but it is used to describe the act of:

> "purchasing the loyalty of an elected MPA (Member of the Provincial Assembly) or MNA (Member of the National Assembly) including either disgruntled members of one's own party, members of the opposition or independents"
>
> (Baumgardner, 1996:176)

It is important to have some knowledge of the political climate of India or Pakistan to be able to fully understand the meaning of

the phrase in this specific context. Most English speakers who don't speak Indo-Pakistani English don't have this domain-specific knowledge and so they don't understand the meaning of such terms. Because I restricted my search to the online versions of the selected newspapers, I did not have access to archived content. The political coverage of a non-election year does not provide as much opportunity for writing about horse-trading so none of the material in the dataset contains this phrase.

The creation of such localized senses of pre-existing terms is not restricted to phrases. An example above presents the specialized meaning of "wagon" which is used to describe a collision between two passenger vans (Dawn (h)). A reader familiar with British English may eventually understand that "wagon" is used interchangeably with mini-bus or passenger van in Pakistani English after reading this story, but she will not initially know what kind of vehicle a person arrived in if she hears:

I arrived in a wagon.

She may think that the speaker has arrived in a horse drawn carriage featured in Hollywood Westerns, or she may associate "wagon" with paddy-wagon (a police vehicle used to transport people who have been arrested). The exact meaning of the word is not obvious to her at first. Since a simple noun like "wagon" is used for a certain type of vehicle, it is easier for the non-native speaker to understand than "horse-trading" which describes a more complex concept.

4.1.5 Weights and measures

Similar to local domain specific idiomatic expressions, and borrowed words Indo-Pakistani English has also absorbed the terminology used for weights and measures. As a result there are now three different types of Unit standards in use in Pakistan. The Metric system has been officially embraced, but this adoption has not totally changed previously established practices. Apart from the Imperial standards that define feet, inches, yards , pounds and ounces, traditional units are also actively used today. A selection of local units and some descriptive information about each is given below :

- Tola - weight, 0.375 troy ounces or approximately 11.66 grams.
- Maund - weight, about 40 kilograms.
- Gaz - length, standardized to 1 yard under British rule, or 0.9144 meter.
- Kanal - area, standardized to 605 yards under British rule. Approximately 505.857 square meters.
- Lakh - quantity = 100,000 (one hundred thousand)
- Crore - quantity = 10,000,000 (ten million)

The established jeweler community in India and Pakistan are slowly transitioning to the gram as the industry standard unit of measurement. Currently, most price lists and advertisements have switched over to the gram. However, the tradespeople who come from a long tradition still use the “tola” to describe the weight of the gold or silver in a particular piece. This is specially confusing since the electronic scales are almost exclusively metric devices. As a result, the tola has endured in the Indo-Pakistani English lexicon.

The traditional system of weights and measures contains the “maund” as the unit used for reporting crop yields. Government reports have transitioned over to the kilogram and the metric ton, but local news reports that are based on information obtained directly from farmers still report weight in maunds. The English word is spelled and pronounced differently from the original Urdu/Hindi source word which is “mon”. This change in spelling was introduced when the British government needed to convert the local measure to the Imperial system and this difference has been retained in the lexicon.

The “gaz” was standardized to the yard under British rule and that process of standardization has linked its lifespan to that of the yard. The government is working to replace both with the meter, but the yard or gaz is still commonly used by people in the building trade. As a result, merchants who work with building professionals also continue to use the yard interchangeably with gaz when pricing building materials such as wood. The “canal” is linked to the gaz yet it has nearly been abandoned in favor of the more popular square yard or simply gaz (in which case the square is omitted because it is implied). Canal is only used when

describing old pieces of property that had initially been measured in traditional units.

The last two units are directly borrowed from Urdu. and since there is no linguistic standard for quantification both “lakh” and “crore” occur are used as frequently as hundred thousand or ten million. The plural forms are formed using the standard +s English giving lakhs and crores. The amount 50 million is expressed as “5 crore” in a letter to the editor about the stock market (Business Recorder (e)).

