

# **The English Language in Pakistan**

29





# **The English Language in Pakistan**

*Edited by*

**Robert J. Baumgardner**

**Karachi**

**Oxford University Press**

**Oxford**

**New York**

**Delhi**

**1993**

FE  
3502  
P3  
1254  
1993  
**Oxford University Press, Walton Street, Oxford OX2 6DP**

**OXFORD NEW YORK TORONTO**

**DELHI BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS KARACHI**

**KUALA LUMPUR SINGAPORE HONG KONG TOKYO**

**NAIROBI DAR ES SALAAM CAPE TOWN**

**MELBOURNE AUCKLAND MADRID**

**and associated companies in**

**BERLIN IBADAN**

*Oxford is a trade mark of Oxford University Press*

**© Oxford University Press 1993**

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press.

This book is sold subject to the condition that it shall not, by way of trade or otherwise, be lent, re-sold, hired out or otherwise circulated without the publisher's prior consent in any form of binding or cover other than that in which it is published and without a similar condition including this condition being imposed on the subsequent purchase.

**First Edition 1993  
ISBN 0 19 577444 2**

**Designed by**

**Pagemakers Desktop Publishing, Islamabad**

**Printed at**

**The Army Press (Regd), Rawalpindi**

**Published by**

**Oxford University Press**

**5-Bangalore Town, Sharae Faisal**

**P.O. Box 13033, Karachi-75350, Pakistan**

2-  
PL 480-6A  
10-31-94

In Memory of R. K. Tongue  
friend and mentor



# Contents

	Page
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	ix
<i>List of Tables</i>	x
<i>Note on Transcription</i>	xi
<i>Introduction</i>	xiii
Robert J. Baumgardner	

## I. LANGUAGE BACKGROUND

1. English in South Asia: A Historical Perspective	3
<i>Ahmed Ali</i>	
2. The Position and Status of English in Pakistan	13
<i>Anjum Riyazul Haque</i>	
3. English Language Publishing in Pakistan	19
<i>Shayan Afzal Khan and Jane Ann Lindley</i>	

## II. LANGUAGE VARIETY

4. English in Non-Native Use: A Second-Language View	33
<i>Anjum P. Saleemi</i>	
5. The Indigenization of English in Pakistan	41
<i>Robert J. Baumgardner</i>	
6. Lexical Variation in Pakistani English	55
<i>Mubina Talaat</i>	
7. Native and Non-Native Grammars of English	63
<i>Anjum P. Saleemi</i>	

8. Of Dacoits and Desperados: Crime Reporting in  
Pakistani English 69  
*Audrey E. H. Kennedy*

### III. LANGUAGES IN CONTACT

9. The Urduization of English in Pakistan 83  
*Robert J. Baumgardner, Audrey E. H. Kennedy,  
and Fauzia Shamim*
10. A Bribe by Any Other Name . . . : Terms of Gratification  
in Pakistani English 204  
*Audrey E. H. Kennedy*
11. New English Creative Writing: A Pakistani Writer's  
Perspective 212  
*Bapsi Sidhwa*
12. The Use of English in Urdu Advertising in Pakistan 221  
*Shaheen Meraj*

### IV. LANGUAGE PEDAGOGY

13. Utilizing Pakistani Newspaper English to Teach Grammar 255  
*Robert J. Baumgardner*
14. The Use of Local Contexts in the Design of EST Materials 274  
*Robert J. Baumgardner and Audrey E. H. Kennedy*

*References* 284

*Notes on Contributors* 303

*Index* 306

## Acknowledgements

Oxford University Press and the Editor would like to thank the following publishers for permission to reprint the articles listed below:

Cambridge University Press for

*The Indigenization of English in Pakistan* by Robert J. Baumgardner. 1990. *English Today* 6(1):59–65.

Pergamon Press for

*The Position and Status of English in Pakistan* by Anjum Riyazul Haque. 1983. *World Language English* 2(1):6–9.

*Utilizing Pakistani Newspaper English to Teach Grammar* by Robert J. Baumgardner. 1987. *World Englishes* 6(3):241–52.

The United States Information Agency for

*English in Nonnative Use: A Second-Language View* by Anjum P. Saleemi. 1985. *English Teaching Forum* XXXIII(2):16–20.

*The Use of Local Contexts in the Design of EST Materials* by Robert J. Baumgardner and Audrey E. H. Kennedy. 1991. *English Teaching Forum* XXIX(1):40–2.

Baumgardner (1987 and 1990), Baumgardner and Kennedy (1991), and Haque (1983) have been slightly revised for the present volume. We would also like to thank *The Frontier Post* (Lahore and Peshawar), *The Nation* (Lahore), and *The News* (Lahore) for permission to reprint the cartoons which appear in this volume.

# List of Tables

	Page
3.1 Statistics of Textbook Publishing in Pakistan	21
3.2 Statistics of Book Publishing in Pakistan	23
3.3 The Press in Pakistan (Dailies)	25
3.4 The Press in Pakistan—Language-wise Distribution	26
3.5 The Press in Pakistan—Province-wise Distribution	28
8.1 The Perpetrators in Crime Reporting	70
12.1 Average Circulation of Newspapers and Periodicals	222
12.2 Language of Product Names	225
12.3 Script of Product Names	226
12.4 Language of Manufacturers' Names	227
12.5 English Words before Manufacturers' Names	228



## Note on Transcription

Vowel length in Urdu phonetic transcriptions is indicated by double letters (e.g. [ii]), and nasalization by a tilde over the vowel—[ĩ]. The schwa is transcribed as a single [a]. Aspiration of stops and affricates is transcribed as [h] (e.g. [th, dh, jh, ch, gh, kh, etc.]). An unaspirated voiceless palatal affricate is transcribed as [c]; other conventions include [sh] = a voiceless palato-alveolar fricative; [x] = a voiceless velar fricative; [Gh] = a voiced velar fricative; [q] = a voiceless uvular stop; [T] = a voiceless retroflex alveolar stop; [D] = a voiced retroflex alveolar stop; and [R] = a voiced retroflex alveolar flap; ['] indicates a glottal stop as well as pharyngealization. The Urdu word for 'theft', for example, would be written [corii] in phonetic transcription and *chori* in English orthography; the verb 'to tease' in phonetics is [cheRnaa] and in orthography *cherna*.



## Introduction

In his 1984 travelogue *Passage to Peshawar*, syndicated columnist Richard Reeves described Pakistan from a linguistic point of view as the 'Second English Empire'. While such a description may strike some as exaggerated, the fact is that the English language in Pakistan is still very much alive today. There now exists a growing body of literature on English as it is used in various domains of contemporary Pakistani culture and society, including, among others, research on (1) *language pedagogy*—Moss (1964), Dil (1966), Iqbal (1987), Raof (1988), Saleemi (1985 [in this volume]), Baumgardner and Kennedy (1991 [in this volume]), Khattak (1991), Sarwar (1991), and the *SPELT Newsletter* (1985–19—); (2) *language planning*—Haque (1987), and Gilani and Muttageen-ur-Rahman (n.d.); and (3) *literary creativity*—Rafat (1969), Hashmi (1986), Khwaja (1988), and Rahman (1991), to cite but a few. There has been little work, however, on the linguistic aspect of English in Pakistan, and the topic has only recently begun to attract the attention of scholars. It is for this reason that I have compiled the present volume, which not only places English in Pakistan in its historical and sociocultural perspective, but also brings together for the first time much of the current linguistic research in the area of 'Pakistani English'.

Pakistani English is a member of the linguistic sub-family of South Asian English which also includes Bangladeshi, Indian, Nepali, and Sri Lankan English (see Kachru 1982a). Early treatments of the variety tended to regard many of its distinctive features as errors; Jones (1971) and Bell (1973), for example, did an 'error analysis' of the English of speakers from the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, and more recently Rafi (1987) analysed English errors of B.Sc. and B.A. First-Year Honours students at Karachi University. Books containing lists of so-called 'common errors' of Pakistani speakers of English are in fact in great demand today in 'Urdu bazaars' throughout the country. Two of the most comprehensive of these are Smith-Pearse's 1975 volume *The English Errors of Pakistani Students*,<sup>1</sup> now out of print, and

Shah's 1978 *Exploring the World of English*. A striking feature of such works, however, is that many of the so-called 'errors' cited in them are frequently found in the speech and writing of educated Pakistanis, as is evidenced daily in the newspapers and other print media of the country as well as on Pakistani television. While some of the usages listed in these compilations no doubt qualify as genuine errors, others are now stable features of certain registers of the variety.<sup>2</sup>

To cite an example, Shah (1978:459) in his chapter entitled 'How to Avoid Common Blunders', gives the following examples:

Incorrect: *Keep* this on the table.

Correct: *Put* this on the table.

*To keep*, he points out, is used to mean 'to deposit something somewhere for a period of time' as in 'I always keep my books in this drawer'; *to put*, on the other hand, indicates the immediate action of placing an object somewhere. On page 53 of *Middle Stage English, Book 1* (1989), a textbook written for use in Class VI in the Sindh province, there is a picture of a family sitting around a dining table; the mother in the picture is standing beside the table and is in the process of placing food on it. The description of the picture in the text is as follows:

My father is sitting at the table.

My uncle is sitting near him.

My mother is keeping food upon the table.

We eat the food at the table.

On the one hand, then, local grammar books advise against such 'errors'; on the other, these usages continue to occur and are reinforced through the electronic and print media, and to an increasing degree through locally-written English textbooks, a situation which I have described in an earlier paper as 'pedagogic schizoglossia' (Baumgardner 1989a).

Other features of Pakistani English are also typically found in locally-published school texts, study guides, and dictionaries. *Lifting/-lifter* (theft/thief), for example, are very productive morphemes in Pakistani English (see Baumgardner 1990 [in this volume]). A popular Urdu-English dictionary (Qureshi 1989:237) translates *jooti chor* as 'shoe-lifter', and the *Textbook of English for Class X* (1992:26), used



both in Balochistan as well as in the Punjab, contains the following passage:

Every day newspapers carry stories of fraud, theft, dacoity, child-lifting, abduction and murder. Child-lifters forget the pain they cause to the parents. The abducted children are either sold as slaves or turned into beggars. [Note also the word *dacoity* (armed robbery).]

*Oxford English for Colleges* by D. H. Howe (1983) is a supplementary reader used in Pakistani schools. A study guide, the *Companion to Oxford English for Colleges* (Husein and Khan 1983), is popular among students who use the text. The following passage comes from a model essay in the *Companion*:

Later custom people checked my luggage. Then I was allowed to step into the compartment. It was a small train consisting of six bogies: three of them belonged to Pakistan Railway and the other three to Indian Railway (Husein and Khan 1983:98).

See Talaat (in this volume) for a discussion of *bogey*, or carriage, and related Pakistani English lexical variants.

The borrowing into English of Urdu lexis as well as lexis from the other languages of Pakistan is common (see Baumgardner, Kennedy, and Shamim [in this volume]). This phenomenon is also very evident in classroom texts. The following sentence appears in the lesson on Muhammad Ali Jinnah in *Middle Stage English Book I for Class VI* (n.d.:76) used in the North-West Frontier Province: 'This is a picture of Muhammad Ali Jinnah. He is wearing a black cap, white shirwani and a white shalwar'. A *shirwani* is a kind of knee-length coat, and *shalwar* are loose-fitting Pakistani trousers held up by a draw-string. The *Textbook of English for Class IX* (1991:120) for the province of the Punjab contains the following paragraph:

In the rural areas of the Punjab, the farmers work in their fields the whole day. In the evening, they get together in the *Chopal* where they discuss their daily problems, seek advice, and settle some of their disputes without going to the courts. Usually they sit talking happily together just for the pleasure of being together. Sometimes younger people sing *Mahya* or the ever popular *Heer*.

A *Chopal* is Urdu for 'village pavilion' (Qureshi 1989:259); *mahya* (Bokhari 1989:1387) are Punjabi folk songs, and *Heer* is an epic poem by eighteenth-century Punjabi poet Waris Shah.

Another source of Urdu lexis is the dictionary; for example, Pakistani students who are looking up the English translation of the noun *gherao* in Qureshi (1989:538) will find the following entry: 'industrial blockade; gherao'. The entry for the noun *challan* is 'invoice, challan, remittance, etc.' (Qureshi 1989:247) and that of *jirga* 'tribal jury; jirgah' (227). The verb phrase *jirgah ke sipuurd karnaa* is translated as 'to refer (case) to jirgah'.<sup>3</sup> In sum, English in Pakistan can be identified according to certain distinctive linguistic features of grammar, word-formation, lexical variation, borrowing, etc. such as those mentioned above. These features, many of which are learnt by Pakistani children at school, are far from being 'errors' or some kind of inferior form of the language, but are best viewed within the present-day context of use of English in Pakistan.

The idea of Pakistani English as a distinct variety was first mooted in the early writings of Indian linguist Braj B. Kachru,<sup>4</sup> and in later work Kachru (1982a:362–3, 1983b:153, and 1983d:332–7) cites examples of Pakistani English as part of his argument for a South Asian English. The first formal studies of the variety include: Baumgardner (1987 [in this volume] and 1988a), Baumgardner and Kennedy (1988), and Baumgardner (1989a and b, 1990 [in this volume], and 1992a and b). Two theses have been written on the topic: Talaat (1988) and Rahman (1989)—published as 1990b. Talaat's study, a 'narrow' analysis of Pakistani English lexical variation, is the only work on the variety to consider the extremely important influence of Urdu on Pakistani English usage. Rahman's thesis is a broad description of the variety; while such quantitative studies are needed, the sociolinguistic methodology in his work was unfortunately neither sophisticated enough nor his data base large enough to produce significant results (see further Khwaja 1991). With very little research available at this stage on Pakistani English, rigorous analyses of both types are essential. Discourse has been the focus of two works: Farah (1989) looked at the pragmatic aspects of Pakistani English greetings, and Anjum (1991) in her Ph.D. dissertation studied English-Urdu code-switching in the speech of Pakistani women in Texas. For work related to the sound system of Pakistani English, see Shams-ud-din (1983), Qadir (1984), and Rahman (1990b).

Pakistani English has also received a small amount of press coverage. Occasional letters to the editor as well as articles and reviews on the topic fall, as might be predicted, into two camps. On the one hand, the soothsayers of linguistic doom predict the imminent demise



of the language because of its Pakistaniness—see for example Hasan (n.d., 1985 and 1986), Mooraj (1987 and 1989), and Abedi (1991); other writers, however, look favourably upon the use of the variety—(Omar 1986; Khwaja 1987; Baumgardner 1988a and 1991; Jamil 1990; Rahman 1990a; Saleemi 1991; Shamsie 1991; Talaat 1991).

Other related works should also be mentioned. In two major studies, Gumperz (1982) and Gumperz, Aulakh, and Kaltman (1982) did conversational analyses of the speech of English speakers from the subcontinent (including Pakistanis) residing in Britain. In another very important paper, 'Ways of Saying: Ways of Meaning', Pakistani linguist Ruqaiya Hasan compares ellipsis in Urdu and British English and concludes that differences in usage between the two languages are attributable not to performance factors, but instead to the synthesis of language and culture. Although Hasan's paper, published in 1984, does not deal with Pakistani English *per se*, comparative studies of this type greatly facilitate research on the semantic, discoursal and pragmatic features of Pakistani and other 'institutionalized' varieties of English (Kachru 1986).

The present volume is divided into four major sections and contains five previously published and nine unpublished papers on various aspects of the English language in Pakistan. The first two papers in Section One, *Language Background*, provide a historical and socio-cultural setting. In the first paper, eminent Pakistani writer and poet, Ahmed Ali, traces the history of English in South Asia and reflects on his own life and work as a writer who has used English within this context. In the following paper, Anjum Riyazul Haque places English within the sociocultural context of Pakistan. Although first published almost a decade ago, the paper remains today an accurate description of how the English language functions within the Pakistani context. The first section concludes with a paper by Shayan Afzal Khan and Jane Ann Lindley on the present state of English language publishing in Pakistan (see also Hassan and Mahmud 1990).

Section Two, *Language Variety*, contains five papers on various linguistic aspects of English in Pakistan. In the first paper, originally published in 1985, Anjum P. Saleemi raises numerous theoretical issues related to both the international as well as the intranational use of English, and cautions against the static description of non-native varieties of English divorced from their bi/multilingual contexts of use. In the following paper 'The Indigenization of English in Pakistan', Robert J. Baumgardner gives an overview of various features of

Pakistani English, including discussions of Urdu borrowings, word-formation, lexical variation, and grammar. In the next paper, based upon her 1988 Nottingham University M.Phil. thesis on Pakistani English, Mubina Talaat gives evidence for both semantic and grammatical variation in Pakistani English as the result of the use of particular borrowed English lexical items in Urdu. A second paper by Anjum Saleemi follows. Using the complementation data from Baumgardner (1987 [in this volume]), Saleemi looks at features of Pakistani English complementation in a Government-Binding model of syntax, and concludes that the differences between the native and non-native systems are minor and best handled within a theoretical framework by low-level linguistic rules. The section concludes with an analysis by Audrey E. H. Kennedy of the register of crime reporting in Pakistani English.

Section Three, *Languages in Context*, contains four papers related to the multilingual/multicultural context of use in which English functions in Pakistan today. In the first paper, Robert J. Baumgardner, Audrey E. H. Kennedy, and Fauzia Shamim discuss what they term 'The Urduization of English in Pakistan'. Based upon data compiled in a seven-year research project, the paper presents a detailed, documented analysis of the borrowing of lexis from Urdu as well as from other Pakistani languages into English. In the following paper, Audrey E. H. Kennedy focuses on the use in Pakistani English-language dailies of Urdu terms related to 'illegal gratification'. Next, Pakistani writer Bapsi Sidhwa reveals some of her trade secrets and relates how she uses Pakistani languages for literary effect in her very popular novels. In the last paper of this section Shaheen Meraj examines the immense influence the English language has had on Urdu advertising in Pakistan. This is the first published study related to the Englishization of Urdu in Pakistan.

The last section of the volume, *Language Pedagogy*, contains two papers. First, Robert J. Baumgardner in a paper originally published in 1987 examines features of the complementation system of Pakistani newspaper English and discusses their pedagogical implications. The section—and the volume—concludes with a short paper by Robert J. Baumgardner and Audrey E. H. Kennedy in which the authors discuss how pedagogical materials for Pakistani students of science and technology can be made more relevant and interesting through the use of local contexts.



The systematic study of institutionalized varieties of English is a relatively recent phenomenon, and much remains to be done by scholars to add studies of Pakistani English to the ever-growing body of literature on New Englishes in general and South Asian English in particular. I hope that *The English Language in Pakistan* will serve in some small way to stimulate further research on the form and function of the English language as it is manifested today in its Pakistani context of use.

I would like to conclude by thanking the numerous individuals and institutions that have made the present publication possible. First of all, I owe a debt of gratitude to the ten authors of articles in the volume for allowing me to include their work; thanks also go to the publishers of the five papers which previously appeared in print for permission to reprint these works. The remaining papers (with the exception of the second paper by Audrey E. H. Kennedy) were all presented at the International Conference on English in South Asia held in Islamabad in January 1989 sponsored by the University Grants Commission of Pakistan, The Asia Foundation, and The British Council. I would like to thank those organizations for helping to make such a Conference possible, thereby providing a forum to scholars for the presentation of their work.

Thanks also go to the Managing Director of Oxford University Press, Pakistan, Ms Aameena Saiyid, and to my editor at Oxford, Ms Sabiah Askari, for their unwavering support during the production of the volume. I would also like to express my appreciation to Dr. Paul H. Griffith, Computer Systems Engineer, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Dallas, Texas, for consultant assistance in the use of *Microsoft Word*. And finally, to my close friend and colleague, Audrey E. H. Kennedy, go special thanks for all the discussions (both professional and otherwise), cups of coffee, and overall encouragement given to me during the work on *The English Language in Pakistan*. It would be quite lengthy to mention all the other individuals and institutions that have contributed to the publication of the present volume; to all those who remain unnamed, therefore, I would like to close with my expression of thanks.

Lahore  
October 1992

Robert J. Baumgardner

## Notes

1. This is the same book as Smith-Pearse (1968), the only difference being that *Indian* in the title has been changed to *Pakistani*.
2. Certain features of present-day New Englishes are no doubt the result of earlier language contact and transfer. As Kandiah (1987:37) has pointed out, however: 'History is never static, and the synchronic reality of the present is a synthesis, which has emerged out of the dialectical interaction between two strands . . . Undoubtedly, this synthesis is based on the original British standard, and it hugely incorporates features drawn from the local languages and environments; but through the process of its dynamic historical emergence, it has fused all these diverse features together to make a new and different kind of symbiotic *system* . . .' (see also Baumgardner 1988*b*).
3. The noun form of *challan* (II/1072), both the noun and verb forms of *gherao* (VI/491), as well as *jirga* (VIII/244) are all found in *The Oxford English Dictionary* (Simpson and Weiner 1989). The noun forms of *challan* and *gherao* are also found in Gove (1986:370) and Allen (1990:495), respectively. None of these lexical items, however, would be familiar to most speakers of non-South Asian varieties of English (see Section Five of Baumgardner, Kennedy, and Shamim [in this volume] for further discussion).
4. See Kachru (1983*a*) for a compilation of some of these works.

# **I. Language Background**



# 1

## English in South Asia: A Historical Perspective

Ahmed Ali

English is not a South Asian, or even Eastern language, but Germanic and Anglo-Saxon, indebted to the Romance languages and to Greek and Latin. It is, thus, far removed from the linguistic groups of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent consisting of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Nepal, now euphemistically called South Asia, though not without some political sagacity.

In contrast to English, South Asian languages fall into two main groups, Indic and Iranian in the central, eastern, western, and north-western parts of the subcontinent, and in Sri Lanka and Nepal; and Dravidic in the south and south-east, including parts of Sri Lanka. The Iranian group includes Balochi and Pushto; the Dravidic group Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, and Brahvi. The Indic contains Dardic, consisting of Shina, Kafiri, and Kashmiri.

Philologically, English and the languages of South Asia have developed in different directions, the Germanic group under the influence of Roman Christianity being drawn to Latin and Greek; the Indo-Iranian, bearing affinities to Sassanian-Pahlavi and Sumerian on the one hand, and Persian and Arabic under Islamic influences on the other. There were no direct contacts between the European and Asian linguistic groups until the advance of colonial powers into Asian lands in the seventeenth century, though effective with the eighteenth. The damage their rule and occupation have done is irreversible, though not as total as in Latin America and the African continent which did not possess any visible heritage of written literatures, though racial memory is a collective storehouse of time and history which is unerasable, as can be seen from Alex Haley's *Roots* (1976).



In South America the Spaniards conquered the vast Aztec and Inca empires of Mexico and Peru in the early part of the sixteenth century, and became rulers of millions of human beings whose forced labour they used for digging gold and silver, and whose women they used for convenience. In return for their pains, the papal bulls of 1493 had 'given' them these 'heathen peoples' to convert to Christianity and impose their languages upon them, which the Portuguese also did in Brazil. In Africa the Portuguese, Dutch, and British captured alive, enchained, enslaved, and shipped twenty million able-bodied men, women, and children as slaves to the Americas, of whom only twelve million reached alive, the slave trade flourishing until the end of the last century. On the lands they had captured they imposed their rule and languages, so that today the African writers in their effort to rediscover and recreate their lost heritage are advocating the use of Pidgin which, says Emeka Okeke-Ezeigbo (1982:34), is a 'viable flexible language distilled in the alembic of our native sensibility and human experience. This lusty language, which transcends our geographical and political boundaries . . . is our natural, unifying weapon against the divisive forces of English . . .'.

When the Europeans came to the Orient—the Middle East, South and South-East Asia—it was to a world dominated by Islam, of which they had been in awe since the eighth and ninth centuries when it had conquered Spain, Sicily, and parts of France. It had come to symbolize for them 'terror, devastation, the demonic hordes of hated barbarians . . .' as Edward W. Said (1978:59), the historian of *Orientalism* says. 'For Europe,' he goes on, 'Islam was a lasting trauma. Until the end of the seventeenth century the "Ottoman peril" lurked alongside Europe to represent for the whole Christian civilization a constant danger . . .'.

Therefore, when the British arrived in India under a charter from Queen Elizabeth in the seventeenth century, as the French went to Egypt and the Dutch to Indonesia, they had the example and experience of the Portuguese to guide them, Vasco da Gama having preceded them by arriving at Calicut in 1498 in search of 'Christians and spices' (Spear 1965:19), followed by the Dutch who sent a fleet to the East in 1595. So they put each step here with the greatest care, making a move, withdrawing, working out a strategy, then advancing. It was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that they could strengthen their position in India.

After the decline of Mughal power that set in after the disorientation caused by Aurangzeb's orthodoxy and his short-sighted policies towards the Marathas and the Sikhs, and the dividing up of the empire among his sons on his death like any private property, a power vacuum was created. This gave the British the opportunity of increasing their power, so that after winning the battle of Baksar in 1764, and manoeuvring the grant of the *Diwani* of Bengal from Shah Alam in 1765, they gained virtual control over India by 1818.

A realization of this achievement led to open debates in Britain about the strategy of revamping not only the policy of governing but reshaping India in a new and Western mould. It took them nearly fifteen years to evolve the future plan. There were three power groups in Britain at this time. First were the conservative Tories with Warren Hastings and H. H. Wilson, the Orientalist, as their advocates, who wanted India to be governed in the prevailing Indian tradition, and stood for non-interference in the religio-social institutions of the country. Warren Hastings (Governor from 1772–85) had worked his way up from 'writer' in the service of the East India Company. He tried to locate himself to the Orient, and laid emphasis on Indian institutions and learning, and set up a college for Arabic and Persian studies at Calcutta, as Jonathan Duncan had set one up for Sanskrit at Benares. This point of view held until 1813. Then there were the Evangelicals of William Wilberforce with William Pitt and Charles Grant, the Chairman of the Company's directors, who supported them. They were like the Spaniards and the Portuguese, hungry for souls, and wanted to save the Indian people from both idolatry and Islam, by preaching the Gospel to drive away superstition and heresy from their midst and purify them, not with the water of holy Ganges or Zem-zem, but by the baptism of fire. The third group consisted of the Radicals who joined the Evangelicals in denouncing Indian customs. Thus, while the Evangelicals preached Christianity openly in schools and market-places of India, helped by exceptional sympathizers like Ram Mohan Roy, the Radicals denounced Indian culture, beliefs, and religious practices as barbaric and superstitious. There was also a moderate group of the Company's servants who stood for 'gradual improvement' (Spear 1965:123).

The Evangelicals and Radicals were, however, supported by the reformers, and became responsible for reshaping and evolving a policy that changed the face and mental attitudes of India to what we, the splintered pieces of a whole, have now inherited as South Asia today,



warped and distorted in the process of change into a new image of Prajapati who sacrificed himself to himself at the behest of the gods who, it so happened, were of his own offspring. With the coming of William Bentinck as Governor-General (1825–35) there was a complete reversal of policy, and the patronage of 'Indian' learning practised by Hastings was replaced by Bentinck with 'Western'.

While the framework of this mirror was carved by the robber-baron Clive and polished by Lord Cornwallis, the image-making verdigris was prepared and applied by William Bentinck, a Benthamite radical and convinced 'Westerner' with no sympathy for Indian culture or institutions. The framework of 'anglicizing' had already been supplied by Cornwallis (Governor-General from 1786–93) through his act of Europeanizing the service. The soil having been ploughed for seeding, Bentinck started planting Western ideas and institutions. The first fertile field to come under plough was, naturally, education, which has remained ill-sown and barren in the entire region to this day after the departure of the British from the scene, in spite of highfalutin Education Schemes and 'Reports' prepared and launched by the brown Babington Macaulays of succeeding generations. With typical English imperialist, self-complacent arrogance that shut its eyes to the state of ignorance and immorality at home, and the fear of both Napoleon and Jacobins, the East India Company, now calling itself 'Company Bahadur',<sup>1</sup> declared, in the words of the President of its Board of Control, to Bentinck: 'We have a great moral duty to perform in India' (Spear 1965:124).

This 'duty' revolved, apart from redeeming the souls of Indians, around 'the revival and improvement of literature and encouragement of the learned Natives of India . . .' and, in the words of the Charter Act of 1813, 'the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India' (Spear 1965:126). To which Bentinck added in 1829 'the British language, the key to all improvements . . .', further adding in 1834, 'general education is my panacea for the regeneration of India', thus abolishing Persian, the centuries-old official court language, as well as Arabic and Sanskrit and the Indian languages including Urdu, the common lingua franca and 'the graceful daughter of Persian and Hindi', in Spear's (1965:120) phrase, as worthless, and Indian knowledge and learning and Eastern culture and civilization as barbaric.

The definition of civilization, as given by the West, is patently one-sided and decidedly Western, taking the state of the West alone as



the criterion and exemplar, or model or norm of the level of man's cultural development. The basic element in all such definitions is 'scientific', that is, technical and technological advance, which can be physically demonstrated, even though a good deal of this demonstrability is not, and cannot be proved with any finality, such as the 'expansiveness' and 'contractiveness' of the universe, or its origins or final end. During our own century so many theories have been advanced and then nullified despite their scientific basis and proffered truths. They can at best be called peremptory, for they reject outright ideas and theories held and practised successfully and beneficently by other people inhabiting the other half of the globe divided into Western and Eastern. They carry within them the self-assumed and arrogant awareness of pigmentary, racial, political, and cultural superiority based entirely on military or technological advance, denying the gnostic and mental quality or basis of the oriental attitudes and successes. With repeated insistence, Western attitudes remain notoriously anti-Eastern in everything to this day.

How the West emasculated the East was demonstrated by Lord William Bentinck in the resolution of 7 March 1835, which asserted 'that the great objects of the British government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science . . .', and that available funds should 'be henceforth employed in imparting to the Native population knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language' (Spear 1965:127) with the object, as x-rayed and pin-pointed by Thomas Babington (Lord) Macaulay, the newly-arrived Law Member, in the well-known Minute of the same year, of producing 'a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour [*sic*!], but English in taste and character, in morals and in intellect'<sup>2</sup>—that is, with an entirely changed chemistry and bio-rhythms. In short, a class to which many of us South Asians now belong.

It was from that time, a century and a half ago, that the government started setting up schools and colleges to convert Indians, the South Asians of today, into brown Englishmen by imparting Western knowledge in the English language to them, a tradition their surrogates have faithfully followed to this day. And this in spite of the fact that the United States has taken over the heritage and reins of empire from the sick and ailing mother country, Britain, now dependent on the magnanimity of a rebellious son. Naturally, the custodianship of the 'panacean' English language having come under the protection of the Stars and Stripes, its nomenclature is being changed, and the use

of 'Western' knowledge and science being restricted for Asians to mere experiments in titration, access to nuclear technology disallowed lest they turn its monster against the West itself!

Going back, however, to the story of the conversion of Indians into Englishmen, the change was confined to the sophisticated urban population. Village life continued undisturbed. No 'Westernization' was carried to them, the dumb, driven cattle; and their fate remained as unenviable under the 'civilizing' Western British as it had been under the old-time tyrannical caste system and a more totalitarian Brahmanic domination based not on Western science or technology but on superstition. That is why, perhaps, the Indian novelist of today, in search of real India, has turned to the countryside and the rural scene for 'copy', for here alone, as contrasted to the cities, lives the India of 'Brahma and Prajapati; of Veruna, Mithra, and Aryaman; of Indira, of Krishna, Shiva, and Parvati; of Rama, Harishchandra, and Yagnavalkya . . .' in the words of Raja Rao (1960:197 [see also Ali 1968]). Yet Raja Rao alone of all the Hindu novelists in English has succeeded in locating himself to the gods and mythology of the countryside through his personal involvement in Vedantism, the Muslim ethos being essentially urban. For the others it remains only a convenient symbol of an India the West could not understand and left unmolested as being void of confrontation, or being an obstacle in their way of unseating the Mughals or unsettling the hold of Muslims who had completely identified themselves with the peoples of India, until the British started sowing dissension with their policy of divide and rule.

But while the innocuous rural population of India lived its life of hardship unconcerned and unaffected by the canker of 'Westernism', we of the urban élite went to Government or missionary schools, as no others existed, and tried to become 'Englishmen', even though we were openly insulted, without realizing it until decades later, by missionary teachers like one called Jenkins of the Wesleyan Mission School of Azamgarh, who rolled up the leg of his trousers one day as he stood teaching in the class and, holding a hair of his shin between two fingers, declared: 'Ram Lal is equal to my this!' while the poor little mite of ten or eleven stared blankly aghast. Becoming an Englishman, black or brown or dapple-gray, was not so easy in 1922 as sailing across the 'black waters' of Mulk Raj Anand during the early thirties!



Anyway, we studied English, science, and literature, read H. G. Wells, James Joyce, and D. H. Lawrence, Greek Drama, Restoration Comedy, Dr Johnson, the Romantics, and the Decadents. Finding the English novel dull, we preferred the Russians and the French, metaphysical poets to Milton, Gerard Manley Hopkins to the Victorians, and the *Religio Medici* to *Sartor Resartus*. We were declared successful and were ready to recruit others to the cause of Britain's 'moral duty' to India by teaching them to become good, bad or indifferent brown Englishmen.

In the meantime the ghosts of the past, roused by our readings of works by radical and revolutionary writers of Europe and Russia, stirred strange romantic feelings of freedom and happiness within us. When, however, we cast a look around, we saw the social order in shambles. In spite of Bentinck and Macaulay's 'Westernization' of India for over a hundred and twenty years, and the effort of turning us into Englishmen, complete with top hat and tails, ignorance lay thicker than swarms of locusts; and superstition and barbarism, which the Evangelicals and the Company Bahadur's Board of Control, coupled with direct rule by Queen Victoria to Edward VIII, had set out to eradicate and replace with enlightenment and 'scientific' advance, had increased a hundredfold. People in general were far from enlightenment or capable of thinking in any Western, Eastern or non-directional terms. In a country where at least trilingualism had been the norm and practice until the beginning of this century, people had forgotten even the use of their own mother tongue in the prevalent gibberish everyone spoke. Even though the monkey had lost its tail in the laboratory of Charles Darwin, it still remained a monkey!

Nevertheless, ashamed and thoroughly demoralized by the distorted pictures of India and the millennium of Muslim rule as presented by British historians like Vincent Smith, the Orientalists and trained propagandists of all kinds from missionaries to civil servants, and Anglo-Indian journalists like Rudyard Kipling, we suffocated in an atmosphere of inferiority complex. The plan of brainwashing the Indians, particularly the Muslims from whom the British had wrested power, by instilling into their minds a sense of their being backward and uncivilized, belonging to a barbaric and inferior race, was well planned and executed through dinning into their ears *ad nauseam* how Europe was superior and India backward and superstitious. The result was that many of us truly came to believe that we were really backward and unfit for freedom or managing our own affairs, and that our

salvation lay in British rule. Degeneration could hardly go any further! Yet, being the conquered and beaten people we could not do anything. Still, rising from within was a tide of revolt that led us to contemplate the state of inanity and indifference into which the social order had sunk. It was the beginning of the third decade of this century, almost exactly a hundred years since Macaulay wrote his infamous Minute on Education in 1835.

A few of us made bold, under Western influence itself, to publish a collection of our short stories in Urdu to show a mirror to society (Zahir, Ali, Jehan, and Mahuduz-zafar 1932). Our youthful hearts were filled with dreams of progress and reawakening. Our enthusiasm was immediately dampened by the cold douche of denunciations showered upon us from the pulpit down to social and political platforms, even though we found ourselves made famous overnight. Whether the British had succeeded in making us Englishmen or not, the social order we had set out to reform had proved us to be Satans and West-stricken devils! The Government promptly banned the book and entered our names in the archives of the Intelligence Bureau, and indexed us as communists and dangerous characters!

The face of the mirror had turned our own visage. In the process of transformation from Indian to brown Englishman, I found I had lost not only my freedom but culture and identity as well, and had become an exile in my own country, though a rebel too. I have been engaged ever since in the search of my self, my identity. Where between the heart and mind had it been waylaid? Slowly through the years light began to show in the pictures of Delhi to which I had turned for my past. With *Our Lane* the mantle fell apart. It was the year 1935. The vista changed completely. My search had found a direction, India her forgotten cause!

This cause deserved special treatment. It could not be presented in Urdu, for then it would not serve a purpose beyond the regional and parochial, and its echoes would die down within a narrow space covering at best a limited area of North-western India. And it was a subject demanding the widest audience. British Indian history had many instances to show that injustices done by the British in India were dismissed as local matters of no consequence. On the other hand, if a case was brought to London, the British Government became involved, and the home Government depended on public good faith and was answerable to the King. The case of restrictions on the rights of Akbar II by the Governor-General when presented in London by



Ram Mohan Roy in 1829 had changed the entire perspective. And in the present century Indian leaders, including Gopal Krishna Gokhale, successfully argued their case before the British public.

My decision to write *Twilight in Delhi* (Ali 1940) in English turned out to be right, with critics saying in their reviews of the novel: 'It may well be that we shall not understand India until it is explained to us by Indian novelists of the first ability, as it was that we understood nothing of Russia before we read Tolstoy, Turgenev and the others. Ahmed Ali may be the vanguard of such a literary movement' (Collins 1940). The substance of this judgement was later echoed by *The Oxford History of India* (Smith 1967:838), which wrote with reference to R. K. Narayan, Mulk Raj Anand, and myself: 'it can be said that they have taken over from E. M. Forster and Edward Thompson the task of interpreting modern India to itself and to the world . . . '.

I suppose *Twilight in Delhi* served in its own way some small purpose. What are, after all, a few insignificant pages in the undying ocean of words? Life's workshop is busy night and day. I remained an exile in search of what I had lost. India won her freedom. The British found an escape and left in a hurry, degrading the East to the Third World, leaving behind a series of intangible problems, economic, social, political, geographic, and national, and a crisis of identity into refugee and local, and a burden of hatred that will keep the countries of South Asia involved for generations to come (see Ali 1986). I was in China when the subcontinent was divided. A sea of people moved up north, a sea of them moved down with the turning of the tide. I was not allowed by the new 'Indian' authorities to go back to India, or so their Ambassador in China told me, nor was I permitted my right of option. I had not found my identity, and had even lost my past in the bargain. I moved from East to West, roved in the realms of prose and poetry, the worlds of Mir, Dard, and Ghalib, and immersed myself in the immanence of the *Qur'an* (Ali 1984). My search has failed to find its object. Perhaps it is only a mirage that we chase. Even Ghalib was compelled to ask:

Where is, O Lord,  
The other foot of desire?  
We found this desert of contingent existence  
A mere footprint.<sup>3</sup>

## Notes

1. *Bahadur* (Hindi-Urdu) 'brave, valiant'.
2. The complete text of Macaulay's 'Minute' can be found in Curtin (1971:178–191).
3. Translation by Ali (1973:75).

## 2

# The Position and Status of English in Pakistan

Anjum Riyazul Haque

### Background

At the time of independence in 1947, the linguistic picture in Pakistan was complex. Of the five provinces that then formed Pakistan, none could boast of a monolithic linguistic structure. Linguistically, the most tightly-knit were East Bengal (East Pakistan) and the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), provinces where Bengali and Pushto were the languages of the majority of the population, though there was one district in each, Sylhet and Hazara, using Sylhetti and Hindko, respectively. The other provinces had a variety of languages. Punjab had Punjabi and Seraiki; Sindh had Sindhi in rural Sindh, Urdu among the large numbers of incoming refugees, and Gujrati in influential minorities. Balochistan, with the smallest population, was the most polyglot of all provinces; it had Balochi, Brahvi, and Pushto, with a dash of Punjabi, Seraiki, Lassi (a dialect of Sindhi), and Hazargi (a dialect of Persian). All these languages, with the exception of Bengali, Sylhetti, Brahvi, and Gujrati, are Indo-Arabic in origin and use Arabic-Persian script. The others are primarily Sanskrit-based, and use the Sanskrit script.

One of the unifying symbols of the Pakistan Movement was the slogan of the adoption of Urdu, the language of the Muslims of India and the lingua franca of the Indian masses, as the national language of Pakistan. With the achievement of independence, sentimental slogans had to yield to practical considerations of sharing the fruits of independence. A rightful place for Bengali, the language of the majority province, was claimed, but the protagonists of Urdu would have none of it. The standard-bearers of the regional languages had varying de-



degrees of commitment in the battle over the language issue that erupted in the country. The state apparatus, which had to be set up overnight from nothing, could not bear the burden of having to start with a new official language. The use of English was inevitable for system maintenance: the ruling élite were trained to do their official work in English. English perforce continued to be the official language of Pakistan. It also had the advantage of being a compromise candidate, at least for the interim, since the adoption of one of the two languages of indigenous origin, Urdu and Bengali, as the national language could have meant the alienation of large sections of the populace, especially in an atmosphere charged with political activism generated by Bengali nationalism. And the switch to both would have meant confusion, not least for being premature.

The first major change came with the adoption of Urdu as the official language of NWFP and Balochistan in 1972. The motivations behind this decision were mixed. With the separation of East Pakistan in 1971, one main barrier of cultural-linguistic sensitivities had been removed. The National Awami Party, a major opposition party at the national level, which was in power in both these provinces, was looking, on a reciprocal basis, for opportunities to embarrass the government at the centre, which had not made any overtures to Urdu at the national level, and had run into trouble over the language issue in the prime minister's (Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's) home province, Sindh. Some even thought that the leadership in these provinces was attempting to neutralize the grip of the members of the federal bureaucracy occupying critical positions in these provinces, by depriving them of one of the sources of their knowledge and power. In Balochistan, Urdu was neutral as between Balochi, Brahvi, and Pushto; in the Frontier the change reflected populist sentiment. The separation of East Pakistan also 'simplified' the language situation in the two remaining provinces. Urdu has long been the written expression of the most populous of the country's provinces, the Punjab, and in Sindh, the post-Partition population was almost equally divided between old Sindhis, whose mother tongue is Sindhi, and new Sindhis, of predominantly Urdu-speaking origin.

## **The Present Position of English**

The anchorage of English in Pakistan is that the Constitution and the body of the law are codified in English. As a consequence, judgments



and precedents, rules and regulations, orders and instructions, standing procedures, and major policy documents of the federal as well as the provincial governments are in English; information—technological, economic, sociological, and statistical—is also largely available in English. English in Pakistan is more the language of Macaulay than of Shakespeare. The large industrial and business sector operates in English. Although introduced in this country through an historical accident, English has become a pattern of life, and its cultural influence continues to be strong.

The inadequacy of the English-speaking élite (which has been ruling the country for forty-four years since independence) in providing stability, responsible rule, and responsive leadership, and in accommodating growing feelings of national identity has strengthened the conviction among many that there is a need for the establishment of Urdu as the primary official language of Pakistan if the masses are to have a feel of the government. A change in this direction is being made in response to growing nationalistic sentiment and the increasing importance of effective and credible communication between the people and the government. This careful structuring will, one hopes, preempt what could develop into an avalanche that would completely eliminate English from many educational institutions and restrict its role in others.

The complete, unreserved, and unqualified commitment to the national language has not blinded the powers-that-be to the problems of a complete switch, or to those of the transition. The realization is strong that the world continues to shrink with the onset of the communications revolution and relentless advances in communication technology; the invasion of the bedroom by television via satellite has made a certain degree of universal cultural uniformity, if not cohesion, inevitable. English, the primary vehicle of international communication even among non-native speakers, is a passport to international, cultural, and metropolitan citizenship. It thus has a strong international constituency. Pakistan has had the advantage of a head start in knowledge of English. This has helped us in our efforts to play a leadership role in many areas of the world of diplomacy—in the Third World, in the Islamic bloc, in international agencies, and especially in the technical subcommittees of these organizations.

At the same time certain prevalent apprehensions in the country must be recognized and accounted for. In sum, these are that so long as English remains the major expression of our ruling élite, we shall

continue to be a client culture; that our cultural preferences, our instruments of analysis, our categories of thought, our very modes of thinking, will be determined for us by those who own and control this language, and who also control some of the major channels of international communication; and that with our moorings in English we would always be subject to easy intellectual manipulation, always a step behind. Examples are cited of minor European languages which can adequately meet the needs of their societies; the importance of cultural identity is emphasized, and it is pointed out that every language is the instrument of a culture: institutions are culture-specific and do not lend themselves easily to translation.

It is evident that the position of English in Pakistan continues to be both vitally important and highly controversial. There are those who would remove it at one stroke from all walks of life; there are others who would retain it everywhere through argument, rationalization, and subterfuge. Sentimentalism on the part of one group and a hard line on the part of both (though with differing degrees of subtlety) has at times served to obfuscate the issues. It would perhaps be fair to concede that heavy, and partly unnecessary, reliance continues to be placed on English. That English is the language of the élite has also not helped, though deterioration in the quality of English in the country has been stupendous and progressive, and has accelerated since some of the motivation for knowing it well is now secondary.

Urdu has been declared the national language of the country. Its use in government documents, particularly those for public consumption, has increased substantially. Government correspondence is divided between English and Urdu. Public functions and speeches are now invariably in the national language. Court proceedings at all levels are permitted in Urdu. Examinees at all levels in the arts, humanities, and social sciences can take their examinations in Urdu. In science subjects the change has been slower and more limited. But children joining Class I in 1979 started out with Urdu as their only medium of instruction: a fundamental change, the effects of which will work out in time.

## **The Future**

Although the induction and increasing use of Urdu at all levels and in all spheres is inevitable, a trend it would be a losing battle to fight.



there are some sectors which will always remain aligned to English. English has become the language of knowledge; it is the language with the biggest reservoir of information, knowledge, and literature known in history. Advances in science and technology, the paraphernalia of planning and development, and developments in the humanities and the arts are mostly expressed through English. The rate of change in today's world, and the rate of its acceleration, imply that technological advancement, scientific discovery, and research and development will continue at a staggering pace, with a definite time-lag for its assimilation in languages other than the primary international language in which this fund of knowledge is initially disseminated.

Thus, it may not be possible to alter the position of the English language in the national set-up radically, or to reduce its role across the board by fiat. It has permeated far too deeply and far too long for that. This position seems likely to continue in the foreseeable future. English is also the lingua franca of the international business community. Approximately thirty (30) per cent of Pakistan's gross national product is related to international trade. In the years to come, even if English is de-emphasized for political reasons, it will in all probability continue to occupy pride of place in critical sectors of national life.

An attempt to restore the *status quo* would be futile. The best course is to accept the inevitable and try to demarcate the territory of English again, to carve out for it the specific role it can play. The future of English in this country has to be clearly identified, albeit limited or compartmentalized, as the language of technology and the language of international communication. Furthermore, it may be many years before we can codify all our laws in the national language.

What is the option? It is quite simple. All Pakistani citizens must be able to communicate effectively, and eloquently, in the national language, as well as in their own regional languages. Urdu would be the future medium of instruction at school level. English may continue to be the medium of instruction for science subjects at college and university levels, with the option of studying social sciences and humanities in English. The teaching of the English language would be emphasized, and this would have to be at the expense of English literature. Specialization at an advanced level in English literature would be restricted to those who want to become writers, journalists, teachers, translators, and the like. Reading and enjoying English literature, although a part of our cultural tradition for over a century, is likely to be available only to the fortunate few, and to decline gradually.

The new role projected for English implies a new strategy in its learning as well as in its teaching. My generation has learnt English through immersion, but modern methods of teaching languages are time-and-effort-efficient. English in Pakistan ought in future to be taught as a second language in a scientific way, in accordance with a more or less universally accepted methodology. The road ahead may not be free of highwaymen, but rationality is the best companion.

# 3

## English Language Publishing in Pakistan

Shayan Afzal Khan  
and  
Jane Ann Lindley

### **The Status of Publishing in Pakistan**

A discussion of publishing in the English language in Pakistan must, per force, be approached through a study of publishing in Pakistan as a whole. Because Urdu is the national language, recent governmental policy has been to encourage Urdu language publishing. The statistics presented in this paper are indicative of the extent to which this policy is being actively pursued. Nonetheless, the English language retains a position of undeniable importance in the country. It is the language in which all commerce and most bureaucratic business is carried out, and it remains the primary medium of instruction and research at the tertiary level of education. Given the enduring role and status of the English language in Pakistan, the need for quality local publications in English cannot be overemphasized.

In Pakistan, publishing is undertaken by both the private and the public sectors. Various government and autonomous bodies are designated significant roles. These include the National Book Council, the National Book Foundation, the Curriculum Wing of the Ministry of Education, the four provincial Textbook Boards, the University Grants Commission, the Directorate of Libraries, and the Central Copyright Office. While each has a specific mandate, there is some overlapping of responsibilities and duplication of effort.



It must also be noted that Pakistan is one of the region's lowest producers of books (Akhtar 1987), even though, with a population of over one hundred million, it is the ninth most populous country in the world. The approximate number of titles published in Pakistan is thought to average about 3000 per year, but there is no known way of verifying this or any other statistic regarding the publishing trade. One of the reasons for the low book output in Pakistan is the lack of a single language that can be written and read fluently throughout the country. Another is the low literacy rate. According to the *Pakistan Statistical Yearbook* (1988), the literacy rate of the population ten years of age and over is only 26.2 per cent, with the rate for males being 35.1 per cent, and for females 16.0 per cent. Among the urban population, the literacy rate for both sexes is 47.1 per cent, with the rate for males being 55.3 per cent, and for females 37.3 per cent. In contrast, the literacy rate for the rural population is only 17.3 per cent, with the rate for males being 26.2 per cent, and for females 7.3 per cent.

Other reasons for the low book production have been identified in a comprehensive study of the Pakistani publishing industry by Stanley A. Barnett, Nat Engel, and Ivan Kats (1984). These include the shortage of financing for local publishers, a dearth of trained human resources, ineffective book distribution mechanisms, and a lack of professionalism in the industry. The study also considered the role of the private versus the public sector on the one hand and the conflict, as well as the lack of co-ordination, between various public bodies on the other hand (see also Ahmed 1981).

Another factor requiring emphasis is the overwhelming monopoly of textbooks over all other publishing in Pakistan (see Table 3.1). This, taken together with the fact that a large proportion of education up to the tertiary level is conducted in the national language, effectively reduces the percentage of books published in the English language. It also rules out the possibility of increasing the publication of English language books by directing policy at increasing textbook publication. Obviously, we will have to look elsewhere (i.e. at trade, professional, vocational, recreational, and supporting research and development publications) to promote increased production of books and other literature in English. Science and technology, economics, industrial development, and related subject matter are areas in which English publications are likely to find a market. Until private publishers gear themselves towards this, there will be no profit in general

**Table 3.1: Statistics of Textbook Publishing in Pakistan**

Province													
Punjab					Sindh			Balochistan			NWFP		
Class	Urdu		English		Urdu	English	Total	Urdu	English	Total	Urdu	English	Total
	Titles	Copies	Titles	Copies	Titles	Titles	Copies	Titles	Titles	Copies	Titles	Titles	Copies
I	7	9,276,000	7	35,000	3	0	1,300,000	4	0	1,135,000	8	0	2,350,000
II	5	2,874,000	5	30,000	3	0	270,000	3	0	255,000	6	0	580,000
III	6	3,614,000	6	35,000	6	0	545,000	4	0	310,000	5	0	640,000
IV	7	2,467,000	7	40,000	6	0	680,000	6	0	320,000	6	0	460,000
V	7	3,295,000	7	15,000	6	0	1,190,000	6	0	184,000	7	0	510,000
VI	14	3,610,000	14	20,000	Total Titles 9		550,000	9	1	152,000	Total Titles 12		480,000
VII	14	2,612,000	14	30,000	Total Titles 9		455,000	9	1	105,000	Total Titles 12		365,000
VIII	14	2,429,500	14	—	Total Titles 9		434,000	9	1	103,000	Total Titles 8		291,000
IX—X	38	2,365,500	38	528,000	Total Titles 13		470,000	14	2	125,000	Total Titles 15		153,000
XI—XII	26	436,000	26	230,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	Total Titles 16		102,000
Total	138	32,979,000	138	963,000	Total Titles 64		5,894,000	64	5	2,689,000	Total Titles 95		5,931,000

*Note:* The statistics for the Punjab and Balochistan are for 1988–9. The statistics for the Sindh and NWFP are for 1985–6 and are the latest statistics to have been collected by the Curriculum Wing from these provinces. No statistics were available for Classes XI–XII in the Sindh and Balochistan. Also, the number of titles in each language were not separately recorded for the Sindh and the NWFP. There is no automatic reporting system for this data. The Punjab is the only province which publishes textbooks in English for Classes I–V.

*Source:* Curriculum Wing, (Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan)

book publishing, although, admittedly, there is little profit in textbook publishing either.

Unfortunately, very few English language publications are being offered to readers through indigenous resources. What is available is through imports at exorbitantly high prices. This is why people stay away from bookshops, thus contributing substantially to the unprofitability of the book trade. A number of other factors also inhibit people in the book trade from bringing to the market either indigenous or foreign English language publications. These will be discussed in detail in the latter portion of the paper. However, before getting into these issues, it would be useful to look at some of the statistics which graphically paint the picture of the status of book publishing in Pakistan.

### Compilation and Analysis of Available Statistics

A reliable figure is not available for the total number of books in print in Pakistan; however, an estimate on the generous side, according to Tauqir (1988), would be approximately 30,000 to 40,000. Textbook publishing comprises 80 per cent to 90 per cent of Pakistan's annual output of books (Barnett *et al.* 1984), a figure commensurate with similar statistics for other developing nations. This type of publishing is generally characterized as a public sector operation, with private publishers participating in it largely as printers for the provincial Textbook Boards. Nonetheless, it is the principal source of reliable profit for the private sector and far overshadows all other publishing in the country. In fact, it can be said that there would be no book-publishing industry in Pakistan if it were not for this activity.

Unfortunately, there are no comprehensive statistics available on other types of book publishing in Pakistan. There is no single government agency charged with this responsibility, nor is there any private organization compiling and maintaining the relevant data for the book-publishing industry. The National Book Foundation, for example, keeps statistics on its own book production, and the provincial Textbook Boards do the same. The only reliable source for a general survey of these statistics, therefore, is the National Bibliography, which is produced by the National Library of Pakistan. However, even this source is only a partial record, as it reflects only those titles which have been deposited under the copyright law or have been otherwise collected by the National Library.



According to Barnett *et al.* (1984), copyright deposits have ranged between 900 and 1500 during recent years, but this is thought to be only about half the number of books published in the country and perhaps as little as 40 per cent to 45 per cent of the total. This assumption, however, is not borne out by an examination of the National Bibliography. Rather, the upper end of the 900–1500 range would appear to be the likely total of all book production. Table 3.2 contains statistics on book publishing in Pakistan for the years 1968 to 1987. The startling fact illustrated by this data is the marked decline in the registration, if not the publication, of books in the English language over the past two decades. There were 40 per cent fewer books recorded in 1987 (207) than in 1968 (290). Viewed against the total number of deposits, nearly half (46 per cent) of all deposits in 1968 were English language books, whereas in 1987 they constituted only slightly more than one-fourth (27 per cent) of the deposits.

**Table 3.2: Statistics of Book Publishing in Pakistan**

Languages	Year			
	1968	1978	1986	1987
English	290	272	253	207
Urdu	236	424	469	521
Punjabi	—	17	11	26
Seraiki	—	2	2	—
Sindhi	9	10	11	7
Pushto	—	1	7	1
Balochi/Brahvi	3	1	1	—
Others*	91	92	21	7
Total	629	819	775	769

\* Includes Arabic (111), Bengali (66), Persian (25), Gujrati (2), Kashmiri (1), and unidentified (6)

Source: National Bibliography (National Library, Department of Libraries, Government of Pakistan)

If these statistics are compared with those for Urdu language books, the impact of the Government's policy in recent years of en-

couraging publication in the national language is readily apparent. The 521 Urdu language books registered in 1987 represent an increase of 120 per cent over the 236 deposited in 1968. Again, viewed against the total number of deposits, roughly one out of every three books recorded in 1968 was in the Urdu language, while slightly more than two out of every three books deposited in 1987 were in Urdu.

Another interesting observation in Table 3.2 is that, while there has been little change in the number of books being deposited in the regional languages of Pakistan, there has been a dramatic decline in the number of books in other languages which have been registered with the National Library. These include Arabic, Bengali, Persian, Gujrati, and Kashmiri. Books in these other languages represented 15 per cent of the total registrations in 1968, 11 per cent in 1978, and barely 1 per cent in 1987.

One final fact, which one must reluctantly point out, is that there was a gradual decline between 1968 and 1987 in the total number of registrations of English books. The question, which begs an answer from the competent authorities, is whether or not this decline is evidence of the insidious impact of the book piracy practised in the country or whether it is a symptom of the failing health of the book-publishing industry . . . or both! Whatever the answer, the situation warrants aggressive action on the part of the Government to turn it around.

With regard to newspaper and periodical publishing in the country, the *Pakistan Press Directory*, issued by the Press Information Department (PID) of the Government of Pakistan, is the most authoritative source of statistical data. The 1988 edition of this annual publication reflects the data recorded as of 30 June 1988. A deficiency which must be pointed out is that this digest includes some, but by no means all, of the periodicals published by various universities. Supplementary data may be found in the *Handbook of Universities of Pakistan* (Afzal, Siddiqui, Matin, and Gohar 1987) published by the University Grants Commission (UGC), and in the *Journals/Periodicals of Universities of Pakistan Available in the UGC Library up to 15.9.87*. However, data regarding the periodicity and/or language of publication are often lacking in the entries in the *Handbook* and accessions list. Therefore, the data from the UGC sources have not been incorporated in the statistical tables presented in this paper. Nonetheless, there are some very interesting and significant points illustrated by the tables.



As shown in Table 3.3, in 1988 there were 133 newspapers being published in the country, seventeen of them in English. Statistics reported by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting's Audit Bureau of Circulation and published in the *Pakistan Statistical Yearbook* (1988) show that a total of 201,169 copies of the seventeen English language dailies were in circulation as of the end of 1987. By comparison, there were 1,044,677 copies of the 103 Urdu language dailies in circulation. Thus, the average circulation of the English dailies is nearly 17 per cent higher than that for the Urdu dailies.

**Table 3.3: The Press in Pakistan (Dailies)**

Languages	Federal Capital	Provinces					Total
		Punjab	Sindh	Balochistan	NWFP	AJK	
English	3	3	7	1	3	—	17
Urdu	2	56	23	6	16	—	103
Punjabi	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Seraiki	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Sindhi	—	—	9	—	—	—	9
Pushto	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Balochi/ Brahvi	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Gujrati	—	—	3	—	—	—	3
Total	5	59	42	7	20	0	133

*Source:* Pakistan Press Directory, June 1988 (Press Information Department, Government of Pakistan)

As displayed in Table 3.4, of the 1454 total periodicals other than dailies, 366—or *one-fourth*—of them are English language publications, while 1000 (69 per cent) are in Urdu. Of the eighty-eight publications in regional or other languages, sixty are in Sindhi. This figure represents over two-thirds of the periodicals which are pub-

**Table 3.4: The Press in Pakistan (Periodicals) Language-wise Distribution**

Languages	Periodicity								Total
	Bi-Weeklies	Weeklies	Fortnightlies	Monthlies	Bi-Monthlies	Quarterlies	Bi-Annals	Annals	
English	1	35	33	152	7	111	19	8	366
Urdu	2	262	77	414	1	59	60	125	1000
Punjabi	—	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	3
Sindhi	—	42	2	15	—	1	—	—	60
Seraiki	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	2
Pushto	—	3	—	5	—	—	—	—	8
Balochi/Brahvi	—	2	—	3	—	—	—	—	5
Gujrati	—	1	2	3	—	—	—	—	6
Arabic	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	2
Persian	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	2
Total	3	346	114	597	8	174	79	133	1454

Source: Pakistan Press Directory, June 1988 (Press Information Department, Government of Pakistan)

lished in languages other than English or Urdu, and 4 per cent of all the periodicals published in the country. The three titles published in Punjabi comprise only 0.2 per cent of all the periodicals, and just 3.4 per cent of the periodicals published in languages other than English and Urdu.

It is interesting to view these statistics in juxtaposition with those regarding the languages usually spoken in the households of the country. According to the *Pakistan Statistical Yearbook* (1988), Sindhi is the language usually spoken in only 12 per cent of the country's households and in 52 per cent of those in the Sindh, whereas Punjabi is usually spoken in 48 per cent of the households in Pakistan and in nearly 79 per cent of the households in the Punjab. In this context, it can be said that the level of publishing in Punjabi is remarkably low.

Another interesting comparison is illustrated in Table 3.5, which shows the province-wise distribution of periodicals. Not surprisingly, with Lahore and Karachi being the primary publishing centres in the country, 693 (48 per cent) of the periodicals are published in the Punjab and 539 (37 per cent) are published in Sindh. The 101 periodicals being published in the Federal Capital represent 7 per cent of the total, with the remaining 8 per cent spread over the other provinces as follows: 46 titles (3.2 per cent) in the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), 33 (2 per cent) in Balochistan, and 42 (2.8 per cent) in Azad Jammu Kashmir (AJK). Finally, some readers may also find it of interest to view the foregoing statistics in comparison with the province-wise literacy figures. As shown in the 1988 *Pakistan Statistical Yearbook*, the literacy rate among the population ten years of age or over in the Sindh was 31.5 per cent, in the Punjab 27.4 per cent, in the NWFP 16.7 per cent, and in Balochistan 10.3 per cent.

## **Encouraging English Language Publishing in Pakistan**

In order to strengthen the climate in Pakistan for publishing in all languages, the first problem which must be dealt with is copyright infringement. Laws currently in effect are fairly comprehensive but lack adequate enforcement provisions. Pakistan is also a signatory to two international copyright conventions and ostensibly provides protection to works originating in countries which are parties to these

**Table 3.5: The Press in Pakistan (Periodicals) Province-wise Distribution**

Provinces	Periodicity								Total
	Bi-Weeklies	Weeklies	Fortnightlies	Monthlies	Bi-Monthlies	Quarterlies	Bi-Annals	Annals	
Federal Capital	—	13	1	33	5	33	12	4	101
Punjab	2	137	51	236	—	78	66	123	693
Sindh	1	110	55	304	3	62	1	3	539
NWFP	—	27	2	17	—	—	—	—	46
Balochistan	—	22	5	3	—	—	—	3	33
AJK	—	37	—	4	—	1	—	—	42
Total	3	346	114	597	8	174	79	133	1454

*Source:* Pakistan Press Directory, June 1988 (Press Information Department, Government of Pakistan)



conventions. Nonetheless, foreign publishers are reluctant to distribute their books, let alone enter into joint publishing ventures with Pakistani firms because of the high level of piracy and the perceived lack of official concern about it. Furthermore, the copyright problem serves to drive away from the country those of its citizens who are possessed of literary and artistic genius, because they have so little hope of receiving adequate protection of and compensation for their intellectual property. Unfortunately, these are the very people so badly needed if there is to be a thriving book industry in Pakistan, since a dearth of high quality manuscripts is one of the most critical problems faced by Pakistani publishers.

A cogent assessment of the piracy issue appears in a study submitted to the National Development Finance Corporation by Yunus Said, entitled *A Report on the Book Industry in Pakistan* (1987). According to Said, the basic issue which lies at the heart of the piracy problem is the high cost of books. Market forces are as much at play here as in any other industry. One critical factor in marketing books in Pakistan is the low level of readership. A concerted effort, therefore, needs to be made to promote the habit of reading.

Other measures for attacking the high cost of books must also be taken. Said (1987) argues that the government ought to reduce the duty on imported paper, while concomitantly fostering the growth of the indigenous paper industry, so that there would be a ready supply of higher quality paper. Barnett *et al.* (1984) also make a strong case for the elimination of the import duty on book-printing equipment. They assert that such action would encourage the importation of modern, efficient machinery that could help the local industry capture a potentially large export market for Pakistani-produced books in Urdu, Arabic, and English for the Middle East.

With most books published in Karachi and Lahore, but without a viable network of book distributors running the length and breadth of the country, books are not able to reach other places. The alternative arrangement is for bookshop owners to travel around the country, picking up books that they would otherwise not be able to purchase. This, of course, increases the bookshop owners' overhead costs, which are necessarily factored into book prices. Thus, a cost-effective means of bringing more books to the local markets would bring prices down, resulting in increased consumer purchases and producer profit.

With particular respect to enhancing English language publishing in Pakistan, the promotion of local publication of legitimate reprints

of foreign books is desperately needed. The experience of Oxford University Press is a significant benchmark in this regard. It is not only locally reprinting a number of its more popular titles, but also marketing them at affordably low prices. As a consequence, it finds that it does not have to face the vexing problem of piracy. Most other publishers from foreign countries, however, have not yet been convinced to follow the lead of Oxford University Press.

Publishing in Pakistan can at best be called a nascent industry, although the Government of Pakistan does not officially recognize it as an industry at all. At present, policy planning relating to this sector comes under the purview of the Ministry of Education rather than the Ministry of Industries, as it should. If it were transferred to the latter ministry, it would receive preferential consideration, particularly in such matters as the elimination of discriminatory importation duties on critically-needed items. The Government ought also, in co-operation with its aid-giving partners, to mark out this area for industrial development. This would help generate sorely needed investment capital for the modernization and expansion of publishing companies.

Finally, and equally importantly, the publishing community needs to get itself better organized to present a united front to the government. The Pakistan Publishers and Booksellers Association, for example, ought to form a working group to regularly collect and periodically publish comprehensive and accurate statistics on all aspects of the industry, rather than leaving this vital activity by default to the Government. It ought also to work more closely with the writers' guilds to sort out the problems relating to the production of higher quality manuscripts and fairer remuneration schemes. The Association also needs to take more initiative with regard to training writers, editors, proof-readers, and indexers, as well as printers, copy-editors, and book-binders so as to enhance the professionalism of this most vital industry.

## **II. Language Variety**





## 4

# English in Non-Native Use: A Second-Language View

Anjum P. Saleemi

There is in today's world an increasingly large number of non-native *users* of English.<sup>1</sup> A spate of literature on the topic evidences the interest in this phenomenon and in its implications for language teaching, learning, planning, and use. Several ideas have been put forward about (a) the extent and nature of the non-native use of English and (b) the divergent (and unifying) trends inherent in the expansion, and the status and role of various non-native varieties of the language. Generalizing from my own experiences in a society in which English has long been a dominant second language, I will present in this article some observations related to the above issues.

The curiously complex way in which English doubles as both an international language and the most widely used second language defies a straightforward analysis of any aspect of the phenomenon. However, although opinions concerning the international role of English differ vastly, we may obtain a simple (perhaps too simple) working analysis of trends in the spread of English by examining two broadly distinct points of view. One of these combines an international view of English with a linguistically tolerant attitude towards the emerging non-native forms of it (e.g. Quirk 1962 and 1981; Lee 1978; Strevens 1977 and 1980a; Abbott 1981; Close 1981; Kachru 1981). Related to this viewpoint are suggestions to deliberately simplify the form and usage of English for international communication (Hill 1967; Quirk 1978 and 1981). The hoped-for result would be a culturally unmarked and structurally much less complicated version of the language, variously referred to as Neutral English (Hill 1967) or Nuclear English (Quirk 1981), which would serve as a universal

medium of communication. With regard to the cultural aspect, several writers assume that non-native English is *already* a de-ethnicized or minimally ethnicized language (Fishman, Cooper, and Conrad 1977).

The second viewpoint, while accepting the international status of English as a reality not worth arguing against, tends to be critical of the indiscriminate learning and use of English prevalent throughout the world. Those holding this view raise the following questions: First, why is so much English taught and so little learned? Second, for the developing nations is English the best (let alone the only) means of achieving 'western-style' progress (and, incidentally, to what extent is this kind of progress really desirable)? Third, can a language ever become a culturally neutral medium of communication (Rogers 1982)? And, finally, can English, or indeed any natural human language, be consciously refashioned for simpler, yet adequately human and effective, use (Widdowson 1982)? In what follows I do not particularly support any of these viewpoints. I simply restate some of the issues involved from my own perspective, and, wherever necessary, suggest modifications of the positions outlined above.

The use of English as a language of wider communication by people who are not native speakers of the language has been characterized as being international as well as intranational, and an acronym, EIIL (English as an International and Intranational Language), has been coined to encapsulate this dauntingly broad range of use and variety (Strevens 1980a; Smith 1981). There is general agreement that divergent changes tend to reduce mutual intelligibility among the speakers and users of a language. Because of this, EIIL appears to many to be a contradiction in terms. Discussing this paradox, Stern (1981:65) reports that 'On the one hand, it is recommended to acknowledge and tolerate dialectal, sociolectal, and interlanguage variations. On the other, there is the demand for an international universally acceptable nuclear or core English . . .'. He does not consider the contradiction irreconcilable, however. He goes on to explain that in spite of the fact that linguistic variation is ineluctable, 'the tolerance of variation is not limited. The question is how to establish its limits.' This, in his view, justifies the establishment of a simplified international norm which, presumably, may serve as a kind of contact dialect across the diversity (cf. Quirk 1981).

Aside from the desirability of such an undertaking, it is pertinent to ask whether it is possible to render universally acceptable even a limited language. Excepting to some extent certain highly patterned



and restricted cases of language use, as for example in aviation, the working of a language is in large part governed by numerous uncontrollable extralinguistic (political, sociocultural, educational, etc.) factors interacting in a complex fashion. Fishman (1977) also believes that planned or unplanned language change is predominantly affected by such 'extracode' considerations, and that the internal qualities of a code are likely to prove much less significant. Therefore, deliberate standardized simplification, interesting proposition though it certainly is, may turn out to be nothing but a theoretical, academic exercise.

In addition to the problem of practicability, there are others of an ethical nature that deserve our attention. Widdowson (1982:12) presents a fairly convincing case in this regard: 'A language stripped down to its bare essentials as a resource for impersonal reference is deprived at the same time of its potential for creativity and change, and the humanity of its users is diminished accordingly'; and what is more, such a language 'ceases to function as a natural language.'

Another contradiction in the EIL concept needs to be pointed out: the desire for an international English presupposes the recognition of different non-native varieties of the language, but in a very fundamental sense it also subsumes a partial rejection of their status. At times one suspects that the recognition of localized (or non-native) Englishes and the proposal for a 'delocalized' English are ultimately bound up with an unconscious self-contradictory wish: that the 'other' people will let the native-speaker English be, but that English should remain internationally dominant nevertheless. However, to a non-native user the idea of his own kind of English is quite appealing. (It may not be as good as 'real' English, but, well, it is undoubtedly English!) People eager to support their own particular brand of English seem to be gratified at the idea that, while able to retain some kind of English, they do not have to compete any more against the perpetual native-speaker one-upmanship. Paradoxically, it is also quite possible that the concept of an English that is no more than a 'communal interlanguage' (Abbott 1981)—which, in principle, is excluded from the international arena, reduced to a mere local accessory, and above all not good enough to be owned by the native speakers—might not gain much respect among the second-language users, and, consequently, English might cease to be learned as eagerly as it is now. This is likely to remain true in spite of the fact that very few non-native users require the language for direct contact with native speakers, for the simple reason that other forms of contact with native-

speaker norms—for example, those related to receptive use (i.e. reading and listening)—are extremely widespread.

The questions of setting up local pedagogic norms, and thereby making teaching-learning aims more realistic (Lee 1978), and of recognizing the status of non-native Englishes (Kachru 1981; Mehrotra 1982*a*) have been raised very cogently. Notwithstanding the fact that some sort of uniform and distinct non-native norms (especially in the area of pronunciation) already exist, it is important to realize that ESL use and usage largely tend to remain highly unstable and indeterminate, and the overall pattern of learning and use, and of attitudes towards the language, is typically characterized by imbalance and ambivalence. Fishman *et al.* (1977) report that in the non-English mother-tongue countries English is more learned than used, more used than liked. Consequently, in the following discussion I argue that to speak conclusively of established indigenized Englishes is not yet possible without grossly simplifying the linguistic and sociolinguistic data.

Much attention has been given to devising descriptive-taxonomic categories—what Strevens (1980*a*) terms the parameters of variety—that may be employed to define a non-native variety from both linguistic and sociolinguistic points of view. (See Strevens 1977; Kachru 1981 for information on the literature.) The fundamental, though tacit, assumption underlying such classificatory analyses (and also descriptive studies of various non-native varieties—for example, those of Indian English, Singapore English, and the like), an assumption that I question in its strong form, is that the non-native varieties have attained a certain degree of definability—to the extent that any linguistic entity may be regarded as definable. I must mention here that I consider this approach perfectly valid in its own right as long as it is taken only as a theory of organization of the data in hand, and not as an explanation of it. The varieties view, furthermore, based as it mainly is on considerations of form and a descriptive sociology of communication, does not take into account the ‘internal paradigm’ of language use, which is determined by a combination of many social and psychological attitudes towards the language in question as well as towards its interaction with local language(s) and culture(s). What I am trying to say is that the descriptive view is by no means an inefficient way to address a complex problem, but it is perhaps a less than adequate way to do so.



It is generally admitted that none of the non-native varieties is easy to describe and that each is best conceived as a lectal continuum (acrolect-mesolect-basilect). At one extreme of the continuum is the acrolect, which is the nearest to native-speaker usage; at the other, basilect, which is the farthest. (See Richards and Tay 1981 for an in-depth analysis of the dynamics of lectal variation.) Kachru (1981:17) speaks of a cline of bilingualism and remarks that 'The users of non-native varieties show a wide range of competence, varying from a pidginized variety to what may be called ambilingualism.' (Cf. Halliday, McIntosh, and Strevens 1964:295.) Obviously, this variation in usage is indicative of an equally diffuse complementary functional heterogeneity.

It should follow that the pattern of non-native linguistic-functional norms is hierarchical or vertical. (Cf. Haugen's [1972] distinction between vertical and horizontal bilingualism.) This last refers to the fact that all along the lectal cline, in almost total correspondence with a scale of language prestige, every set of norms regards the one immediately above as the model to be followed. That is to say that while acrolectal usage aims at achieving maximum approximation to a native-speaker model, the level of usage below it considers the acrolectal norms as the standard ones, and so forth.

The complexity of norms described above convinces me that the number of grammatical variants used *fairly consistently* is not as large as is generally supposed. My own personal experience contains innumerable instances of:

1. forms that are used on one occasion but are not acknowledged or responded to on another by the same individual;
2. forms that are glibly used by people who later on evince uncertainty as to what they intended to mean by them;
3. forms that are bandied about indiscriminately but are not generally intercomprehensible.

I am afraid that several variants cited by writers are in fact no more than extremely transitory linguistic forms, such as idiolectal or interlanguage deviations, or nonce-words. Some such variants, taken from Nihalani, Tongue, and Hosali (1979), are given below for the purpose of illustration:

fooding and lodging	(board and lodging)
refresher's course	(refresher course)
snacks-bar	(snack-bar)
footwears	(footwear)
coward man	(coward)
finger-ring	(ring)

The tremendous range of variation we have just been talking about is not a result merely of linguistic factors like interference or negative transfer, or interlanguage-based deviation, which are themselves effects, not causes. Nor can lectal diversity be properly understood simply on the basis of linguistic distance (which, in large part, is related to features of usage). The scope and nature of use should be regarded as equally significant indices of diversity. Acrolectal varieties are generally broader in terms of both linguistic and functional range: they are used more consistently and for a greater number of communicative purposes (though not for that reason by a greater number of people), while the range becomes gradually narrower as one goes down the lectal scale. In other words, basilectal varieties are extremely limited dialects. This range of variability is plainly manifest at the pragmatic level: at one extreme there are people who operate almost completely in English; at the other, those who have no use for whatever little English they happen to know.

Moreover, in determining the pattern of variation, people's personal attitudes towards the second language matter a great deal, as also do the degree and nature of the socio-economic demand for it. Bilingualism may be more or less compulsory in some societies, though it is almost never completely unavoidable. 'Even in a thoroughly bilingual society,' affirms Lewis (1981:200), 'an individual to some extent chooses to be a bilingual as well as the degree and quality of his bilingualism.' Knowing or not knowing the second language may mean the difference between better or worse social status, may accelerate or retard upward social mobility, but simply to survive, the knowledge of the mother tongue alone is usually more than enough. Kennedy (1973:74) says that 'Because the second-language learner already possesses a human language, he may have a much less urgent motivation to communicate [in the second language]. That is, while he may need a second language for a particular educational or vocational purpose, he can typically still use his first language to communicate with family and friends if necessary.' This important fact, that second-language learning and the degree of competence acquired are essentially a mat-



ter of choice, not absolute necessity, is perhaps one of the most important dimensions of second-language variation.

Discussing Indian English, Strevens (1977:140) remarks that 'The ultimate test of effectiveness of a variety of language is whether it meets the communication needs of those who use it.' True, but in multilingual code-mixed use it often becomes difficult to decide which of the component languages a specific structure belongs to, as shown in the example below. This sentence is an authentic example of the typical educated Urdu-English (mainly spoken) dialect:

*You know, mere ideas change hote rehte hē*  
(You know, my ideas keep changing.)

Therefore, a form that is often taken for a non-native variant of English may actually be part of a separate (hybrid) linguistic system (Bhatia 1982)—what may be termed bilingual dialect, or *bilect*, for short (or *multilect*; whatever is appropriate to a given situation). In code-mixed usage, especially in spoken interaction, code-switching is often so frequent and mixing so thorough that one suspects neither switching nor mixing to be sufficiently descriptive of the situation. Charles A. Ferguson (quoted in Kachru 1982c:5–6) makes the following pertinent remarks about the description of this kind of mixed languages: 'What goes on in a speech community that uses—let us say—four languages . . . instead of writing four separate grammars and then writing rules for when people use one language or another, we should try to write a unified grammar in which all this variation fits somewhere' and 'I am saying multilingualism may be a legitimate object of description.'

Another important point must be made before the discussion is rounded off. Many so-called second-language variants are used only in code-mixing or -switching contexts, and thus a particular form used therein will not be considered appropriate by the user in a relatively more exclusive second-language context. One may conclude that variations that predominantly appear to belong to a mixed language rather than to a relatively unmixed one are not in fact localized second-language forms in the true sense. (I say 'relatively,' since a pure language is probably only as real as a definable non-native variety: see Fishman [1977] on the unreality of pure/unitary languages.)

Two conclusions can be conveniently drawn from the above discussion: (1) When we speak of a non-native variety, or rather semi-

variety, of English, we in fact speak of a host of more or less differing, overlapping, and interlocking forms which probably are not amenable to the kind of idealized analysis that optimally stable and consistent languages are normally subjected to and (2) Generally speaking, a second-language situation is one in which what may be termed simultaneous bi/multilingualism is the rule rather than the exception. Such linguistic systems should not be described solely on the basis of criteria ultimately deriving from a relatively monolingual or unitary framework. The tools of analysis available to date are simply not adequate to the task.

While it is not possible—considering the massive evidence available, e.g. see Fishman *et al.* (1977)—to deny that English is used worldwide more than any other language of wider communication, and that it is '*de facto* an international language' (Brumfit 1982:3), there appears to be no reason why this fact should become either a case to be publicized, involving attempts at making the language 'more international than it already is' (Widdowson 1982:12), or a source of facile generalizations distracting one from the complexity of the situation. In conclusion I will just remark that it seems only fair to argue, especially at the present high point of optimism with respect to English as an International Language, that certain things that are being taken for granted should be subjected to analysis from different and increasingly critical points of view.

## Note

1. This paper is a revised version of a paper read at a TES/FL Conference in Islamabad at the National Academy of Higher Education of the University Grants Commission, 7–9 June 1983. The author is grateful to Karl Drobic for valuable comments on the earlier version.



## 5

# The Indigenization of English in Pakistan

Robert J. Baumgardner

A headline a few years ago in the *Pakistan Observer*, an English-language daily from Islamabad, announced in 2½-inch high, thick bold letters that SIFARISH GOES. To those non-Urdu speaking residents of the Pakistani capital who read the paper, the headline was probably incomprehensible. Yet, it is indicative of the linguistic changes which are taking place in the English language as it is used today not only in Pakistan, but also throughout South Asia.

Transplanted in undivided India through British colonialism in the seventeenth century, English from the outset began to absorb many of the indigenous linguistic and cultural traits of its subcontinental users. Early records of this unique language contact situation are the monumental works of Whitworth, *An Anglo-Indian Dictionary: A Glossary of Indian Terms Used in English, and of Such English or Other Non-Indian Terms as Have Obtained Special Meanings in India* (1885/1981), and Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive* (1886/1985). By the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, English had been established as both the official and the academic medium throughout the subcontinent, and in spite of (or because of) subsequent Indian Independence and Partition, the language has remained a potent force in the multilingual and multicultural make-up of present-day South Asia and continues to adapt itself to its new environment.

In Pakistan the influence of English is all-pervasive. It has been guesstimated that from one to three per cent of the Pakistani population knows English. In raw figures this translates into about one to three million speakers. English is used by this relatively small but ex-

tremely influential portion of the country's population in the domains of government administration, law, the military, higher education, commerce, and mass media. There are twenty-one English-language daily newspapers in Pakistan,<sup>1</sup> thirty-five weekly publications, thirty-three fortnightlies, one hundred and fifty-two monthlies, and one hundred and eleven quarterlies. And in spite of both official as well as constitutional efforts to spread the use of the national language, Urdu, English has retained its position of importance in Pakistani society. As the *Pakistan Observer* headline suggests though, English in Pakistan has forged its own linguistic and cultural identity. Part of this identity is no doubt also Indian, given the common history of the two countries up to 1947; a typically Pakistani English idiom does appear to be emerging, however, as a result of the language's 'new' context of use.

Although present at all linguistic levels, this identity is most evident in the large number of loan words from Urdu and the regional languages of Pakistan which have made their way into common use. To read an English newspaper in Pakistan with complete comprehension, one must be familiar with such words and concepts as *atta* (flour), *baradari* (clan), *goonda* (thug), *kabbadi* (a sport), *kachchi abadi* (shanty town), *maund* (a unit of measurement), *mela* (a fair), *paan* (a preparation of betel nuts and lime wrapped in a betel leaf), and *wadera* (a Sindhi landlord), to cite only a few which occur fre-



*The Pakistan Times*, Lahore, 16 May, 1989

quently. Pakistani English has borrowed freely from the indigenous domains of food, clothing, government administration, politics, education, art, and music. The register of religion, however, accounts for by far the largest number of borrowings, and Arabic lexis permeates Pakistani English—*inshallah* (if God wills), *jihad* (holy war), *masjid* (mosque), *shaheed* (martyr), *shariat* (Islamic law), and *zakat* (Islamic tithe).

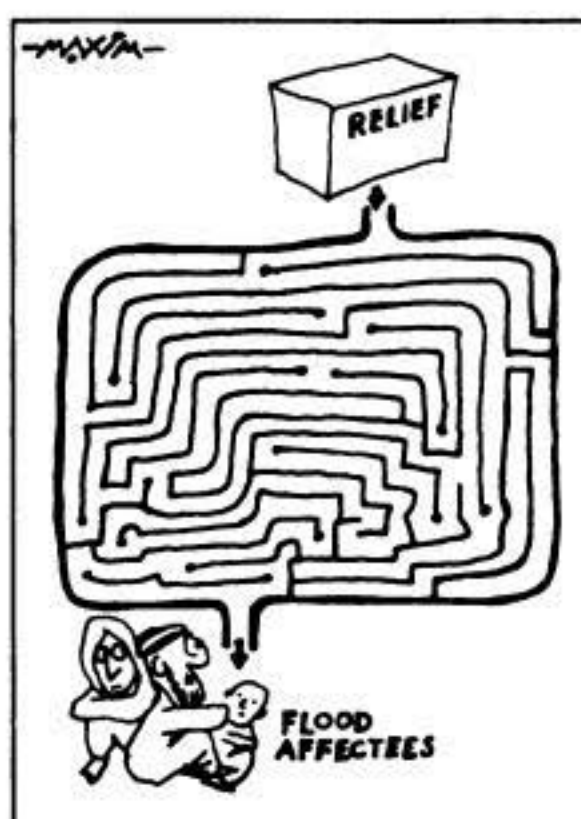
Words which enter English also become part of the English grammatical system. The loans *goondas*, *jirgas* (tribal council), *kachchi abadis*, and *waderas*, for example, are composed of singular borrowed nouns plus the English plural suffix -s. Some Urdu nouns can also be used as English verbs, for example, *challan* (citation) and *chowkidar* (watchman): 'The Resident Magistrate . . . raided the premises of diesel oil dealers in the sub-division and challaned 15 of them for various offences . . .' (*The Pakistan Times*, 3 July 1986),<sup>2</sup> and 'Eight feet high wrought iron gates that lock in the night are chowkidared during the day . . .' (*The Star*, 24 May 1988). The borrowing and subsequent grammaticalization of borrowed items is the natural consequence of language contact situations, and in this respect the English of Pakistan has been enriched by the multicultural, multi-ethnic, and multilingual context in which it is used (see Plate 1 as well as Baumgardner, Kennedy, and Shamim [in this volume] for further examples of Urdu lexis).

Another area in which Pakistani English has forged its own identity is that of word-formation. The combination of English affixes with bases of both English and Urdu origin has produced vocabulary previously unattested in other varieties of English. One of the most productive prefixes in Pakistani English is *de-*, as in *de-notify*, *de-load*, *de-seat*, and *de-shape*. *The Pakistan Times* (4 August 1986) provided a 'List of telephone numbers F-1 to be converted into other numbers due to de-loading of F-1 exchange', and Classic Cleaners in Karachi advertises 'Good News for Woolies! No more stretching and de-shaping of your woolen clothes'.

Some productive suffixes in Pakistani English are *-er*, *-ee*, and *-ism*. One of the four evening newspapers from Karachi, *The Star*, advertises itself as 'the only national evening', and the *Pakistan Observer* was announced on launching as the 'First English Evening from Islamabad'. The *Observer*, however, subsequently became a morning paper (see Plate 2). Another *-er* formation is *history-sheeter*, or a person with a *history sheet* (criminal record). *Dawn* of 14 February

1988 reported that a 'Notorious history-sheeter . . . and his maternal uncle . . . were detained under MPO for 30 days . . .'. The word *shoplifter* has given rise to a whole range of other lifters in Pakistani English. *Auto-rickshaw-lifters*, *baby-lifters*, *car-lifters*, *child-lifters*, *motorcycle-lifters*, and even *manhole cover-lifters* can now be found.

Previously uncatalogued words with the *-ee* suffix also occur, *affectee* being the most frequently used. Those people who are adversely affected by rain, hail, floods, dacoities, riots, bank fraud, and even high prices are *affectees*, and riot affectees who are shifted from a riot-torn area to a safer locality are sometimes referred to as *shiftees*.



*The Nation*, Lahore, 4 October 1992

From the world of bureaucracy come two expressive Pakistani words formed with *-ism*, namely *white-elephantism* and *stop-gapism*. *The Muslim* (2 January 1987) reported that 'a policy of ad-hocism and stop-gapism has been followed with respect to Azad Kashmir . . .'. The adjective *ad-hoc* also combines with the suffix *-ee* in Pakistani English to form *ad-hocee*, as in the headline from *The Muslim* (13 October 1987) which announced the 'Regularisation of Ad-hocees', or those hired on an *ad-hoc* (temporary) basis. Another formation of this type is *pointation*. *On the pointation of X* means that X furnished the information or pointed out something which led to the arrest of Y or to the recovery of stolen goods. *Dawn* (28 June 1986) reported that 'accomplices were arrested four days ago [and] on their pointation



several other Sri Lankan girls were recovered . . .', while the *Morning News* (30 June 1988) informed its readers that 'The stolen property recovered on pointation of the accused included a VCR, an X-ray Machine . . .'.

English derivational suffixes also freely combine with Urdu bases. *Bradarism* and *goondaism* occur frequently in print in Pakistan, especially at election time, and since the death of Muhammad Ziaul Haq, the formation *Ziaism*—the continuation of the late President's policies—has begun to appear in the newspapers. Other attested neologisms with Urdu bases are *maundage*, *shariatisation*, and *waderaism*. Hybrid compounds, formed by one English and one Urdu word, also occur with some frequency. Demonstrators in Pakistan, one reads, are *lathi*-charged; motorized rickshaws are driven by rickshaw-*wallahs*; double-*roti* (bread) is used to make sandwiches; and cigarettes can be bought at a *paan*-shop.

Conversion, or the shift of a word from one part of speech to another (Bauer 1983:226), is also a major source of new words in Pakistani English. The British English noun *charge sheet*, for example, has become a verb in Pakistan where 'anti-socials' are *charge-sheeted*. Air travel has also produced such noun-to-verb conversions as *to aircraft* and *to airline*. *The Muslim* of 4 August 1987 informed its readers that 'Plans to aircraft the ailing Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, from New Delhi to Peshawar tomorrow have been deferred . . .'.

Of particular interest is the verb-plus-particle-to-noun conversion *move-over*, a word related to the world of work. In government service in Pakistan there are twenty-two grades, and one normally moves from one grade to the next higher grade by means of a promotion. It is often impossible to get a promotion, however, because there is no vacant higher post or because a Selection Board which determines promotions may not be scheduled to meet for some time for one reason or another. For a person who has reached the top of his/her grade incrementally, it is possible in this situation to get a 'move-over' instead of a promotion. The move-over will give the *move-overee* the monetary benefits of the higher grade, but neither its title nor its perks. The problem is, however, that a person is entitled to a move-over only once during his/her career. Expressing concern over this situation, a Pakistani civil servant wrote the following letter to the editor of *The Nation* (19 May 1989) in Lahore:

I wish to draw the attention of the relevant authorities towards a problem that is being confronted by some of the officials of the various Government Departments, Federal as well as Provincial. As per the rules prevalent, an Officer in Grade-17 is allowed a move-over to Grade-18 provided he has been on the ceiling of BPS-17 for one year and has earned good annual reports. There are several examples of Grade-17 Officers who have got a move-over to Grade-18 upon fulfilling the required conditions mentioned above.

Now these Grade-17 Officers, after getting the move-over to Grade-18 and on reaching the ceiling of BPS-18, have no further chance of moving up in spite of good annual confidential reports. This is for the reason that move-over is allowed only once on a post. In order to remove this anomaly and to provide an incentive to dedicated Government servants, it is requested of the Peoples Government that move-over be made a continuous process, provided the annual confidential reports are good. In this way those Grade-17 Officers, who have moved over to BPS-18 and are at the ceiling of BPS-18 and for whom chances of promotion are absolutely bleak because of non-availability of posts/vacancies or other reasons, would have an opportunity to go up to Grade-19 and further.

Pakistanis say that the move-over is a typically Pakistani or sub-continental concept invented in order to circumvent the inherited rigid British promotion system. 'Moving over' instead of 'moving up' has therefore necessitated the creation of a new linguistic term for its expression.



*The Nation*, Lahore, 9 December 1986

A final characteristic of Pakistani English at the word level is the use of vocabulary which is no longer current in British English. Words such as *botheration* (bother), *conveyance* (means of transport), *moot* (meeting), and *thrice* (three times) are common occurrences in Pakistani as well as in other South Asian varieties of English. A further example of this so-called 'colonial lag' (Marckwardt 1958/1980) is the word *tantamount*, which is still frequently used in Pakistani English as a verb as it was in seventeenth-century British English: 'We cannot support the demand of a confederation as it tantamounts to the dismemberment of the country' (*The Pakistan Times*, 8 November 1986). 'Old' words also frequently take on new meanings. A *druggist* in Pakistan can be a narcotics dealer, and *preoccupation* a previous engagement. Consider also the semantic extension of the word *patchwork* ('repair') in the following example: 'He ordered for necessary patchwork on the roads to be carried out' (*The Nation*, 28 November 1986). (See Glossary for further examples.)

There are also numerous identifying features of English in Pakistan at the phrase level. Words which do not normally occur together in other varieties are often found in new collocations. In Pakistan, for example, one *discusses a topic threadbare*, *is meted out step-motherly treatment*, *raises slogans against something*, and *takes out a procession*. Further, one *cope[s] up with a problem*, *stresses on the importance of a matter*, *request[s] for something* (such as a move-over), *disposes off an item*, and *avails (of) an opportunity*.

There is also a tendency to reduce and prepose phrases—with resultant ambiguity for some speakers of non-South-Asian varieties of English—as in *milk bottle* (a bottle of milk), *wheat bag* (a bag of wheat) or *toast piece* (a piece of toast). *The Pakistan Times* (23 June 1989) informed its readership that 'Shezan has also increased the prices of some of its products . . . A jam or jelly bottle can be purchased at Rs. 16 per bottle whereas it was available at Rs. 14 per bottle.' This process can also be seen in reduced, preposed attributive relative clauses, for example, *detrimental to health medicines* (medicines which are detrimental to the health), *public-dealing office* (an office which deals with the public) or *under construction bridge* (a bridge which is under construction).

At the sentence level, Pakistani English manifests incipient grammatical changes in adjective, verb, and noun complementation. *The Muslim* (8 November 1986) reported that 'Anti-Islamic forces are *busy to create differences among Muslims*' and that at Peshawar University



a 'resolution *banning* Americans *to enter* the campus is still in force' (1 July 1987), while *The Frontier Post* (4 November 1986) informed its readers, regarding schoolboys' dress, that 'The Minister said that *any decision for changing* uniform from current shalwar-qamis to coat-trousers would be after an agreement with the parents and teachers' (for further examples and discussion, see Baumgardner 1987 [in this volume] and Saleemi's second paper in this volume). Systematic changes have also been noted in Pakistani English word order. In *wh*-questions, for example, there is frequently no subject-operator inversion: 'Why a step-motherly treatment is being meted out to the poor peons, naib qasids, chowkidars and malis of the Education Department?' (*The Pakistan Times*, 3 October 1986). Similarly, there is often no inversion in constructions containing sentence-initial adverbials, as in: 'Wali Khan pointed out that *at no stage it was* demanded that agreements of provincial branches should be discussed in the central working committee . . .' (*The Muslim*, 17 June 1989).