4.2 Syntax

The influence of the first languages of many experienced Indo-Pakisani English speakers is often most visible in distinctive syntactic constructions. In some cases these constructions may have come about through an application of a native language rule instead of the appropriate English rule. A detailed analysis of the rules of Indo-Pakistani English is outside the scope of this paper, I have restricted my discussion to a few of the most common syntactic features of the language. I have provided example sentences below followed by an explanation of how the example differs from an equivalent sentence in American English.

Commenting on Balochistan situation,

(Weekly Independent (a))

A similar sentence constructed by an American English speaker would include a determiner between “on” and “Balochistan” because the normal construction of prepositional phrases places a determiner between the preposition which is “on” in this example and “issue” which is the object noun. In this example Balochistan is functioning as an adjective imparting further information about the situation that is being commented on or it can be considered part of the compound noun “Pakistan situation”. Whichever way the sample sentence is parsed, it appears to require the placement of a determiner between the preposition and the noun. The standard phrase structure representations of the prepositional phrase (PP) and noun phrase (NP) are given below.

PP P NP and

NP (Det) (Adj) N

The bracketed items are optional, but there are conditions that require the presence of some bracketed items in a particular construction. Normally NPs contain determiners (Det) unless the constituent noun (N) is a proper noun. Since the NP in the sample sentence does not contain a proper noun (Baluchistan can be a proper noun, but it is not in noun position in this example) the rule requires the presence of a determiner. Indo-Pakistani English relaxes these conditions allowing the generation of phrases like the above example.

Indian English also allows greater freedom in the choice of verb form in a sentence. Lawler (2005) describes this phenomenon as "the progressive in 'static'" The sentence:

I understand it.

is constructed using the progressive form of the verb:

I am understanding it.

The Indian cartoon character Apu on the popular American TV show the Simpsons frequently presents examples of such sentence formations. In one episode when Homer (the father in the Simpson family) is callously attempting to feed a likeness of the Hindu elephant god Ganesh a peanut, Apu kicks him out of his corner store saying:

Mr. Simpson, please do not be feeding my god a peanut. Please get out of my store and come again.

His request to Homer uses the non-contracted "do not" instead of the more common "don't" and the progressive "be feeding" instead of the present "feed". This example from the Simpsons is a more complex version of the sentence in the previous example, but it presents the same linguistic feature in which the progressive is used instead of the present. I did not find examples of such constructions in the newspaper articles gathered for this project, but have noticed several examples of such constructions in spoken Pakistani English. This feature appears more frequently in speech than in written Pakistani English.

Speakers of Indo-Pakistani English do not appear to be bound by the requirement to maintain number agreement between nouns and determiners or between subjects and verbs

(Lawler, 2005 and Sridhar, 1996). Noun determiner agreement is violated in the following sentence:

He practiced many charities. (adapted from Lawler).

The equivalent American English sentence is:

He practiced much charity.

The singular pronoun “He” is paired with the determiner “many” in and the resulting sentence is grammatical in Indo-Pakistani English. However American English requires the numerical features of the pronoun the determiner be the same for the sentence to be considered grammatical. Another example shows a common construction in which the sentence subject and modal verb do not agree in quantity.

But now the woman have changed. (Sridhar)

The sentence subject who is a singlar “woman” is paired with a plural form of the model “to have”. The equivalent American English construction requires that the modal also be in the singular form. American English speakers would instead write:

But now the woman has changed.

Sridhar picked sample sentences from essays written by undergraduate level female students to provide examples of this unique syntactic construction in his paper. I was not able to find a single instance of such construction when choosing newspaper articles for this paper. Since similar sentences are provided as examples in Crystal (2004) and Lawler (2005) and are attributed to both Pakistani and Indian English speakers, I arrived at two possible explanations for the lack of similar examples in the articles I used. Either the dataset was too small to capture the occurrence of such a sentence or such sentences are corrected by the editorial staff of the newspapers if files stories contain them. Sridhar’s description of his data gathering method leads me to believe the latter to be more likely.