*The News*, Lahore, 30 May 1992

This brief overview does not permit a comprehensive description of all the linguistic features found in Pakistani English. It is clear, however, that in spite of the vast majority of features it shares with other varieties of English, English in Pakistan is evolving its own identity. This identity is projected and perpetuated by the powerful English-using élite in Pakistan as well as through the ubiquitous Eng-



lish mass media. It is also reinforced through instructional materials used in Pakistani schools. Urdu borrowings as well as indigenous lexical and grammatical usages, for example, are beginning to find their way into locally-produced English textbooks (see volume *Introduction* and Baumgardner 1989a), and although a Pakistani Standard has not yet been clearly delineated, automatic acceptance of an exo-normative British model is no longer the rule. South Asian lexical innovations, in fact, can now be found in both British and American dictionaries and new-word compilations. *Lathi-charge* and *careerism*, for example, are cited in *The Oxford English Dictionary* (Simpson and Weiner 1989). *Eveteasing* (the teasing of girls) is catalogued in *The Barnhart Dictionary Companion* (Barnhart 1984:53–4) and was recently the subject of an article in *Newsweek* (Asian Edition, 27 April 1992:17). Specifically of Pakistani provenance, *shurocracy* (*shura* 'Islamic council' + [demo]cracy), a term purportedly coined by the late Muhammad Ziaul Haq, is found in Lemay, Lerner, and Taylor's *The New New Words Dictionary* (1988:81), and Benazir Bhutto's first official visit to the United States as Pakistan's Prime Minister prompted the use in *Time* (Asian Edition, 19 June 1989:27) of the recently-coined Pakistani English compound *Kalashnikov culture*, or the high incidence of violence in Pakistan as a result of the proliferation in the country of arms meant for the Mujahideen fighting in neighbouring Afghanistan.

I would like to conclude with an excerpt from a commentary by Pakistani journalist M. A. Niazi on a political incident in the North-West Frontier Province during Benazir Bhutto's first regime. Writing in his 'City Notes' feature column of *The Nation* (24 June 1989:3), Niazi relates:

The externment of Senator Asif Fasihuddin Vardag from the NWFP caused much consternation in *The Nation's* newsroom. A conscientious colleague, a retired Professor of English, set the cat among the pigeons by making an impulsive spot check of the dictionaries, and finding that the word 'externment' is not recorded. A mini-crisis ensued as unbelieving reporters and sub-editors made their own checks, and an etymological debate raged. The dictionaries do not recognise 'externment' and do not record even 'extern' as a verb. It is a rare, obsolete adjective substituting for 'external', or a noun meaning 'outwardness' or a non-resident student.

A rough consensus was evolved at last, in which it was decided that 'externment' and 'extern' as a verb could be used on an analogy

with 'intern' and 'internment', which are well-established and certified by all the dictionaries.

This writer, upholding the radical section of opinion, the linguistic leftwing, so to speak, intends to write to the editors of the Oxford English Dictionary, provide them with copious examples of the use of both the offending words and tell them to bung it in their next edition or next revision of the OED Supplement. This gem of language must be officially recognised. After all, fair is fair, and bureaucrats must be acknowledged if they show creativity. Throwing a chappie out of a province (or a district) or forbidding his entry is an inheritance of the British which has been jealously guarded in the 42 years of our independence. The concept cannot be expressed with semantic accuracy by word pairs like 'expel-expulsion', 'exile-exile' or 'extradite-extradition'. None carries the same neutral sinisteress that the 'extern-externment' pair have developed in Pakistan.

World Englishes form a unique and variegated sociolinguistic mosaic, and each variety, whether already standard or in the process of standardizing, is an integral part of this unprecedented international phenomenon.

## A Select Glossary of Pakistani English\*

<i>bearer</i> a waiter in a club or restaurant	<i>Lollywood</i> Lahore, the movie capital of Pakistan (Lahore + Hollywood)
<i>bed tea</i> morning tea served in bed	<i>medical store/hall</i> a pharmacy or chemist
<i>blueprint</i> a pornographic film	<i>monthly</i> protection money
<i>boots</i> shoes or tennis shoes	<i>mudguard</i> the wing (BrE) or fender (AmE) of a car
<i>breadearner</i> breadwinner	<i>pen-down strike</i> a type of strike in which clerical staff report to the office but do not work
<i>cash memo</i> receipt	<i>pull on with someone</i> to get along with someone
<i>carpet</i> a road to macadamize, metal or pave a road	<i>side hero/heroine</i> supporting actor/actress
<i>cent per cent</i> one hundred per cent	<i>soother</i> a dummy (BrE) or pacifier (AmE)
<i>chocolate hero</i> a boyishly attractive, good natured film hero	<i>stepney</i> a spare wheel (BrE) or spare tire (AmE) of a car
<i>country liquor</i> locally-made liquor	<i>taxi</i> a prostitute
<i>denter</i> a person who removes dents from a car	<i>Tommy</i> a mama's boy
<i>earlops</i> ear-studs	<i>tubelight</i> strip light (BrE) or fluorescent light (AmE)
<i>flying coach</i> a small bus	<i>undertrial</i> a person accused of a crime
<i>freeship</i> a tuition waiver	<i>weekly-off</i> a day off
<i>fruiter</i> a variety of orange	<i>wheel-cup</i> the hubcap of a car
<i>give someone lift</i> to pay attention to someone	<i>wheel-jam strike</i> a city- or country-wide protest in which transport remains at a standstill
<i>gunman</i> a security guard or body guard	
<i>half pant</i> shorts (see Plate 1)	
<i>have a soft corner for someone</i> to have a soft spot for someone	
<i>hotel</i> an eatery	
<i>incharge</i> a person in charge	

\* All of the above words and phrases are either used in Urdu or are loan-translations from Urdu.



HOTEL MEHRAN		
Name _____		
Ordinary _____		
Room No. _____ Date _____		
Urgent _____ Most Urgent _____		
ITEMS	No. of Pieces	Guest Count
Pant		
Half Pant		
Coat		
Over Coat		
Suit 3 Pieces		
Suit 2 Pieces		
Sleeping Suit		
Sherwani		
Shalwar		
Pyjama		
Shirt, Bush Shirt		
Jubba		
Vests, Underwears		
Socks, & Panties		
Big Romal		
Handkerchief		
Sweater		
Dhoty		
Dangri		
Skirt		
Skirt Suit		
Saree		
Blouse		
Petticoat		
Frock		
Dupatta		
Gharara & Lehnga		
Shawl		
Scarf		
Maxi		
Dress		
Maid/House Boy/Sweeper _____		

Plate 1

**Pakistan  
OBSERVER**  
EVENINGER FROM ISLAMABAD

**URNS MORNINGER**

After completing 16 months of publication, 'The Pakistan Observer', hitherto an Eveninger of Islamabad, despite heavy odds, is very shortly switching over to fullfledged Morninger of standard size with enlarged editorial set-up and expanded circulation network.

Currently, we are looking for experienced hands proficient in reporting, subbing, proof-reading, composing, layout and other fields. Interested persons eager to promote independent and objective journalism are welcome to join us.

**(EDITOR)**

*Pakistan Observer*, 3 March 1990

Plate 2

## Notes

1. *Balochistan Times*, Quetta; *Business Recorder*, Karachi; *Daily News*, Karachi; *Dawn*, Karachi; *The Frontier Post*, Peshawar and Lahore; *The Frontier Times*, Peshawar; *The Leader*, Karachi; *The Muslim*, Islamabad; *The Nation*, Lahore; *The News*, Karachi, Islamabad, and Lahore; *Pakistan Observer*, Islamabad; *The Pakistan Times*, Lahore and Islamabad; *The Parliament*, Karachi; *Sindh Express*, Karachi; *Sindh Observer*, Hyderabad; *The Star*, Karachi; and *Today*, Karachi. *Dawn* (Karachi) and *The Nation* (Lahore) are counted as one paper each, although *Dawn* has a Lahore supplement and *The Nation* has an Islamabad supplement.
2. Examples in the present paper are taken from the following newspapers: *Dawn*, Karachi; *The Frontier Post*, Peshawar; *Morning News*, Karachi (defunct); *The Muslim*, Islamabad; *The Nation*, Lahore; *The Pakistan Times*, Lahore; and *The Star*, Karachi. Citations dated 1986, 1987, and through August 1988 are from newspapers purchased in Quetta; citations after August 1988 are from newspapers purchased in Lahore.



## 6

# Lexical Variation in Pakistani English

Mubina Talaat

### Introduction

The aim of this paper is to investigate and to bring into focus the occurrence in Pakistani English of selected lexical items which vary in meaning from Standard British English usage as a result of English-Urdu language contact. Borrowed into Urdu, these English loan words when used by Pakistani bilinguals speaking English often retain their Urduized meanings, which are clearly distinguishable from Standard British English usage. This paper will identify and discuss some of these lexical items which appear with great frequency in the English-language newspapers of Pakistan.

### Methodology

One way to establish that the English lexical variants presented here are those which also occur in Urdu is to show that the given variants have similar uses or equivalent meanings in both Urdu and Pakistani English (PE) as distinct from Standard British English (SBE). The lexical items analysed below are those which occur regularly in three Pakistani English-language dailies—*Dawn*, Karachi; *The Muslim*, Islamabad; and *The Pakistan Times*, Lahore. The specific examples quoted have been selected from a body of data collected over the past four years (1985–9) for an ongoing research project on PE. A rough count of the number of occurrences collected for each item is also given. It is important to point out that the number of lexical variants analysed here is limited because

1. only written PE data have been included
2. only newspapers have been examined for data, and
3. from newspapers only those items have been taken which occur relatively frequently.

Urdu examples cited below have been taken primarily from conversations heard by the author in various contexts of social interaction; a few examples from written sources are also included. Urdu examples are transcribed and translated for the benefit of non-Urdu speaking readers.<sup>1</sup>

## Lexical Variants in Pakistani English

The items listed below have been divided into three groups according to their degree of 'integration' (Diebold 1961) into Urdu:

(a)	(b)	(c)
bogey (15)	amount (7)	to charge-sheet (23)
colony (105)	conveyance (6)	
footpath (73)	marriage (59)	
	seat (66)	
	shift (62)	
	tease [=harass] (17)	

Items included in group (a) are those which are fully integrated into Urdu. These are examples of lexical borrowings for which there are no alternative Urdu words of Hindi, Arabic or Persian origin. Consequently, the use of *bogey* for a *railway carriage*, *colony* for what would be a *housing estate* in SBE, and *footpath* for *pavement* are examples of borrowings to fill 'lexical gaps' (Kachru 1978:110) in Urdu. These words are used by all classes of Urdu-speaking people in Pakistan in both speech and in writing. In the following examples a typical use of each item in Urdu matches its use in PE.

The word *bogey* in modern SBE is a revolving under-carriage used on railway cars or a small railway truck with a short wheelbase. Both in Urdu and in PE, however, a *bogey* is a railway carriage. This usage can be seen in the following examples:

- 1a. sakkhar se ek narii *bogii* lag jaaegii is gaaRi ke saath  
 A new *bogey* will be added to this train from Sukkur (*Imroze*,  
 Multan, 22 November 1988).

Similarly, in Pakistani English:

- b. Almost 400 ulema left Pakistan for India by rail today. The Pakistan Railways provided special *bogies* to Ulema for their journey (*The Muslim*, 30 December 1986).

Pakistani English collocations such as *Officers' Colony* or *Railway Colony*, where *colony* means a locality or neighbourhood in which people of the same profession live, do not normally occur in SBE where the word *estate* would be preferable. Both in Urdu and in PE *colony* in this sense is frequently used. In Urdu it occurs in the following context:

- 2a. un kaa ghar *reilwe kaalnii* mē hai  
His house is in *Railway Colony*.

In PE, the word occurs in a similar context:

- b. It was also agreed to construct a *colony* for the residential purpose of Class III and IV government servants (*The Muslim*, 3 February 1986).

The word has also been 'extended' (Kachru 1983b:152) to mean a housing estate in general as in the following example:

- c. Residents of Block-V *Faisal Colony* have reported overflowing gutters owing to choked sewerage lines . . . (*Dawn*, 13 February 1986).

Like *bogey* and *colony*, the word *footpath*, meaning *pavement* (BrE) or *sidewalk* (AmE), is also used similarly in both Urdu and PE as shown in the examples below:

- 3a. shahrō mē aa kar *fuTpaath* par rahne vaale log  
People coming to cities living on *footpaths* . . . (Khalid 1977:287).  
b. A vigorous campaign will be launched for removing encroachments, unauthorized traffic stops from *footpaths* in the city (*The Pakistan Times*, 29 March 1985).

Both words can also be used in the same context:

- c. People pass through the said ground. But there is no *footpath* to cross it. It will be appreciated if a *pavement* is constructed (*The Pakistan Times*, 6 February 1986).



Words in group (a) when written in Urdu are always written in Urdu script, which is a sign of their complete integration into the language. They are used extensively by both bilingual and monolingual Pakistanis in spoken and written varieties of Urdu as well as in PE. The use of *bogey*, *colony*, and *footpath* in Urdu is no doubt a reinforcement for the continued and frequent use of these words in PE, although SBE semantic equivalents are also sometimes used interchangeably with the lexical items under discussion.

Items included in the second group (b) are those which are used in Urdu as alternative terms for their equivalents of Arabic and Persian origin. The difference between these items and those in group (a) is that group (b) items are not borrowings used to fill lexical gaps, for each has an Urdu equivalent currently in use. The English item in some cases has almost replaced its original Urdu equivalent and has taken on the Urdu semantics of the replaced item. Unlike the items in the first group, whose use is not restricted to any one social class, items in group (b) tend to occur more frequently in the Urdu of educated Pakistani bilinguals. Many of the items in (b) can be written in Urdu script; some, on the other hand, when written, frequently appear in Roman script and consequently retain their identity as 'English' borrowings. Following are typical uses of each item in group (b) in both Urdu and PE.

In SBE the word *amount* is either preceded by a modifier or followed by a qualifier which specifies the quantity being referred to, as in *part of the amount*, *all of the amount*, *the amount of time being spent* or *the amount charged*. Consider, however, the following examples from Urdu and PE:

4a. tum ko kitnaa *amaaunT* caahiye

How much *money* do you need/want?

b. kul *amaaunT* kitnaa hai

How much is the total [= *amount of money*]?

In each of these examples the word *amount* has been used in place of the Urdu word *raqam*, which means *money* as well as *amount of money*. Consequently, the similarity in use in Urdu and PE in the examples below:

c. Manna, it is learned, owed Mohri a paltry sum which he had not returned. The accused took away the child and told the debtor he



will get his child when he returns the *amount* (*The Pakistan Times*, 28 March 1985).

- d. He said that the results should be commensurate with the money being spent on it. But the literacy rate in the province was only 24 per cent which reflected on the utilization of the *amount* (*The Pakistan Times*, 26 January 1986).

Neither a modifier nor a qualifier is used in examples (4c) and (4d) above in which *amount* means *money*.

The word *conveyance* is often used in Urdu in place of *savaarii*, and is frequently found in the collocation *conveyance allowance*. Its SBE equivalent is *transport*.

- 5a. hamē *kanveyans alaauns* nahī milaa  
We did not get *conveyance allowance*.

- b. māī subah nahī aa saktii *kanveyans* praablam hogii  
I cannot come in the morning because *conveyance* will be a problem.

Similarly in PE:

- c. They also as a matter of routine overload the front seat and do not care for women waiting for *conveyance* (*The Pakistan Times*, 8 February 1986).
- d. Federal Government Model Girls School . . . though one of the oldest institutions of Islamabad is not providing *conveyance* facilities to the students (*The Muslim*, 3 January 1986).
- e. Other points raised in the memorandum related to . . . the payment of *conveyance allowance* (*Dawn*, 29 December 1985).

The word *marriage* is often used in Urdu in place of the word *shaadii*, either as a single item as in *un kii mairij ho gaii* (They got married), or in collocations such as *lav mairij* (love marriage) and *sivil mairij* (civil marriage). It is also used in a similar manner in PE in place of its SBE equivalent *wedding*:

- 6a. A meeting of the Rotary Club will be held at the Rotary Medical and Community Centre to celebrate the birthdays and *marriage anniversaries* (*The Pakistan Times*, 31 December 1985).

- b. One Shaukat Mesiha was shot dead in Gujrat. The incident took place at a *marriage function* when some persons teased ladies (*Dawn*, 14 January 1986).
- c. Since the *marriage date* is drawing near, I am afraid that it [burst sewerage pipeline] will create a big problem for us (*The Pakistan Times*, 9 January 1986).

The greater familiarity of Pakistani bilinguals with the Urdu use of the word *marriage* as compared to *wedding* therefore accounts for its continued and frequent use in PE.

The word *seat* is used in PE in the following contexts:

- 7a. Some *seats* have been reserved in Sind University, Tandojam, for admission of children of army personnel in B.Sc. and DVM classes. The last date for submission of applications against the *seats* . . . is January 15 . . . (*The Muslim*, 29 December 1985).
- b. The demand included . . . increase in the number of *seats* for admission of new students in the university (*Dawn*, 4 April 1986).

In SBE the word *place* or *position* would be used in the above contexts instead of *seat*. Urdu contains only one word, *nishist*, for the English words *place*, *position* or *seat*; hence, English *seat* is used in those contexts in Urdu where the word *nishist* would occur:

- c. rizarv *siiT* par daaxlaa mil jaaegaa  
He will get admission on a reserve *seat*.
- d. kaunsii *siiT* par aplaai kiyaa thaa  
Which *seat* did he apply for?

*Shift* (Urdu *ghar badalnaa*) is another English word which is used extensively in Urdu, for example:

- 8a. kab *shifT* ho rahii ho apne nae ghar mē  
When are you going to *shift* to your new house?
- b. vo log yahāā se *shifT* ho kar Samnaabaad cale gae  
They have *shifted* from here to Samanabad.

It occurs in PE in contexts where *move* would be preferred in SBE:

- c. Our Friends, Patrons and Valued Customers are hereby informed that by the Grace of Allah we are *shifting* to a new elegant premises at Empress House, 28 Shahrah-e-Bin Badis (Empress Road) and shall inshallah commence operations from 1st July, 1986 (*The Pakistan Times*, 30 June 1986).

The word *tease* is frequently used in Urdu in place of the Urdu word *cheRnaa* which means *to tease*, *to harass* or *to molest*. The use of *tease* in PE in contexts where *molest* or *harass* would be preferred in SBE therefore corresponds to the word's semantic field in Urdu:

- 9a. The Additional Commissioner Sargodha, refused to grant bail to a young man . . . According to Prosecution the accused . . . entered the house of a poor man and *teased* his young daughter . . . (*The Pakistan Times*, 23 January 1986).
- b. Police have booked . . . Zaman and three others on the charge of allegedly *teasing* a college girl and snatching her wrist watch and books (*The Pakistan Times*, 8 February 1986).

It is evident from the first example, in which *teasing* is described as a criminal offence serious enough to deny someone bail, that the semantic structure of the verb *to tease* in Pakistani English is equivalent to that of the Urdu verb *cheRnaa* (see also 6b above).

The single lexical item in group (c)—*to charge-sheet*—is an example of grammatical shift. In SBE *charge-sheet* occurs only as a noun; in Urdu, however, it has been changed into a conjunct verb through the highly productive process of adding *karnaa* (*to do*) or passive *hona* (*to be*) to nouns or adjectives to make them verbs, for example, *vo caarj shiiT ho gaya* (He has been *charge-sheeted*). The use of this SBE noun as a verb in Urdu no doubt accounts for the similar phenomenon in PE:

- 10a. He disclosed that the teachers might also be *charge-sheeted* . . . (*The Muslim*, 26 March 1985).
- b. It was alleged that his services were dispensed with after being *charge-sheeted* through an order passed by the Head Officer of the UBL on January 21, 1986 (*The Pakistan Times*, 5 February 1986).



## Conclusion

I have attempted in this short paper to point out some differences in usage in a selected number of lexical items in two world varieties of English—Standard British English and Pakistani English. These divergences can be best explained I believe by looking at how these borrowed English items pattern in Urdu. The English items in group (a) were found to have been fully integrated into Urdu. Since they fill lexical gaps for which no Urdu word exists, their frequent use in Urdu has reinforced their continued use in Pakistani English in spite of the fact that SBE alternatives are available. Those items in group (b)—which have Urdu equivalents—were found to have similar uses both as English borrowings in Urdu and in Pakistani English, the Pakistani English items often having taken on the semantic features of the borrowed English word in Urdu; and in group (c) we saw how a Standard British English noun borrowed into Urdu has undergone a grammatical shift to a verb both in Urdu and in Pakistani English. All the lexical variation in PE discussed above can best be accounted for by looking at the use of these English borrowings in Urdu.

The English language functions in Pakistan in a new context of use coexistent not only with Urdu, but also with the numerous other languages spoken in the country. Any description and explanation of Pakistani English must therefore of necessity take this multilingual context of use into consideration in explaining how this particular variety of English has evolved. The lexical items discussed in this paper are used in both English and Urdu in Pakistan with a very high degree of frequency in speech as well as in writing and are in no sense 'transitory' in nature (see Saleemi 1985 [in this volume]). They are, as such, as much a part of the system of one language as they are of the other.

## Note

1. I would like to thank Mariam Ahmed and Yamuna Kachru for assistance with the Urdu transcription in this paper.



## Native and Non-Native Grammars of English

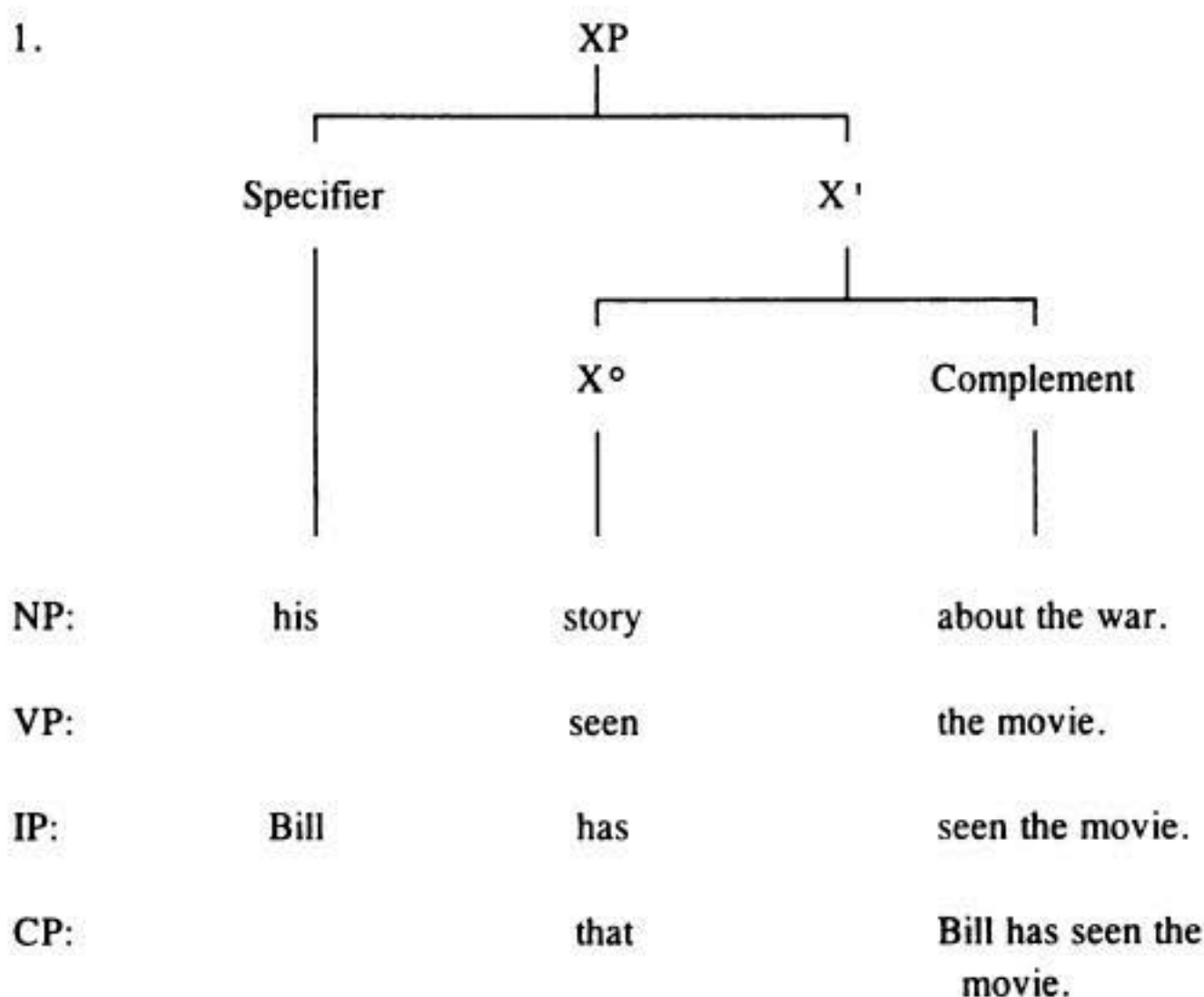
Anjum P. Saleemi

In a previous paper (Saleemi 1985 [in this volume]) I had offered some thoughts on the nature of systems of form and use among non-native users of English. After a lengthy involvement with some other linguistic enterprises, I should like in the present paper to make an attempt to return to the same set of issues.

My first aim is to indulge in some preliminary speculations regarding the nature and extent of grammatical differences between native and (acrolectal) non-native varieties of English. This is done in the framework supplied by a major strand within current syntactic theory called the Government-Binding or the Principles-and-Parameters theory, which represents the recent work of Noam Chomsky and his followers (see Chomsky 1981 and subsequent work, and the references cited therein). The primary reason for adopting a consistent theoretical framework, which in fact constitutes the second aim of this paper, is to demonstrate how linguistic phenomena, so approached, may take on a meaning more interesting than that captured under a merely descriptive analysis. So, in a sense, the style of argumentation employed is intended to be as significant as the empirical content of various observations. I shall begin with a discussion of word order. Then, remaining within the perspective developed in that discussion, I shall attempt to deal with certain facts of complementation, relying for the latter on data reported in Baumgardner (1987 [in this volume]).

According to the Government-Binding theory (GB for short), the core grammar of a natural language is considered to have come into being as a result of the interaction of a set of closely related principles and parameters. The principles are supposed to be invariant across lan-

languages, providing a universal base for the explanation of various linguistic phenomena. On the other hand, the parameters specify the extent to which languages can vary from each other. Thus the word order configurations of languages are hypothesized to underlyingly conform to certain principles of X-bar syntax, which, among other things, prescribe a template of syntactic structure, illustrated in (1). Here, the order is for English, and, following Chomsky (1986), X is considered to range over all types of zero-level syntactic categories that can function as the head of corresponding higher level categories, such as NP (Noun Phrase), VP (Verb Phrase), IP (Inflection Phrase) [=S (Sentence)], and CP (Complementizer Phrase) [=S' (Sentence')]:



As implied above, the order and the hierarchical depth within this template is determined by a number of parameters, one of which specifies whether a language is head-first (like English) or head-last (like Urdu and Japanese). This is illustrated in relation to VP by the English example in (2a) and the Urdu example in (2b):

2a. He [<sub>VP</sub> bought a book].

V      NP

b. Us ne [<sub>VP</sub> kitaab xariidi].

NP      V

So the parameters make room for a limited amount of variation, forming a syntactic foundation for linguistic typology.

As far as core grammar is concerned, the differences between languages, or between varieties of a language, are fully accountable in terms of parametric variation. However, the core syntactic operations do not account for the detailed grammar of a language, i.e. for the huge periphery of grammatical devices characteristic of individual items contained in its lexicon. For instance, although the position of a complement in a phrase is fixed by a parameter, its exact nature, i.e. whether it is an NP, a finite or a non-finite clause, is not. The selection of a particular type of complement, instead, is a function of some properties (probably semantic) of the lexical item heading the phrase in question, which are bound to vary from language to language, from variety to variety, sometimes even from person to person.

After this rather long preliminary discussion, let us now turn to certain distinctive properties of the non-native grammars of English, particularly those of South Asian English, and see whether, given the theoretical framework just outlined, it is possible to characterize them in a principled fashion. In the paper referred to above, Baumgardner (1987) sets out several differences of noun, adjective, and verb complementation between native and South Asian (Pakistani and Indian) varieties of English. The contrasts set out from (3) to (10) below, mostly borrowed or adapted (sometimes considerably) from Baumgardner appear to be fairly typical of clausal complementation in the two types of varieties. In these pairs of examples an asterisk indicates a non-native form generally not considered acceptable in standard native varieties. Predictably, the non-native forms were found to be acceptable to a number of informants questioned by the present author.

First, look at some cases of noun complementation. It seems that in South Asian English a prepositional-gerundive complement may be used where native English prefers an infinitival clause, as shown in (3), or the converse situation may be obtained, as (4) demonstrates. (Note that the notation preceding each set of examples is intended to

depict this type of change, with the native form appearing on the left and the non-native form on the right of the arrow.)

3.  $-[P + Ger] \Rightarrow -[Inf]$

Iran's insistence [on continuing the war . . .]

\*Iran's insistence [to continue the war . . .]

Influence [in controlling affairs . . .]

\*Influence [to control affairs . . .]

4.  $-[Inf] \Rightarrow -[P + Ger]$

No desire [to execute . . .]

\*No desire [of executing . . .]

Decision [to change uniform . . .]

\*Decision [for changing uniform . . .]

As (5) and (6) below illustrate, adjective complementation exhibits a similar pattern of variation:

5.  $-[P + Ger] \Rightarrow -[Inf]$

He is interested [in learning Urdu.]

\*He is interested [to learn Urdu.]

6.  $-[Inf] \Rightarrow -[P + Ger]$

They are not eligible [to enter the contest.]

\*They are not eligible [for entering the contest.]

The South Asian variants of verb complements show a somewhat wider range of deviation. Consider the contrasts illustrated in examples (7) through (10), which appear to be fairly representative of the non-native usage under consideration:

7.  $-[Ger] \Rightarrow -[Inf]$

He avoided [seeing her.]

\*He avoided [to see her.]



8. – [(that)-clause] / – [Ger]  $\Rightarrow$  – [Inf]

He suggested [(that) the meeting be postponed.]

\*He suggested [to postpone the meeting.]

9. – [Inf]  $\Rightarrow$  – [that-clause]

I want [to go.]

\*I want [that I should go.]

He wants [her to go.]

\*He wants [that she should go.]

10. – [Inf]  $\Rightarrow$  – [P + Ger]

The lady hesitated [to speak.]

\*The lady hesitated [from speaking.]

She forbade [me to pursue the story.]

\*She forbade [me from pursuing the story.]

The broad picture that emerges is this: the lexical heads in South Asian English take complements exactly in the same direction as native English, thus preserving the basic word order of the language. Further, the propositional content of these complements is nearly identical to the propositional content of their native counterparts, eliminating any possibility of dramatic semantic divergence. However, they differ with respect to the categorical nature of the complement selected; e.g., a gerundive form can replace an infinitival form, a finite clause a non-finite clause, and so forth, possessing the sort of selectional alternation, which, interestingly, is not entirely unknown in native English itself. One potentially important aspect of this kind of variation is that the use of South Asian variants (distinguished in the examples by the use of an asterisk) does not necessarily exclude the use of their native-like equivalents by South Asian speakers, a fact which was corroborated by almost all of my non-native informants. This would imply that non-native grammars could differ from native grammars in being broader, the latter perhaps being a sub-set of the former in the relevant respects.

In other words, here is some evidence for a kind of grammar that has fixed the word order parameters correctly, has moreover evolved a sensitivity to the basic formal operations of the target grammar, but whose development has stopped short at the point where the fine-

tuning of selectional properties of lexical items was about to begin. It should be interesting to probe into the reasons for this. Clearly, lack of complete systematicity in the lexicon will be found in any native model of English as well, which may consequently be regarded as one of the possible sources of confusion for non-native users of the language. Local linguistic influences could also be in part responsible for the variation. But the intriguing possibility is that the grammatical innovations in South Asian English appear to originate as a consequence of the 'bottom-up' forces emanating in the lexicon. Elsewhere (Saleemi 1987) I pointed out that there is a sense in which a dictionary is also an implicit grammar of the language it is based on. It could be that the whole structure of natural language grammar is actually reducible to the properties of words. As Chomsky (1991:419) puts it, perhaps there is 'only one human language, apart from the lexicon, and language acquisition is in essence a matter of determining lexical idiosyncrasies.'

To conclude, to the extent that non-native varieties of English have evolved consistent features of their own, it is pertinent to examine the nature of the differences that exist between native and non-native grammars of the language. Formally speaking, most such differences appear to be peripheral to the core syntax of the language. With respect to major syntactic properties, such as word order, there are probably only a very few distinctions between native and localized (acrolectal) varieties. This fact needs to be properly emphasized since, habitually focusing on the differences, one may often fail to appreciate the extent to which the grammatical systems underlying the two kinds of varieties are crucially similar.

## Of Dacoits and Desperados: Crime Reporting in Pakistani English

Audrey E. H. Kennedy

A language manifests many varieties depending on the milieu in which it occurs. Linguistic use as observed in specific contexts—technical manuals, legal documents, comic books—shows recognizable differences in the type of language chosen as appropriate for these contexts. Language may be emotive, informative or occupational as called for by the context of situation. The term which has been applied to a variety of language distinguished according to its use is *register* (Halliday, McIntosh, and Stevens 1964), which may be identified by its grammar, but is most readily 'defined and recognized by topic and context-specific lexis' (Coulthard 1977:36). It is this lexical aspect of register that has led my attention to particular articles in English-language newspapers in Pakistan—articles which deal with crime.

My aim in this paper is to describe what I call a *crime-reporting register*, based on the context-specific lexis found in crime reports in a selection of English-language dailies in Pakistan: *Dawn*, Karachi; *The Frontier Post*, Peshawar; *Morning News*, Karachi; *The Muslim*, Islamabad; *The Nation*, Lahore; and *The Pakistan Times*, Lahore. From these newspapers (all purchased in Lahore), I collected articles on crime for a one-year period: January through December 1988. These articles manifest a diversity of lexical items for perpetrators of crime as well as a number of characteristic lexical choices to describe the scene of the crime, the action that took place there, and the other players in the action.

As a speaker of one variety of World English—American English—it is my impression that Pakistani English-language newspapers use an inordinately diverse number of lexical items to describe perpetrators of crime. Table 8.1 contains lists of all the lexical items in

Table 8.1

The Perpetrators			
I	II	III	IV
accomplice	absconder	auto-rickshaw-lifter	dacoit
accused	absconding accused	baby-lifter	badmash
assailant	agent-provocateur	bicycle-lifter	goonda
assassin	anti-social element	car-lifter	rassagir
burglar	assaulter	cattle-lifter	
collaborator	bad character	child-lifter	
convict	bandit	druggist	
criminal	black marketeer	eveteaser	
drug pedlar	cheat	flesh trader (pimp)	
drug pusher	co-accused	gay girl	
gunman	culprit	gun-woman	
hijacker	denkeeper	history-sheeter	
hoodlum	desperado	kid smuggler	
intruder	detenue	lady drug trafficker	
kidnapper	drug trafficker	lady smuggler	
killer	encroachers	looter	
looter	gangster	motorcycle-lifter	
molester	gambling den runner	scooter-lifter	
pickpocket	gun runner	stone-lifter	
purse-snatcher	hardened criminal	taxi-lifter	
robber	heroin trafficker	vehicle-lifter	
smuggler	highwayman	wagon-lifter	
sniper	highway robber		
terrorist	hooligan		
thief	influence-monger		
vagrant	law-breaker		
	marauder		
	masked man		
	miscreant		
	proclaimed offender		
	proclaimed absconder		
	raider		
	riffraff		
	rogue		
	rough neck		
	saboteur		
	scoundrel		
	sodomite		
	tout		
	vagabond		
	waylayer		



my data divided into four groups based on a continuum, beginning with those items that can be most frequently found in daily English newspapers in the United States to those which would rarely occur.

The first list contains words most frequently found in both American and Pakistani daily newspapers. They appear less emotive and more objective than those in the second list, which are charged, sensationalistic labels which often occur in Pakistani dailies but in the United States are usually reserved for tabloids and crime story magazines. List III is made up of those labels which are Pakistani English usages, and List IV contains Urdu loanwords. Lexical items in Lists III and IV would rarely, if ever, be found in US newspapers.

My expectations of how perpetrators might be labelled in a US daily are congruent with items in List I. The most emotive word I found in a month's perusal of US dailies in March and April 1988, was *killer*, as in the headlines 'Cops Picture 2nd Alleged Teen Killer' (*Philadelphia Daily News*, 30 March 1988) and 'Texas Killer's Execution is stayed by High Court' (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 30 March 1988). Note that both usages reflect the manner in which labelling is tempered in US newspapers. The first is 'alleged' to have killed and the second has been convicted of murder. In fact, in most of the articles that I read in the US papers, labelling was avoided by the use of such non-committal phrases as *a 41 year-old factory worker*, *a youth*, *an unidentified man* or *a Hillsborough couple*.

The second list contains a great variety of labels which I would expect to find in an American tabloid or in crime and police story magazines. In daily English-language newspapers in Pakistan, terms like *absconder*, *anti-social elements*, *culprit*, and *outlaw* occur frequently. Note the following examples in context:

- 1a. He also directed the police to gear up their efforts to book the absconders and proclaimed offenders and anti-social elements in time so that the crimes could be controlled (*Morning News*, 6 January 1988).
- b. On sighting the dacoits, the police challenged the desperados, who opened fire immediately . . . (*Dawn*, 3 April 1988).
- c. Some unidentified highwaymen kidnapped on Saturday seven passengers from a bus and fled the scene (*Dawn*, 20 March 1988).
- d. Different encounters with the outlaws and hired assassins were conducted in which five hired assassins were killed (*The Pakistan Times*, 3 March 1988).

Terms in List II form an integral part of crime reporting in Pakistan and add colour and variation often lacking in American newspapers. However, words like *outlaw*, *thug*, and *desperado* do occur occasionally in American news magazines like *Time* and *Newsweek* to report sensational crimes. 'Desperados', a story about the torture and murder of a US drug agent in Mexico, appeared in *Time* (Asian Edition) of 7 November 1988. The article contained labels like *punk*, *pistolero*, and *cocaine cowboy*.

The third list of perpetrators contains a number of Pakistani English coinages. In Nihalani, Tongue, and Hosali (1979), *car-lifter*, *cycle-lifter*, *sheep-lifter*, and *child-lifter* have been cited in what is called an Indian variant of a lexical set based on the English word *shoplifter*. *To lift* means *to steal*, and in Pakistani English coinages the first morpheme of the compound refers to what is stolen or lifted. The following compounds have been noted in Pakistani newspapers: *auto-rickshaw-lifter*, *baby-lifter*, *bicycle-lifter*, *car-lifter*, *cattle-lifter*,\* *motorcycle-lifter*, *scooter-lifter*, *stone-lifter*, *taxi-lifter*, *vehicle-lifter*, and *wagon-lifter* (Baumgardner and Kennedy 1988). Following are two examples in context:

- 2a. A motorcycle-lifter was arrested by CIA following recovery of six stolen motorcycles at his pointation on Sunday (*Dawn*, 16 May 1988).
- b. New Town Police arrested two car-lifters after a hot pursuit from Jail Road in the small hours of Tuesday (*Dawn*, 25 May 1988).

In language contexts in which New Englishes are used, words also acquire new meanings or add new dimensions to previous meanings. Consider the following examples:

- 3a. The area police . . . arrested three gay girls, Arshad Bibi alias Shaddo, Naseem alias Chhoti and Kiran (*Dawn*, 26 March 1988).
- b. The police said that the accused is a history-sheeter and a previous convict in narcotics (*Dawn*, 19 July 1988).

---

\* Both *cattle-lifter* and *cattle-lifting* are cited in *The Oxford English Dictionary* (Simpson and Weiner 1989:II/994) as nineteenth-century usage. The present usage may, therefore, be a case of 'colonial lag' (Marckwardt 1958/1980).—Ed.

*Gay girls* in (3a) are not happy females or lesbians, but prostitutes, for according to Kaleem Omar of the Karachi evening newspaper *The Star*, 'Pakistani hookers are sometimes called 'gay girls' or 'singing girls' . . . ' (25 September 1986). *History-sheeter* in (3b) refers to a person who has a police record—a history of arrests recorded on charge sheets.

The final list of perpetrators is made up of *dacoit*, *badmash*, *goonda*, and *rassagir*, words relatively unknown outside the subcontinent. Of the four, *dacoit* (armed robber) is perhaps the most frequently used word for a perpetrator in Pakistani English-language newspapers. Consider the examples below:

- 4a. The dacoits came on motorcycle and fled away with the booty (*Dawn*, 21 June 1988).
- b. A gang of dacoits shot dead a driver, snatched the rifle of a constable, wounded another constable, lifted two vehicles, and escaped after gunbattle . . . (*Dawn*, 26 February 1988).
- c. Ten armed unknown dacoits looted the Hyderabad-bound bus . . . They deprived the bus passengers of their watches, cash, and gold rings . . . (*Morning News*, 16 March 1988).

*Goonda*, according to Nihalani *et al.* (1979), is the Hindi word for *hooligan*, and although it is used in Indian and Pakistani varieties of English, it is uncommon in other varieties in this form. (Cf. however the US usage *goon* as in the phrase *paid goons*.) A *badmash* is a 'rascal' or 'thug'. *Rassagir*, the Urdu word for a buffalo or cattle thief, occurs infrequently, *cattle-lifter* being more widely used. Platt, Weber, and Ho (1984:89) have pointed out that creative writers using new varieties of English 'use words and expressions from the local languages which are tightly bound up with the local cultures.' It is interesting and certainly worthy of further study that word pairs such as *goonda* and *hooligan*, and *rassagir* and *cattle-lifter* sometimes occur in the same newspaper, in the same article, or even in the same sentence.

If the lexical variation of perpetrators in Pakistani English is diverse, so are the descriptive phrases that identify the actions they have engaged in. Some of the characteristic phrases are listed below:



- absconded with cash and jewelry
- attempted fornication
- attempted to outrage her modesty
- axed his mother and her paramour
- caught in an objectionable position
- chopped off his head and arms with a dagger
- committed dacoity
- committed unnatural offence
- decamped with the booty
- deprived bus passengers of their watches
- developed illicit relations
- gheraoed Bokhara Motors
- hatched a plan
- have gone underground
- hoodwinked the traders
- hurled threats of dire consequences
- indulged in vulgar activities
- lifted the cattleheads
- looted a cashier of a confectioner's shop
- made good their escape
- manhandled the inmates
- misbehaved with the women
- relieved Mr Ahmed of his cash bag
- snatched a taxi
- strangulated the old man to death
- subjected her to barbarous action
- throttled his sister-in-law
- warned of dire consequences
- waylaid and deprived him of a heavy amount

Equally interesting is the often varied description of the law enforcement officers; they are variously referred to in their numerous roles as *a police party*, *a police posse*, *cops*, *the police-offender squad*, *the anti-car-lifting squad*, *a constable*, *a lady constable*, and *a special anti-dacoity staff*. Law enforcement officers are reported to have:

- challaned 52 vehicles
- brought the culprit to book
- foiled a dacoity
- hauled someone up red-handed while accepting tainted money



- laid a trap
- nabbed a female
- preserved the footprints of the accused
- tightened the *nakabandi* (cordon)
- unearthed a brothel
- unearthed a gambling den

Finally, there are phrases that reflect some aspect of the scene of the crime and the victim:

- a broad daylight robbery
- at their pointation
- brickbatting
- garlanding him with shoes (a sodomite)
- hurling stones on dacoits
- inmates raised an alarm
- in the clutches of the dacoits
- looking for a showdown
- Pervaiz alias Paijee
- raising hues and cries
- victim in hospital in a precarious condition
- were at daggers drawn with each other

The collocations in the above lists do not normally occur in newspapers in the United States, but are stock phrases in crime reporting stories in Pakistani English dailies. How can we account for their occurrence? Jean Ure has suggested a number of linguistic resources for the development of registers that might be helpful in answering this question. First of all, Ure (1982:18) points out that 'forms from an earlier period are preserved . . . [and] provide patterns that may be activated to meet new needs.' One such source which has provided a ready repertory of patterns utilized in crime reporting is *The Pakistan Penal Code* (Qadri 1988), originally framed in the nineteenth century. Consider the following newspaper items:

- 5a. . . . the guard was injured in foiling a dacoity attempt on Thursday (*Dawn*, 3 May 1988).
- b. Two men . . . held their neighbour . . . and made an attempt to outrage her modesty (*Dawn*, 31 March 1988).

- c. According to the prosecution, Mohammad Afzal had kidnapped Mohammad Attique and committed unnatural offence with him in a plantation . . . (*The Nation*, 18 May 1988).

In *The Pakistan Penal Code*, *dacoity* is defined and distinguished from robbery in Section 391 'Offences Against Property'; the commentary (Qadri 1988:386) says that 'Dacoity is robbery committed by five or more persons.' Section 354 describes the offence of 'Assault or Criminal Force to a Woman with Intent to Outrage her Modesty'; the commentary (Qadri 1988:362) points out that it is a culturally relative term: 'To place a hand on the shoulder of a Muslim or Hindu woman by a man may be considered by her as an outrage to her modesty, but it would not be minded by a European woman.' In example (5b) cited above the phrase seems to mean 'attempted rape'. Section 377 of the Code (Qadri 1988:375) describes 'unnatural offence' as 'carnal intercourse against the order of nature with any man, woman, or animal . . .'. In a US daily the term *sodomy* would probably be used to describe the offence.

*Paramour*, *proclaimed offender*, *to develop illicit relations*, *to strangulate* (strangle), and *to throttle* (strangle) are just a few of the terms that appear in the commentaries of the Penal Code. Of these, *paramour* is interesting as it most frequently refers to a man, whereas in other varieties of English it refers to the illicit lover of either a man or a woman. As it is an archaic usage it would not normally occur in a US daily. Two examples from Pakistani newspapers follow:

- 6a. The mystery of the decomposed body found in the sewerage line . . . was solved with the arrest of the wife of the deceased, her paramour, and her brother . . . (*Dawn*, 4 March 1988).
- b. . . the accused Manzoor alias Kali, a butcher, axed his mother, Sakina Bibi, and her young paramour, Maula Bakhsh Sheikh . . . He found them in an objectionable position and axed them to death (*The Nation*, 24 May 1988).

Another source of forms from an earlier period is the English class in Pakistani colleges and universities. In Pakistan, English has traditionally been learned by studying seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth century British literature. This probably accounts for a number of outmoded words and phrases not in current use in other varieties of English. These sources might also provide the euphemisms that Paki-

stani newspapers often prefer due to cultural constraints and taboos on the use of explicit references to sexual matters.

As a second resource for the development of registers, Ure (1982: 17) writes that 'the language may draw upon its own contemporary repertory, extending the applicability of existing registers then gradually modifying and differentiating.' Two examples of this type of extension are found in List III of perpetrators: *druggist* and *looter*. The word *druggist*, as in the headline from *The Muslim* (19 December 1988) 'Death Penalty to Druggists', does not refer to the corner retail pharmacist, but to a dealer in illicit drugs. *Looter* in American English generally refers to someone who robs shops or houses left unprotected after a violent event such as a riot or an earthquake (as in List I). In Pakistani English a *looter* (cf. Hindi-Urdu *lutra*) is also a person who robs a bank or passengers on a bus, a usage not found in American or British English.

Finally, Ure (1982:19) discusses lexical innovations and loans as further possibilities for register development. As was pointed out in the discussion of Lists III and IV of the perpetrators above, a number of such words are utilized in crime reporting in Pakistani English dailies. Other examples occurring in the data are *pointation*, *gherao*, and *challan*. The word *pointation* in the phrases *on pointation of* and *at their pointation* represents a lexical innovation that has no equivalent in either British or American English. It literally means to inform against, identify as victim or to lead the authorities to stolen property (Baumgardner and Kennedy 1988). Raja Ram Mehrotra (personal communication) has commented that he found this word 'curious and perhaps exclusive to Pakistani English . . .' as he had not run across it in his area of the subcontinent. Note the following examples:

- 7a. CIA arrested two alleged car-lifters and claimed to have recovered 22 stolen cars at their pointation in the city (*Dawn*, 22 March 1988).
- b. The stolen property recovered on pointation of the accused included a VCR, an X-ray machine . . . (*Morning News*, 30 June 1988). (See also [2a].)

The loan verb *to gherao* as in 'gheraoed Bokhara Motors' also has no English equivalent; it means to surround and threaten as in the following example: 'The citizens of Mithiani gheraoed the police station and got both of them released from the clutches of the police'



(*Dawn*, 18 March 1988). The verb *to challan* is a frequently-used word for which there are English equivalents: *to ticket*, *to give a citation to*—but *challan* is the preferred usage in Pakistani English newspapers: 'He said traffic police challaned 52 vehicles for violating traffic rules . . .' (*Morning News*, 25 May 1988).

The last phrase that I would like to comment on is 'Pervaiz alias Paijee'. Generally, in American English when the word *alias* is used, it means a false name assumed to avoid identification. This usage, I believe, is crime-register specific in American English. In Pakistani English, however, *alias* is used to denote a nickname—a familiar form of a person's given name or a name jokingly, admiringly or contemptuously bestowed upon someone. Consider the following two examples:

- 8a. According to police, the CIA received a tip that a gang of dacoits led by Mansoor Beg, alias Changis Khan, of Sialkot was moving in PECHS in a car (*Dawn*, 7 January 1988).
- b. A notorious gangster, Javed, alias Jeeda, leader of an inter-provincial gang of dacoits, highway robbers and pickpockets made good his escape after an encounter with the police (*The Pakistan Times*, 14 June 1988). (See also examples [3a] and [6b] above.)

Compare these with the following example from an American newspaper: 'Robert Haynes, also known as "Teardrop" because of teardrop tattoos etched on his face, escaped' (*The Commercial Appeal*, Memphis, 23 April 1988). Note that 'Teardrop' is a nickname, not an alias, just as Changis Khan and Jeeda are nicknames in American English, not aliases.

From newspaper to newspaper, Pakistani English dailies utilize a variety of characteristic words and phrases for reporting crime. As Algeo (1985:57) has noted, the press acts not only as a mirror for the sociocultural environment in which it appears but also as a template to reproduce and create the view it supports. The corpus of this study reveals a crime-reporting register based on a diversity of lexical items and phrases considered appropriate and congruent for a Pakistani readership though for the most part incongruent for speakers of American English except in tabloids and police story magazines. The convention in Pakistani English seems to be the mixing of styles, formal with informal, sensational with objective, implicit with expli-



cit, and the old with the new. As Halliday, McIntosh, and Stevens (1964:87) have observed, 'It is not the event or state of affairs being talked about that determines the choice, but the convention that a certain kind of language is appropriate to a certain situation.'

The language user and his audience interacting in the sociocultural context in which a new variety of English is being used determine appropriateness. And, as Mehrotra (1975:11–12) has pointed out in his registral analysis of the matrimonial advertisements in Indian newspapers, it is interesting to note the 'amusing ways in which English, known for its resilience and mobility, is tossed and twisted and put to new uses in response to environmental needs.' Kachru (1986:43–4) has discussed the notion that death announcements and matrimonial advertisements are culture-specific. Crime-reporting articles in Pakistani newspapers also appear to be culture-specific. Why is *child-lifter* used instead of *kidnapper*, or *dacoit* rather than *thief* or *robber*, or *history-sheeter* rather than 'a person with a criminal record'? The reason perhaps is that Pakistani English usage, reflecting as it does the sociocultural context in which it occurs, adds a novel shade of meaning to the action or to the perpetrator of the crime. Marckwardt (1958/1980:9–10) has noted that language 'is the product of the society which employs it, and as it is employed it is engaged in a continual process of re-creation. If this is the case, we may reasonably expect a language to reflect the culture, the folkways, the characteristic psychology of the people who use it.' Certainly, this is the case in the crime-reporting register as revealed in English daily newspapers in Pakistan.



### **III. Languages in Contact**





## The Urduization of English in Pakistan

Robert J. Baumgardner, Audrey E. H. Kennedy, and  
Fauzia Shamim

### I. Background

A natural consequence of all language contact situations is lexical borrowing.<sup>1</sup> The English language, both at home in the British Isles and abroad, has undergone large-scale borrowing at different periods in its history. English English, for example, is replete with Latin, Scandinavian, and French loan words which became part of the language during historical contact of the English with those peoples and cultures (Baugh and Cable 1978). Moreover, Scottish (Romaine 1982), Irish (Barry 1982), and Welsh English (Russ 1982), all varieties of English which resulted from the contact of English with the indigenous languages of Britain (Bailey 1985), have their own distinctive vocabularies. American English (Marckwardt 1958/1980) as well as Australian (Baker 1981; Dixon, Ransom, and Thomas 1990), Canadian (Bailey 1982), New Zealand (Hirsh 1989; Deverson 1991), and South African English (Branford 1987; Lanham 1982) can also each be identified, among other features, by their distinctive lexicons, which are the result of the contact of these transplanted Englishes with non-English local languages and cultures.

In recent years, a great deal of attention has been paid to another type of transplanted English, the so-called New Englishes or non-native varieties of English, i.e. those 'institutionalized' (Kachru 1986) varieties of the language still widely used in restricted domains by a relatively small but influential segment of the population in numerous former British and American colonies of the Americas, Asia, the Paci-

fic, and Africa (see, for example, papers in Bailey and Görlach 1982; Baumgardner forthcoming; Foley 1988; Kachru 1983a, 1983c, and 1986; Noss 1983; Platt, Weber, and Ho 1984; Pride 1982; Schmied 1991; Smith 1987; Watson-Gegeo 1989). These nativized varieties of English, which share the majority of their linguistic features with native varieties of English, can nonetheless be distinguished according to their borrowed indigenous word stock, a direct consequence of the varieties' new contexts of use. One of the most comprehensive analyses to date of borrowed word stock in an indigenized variety of English is Chan and Kwok's (1985) Hong Kong study. Descriptions of other non-native varieties which also include discussions of direct lexical transfer are, among others: East African Englishes (Hancock and Angogo 1982:316–17; Schmied 1991:80–1); Ghanaian English (Sey 1973:62–6); Kenyan English (Zuengler 1983:115–17); Malaysian English (Lowenberg 1986:71–83); Nigerian English (Jibril 1982:81; Jowitt 1991:133–42; Schmied 1991:82–3); Fiji English (Moag and Moag 1979:75–6); Filipino English (Gonzalez 1983:156); South African Indian English (Mesthrie 1988:5–11); South-East Asian Englishes (Platt 1982:395–6); and West African Englishes (Todd 1982:288; Schmied 1991:84–5). Dictionaries and word lists of non-native varieties include: Fiji English (Capell 1973); Filipino English (Tabor 1984); Jamaican English (Cassidy and LePage 1980); Malaysian English (Ho 1984; Khoo 1984); Singaporean English (Lugg 1984; Tan 1984); and South African Indian English (Mesthrie 1992). Platt, Weber, and Ho (1984:87–95) provide an excellent overview of borrowing in institutionalized varieties.

Lexical transfer in South Asian Englishes (Indian, Bangladeshi, Nepali, Pakistani, and Sri Lankan English) has also been a focus of study, both historical as well as contemporary. Yule and Burnell (1886/1985) and Whitworth (1885/1981) provide extensive data on early borrowings into English from the indigenous languages of pre-Partition India. Ferguson (1887a, 1887b, and 1903) provides an account of those words in the first and second editions of *Hobson-Jobson* which are specifically Ceylonese (Sri Lankan), and a recently-published English lexicon by Mottau (1985–6) also includes valuable Ceylonese data on early borrowing. Contemporary work on borrowing in South Asian Englishes includes Mehrotra (1982b:161) on Hindi borrowing in Indian English, Kachru's (1983b) comprehensive work on borrowed hybrid compounds (see discussion below), as well as Shastri's (1988) corpus-based study on code-mixing in Indian English.



Kachru (1982a:362–3, 1983b:153, and 1983d:332–7) provides additional data on borrowing in Bangladeshi, Nepali (see also Verma 1973) as well as Pakistani English.

The present paper is a study of lexical transfer in Pakistani English. Other than the above-mentioned works by Kachru and brief analyses by Baumgardner (1990 [in this volume]) and Rahman (1990b), little attention has been paid to this aspect of Pakistani English. In Pakistan the English language is still extensively used in both the electronic and print media as well as in the domains of government, commerce, higher education, and the military (see Haque 1983 [in this volume]), and because of the language's 'new' context of use, words from Urdu and the indigenous languages of Pakistan which refer to local Pakistani culture and society are often used in English where no equivalent or appropriate English word exists. Consider the following two examples:

- 1a. Most of the agricultural landholdings in Jhang district are small—with the typical chaudhry toking on his chillum under a shady tree at his *dera* while loyal servants massage his shoulders (*Herald* April 1991).<sup>2</sup>
- b. The Bismillah Ceremony of the three-day annual Urs of Hazrat Baba Bullay Shah was performed here by giving *ghusal* to the *Mazar* amidst recitation of *Darood-o-Salam* by devotees in hundreds, says a handout (*The Nation*, Lahore, 26 August 1989).

A reader not familiar with the Urdu language and Pakistani culture and society would find it difficult to understand fully the above examples. Such sentences occur daily, however, in the speech and writing of Pakistani users of English as the natural result of the use of the English language in a new multilingual and multicultural context of use.

This paper, which explores the idea of the 'Urduization' of English in Pakistan, is divided into six major sections. In Section One we provide background, define the phenomenon of Urduization, and discuss methodology. Section Two of the paper is a presentation of data in context. In Section Three we present a semantic analysis of selected data, including discussions of borrowing to fill lexical gaps and to convey shades of meaning. Section Four deals with the grammatical aspects of borrowing and Five with the integration of Urdu lexis into English. Section Six is a brief conclusion. The paper also includes as appendices a mini-lexicon which served as our data base.

The term 'Urduization' for the purposes of this paper includes not only Urdu lexis, but also borrowings from the other languages spoken in Pakistan which are found in contemporary English-language as well as Urdu newspapers and other print media. Although Urdu is the official language of Pakistan, it is 'not indigenous to the area and is the native tongue only of perhaps . . . 10% of the population' (Nyrop 1984:81). Because of the multilingual context in which Pakistani Urdu functions, it has borrowed freely from the indigenous languages of those approximately 100 million Pakistanis who use it as a second language. Meraj (in this volume) has aptly demonstrated Urdu's propensity for borrowing from English, and lexicons of Pakistani Urdu (Ferozuddin 1983; Fatehpuri, Haq, and Siddiqui 1977-19\_\_\_; Sarhindi 1976) include both borrowings from the indigenous languages of Pakistan as well as from English. Our data base (Appendix 2) includes lexis from Balochi, Balti, Kashmiri, Pushto, Punjabi, Seraiki, and Sindhi.

The source of Urdu lexis presented in this paper is a corpus of data gathered from Pakistani English-language dailies and selected weekly and monthly publications<sup>3</sup> over a seven-year period (1986-92). As a basis for classification of our data, we used the pioneering work of Kachru (1983*b*) on Hindi borrowing in Indian English. Kachru's original classification was organized to deal with what he termed a 'contextual classification of hybrid items' (Kachru 1983*b*:159), but we have utilized his system of classification to cover single lexical borrowings as well. It is one of the most comprehensive systems of classification available dealing with contextual areas of lexical occurrence and lends itself well to extensions of categories.

Kachru's original framework consisted of twenty-six major categories (see Appendix 1A); however, early on in our work we discovered that it was too narrow to adequately accommodate our corpus of Urdu lexis. We therefore added twenty-eight additional categories, some of which are new, while others are partitions of older Kachruvian categories. For example, six of our new categories are *descriptive labels for people, law and order situation, measurements, modes of transport, terms of gratification, and -wallahs* (see Appendix 1B for the full list of fifty-four categories). In the following section, we shall present data which illustrate selected Urdu items in context. The six categories chosen for illustration are (1) *articles of use* (2) *descriptive labels for people* (3) *edibles (snacks and prepared foods)* (4) *law and order situation* (5) *marriage/divorce*, and (6) *-wallahs*.



## II. Presentation of Data

The category *articles of use* encompasses a very wide range of lexis. The *chillum* ([bowl of a] hookah) in (1a) above, for example, is an article of use perhaps familiar to many readers. Other examples of *articles of use* in our data include:

- 2a. After knotting he cuts the wool with the *churri* [knife] in his right hand. He completes a round in time depending on his craftsmanship. After completing a round with *panja* (an instrument like a comb) he presses through the yarn net knotted wool (N 12 July 1989).

*Churri* can also be found in the *arms/weapons* category.

- b. As we came out I noticed that they all seated themselves into the bus and were a bit exasperated with the poetess for her turtle pace caused by her baggage and *paan-daan* [betel-box] (N 26 August 1989).
- c. Or maybe, those old people of the city's old quarters know where to find the man in saffron coloured turban and a shabby "pitari" [basket] full of snakes, cobras (M 20 August 1989).
- d. While in another incident . . . five motorcyclists, armed with pistols, looted *dore* [string] worth Rs 8,000, from a *guddi* [kite] shop at pistol-point and managed to escape the scene (N 19 January 1990).
- e. After a number of trials with conventional *tawa* [a slightly concave, round iron griddle], Dr Ahmed realised that this devise which had been used for centuries for making *chapatis* [unleavened bread] is the right and proper one, as it serves as a store house of heat (D Magazine 1 September 1989).
- f. Dr Shireen Khan says that 98 per cent of the children who come to her have been physically abused, burnt with cigarette butts or 'chimtas' [tongs] to "teach them a lesson" (FP/L 7 October 1991). [The *chimta* is also a large tongs-shaped musical instrument.]

Loan words in New Englishes, as Platt *et al.* (1984:93) have pointed out, are 'found when a particular type of person is described.' This very large category in our corpus of Urdu lexis has been labelled *descriptive labels for people*. Consider the examples below:

- 3a. In another recent incident, Pervaiz Iqbal was also looted by three *Nausarbaz* [tricksters] (N 24 July 1988).
- b. Take the case of my employer. Before Pakistan he was a small shopkeeper. After migrating to Pakistan he got allotted to himself a factory. Now he is a *crore-pati* [millionaire] . . . (N 22 February 1990). [*crore* = 10 million]
- c. When at last the Army would be told to nab the much wanted elements, the latter simply won't be there and only a few '*Jooti Chor*' [shoe thief] and '*Murghi Chor*' [chicken thief] type criminals would come in hand (M 9 July 1990)—letter to the editor.
- d. One could give at least three dozen names of diehard *Piplies* becoming loyal 'members of the Majlis-i-Shoora' [legislature] (WP 11 August 1989). [*piplies* (English *people* + Urdu *-ia*) are members of Benazir Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP).]
- e. Explaining why he [Senator Pir Pagara] did not meet Mian [a title] Shahbaz Sharif, he said the latter was a "dadageer" ['godfather'] (NS/L 1 September 1991).
- f. It is an open secret that even when a prisoner makes a genuine complaint, he is beaten up mercilessly for his temerity by the chief *chakkar* . . . [a derogatory term for servant] (HO 29 October 1991).

From Kachru's category *edibles/drinks*, we created four separate categories: *edibles (snacks and prepared foods)* and *edibles (food-stuffs)*, *fruit/dry fruit*, and *condiments*. Food, according to Platt *et al.* (1984:89), is 'an area where loan words from the New Englishes have become practically "universal".' Many food names used in the Pakistani context may already be familiar to speakers of non-South Asian Englishes, for example, *chapatti*, *chutney*, *curry*, *dal*, *kebab*, and *pi-lau*. Other examples of *edibles (snacks and prepared foods)* from our data include:

- 4a. *Tandoori rotis* and *naans* are flat leavened breads, baked in hot clay ovens or *tandoors* (TY July 1990).

- b. Of all these old markets, Luxmy Chowk, perhaps, offers dishes for almost every class of people ranging from simple 'daal-chawal' (rice) to roast 'charga' (chicken) (D/L 21 January 1989). [*daal* in this context is a lentil purée served with rice (*chawal*).]
- c. After some time they again came to the *haleem* [pulses cooked with meat] shop on motorcycles and threw his two *daigs* (cooking pots) full of *haleem* on the road (N 1 August 1989).
- d. Sitting in semi-open restaurants, being served 'gurdas' [kidney], 'tikkas' [small pieces of roasted meat or chicken], 'kapuras' [testicles] or 'bhaijas' [brain] straight from glowing coal fires, and peering out on 'rehras' [horse-drawn carts] and picturesque trucks and buses, has an enthralling impact on its [Luxmy Chowk's] visitor (WE 26 April 1991).

Consider also the following example from an editorial in *The Muslim*:

- e. What can, however, be stated with certainty is that all such victims of circumstances would, without exception, belong to a social background akin to that of Naheed's *aaloo-chola* vending father . . . (M 2 June 1989). [*aaloo-chola* is Punjabi for a potato (*aaloo*) and chick pea (*chola*) dish.]

And finally, the following editorial from *The Pakistan Times* entitled 'Winter thoughts' contains lexis from both the category of *edibles* (*snacks and prepared foods*) as well as that of *fruit/dry fruit*:

- f. For those who cannot afford the costlier 'pista' [pistachio nuts], there is 'moongphali' [peanuts], cheap and equally tasty. And this is the season when 'siri-pae' and 'nihari' taste all the better, not to talk of fish sold at every corner (PT 4 January 1991). [*siri-pae* is a dish prepared with the head (*siri*) and feet (*pae*) of a goat or cow; *nihari* is a kind of soup made with beef or mutton eaten generally for breakfast.] (See also Plate 1.)

The next examples from our fifty-four general categories come from the category *law and order situation*, a phrase which appears frequently in Pakistani dailies, weeklies, and monthlies:

- 5a. On an information, the raiding party resorted to 'Nakabandi' [cordon/blockade]. They stopped the rickshaw which was heading towards Lahore after getting charas [hashish] from Bhai Pheru (PT 25 June 1986).



- b. Jewellers observe hartal [strike] (D/L 3 July 1989)—headline.
- c. The mob was staging dharna (sit-in) in front of the sub-divisional magistrate office in support of their demands (PT 15 September 1988).

And finally from the *law and order situation* category, note the following two well-known noun-to-verb bilingual shifts, *to challan* and *to gherao*. A *challan* in the following examples is a 'traffic citation' and *gherao* is the surrounding of a person or place in order to extract a concession:

- d. The Government should fix the rates of fine and issue tickets of equivalent amounts, bearing time, place and date of challan (PT 3 October 1986)./Are all the traffic sergeants there only to challan the innocent? (N 22 July 1989).
- e. Time was when the Punjab industrialists, traders, and the middle class were the loudest in condemning 'gheraos' (PT 23 July 1989)./When the fort area was 'gheraoed' by armed and helmeted police, inmates of the area started announcements on loud speakers that Sindhi dacoits had surrounded the area and people should come out in the streets (V 7 June 1990).<sup>4</sup>

Weddings are popular, well-reported social events in Pakistan which traditionally involve related events spread over several days; these include the *mayun*, *dholki*, *mehndi*, *baraat*, *rukhsati*, *nikah*, and *valima*.<sup>5</sup> In a recent issue of the weekly *Mag*, a story appeared about weddings (*shaadi*) entitled 'The Paki-Shaadi Syndrome' (Paracha 1991:22), which included the following comment:

- 6a. Why can't our *shaadies* be something like, 'O.K. bring in the *dulha* [groom] and *dulhan* [bride], their close friends and relatives: dance, eat, have fun, and that's it'? One solid day's affair! What is all this super-hype about *dholkies*, *dholkan*, *mehndies*, *barrats*, and wishy-washy *valimas* (MAG 17–23 January 1991).

Further examples in context from this category include:

- b. On Friday her 'baraat' arrived and she asked her sister to vacate the room so she could change the dress (NS/L 28 September 1991).



- c. DUE TO RAINS AND UNCERTAIN WEATHER THE VENUE OF RUKHSATI OF FARWAH WITH RAZA HUSAIN . . . HAS BEEN SHIFTED . . . (D/L 28 July 1989)—notice.
- d. At a recent wedding, 50 lac [one lac = 100,000] were given in cash to the daughter by her father along with a Honda Accord car, a furnished house, a plot of 2 kanals [one *kanal* equals 610 sq. yards], 36 sets of jewellery, and Rs 13 lac as *salami* to the son-in-law (N 8 January 1990)—letter to the editor. [*salami* is a ritual cash gift for the bride and the groom.]
- e. Jahez [dowry], an entrenched evil (N 8 November 1986)—headline.

Consider finally the last example from the category *marriage/divorce* concerning Islamic versus non-Islamic marital practices:

- f. Islam prohibits the present day's concept of "Dowry" from the girls' side and "Barri" from the boys'. It only permits a simple ceremony of Nikah followed by Valima (Y 15 April 1991). [*barri* is a small dowry given by the groom's family to the family of the bride.]

The last category, that of *-wallahs*, is a particularly productive one in Urdu. A *-wallah* (feminine *-walli*) is a person who is concerned with a particular activity, place or thing, which is prefixed to the morpheme *-wallah* (variant spellings *-walla* and *-wala* also occur). Hence, a *chabriwallah* is a person who sells items out of a *chabri* (wicker basket) and a *dhoodwallah* is a person who sells *dhood* (milk), or 'milkman'. Consider further *-wallah* examples in context below:

- 7a. For some time the pressure to produce its own plays had been steadily mounting on the Alhamra wallahs [Alhamra Arts Council in Lahore] (FP/L 26 September 1991).
- b. This donkey belonging to a Gadhagari-wala was borrowed, cart and all, by a cop . . . living in the neighbourhood . . . (T 6 July 1989). [A *gadhagari* is a donkey (*gadha*) cart (*gari*).]
- c. Sampling the ware of a "Channa wala" I was surprised to see that a plate of Channas [chick peas] was priced only a rupee and fifty paisa (FP/L 26 July 1989). [A Pakistani *rupee* contains 100 *paisa*.]

- d. There have [*sic*] been every style of cheating including the PANI-WALA who helps the candidates to transport the answers in the examination Hall (FP/L 26 July 1989). [*pani* means 'water', hence 'water carrier'.]
- e. The answer lies in expanding the tax base and restricting the element of tax evasion by introducing a token flat rate for all small scale entrepreneurs like *Khokha walas* who do lucrative business and evade taxes (N 14 July 1990)—letter to the editor. [A *khokha* is a 'kiosk' or 'sidewalk stall'.]
- f. Worse, gamblers and the 'Tail-malish walas' have started patronising the place (M 14 June 1990). [*tail* means 'oil'; a *malish wala* is a 'masseur'.]

Although the overwhelming majority of borrowings in our corpus are Urdu nouns, other parts of speech are also found in English-language writing in Pakistan, including adjectives, adverbials (rare), and verbs (see [5d] and [5e] above). *Pucca* (built to last) and *kachcha* (easily broken) are by far the most frequently occurring adjectives in our data:

- 8a. While negotiating a turn to climb from a *kachcha* portion to *pucca* portion of a road, the driver lost control due to which the truck skidded and turned turtle (D 14 November 1986).
- b. Over a dozen *pucca* houses in the old city area were partially damaged and hundreds of huts in the *katchi abadis* alongwith embankments of the Malir and Lyari were destroyed (N 26 July 1989). [*katchi abadi* means 'sub-standard, unauthorized dwellings', i.e. 'squatter settlements'.]

Other adjectives in context are:

- c. The workers of the Awami National Party (ANP) who disapproved the alliance of their party with the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad [Islamic Democratic Alliance] on Sunday announced a *Naraz* [dis-sident (literally, 'annoyed')] group . . . (N 19 June 1989).
- d. The legendary soap of the stars now has Neeli and the fresh faced Reema singing its praises along with the more sophisticated Samina and the very earthy-turned-nice-*ghareloo* [homely] woman Shakeela (Y 18 August 1991).

- e. The western world, he said, was not as immoral and *be-haya* [immodest] eighty years ago as it is now and all because of the Jews who have stripped them of all moral values. American men used to be proud of their manhood. They shot anyone who came near their women . . . (FP/L 26 August 1991).
- f. Yes, I could see how he was *badtameez* [ill-mannered] but I couldn't understand how he would be a lawyer and *badtameez* too (M 22 October 1991).

Adjectives which function as nouns are also common:

- g. Another Gora telling us what we are [title of a review of Christina Lamb's (1991) *Waiting for Allah*] (FR 20 September 1991). [A *gora* is a light-skinned person from the West; the noun derives from the adjective *gora*, which means 'Western, English, fair or blond'.]
- h. He was, therefore, removed from school and sent to a bicycle mechanic to become his '*chota*' (WP 4 October 1991). [*chota* is the adjective for 'small'; in this context it means 'a young helper' or 'apprentice'.]

As previously mentioned, the lexis in our corpus also includes numerous borrowings from the indigenous languages of Pakistan. These come primarily from the languages of the four major provinces of the country—Balochi, Punjabi, Pushto, and Sindhi—although borrowings from other languages are also found. Consider the following Balochi borrowings from the categories of (i) *art forms (dance/music/verse)*, (ii) *edibles (snacks and prepared foods)*, (iii) *dwelling*s, and (iv) *games/sports*, respectively:<sup>6</sup>

- 9a. Live performances are held regularly by singers, musicians and *lewa* dancers at street corners and on chowks [intersections] in localities like Chakiwara (H August 1990). [The *lewa* is a type of Baloch dance from the Makran Coast.]
- b. *Sajji* or *saj*, is venison—deer meat for the uninitiated—roasted on an open wood fire, and is the great delicacy from Balochistan province (FP/L 4 July 1990).
- c. The enthusiasm and deep interest among the people in the current local bodies elections could be gauged from the fact that disabled



person, both male and females, left their dwelling gidans (wool woven tents) . . . to exercise their right to vote (BT 1 December 1987). [Marri and Shad 1972:335]

- d. Other attractions of the day will include traditional wrestling "Malakhrah", illumination of Government and private buildings, distribution of sweets in hospitals and schools (BT 10 August 1987). (See also Plate 2.)

As the majority of nationally-circulated English-language newspapers in Pakistan are published in the Punjab, the country's largest province in terms of population, Punjabi borrowings are quite frequent. The first two examples of Punjabi lexis below come from the categories of *art forms (dance/music/verse)* and *articles of use*:

- 10a. Luddi being performed by the students of the Lahore College for Women on their annual Sports Day (D 9 February 1989)—photograph caption. [The *luddi* is a Punjabi folk dance (Bokhari 1989:1351); it is also found in Ferozuddin (1983:1152) and Sarhindi (1976:1292).]
- b. . . . your editorial . . . was devoid of good taste at the end where you made the proposal that "the Export Promotion Bureau should explore the possibility of selling standardised, cellophaned and disinfected *watwani* (bladder blotting stones)<sup>7</sup> to the world outside" (FP/P 19 October 1986)—letter to the editor.

From the category *descriptive labels for people* comes the Punjabi borrowing *khusra*:

- c. By Middlesex I mean the middle sex. The types known in English as transvestites or hermaphrodites. In Urdu they are *hejras*, in Punjabi *khusras* (MAG 25–31 October 1990). [Bokhari 1989: 1214]

A borrowing from the category of *terms of gratification* which occurs with great frequency is *muk-muka(o)*:

- d. What people often suspect is that delay after a crime is deliberate, to allow the notoriously corrupt elements of the police to strike the best possible deal known in the local parlance as '*Muk-Mukao*' (NS/L 29 April 1991)—editorial. [A *muk-muka(o)* (cf. Punjabi *muknaa*, 'to end') is a settlement, i.e. a bribe.]

e.



*The Nation*, Lahore, 20 January 1990

And finally from the category of *religion (Islam)* come the typically Punjabi words *tarru* (Bokhari 1989:583), the first day after *Eid-ul-Fitr* (festivities marking the end of the holy month of *Ramazan*) or *Eid-ul-Azha* (the Islamic sacrificial festival), and *marru*, the second day after Eid:

- f. Today is Marru which comes after Tarru. Allah says Muslims may offer animal sacrifice for three days and the Eid rituals continue till then (PT 6 July 1990). (See also Plate 3.)

From Pushto in the North-West Frontier Province come the following borrowings from the large category of *art forms (dance/music/verse)*:

- 11a. A view of Khattak dance presented at Rawalpindi Arts Council Tuesday (DE 11 July 1990)—photograph caption. [Fatehpuri *et al.* 1977–19—:VIII/456]
- b. Unlike the Landai, the Charbaita [types of Pushto war songs], gives an opportunity for inspiring description of famous Pushtoon battles and the exploits of popular warriors, being introduced by minstrels (FP/L 8 June 1990). [*landai* Kakakhel 1981:1190; *charbaita* Bellew 1901/1982:326; Kakakhel 1981:553]

From the categories of *concepts*, *occupations*, and *social gatherings/meetings*, respectively, come the Pushto terms *kor*, *khassadar*, and *loya jirga*:

- c. The basis of organisation is a *Kor*—a house or a family. Members of each family acknowledge with deep respect, the authority of their elders. A village usually consists of several *Kors* . . . (FP/L 28 July 1991). [Kakakhel 1981:1103; Raverty 1901/1982:817]
- d. The number of Frontier Corps Militiamen (some said more than 1,000) and Khassadars [constables] involved in the punitive action was also big (TFT 15–21 August 1991).

e.



*The Nation*, Lahore, 6 July 1988

A *loya jirga* in Pushto is a 'grand council of elders' (*loya* 'grand' [Raverty 1901/1982:887]; *jirga* 'assembly/council' [Raverty 1901/1982:330] from Persian *jirka* 'circle' [Richardson, Wilkins, and Johnson 1829/1984:503]). *Jirga* is also found in Ferozuddin (1983:456); Fatehpuri *et al.* (1977–19—:VI/572); and Sarhindi (1976:531).

From the Sindhi language come many words in the categories of *home furnishings* and *articles of use*, for example:

- 12a. Looking quite crude as compared to woollen carpets, *farasis* are nonetheless beautiful, produced in colour, reflecting the culture of the desert (M 9 June 1989). [Baloch and Khan 1985:596]
- b. As, in Sindh, 'ralli' has been made through ancient times, it is thus an integral part of Sindh's literature so that the Bard of Sindh, Shah Abdul Latif, remembers the ralli and also calls it Gindi (D 2 June 1989). [A *ralli* (Shahani n.d.[b]:293; Fatehpuri *et al.* 1977–19—:X/716) is a patchwork quilt or coverlet.]



Sindhi has also contributed to Urdu now-well-known terms dealing with the social problems of the Sindh province:

- c. There is a method in this madness. Landlord has a farm manager (estate manager) who is known as *munshi* or *Patharidar* in Sindhi. He has contact with farmers through his henchmen, also known as security or bodyguards of landlord. Through his middle man (*patharidar*) landlord (the *wadera*) trains farmers or tenants-at-will to be gunmen (FP/L 13 June 1991). [*patharidar* (Shahani n.d. [b]:125); *wadera* (Baloch and Khan 1985:825; Ferozuddin 1983:1407; Shahani n.d.[a]:515)]
- d. *Dharail* (Sindhi for dacoit) is the creation of feudal lords of Sindh. He trains him. He sends him to the jungle (FP/L 13 June 1991). [Baloch and Khan 1989:292; Shahani n.d.(a):58 and (b):255]

Some borrowings are common to more than one language; *bhung/bong*, 'ransom', for example, is found in both Sindhi (Shahani n.d. [a]:668) and Seraiki as well as in Pushto, *bhunga* (Bellew 1901/1982:309):

- 13a. The accused had stolen four buffaloes of Haji Mohammad Ashraf from Nai Abadi, Quaidabad-Landhi, on the night of Sept 29 last and accused Umar Qiyas had demanded Rs 10,000 as 'bong' (ransom) for release of the cattle (D 4 October 1986). [A *haji* is a person who has performed *haj*, the Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca.]
- b. The cattle-lifter, whose identity is not disclosed, sees the 'Bhunga' as his right (M 23 June 1991).

The word *malakhro* (sport of wrestling/place for wrestling [Shahani n.d.(b):477]) is found in both Sindhi and Balochi (see also [9d]):

- c. During the celebrations, a 3-day 'Malakhro' will be organised at Bhitshah Stadium (D/L 31 July 1991).

Borrowings from the indigenous languages of Pakistan occur with great regularity in English-language dailies and periodicals, and, as we have shown, some are also now found in contemporary Pakistani Urdu dictionaries.

In collecting the data and setting up the categories of our paper, we were continually struck by the inordinate number of items which were subsumed under the category of *religion*, a fact that Kachru (1983b:

162–3) also noted in his work on Hindi borrowings. Since Pakistan is a predominantly Muslim society, a large number of terms having to do with Islam occur quite frequently in newspapers and periodicals.<sup>8</sup> Consider, for example, an article (reprinted here in its entirety) which appeared in *The Nation*, Lahore, of 28 March 1987:

14. Traditional fervour and devotion marked the beginning of the celebrations in the provincial metropolis on Friday night of Merajun Nabi, the ascension of the Holy Prophet (PBUH)<sup>9</sup> to heaven, where he achieved communication with Allah. After 'ishaa prayers', the devout embarked on their night-long vigil, during which they would offer 'nawafil', recite the Holy Quran, and indulge in 'zikr'. After the congregational 'ishaa prayers' in mosques, special prayers were offered for the prosperity of Pakistan and the unity of the Ummah. Special sessions of 'darood-o-salaam' were also in progress. Earlier, during their sermons to the Friday congregations, the khateebis of the city discoursed on the significance of the occasion, and described various aspects of the event. During the day, many people could be seen visiting the city's graveyards to offer 'fateha' at the graves of their departed relations and friends. Many also prepared 'degs' of food for distribution among the needy.

Because of this pervasiveness of Islamic lexis in our corpus, we decided to divide the older Kachruvian category of 'Religion and Rituals' into two categories: *religion (Islam)* and *religion (others)*, the latter category containing lexis pertaining to Christianity, Hinduism, Sikhism, and Zoroastrianism, the other major religions practised in Pakistan. Because of the variety of the lexis contained in *religion (Islam)*, we decided to further sub-categorize this new grouping, applying the same general framework that we used for our original corpus (Appendix 1B). But, because of the special nature of the subject, some new categories had to be added, for example, specific celebrations and religious precepts; other categories contained in the general framework were not applicable in the new Islamic framework and hence not included, e.g. *condiments*, *games/sports*, *musical instruments*, etc. The resultant Islamic framework contains thirty-two categories (see Appendix 1C for the full list of *religion (Islam)* categories and Appendix 3 for the mini-lexicon). Consider now some of the religious lexis in context from four of the six general categories presented above (*articles of use*, *descriptive labels for people*, *mar-*

*riage/divorce*, and *-wallahs*), which are also categories in the Islamic framework:

### Articles of use

- 15a. He also manipulated a *tasbeih* [prayer beads] of large ivory beads with considerable dexterity (M 8 November 1991).
- b. A video cassette of Holy Quran and "Janamaz" [literally 'place of prayer', or prayer rug/mat] were among the items stolen by unknown thieves . . . (M 15 July 1990).

### Descriptive labels for people

- 16a. After 'zohr' [noon] and 'asr' [afternoon] prayers several persons switch on fans and start taking a nap, caring the least about other 'namazis' [people offering prayers] who go to the mosque to offer prayers (PT 5 August 1987).
- b. A Muslim man can marry a Christian woman (Ahle-kitab) [people of the Book] but a Muslim woman cannot marry a non-Muslim (PT 14 September 1989).
- c. With the second consecutive night of light rain in the City weather again somersaulted and abruptly became cool, a boon for the 'rozadars' [fasters] (FP/L 3 April 1991).
- d. Mobile teams, headed by a magistrate, raided restaurants, canteens and cafes and arrested over 150 'rozakhors' [fast violators] from various parts of the district today on the charge of violating the sanctity of Ramazan and for hoarding consumer goods (D/L 28 March 1991).

### Marriage/Divorce

- 17a. The accused produced a *Talaqnama* [deed of divorce] between Rashid and Parveen Akhtar, notice of the *talaq* [divorce] to the Chairman and a copy of the *Nikahnama* [marriage certificate] in their name (TFT 6–12 July 1989).
- b. 'I would prefer to get my throat slit instead of entering into "Halala" with the stage manager,' said the stage artist Bindia to our correspondent (NS/L 7 September 1991). [According to the



practice of *halala*, a divorced woman who wishes to remarry her first husband is married to another man for at least a day, after which that man divorces her, thus leaving her free to remarry her first husband.]

- c. No member of the bridegroom's family talks of *haq-e-mehar* these days but negotiations for *nikah* begin by enquiring what the bride will bring with her. When all these things are settled even then the question of *haq-e-mehar* is not raised. Only at the time of the *nikah* a nominal *haq-e-mehar*, mostly *Muajjal*, is incorporated in the *nikahname* . . . (N 5 April 1989)—letter to the editor. [*Haq-e-mehar* is the amount of money fixed at the time of the *nikah*, the marriage contract, which the groom must pay to the bride in case of divorce; the *muajjal* is a deferred dower.]

### -wallahs

- 18a. These Jama'at walas hate me as much as they hate her. They in fact hate everyone who isn't a Jama'at wala [a member of the political party *Jama'at-i-Islami*] (MA 31 July 1990).
- b. Law Minister Syed Iftikhar Hussain Gillani says the government would go to the people if the Opposition continued to be obstinate about the so-called Shariat [Islamic law] Bill. If he thinks he is presenting a clear and firm front to the Shariat-walas he is sadly mistaken (DE 29 July 1990)—editorial.
- c. The call of the Sehriwala to the faithful in the early hours of the morning is a tradition that should be kept alive, but seems to be fading in many localities of the city. Rozadars now depend on the alarm clock, instead of the sound of beating of drums and the early call long before sunrise, to get up and prepare for Sehri [pre-dawn meal during the fasting month of *Ramazan*] (MN 8 May 1988).
- d. From a surgeon to a *khatnawala*! (N 3 February 1989)—headline. [*khatna* is 'circumcision'.]

Further examples of religious lexis in context come from the category *art forms (music/verse)*:

- 19a. Qawwali . . . is a typical sub-continental chorus song, with a mystical flair, sung by Muslim singers all over South Asia in *Darghas* [shrines] or at private gatherings (TR 2–8 April 1991)./ Renowned qawwal [*qawwali* singer] Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan elec-

trified a full house at Alhamra Cultural Complex with his famed qawwalis and ka'afis [Seraiki religious poems (Kalanchvi 1981: 171)] (NS/L 14 April 1991).

- b. The day was marked with Milad Mehfil, Naat recitals, Quran Khawani, rallies by Girl Guides and Boy Scouts and procession by faithfuls (MN 7 November 1987). [A *milad mehfil* is a meeting held to celebrate the birth of the Holy Prophet; *naat* is an encomium of the Holy Prophet; and *Quran khwani* is reading of the Holy Quran.]
- c. Hundreds of Naat Khawans [encomiasts] will participate in a contest, being organized at circle level by Habib Bank in Lahore, on July 21 at 9:00 am (PT 17 July 1989).
- d. The National Hifz-o-Qirat [memorization and recitation of the Holy Quran] competition 1991, under the auspices of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Minorities Affairs, will be held here . . . (D/L 12 May 1991).

Consider also the following examples of religious adjectives:

- 20a. He said that those who were "zalim" [tyrannical] yesterday could not be accepted as "mazloom" [oppressed] today (M 27 April 1987).
- b. The place is a complete educational institution where education is imparted free of cost. It has been running, without any support by the government or any other agency, in a complete 'darveshi' [dervish-like] atmosphere (PT 1 August 1989).
- c. The fact is that Sardar Qayyum's conscience does not allow him to fulfil his constitutional duty but it does not stop him from continuing as President of a state [Kashmir] that has elected *La-deeni* [irreligious] legislature and returned a *La-deeni* Prime Minister (N 9 July 1990).
- d. Addressing a two-day seminar of DHOs [District Health Officers] on Monday, he said that lust of wealth has blinded the proprietors of these institutions so much that they had forgotten the distinction between 'Halal' [having religious sanction] and 'Haram' . . . [not having religious sanction] (NS/L 2 September 1991).

The lexis in some categories under *religion (Islam)* can be even further subdivided. Consider, for example, the new category of *pil-*

*lars/haj*. Note that in a list of the eleven items in this category, seven other categories are represented:

- 21a. *ahraam* (N 26/7/87) *clothing/accessories*
- b. *Baitul Hujjaj* (M 29/7/90) *place names*
- c. *haji* (MN 18/3/88) *modes of address/reference*
- d. *hajj* (MN 18/3/88) *religion(pillar)*
- e. *Hajj-i-Badal* (BT 14/7/87) *concept*
- f. *Hajj-i-Qiran* (FP/L 12/7/89) *concept*
- g. *hujjaj* (BT 14/7/87) *modes of address/reference*
- h. *Khuddam-ul-Hujjaj* (BT 14/7/87) *modes of address/reference*
- i. *labbaik* (M 8/6/90) *salutations/expressions*
- j. *Manasik-e-Haj* (FP/P 4/6/86) *religion (rites/rituals)*
- k. *Rahbar-e-Hujjaj* (BT 14/7/87) *modes of address/reference*

Three examples in context are:

- 22a. Offering of Juma [Friday] prayers at the complex mosque, where majority of the pilgrims were in "ahraam" [pilgrim's robe] represented a mini gathering of Hujjaj [pilgrims] in Saudi Arabia (N 26 July 1987).
- b. The pilgrims of the first ship will be required to reach Baitul Hujaj Karachi on May 13 (M 1 May 1989). [The *Baitul Hujaj*, Arabic for 'pilgrims' house' is the place where intending pilgrims stay to receive *Haj* training before leaving on *Haj*.]
- c. . . . the Haj Directorate and other agencies working at the airport, besides scout squads designated as Khuddamul Hujjaj [Haj group leaders] bade them farewell (N 24 May 1990).

Further subdivisions of categories in both the general as well as religious lexis are therefore possible.<sup>10</sup>

As previously stated, the overwhelming majority of lexical items which comprise our data base are single-item borrowings, principally nouns. Units larger than one item do occur in print, although not with the same frequency as single-item borrowings. In (4a) and (8b) above,

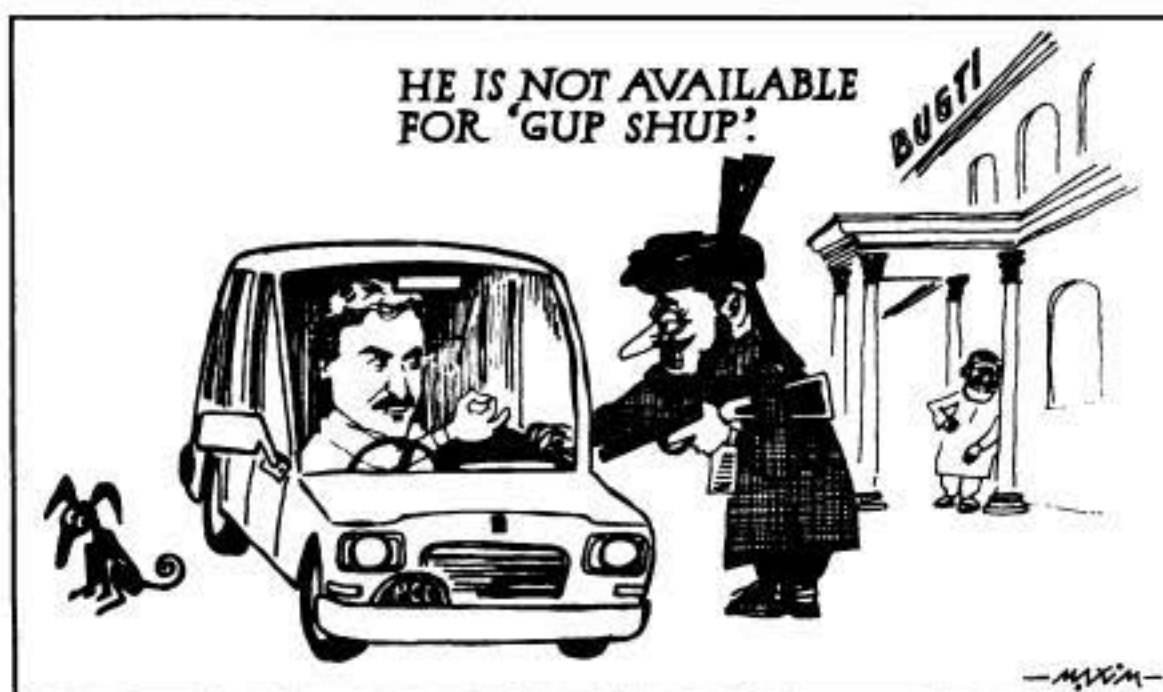


for example, the adjective + noun constructions *tandoori roti* and *katchi abadi* are borrowings of more than one single item. Examples of other such adjective + noun collocations in context are:

- 23a. Wall chalking advertisements have made the terms '*poshida imraaz*' and '*mardana kamzori*' famous, and lure many despondent sufferers in to having a go at nostrums to cure these only to find themselves more seriously sick (N 20 August 1991). [*poshida imraaz*, literally 'hidden diseases', are those maladies which are not openly discussed in Pakistani society, i.e. venereal diseases, barrenness in women, impotence in men, etc.; *mardana kamzori*, literally 'male weakness', is impotence.]
- b. Education Minister Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah on a point of explanation about *Nai Roshni* schools categorically stated that none of the teachers had been dismissed as had been repeatedly made clear by the government (N 27 June 1989). [*nai roshni*, literally 'New Light', were schools established during the tenure of Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo (1985–8).]
- c. The sons of the *khaki shaheeds* [military martyrs] (as opposed to the *awami shaheed* [civilian martyr]) appear to have fallen out good and proper (TFT 29 August–4 September 1991).