4.3 Assonance based phrases

Urdu and Hindi speakers frequently extend words by pairing them with nonsensical, similar sounding words with the same syllable count. When referring to the act of sleeping, they replace the word “so” (to sleep) with “so sho” or when discussing the possibility of someones death the verb “mar” (to die) is replaced

with “mar shar”. The number of such combinations are nearly limitless in Urdu and Hindi. Pandey (2004:409) describes the term “love-shove” as a product of “characteristic alliteration and assonance-based IE”. Her observation provides on example of the transfer of the word extension phenomenon from Hindi and Urdu to Indo-Pakistani English. However her description implies that the pairing is based on the beginning vowel sounds of the paired words. Instead, reading above examples out loud shows that the phonological similarities goes beyond the beginning vowels of the paired words. Nevertheless, I have used the term “Assonance based phrases” to provide a convenient label for such word pairs.

With very few exceptions, such pairings are reserved for speech and are not used in writing. The exceptions to this rule are Urdu words like “gupshup” (gossip) that have been entered into the lexicon as a single word instead of an arbitrary word pairing. The alternative pairing “gup wup” cannot be substituted without altering the meaning of the resulting phrase. The use of such pairings in written Indo-Pakistani English is almost nonexistent. I did not expect to find any such combinations in the newspaper articles I read and my expectations were proved accurate once I finished reading through the selected data. Such phrases would only be seen in publications with extremely colloquial writing styles, possibly contained in dialog within novels.

Like Urdu and Hindi pairings, the entire meaning of the phrase is contained in the first word, the pairing cannot be inverted since the resulting phrase will either be gibberish or a completely different word.

love-shove (Narayan, 2004:409)

phone-shown

loo-shoo

nut-wutt

Unfamiliar readers may mistake the examples above for compound nouns, but they are simply combinations of the first words with similar sounding gibberish words. The fact the they happen to be real English words is completely coincidental and not intended when the words are paired. Because the paired

words in the first three examples above all have meanings in English, inversion will change the meaning. The construction of these pairings is phonetically governed and the second word is always begins with a consonant and contains the same vowel as the original words. Original words that end with vowels are coupled with nonce words that have the same vowel endings while words that end in consonants combine with gibberish that ends with the same vowel. The principles governing the construction of these phrases deserve far more attention than is devoted to them in this paper, further exploration can perhaps be conducted in a later project.

5 Conclusion

In this paper, I have attempted to present the reader with clear explanations of but a few of the features that distinguish the English spoken in India and Pakistan from the language of other English speaking nations. In conducting the research for this paper, I was exposed to the idea that there is no single standard English against which all others are measured. The transfer of lexical items from Indo-Pakistani languages to Indo-Pakistani English and eventually to other Englishes lends some weight to the idea that there are several parallel Englishes all of which cross-pollinate each other. Novel syntactic patterns and phonetic constructions also provide evidence of a certain richness instead of pointing at possible diversions from the artificially constructed straight and narrow path of a singular linguistic standard.

Reading the works of scholars working on World Englishes has opened my eyes to the idea that there are no set guardians of the English language, since it is inaccurate to think of it as one single language. Instead viewing the different World Englishes as closely related cousins who interact frequently has allowed me to look past the long maintained nation that the English I learned to speak is somehow the language of inferior natives and I have realized that Indo-Pakistani English is the product of the cultural growth and evolution of a unique set of first class English speakers who continue to personalize their language.

My newly found understanding of these aspects of Indo-Pakistani English have led me to challenge Kachru's three-circle model (1985) which places certain nations closer to the core of

English than others. While I understand that the number of Indo-Pakistani English speakers in their respective countries represents a small minority among several more popular languages, it cannot be ignored that the combined population of English speakers in India and Pakistan represents over 50 million people . This population continues to grow and such a large number of English speakers can exert considerable influence on other World Englishes and should be placed on an equal footing with Australian and New Zealand English speakers who are seen as part of the Inner Circle. I hope that the reader has arrived at similar positions after reading this paper.