Compound nouns are also borrowed; in the first example *gup shup* is the Urdu word for 'gossip':

24a.



*The Nation*, Lahore, 11 September 1989

- b. AN IMAM MASJID [the chief priest of a mosque] allegedly molested one of his students Moazam Ali, 8, in the mosque at Hajipura, North Cantt. [cantonment] (NS/L 22 September 1991).
- c. The atmosphere, suffused with fragrance of flower petals and scents and smells of *agarbatis* [sticks of aloe] resonated with recitations of Holy Quran which devotees of all ages were giving in different groups around the main mazar [shrine] (FP/L 1 September 1991).
- d. The city assistant commissioner sub-divisional magistrate, Lahore has under section 144 CR. P.C. directed that during the *urs* of Hazrat Data Ganj Bakhsh the sale of *niaz degs* would be at a fixed rate and weight and of good quality (FP/L 31 August 1991). [An *urs* is the celebration of the union (death) of a saint with God; *hazrat* is a title of respect; and a *niaz deg* is a large cooking pot (*deg*) of food prepared as an offering (*niaz*) to *urs* devotees in the name of Allah.]
- e. Should the police retreat with a "farshi Salaam" and greet the next offender with an accommodating smile . . . (FP/L 22 June 1991). [A *farshi salam* is a low bow accompanied by repeated movements of the right hand towards the forehead.]
- f. I heard a *Hatta Katta* [an able-bodied person], professional beggar, claiming that he has also to exert, like anybody else, to eke out his living—moving from door to door (M 31 August 1991)—letter to the editor.
- g. 'Tiger' Iftikhar is after all admired by his colleagues for tracing some difficult crime incidents, feats performed no doubt after due consultation with the *lota pir* (N 10 September 1991). [A *lota pir* is a religious diviner whose prognostications are based upon the spinning of a *lota* (a water jug with a spout, used for ablutions). The spout of the *lota* lands upon letters and numbers contained in charts, thus allegedly revealing the truth to the *pir*.]
- h. I can still calculate that by changing hands from one institution to another, the total amount of liquidity remains the same. Unless of course you have "Dabba Pirs" of the yesteryears who doubled the money with their spiritual powers (FP/L 16 September 1991). [A *dabba pir* is a 'saint' who placed money in a box (*dabba*) and magically doubled it. When large amounts of money were in-

volved, both the money and the saint frequently disappeared. The phrase has now been generalized to mean a 'fake' *pir*.]

- i. It is said in Lahore that the new Mrs K's *mun dikhai* was a swank Honda limo . . . (TFT 31 May–6 June 1991). [The *mun dikhai*, literally 'the sight of the face', is a present made to the bride by the groom's family on the first meeting after marriage when she unveils before them.]
- j. Addressing at a reception after his return from London here on Tuesday, Mian Zahid said Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif had turned the Federal Cabinet into a "Jumma Bazar" which would put enormous pressure on the national exchequer (D/L 25 September 1991). [*Jumma Bazar* literally means 'Friday Market'; it is roughly equivalent to a US farmers' market.]

Note also the Punjabi nominal compound *muk-mukao* in (10d) and (10e) above.

Although generally not included in our data base, Urdu phrases are also frequently found in Pakistani newspapers and periodicals. One very famous phrase, as illustrated in the first example below, is the Pakistan People's Party's slogan *roti, kapra aur makan* (food, clothing, and shelter):

25a.



*The Frontier Post*, Peshawar, 10 December 1989



Other examples include:

- b. The positive side of the episode is that the Imam Sahib had some consideration for the *sharif maa'en bahnen aur betiyan* [respectable mothers, sisters, and daughters] of the locality (M 28 June 1990). [*sahib* is a respectful form of address.]
- c. However, *The Lady of the Month* was a knockout; please keep on introducing such classy Pakistani ladies only and no more "*Phoren Ki Gori Chamri*" [fair (*gori*) skin (*chamri*) of foreigners]. We already have "*Cosmopolitan*" and "*Elle*" for that (MC August 1991). (See also [8g] above.)
- d. People pay huge amounts in order to be inducted as Sub-Inspectors of Police and then pay larger amounts to be posted to the police stations of their choice, obviously the ones where *haza min fazle rabbi* literally rains down from the heavens (M 11 June 1991)—editorial. [*haza min fazle rabbi* is Arabic for 'by the grace of God'. In the above context, it means 'illegal gratification'.]

The occurrence of sentences is also not uncommon:

- 26a. The Punjab MPAs had been stepping on the CMs tail for quite some time, breaking party discipline and going to the press with 'hamara kam nahin hota' complaints [our work does not get done] (FP/L 22 June 1991)—editorial.
- b. He said the country had been engulfed by fire of sectarian and ethnic riots but the government continued to say 'sab accha hai' [everything is fine] (M 7 November 1986).
- c. The main theme of the play was that the present government is working hard to rid the society of all evils, that malpractices will not be tolerated, that corruption will be wiped out and that *jo kuch hota raha hai woh ab naheen ho ga* [those things which have been done in the past will not be repeated] (N 22 July 1991)—letter to the editor.

The Urdu caption in the following cartoon from a popular English-language daily in Lahore translates 'It is the duty of the police to assist you':

d.



*The Frontier Post*, Lahore, 25 August 1989

Borrowing from the single-item level up to the sentence level, a phenomenon which Kachru (1982*b*) terms 'mixing', is common in Pakistani journalistic writing, as we have seen from the preceding examples in context. A detailed discussion of code-mixing beyond single-item lexical borrowing, however, is not within the scope of the present paper. For excellent treatments of this topic for Hindi-Urdu, however, see Anjum (1991), Gumperz (1982), Gumperz, Aulakh, and Kaltman (1982), Kachru (1982*b*), and Sridhar and Sridhar (1989).

Words formed from elements of both Urdu and English, termed 'hybrids' by Yule and Burnell (1886/1985) and Kachru (1983*b*), are also a common feature in the print media in Pakistan. Yule and Burnell (1886/1985:xxi) report such formations as *brandy-paanii* (-water), *gymkhaana* (club/meeting place), and *lumberdar* (village headman), the two latter terms still being in common use in Pakistani English (see [29*d*], [65*c*], and [76*c*] below). Kachru's (1983*b*) seminal study of hybrids focuses primarily on hybrid compounds. Pakistani English, like other varieties of South Asian English, contains a whole range of hybrids including those formed by inflection (see discussion in Section Four below), derivation, and compounding. Note the following words composed of an Urdu base plus an English derivational prefix (*anti-goth*, *ex-tehsildar*, *mini-jirga*, *non-haqeeqi* [adj.], *pre-dholki*, and *post-lftar*):

- 27a. Criticising the KDA [Karachi Development Authority] policy, he urged the Government to ask the KDA to discard its anti-Goth

[village] policy and expedite development work in the areas (D/L 21 July 1990).

- b. . . . he had an annual budget prepared by an ex-tehsildar [district (*tehsil*) revenue officer] (PT 1 August 1989).
- c. MINI-JIRGA [council] WILL DISCUSS INTERIM GOVT (N 7 March 1988)—headline. (See [11e] above.)
- d. This comes straight from the source of all wisdom—Mr Altaf Hussain who heads the non-'haqeeqi' (unreal) faction of MQM (WP 26 July 1991).
- e. From pre-*dholki* sessions to honeymoon and everything in between is preserved on film . . . (N 15 January 1991). (See Endnote 5.)
- f. Most of the shopkeepers said people this year were less enthusiastic about Eid shopping. When their attention was drawn to the rush in the market they said most of the people had come for an ice cream or 'pan' [betel leaf] and to have a post-Iftar walk (NS/L 4 April 1991). [*iftar* is the meal which breaks the fast during *Ramazan*.]

The examples in the next group of words (*goondaism*, *Lahorites*, *mo-halla-wise*, *mullacracy*, *Punjabize*, and *Quaidship*) are composed of Urdu bases and English derivational suffixes:

28a.



*The Frontier Post*, Lahore, 14 January 1990

A *goonda* (cf. US English 'goon') is a 'hoodlum, ruffian, or tough'.



- b. Older Lahorites [residents of Lahore] identified the Regal Chowk by several prominent features that had survived the ravages of time and man—like the clock tower on Dingha Singh building, even though it has mostly been out of order for quite some time (PT 3 July 1989). (See also Plate 4.)
- c. He advised that Mohalla-wise committees be formed which should approach the affected families for bringing them back to their homes (M 3 July 1990). [*mohalla*, neighbourhood]
- d. She said that struggle for a brighter future and system where “mullacracy” had no place should be continued (PT 22 August 1989). [A *mullah* is a Muslim priest.]
- e. It is possible that the ‘Punjabized-Urdu’ we used helped to make the language more alive and accessible to the local audience (FP/L 14 July 1990).
- f. No one is going to mind Altaf Hussain retaining his powerful Quaidship! (MA 18 November 1990). [*quaid*, leader]

And finally, note a small selection of noun + noun bilingual compounds (*assemblywala*, *baba suit*, *baigat camp*, *chota peg*, *qisas ordinance*, and *rabi season*):

29a.



*The Frontier Post*, Peshawar, 19 June 1991

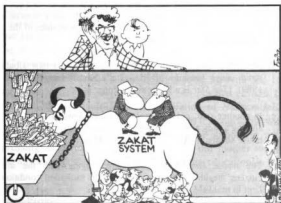
- b. Soft and Cuddly BABA SUITS (D 15 May 1988)—advertisement. [*baba*, baby]
- c. Stimulus for the abduction of children from different parts of the country is provided by the 'demands of the market' and profit-instinct of the operators of *baigaar* camps (M 25 May 1990). [*baigaar*, forced labour]
- d. Their dream of conquering Lahore and their General Chaudhari's boast of having a 'chota peg' [small peg] at the Lahore Gymkhana in the evening were completely shattered (PT 23 August 1990).
- e. Meanwhile, a Pakistan Road Transport Azad Mazdoor Union (PAYAM) spokesman has strongly protested against the imposition of the blood money provision under the newly-promulgated Qisas and Diyat Ordinance (N 11 November 1990). [*qisas*, the law of retaliation; *diyat*, blood money; *Azad Mazdoor Union*, Free Workers' Union]
- f. Lakhs of acres of land was deprived of wheat sowing on the start of Rabi [spring harvest] season sustaining great loss to the poor villagers and to the economy of the Sindh (M 3 November 1990). [A *lakh* (*lac*) is equivalent to 100,000; in this example, *lakhs* means 'thousands'.]

*Assemblywala*, *baba suit*, *baigaar camp*, *chota peg*, and *qisas ordinance* are compounds in Urdu as well.

Certain common religious lexical items like *Eid* (including both *Eid-ul-Fitr*, festivities marking the end of the holy month of *Ramazan*, and *Eid-ul-Azha*, the Islamic sacrificial festival), *Haj*, *Shariat*, and *Zakat* (Islamic tithe) also enter into construction with a large variety of English words to form hybrid compounds: *Eid* allowance (FP/L 11/4/91), *Eid* moon (M 26/4/91), *Eid* publicity (PT 9/7/90), and *Eid* train (MN 9/7/89); *Haj* camp (D 3/6/89), *Haj* pilgrims (N 24/5/90), *Haj* rush (DE 29/7/90), *Haj* Terminal (PT 7/7/90), and *Haj* victims (FP/L 23/8/90); *Shariat* Bill (D 11/11/87), *Shariat* convention (D 27/11/87), *Shariat* ordinance (L 7/7/88), and *Shariat* petitions (DE 11/8/90); *Zakat* committee (D 26/11/87), *Zakat* deduction (M 4/8/87), *Zakat* fund (N 4/7/90), *Zakat* money (N 20/5/89), and *Zakat* Scheme (N 14/7/90). Some examples in context are:

- 30a. *International Gorrilay* [Guerrillas] had Neeli with Ghulam Mohyuddin and Eid release *Aakhri Takra* [Final Encounter] again has Gulloo with Neeli (PO 2 August 1991).

- b. Mercifully, we had fewer iftar extravaganzas at public expense during this Ramazan. The Eid shopping orgies, too, appeared to have been just a visible shade less reckless (M 16 April 1991).
- c. Car lifters go Eid shopping (TR 16–22 1991)—headline.
- d. The inflation-sick pre-Eid crowd was greatly amused when the Hamdard chief remarked that no one in Pakistan was in principle right in offering sacrificial animals because everyone stood overburdened with foreign loans (PT 9 July 1990). [*Hamdard* (compassionate) is a Science and Medicine Foundation.]
- e. Doctors say that in post-Eid disorders, the sugary Eid-ul-Fitr matches the meaty Eid-ul-Azha (N 23 April 1991).
- f. Schools and colleges in the Punjab will remain closed for the spring-cum-Eid holidays from April 12 to April 19 (N 9 April 1991).
- g. Extension in Hajj date demanded (SE 15 January 1991)—headline.
- h. He said that this decision was anti-Shariat in spirit and was the last thing that should have been included in the Shariat package (FP/L 23 April 1991).
- i.



*The Frontier Post*, Peshawar, 10 July 1989



See Endnote 11 for a complete listing of *Eid* hybrid collocations in our data.

Hybrid adjective-plus-noun collocations are also common:

- 31a. They were roughed up by PPP's *sarkari* [official] hoodlums under her instructions and chased out of her processions and public meetings (N 7 September 1991)—feature article.
- b. Ravishing *barsaati* sunsets (above), faulty drains and flooded streets (right) but life goes on undisturbed (centre) (TFT 29 August–4 September 1991)—photograph caption. [*barsaati* is the adjectival form of the noun *barsaat* (monsoon)—see also (81g).]
- c. He said that the Masihi [Christian] League will continue their struggle for the attainment of rights till they are provided separate constituencies for election (N 23 October 1990).
- d. We have now to examine if the *dakoos* [dacoits/bandits] could be allowed to whiten their booty under the Halal-o-Haram Bonds Scheme (V 23 June 1988). (See also [20d] above.)

An adjective + noun hybrid collocation which occurs frequently is *desi* (local/indigenous) plus English noun:

- e. With our politicians more willing to confide in foreign correspondents rather than their *desi* counterparts, the *Financial Times* correspondent developed good contacts on both sides of the political divide (NL October 1989).
- f. Desi Madonna! A *Star* report on how Alisha's new album featured cover versions of Madonna's smash hits (D/L 22 June 1989). [*The Star* is a Karachi evening paper.]
- g. In another raid, police arrested three persons of same family including a lady and seized four pitchers of "desi liquor" from their house situated in Mouza Kakkis (N 4 May 1987).
- h. The havoc *Desi Cola Walas* are playing with the innocent citizens' health can be imagined if their sanitation conditions are kept in mind (M 30 June 1991).

See Endnote 12 for a list of other *desi* collocations. Finally, hybrid verb collocations (English verb plus Urdu noun) are also found:

- 32a. The Prime Minister laid a floral pall on the mazar of the saint after *Maghrib* [sunset] prayers, and offered *fateha* [opening chapter of the Holy Quran recited as prayers for the dead] (N 30 August 1991).
- b. He said that the real spirit and a source of motivation behind the soldiers sitting on this highest battlefield of the world is to embrace *shahadat* [martyrdom], while waging *Jehad* [holy war] with the enemy for the cause of the motherland (N 22 June 1991).
- c. The six inmates of Darul Aman . . . had submitted, on April 14 an application to the High Court, alleging that on the preceding night, two persons entered their room at Darul Aman, and attempted to commit 'Zina' [adultery] with them (PT 13 May 1991). [*Darul Aman* is an organization which cares for stray, abandoned, and runaway women.]

'To offer *fateha*', 'to embrace *shahadat*', 'to wage *jehad*', and 'to commit *zina*' are common hybrid verb phrases in Pakistani English. For a comprehensive discussion of hybrid word formation in Pakistani English see Baumgardner and Kennedy (1988).

### III. Semantic Aspects of Borrowing

In the preceding section of the paper we presented a small sample of the Urduization of English in Pakistan. In those examples of both general and religious Urdu lexis in context, two major factors appear to us to be at work: (1) borrowing to fill lexical gaps (Kachru 1978: 110) and (2) borrowing to intentionally 'convey atmosphere, shades of meaning and experiences which are tightly bound up with the local background cultures' (Platt *et al.* 1984:89). As Kachru (1983b:153) has pointed out, the rationale for the compilation of *Hobson-Jobson* (Yule and Burnell 1886/1985), one of the earliest lexicographic works on South Asian English, was the need felt by the authors to record lexis 'expressing ideas really not provided for by our mother tongue', a linguistic situation described well by Sri Lankan educationist Doric de Souza:

In [pre-Partition] India and Sri Lanka, English never became the language of all people, but served only a small minority. Further, for this very reason, the language cannot serve all purposes, even for those who know it. English did not penetrate into the kitchen

or even the bedroom even in the best regulated families. English was never adapted to deal with the local religions, kinship system, meals, topography, fauna and flora. There are some people in Ceylon [Sri Lanka] who claim to know only English. If so most of the plants, animals, fruits, vegetables and spices and I also suspect their actual kinship relations must remain nameless, for there are no English words for them [de Souza 1979:38–9].

In our own data, lexical transfer is generally found where lexis refers to such culture-specific concepts, and this is particularly true of lexical borrowing from the context of Islam, not only because of the lack of precise lexical equivalents in English, but also because of the tradition of reading/reciting the Quran in Arabic. The use of borrowed lexis to fill lexical gaps is not uncommon in many types of writing, for as Sey (1973:64) in his discussion of local borrowings in Ghanaian English points out: 'In describing a culture, *p*, in the language of culture *q*, it is not unusual to adopt expressions from the language of culture *p* where by so doing a greater degree of clarity in exposition could be achieved.' Pakistani anthropologist Akbar S. Ahmed (1987 and 1988), political scientist Mohammad Waseem (1989), politician Benazir Bhutto (1988), and novelist Bapsi Sidhwa (1980, 1983, and 1988 [see also Sidhwa in this volume]) all use Urdu lexis in their works.

The notion of achieving a greater degree of clarity through the use of borrowed lexis in journalistic writing is well illustrated by examples (4a–f) and (6a–f) above from the categories of *edibles* (*snacks and prepared foods*) and *marriage/divorce*, respectively. The majority of the Urdu words in those examples have no, or at best poor, English translation equivalents. Below are further such examples from the general categories of *art forms* and *flora*:

- 33a. It is also related that he [Haddu Khan] would begin his khayals in a very restful and slow tempo. After singing both *asthai* and *antara* in that way he would sing *boltaans* and *taans*, and then the slow khayal would be followed by a drut or fast *chhota* khayal. His *taans* were clear and lyrical touching the high register (WP 19 April 1991).
- b. More people, particularly women, prefer bracelets made of red roses or of 'joohi', 'deela' or 'motia'. All these fresh flowers are ivory white. They have a very strong scent. The white in all of them is enhanced by the vivid red of the fresh roses in the bracelets. The white 'deela' flower, a kin of the 'motia', in spite



of its beautiful form, is not as popular as 'chambeli' (jasmine) (SS July–September 1989).

Translations of the music lexis in (33a) and the types of jasmine in (33b) would of necessity have to be lengthy explanations.

The same applies to much of the religious lexis in our corpus. Note, for example, the word *miswak*. Both Qureshi (1989:588) and Sarhindi (1976:504) translate *miswak* as 'toothbrush', which is not an accurate rendering of the word in English; there is no exact word-for-word translation. A *miswak* in Urdu (from Arabic) is a piece of stick, usually from the *neem* (margosa) tree, with which the teeth are rubbed and cleaned, the end of the stick being made like a brush by beating or chewing so as to separate the fibres. In fact, because the Prophet Mohammad used a *miswak*, many Muslims use a toothbrush and a *miswak* as well (Glassé 1989:271). The word also sometimes appears as a noun-to-verb bilingual shift (34b) in Pakistani English:

- 34a. Every family has at least one branch who are health fiends. . . . they get up with the lark, insist that the whole household run a couple of miles, and scoff at tooth-brushes, handing out *miswaks* instead (FP/L 20 June 1990)—feature article.
- b. The water tap was in the headstone, not on the tankside but in a little niche on the outside. This was so people could drink from it, or wash or 'miswak' their teeth and expectorate, and then the leftover or used water flowed through a drain hole into the tank where the horses could drink it at second hand (FP/L 15 May 1991)—feature article.

*Miswak* is a good example of borrowing to fill a lexical gap in Pakistani English. Note also the following religious lexis pertaining to Ashura during the holy month of Moharram:

35. Thousands of mourners are expected to participate in the Zuljinnah procession where Shia scholars and "Zakarin" will recite "Nohas" and Marsias to pay glowing tributes to the great martyr, Hazrat Imam Hussain (AS) and Ahle Bait. Various other small "Alam" processions would also be taken out from various localities of the city . . . (M 13 August 1989).

The above terms *Zuljinnah*, *zakarin*, *noha*, *marsia*, *Ahle Bait*, and *Alam* and others like *imambargah* (*imambara*) (see Plate 5), *matam*, *tazia*, and *zanjirzani* are rarely translated in the newspapers because



there are no English equivalents which capture the spiritual essence of these words.<sup>13</sup> That writers often prefer to use an Urdu term rather than a poor English equivalent or a paraphrase is well articulated in the following statements in which Pakistanis indirectly comment on their own use of Urdu lexis:

- 36a. But we wonder how Qazi [judge] Hussain Ahmed and honourable Members . . . will reconcile the idea of having women, understandably *Na-Maharams* (stranger: non-confidant, sorry Na-Maharam is untranslatable),<sup>14</sup> sitting in the same hall and under the same roof and warbling out the national affairs . . . (M 23 March 1991)—letter to the editor.
- b. Today, seeing the politicians, both within and without the government, even those who play the *reloo katta*—that is untranslatable<sup>15</sup>—behave the way they do, I am happy that I don't play cricket any more (FP/L 10 August 1991).
- c. The study of an indigenous art form, to which no other society has ever laid claim, demands a research cell, to be sure. Even the English language offers no alternative translation for this traditional activity [of selling *raddi*]. . . . ugh . . . they call it garbage disposal. . . . such an entirely demeaning nomenclature for a tradition that has been passed down to us as part of our heritage (FR 12 April 1991).<sup>16</sup>

Many of the lexical items which we have collected and classified, on the other hand, are not cases of borrowings to fill lexical gaps, since a large number of Urdu borrowings frequently encountered in English writing in Pakistan are those with English equivalents. The choice of an Urdu word instead of an English word in such cases depends to a large extent on the 'deliberate use' (Platt *et al.* 1984:89) of Urdu lexis by writers in order to convey shades of meaning. Common examples of such variants include *adda* for 'stand/stop/station', *atta* for 'flour', *bazaar* for 'market', *bhatta* for 'brick kiln', *chaddar* for 'cover', *challan* for 'traffic citation', *charas* for 'hashish', *chowk* for 'intersection', *chowkidar* for 'guard/watchman', *darbar* for 'meeting/gathering', *ghee* for 'clarified butter', *goonda* for 'hoodlum', *katchchi abadi* for 'squatter settlement', *kissan* for 'farmer', *lathi* for 'baton/truncheon', *mandi* for 'market', *masjid* for 'mosque', *mazdoor* for 'worker', *mohalla* for 'neighbourhood', *muqabila* for 'encounter' (as in the collocation *police muqabila*), *razakar* for 'volunteer', *rehri* for 'handcart', *riba* for 'interest/usury', *saddar* for the business centre in

the cantonment (military) area of town, *sifaarish* for 'influence', *tehsil* for 'district administrative division', *thana* for 'police station', *Wafaqi Mohtasib* for 'Ombudsman', *zila* for 'district', and *zina* for 'adultery'. Five examples in context are:

- 37a. The central leaders of the federation will address the convention on denationalisation policy, unemployment, retrenchment, the contract system, plight of *bhatta* mazdoor and price-hike (FP/L 3 October 1991).
- b. He also had an old servant-cum-chowkidar and a maid servant (N 30 June 1991).
- c. [Benazir Bhutto] said the prices of sugar, ghee and atta had gone up and beyond the reach of the poor (FP/L 4 September 1991). [See also Plate 6.]
- d.



*The Nation*, Lahore, 30 December 1988

- e. It has also issued its latest objection to a 'lacuna' in the laws relating to *zina* by making reference to the Holy Quran, and giving the government six months in which to make 'qazf' (wrongful accusation penalty) subject to 'la'an' (self-cursing) (FP/L 11 July 1992)—editorial.

These words frequently appear juxtaposed with the English equivalent in the same newspaper or often in the same article or sentence, although the Urdu word is often favoured:

- 38a. The government has rejected the plea of the Flour Mills Association to increase the ex-mill price of *atta* and has adopted measures to increase wheat supply to the areas where upward trend in wheat flour prices were recorded, official sources said Saturday (M 26 August 1991).
- b. He asked the magistrates and SHOs [station house officers] to make these committees more effective, and the chowkidara system more beneficial in their areas by fixing handsome salaries for the watchmen by assuring them that arms licences would be issued to bonafide chowkidars (NS/L 11 July 1991).
- c. The Ombudsman's Secretariat has listed steps for superannuating government servants to take prior to and after retirement for speedy dispensation of their dues. It also notified requisite documents/relevant information which needed to be provided to the Wafaqi Mohtasib Secretariat for expeditious processing, in case their complaints are pending before the Mohtasib (D/L 30 November 1988).

In the following example, the word 'intersection' is used, glossed as *chowk*, and then the word *chowk* is used in the rest of the article:

39. A retired colonel, elder citizen Iftikhar, got two signs installed here through his personal efforts. One of these warns drivers that no vehicle should, according to Traffic Laws, stop within 50 yards of an intersection (*chowk*). It is right at the *chowk* corner. The other, at the proper stop. But no one cares. Neither the wagon drivers nor the commuters. The wagons and buses stop right at the mouth of the link roads and the commuters crowd the *chowk* to catch a seat (M 1 May 1991).

Kachru (1983b:154) notes that in Indian English the word *lathi* in the hybrid collocation *lathi-charge* (noun and verb) is rarely replaced by 'baton'. In Pakistani English, however, both *lathi-charge* as well as *baton-charge* occur with what appears to us to be almost equal frequency, *lathi-charge* possibly being the preferred form since it is also the Urdu term [*laaThii carj (karnaa)*]. In the example below, both terms are used in the same article:

- 40..Police lathicharged an unlawful procession jointly taken out by the workers of some opposition parties . . . Police baton charged the crowd to disperse it, who retaliated by stoning and brick batting



the cops as a result of which over two dozen people of either side sustained serious injuries (N 11 November 1987).

*The Muslim* (Islamabad) in a front page headline of 18 September 1991 reported that Punjab Secretariat staff in Lahore had been *lathi-charged*; *The Nation* (Lahore) of the same day headlined that the clerks were *baton-charged*. Both the Urdu-language *Jang* and *Nawa-i-Waqt* (Lahore editions) of that day reported the *lathi-charge* of the demonstrators.

Similarly, a borrowed religious collocation like *namaz-e-janaza* (funeral [*janaza*] prayers [*namaz*]) sometimes appears as the hybrid collocation '*janaza* prayers'. 'Funeral prayers', however, is seldom encountered. Very often preference is given to such borrowed Urdu items for the 'load' of religious meaning carried by them. For example, *amir*, *naib amir*, *nazim/nazima*, and *shoora*, in reference to the president, vice-president, administrator, and legislative/working committee, respectively, of a political party, are borrowed to emphasize the largely religious character and orientation of that party:

- 41a. Election of new amir will be conducted in the complex manner which is only followed by the Jamaat-i-Islami [Islamic Congregation Party] in Pakistan. There are 22 members of the Shoora, who will propose three names for the future amir of Punjab (FP/L 21 September 1991).
- b. Prof. Ghafoor, who was on one of his rare visits to the Federal Capital in response to the National Assembly Speaker's invitation to his annual dinner, is also Naib Amir of Jamaat-i-Islami (PT 28 June 1990).
- c. Islami Jamiat Tulba (IJT) University of Engineering and Technology (UET), Nazim, Rafi Ullah has resented the increase in fees and examination system (N 6 September 1991). [*Islami Jamiat Tulba* is the Islamic Students' Organization.]

The word *awami* (people's/of the people) is also often employed for its 'political load'. Formed from the noun *awaam* (people), the adjective *awami* as well as the noun *awaam* occur frequently in collocations such as '*awami suit*' or *shalwar-kameez*, the national dress of Pakistan, and *gharib awaam*, 'the poor masses':

- 42a. The *awami suit* gave them free access to other parts of the anatomy to scratch, handle, fondle, massage, pat and flick (N 12 November 1991).



- b. There are now no two opinions that so long as the people will be ruled by the persons like *patwaris* [low-grade revenue officials], *thanedars* [police inspectors], custom officers etc. and not 'governed' by the true representatives of the *gharib awam*, the corruption will go on multiplying with leaps and bounds (D/L 14 July 1990)—letter to the editor.

*Awami* also refers to the Pakistan People's Party of Benazir Bhutto, and during Bhutto's twenty-month tenure as Prime Minister of Pakistan (1988–90), *awami* references became very frequent:

- c. The Central Secretary-General, Pakistan Peoples Party, Sheikh Rafique Ahmed, said here on Friday that democratic forces confidently continued marching forward with the result that Ms Benazir Bhutto has emerged as a popular and stronger *awami* leader in the country (FP/L 14 July 1990).
- d. Awan says budget will be 'Awami' (M 21 May 1989).

The references continued even after Bhutto's dismissal in August 1990:

- e. This time there is no qualitative change. No populist rhetoric, but the people's own disillusionment with the 20-month *awami* nightmare has brought it about (N 29 October 1990).

See also Plate 7, and for a full list of *awami* collocations see Endnote 17.

Sridhar and Sridhar (1989:76) have pointed out that the use of lexis from the mother tongue is an attempt by the language user (speaker/writer) to 'achieve a variety of communicative goals, such as conveying emphasis, verisimilitude, role-playing, technical and sociocultural authenticity . . .' and is the norm in bilingual/multilingual speech settings. As we have seen from the above data, the use of such lexis abounds in journalistic English-language writing in Pakistan. Platt *et al.* (1984:88) furthermore state that 'The true loan words in the New Englishes would be those which were used or recognized by most of the speakers as belonging to "their variety of English".' This idea is summed up very well by journalist Adil Najam of *The Muslim*:

43. For the last hour and a half I have been searching, in vain, for an appropriate English word for "Bhutta" (not to be confused with our honourable Prime Minister's surname, or even with the name

of Field Marshal Ayub Khan's most famous Agriculture Minister). Referred to by some as "Challi" and by others as "Sitta", the "Bhutta" is an institution in its own rights in this part of the country. The best English alternative for this word that I have found till now is "Corn on the Cob" which does have a nice clichéistic ring to it but which does not even come near the phonetic beauty of words like "Bhutta", "Sitta" or "Challi". This word-bias may well be entirely my own creation with no basis in the word-n-sound logics of William Safire, but as far as I am concerned this diary piece is about the "Challi", the "Bhutta" and the "Sitta" and NOT about Corn on the cob (M 3 September 1989).

In our study of the Urduization of English in Pakistan, we have also noted various ways in which local lexis is borrowed into English. Kachru (1983b:154-5) has observed that when borrowed into Indian English, often only one meaning of a term is borrowed, whereas in the source language the borrowed item may have numerous other meanings. His discussion of this phenomenon focuses on the lexical item *pardah* (a system of screening women from strangers by means of a veil or curtain), which is borrowed into Indian and Pakistani English, according to Kachru, only in hybrid collocations like *pardah* system, whereas in Hindi and Urdu, the word *pardah* has various other meanings, e.g. *curtain*, *drapes*, *layer*, *screen*, *wall*, etc. Consider, for instance, the following five occurrences of *pardah* in Pakistani English where the term, as Kachru noted, refers exclusively to the Islamic system of *pardah*:

- 44a. I may be a devout believer of the *pardah* system but there is little I can do to prevent my wife and my daughter from seeing men on the T.V. every evening (WP 5 April 1991).
- b. When asked why they never arranged an exhibition at commercial level she said that as the women of their family observe *pardah* they could not organise fashion shows/exhibitions at commercial level (FP/L 27 June 1991).
- c. The Chief Minister has also directed the authorities to investigate into the alleged commando action by Naulakha Police in connivance with some armed *goondas* against *pardah*-observing ladies (N 28 June 1991).
- d. Just as *parda nashin* [from Persian meaning 'those who sit behind veils'] ladies hide their faces behind tinted glasses to avoid wear-

ing *naquabs* [veils] so do terrorists take cover behind tinted glasses instead of wearing masks (N 25 June 1990)—letter to the editor.

- e. The presentation of a “Purdah Bill” in the NWFP Assembly . . . has come from members of the Jamaat-i-Islami—who else! Women have expressed surprise and regret at this new move to try and suppress the female half of the population. Even the more conservative ladies rebel at the idea of wearing a *burqa*, which is what the JI’s notion of the word *purdah* is (M 16 June 1991). [A *burqa* is a one- or two-piece total cover.]

Consider also, however, the following occurrences of *purdah*, the first meaning ‘curtain’ and the second ‘curtains/drapes’:

- f. By far the most ‘authentic’ and juiciest tale relates to the arrival “after nightfall” in an “unmarked limousine, its *purdah* drawn” of a “short, pudgy figure wearing *shalwar kameez* . . .” (N 10 June 1991).
- g. 1st Anniversary Sale at RANA VELVET FURNISHING. Curtain Stitching Free. 25% Discount on Parda Cloth (PT 28 November 1990)—advertisement.

Other loans, like *chaddar*, *mazar*, *maulvi*, *chittar*, *noora kushti*, and *parchi*, are also used in a variety of contexts in Pakistani English in both their literal as well as figurative senses. Thus, whereas *chaddar*, which literally means ‘cover’, in (45a) below means either a piece of cloth embellished with religious verses or a floral cover made of strings of flowers which is put on the grave of a Sufi saint, in (45b) it refers to a head covering worn by females when entering a mosque:

- 45a. The Punjab Chief Minister, Mr. Nawaz Sharif will inaugurate the 942nd Urs of the Saint laying a *chaddar* on the Mazar after Isha [evening] Prayer (PT 11 October 1986).
- b. People were pleased to see pictures of the princess [Diana] visiting Badshahi Mosque where she was met by the Imam Sahib in all his regalia and formally covered by a *chaddar* by the Imam himself so that she could enter the mosque modestly dressed (NS/L 27 September 1991)—editorial.

In yet another context *chaddar* can collocate with *chardevari* (four walls) as in the phrase *chaddar aur chardevari* (*aur*=and) and refers



to the concept of the sanctity of women's honour as laid down by Islam. In the following four examples, however, *chaddar* has other meanings: (1) 'Dacoits, whose faces were covered with Chaddars, armed with automatic weapons, broke into the bungalow by scaling the walls . . . ' (D 21 February 1988); here the word refers to a shawl-like cloth worn by both men and women in Pakistan; (2) 'If the material with which the *chadar* of the stove is made is strong enough, it will withstand the pressure . . . ' (D Magazine 10 May 1991); in this example *chadar* refers to the metal cover of a stove; (3) 'The common violation of the essence of this law is by not having tinted glasses but by covering all the windows of a vehicle with curtains, or *chadar* (M 29 June 1991); and (4) 'Spread a 'chadar' and start enjoying the cool, breezy afternoon while sipping a hot cup of coffee from the thermo-flask . . . ' (M 13 October 1991); in this context *chadar* is a 'sheet' used for picnicking.

*Mazar* in examples (1b), (24c), (32a), and (45a) above refers to the shrine of a saint, whereas in the following context it means 'mausoleum': 'Before the Working Committee's two-day session was resumed, the members led by the PML [Pakistan Muslim League] President, Mr Junejo, visited the Mazar of the Quaid-i-Azam ['the Great Leader', Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Founder of Pakistan] and offered Fateha.' In Urdu the term *maulvi*, a person learned in Islamic theology, may be a term of address/reference, an occupation, or a descriptive label, with positive or negative connotations. All of these meanings are in use in Pakistani English as can be seen from the examples below:

- 46a. Maulvi Saeed is a raconteur and easily dominated a conversation (FP/L 25 August 1989).
- b. Mr Lodhi . . . informed us that the speech would of course be preceded by a maulvi doing qirat [recitation of the Holy Quran] (S 9 June 1988).
- c. He's a real maulvi (S 23 June 1988).

The Punjabi word *chittar* literally means an old, discarded piece of footwear. It is often used in Punjabi villages to whip a person, not only to punish him physically, but also to shame him, since *chittars* are also sometimes hung around the neck of offenders as a form of disgrace. *Chittar* has extended meanings as well—in (47a) below it is used to describe a strop-like instrument made of leather or rubber used

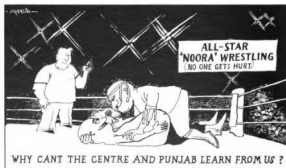


by police to whip criminals (see also [49] below), whereas in (47b) it refers to a piece of hashish, since this substance is often sold in a slab which resembles the shape of the sole of a *chittar*:

- 47a. . . . the area police . . . brought 18 handcuffed accused and announced that they would be punished publicly with 'chhitters' (18 inches by 6 inches of oil soaked leather with a grip) (D/L 14 July 1990).
- b. A local pedlar, who was making Rs 50 from selling one kilo (normally called a *chittar*) of *charas* suddenly found himself making over Rs 600 from selling the same quantity of heroin (TFT 25–31 January 1990).

The Punjabi term *noora kushti*, from the name of a group of Lahori wrestlers famous for such matches, means a fixed wrestling match:

- c. Sports lovers have at least been spared the agony of watching "noora kushti" in the garb of wrestling champions; surprisingly no one objected to the obscene wrestling bouts for years when third rate films were being telecast (WP 29 June 1990).
- d.



*The Nation*, Lahore, 26 June 1989

An extended meaning of the phrase, however, refers to anything that has been set up or fixed:

- e. In the opinion of Mr. Wahabul Khairi, whatever is really happening in the RMC [Rawalpindi Municipal Corporation] is nothing but a fixed match.

ing more than a “Noora Kushti” and the councillors of both the sides are allegedly busy making money (M 28 May 1987).

- f. An eminent leader of the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad and Provincial Minister for Revenue, Colonies and Relief, Mr Arshad Lodhi has described the arrest of Haji Mirza Iqbal Baig in the narcotic smuggling chain as a “noora kushti” between the Federal Government agencies and the accused (FP/L 28 July 1989).
- g. Is it a policy to kill Pakistani languages and our culture? For Urdu, the main danger is the Punjabi language, a language of the majority in Pakistan. The fight between English and Urdu is a clear cut *noora kushti*, because both are alien languages through which alien cultures are being infused among the masses of Pakistan (N 13 September 1991)—letter to the editor.

Qureshi (1989:153) translates *parchi* as ‘a slip of paper’, a meaning of the word illustrated in the following example:

- 48a. Porno-movie watching trend is on the rise, claimed most of the VSOs [video shop owners]. Such movies are more popular among fresh college kids or people between the age of 30 and 50 years. Some VSOs claimed that this trend is more pronounced among the elderly, retired types. Women are no exception to this obsession. They get the stuff by sending a *parchee* asking for a “good movie” through a driver, kids or servants (FP/L 24 August 1991).

The word can also mean a ‘registration slip’ as in the following example:

- b. In a meeting chaired by Abdul Qayyum, they accused that overcharging for the medicines other than the fixed Re [*rupee*] one *parchi* fee had been a common feature these days . . . (N 15 September 1991).

In the next two examples, however, *parchi*, while retaining the meaning of a slip of paper, takes on the additional meaning of ‘influence’:

- c. During one of my visits to the [telephone] exchange, overhearing the ‘complaint staff’s conversation, I discovered, they have two separate lists of telephone numbers in the complaints office; one for the important and favoured subscribers and the other for ordinary citizens, without a *parchi* (FP/L 26 September 1991)—letter to the editor.

d.



*The Frontier Post*, Lahore, 17 May 1990

The semantic range of some lexical items, on the other hand, is limited to only one meaning of the borrowed word. *Chai pani*—a compound literally meaning ‘tea or water’—is an informal expression used when offering someone something to drink, but can also mean a bribe:

49. These repercussions are reported in the Press under such terms as ‘chai pani’, ‘Eidi’,<sup>18</sup> physical torture, ‘chhatrol’ (beating with shoes), volley of abuses, stripping naked . . . (N 14 September 1989).

Urdu *chamcha* and Punjabi *karchha* (Bokhari 1989:1145) literally mean ‘spoon’ and ‘ladle’, respectively, but both terms also mean ‘sycophant’ as can be seen in the following examples from religious as well as general contexts:

- 50a. . . . in the history of Islam, no genuine Shariat-giver has ever served a caliph. The place of a true ‘ijtehadī’ has been in detention or behind bars. They have been persecuted. Only ‘chamcha’ mullahs and muftis have become tools of the caliphs (FP/L 27 August 1990). [An *ijtehadī* is a person authorized to make judgments concerning those questions which are not specifically answered by the Quran or Sunnah, the spoken and acted examples of the Holy Prophet (Glassé 1989:182); a *mufti* is a legal expert empowered to give rulings on religious matters.]

- b. The discourse called to mind other 'chamcha' discussions extolling Ms Bhutto when she made cuts in the federal secretariat expenditure (FP/L 24 December 1990)—editorial.
- c. They are nothing but . . . 'Chamchas', lackeys of social imperialism (FP/P 4 June 1986)—letter to the editor.
- d.



*The Nation*, Lahore, 29 April 1989

(Note also the object which contains the *parchi* in [48d] above.) Urdu borrowings such as *chai pani*, *chamcha*, and Punjabi *karchha* are examples of Kachru's 'lexical restriction' (Kachru 1983b:154–5). In Pakistani English they would rarely be used to signify their denotative meanings; for this purpose the words 'refreshment', 'spoon', and 'ladle' would be used.

Finally, we have found it to be the case that whole sets of Urdu synonyms are borrowed into English. There are at least four words in Urdu, for example, for the Pakistani English word *sweeper* (street sweeper, custodian, janitor)—*khakroob*, *jamadar*, *bhangi*, and *jha-rookash* (literally 'broom pusher')—all of which occur with relative frequency in the English-language press:

- 51a. He also urged upon the government to regularise the services of *Malis* [gardeners] and *Khakroobs* working on part-time basis so far (M 16 August 1991).
- b. I have no intention whatsoever of condemning or criticising the entire servant-cum-jamadar fraternity (M 2 October 1989)—letter to the editor.



- c. The streets and roads in Saddar were swept daily and washed at least once every week. The open drains were treated with lime after the *Bhishtis* [water carrier] and *Jamadarnis* had removed all the rubbish (PT 21 July 1990). [A *jamadarni* is a sweeperess.]
- d. "Once I protested against the behaviour of a deputy superintendent," revealed another condemned prisoner, "First of all a few lumberdars<sup>19</sup> beat me up severely. Then they called the *bhangis* to sodomise me" (WE 3 May 1991).
- e. A large number of sweepers and labourers belonging to "Jharoo-kash Mazdoor Union" (sweepers labour union) on Tuesday staged a protest demonstration outside the mayor's office at Jinnah Hall against harsh attitude of the councillors (FP/L 5 February 1992).

Another such lexical set is *hundi*, *hawala*, and Punjabi *chamak*, meaning 'a monetary remittance through unofficial, informal channels':

- 52a. According to estimates, Rs 12 billion dollars are sent out of the country through 'hundis' every month whereas Rs 10 million are transferred to the UAE on a daily basis (FP/L 2 January 1990).
- b. He also purchased a house worth Rs. 65 lakhs in Chicago for his relatives and was also involved in Hundi of Rs. 260 million (NS/L 27 August 1991).
- c. Many of Birmingham's Asian drug dealers have family connections with remote villages in north-west Pakistan and their transactions are carried out by word of trust—using Hawala banking (FP/L 17 July 1991).
- d. Difference between the bank and black market rate of dollar kept climbing to settle around Rs 26 to a dollar on Thursday. News of a large number of fake dollar notes also helped increase in the dollar rates. Hawala rates also registered increase during the week (N Business Week 8 June 1991).
- e. These dealers have their own contacts abroad also and their own setup to bring in the gold. "Chamak" (a term used for 'Hundi') facilities in crores of rupees are also available to the trusted few (WP 8 September 1989).

The word for 'water carrier' in Urdu is *beheshti* (51c), *mashqi*, *pani-wala* (7d) or *saqqa*, and all four variants, like those of the two lexical sets discussed above, are used in Urdu as well as in Pakistani English.

## IV. Grammatical Aspects of Borrowing

In the previous section of the paper, we discussed some semantic aspects of borrowing, e.g. how Urdu lexis is used in English in order to fill lexical gaps as well as to convey shades of meaning unfamiliar in English, and how either one or more meanings of an Urdu lexical item can be borrowed into English. In this section of the paper we shall concentrate on the grammatical aspect of borrowing and demonstrate through examples in context how lexical transfer is frequently accompanied by structural changes in which Urdu borrowings undergo a morphological restructuring according to the grammatical rules of the recipient language. Morphological features of the source language can also be borrowed along with a lexical item; we shall thus show how the notions of Arabic, Persian, and Urdu number and gender are often retained in Urdu borrowings in English.

For noun plurals we have noted the following patterns, the most common of which is for an Urdu singular noun used in English to take the English plural inflectional morpheme *-(e)s*:

- 53a. The situation is no better in the feudal backwaters of Sindh and Punjab and NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] where big jagirdars [landholders] heartlessly oppress poor people living on their land . . . (PT 1 September 1989)—editorial.
- b. The principle of compensation, however, must be invoked in the case of the poor, who though guilty of encroachment, were in many cases only eking out a meagre—and honest—living from their *Rehris* [handcarts] and sidewalk *Khokas* [stalls] (M 30 July 1990)—editorial.
- c. Agitational politics, ‘jalsas’ [meetings] and ‘jallooses’ [processions] have become the preoccupation of political party workers in Pakistan (FP/L 15 April 1991)—editorial.
- d. . . . instead of holding annual “Urses,” the people should organise international seminars to highlight the services of saints (D/L 21 July 1989). (See also Plate 8, *aamil*, spell/charm.)