Finally, I wish to note that there is a noticeable absence of work on the distinctions between Indian and Pakistani English. For the purposes of this study I grouped them together and noticed similar features in both. Despite having learned about the similarities, I am somewhat curious to see how they differ. I would be very surprised to learn that there is no difference at all.

6 References and Bibliography

6.1 Books, Journal and anthology articles

Note: The http://landmark-project.com/citation\s\do6(m)achine/cm.phpsoftware that I used to get these references in APA format was quite certain that according to the current standard article names retain capitalization if they are part of an anthology, so I may still have incorrect capitalization since I changed it manually after cutting and pasting the machine generated entries.

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6.2 References to newspaper articles

Note: I have not used APA format when referring to the newspaper articles. Too many articles did not have author information and so reading the citations would have become annoying.

I have provided both html and pdf versions of each story referenced below.

The reference format is as follows: Name of newspaper (letter). Name of author if available Story title.

file name: directory/name of file

Each filename has a .pdf and .html suffixed version.

Business Recorder (a). Karachi's development must for pakistan progress.

file name: data/business/Business Recorder - Karachi on priority basis

Business Recorder (b). Musharraf wants easy visa regimes for private sector.

file name: data/international/Business Recorder jakarta

Business Recorder (c). Hussain, S. S., Educational Discrimination.

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Business Recorder (d). Khan, H., The KSE shenanigans.
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Business Recorder (e). Khan, S. J., Stock market debacle.
file name: data/letters/Business Recorder - stock market letter.
Daily Times (a). President calls commanders' moot tomorrow.
file name: data/national/Daily Times - commanders' moot
Daily Times (b). Gillani, W., 'Religious leadership of women in Islam': Women can lead prayers, says Javed Ghamidi.
file name: data/national/Daily Times - islam women
Dawn (a). Khan, A. S., Pakistan to export gram whole to India.
file name: data/business/Dawn - desi chick pea
Dawn (b). Musharraf seeks mechanisms to solve issues: Address to Asian-African moot.
file name: data/international/Dawn - musharraf moot
Dawn (c). Food dept chowkidars demand salaries.
file name: data/national/Dawn - Chowkidars godowns
Dawn (d). Govt yet to respond: Conjugal rights for prisoners.
file name: data/national/Dawn conjugal rights
Dawn (e). Woman shot dead by her brothers.
file name: data/national/Dawn - Karo Kari
Dawn (f). Punjab govt to open co-op stores.
file name: data/national/Dawn - Punjab govt co-op stores
Dawn (g). Shariat to be enforced at all costs: minister.
file name: data/national/Dawn - shariat
Dawn (h). Seven die as two wagons collide.
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file name: data/local/Dawn - kidnapper complainant
Frontier Post (a). Afridi, R. S., Practice what thou preach.
file name: data/editorials/Frontierpost - america nukes
Frontier Post (b). Gohar, A., Prelude to summer.

file name: data/letters/Frontierpost - fore-

Frontier Post (c). Rahim, A., Justice Denied.

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Frontier Post (d). Students urged to focus on latest technology.

file name: data/national/Frontierpost - Begum corps commander

Frontier Post (e). Punchayat orders forced marriage.

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Pakistan Observer (a). President for conflict resolution mechanism.

file name: data/international/Pakistan Observer - jakarta missing det

Weekly Independent (a). Syed, J., A mafia using Army for its vested interests.

file name: data/national/Weekly Independent - missing determiners + advantageous

Weekly Independent (b). Strike a partial success. (An editorial from Issue 42, Volume 04, April 07 - 13, 2005.

file name: data/editorials/Weekly Independent - wheel jam