Also note the following example in which the English plural is made the topic of comment by the writer:

- e. The news of the day was the unscheduled *shahi dangal* [big match] between the *patthas* (please excuse this Anglicised pluralization) of two big "Pirs" of Sindh (N 11 October 1991). [A *pattha* is a young person who has a very close relationship with an elder, almost that of a son to a father; the word is often used in the context of wrestling.]

Adjectives which function as nouns also often take the English -s plural:

- f. They want to show off their being 'highly educated'; they don't like to be called 'paindoos' (rustics) by their friends who see them reading Urdu newspapers only (N 30 June 1989).
- g. He said that the Jama'at-i-Islami should delete the word Islami from its name as opposing *mazlooms* was an unIslamic act (N 23 August 1991). (See [20a].)

Orthographically, plurals of words which end in -i, e.g. *rehri* in (53b) above, normally take the -s ending. However, -es is also a variant spelling:

- 54a. He said he spent an hour with the Mulaqaties (visitors) and closely observed the conduct of the jail officials (NS/L 8 May 1991).

The word *kutchery* (district courts), which appears in print normally with a -y singular ending, is generally written in the plural with an -ies ending:

- b. Adviser to CM [Chief Minister] NWFP holds kutchery (N 3 October 1987)—headline.
- c. The PML executive directed the Federal and Provincial Ministers to hold open kutcheries whichever places they visit and try to solve the local problems on the spot (D 31 October 1986).

Islamic lexis; on the other hand, often takes Arabic plurals. Consider, for example, the following 'sound' Arabic plurals ending in -een and -aat:

- 55a. It is said that a *Momin* [a Muslim having complete faith in Allah, sg.] is never bitten from the same hole, yet we voters are [bitten]



repeatedly by the same snake and from the same hole (M 15 September 1991)./Tehrik Nifaz Fiqah-e-Jafaria (TNFJ), Sindh on Friday observed 'protest day' throughout the province to express its indignation and sorrow over the incident of firing on the procession of mourners in Parachinar on the Chehlum [funeral rites on the fortieth day after death] of Hazrat Imam Hussain (AS) in which four 'momeneen' [pl.] were killed (M 8 September 1991). [The *Tehrik Nifaz Fiqah-e-Jafaria* is the Organization for the Enforcement of the Islamic Law of Imam Jafar Sadiq (Shia School).]

- b. For this purpose the recitation of the Takbir [the declaration of Allah's greatness, sg.] 'Allah-o-Akbar' (Allah is Great) has been prescribed for them (S 11 April 1991)./The present-day believers recite these *Takbiraat* [pl.] but their recitation has been confined to letter only (N Midweek 16 April 1991).

Note also the sound plural *mustaheqeen* (pl. of *mustaheq*, a deserving person) in example (30i) above. General lexis can also take the *-aat* plural. Consider the following examples which contain the sound plurals of *kaghaz*, 'paper' (from Arabic/Persian) and *begum*, 'lady' (from Persian):

- c. The coming *Baqra-Eid* [literally 'cow-Eid', i.e. *Eid-ul-Azha*] has made Islamabad police extra-efficient. Mobile squads have been posted all over the city to check the *kaghzat* of automobiles plying on the roads (PO 17 June 1991).
- d. They realise the folly of setting up shop in the 90's on the fourth day of Eid when it is common news that the *begumaat* are smug with the knowledge of capacity-loaded freezers (N Eid Special 23 June 1991).

Note also the following Arabic 'broken' plurals:

- e. He said a person who received punishment could not be termed a "Shaheed" [martyr, sg.] (FP/L 12 July 1990)./Arrangements have also been made for Fateha khawani [recitation of *fateha*] at all military cantonment graveyards for "Shuhada" [pl.] (PT 3 September 1987).
- f. City Hakim [ayurvedic doctor, sg.] claims cure for AIDS (PT 4 October 1986)—headline./In a statement, he said that Ministry of Health has constituted a Council for the registration of 'Hukama' [pl.] (MN 13 January 1991).

- g. According to a *hadith* [traditions relating to the deeds and utterances of the Prophet, sg.] . . . the Messenger of Allah (PBUH) made the charity of the *fitr* [charity given during the month of Ramzan and after prayers on Eid-ul-Fitr] . . . obligatory on every slave and freeman . . . (N 7 May 1989)./Even if the FSC [Federal Shariat Court] bases itself on Holy Quran and upon the *Ahadees* [pl.]-*i-Nabvi* [of the Prophet] . . ., I still object to it (N 13 September 1989).
- h. To a question, Jatoi said he could not comment on the Shari'ah Bill because he was not an "aalim" [Islamic theologian, sg.] (NS/L 16 May 1991)./If we go back to the era of the late Bhutto, we find that the first boost given to the clergy, the so-called "ulema" [pl.] at the state level was by the late Bhutto (FP/L 1 July 1991)—letter to the editor.

The following examples contain both the Arabic singular and plural forms occurring in the same article (the first example [56a] is a sound plural; the remainder are broken plurals):

- 56a. Yet the characteristics of a *saleh* [a pious person, sg.] are still the same. . . . I will keep on searching for the *saleheen* [pl.] and try to save the few that remain from extinction (N 14 May 1991).
- b. Statecraft of a feudal monarchical society should not draw its validity from the Quran. And *Hadith* [sg. (see [55g] above)] has not been collected or compiled until long after the Prophet of Allah (PBUH). Sophists of the new order could play with it, and attribute to Hazrat Mohammad (PBUH) their own thoughts. That is why while some scholars consider a set of *Ahadith* [pl.] as authentic, others say that they are *zaeef* (weak, untrustworthy) (FP/L 8 May 1991).
- c. Majalis [special congregations, pl.] were held here on the eve of the martyrdom of Hazrat Ali (AS) with full religious fervour. The main event tonight was ladies "Majlis" [sg.] held at Mubarak Haveli inside Mochi Gate (NS/L 7 April 1991). [A *haveli* is a large house built around a courtyard.]
- d. The government should fix monthly remuneration immediately for a Hafiz [one who has memorized the Koran, sg.] in order to elevate his social status to make him self-supporting . . . The services of Haffaz [pl.] must be recognized at the official level because those individuals cannot do much for themselves (PT 10 April 1991)—letter to the editor.

- e. As a result no school of thought (sect) among Muslims is such that has not been labelled 'kafir' [infidel, sg.] by others. It is as if (God forbid) we all belong to a 'Millat-e-[nation of] Kafiheen' [pl.] rather than 'Muslimeen' (M 20 April 1991)—letter to the editor. [*Muslimeen* is the sound plural of *Muslim*.]

The plurals of Arabic lexis sometimes occur in both sound and broken form:

- 57. This has now been compounded by the imposition of the 'new world order'—a euphemism for the direct control of the lands of Islam by the *kuffar* [infidels] (M 30 June 1991).

English plural forms are also used with Islamic lexis. In the following four pairs of sentences, the Arabic plural occurs in the first example and the English plural in the second:

- 58a. He recalled his memories and narrated problems in the rehabilitation of *Muhajirin* [pl. of *muhajir*, immigrant] when he was serving as Deputy Commissioner, Sahiwal during 1948–50 (N 10 July 1990)./He said that the Muhajirs have no ill-will against any one—Pushtoons, Punjabis or Sindhis—as they want to live in peace . . . (S 11 November 1986).
- b. Imam Baqir-al-Hakim's reported message of solidarity to Saddam, despite 19 *Shaheeds* from his family at Saddam's hands, encourages thinking that the sectarian divide is slowly evaporating (M 1 February 1991)—editorial. (See [55e] above for the Arabic plural form.)
- c. The present-day believers recite these *Takbiraat* [pl. of *takbir*—see (55b)] but their recitation has been confined to letter only (N Midweek 16 April 1991)./It [the *salat-ul-Eid*, 'Eid prayers'] consists of only two *raka* [one set of standing, genuflexion, and prostration in prayers] and contains several more *takbirs* than the ordinary prayer (M 4 July 1990).
- d. While handing over the cheques, the Minister said, the present Government was trying to provide maximum financial assistance to students of Deeni [religious] madaris [pl. of *madrassah*, religious school] to enable them to acquire religious education and thus help promote the cause of Islam (D 14 October 1986)./General Ziaul Haq said that the Muslims established Madrassas only



for imparting religious education to children 50 years ago . . . (PT 8 February 1987).

The English -s plural and the Arabic plural are sometimes used interchangeably within the same article:

- 59a. 1200 maktabas [*maktab*, elementary religious school, sg.] to be converted to primary schools—headline. As many as 1200 masjid [mosque] makatib [pl.] will be converted to primary schools in the province during current fiscal year . . . (NS/L 27 March 1991).
- b. Islam does not allow any sects. The name given to followers of Islam in the Holy Quran is "Muslimeen" . . . [pl. of *Muslim*]. It is therefore imperative that Muslims should consider themselves one Ummah . . . [the Muslim people] (FP/P 12 December 1988)—letter to the editor. (See also [56e].)
- c. The Zakreen [pl. of *zakir*, professional reciters of Shia traditions and verses] in their addresses paid tributes to Shaheed President Zia and Allama Arif Hussain Al Hussaini for offering their lives for the cause of Islam. Sham-e-Ghariban were also held in the evening in which Zakirs and Ulema highlighted the events of Karbala tragedy (PT 26 August 1988). [*sham-e-ghariban* is 'Hapless Travellers' Evening', or the night after Hazrat Imam Hussain and his followers had been killed.]
- d. . . . the political leaders should beware of the *munafiqs* [hypocrites]. . . . The *Munafiqeen* [pl. of *munafiq*] are like the proverbial bat who ran with the hare and hunted the hound (FP/P 12 December 1988)—letter to the editor.
- e. The mujahideen [pl. of *mujahid*, Muslim warrior in defence of faith] have carried out an attack on a major military convoy of Kabul regime in Charh Bolack district, of Mazari Sharif on June 14 . . . . He has conceded the death of two mujahids and injuries to three (FP/P 17 June 1991).

And in the next example the two plurals are used in the same sentence:

- f. Keeping in view the previous year's experience—when about one lakh Pakistani hujjaj [pl. of *haji*, pilgrim] were sent to the holy-land, which led to many problems—the main emphasis this year could be on extending of maximum facilities for a smaller and easily manageable number of hajis (M 25 November 1990).

There are also relatively frequent instances in our data of the use of double plurals, i.e. an Arabic sound or broken plural plus the English plural morpheme -s:

- 60a. We Welcome the Pilgrims (Ziareens) [*za'ir*, sg./*zaireen*, pl.] visiting Pakpattan to attend the Urs of the great Saint, Baba Farid-ud-Din Masood Ganj-e-Shakar (PT 28 July 1990)—notice, Municipal Committee, Pakpattan.
- b. Recently, a speculative news appeared indicating that the *mujahideens* [see (59e)] are planning to attack and capture Kabul (N 16 September 1991).
- c. It is reported that the Holy Prophet used to recite these Takbiraats [see (55b)] with loud voice on this Day (S 11 April 1991).
- d. Bossy bureaucrats, petty politicians, social workers cum *begumaats* [see (55d)] and youngsters in a world of their own compose the population of these corridors of power (MI July 1990).
- e. . . . the President, quoting various 'Ayats' [verse, *ayah*, sg./*ayat*, pl.] from the Holy Quran and Hadith, said Islam did not forbid women from acquiring knowledge . . . (PT 15 November 1987).
- f. Eid prayers were offered at more than 500 places including Eid-gahs, open grounds, parks and masajids [mosque, *masjid*, sg./*masajid*, pl.] (PT 7 July 1990). [An *eidgah* is a special place where *Eid* prayers are offered.]

And finally, the Arabic dual number (-*ain/-ayn*) is also used with certain nouns:

- 61a. The most important feature of the two Eid festivals (Eidayn) is the festival of public prayers (N 7 May 1989). [The *Eidayn* are *Eid-ul-Azha* and *Eid-ul-Fitr*.]
- b. He concluded his 20-minute address by calling on the Hujjaj to prayers during their stay in the Harmain Sharifain [the holy cities of Mecca and Medina] (D 14 July 1987).
- c. The procession passing through its traditional route reached Clock Tower Chowk at 1.30 pm where "Zuhraïn" prayers were offered [a combination of zohr (noon) and asr (afternoon) prayers] (FP/L 25 July 1991).

Arabic nouns are inflected for gender, a feature also often present in the inflectional morphology of Urdu words of Arabic origin borrowed into Pakistani English. In the following examples, *nazima* is the feminine Arabic form of masculine *nazim*, or 'administrator', *qaria* is the feminine of the masculine noun *qari*, 'reciter of the Holy Quran', and *momina* is the feminine of *momin*, a Muslim having complete faith in Allah (see also [55a]):

- 62a. The central nazima of the Anjuman [organization], Rizwana Latif, said that despite taking a policy decision and constituting a commission for the establishment of the first women's university, no further step had so far been taken by the authorities towards completion of the project (FP/L 17 July 1991).
- b. In Pakistan there have been quite a few Qaris of exceptional merit but only a couple of Qaris of that caliber. Qaria Rubina of Lahore, the winner of first prize in three international Qirat competitions held at Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, can easily be said to head the list (PT 5 September 1989).
- c. The ever most Godfearing momina of Pakistan whom no one can claim they knew by face as she never let that portion of her phenotype be seen, is dead. She became known as Ms Nisar Fatima or to the truly fraternal of us, as Apa Nisar Fatima (WP 4 October 1991).

The masculine plural form includes both masculine and feminine gender, as illustrated (and noted by the writer) in the following example in which plural *qurra* (Anglicized as *qaris* in [62b] above) means both *qari* and *qaria* and plural *huffaz* both masculine *hafiz* (see [56d]) and feminine *hafiza*:

- 63. About 50 young 'Qurra' and 'Huffaz' (both male and female) from all over the country will participate in this competition (D/L 12 May 1991).

Persian inflectional morphology can also be found among Urdu borrowings in Pakistani English. The following examples contain instances of the Persian noun plural suffixes *-an* and *-ha*<sup>20</sup>:

- 64a. Various social organisations have made arrangements for 'sabeels' [improvised wayside stalls] to entertain 'azadaran' [aza-



*dar*, sg., mourner] with cold drinking water and juices (FP/L 23 July 1991).

- b. There has been hectic electioneering from both sides but they could not spark off as much enthusiasm for this by-election as could be expected from the original *zindadilan* [*zindadil*, sg., a cheerful person] of Lahore, the Walled City residents (N 28 January 1989). [The residents of Lahore are known as *zindadilan* (literally *zinda*- 'living/gay' *dil* 'heart') because of their cheerful, friendly nature.]
- c. The stockists have proved themselves to be anti-religion and anti-human as the proceeds from the skins are mostly used for religious purposes in *madressah* [*madrassah*, sg., religious school] and medical facilities provided to the needy (MAG 18–24 July 1991).

The *-an* plural is also frequently used in the names of organizations (*anjuman*), such as Anjuman-e-Arhatian (*arhati*, sg., broker) (FP/L 30 August 1991); Anjuman-i-Tahafuz-i-Haqooq-i-Dokandaran (*dokandar*, sg., shopkeeper—Organization for the Protection of the Rights of Shopkeepers) (FP/L 23 July 1991); Anjuman 'Patwarian' Punjab (*patwari*, sg., low-grade revenue official) (M 22 June 1989); Anjuman-e-Tohafuz-e-Hakook Shehrian Gujrat (*shehri*, sg., resident—Organization for the Protection of the Rights of the Residents of Gujrat) (FP/L 18 June 1990); Anjuman Tajiran-e-Anarkali (*tajir*, sg., trader; Anarkali is a famous shopping area in Lahore) (N 25 September 1991); and Anjuman-e-Zargran (*zargar*, sg., goldsmith) (N 7 October 1991). These Persian plurals, like the Arabic plurals discussed above, are also used interchangeably with Anglicized plurals:

- 65a. KILLING of innocent 'Azadars' [see (64a) above] during Muharram were [*sic*] condemned by the Central President of Imamia Students Organization, Pakistan (NS/L 23 July 1991).
- b. Anjuman Patwarian, District Lahore, has appealed to the government to make provisions in the coming budget for the grant of Basic Scale 8 to *patwaris* (N 9 May 1991).

Note also the following Persian/English double plural:

- c. The Punjab Government should give status of district to tehsil Liaquatpur and tehsil Hasilpur said Hafiz Ahmad Bux Sial, the

president of Anjuman Lumberdarans (Regd), tehsil Liaquatpur while talking to this correspondent (FP/L 23 July 1991). [*lumberdar*, sg., village headman + Persian plural *-an* + English plural *-s*]

Urdu noun compounds borrowed into English frequently contain the Persian *ezafe* (*-e-* or *-i-*) construction (meaning 'of') or the Persian co-ordinating conjunction *-o-* ('and'), while the Arabic article *-ul-* ('of') often serves as a compound enclitic between two nouns:

- 66a. At such a juncture, he added, the Muslim nation should seek guidance from the teachings of *Aulia-e-Karam*, the blessed people of God (FP/P 11 October 1986). [*aulia-e-karam* means the saints or holy men (*aulia*) who are beacons of light (*karam*).]
- b. Consummate actress Vanessa Redgrave had organized a show in London in which artists from 30 countries performed. And our very own Malka-e-Tarranum [Melody (*Tarranum*) Queen (*Malka*), Madam Noor Jahan] was requested to participate which she graciously did (Y 18 August 1991).
- c. As Hajj-i-Qiran was performed by the Holy Prophet (PBUH) himself hence it is accepted as the best type of Hajj in Islam (FP/L 12 July 1989). [*hajj-i-qiran* is a type of *hajj* in which *hajj* and *umra* (off-season pilgrimage to Mecca) are performed together.]
- d. Hamd-o-Naat contest held (NS/L 11 May 1991)—headline. [*hamd* is praise of Allah; *naat* is praise of the Holy Prophet.]
- e. The advent of *Sharia* [Islamic law], with so much fanfare, should have heralded an era of *Adl-o-Ahsan* for the masses and not more punitive laws which are being enacted thoughtlessly with so much haste (D/L 10 September 1991)—letter to the editor. [*adl* is 'justice', and *ahsan* is 'kindness'.]
- f. Dar-ul-Kafalat set up in City (PT 28 June 1989)—headline. [*Dar-ul-Kafalat* is literally 'house (*dar*) of support (*Kafalat*)'; it is an organization which aids people with no source of income.]
- g. Furthermore, similar training arrangements have also been made for Khuddam-ul-Hujjaj to enable them to understand entirely the imperatives of their unique duty to serve the Hajjis (BT 14 July

1987). [*khuddam*- (pl. of *khadim*, servant) *ul-Hujjaj* are appointed to advise and instruct pilgrims.]

The final example contains both the Persian *-e-* as well as the Arabic *-ul-* patterns in the same sentence:

- h. Another remarkable feature of the new policy is the replacement of *Rahbar-e-Hujjaj* with *Khuddam-ul-Hujjaj* (BT 14 July 1987). [*rahbar*, guide]

For further examples of these patterns see (21b), (21e), and (21j) above.

Urdu notions of gender and number also manifest themselves in borrowings in Pakistani English. In example (67a) below, the masculine noun *chhura* means a dagger or large knife, whereas in (67b) feminine *chhuri* is a table knife or small knife:

- 67a. The Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Shikarpur, has under Section 144 Cr. PC prohibited the carrying of fire arms, swords, spears, *kir-pans* [curved daggers], *chhuras*, *lathis*, hatchets and such other things which are capable of being used as weapons in any public place in the Sub-Division (N 24 July 1988).
- b. The accused attacked them with a *chhurri* saying that he was taking revenge because their father had married his mother secretly (D 5 October 1987).

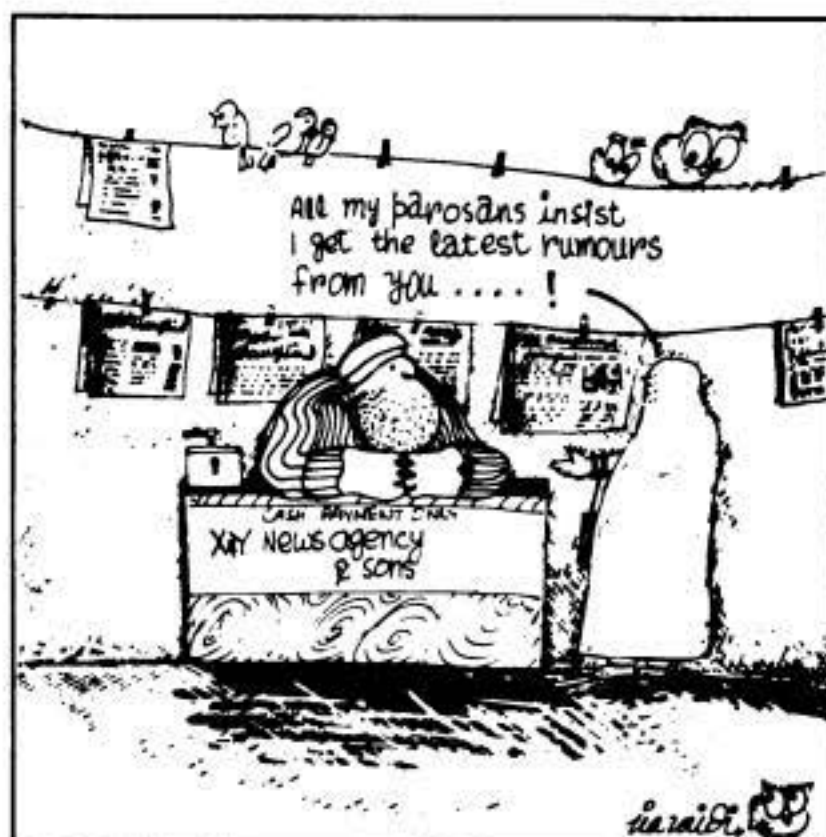
As mentioned earlier in the presentation of data in Section Two, the feminine form of the morpheme *-wallah* is *-walli*. Consider the following two examples, the second a hybrid:

- c. As soon as the *churiwali* entered a home all young girls would surround her, delving into her basket. Then the *churiwali* would slip the selected bangles [*churi*] on the wrists of the wearer (NT August 1991).
- d. But Hamza stood up to talk against the "Sugarwali"—hinting at the Sakrand Sugar Mills alleged to be owned by Benazir Bhutto's in-laws (N/I 17 June 1991).

The masculine form of 'neighbour' in Urdu is *parosi*; in the following example the feminine form *parosan* is used:



e.



*The News, Lahore, 4 July 1991*

Finally, from the category *descriptive labels for people*, consider the following examples of the borrowing of gender:

- f. Not content with the flowery abuses that they hurl at each other in the chambers, the MPAs unleashed all those nice words and phrases which are neither formally taught in schools nor normally heard in homes. Police was called 'gashti' (prostitute) and 'kutti' (bitch) with the greatest gusto their ample vocal chords could muster. The feminine version of the abuses could be attributed to the chauvinism of the MPAs (FP/L 22 June 1991).
- g. Similarly sanitary municipal workers are being exploited by increasing the burden of their work and are also humiliated by calling abusive names like 'choora' etc. (FP/L 15 April 1991).
- h. Other actors were equally good. Madiha Gauhar as the 'choori' draws a lot of titters but one sits there wondering whether her character was really needed in the play (WP 1 September 1989).

Punjabi *choorha* (masculine) and *choorhi* (feminine) are derogatory terms for 'sweeper/sweeperess'. (See also Urdu *jamadar* [51b] and *jamadarni* [51c] above.)

The most common plural ending for borrowed Urdu nouns in English is the -s morpheme, as has been discussed and exemplified in

numerous examples thus far cited. Example (68a) below contains the English plural of *paratha* and (68b) those of *ghazal* (love song), *geet*, and *raag* (a pattern of notes in music):

- 68a. Or perhaps members fresh from breakfast were feeling full of beans (or eggs or *parathas* or cornflakes) and were combative, while in the evening with thoughts more on dinner than dustups, they were readier to let things pass (N 19 June 1989). [A *paratha* is a fried *chapatti* sometimes containing minced meat and/or vegetables (radish, potato, turnip).]
- b. As part of the 'social purification' that Shariat Law is supposed to achieve, Radio Pakistan has reportedly decided to ban about a hundred ghazals, geets, and rags (FP/L 27 June 1991)—editorial.

Like Arabic and Persian plurals, however, Urdu plurals are also often borrowed directly into English. In accordance with Urdu's grammatical gender, all nouns are either masculine or feminine. Type 1 masculine nouns take a zero plural (Barker, Hamdani, Dihlavi, and Rahman 1975:43); in Type 2 nouns the singular ending [a] becomes [e] (orthographically *a* becomes *ay* or *ey*). In example (69a) below *geet* is the Type 1 masculine zero plural of *geet* (song/lyrics), and *naghmay* is the Type 2 masculine plural of singular *naghma* (song):

- 69a. So when realisation dawned on her, she jumped into crooning light music i.e. *geet* and *naghmay* (MAG 8–14 August 1991).

Example (69b) contains the plurals of Type 2 masculine nouns *paratha*, *samosa*, and *pakora*, very popular foods in Pakistan, while (69c) contains both the singular and plural of the Type 2 masculine noun *mushaira*, a gathering at which Urdu poets recite their verse in turn:

- b. The much increased intake of oil-drenched *parathay*, *samosay* and *pakoray* also played havoc with the digestive system (M 28 April 1991). [A *samosa* is a deep-fried triangular pastry containing meat and/or vegetables, and a *pakora* is deep-fried gram-flour batter, sometimes containing potatoes or other vegetables.]
- c. According to a friend who is a cynic, the institution of *Mushaira* has been, to some extent, responsible for the deterioration of quality in Urdu poetry. What he means is that in our *Mushairay* only

such verses are usually read which evoke instant response from the audience (MAG 25–31 July 1991).

Type 1 feminine nouns end in any sound except [i] and take the plural morpheme [ē] (orthographically *-en*); type 2 feminine nouns end in [i] and take [ā] (orthographically *-an*) as a plural (Barker *et al.* 1975:74). In example (25b) in Section Two, both *maa'en* (mothers) and *bahnen* (sisters) are Type 1 feminine plurals of *maa*, sg., and *bahn*, sg., respectively; *betiyan* is the Type 2 feminine plural of *beti* (daughter). In the following example, *jootian* is the plural of the Type 2 feminine noun *jooti* (shoe):

- d. If it was upto [*sic*] me Rathore would receive so many *jootian* that the decision would be made automatically (FP/L 14 July 1991)—letter to the editor. [*jootian* here implies a 'shoe-beating' (Qureshi 1989:236–7), a form of humiliation in Pakistani culture (cf. Punjabi *chittar* [47a] and *chhatrol* [49] above).]

Double plurals also sometimes occur, as can be seen in the Type 2 masculine noun *daana* (kernel of corn, or any other grain, sg., *daaney*, pl.) in the following example:

70. "Sir, you know Sarwar (the Bhuttawala) is very cheatitive [*sic*]. He gives us bhuttas with *sakht daaney* (hard kernels) and gives the teachers *naram daaney* [soft kernels]. This is not fair. Do you think it is good to eat *sakht daaneys*?" (D Magazine 1 December 1989).

Urdu adjectives borrowed into English are also inflected according to the gender of the noun they are in construction with. In example (70) above the adjective *sakht* (hard) has a zero-morpheme ending in construction with the masculine plural noun *daaney* (kernels). In example (8b) in Section Two, the feminine form of the adjective *katchi* is used in construction with the feminine noun *abadi*, and in the collocation *pucca house* in the same example the adjective *pucca* is masculine because 'house' in Urdu, *ghar*, is masculine. In the following example, however, *pucci* is feminine since it is in construction with the feminine noun *abadi*:

- 71a. SINCE new housing policy is reported to be on the anvil, I may be allowed to stress that it cannot be comprehensive and complete



so long as it does not take into account the imperative need of regularising “pucci abadis” without any cost to the public exchequer, unlike “kutchi abadis” (D/L 10 April 1991)—letter to the editor.

In the next example, the writer takes exception to the use of the masculine form *gora* in (8g) in Section Two. In that example, the reader may recall, the adjective *gora* (light-skinned) functions as a noun:

- b. Faisal Bari’s review of Christina Lamb’s “*Waiting for Allah*” (dated 20th September, 1991) made interesting reading. I would like to revise a few points with reference to this article. First of all, the title has a serious gender misspecification. It should have been ‘Another *gori* telling us what we are’ (N 8 October 1991)—letter to the editor.

And in the final example, *goray*, the plural of nominal form *gora*, is used with the English plural suffix -s in a double plural:

- c. “Our people are different from the *gorays*. If *gorays* lose 200 pounds they would be knocking on people’s doors” (N 21 July 1991).

We have seen in this section numerous examples of how Urdu borrowings undergo the morphological rules of English as well as how Arabic, Persian, and Urdu grammatical elements are often retained in borrowed words in Pakistani English.

## V. Lexical Integration

In this section of the paper we discuss some of the ways in which Urdu borrowings are ‘integrated’ into English. Pakistani journalists writing in English, for example, often indicate the degree of integration of a particular Urdu lexical item through the use or non-use of certain graphic conventions. As mentioned in Endnote 2, some of the conventions used to write Urdu lexis in Pakistani English dailies include italics, single or double quotation marks, capital or bold lettering, and underlining (rarely); most of these conventions have been illustrated in previously cited examples. Often no special graphic

convention is used at all; this applies as a general rule to 'stabilized' lexis (see Platt *et al.* 1984:88–9) which occurs frequently in print and which is considered by speakers of Pakistani English to be more 'integrated' into English. Otherwise, some indication is made, either graphic or contextual (see following discussion), that a word is borrowed. Consider the following three examples:

- 72a. The result is that in most of our big cities a few live in luxurious houses comparable to the best villas of the rich in the West, whereas a majority of the people live in hovels, *jhuggis*, *katchi abadis* or in one or two-room houses lacking the basic amenities (FP/P 24 June 1989)—editorial.
- b. They alleged that the funding of Shia *madressahs* and campaigns was being done through the collection of *khums*—a wealth tax by which a fifth of one's savings had to be given to charity (H August 1991).
- c. The residents of the sector have little need to venture outside their own little Afghan enclave. Apart from the weekly *Itwar* bazar where everything is available . . . it is a home away from home (NL June 1990).

In example (72a) the word *jhuggi* (huts made of straw, cloth, cardboard, etc.) is italicized; *katchi abadi* (squatter settlements), on the other hand, is not, since it is a word which occurs with great frequency in English journalism in Pakistan. Example (72b) contains two Urdu words of Arabic origin, *madressah* (religious school) and *khums*. The former is not italicized as it is another word which is encountered frequently in English writing in Pakistan; the latter, on the other hand, is rarely found and its 'foreignness' is therefore indicated by italics. In (72c) the first word in the noun compound '*Itwar* bazar' (Sunday market) is italicized because it occurs less frequently in writing than *bazar*. (Consider also example [74d] below, in which *mal-i-ghanimat* [booty] is italicized, but the more familiar *Bait-ul-Mal* and *Zakat* are not.) Graphics are used by writers in this way to indicate the degree of a word's 'integration' into English. We speak here only of general trends, however, as it is sometimes possible to find even a commonly used word like *katchi abadi* not only written in italics, but also glossed.

Other methods writers use to introduce 'unfamiliar' lexis into their writing are glossing, appositives, and annotation. A gloss is normally a one-word translation of the term in English, although phrases and sentences are also used, as can be seen from the examples below:

- 73a. "I am tired of burchhi (spear), chhura (dagger) and gandasa (chopper), for God sake give me characters free from these things in films" cried out Sultan Rahi, a famous Punjabi films hero while talking to PPI [Pakistan Press International] (PT 8 November 1986).
- b. Perhaps she was approached by the dalal (pimp) who is usually Bengali, although some Biharis are also in the business, and she agreed to come to Pakistan with him on being promised a good job or a good marriage (S 23 June 1988).
- c. Federal Minister for Culture Sheikh Rashid Ahmed has invited two singing stars of the world, Michael Jackson and Madonna, to perform in Pakistan. But the religious scholars condemned it and termed it as an act of Shaitaan (devil) (NS/L 11 October 1991).
- d. "We have a special *malishi* (masseur) for the wrestlers and he eats as much as the pehlwans!" says Waseem Tahir, a third cousin of Nasir Bholu, who helps run the akhara [wrestlers' arena] (NL August 1991).
- e. They kept him in illegal confinement and punished him on not paying the "Kharcha Pani" (bribe) (NS/L 22 September 1991).
- f. As for the other bill that calls for inducting *Salehin* (the pious and unerring gentlemen) and *Muawneen* (assistants) into police service, the less said the better. . . . Police officers should be all too willing to oblige *Muhafezeen* (guardians) and *Muawnin* [*sic*] (assistants) to please the parties in power (NS/L 7 May 1991)—editorial.
- g. We were shown the *kanjars'* [prostitutes'] *tazia* (a *papier mache* replica of Hazrat Ali's mausoleum) which is supposed to be one of the most famed *tazias* in Multan (TFT 10–16 August 1989).
- h. The victims are four women and five children, one of whom is only a year old. The family worked as "patheras" (those who prepare ground for moulds) at the kiln of Haji Mohammad Rafiq,



at Mohammadpura, Tehsil Ferozewala, District Sheikhpura (D/L 28 May 1989).

i.



*The Nation*, Lahore, 7 June 1989

An appositive is a word or phrase, usually set off by commas or dashes, placed beside another so that the second word explains the first. The word *or* or *i.e.* is also sometimes inserted between the two terms in apposition:

- 74a. Nowadays a truck with 50 animals is worth almost one lakh of rupees. *Beopari*, the middlemen, take the risk of bringing trucks to the city (PT Magazine Section 14 July 1989).
- b. The barber, the woodcutter, and the ironsmith—though all skilled—are called “kammiss” or workers here (M Magazine 28 October 1988).
- c. They were thereby liable to the punishment of ‘tazir’—i.e. lashes, monetary fine and rigorous imprisonment (FP/L 9 September 1989).
- d. The Treasury was then designated as Bait-ul-Mal and the State revenue was mainly derived from *mal-i-ghanimat* (booty) and Zakat—a levy in kind on certain goods that the tribal society could offer (PT 28 May 1989). [*Bait-ul-Mal*, literally ‘house of wealth’, is an Islamic welfare fund.]

Annotation, as used here, is the explanation of an Urdu word in a text through a grammatical or discoursal device other than an appositive. In the examples below, we cite the use of a relative clause (75a) and definition (75b and c):

- 75a. The member was also informed about the methods, *modus operandi*, and the people, known here as *patharidars*, who provide shelter to the dacoits (TFT 29 June – 5 July 1989).
- b. Any market that specialises in the banned imported items in Pakistan is now called “bara” (PT Magazine Section 16 December 1988). [The word *bara* comes from the name of a town, Bara, in the North-West Frontier Province where such markets originated.]
- c. *Malh* is a famous traditional cultural game of Sindh and present People’s Government is making all-out efforts for its promotion at the international level (N 26 August 1989).

Pakistani journalists, as we have seen from the above examples in context, use various methods, both graphic as well as contextual, in order to integrate ‘unfamiliar’ Urdu lexis into their English writing.<sup>21</sup> These same methods, in fact, are used by foreign journalists writing about Pakistan, as can be seen from the following excerpts from *The Economist*, *Asiaweek*, and *Newsweek*, in which both glossing and annotation are used:

- 76a. One liberal lawyer reckons that 60% of the women who get charged with *zina* (adultery) are women who complain of rape (*The Economist*, 5 October 1991:26).
- b. The lowest rank [in the Jamaat-i-Islami] is that of *karkun* (worker), who may be of any religious or social background. He carries the messages and performs other minor tasks. Above him is the *rafeek* (comrade), who must be a devout Muslim (*Asiaweek*, 19 April 1991:29).
- c. Under the Raj, tribal bureaucrats known as *lambardars* maintained land records, extracted rural taxes—and often brutally suppressed local unrest (*Newsweek* [Asian Edition], 29 October 1990: 25).

In the three examples from foreign periodicals cited above, the explanation of Urdu terms is essential since the intended readership of these

magazines is not necessarily Pakistani or Urdu-speaking. One question which arises in our minds, then, is why many common Urdu words are glossed in English newspapers in Pakistan.

English publications in Pakistan are presumably written for bilingual, or more often trilingual, readers; as Kachru (1983*d*:335) has pointed out: 'Bilingual and bicultural competence is taken for granted [in South Asian journalistic writing]. The native speaker of English, if unfamiliar with such contextually appropriate mixing, is naturally marked an "outsider".' At least two reasons for glosses occur to us. First, because journalists are writing *in English*, they feel obliged to give an English gloss when using an 'foreign' word in spite of their predominantly multilingual readership—the vast majority of Pakistanis who read English newspapers will also know Urdu. Secondly, it is conceivable that journalists do indeed have either an 'outsider' as audience in mind, or perhaps an 'insider' who is competent in Urdu only up to a point and hence needs 'assistance'. English glosses for common Urdu words otherwise appear to us to be for the most part inessential.

There are, of course, instances where glosses may be necessary. As previously stated, both Pakistani Urdu as well as Pakistani English have borrowed vocabulary from indigenous languages of the country which may not be familiar to all Pakistanis. Note the following glossed examples:

- 77a. However, Noor Mohammad continues to insist that the former MPA runs a *pathari* (a place for concealing stolen goods and harbouring dacoits) (H August 1991).
- b. There are more than 100 kandas (place where scavengers bring their pickings to sell) scattered all over Lahore (NS/L 13 April 1991).
- c. We, the Pakhtoons [Pushto speakers], consider visitors as our guests and have been known all over the world for our love, affection and respect towards *Milmah* (Guests) and take pride in our hospitality (FP/P 26 June 1989).

A trilingual Urdu/Punjabi/English speaker would probably not fully understand (77a) or (77c) without a gloss; *pathari* is Sindhi (Shahani n.d.[b]:125) and *milmah* is Pushto (Bellew 1901/1982:250). Similarly, a trilingual Urdu/Pushto/English or bilingual Urdu/English speaker would not understand (77b); *kanda* (Bokhari 1989:1171) is Punjabi



for a 'large pair of scales' fixed in the ground at octroi posts (*octroi* is duty levied on goods entering a town).

Another area where a gloss may be necessary is in writing about Islam. Since Islamic law comes from Arabic, it is conceivable that all readers may not be familiar with certain Arabic legal terminology. Note the following example:

78. Hanifa says that the crime of *haraaba* (dacoity) should be acknowledged when the incident took place outside the city because *haraaba* is effective outside the locality (FP/L 25 October 1991) —letter to the editor.

*Haraaba*, which means 'robbery' (Patel 1986:220–1), is not found in Ferozuddin (1983:566), Fatehpuri *et al.* (1977–19—) or Sarhindi (1976). Some Pakistani readers, therefore, may need a gloss in this case for comprehension. (Consider also example [37e] above in which *qazf* and *la'an* are glossed, but the more familiar term *zina* is not.)

It is not uncommon in Pakistani journalistic writing in English, furthermore, to find foreign as well as English terms glossed with Urdu words, or for that matter, to find Urdu words glossed or explicated with Urdu. In (79a) below, Urdu is used to gloss foreign lexis, and in (79b) an Urdu appositive is used to explain the Sri Lankan English term *hopper*:

- 79a. He said among the items made in his establishment were *dulla* (an Arab teapot), Russian *samawar* (a sort of *hamaam* for dispensing tea) and 12-sided *aftaba* (*lota*) (PT 1 August 1989).
- b. One most interesting item was 'hopper' or rice *chapatti* being cooked on the spot by a Sri Lankan chef (N Midweek 15 May 1991).

The writers of the above examples obviously feel that the Urdu words *hammam*, *lota*, and *chapatti* are more accurate equivalents of these terms than English 'water heater', 'a water jug with a spout used for ablutions', and 'flat unleavened bread cooked on a *tawa*'.

In the next three examples Urdu glosses (*chaadar*, *kheer*, and *un-dee* [*hundi*]) are used in the explication of a Sindhi term (*ajrak*) and two Urdu terms (*rasawal* and *hawalla*), respectively:

- 80a. The message of Shah Latif is shared with the audience and here *ajraks* (the traditional Sindhi *chaadar*) were presented to the visitors . . . (N 11 November 1987).

- b. I particularly enjoyed *rasawal* which is *kheer* made with rice and sugar cane juice and is eaten very cold, with hot milk and great wads of *balai* (D/L Magazine 6 September 1991). [*kheer* is 'rice pudding' and *balai* 'cream'.]
- c. It is learnt that Zahid Hussain, owner of the shop "Rajput Jewellers" operates his business on hawalla (undee) system, and at the night when his shop was looted, there was more than 35 kg of gold in his shop (PT 17 May 1991).

See also (52e) above in which Urdu *hundi* is used to gloss Punjabi *chamak* (remittance).

In the final set of examples, Urdu lexis is used to explicate English words:

- 81a. In another such incident, Munir Hussain allegedly sprinkled petrol over the house and flour mills (*chakki*) of Alla Ditta in Dijkot due to some old enmity (N 22 August 1990).
- b. After Partition, Kashmiris migrating from the Indian-controlled part of their state to Pakistan thought of setting up handlooms (*khaddis*) but the start was painfully slow because of lack of funds and experienced weavers (V 19 July 1990).
- c. The Civil courts (*Chhoti jaji*) near Civil Secretariat is also facing a building problem (N 31 August 1991).
- d. Cook on low heat until fruit is soft. Let cool. Rub through a plastic sieve (*chhalni*) with large holes to separate seeds and skin (FR 30 June 1989).
- e. Police encounters (*muqabla*) are a common occurrence and are alleged by some quarters to be a convenient method developed by the police to eliminate undesirable elements (PT 9 July 1989)—editorial.
- f. He said there is possibility that the committee did not accede to the KMC's offer because it might have obtained 'advance' or 'pagri' for the shops being constructed and as such the matter may have turned complicated (M 9 January 1990).
- g. Monsoon or *barsaat*, on the other hand, is a blissful relief from three-month-long drought of sweltering skies and blisteringly hot winds (TFT 29 August–4 September 1991).

- h. Platforms, *tharas*, projections jutting out of the building line and other unauthorised structures built invariably with the connivance of the concerned Corporation staff have greatly reduced the natural width of all major and minor roads in the city (PT 16 July 1990)—editorial. [A *thara* is a wooden platform on legs, attached to the front of older Pakistani houses, which served as a gathering place for families and neighbourhood residents.]

Although an English translation for an Urdu term is available, for example 'flour mill' for *chakki* in (81a), the translation is often not an exact semantic equivalent. A 'mill' in English can mean a grist mill (*chakki*) or an industrial complex for grinding flour ('atta mill' or 'flour mill' in Urdu). Because English in Pakistan functions in a multilingual context of use, writers often gloss an English word with a more precise Urdu equivalent in order to convey more exact meanings. The question arises, however, as to why the Urdu word was not used in the first place.

A related matter which repeatedly came to our attention while collecting and researching the corpus of data for this paper is the sizeable amount of Urdu lexis which in fact has already been incorporated into both British and American English. Kachru (1983b:152) has distinguished between 'restricted' and 'non-restricted' borrowings, non-restricted items being those which have been assimilated into the word stock of native English, especially British English, due to its close historical contact with the subcontinent. 'Restricted' items are those which, although they occur with some frequency in a number of registers in South Asian English, especially in journalistic writing, have not as yet been incorporated into the lexicons of non-South Asian varieties of English, although many of them are potential candidates for inclusion. The following non-restricted lexis (both general and religious) which we have cited above in examples in context can be found in *The Random House Dictionary of the English Language* (Flexner 1987): *Allah*; *amir*; *beheshti*; *bhangi*; *burka*; *chaddar*; *chapati*; *charas*; *chillum*; *churra*; *chutney*; *crore*; *curry*; *darvesh*; *dhal*; *dharna*; *hadith*; *hafiz*; *haj*; *haji*; *hakim*; *hartal*; *'id al adha*; *jehad*; *kachcha*; *kafir*; *kebab*; *khaki*; *kirpan*; *kissan*; *lac*; *lathi*; *lota*; *madressah*; *majlis*; *maulvi*; *muhajirin*; *mujahideen*; *munshi*; *Nabi*; *paan*; *paisa*; *parda*; *pir*; *pucca*; *pullao*; *pardah*; *Quran*; *raag*; *Ramazan*; *rupee*; *sardar*; *shahada*; *shaitaan*; *Shariat*; *tahsildar*; *tandoor*; *ta'ziyah*; *thana*; *ulema*; *ummah*; *umra*; *walla* (wallah), *zakat*; *zitr*; and *zila* (see Endnote 22 for a full word list of Urdu lexis



in this dictionary). Iqbal (1987:220) has compiled lists of South Asian non-restricted lexis from the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English* (OALDCE) (Hornby 1974) and the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (LDOCE) (Procter 1978), which he feels would not be necessary to include in a learner's dictionary for Pakistani students (see Endnote 23 for Iqbal's lists). And a computer search of the original 12-volume *Oxford English Dictionary* on CD-ROM indicated approximately 325 words of South Asian origin, many more words, as might be expected, than listed in the three dictionaries mentioned above.

We have noted that many of the words of South Asian origin cited in dictionaries of British and American English are sometimes indicated in English newspapers in Pakistan as 'foreign' through the use of italics (or other devices such as glossing, etc.). Note the following examples of *chowkidar* (guard/watchman) and *ulema* (Islamic scholars):

- 82a. But the *chowkidars* working in the Technical Education Department are getting only a monthly dress allowance and not the washing allowance (FP/L 17 August 1991)—letter to the editor.
- b. He works as their odd-job man-cum-assistant-cum-peon-cum-*chowkidar* (N 27 October 1990). [See also Plate 9—a *fero-khalasi* is an engineer's assistant who processes blueprints, and a *beldar* a gardener's assistant.]
- c. Minister urges *ulema* to help promote morality (N 12 October 1991)—headline
- d. "Several scholars, economists, bankers and *ulema* also appeared and made their submissions, on the request of the court", the verdict said (N 15 November 1991).

In earlier examples (37b) and (38b), *chowkidar* is not italicized, and in (55h) and (59c) *ulema* is not marked as non-English (the double quotes in [55h] indicate doubt, not non-Englishness). *Ulema* appears in both the latest British (Allen 1990:1323) as well as American (Costello 1991:1445) dictionaries. *Chowkidar* (labelled as Anglo-Indian) is found in Simpson and Weiner (1989:III/155) and Gove (1986:400). Both terms have been part of the English language since the seventeenth century.<sup>24</sup> Many educated speakers of British or American English would not, however, be familiar with either of them, since they

belong to rather specialized registers of English; many educated users of Pakistani English are likewise apt to be unaware that these 'non-restricted' lexical items are part of the vast English vocabulary.

*Chowkidar* and *ulema* were borrowed into English during a time when the British ruled a large part of Asia; the English language, however, continues even today to borrow words of Asian origin. With a sizeable Indian and Pakistani community now residing in Britain and to a lesser extent in Australia, Canada, and the United States, lexis of specifically South Asian origin has been attested. For example, Ayto (1989:34,281) has catalogued *bhangra* (a Punjabi dance) and *paneer* (a type of cheese) as recent South Asian borrowings into British English; Allen (1990:1067,426) cites *samosa*<sup>25</sup> and *fatwa*. Barnhart (1986:59) includes *fiqh*, or the Muslim system of laws, in his list of new words in English, and Lemay, Lerner, and Taylor (1988:81) cite the hybrid *shurocracy*. The source for *bhangra* is the *Asian Times* (27 May 1988) and for *fiqh* the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* (30 December 1984).

Finally, some scholars have asserted that although L<sub>1</sub> borrowings do indeed occur in contexts where English is used as a second language, these borrowings in journalistic writings are often restricted to either news items of relatively little importance or news reports from the provinces. Gunesequera (1989), for example, in a comparative study of discourse genres in Indian, Singaporean, and Sri Lankan English newspapers, found that borrowings were rare in both the front page lead story as well as in editorials in the newspapers of these three countries: 'Nonetheless, we [Gunesequera] wish to make the point that we do not necessarily disagree with Kachru's assertion that the new Englishes are *generally* reflected in the national newspapers of South Asia, but only maintain that they are not represented in the two genres we analyzed . . .'. 'Although the inclusion of vocabulary items borrowed from the indigenous languages are few and far between in the genres investigated in this study,' continues Gunesequera (1989:190), 'they are extensively used in genres of a personal nature in newspaper register.' Dubey (1989) reports similar findings for editorials in Indian newspapers.

Needless to say, the present study of Pakistani newspapers does not support this thesis. As we have shown, Urdu lexis is prevalent in virtually the whole newspaper—from the front page to the sports page, from the editorial to the cartoon, from feature articles to advertisements, from letters to the editor to notices and photograph cap-



tions. Eighteen (18) of the examples of Urdu lexis cited in discussions above, for example, were from editorials in *The Democrat* (defunct); *The Frontier Post*, Lahore and Peshawar; *The Leader*; *The Muslim*; *The Nation*; *The News*, Lahore; *Pakistan Observer*; and *The Pakistan Times*. The findings of a survey of the editorials of *The Frontier Post*, Lahore, for the month of April 1991 are indicative of this extensive use of Urdu lexis in Pakistani journalistic writing. Of the twenty-eight days on which newspapers appeared during that month, Urdu lexis was found in editorials on twenty-five days (see Endnote 26 for list of lexis). On eight of the days during the month, editorials contained instances of more than five borrowings: April 1 (7 words); April 2 (1 word); April 12 (9 words); April 13 (10 words); April 15 (9 words); April 20 (7 words); April 23 (6 words); and April 25 (7 words). Although the majority of the lexis in these editorials is Islamic in nature (as might be expected), lexis of a general and informal nature also occurs: *bajra* (corn), *chamcha* (sycophant), *crore* (ten million), *ghee* (clarified butter), *gup shup* (gossip), *jalloos* (procession), *jalsa* (meeting), *jawar* (millet), *katchi abadi* (squatter settlement), *maund* (a measurement of approximately 38 kilograms), and *sardar* (tribal leader). The above findings, at odds with Gunesequera's and Dubey's, will need to be further researched.<sup>27</sup>

## VI. Conclusion

In their discussion of the future of New Englishes, Platt, Weber, and Ho (1984:198) point out that all living languages are in a constant state of change. The direction of change and development in newer varieties of English depends, according to the authors, not only on government language and education policies, but also on the attitudes of speakers of these New Englishes. As might be expected, a variety of attitudes exists among Pakistanis towards the borrowing that is taking place in English from Urdu—from outright condemnation (see discussion in volume *Introduction*) to acceptance of linguistic reality. Writing in an early issue of *Midasia* (12 April 1990:11), Muzaffar A. Ghaffar reflects:

When we speak English, in addition to the occasional '*accha*' or '*Wah!*', we often dive into our repertoire of Urdu when we



fail to find an English word where an Urdu '*lafz*' is dying to interject itself . . . The question to ask perhaps is, "are we doing the right thing?" If you answer instinctively, you will say "of course not", "we should be ashamed of ourselves" and make other humbling statements of this ilk. But wait. Think a bit and try to relate your self-criticism to the purpose of language. Any language. Is it to be a purist or is it to communicate (meaning to have common understanding with the other party).

As Meraj (in this volume) has shown, this borrowing is in fact bi-directional. Concerning this extensive use in Urdu of English words, Riaz Hassan (1983:71) writes:

Since our society, while recognizing the continuing importance of English, has come out massively in favour of Urdu, let us now move rapidly and efficiently towards making this an accomplished and efficient reality. This would imply the acceptance of the fact that Urdu is no longer and cannot be the same as it was in Ghalib's time, and that, at the twentieth century, it must open itself to a large world of sophisticated technology and high-level research. If in doing so it ends up as a curious *mish-mash* of Urdu and English, so be it. For those with eyes to see it is already a *mish-mash*.

English in Pakistan as well is no longer and cannot be the same as it was in Macaulay's time. It now functions in a multilingual context of use, and it would be very odd indeed if it did not borrow from the mother tongues of its users, for, as we have shown in the data above, there are cultural concepts which simply cannot be accurately translated or expressed using present-day English vocabulary. Other concepts, for the sake of authenticity and semantic precision in order to better capture the Pakistani context, are also best expressed either in Urdu or in one of the other languages of Pakistan, which are also an integral part of Urduization. From the large corpus of Urdu lexis which we have collected, from the great variety of contexts and genres sampled, and from the ease and flexibility with which Urdu is used in Pakistani English, it is evident that the Urduization of English in Pakistan is a viable, ongoing process, and that Pakistani English, like Nigerian, American, Australian, or Lankan English, is able to 'provide a background and an identity for its speakers which an "alien"

English, "something from abroad," never could' (Platt *et al.* 1984: 201). And in conclusion, as Hassan (1983:71) has further noted:

Actually, Urdu and English are no longer definably separate languages in Pakistan. So much 'nativized' English appears in Urdu in an odd-mixing manner that we would do well to recognize the evolution of a mode of expression better described as *Urdish* than as Urdu or English. Purists in either language might recoil in horror at such a development but we refer to what *is*, not what such people think *ought to be*. This process of mixing has been going on for more than a century. There is no harm in recognizing it and, if it represents a natural trend in language evolution in our country (which it does), let it continue.

# **Satasi**

## **Restaurant and Takeaway**

**Gulberg Centre Main Boulevard  
Gulberg Lahore**

### **SERVING SPECIALITIES WITH STYLE**

**bhelpuri, dahi puri, pani puri, dahi barra,  
fruit chat, chapli kabab, takka tak, haleem,  
chana bhatura, sarson ka sag, rasmalai, kulfa  
and more .....**

### **ALSO**

**“BRUNCH” ON FRIDAYS AND HOLIDAYS**

### **NIHARI & HALVA PURI**

**Come and enjoy your favourite foods, served  
hygienically in a pleasant environment.**

Plate 1



# Escape to Quetta



## Wesh Aatkay

*"In my language it means Welcome to my place. My place Quetta, is in full bloom and unusually pleasant in summer. So when it starts to warm up take that long deserved break and come to my place the Quetta Serena Hotel.*

*My place has everything to make your stay truly comfortable and memorable. Spread over 6 acres it is built in the local rustic style. Yet it has all the facilities of a deluxe, international class hotel and is only five minutes away from the bustle of Quetta's main bazaar, with its many shopping attractions. My place offers tempting snacks, international and local delicacies.*

*Your stay won't be complete without trying our "Sajji", prepared in the traditional Sajji pit.*

*At my place you can have a really good time. Take a relaxing break in our swimming pool or work out on our squash and tennis courts. You can also visit the many interesting spots like, Hanna Lake, Urak and Ziarat with one of the oldest Juniper forests in the world.*

*I proudly give you, my patrons, the Serena promise of complete comfort and style."*



Introductory room rate Single Occupancy Rs. 695/- Double Occupancy Rs. 795/-

## QUETTA SERENA HOTEL

Shahr-e-Zarghoon, Quetta

WELCOME TO THE SERENA EXPERIENCE

*The Nation, Lahore, 29 June 1988*

Plate 2

**Romantic Opening TODAY**  
**PRINCE, SHAMA, GREEN, GARISON Lahore.**  
 Also at: ROSE, NAZ — Rawalpindi; SHEREEN, KHAYYAM — Multan;  
 GULISTAN, REO — Faisalabad; KASHMIR MAHAL, NAZ —  
 Gujranwala; SHAMA — Sialkot; GULZAR — Gojra; AHSAN —  
 Rahimyar Khan; ABBASIA — Bahawalpur; NOOR MAHAL — Kasur;  
 AHKAS — Mirpur.

**DAILY 3 SHOWS**  
**TAROO MAROO 4 SHOWS**

مکینکار حیدر چوہدری

تلاش  
 بطور

حیدر رشید پیر کرتے ہیں  
 نکلے پروڈکشن کے

قصہ: آغا ریاض گل  
 سحر: ایم اے شفیق عاصی علی جان



The Pakistan Times, Lahore, 7 May 1989

Plate 3

**CADET COLLEGE KOHAT****KOHATIANS' RE-UNION**

1. Re-Union of ex-Cadets of Cadet College Kohat will be held on Friday, the 4th October, 1991, at Cadet College Kohat.
2. Kohatians wishing to attend the function to please inform the College.
3. Overnight stay will be arranged provided the College is informed in advance.
4. Families welcome — Please inform if you are bringing your families with
5. Welcome back to your College — More the merrier.  
**you**

**MIRZA KHURSHEED ANWAR BEG**  
**CONSULTANT TO THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS,**  
**CADET COLLEGE KOHAT**  
**PIE: 2134, 3057**

**INF (P) 2901**  
**12743**

*The Pakistan Times, Lahore, 6 September 1991*

Plate 4



## **ALI CONFERENCE**

In connection with the birth anniversary of Amir-ul-Momineen **HAZRAT ALI** Ibne Abi Talib (AS) **ALI CONFERENCE** will be held at **HOLIDAY INN** Hotel, Islamabad on 20th February (Monday) at 3.00 P.M. Ulmas and Scholars will address. Mohtarma **BEGUM NUSRAT BHUTTO** will be the Chief Guest.

**MARKAZI IMAM HUSSAIN COUNCIL**

## **JASHANE MOULOOD-E-KAABA**

is being celebrated today (Feb. 20, Rajab 13 Monday) at Imambargah Zanabia at 3 p.m.

## **JASHNE WILADAT-I-ALI**

Jashne Willadat-i-Ali (A.S.) will be held at residence of Syed Fazley Abbas Jafrey situated at 556-D Commercial Centre Satellite Town Rawalpindi after Maghreb prayers on February 20th. Zakir Ali Sunnat Syed Zakir Hussain Shah, Chairman Ittehad-e-Benul Muslemin, Secretary Bashir Ahmad Warsi, poet Mr. Nasir Jehan and Maulana Hassan Raza Ghadeeri ex-judge of Iran Shariat Court at present Jamae Muntzar Lahore will speak on the life of Hazrat Ali (A.S.). After speech on the life of Hazrat Ali (A.S.) Niaz will be distributed.

*The Muslim*, 20 February 1989

Plate 5

F.G.L. No. R-2900

All payments to be made and disputes  
to be settled at Rawalpindi Court.

Off : 71953  
554605  
Res : 550694  
550697

**MADINA**  
flour mills

NASWARI BAZAR  
RAWALPINDI



مدینہ فلور ملز نسواری بازار راولپنڈی

5103 Cash Memo for Sale of

**ATTA**

No. **A** Dated 20/11/86  
محفوظ رہا نہ ہو ورنہ گمراہی کی ذمہ داری  
نام خریدار دیتے

تعداد	محلہ فی بوری	کل وزن صافی	نرخ	قیمت
3 آٹا بوری	69 KG	207	203	609
3 آٹا بوری	18 KG	53	53	1855
3 آٹا بوری	9 KG			

2464 میزان  
5 -  
2469 دستخط  
دستخط ڈیلیوری کرک

Plate 6

*AWAMI OPENING FROM*  
**TOMORROW**  
AT **RATTAN**

SHAMA, LIBERTY, SHALIMAR, CITY-Lahore

Also at KEHKASHAN — Rawalpindi, NEFDEC — Islamabad, CAPRI — Multan, NAGINA, METROPOLE Faisalabad, PRINCE — Gujranwala, SHAMA — Sialkot. PRINCE — Sargodha

**FIGHTS TO CRUSH INJUSTICE AND VIOLENCE**

ARSHAD FILMS  
**GARIBON KA  
BAADSHAH**

COLOR-URDU

Story, Screenplay, Produced & Directed by  
**PERVEZ MALIK**

Dialogues

**FAYYAZ HASHMI**

Music

**M. ASHRAF**

Songs

**MASROOR ANWAR**

Editing

**Z.A. ZULFI**

Photography

**RIAZ BUKHARI**



*The Pakistan Times*, Lahore, 29 September 1988

Plate 7



## INVITATION FROM SPIRITUAL HEALER PROF. NAGAR

The people who do not believe in Aamliat and Taweezat or those who could not find true Aamils to help solve their difficulties such as domestic quarrels, impediments in marriage, unsuccessful friendships, removal of old enemies, obstacles in promotions and business and solution of many other personal problems should test Prof. Nagar in the very first Meeting



### **PROF. NAGAR**

7, Al-Aamna Plaza, Opp: Capri Cinema,  
M.A. Jinnah Road, Karachi Ph: 7781045

### Timings:

9.00 AM to 1.00 PM  
3.00 PM to 6.00 PM

MAG, 22 – 8 August 1991

Plate 8

## **SITUATION VACANT**

Applications from suitable candidates holding prescribed qualification and experience as noted below, are invited for the various vacancies of the different categories available in this Division.

Sr. No	Name of Posts	Total Posts.	B.P.S. No	Qualification
1.	Peon	2	1	
2.	Chowkidar	2	1	
3.	Fero-Khalasi	1	1	
4.	Beldars	6	1	
5.	Sweeper	2	1	
6.	Greaser	5	1	

### **CONDITION.**

1. 2 Years relaxation in age will be allowed only due to ban on recruitment.
2. 1% the total posts are reserved for disabled persons in each cadre.
3. 5% of the total posts are reserved for orphans, and supportless persons.

Application, must contain following information to show that applicant is resident of District, Narowal.

- (a) Qualification certificate
- (b) National Identity card
- (c) Domicile Certificate.

Application must reach in the Office of undersigned up to 20th June, 1992 during office hours at Highway Division, Narowal.

**Executive Engineer,  
Highway Division, Narowal.**

I.P.L. 4420

*The News, Lahore, 21 May 1992*

Plate 9

## Notes

1. The present paper was presented at the International Conference on English in South Asia, held in Islamabad, 4–9 January 1989. We would like to thank the following persons whose invaluable insights have added immensely to our work: Mr Afzaal Ahmad, Mr Waqas Ahmad Khwaja, Mr Muhammad Intikhab Alam, Mr Najeeb Ahmed Khan, Mr Gauher Rashid Gauher, Mr Ahsan Mahmood Malik, Mr Qurban Ali Bhatti, Ms Rosalind McGinley, and Mrs Seyeda Q. Zaidi. We would also like to thank Dr John Simpson, co-editor, *The Oxford English Dictionary*, for making available to us a list of South Asian lexis compiled from a search of the CD-ROM version of the dictionary.
2. Urdu lexis quoted in context in this paper is presented in its original graphic form. The conventions used in Pakistani English dailies include: (1) a word is written as any other word in the text; (2) is italicized; (3) is enclosed in single (‘’) or double (“”) quotation marks; (4) is written in capital letters; (5) is written in bold letters; (6) is printed in larger or different typescript; (7) is underlined (rare); or (8) is written in Urdu script (rare). Sentence (1a), for example, includes words written according to conventions 1 (chaudhry and chillum) and 2 (*dera*). Urdu lexical items quoted out of context (for example in lists or in discussions) are in italics. As regards orthography, spellings of individual items vary from publication to publication, from article to article, and sometimes from occurrence to occurrence of the same lexical item in one article (or more rarely one paragraph). In discussions of Urdu lexis, we normally use the orthographic spellings most commonly found in texts and not phonetic transcriptions. Further, an example cited in context is not necessarily the example listed in the mini-lexicons in the appendices, as we have numerous examples (in some cases hundreds) of most items. Finally, glosses which appear in published data are in parentheses—( ); our glosses in quoted citations are in square brackets—[ ]. We have glossed in most instances only the first occurrence of an Urdu term.
3. Data in this paper are taken from the following daily, weekly, and monthly publications: BR=(*Business Recorder*/Karachi); BT=(*Balochistan Times*/Quetta); D=(*Dawn*/Karachi [*Dak* Edition]); D/L=(*Dawn*/Lahore); DE=(*The Democrat*/Islamabad [defunct]); F=(*Facts*/Lahore); FP=(*The Frontier Post*/Peshawar); FP/L=(*The Frontier Post*/Lahore); FR=(*Friday Review*/Lahore [*The Nation*]); H=(*Herald*/Karachi); HO=(*Horizons*/Lahore [*The Frontier Post*]); IF=(*In Fashion*/Karachi); KM=(*Khyber Mail*/Peshawar [defunct]); L=(*The Leader*/Karachi); M=(*The Muslim*/Islamabad); MA=(*Midasia*/Islamabad [defunct]); MAG=(*Mag*/Karachi); MC=(*Men's Club*/Karachi); MI=(*Mirror*/Islamabad); MN=(*Morning News*/Karachi [defunct]); N=(*The Nation*/Lahore); N/I=(*The Nation*/Islamabad); NL=(*Newsline*/Karachi); NT=(*Nation Today*/Kara-



chi); NS/L=(*The News*/Lahore); P=(*The Parliament*/Karachi); PO=(*Pakistan Observer*/Islamabad); PT=(*The Pakistan Times*/Lahore); PT/I=(*The Pakistan Times*/Islamabad); RW=(*Readers' Weekly*/Karachi); S=(*The Star*/Karachi); SE=(*Sindh Express*/Karachi); SS=(*Séjour Sheraton* [Sheraton Hotel In-house Magazine]/Karachi); T=(*The Tribune*/Karachi [defunct]); TFT=(*The Friday Times*/Lahore); TO=(*Today*/Karachi); TR=(*Tuesday Review*/Lahore [Dawn]); TVT=(*TV Today*/Karachi); TY=(*The Youth*/Karachi); V=(*Viewpoint*/Lahore[defunct]); WE=(*Weekend Magazine*/Lahore[*The News*]); WO=(*Women's Own*/Karachi); WP=(*Weekend Post*/Lahore[*The Frontier Post*]); Y=(*You*/Lahore [*The News*]). Citations dated 1986, 1987, and through August 1988 are from newspapers purchased in Quetta; citations after August 1988 are from newspapers purchased in Lahore.

4. See Baumgardner (1992a) for a discussion of Pakistani English bilingual shifts.
5. The *mangani* is the engagement ceremony. The events of the actual marriage include the *mayun*, during which the bride is confined to her house for four to five days before the *baraat*. During this period of confinement she goes without washing and is dressed in dull yellow. This is to ward off evil spirits before the wedding as well as to make her look more beautiful on her wedding day. During the *mayun* period, the bride is visited by female friends and relatives who sing songs and dance accompanied by a *dholkan*, a woman playing a small drum, or *dholki*. The next event, the *mehndi*, also takes place in the bride's house. During this event, the groom's female relatives come and paint the bride's hands with henna. Next is the *baraat*, or the procession of the groom and his family who come to the girl's house to take her away. The going away of the bride is called the *rukhsati*. The last formal event of the marriage is the *valima*, which is the reception given by the groom's family. After the *valima*, the married couple sometimes stays for a day at the bride's house. This is known as the *maklava*. The *nikah*, or marriage contract, can take place on the day of the *baraat* or before. The only parts of the marriage which are Islamic in origin are the *nikah* and the *valima*.
6. We used the following sources to verify non-Urdu data: Balochi—Marri and Shad (1972), Meyer (1909/1975); Pushto—Bellew (1901/1982), Hanley (1981), Kakakhel (1981), Raverty (1901/1982); Punjabi—Bokhari (1989), Singh (1895/1983); Sindhi—Baloch and Khan (1985 and 1989), Shahani (n.d.[a and b]); Seraiki—Kalanchvi (1979 and 1981). Lexis found in these sources has been so noted. Ferozuddin (1983), Fatehpuri, Haq, and Siddiqui (1977–19—), and Sarhindi (1976) were consulted for non-Urdu lexis which has been borrowed into contemporary Pakistani Urdu.
7. The Punjabi term *watwani* (cf. Punjabi *wattaa*, 'stone') means the act of cleaning with a lump or clod of dirt (also called a *watwani*) after urination or defecation (Bokhari 1989:1486). In Urdu this type of pulveral lustration (Anees 1988:58), practised by Muslims when water is not available,

is called *istinja* (anal purification) and *istitaba* (purification after urinary emission).

8. See also Lowenberg (1986:76–7) for a brief discussion of the influence of Islam on Malaysian English.
9. According to Glassé (1989:279), 'Traditionally, every mention of the Prophet by name or by title is followed by the invocation *salla-Llaahu 'alayhi wa-salaam* ("God bless him and give him peace"), or by *'alayhi-s-salaatu wa-s-salaam* ("upon him be blessings and peace") . . .'. A shorter invocation, *'alayhi-s-salaam*', is also sufficient according to Glas-sé. In Pakistani newspapers, the Prophet's name or title is always fol-lowed by either the English initials PBUH ('peace be upon him') or less often the Arabic initials SWS, both of which are meant to stand for the first Arabic phrase given above. The Arabic initials AS (the third phrase) follow the names of members of the Prophet's family (see [35], [55a], and [56c]).
10. In classifying our lexis, we normally placed words which could fit into two or more categories in the more general category. *Burqa*, for exam-ple, is a total cover sometimes worn by Muslim women in Pakistan (see [44e]). In our Islamic framework, it can be classified either as *cloth-ing/accessories* or in the category *place of women in society*. We included it in the latter more general category. For this reason our categories, both general as well as religious, can often be further sub-divided, as we did not cross-classify data. The category in which a word was placed also de-pended, of course, on the specific context in which it was used.
11. *Eid* advance (D/L 3/7/90); *Eid* allowance (S 23/6/88); *Eid* announcement (M 19/4/90); *Eid* art (S 11/4/91); *Eid* attraction (N 20/6/91); *Eid* bazars (T 9/7/89); *Eid* blessings (NS/L 16/4/91); *Eid* blues (M 20/7/89); *Eid* Book Fair (D/L 26/4/91); *Eid* bonanza (N 3/8/87); *Eid* bonus (M 10/4/91); *Eid* bookings (TFT 5–11/7/90); *Eid* Bukhair (skits) (N 4/7/90); *Eid* business (NS/L 21/4/91); *Eid* bustle (TFT 13–19/7/89); *Eid* cakes (D/L 17/5/88); *Eid* cakes and sweet-meats (PT 16/4/91); *Eid* cakes and sweets (FP/L 15/4/91); *Eid* card prices (N 26/4/89); *Eid* cards (PT 17/5/89); *Eid* "ceasefire" (WE 28/6–4/7/91); *Eid* celebrations (M 21/7/89); *Eid* cere-monies (FP/L 8/7/90); *Eid* clothes (MAG 12–18/7/90); *Eid* congrega-tional prayers (TR 16–22/4/91); *Eid* congregations (FP/L 18/7/89); *Eid* controversy (TR 23–9/4/91); *Eid* cooking (MN 21/7/89); *Eid* costumes (FP/L 26/6/91); *Eid* crowd (D/L 4/7/90); *Eid* culture (M 21/7/89); *Eid* day hazard (N 23/4/91); *Eid* day issue (D/L 2/7/90); *Eid* day Khutba (FP/L 1/5/91); *Eid* day programme (M 16/4/91); *Eid* day wear (MAG 12–18/7/90); *Eid* day (S 27/7/88); *Eid* days (FP/L 4/7/90); *Eid* days' fatigue (NS/L 26/6/91); *Eid* deliveries (TCS brochure); *Eid* demands (MAG 11–17/4/91); *Eid* discount (PT 25/7/87); *Eid* down-country train (D/L 4/7/90); *Eid* dreams (N 21/4/91); *Eid* dresses (N 9/4/91); *Eid* eats (WO 4/91); *Eid* elations (N 23/6/91); *Eid* embrace (TR 16–22/4/91); *Eid* emergency (N 21/7/89); *Eid* entertainment (NS/L 15/4/91); *Eid*-enthusi-astic females (D/L 12/4/91); *Eid* evening (NS/L 26/6/91); *Eid* Exclusive



(MAG 18–24/4/91); *Eid* expectations (DE 3/7/90); *Eid* expenditure (N 16/4/91); *Eid* fair (PO 8/7/90); *Eid* Fantasia (MAG 12–18/7/90); *Eid* fare (D/L 28/7/88); *Eid* fashion (Y 15/4/91); *Eid* fashion wave (FR 12/4/91); *Eid* fee (FP/L 10/4/91); *Eid* festival (D/L 17/7/89); *Eid* festivities (D/L 28/7/88); *Eid* fever (NS/L 16/4/91); *Eid*-film releases (FR 19/4/91); *Eid* finery (N 23/6/91); *Eid*-fixing role (PT 21/7/90); *Eid* flights (S 11/4/91); *Eid* folklore (M 21/7/89); *Eid* fun (NS/L 19/4/91); *Eid* garbage (PT 17/7/89); *Eid* gathering (N 19/4/91); *Eid* get-together (D/L 2/7/90); *Eid* gift solution (N 14/4/91); *Eid* gifts (N 18/7/89); *Eid* grand opening (FP/L 5/4/91); *Eid* greetings (S 27/7/88); *Eid* groomers (D/L 6/7/90); *Eid* guests (WO 4/91); *Eid* hangover (FP/L 4/7/90); *Eid* holiday makers (PT 7/7/90); *Eid* holidayers (NS/L 16/4/91); *Eid* holidays (BR 21/7/89); *Eid* income (NS/L 16/4/91); *Eid* indigestion (N 21/7/89); *Eid* issue (Y 15/4/91); *Eid* jazz-ups (WO 7/89); *Eid* joy (PT 13/7/89); *Eid* “Khutba” (FP/L 4/7/90); *Eid* Lashkara (MAG 12–8/7/90); *Eid* list (MAG 11–17/4/91); *Eid* look (N 4/7/90); *Eid*-mania (NS/L 15/4/91); *Eid* marriage (NS/L 16/4/91); *Eid* meat (PT 16/7/90); *Eid* mela (PT 17/7/89); *Eid* Milan (NS/L 27/4/91); *Eid* Milan celebration (S 25/4/91); *Eid* Milan dinner (D/L 4/5/91); *Eid* Milan party (FP/L 19/4/91); *Eid* Millan get-together (M 26/4/91); *Eid* mood (PT 17/5/89); *Eid* moon (M 21/7/89); *Eid*-moon-night (NS/L 14/4/91); *Eid* moon sighting (FP/L 15/4/91); *Eid* moon sighting confusion (FP/L 26/4/90); *Eid* morning (PT 22/7/89); *Eid* Mubarak (N 23/6/91); *Eid* “Mujras” (NS/L 16/4/91); *Eid* night (DE 8/7/90); *Eid* notes (PT 7/7/90); *Eid* offer (M 23/6/91); *Eid* outfit (N 4/7/90); *Eid* package (N 9/4/91); *Eid* parties (N 9/8/87); *Eid* passengers (D/L 4/7/90); *Eid* picnic (NS/L 19/4/91); *Eid* play (D/L 28/7/88); *Eid* pleasure (FP/L 3/4/91); *Eid* pledge (NS/L 5/5/91); *Eid* prayer timings (MN 14/7/89); *Eid* prayers timings (PT 15/4/91); *Eid* prayers (D/L 27/7/88); *Eid* preparations (FP/L 15/4/91); *Eid* presents (D/L 30/6/90); *Eid* price hike (N 14/4/91); *Eid* prices (TCS brochure); *Eid* programmes (M 21/7/89); *Eid* publicity (PT 9/7/90); *Eid* purchase (FP/L 23/6/91); *Eid* Rang (N 16/4/91); *Eid* Ready Made (WP 12/4/91); *Eid* recipes (WO 7/90); *Eid* rejoicings (NS/L 26/6/91); *Eid* reduction sale (D/L 25/3/91); *Eid*-related matter (M 26/4/91); *Eid* releases (D/L 14/7/89); *Eid* requirement (FP/L 5/7/91); *Eid* re-unions (TR 16–22/4/91); *Eid* rituals (PT 4/7/90); *Eid* rush (D 4/7/90); *Eid* sacrifice (PT 3/7/90); *Eid* sacrificial waste (M 20/7/89); *Eid* Salaam (M 22/4/91); *Eid* sale (PT 15/4/91); *Eid* schedule (DE 2/7/90); *Eid* sermons (PT 7/7/90); *Eid* shoppers (D/L 12/4/91); *Eid* shopping (N 9/7/89); *Eid* shopping gala (S 11/4/91); *Eid* shopping guide (PT 15/4/91); *Eid* shopping spree (N 16/4/91); *Eid* shopping orgies (M 16/4/91); *Eid* show (D/L 4/7/90); *Eid* special (D/L 30/6/90); *Eid* Special Issue (IF 4/91); *Eid* Special Trains (D/L 2/7/90); *Eid* Special TV Show (N 15/4/91); *Eid* spread (D/L 17/5/88); *Eid* Stage Show (D/L 28/7/88); *Eid* story (M 14/7/89); *Eid* success (N 19/7/91); *Eid* Supplement (S 11/4/91); *Eid* survival (N 23/6/91); *Eid* TB seals (PT 23/4/90); *Eid* timings (D/L 16/4/91); *Eid* tones (Y 15/4/91); *Eid* tradition (S 11/4/91); *Eid* train (MN 9/7/89); *Eid* transmission



- (MAG 12–18/7/90); *Eid* treat (MAG 5–11/7/90); *Eid* trolley (MAG 5–11/7/90); *Eid* uncertainty (N 19/4/91); *Eid* vacations (FP/L 15/4/91); *Eid* verdict (M 26/4/91); *Eid* visitors (NS/L 26/6/91); *Eid* wear (FP/L 9/4/91); *Eid* week (TFT 18–24/4/91); pre-*Eid* bangles (Y 7/8/91); pre-*Eid* business (M 19/4/91); pre-*Eid* collection of bribes (FP/L 1/7/90); pre-*Eid* collection (WO 7/90); pre-*Eid* crowd (PT 9/7/90); pre-*Eid* days (DE 3/7/90); pre-*Eid* literary gathering (N 10/7/90); pre-*Eid* raid (V 5/7/90); pre-*Eid* refresher course (MAG 11–17/4/91); pre-*Eid* Sale/Exhibition (D/L 28/6/90); pre-*Eid* session (M 15/4/91); pre-*Eid* sharp rise in prices (D/L 13/7/90); pre-*Eid* tension (MAG 25/4–1/5/91); pre-*Eid* and post-*Eid* checking (MN 5/8/88); post-*Eid* blues (D/L 19/7/91); post-*Eid* disorders (N 23/4/91); post-*Eid* high meat prices (M 28/6/91); post-*Eid* mental disorders (N 23/4/91); post-*Eid* rush (M 28/6/91); post-*Eid* session (FP/L 27/4/91); post-*Eid* stomach (N 8/8/88); post-*Eid* syndrome (NS/L 1/7/91); post-*Eid* trading session (FP/L 27/4/91); post-*Eid* waste (N 18/7/89); post-*Eid* working day (D/L 8/7/90); *Eid* Milan cum talent show (N 4/5/91); Spring-cum-*Eid* holidays (N 9/4/91).
12. *desi* bomb (N 30/8/89); *desi* cheeni (PT 29/7/88); *desi* Cola Wala (M 30/6/91); *desi* counterpart (NL 10/89); *desi* designer (N 7/6/91); *desi* form (N 28/5/90); *desi* ghee (KM 7/6/89); *desi* kind (MAG 14–20/3/91); *desi* kushti (FP/L 30/7/89); *desi* liquor (N 4/5/87); *desi* Madonna (D/L 22/6/89); *desi* Murray Brewery Gymkhana (N 16/7/90); *desi* nashta (M 11/8/90); *desi* people (locals) (FP/L 13/7/90); *desi* politics (MAG 9–15/11/89); *desi* pop (FP/L 27/4/90); *desi* pop scene (N 9/7/89); *desi* principal (FP/L 8/5/91); *desi* roses (DE 13/8/90); *desi* schools (M 27/2/91); *desi* shoulder (MAG 25–31/7/91); *desi* song (S 28/6/90); *desi* style (PT 5/8/90); *desi* Sylvester Stallone (MAG 10–16/1/91); *desi* tibia (PT 12/10/86); *desi* Trendies (D/L 11/1/91); *desi* version (DE 6/8/90); *desi* wine (N 24/7/87); *desi* wrestling (PT 5/8/90); pop-cum-'*dasi*' song recordings (TR 14–20/5/91).
13. *Zuljinnah* is the horse upon which Hazrat Imam Hussain rode into battle, and *zakar* are professional reciters of Shia verses. *Noha* and *marsiya* are dirges or elegies. The *alam* is a representation of the standard carried by the forces of Hazrat Imam Hussain, and *Ahle Bait* are the members of the Holy Prophet's family comprising Hazrat Fatima, Hazrat Ali, and their children (according to Shias). An *imambargah* is a sanctuary for Moharram functions. *Matam* and *zanjirzani* are the beating of the chest and the flaying of the back with chains fitted with razors. The *tazia* is a replica of the mausoleum of any of the twelve Imams.
14. A *namahram* for a woman is a stranger or someone who is not acquainted with her. A woman, for example, must be accompanied by a *mahram* in order to go on the *Haj* pilgrimage; in this case a *mahram* would be her husband or son, or someone within the prohibited degree of marriage, i.e. father, brother, grandfather, etc.

15. *Reloo katta* is Punjabi for a young calf (*katta*) which is yoked extra to a cart (Bokhari 1989:987). It also means 'the extra man in the game'. If, for example, eleven friends want to play a game of cricket, there will be five on each team; the *reloo katta*, the eleventh man, will play for both sides. The extended meaning in example (36b) is that of a person with changing political loyalties.
16. Qureshi (1989:340) translates *raddi* as 'refuse, waste, worthless waste paper'. Pakistani housewives sell *raddi* to *raddiwallahs* who make rounds through neighbourhoods to buy it.
17. *Awami Adalat* (N 26/10/90); *awami* backing (PT 20/2/89); *awami* bench (N 27/8/90); *awami* budget (V 30/10/86); *awami* Bus Train (D/L 28/5/90); *awami* champion (FP/L 30/7/89); *awami* Chief Minister (M 15/4/91); *awami* Council Social Welfare Organization (D/L 16/7/90); *awami* days (TFT 23-9/8/90); *awami* diction (N 8/7/91); *awami* dress (FP/L 9/8/90); *awami* Express (N 29/12/86); *awami* forces (FP/P 23/10/86); *awami* government (MN 14/11/87); *awami* Governor (N 14/8/90); *Awami* Hakoomat (PT 11/8/90); *awami* incarnation (N 13/5/90); *Awami* Jaloos (FP/L 21/10/90); *awami* jirga (D 14/2/88); *awami* leader (FP/L 14/7/90); *awami* League (FP/P 16/4/87); *awami* Literacy Centre (M 22/6/89); *awami* look (N 9/1/91); *awami* man (MN 22/5/88); *awami* Martial Law (NS/L 20/8/91); *awami* mandate (MA 26/8/90); *awami* nightmare (N 29/10/90); *awami* opening (PT 29/9/88); *awami* oration (FP/P 11/1/90); *awami* order (M 13/7/90); *awami* poet (M 23/10/90); *Awami* Predecessors (N 29/11/90); *awami* raj (PT 31/7/89); *awami* rallies (S 30/6/88); *awami* reception (D 15/12/87); *awami* schools (PT 2/8/90); *awami* struggle (D/L 8/5/91); *awami* style (FP/P 11/1/90); *awami* suit (PT 4/7/87); *awami* tribunal (NS/L 12/4/91); anti-*awami* (PT 30/4/89).
18. For a discussion of *terms of gratification*, including *chai pani*, *Eidi*, and *parchi*, see Kennedy's *A Bribe by Any Other Name* (in this volume).
19. This is another example of the borrowing of different meanings of a word. *Lumberdar* means 'village headman' in both Urdu and Punjabi (see [65c] and [76c]), but in prisons in the Punjab it also means a responsible prisoner from among prison inmates who assists officials in prison administration.
20. According to Barker *et al.* (1976:148), the Persian *-ha* plural occurs chiefly in adverbial expressions (e.g. *salha sal*, 'for years') and in highly Persianized poetry. (64c) is the only example of this plural in our data. The possibility cannot be ruled out that it is a misprint (*madressahs*?).
21. See Sidhwa (in this volume) for a discussion of ways in which a Pakistani writer incorporates Urdu lexis into her writing.
22. This list includes 180 words (plus variant spellings); it was compiled by means of a manual search of the dictionary and is therefore not comprehensive. When all dictionaries are available in electronic form, tasks of this nature will become less time consuming and needless to say more accurate.



Allah; almirah; amir; askari; ayah; ayatollah; azan; bahadur; baksheesh; baraka; bazaar; begar; begum; bel (bael); bhang (bang); bhangi (bhungi); bheesty; bidi (beedi/biri); bismillah; bund; burka (bourkha/burkaa); chabouk; chador (chader/chadder/choddar); chapati; charas (hashish); charkha; charpoy; chillum; chit; choli; choora; chutney; crore; dacoit; dacoity; dak (dauk/dawk); dal (dhal); dharna (dhurna); dhoti; dhurrie (durrie); din; dooly (dhooly); ghain; gharry; ghat; ghazi; ghee; goonda; gurdwara; guru; hadith; hafiz; hakim; halvah (halva); hartal; hijra; hookah; 'id al adha; ijtihaad; imam; Islam; jawan; jinn; jizyah; kabob; kacha (kachcha/kutchha); kafir; kalam; kalif (calif); khaddar; khalsa; khan; khanda; khanjar; khansamah; kharif; khidmatgar; khoja; khus-khus; khutbah; kirpan; kisan; kismet; kiswah; koran; kukri; kurta; lakh (lac); lathi; lota; lungi (lungee); madrasah; maghrib; mahout; maidan; majlis; malik; maulvi (molvi/moulvee/moulvi); maund; mela; memsahib; moharram; muezzin; muhajirun (muhajir); mujahedin; mujahid; mujtahid; mullah (mulla); munshi; musjid; muslim; musnud; nabob (nawab); nazir; nullah; paisa; palky (palkee); pan (betel); panchayat; pandit (pundit); pathan; pipal; pir; pukka sahib; pukka (pucka); punkah; purdah; qadi (cadi/kadi); qaid (caid); qalandar (calender); qasida; qibla; qiyas; qubba; rabi; raga; raj; raja; rak'a; Ramazan; ribat; rumal; rupee; sadaqat (zakat); sahib; salaam; salah (salat); samal; sayyid (sayed/said); sepoy (sipahi); ser (seer); serai; shah; shahada; shaikh; shari'ah; sharif; shulwar (shalwar); sidar (sardar); sufi; syce (saice); tahsildar; tamasha; tandoor (tandoori); tatty (tattie); ta'ziyah; thana; tola; tonga; topee; topkhana; ulema; ummah; walla (wallah); zakat; zamindar; zem-zem; zena-na; zikr (dhikr); and zillah.

23. OALDCE Allah, amir, anna, Arab, Arabic, Asian, ayah, babu, bazaar, begum, bhang, Brahmin, bulbul, bungalow, chutney, curry, dervish, dhoti, fakir, gharry, ghat, ghee, guru, Hadji, harem, hashish, Hajira, Hindi, Hindu, Hindustani, imam, Indian, Islam, jihad, jinn, kebab, Khaki, khan, Koran, lakh, lathi, Maharaja, Maharanee, Mahatma, Mecca, Memsahib, Mohammedan, muezzin, mullah, Muslim, nautch, pajamas, peepul, pilau, pundit, punkah, purdah, raj, rajah, Ramadan, rani, rupee, Sadhu, Sahib, salaam, sari, Sikh, Singalese, sitar, sultan, Urdu, vizier. LDOCE Afghan, Allah, Arab, Arabic, Arabian, ayah, baboo, bazaar, begum, bhang, Brahmin, bulbul, bungalow, chutney, curry, dak bungalow, dervish, dhoti, emir, fakir, gharry, ghat, ghee, guru, Hajji, harem, hashish, Hejira, Hindu, Hinduism, imam, Indian, Islam, jihad, jinn, kebab, khaki, khan, Koran, lakh, Maharaja, Maharani, Mahatma, Mecca, Mamsahib, Mohammedan, Mohammedanism, muezzin, mullah, Muslim, nautch, pajamas, Pakistani, pandit, parsee, Pathan, pilau, pipal, Punjab, punkah, purdah, raj, rajah/raja, Ramadan, rani, rupee, sadhu, Sahib, salaam, sitar, sultan, vizier.
24. Conversely, the English word 'watchman' has been borrowed into Pakistani Urdu: [intizaamiyyaah ne night watchman mo'attal kar ke corii kaa parcah darj karvaadiyaa he] 'The administration, after suspending the



night watchman, had a petition for theft filed' (*Nawa-i-Waqt*, Lahore, 9 October 1991).

25. The following short article appeared in *The Nation*, Lahore, of 25 October 1987:

The world's largest samosa, made in Leicester, has raised a whopping 1,000 pounds for a local charity. The samosa, weighing a staggering 327 lbs., was donated to the Asian Association for the Elderly. The making of the samosa was filmed by BBC TV's Record Breakers Programme and details have been passed on to the Guinness Book of World Records for inclusion in their world famous tome. For the record, the samosa took nine hours to prepare and cook in 180 litres of oil.

26. In the following group of lexis, our glosses are in square brackets [ ]; those which appeared in the editorial are in round brackets ( ): April 1—*Ahl-e-Hadith* [those who observe the *hadith*, or the traditions relating to the deeds and utterances of the Holy Prophet], *diyat* [blood money], *mufti* [legal expert empowered to give rulings on religious matters], *nikah* [marriage registration], *Shariat* [Islamic law], *ulema* [Islamic theologian], *zina* [adultery]; April 2—*Amir* [president], *Hajj* [pilgrimage to Mecca], *maulana* [title given to persons respected for religious learning], *Naib Amir* [vice-president], *Sahib* [respectful form of address placed after a name, equivalent to English 'Sir' or 'Mr.'], *shoora* [council], *ummah* [the Muslim people]; April 3—*mujahideen* [Muslim warriors in defence of faith]; April 4—no occurrence; April 5—*Hudood* [punishment], *Panchayat* [rural council], *Sifaarish* [influence]; April 6—*mardon-wali* (masculine); April 7—*crore* [10 million], *goondaism* [ruffianism]; April 8—*mujahideen*, *Qazi* [judge], *Sahib*; April 9—*Zarb-e-Momin* [the name of a military exercise, literally 'strike/blow of the pious']; April 10—*Sahib*; April 11—*Shariat*; April 12—*Hudood*, *mufti*, *munsif* [subordinate judge], *naib munsif* [assistant subordinate judge], *Nizam-e-Mustafa* [Islamic order as enunciated and set up by the Prophet Mohammad], *Sahib*, *Shariat*, *taj-deed-e-ehad* (regular renewals of oath of honesty), *zakat* [Islamic tithe]; April 13—*fiqah* [recognized works or juristic writings on Muslim law], *Hudood*, *ijtehad* [exposition of Muslim laws], *maulana*, *mufti*, *mun-kiraat* [prohibitions], *nikah*, *riba* [interest], *Shariat*, *shoora*; April 14—*gup shup* [gossip], *patwari* [low-grade revenue official], *Shariat*, *tehsildar* [district revenue officer]; April 15—*jalloos* [procession], *jalsa* [meeting], *Khas* [literally 'special,' used in the collocation 'Khas Deposit', or 'Certificate of Deposit'], *lashkar* [army], *maulana*, *riba*, *rijm* [stoning to death for adultery], *Shariat*, *zakat*; April 16—*mujahideen*, *Shariat*; April 17—*chadar* and *chardivari* [the concept of the sanctity of women as laid down by Islam, literally 'veil and four walls'], *Eid* [Islamic festival], *Quaid-e-Azam* ['The Great Leader', title of M.A. Jinnah, founder of Pakistan], *Shariat*; April 18—no issue; April 19—no issue; April 20—*Amir*, *cham-cha* [sycophant], *haj*, *katchi abadi* [mud houses], *masjid* [mosque], *Sahib*, *shoora*; April 21—*bajra* [corn], *jawar* [millet], *maund* [measurement of

approximately 38 kilograms]; April 22—*rupee* [Pakistani currency], *wahdat* [unity]; April 23—*crore*, *jirga* [council], *Nai Roshni* [New Light], *rupee*, *Shariat*, *shoora*; April 24—*Khudai Khidmetgar* ['Servants of God', the political movement of Bacha Khan], *Pakhtoon* [Pathan]; April 25—*Hudood*, *jihad* [holy war], *munsif*, *panchayat*, *sardar* [tribal leader], *Shariat*, *ulema*; April 26—*crore*, *jihad*, *mujahideen*; April 27—*ghee* [clarified butter], *Shariat*; April 28—*Hudood*, *Shariat*; April 29—no occurrence; April 30—no occurrence.

27. Both studies had relatively small data bases.

## Appendix 1

### Lexical Groupings

#### A

#### Kachru (1983b)

administration  
agriculture  
animals/reptiles  
arms  
articles of use  
art/music  
buildings  
clothing/dress  
concepts

edibles/drinks  
education  
evaluation (attitude)  
furniture  
habits  
medicine  
modes of address/  
reference  
money/banking

occupations  
place names  
politics  
religion & rituals  
social (general)  
speech/language  
trees/flowers  
villages (general)  
vehicles/carriages

#### B

#### General

administration  
administrative posts  
agriculture  
architecture  
arms/weapons  
art forms (dance/  
music/verse)  
articles of use  
awards  
celebrations/festivals  
clothing/accessories  
concepts  
condiments  
construction materials  
descriptive labels for  
people  
drugs/narcotics  
dwellings  
edibles (foodstuffs)  
edibles (snacks &  
prepared foods)

education  
elements  
fabrics  
fauna  
flora  
fruit/dry fruit  
funeral  
games/sports  
home furnishings  
kinship terms  
landscape  
law  
law and order situation  
marriage/divorce  
measurements  
medicine  
military  
modes of address/  
reference  
modes of transport

money/banking/  
commerce  
musical instruments  
occupations  
parts of the body  
place names  
political/social  
organizations  
religion (Islam)  
religion (other)  
salutations/expressions  
slogans/ritualistic  
sayings  
social gatherings/  
meetings  
social systems  
terms of gratification  
towns/villages  
vegetables  
-wallahs  
adjectives/adverbials

## C Religion (Islam)

administration	descriptive labels for	c. religion (pillars/
administrative posts	people	namaz)
agriculture	education	d. religion (pillars/
architecture	funeral	haj
art forms (music/	law	e. religion (pillars/
verse)	law and order situation	roza)
articles of use	medicine	f. religion (pillars/
celebrations/festivals	modes of address/	zakat)
(Eid)	reference	g. religion (Quran)
a. Eid/Azha	money/banking/	h. religion (rites/
b. Eid/Fitr	commerce	rituals
c. Eid/Milad-un-	occupations	i. religion (The
Nabi	place names	Prophet)
celebrations/festivals	place of women in	salutations/expressions
(Muharram)	society	slogans/ritualistic
celebrations/festivals	political/social	sayings
(Urs)	organizations	social gatherings/
celebrations/festivals	religion	meetings
(others)	a. religion	terms of gratification
clothing/accessories	(calendar)	-wallahs
concepts	b. religion (pillars/	adjectives/adverbials
	eeman)	



## Appendix 2

### General Lexis

#### ADMINISTRATION

baldia (D 17/2/89); dak (N 1/12/87); gurdawary (PT 6/10/86); halqa (BT 1/12/87); illaqa (PT 14/11/87); jirga (MN 1/2/88); khuli kutcheri (N 6/3/88); kutcheri (N 9/2/88); majlis-i-shoora (N 14/2/88); mofussil (PT 17/8/88); panchayat (MN 7/2/88); taluka (D 5/2/88); tehsil (KM 8/4/87); theka (FP/L 5/8/89); tuman (N 21/10/90); zila (N 1/2/88).

#### ADMINISTRATIVE POSTS

girdawar (PT 8/11/86); jamadar (DE 7/7/90); khatedar (PT 6/12/86); lambar-dar (RW 22-8/10/86); mohtasib (D 6/2/88); mukhtiarkar (MN 8/3/88); musheer (N 23/5/88); naib tehsildar (PT 8/11/86); patwari (PT 21/10/86); qanoongo (RW 22-8/10/86); qilawal (DE 7/7/90); sadar (PT 1/8/89); taluq-dar (TFT 21-7/6/90); tappedar (D 12/7/86); tehsildar (N 23/5/88); thanedar (N 5/6/88); tumandar (PO 21/10/90); wafaqi mohtasib (PT 19/6/90).

#### AGRICULTURE

abiana (N 21/3/88); bhoosa (N 21/6/88); binola (FP/L 28/7/90); boora (N 25/3/88); chaukar (N 25/3/88); chhan (N 25/3/88); dhal (FP/L 14/7/90); gobar (D 8/2/88); khal (N 29/11/86); kharif (N 1/2/88); malia (FP/P 14/10/86); rabi (N 1/2/88).

#### ARCHITECTURE

ahata (PT 24/7/90); baradari (PT 24/7/90); burji (PT 25/6/90); chajja (FP/L 5/8/89); chobara (PT 1/8/89); darwaza (FP/L 29/7/90); hujrah (PT 31/7/90); jharoka (FP/L 19/4/91); kotha (FP/L 30/6/90); thara (N 6/11/88); vehra (DE 24/5/90)—Punjabi

#### ARMS/WEAPONS

burchhi (N 9/11/86); churi (DE 3/6/90); churra (N 9/11/86); danda (PT 26/9/86); gandasa (N 9/11/86); goli (PT 17/7/88); hathora (N 16/3/88); khur-

dam (DE 3/6/90); kiran (DE 3/6/90); kirpan (D/L 1/6/90); kulhari (D 12/7/86); lathi (PT 16/6/88); lorthar (DE 3/6/90); toka (N 22/4/90).

### **ART FORMS (dance/music/verse)**

adabi (D 5/2/88); antara (WP 19/4/91); asthai (WP 19/4/91); boltaan (WP 19/4/91); bhangra (N 17/2/88)—Punjabi; bolian (FP/L 8/6/90)—Punjabi; charbaita (FP/L 8/6/90)—Pushto; chhakar (FP/L 15/7/91)—Kashmiri; chhota khayal (WP 19/4/91); dadra (TFT 19–25/7/90); daftar (FP/L 24/7/90); dastan (TFT 22–8/2/90); dhamal (N 17/2/88); dhress (FP/L 16/8/90)—Punjabi; dilruba (N 24/2/88); drut (WP 19/4/91); gana bajana (MN 20/3/88); geet (N 16/12/87); ghazal (D 8/1/88); hareeb (PT 4/7/89)—Balti; heer (D 1/8/89); jhoomer (PO 31/7/90)—Sindhi; kalaam (N 13/3/88); khatuk (N 17/3/88)—Pushto; khayal (TFT 19–25/7/90); landai (FP/L 8/6/90)—Pushto; leva (N 4/6/90)—Balochi; luddi (D 9/2/89); mahia (FP/L 8/6/90); majlis-i-mushaira (MN 19/10/87); maushaira (D 6/2/88); mehfil-e-mauseeqi (PT 23/7/89); mehfil-e-mushaira (PT 23/7/89); mujra (D 8/6/90); mussadas (FP/L 31/7/90); muthalla (N 14/7/89); nazm (D 26/5/89); naghmay (MAG 8–14/8/91); rag (FP/L 27/6/91); ruff (FP/L 15/7/91)—Kashmiri; sevi banghra (FP/L 16/8/90)—Punjabi; taan (WP 19/4/91); tappa (N 14/7/89)—Pushto; tarana (D 9/6/89); tarhi mushaira (N 14/7/89); thumri (TFT 19–25/7/90); vonwun (FP/L 15/7/91)—Kashmiri; zamzama (PT 25/10/88).

### **ARTICLES OF USE**

aftaba (PT 1/8/89); agarbati (FP/L 1/9/91); aqeeq (PT 14/11/87); attar (D 6/7/90); chatti (N 25/2/89); chhalni (N 30/6/89); chillum (H 4/91); chimta (FP/L 7/10/91); chittar (D/L 14/7/90)—Punjabi; churri (N 12/7/89); danda (PT 26/9/88); deg (N 7/5/89); diya (RW 22–8/10/88); dholki (MAG 17–23/1/91); dore (N 19/1/90); gao takia (PT 1/8/89); ghara (FP/L 14/1/90); ghungroo (TFT 29/6–5/7/90); hamaam (PT 1/8/89); handi (PT 25/11/88); har (PT 16/6/88); Hilali Parcham (N 4/6/89); hukka (S 23/6/88); jantree (N 13/7/90); kaghzat (PO 17/6/91); kapra (S 14/1/88); karai (N 5/3/88); khaddi (V 19/7/90); killa (FP/L 18/5/90); koopi (28/3/87); lota (N 15/5/90); mashal (RW 22–8/10/88); multani matti (MN 2/10/86); mushk (D 6/7/90); nagina (NL 1/90); pandaan (S 14/1/88); panja (N 12/7/89); pankha (MN 30/3/88); parchee (FP/L 24/8/91); patang (N 17/2/89); phuljari (D 21/3/88); pitari (M 20/8/89); qalam (D 25/3/88); quddi (N 19/1/90); raddi (FR 12/4/91); rilli (V 23/6/88); samawar (PT 1/8/89); shamiana (N 24/2/88); taat (M 15/9/89); takhti (D 25/2/88); taki (M 21/5/90); tandoor (TY 7/90); tawa (D 1/9/89); taweezat (MAG 7–13/6/90); tawiz (MN 5/6/88); thaly (N 4/7/90); tokri (FP/L 9/8/89).

## AWARDS

Hilal-e-Imtiaz (D/L 14/7/90); Hilal-e-Istiqlal (PT 3/9/87); Hilal-e-Pakistan (D/L 14/7/90); Sitara-e-Imtiaz (M 23/8/89); Sitara-e-Quaid-e-Azam (D/L 14/7/90); Tamgha-e-Jamhooriat (M 15/7/90).

## CELEBRATIONS/FESTIVALS

basant (PT 3/12/87); chiraghan (D 8/5/88); holi (MAG 8–14/11/90); jashne azadi (BT 10/8/87); jashn-e-Jhang (N 28/3/87); nauroze (MN 21/3/88).

## CLOTHING/ACCESSORIES

aanchal (PT 13/7/89); angrakha (FP/P 6/9/89); awami suit (PT 4/7/87); azarband (FP/P 23/10/86); badla (S 12/5/88); batwa (PT 16/6/88); benarsi (WO 1/90); bhopali churidar (D 26/8/88); chaddor (D 5/2/88); chappal (PT 4/8/88); chogha (PT 31/7/90); choli (WO 1/90); chouridar (D 25/3/88); chuni (MN 21/5/88); chunri (WO 1/90); dhoti (S 23/6/88); dhoti shalwar (D 26/8/88); dopatta (N 13/2/88); echken (N 13/1/91); gai (MN 21/5/88); gaj (PT 14/11/87)—Sindhi; gajra (TFT 19–25/7/90); gandi (PT 11/14/87)—Sindhi; ghagra (S 12/5/88); gharara (M 13/8/89); gota (WO 1/90); jhumar (TFT 19–25/7/90); jootian (FP/L 14/7/91); kajal (FR 19/4/91); kali (WO 1/90); kamdani (WO 1/90); kamarband (FP/P 6/9/89); Kashmir toope (N 20/7/90); khajra (PT 14/11/87)—Sindhi; khusa (WO 1/90); kinari (D 21/1/88); kundan (M 3/9/89); kurta (N 13/2/88); lacha (N 13/2/88); loi (PT 14/11/87); lungi (S 12/5/88); mala (N 30/6/89); nala (N 8/8/88); nara (FP/P 19/10/86); pagri (FP/L 7/7/90); paincha (D 8/1/88); palloo (S 23/6/88); paro (PT 14/11/87)—Sindhi; patiala shalwar (D 26/8/88); payjama (S 3/3/88); Peshawari Chapal (PT 14/7/89); peshgir (MN 21/5/88); peshwaas (WO 1/90); sari (D 18/3/88); shalwar-kameez (D 12/2/88); shalwar-kurta (D 8/6/90); sherwani (N 13/2/88); singhar patti (D 1/7/89); tabka (N 4/7/90); tilla (WO 1/90); topa (N 7/5/89).

## CONCEPTS

Aamiliat (MAG 22–8/8/91); adl (PT 27/6/88); Adl-o-Ihsan (N 4/9/87); amanat (T 11/7/89); Aamil (MAG 22–8/8/91); asabiyat (N 9/11/88); Asatrul Awwalin (M 25/7/90); azaadi (PT 21/7/90); badal (FP/L 15/9/89); baigar (N 26/7/87); bandobust (FP/L 11/7/90); batin (TFT 22–8/2/90); bayanat (MAG 21–7/6/90); be-hissi (N 24/8/89); bhai-bhai (N 17/5/88); chakkar (D 13/7/90); chaudrrahat (N 1/6/88); chutti (N 2/3/88); dihari (PO 6/6/90); ehsan (PT 27/6/88); ehtasaab (N 2/6/88); fahashi (DE 27/5/90); farman (N 28/7/90); gadari (FP/L 3/7/90); gaddi (V 30/10/86); ghisi-piti khabar (N 24/8/89); gup



shup (PT 28/7/90); haqiqat (TFT 22–8/2/90); hukum (M 4/7/87); hurriyet (D 27/3/88); ijma (TFT 19–25/7/90); iqamat (N 7/5/89); irtidad (PT 28/7/90); istehqaq (N 27/10/87); izzat (S 7/1/88); jor tor (FP/P 28/11/88); kalimat (MAG 7–13/6/90); khawas (PT 17/2/87); khazana (N 28/7/90); khorak (N 16/7/90); khudi (PT 30/7/90); kor (FP/L 28/7/91)—Pushto; maasharah (N 16/9/88); majaz (TFT 22–8/2/90); majboori (S 30/6/88); maslak (V 5/7/90); mazdoor kissan raj (PT 4/6/90); millat (D 11/9/87); mohabat (D 19/3/88); mubahila (N 5/6/90); munazira (N 12/11/88); noora koshti (FP/L 28/7/89); paaras (DE 3/6/90); phaker bazi (N 9/6/90); Qaumiyat (D/L 29/7/90); qismet (FP/L 26/8/89); rabita (M 13/7/87); rat jaga (M 23/11/88); rizq (D 16/8/89); sharafat (D 5/2/88); sheer-i-madar (FP/P 23/10/86); siasiyat (FP/P 25/5/90); silsila (PT 31/7/90); tabsira (N 13/7/90); takt/takta (N 22/7/89); tamasha (PT 21/3/87); tameer-e-watan (M 3/6/90); taqleed (FP/L 28/7/89); tassawar (N 4/6/90); Taweezat (MAG 22–8/8/91); thanedari (N 25/7/90); tilism (TFT 22–8/2/90); uriani (FP/L 6/6/90); wehshiana pun (TFT 7–13/6/90); yaari nibhana (N 12/8/89); zahir (TFT 22–8/2/90).

### CONDIMENTS

ajwan (D 7/3/88); anardana (N 13/7/90); biryani masala (WO 7/90); darchini (D 7/3/88); dhania (D 20/5/88); gantha (D 7/3/88); garam masala (N 13/7/90); haldi (N 13/7/90); imli (PT 29/6/88); kala jeera (FP/P 28/11/88); kalonji (N 9/6/89); khashkash (MN 24/8/88); khatai (SS 7/89); lahsun (D 20/5/88); masala (N 25/3/88); methi (D 7/3/88); qorma masala (WO 7/90); rai (MN 24/8/88); saunf (N 9/6/89); sufaid jeera (FP/P 28/11/88); tikka masala (WO 7/90); zeera (D 7/3/88).

### CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS

bajri (D 1/3/88); reti (D 1/3/88); saria (N 13/2/88).

### DESCRIPTIVE LABELS FOR PEOPLE

adeeb (MN 3/7/88); alim (PT 29/6/88); Aql-e-Qul (M 3/9/89); awami shaheed (TFT 29/8–4/9/91); awara (N 22/7/89); ayyar (TFT 22–8/2/90); babu (PT 15/9/86); badmash (N 28/6/88); bad nasal (FP/L 11/9/89); bagorha (FP/P 4/7/89); bania (FP/L 4/8/89); chakkar (HO 29/10/91); chamcha (N 29/1/88); chela (TFT 6–12/7/89); chhota (DE 27/8/90); chokra (N 16/7/90); choora (FP/L 15/4/91)—Punjabi; choori (WP 1/9/89)—Punjabi; crore-pati (N 22/2/90); dadageer (NS/L 1/9/91); dharail (FP/L 13/6/91)—Sindhi; dakoo (S 3/3/88); dalal (S 23/6/88); dalla (FP/L 18/8/89); darbari shair (N 17/2/88); dushman (M 25/6/89); fakhr-i-Afghan (FP/P 4/6/86); fakir (MN 5/6/88); farangi (FP/L 31/7/90); fasili batair (M 17/7/88); ferangi (N 13/2/88); ghaddar

(PT 4/6/90); gharana (TFT 19–25/7/90); goonda (M 28/11/88); gora (M 8/11/86); gumashtey (N 7/7/88); haq parast (D 15/1/88); hasina (FP/L 12/1/90); Hatta Katta (M 31/8/91); hejra (MAG 25–31/10/90); hur (FP/L 20/7/89); inqilabi (S 7/1/88); Islam Dost (FP/L 21/7/90); Islam Dushman (FP/L 21/7/90); Islam pasand (N 26/5/87); jaangloo (PO 13/1/90); jamhuriat pasand (N 3/12/87); jangli (N 22/1/89); jat (N 25/7/90); jogi (D 24/2/88); jooti chor (PO 25/7/90); kabutri (M 13/8/89); kameena (TFT 10–16/8/89); karchha (N 29/4/89); khaki (N 8/2/91); khaki shaheed (TFT 29/8–4/9/91); khaksar (D 5/2/88); khanabadosh (S 5/5/88); khidmatgar (MN 21/8/88); khussra (TFT 6–12/7/89)—Punjabi; khwaja sara (MAG 25–31/10/90); kori (MN 21/5/88); kuffar (M 30/6/91); kutti (FP/L 22/6/91); lakhpati (PT 21/2/89); lootera (M 29/6/90); majazi khuda (D 5/2/88); malang (FP/L 17/5/90); mir (N 11/2/88); mohajir (D 22/11/86); moomal (N 30/6/89)—Sindhi; mosalli (M 9/9/88); mufti (N 8/2/91); mulaqati (NS/L 8/5/91); murghi chor (PO 25/7/90); muttaqi (PT 25/7/90); mutwali (N 26/2/88); nadeeda (M 19/4/91); nakhuda (D 14/7/88); nausarbaz (N 24/7/88); paindoo (N 30/6/89); patharidar (DE 3/6/90)—Sindhi; pattha (N 11/10/91); pehelwan (FP/L 30/7/89); pipiliya (N 21/10/88); pukhtoon (FP/P 11/1/90); pushtoon (FP/L 4/6/90); qaumi razakar (M 4/6/90); rassagir (PT 19/7/88); razakaar (D 12/7/86); reloo katta (FP/L 10/8/91)—Punjabi; riyasti (N 28/5/88); sadarnashin (PT 1/8/89); sanyasi bawa (PT 10/5/88); sarmayadar (D 5/11/88); seth (S 3/3/88); sharif admi (PO 28/7/90); Sheikh Chilli (TFT 5–11/7/90); sherdil (N 12/6/90); sher-e-punjab (FP/L 8/6/90); sifarishi (MAG 23–29/6/88); soung faqir (N 11/4/87); tamashai (D/L 17/6/90); vazir-e-azam (F 10/6/90); yateem (PT 18/9/88); zamirparast (N 4/5/87); zananay (TFT 29/7–5/8/89); zar kharid (N 28/7/90); zilli tajiran (N 13/2/88); zinda-dilan-e-lahore (MAG 7–13/6/90).

## DRUGS/NARCOTICS

afeem (Adamjee Govt Science College Annual Magazine 1987–8); bhang (N 13/2/88); biri (S 15/10/87); charas (N 24/5/88); gutka (FP/L 20/6/91); men-puri (FP/L 20/6/91); naswar (M 15/1/89); puria (N 16/12/87).

## DWELLINGS

baithak (FP/P 3/6/89); chappar (N 11/4/87); ghar (MN 7/2/88); gidan (BT 1/12/87)—Balochi; haveli (N 11/8/87); jhuggi (D 21/1/88); kachchi abadi (D 5/2/88); kothi (V 23/6/88); manzil (D 16/8/89).

## EDIBLES: FOODSTUFFS

atta (PT 31/10/86); bajra (D 7/3/88); basmati (FP/L 28/5/90); bhaija (WE 26/4/91); chana (D 7/3/88); channa ki dal (N 13/7/90); chhalia (M 15/1/89); daal (N 31/1/88); daal (N 25/3/88); dahi (FP/L 18/5/90); dal moun (D 29/5/88); daaney (D/L 1/12/89); desi cheeni (PT 29/7/88); dood (FP/L 18/5/90); gur



(PT 29/7/88); guwar (PT 14/11/87); jowar (D 7/3/88); katha (PT 13/6/88); kapura (WE 26/4/91); kariana (N 24/7/87); khandsari (PT 29/7/88); khoya (PT 1/7/88); maida (BR 11/7/89); makai (N 25/3/88); mash (D 7/3/88); masoor (D 7/3/88); mirchi (D 13/7/90); moong (D 7/3/88); moonji (D 7/3/88); motth (PT 14/11/87); namak-mirch (PO 28/7/90); patti (N 6/11/88); sarsu (FP/P 4/8/87); shakaar (PT 29/7/88); siwayyan (N 7/5/89); sooji (BR 11/7/89); til (PT 14/11/87); urad (FP/P 4/8/87); vanaspati (PT 16/9/88).

### **EDIBLES: SNACKS AND PREPARED FOODS**

achar (D 28/7/88); aloo qeema (N 25/3/88); aloo chhole (N 21/2/88); balai (D/L 6/9/91); barfi (PT 1/7/88); bhujia (M 10/9/86); bhutta (D 6/7/90); biryani (N 25/3/88); boti (N 25/3/88); challi (PT 5/9/89)—Punjabi; chappali kabab (NL 6/90); chappati (N 14/3/88); chargha (D 21/1/89); chat (N 19/3/89); chatney (N 30/6/89); chewra (D 29/5/88); chhola (M 4/7/87); chikkar choley (D 21/1/89); daal paratha (FP/L 13/1/90); daal-gosht (D 21/1/89); dahi bhara (N 3/7/90); dal moth (D 29/5/88); dal chawal (PT 25/11/88); dood patti (M 19/2/89); falooda (MN 21/3/88); gobi gosht (TFT 19–25/7/90); gurma tikka-tin (N 25/3/88); haleem (D 23/3/86); halwa-puri (D 21/1/89); halwa (M 10/9/86); handi gosht (DE 13/7/90); jalebi (FP/L 5/6/90); kabab (N 3/6/90); kachori (D 21/1/89); karahi gosht (N 14/3/88); kata kat (D 12/7/90); kheer (D/L 6/9/91); khakeena (M 10/9/86); kofta (RW 22–8/10/86); kulfi (PT 13/6/88); ladoo (D 14/10/86); lassi (PT 27/5/90); mattar gosht (TFT 12–18/7/90); meetha paratha (FP/L 13/1/90); mithai (PT 10/9/88); murgh qorma (TFT 19–25/7/90); murgh haleem (PT 1/8/89); murgha chholey (N 25/3/88); nan (N 25/3/88); nan haleem (PT 1/8/89); nashta (S 22/10/87); nihari (D 23/3/86); nimko (DE 14/7/90); nokul (M 29/6/90)—Pushto; pakora (N 22/5/88); pan masala (D 15/1/88); pan (N 24/5/88); paratha (D 23/3/86); paya (M 10/9/86); Peshawary qehwa (D 21/1/89); piyaz gosht (PT 25/11/88); pulao (PT 4/7/90); puri (M 10/9/86); qeema (PT 4/7/90); qeemay walay naan (D 21/1/89); qorma (N 25/3/88); raaw (M 3/9/89); raita (TFT 12–18/7/90); rasawal (D/L 6/9/91); roghani nan (PT 25/11/88); roti (S 14/1/88); rubbri (M 3/9/89); saada paratha (FP/L 13/1/90); sabz chaye (PT 25/11/88); saj (FP/L 4/7/90); sajji (D 23/3/86)—Balochi; samosa (N 25/10/87); sardai (DE 2/6/90); sattoo (M 3/9/89); saunf supari (D 15/1/88); seekh kebab (N 25/3/88); shami kebab (M 9/6/89); sheer khurma (N 7/5/89); sita (PT 5/9/89)—Punjabi; sri-payee (FP/L 13/1/90); supari (D 15/1/88); tandoori roti (N 25/3/88); tikka (N 5/3/88); zar-da (M 4/7/90).

### **EDUCATION**

booti mafia (MA 26/4/90); madrassah (D 20/2/88); naqal (FP/L 6/9/89); ratta (N 10/8/89).



## **ELEMENTS**

aula (TFT 5–11/7/90); barsaat (TFT 29/7–4/8/91); buraq (D/L 24/7/90); chandi (FP/L 30/7/90); chandni (FP/L 30/7/90); paani (FP/L 18/5/90); hawa (TFT 13–19/7/89); loo (N 1/6/88); sawan (PT 4/7/90).

## **FABRICS**

ajrak (MN 14/2/88); bafta (MN 21/5/88); chikan (D/L 9/8/90); jorie (MN 21/5/88); khaddar (D/L 9/7/90); kimkhaab (TFT 19–25/7/90); laatha (N 26/3/88); mulmul (MAG 12–18/5/88); soosi (S 12/5/88).

## **FAUNA**

baander (FP/L 18/5/90); baaz (D 8/6/90); bakra (MAG 21–27/7/88); billa (DE 28/6/90); bulbul (PT 31/7/89); chakur (D 14/10/86); cheel (D 18/3/88); chinkara (D 14/10/86); deemak (M 21/7/89); dumba (M 4/7/88); gadda (N 11/2/88); jaira (S 7/6/90); kachawa (FP/L 6/6/90); kalri (S 7/6/90); lataka (FP/L 31/7/90)—Seraiki; mahaseer (M 9/6/89); marigala (PT 18/6/86); morakhi (PT 18/6/86); murga (N 25/3/88); rohu (PT 18/6/86); seese (FP/P 14/10/86)—Pushto; soondi (N 22/7/89); theila (PT 18/6/86).

## **FLORA**

amaltas (PT 9/6/90); babul (PT 14/6/88); bakain (PT 29/6/88); biar (PT 31/7/89); chambeli (SS 7/89); dayar (FP/L 1/11/90); deela (SS 7/89); deodar (PT 31/7/89); frash (PT 29/6/88); ipleiple (PT 29/6/88); jand (N 26/3/88); jhoohi (SS 7/89); kachnar (N 27/2/88); kail (PT 31/7/88); kappas (N 23/5/88); kikar (PT 14/6/88); lohero (MN 21/5/88); motia (SS 7/89); nim (PT 29/6/88); partial (PT 31/7/89); peepul (D 18/3/88); ranjni gandda (DE 21/7/90); sambul (D 20/2/88); sapheda (PT 14/6/88); shisham (D 15/1/88); simal (PT 29/6/88); siris (PT 29/6/88); suhanjana (N 5/3/88); suru (MN 13/8/87); ukka (N 26/3/88).

## **FRUIT/DRY FRUIT**

am (PT 29/6/88); anar (PT 29/7/88); chhuarrh (N 9/6/89); chikoo (D 25/3/88); chilgoza (D 7/3/88); chohara (D 7/3/88); choosnay wala aam (SS 7/89); jaman (PT 29/6/88); kari (SS 7/89); kashmiri seb (M 23/11/88); khasta badam (N 4/9/87); langra (SS 7/89); limbu (D 13/7/90); moongpali (PT 1/1/91); pal (SS 7/89); pista (PT 4/1/91); qalmi aam (SS 7/89); sarda (N 16/9/87); sa-

roli (SS 7/89); sindhri (SS 7/89); soobay ke teeng (SS 7/89); Sunder Khawani (PT 18/7/89); tarbooz (TFT 5–11/7/90); toot (PT 29/6/88); tukhmi aam (SS 7/89).

### **FUNERAL**

janazgah (M 14/1/90); kafan (FP/P 6/9/89); kafan-posh (FP/L 17/3/91); maqbara (PO 6/6/90); taboot (PT 21/8/88).

### **GAMES/SPORTS**

akhara (FP/L 30/7/89); bandar killa (FP/L 18/5/90); boochian (FP/L 18/5/90); bushk (D 13/7/90); buzkashi (N 27/2/87); chogan (T 9/7/89); chor-sipahi (FP/L 18/5/90); dabian (FP/L 18/5/90); desi kushti (FP/L 30/7/89); gulli-dunda (FP/L 18/5/90); kabaddi (N 27/2/87); kainchay (FP/L 18/5/90); kaudi (PT 27/5/90); keeri-kara (FP/L 18/5/90); kushti (FP/L 30/7/89); laatoos (FP/L 18/5/90); langri tehn (FP/L 18/5/90); leeko (FP/L 18/5/90); malakhrah (BT 10/8/87)—Balochi/Sindhi; malh (N 26/8/89)—Balochi/Sindhi; nazabazi (N 17/3/88); oonchneech (FP/L 18/5/90); patang-bazi (TFT 25–31/1/90); pithoo gol gorram (FP/L 18/5/90); shahi dangal (N 11/10/91); thippa (FP/L 18/5/90).

### **HOME FURNISHINGS**

chadar (M 13/10/91); charpai (N 13/2/88); darri (M 23/12/86); dastarkhan (N 13/2/88); falasi (N 26/3/88); farasi (M 9/6/89)—Sindhi; katho (MN 21/5/88); khais (MN 21/5/88); kilim (M 23/12/86); moorha (N 13/2/88); purdah (PT 28/11/90); takhtposh (N 13/2/88).

### **KINSHIP TERMS**

abba jaan (TVT 7/88); abba (FP/L 18/5/90); abbaji (N 9/7/89); abu (N 24/7/90); amma (TFT 19–25/7/90); ammi (TVT 7/88); ammiji (N 9/7/89); apa (DE 2/6/90); baba (FP/L 18/5/90); bahen (TVT 7/88); baji (D 25/3/88); betiyan (M 28/6/90); bhaabi (TVT 7/88); bhai (N 17/5/88); bhatija (D 4/6/90); bibi (TFT 24–30/5/90); chacha (M 12/11/86); dadijan (N 24/7/90); damaad (FP/L 28/8/90); kakaji (PT 7/7/90); khala (S 23/6/88); maa'en (M 28/6/90); mamaji (N 9/7/89); mamoo jaan (TVT 7/88); mamoo (S 23/6/88); massi (TFT 19–25/7/90); naani (S 23/6/88); nana (D 29/6/90); nanijan (D 29/6/90); taya abboo (N 17/2/89).

## LANDSCAPE

bagh (N 23/3/88); banjar (D 8/3/89); bund (D 25/5/86); galiat (PT 15/12/86); gopa (D 2/9/88); gulshan (D 18/3/88); jagir (M 26/7/89); johar (PT 31/7/90); karez (MN 18/7/88); kund (D 2/9/88); maidan (MN 11/2/88); morcha (V 24/5/90); nali (MN 7/2/88); nullah (MN 13/3/88); phattak (N 10/8/89); pul (MN 13/3/88); ri (PT 4/7/89)—Balti; sukhnala (PT 4/8/88); teela (TFT 10–16/8/89); toba (N 26/3/88).

## LAW

dawah (PT 30/6/86; furd (N 14/2/88); jawab-e-dawa (N 3/6/90); kari (S 28/6/90)—Sindhi; karo (S 7/1/88)—Sindhi; robkar (M 14/1/90); sanad (N 18/9/87); wakalatnama (D 22/3/88).

## LAW AND ORDER SITUATION

bandh hartal (N 11/4/87); bong (D 4/10/86)—Sindhi/Seraiki; bhunga (M 23/6/91)—Pushto; challan (MN 7/2/88); chhatrol (N 14/9/89); chitter (D/L 14/7/90)—Punjabi; dharna (PT/I 15/9/88); gherao (D 6/3/88); hartal (N 30/10/86); jaloos (MAG 7–13/6/90); kafanbardar (PT 4/8/88); muqabla (DE 7/7/90); murgha (M 27/2/91); naka (PT 21/5/90); nakabandi (D 13/10/86); pahyyajam (S 8/11/86).

## MARRIAGE/DIVORCE

barati (PT 14/1/87); barrat (PT 25/9/88); barri (Y 15/4/91); dholkan (MAG 17–23/1/91); dulha (MAG 17–23/1/91); dulhan (MAG 17–23/1/91); jahez (PT 27/6/88); jahilliah (N 31/10/90); khula (N 31/10/90); mayun (D 22/6/88); mehendi (D 26/5/88); mun dikhai (TFT 31/5–6/691); rukhsati (N 23/2/88); salami (FP/L 14/1/90); sehra bandi (PT 7/12/88); shadi mubarak (D/L 16/7/90); shadi (N 6/2/88); watasata (N 1/6/88); vadhais (TFT 6–12/7/89); walwar (PT 26/10/90)—Pushto.

## MEASUREMENTS

balisht (M 12/2/88); chattank (PT 6/5/89); chittar (TFT 25–31/90)—Punjabi; crore (M 1/1/90); dhari (N 27/10/90); jareeb (M 29/7/89); kanal (PT 25/7/87); lakh (M 2/10/86); marla (N 1/2/88); maund (PT 6/5/89); murabba (D 1/7/88); pao (S 22/10/87); tola (MN 20/8/88).



**MEDICINE**

akar kara (FP/P 28/11/88); dawakhana (PT 22/7/90); desi tibb (PT 12/10/86); hakim (PT 4/10/86); hukma (N 20/5/89); jarrah (D 10/8/88); Kaaldana (D/L 24/7/90); kala moosli (FP/P 28/11/88); mardana kamzori (N 20/8/91); matab (PT 4/10/86); mossigar (PT 23/7/89); poshida imraaz (N 20/8/91); sherbet-i-anjabar (FP/L 6/6/90); sufaid moosli (FP/P 28/11/88); tabib (N 28/1/88); tibb (PT 12/10/86); tibbia (N 28/1/88); unani tibb (PT 28/8/89); unani shafakhana (N 10/5/88); vaid (D 13/7/90).

**MILITARY**

askar (FP/P 4/11/86); bara khana (MN 27/3/88); hawaldaar (FP/L 26/7/90); Hilal-i-Jurat (M 31/1/89); jang (N 29/5/90); jawan (D 5/2/88); khaki (N 15/7/90); lashkar kashi (D 28/5/90); Nishan-e-Haider (M 31/1/89); pasban (N 3/6/90); sepahi (MN 24/8/88); Sitara-i-Shujat (M 31/1/89); Sitara-i-Bisalet (M 31/1/89); Sitara-i-Jurat (M 31/1/89); subedar (D 24/2/88); Tamgha-i-Bisalet (M 31/1/89); Tamgha-i-Shujat (M 31/1/89); Tamgha-i-Jurat (M 31/1/89); zarb-e-momin (M 6/6/90).

**MODES OF ADDRESS/REFERENCE**

abadagar (D 21/1/88); arain (N 13/12/87); arbab (S 30/6/88); aurat (S 12/5/88); awam (N 1/2/88); Baba-e-Jamhooriyat (FP/L 30/7/90); baba (N 9/2/88); bacha (N 22/7/89); begum (N 22/3/88); begumaat (N 23/6/91); bhai (MN 17/5/88); bibi (TFT 24–30/5/90); chacha (M 12/11/86); chaudhri (N 11/2/88); dastango (TFT 22–8/2/90); dost (N 1/2/88); gahak (DE 24/6/90); gazal go (FP/L 31/7/90); gharib awam (D/L 14/7/90); hari (D 19/1/89); hindkowan (FP/L 29/5/90); jagirdar (D 5/11/88); janasheen (PT 1/8/89); kammi (M 28/10/88); karigar (FP/L 4/7/90); khan (MN 5/8/88); kharkar (V 26/10/89); khattak (S 30/6/88); khawateen (D 25/3/88); lala (TFT 7–13/6/90); madar-i-millat (N 1/7/90); mahkoom (D 5/11/88); malik (FP/P 10/10/87); maqtool (D 5/11/88); memsahib (N 27/9/89); mian (PT 4/7/87); mahafiz (N 29/7/89); Malka-e-Tarranum (Y 18/8/91); milmah (FP/P 26/6/89)—Pushto; mohtarma (D 5/12/88); mukhbir (RW 20–6/6/90); Nabaligh Buchaa (FP/L 30/7/90); naukar (D 5/2/88); nawab (N 1/6/88); nawabzada (D 5/2/88); nizam (FP/L 3/6/90); numbardar (N 2/6/88); parosan (NS/L 4/7/91); peti bhai (FP/L 16/8/89); pir baba (PO 6/6/90); Pirjee (FP/L 25/7/90); Quaid-e-Awam (DE 22/7/90); quaid-e-azam (N 26/5/90); Quaid-i-Millat (PT 16/10/86); quaid (D 8/1/88); sahib (N 21/2/88); sahiba (N 22/3/88); sardar (N 1/2/88); sardarji (PO 28/7/90); sardarzada (N 24/5/88); sarod nawaz (PT 24/7/90); shaheed-i-millat (MAG 7–13/6/90); tumandar (N 7/7/90); ustad (N 25/5/88); wadera (N 13/2/88); warna (PT 6/6/90)—Balochi; yar (N 15/9/87); zamindar (D 5/2/88).

**MODES OF TRANSPORT**

doli (D 5/2/88); gaddi (M 2/2/89); gadhagari (T 6/7/89); kekra (MN 23/10/87); pathara (D 11/9/87); rehra (PT 28/8/89); rehri (D 5/2/88); tanga (N 20/6/90); thayla (PT 16/7/90); yakka (FP/L 6/6/90).

**MONEY/BANKING/COMMERCE**

anna (N 27/9/86); chamak (FP/L 8/8/89); havala (N 21/3/88); hundi (N 21/3/88) [undee (PT 17/5/91)]; kamai (TFT 6–12/7/89); khata (N 24/7/88); maale-tajarat (DE 27/7/90); mushakerat (D 12/8/89); pagri (M 9/1/90); paisa (N 7/3/88); pishgi (M 20/9/88); qurra (MN 23/3/88); rupee (D 6/2/88); satta (N 28/11/86); sikka wakala (BR 8/7/87); sood (PT 17/2/87); taccavi (PT 6/12/86); tehbazari (PT 4/10/86); vail (TFT 6–12/7/89).

**MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS**

alghoza (N 31/10/90); chang (FP/L 15/7/91)—Kashmiri; chimta (M 17/2/89); dhol (N 24/2/88); dholak (N 24/2/88); dugduggi (FP/L 12/7/89); ektara (PT 31/7/90)—Punjabi; khartal (FP/L 16/8/90)—Punjabi; king (PT 31/7/90)—Punjabi; rubab (FP/L 15/7/91)—Kashmiri; santoor (FP/L 15/7/91)—Kashmiri; sarinda (N 31/10/90)—Pushto; sarangi (N 24/2/88)—Kashmiri; sitar (N 24/2/88); surmandal (N 24/2/88); taanpura (N 24/2/88); tabla (N 24/2/88); tamaknari (FP/L 15/7/91)—Kashmiri; toomba (PT 31/7/90).

**OCCUPATIONS**

arhiti (PT 4/7/87); ayah (TFT 12–18/7/90); bahishti (PT 3/10/86); baildar (MN 30/3/88); beopari (PT 14/7/89); bhand (FP/L 29/8/89); bhangar (D 5/2/88); chaprasi (N 15/9/89); chowkidar (D 5/2/88); daftari (D 24/2/88); dai (D 5/2/88); darban (V 23/6/88); dhoban (D 5/2/88); dhobi (MN 11/3/88); gashti (FP/L 22/6/91); ghosi (D 5/2/88); halwai (SS 1/90); jamadar (D/L 5/9/89); jamadarni (PT 21/7/90); jharookash (FP/L 5/2/92); jolaha (N 11/8/87); kabari (PT 2/3/88); kabaria (M 21/8/89); kahar (MN 30/3/88); kaneez (TFT 28/6–4/7/90); kanjar (TFT 10–16/8/89); kasai (FP/L 29/6/90); kashtakar (PT 27/6/88); khassadar (TFT 15–21/8/91)—Pushto; khakroob (M 16/8/91); khitmutgar (FP/L 11/7/90); kissan (N 8/2/88); kumhar (N 23/9/88); kunjran (D 5/2/88); maasi (M 26/5/89); malan (D 5/2/88); mali (MN 19/2/88); malishi (NL 8/91); manharan (D 5/2/88); masalchi (FP/L 11/7/90); mashqi (SS 7/89); mazdoor (N 11/2/88); meerasi (FP/L 14/9/89); mithaigar (D 8/6/90); mohar-rir (PT 27/5/89); munshi (D 15/5/88); naaee (FR 4/19/91); naib qasid (N 18/3/88); nain (D 5/2/88); nanbai (DE 19/5/90); pankha quli (MN 30/3/88); pathara (N 23/9/88); pehlwan (NL 8/91); quli (N 11/2/88); saqqa (D 5/2/88);



sarraf (T 8/7/89); serishedar (MN 28/1/87); shikari (MN 12/5/88); thaikedari (FP/P 4/8/87); thekedar (FP/L 5/8/89).

## PARTS OF THE BODY

chamri (MC 8/91); dil (MAG 25/4 – 1/5/91); kapoorra (FP/L 20/8/91); khapa-chchi (MAG 30/8/90 – 5/9/90); qalb (N 22/6/89).

## PLACE NAMES

adano (MN 21/5/88); adda (D 13/2/88); aiwan-e-sadr (N 25/12/86); astana (FP/L 24/7/90); azad kashmir (M 4/6/90); bakkar mandi (N 17/2/89); Bakra Piri (M 14/7/89); bara (N 13/2/88); bazaar (D 19/2/86); behesht (SS 7/89); beheshti darwaza (D/L 31/7/90); bharat (M 4/6/90); bhatta (M 26/5/90); chakki (D 23/3/88); chata (FP/L 8/9/89); chhoti jaji (N 31/8/91); chowk (N 31/1/88); chowki (PT 29/6/90); chungti (PT 31/10/86); dar ul aman (FP/P 11/10/86); dar-ul-kifalat (FP/P 19/10/86); darul kilafah (PT 18/7/88); dera (N 21/3/88); desh (MAG 7 – 13/6/90); gali (D 8/6/90); gol chakkar (N 25/3/87); hamam (N 6/6/90); havalat (DE 7/7/90); heera mandi (MAG 31/5 – 6/6/90); itwar bazaar (DE 3/7/90); juma bazaar (N 8/6/90); kanda (NS/L 13/4/91)—Punjabi; kasaira mandi (N 8/9/89); khayaban (D/L 19/6/90); khokha (S 26/5/88); kitabkhana (19/5/89); landa bazaar (FP/P 24/11/88); malkhana (PT 1/7/88); mandi (D 11/5/88); mangal bazaar (N 24/7/90); markaz (D 20/5/88); meena bazaar (M 7/11/86); mewa mandi (N 6/6/90); mohalla (D 20/5/88); pakhtunistan (PT 30/6/90); pan mandi (T 20/7/89); parao (N 8/11/86); Peshawar more (M 13/8/89); pithari (H 8/91)—Sindhi; qehwa khana (FP/L 29/7/89); sabzi mandi (N 4/2/88); saddar (PT 28/5/90); sarai (N 11/7/89); sarhad (M 13/7/88); sarkari nalka (DE 27/5/90); shahra (N 28/5/90); shikargah (D 14/2/88); sindudesh (S 24/11/86); sooha bazaar (FP/L 8/9/89); sooter mandi (N 8/9/89); thalla (D/L 24/7/90); thana (N 11/8/87); Urdu Baazar (N 6/9/89); Yadgar-i-Pakistan (PT 16/8/89); yadgar (PT 16/8/89); yateem khana (PT 4/6/90).

## POLITICAL/SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Aiwan-e-Zarafat (DE 22/7/90); Anjuman-e-Arhatian (FP/L 30/8/91); Anjuman-e-Asatiza Pakistan (FP/L 1/7/90); Anjuman-e-Tahaffaz-i-Haqooq-i-Mausiqaran (N 3/7/90); Anjuman-e-Tohafuz-e-Hakook Shehrian Gujrat (FP/L 18/6/90); Anjuman-e-Zargran (N 7/10/91); Anjuman-i-Qassaban (D/L 22/7/90); Anjuman-i-Tahafuz-i-Haqooq-i-Dokandaran (FP/L 23/7/91); Anjuman Patwarian Punjab (M 22/6/89); Anjuman Tahaffuze Huqooq-e-Shehrian (FP/L 31/7/90); Anjuman Tajran (N 15/7/90); Anjuman Tajiran-e-Anarkali (N 25/9/



91); Dukhtaran-i-Kashmir (FP/L 21/7/90); Darul Aman (PT 13/5/91); Dar-ul-Kafalat (PT 28/6/89); Halqa-i-Arbab-i-Zauq (FP/L 11/7/89); Halqa Tasneef-e-Adab Lahore (N 30/7/90); Idara-e-Mohibaan-e-Insaniyet (PT 15/7/90); Jeay Sindh Mahaz (D 19/7/90); Jeay Sindh Tehrik (SE 16/7/90); Kalam Mazdoor Ijtimah (N 30/4/89); Khaksar Tahreek (D 1/7/89); Markazi Jamiat Suharwardia Khalqia (PT 28/7/90); Muttahida Mahaz (N 30/7/90); Pakistan Qaumi Mohaz-e-Azadi (FP/L 22/7/90); Pukhtoon Khawa Milli Ittehad (PT 28/7/90); Punjabi Pakhtoon Ittehad (D/L 14/7/90); Qaumi Mahaz Azadi (M 4/8/87); Sheryan-e-Lahore (PT 16/7/90); Sindhi Ittehad (D/L 25/7/90); Tahreek-e-Hurriyat-e-Kashmir (N 30/7/90); Tajir Ittehad Multan (FP/L 24/7/90); Tanzeeme Naujawan (M 15/7/90); tanzeem falah khawateen (D/L 3/6/90); Tanzeem Idara Bahali-e-Mustahkeen (D/L 21/7/90); Tanzeem Khidmat Markaz (PT 15/7/90); Tehrik-e-Istiqlal (N 12/11/88); Tehrik Istehkam-i-Pakistan (N 15/7/90); Wokala Mahaz (N 24/8/89).

### RELIGION (Islam)

Adl-o-Ahsan (D/L 10/9/91); ahadees-e-nabvi (N 3/2/89); Ahadith (PT 21/7/90); Ahle-Bait (M 24/7/90); ahle hadith (N 13/2/88); Ahle-Kitab (PT/I 14/9/89); ahraam (N 26/7/87); aisaal-e-sawaab (D 3/1/88); Aitkaf (PT 5/5/89); Akhuwat-e-Islami (N 18/8/89); alam (D 24/8/88); alhamdo-lillah (D 1/7/89); Alim (PT 29/7/90); allah-o-akbar (PT 6/10/87); amal-i-ashur (D 24/8/88); amir (D 5/2/88); Anjuman-i-Islamia (PT 28/7/90); Anjuman Imamia (M 25/7/90); Anjuman Ittehad-e-Bainal Muslimeen (N 21/7/90); Anjuman Sipah-i-Sahaba (V 31/5/90); anjuman tulaba-i-islam (DE 3/6/90); ansar (D 21/2/87); aqiqa (D 22/6/88); asalam-o-alaikum (MN 21/3/88); ashabi (D 16/8/89); ashooora (D 24/8/88); ashraful makhlooqat (TN 6/6/90); Ashura-i-Muharram (N 4/9/87); asr (D/L 1/6/90); aulia-e-karam (FP/P 11/10/86); auqaf (D 5/2/88); Awami Tehreek (D 19/7/90); aya'at (D 27/6/86); ayat (PT 15/11/88); ayatul kursi (PO 5/6/90); ayatullah (PO 3/6/90); Ayete Karima (FP/L 28/7/90); azaan (N 11/2/88); azadari (PO 28/7/90); bab-ul-islam (D 7/2/87); Baitul Hujjaj (M 29/7/90); Bait-ul-Maal (FP/L 13/1/90); bakr eid (N 14/7/87); Bakra Eid (N 8/8/88); Barelvi (PT 28/7/90); barsi (D 1/12/88); bid'ah (N 7/5/89); bidaat (D 27/3/87); bismillah (MN 21/3/88); burkha (MAG 10-16/3/88); chaand raat (S 12/5/88); chadar aur chardevari (D 5/11/88); chaddar (N 13/3/88); chaddar (NS/L 27/9/91); chader poshi (FP/L 14/7/90); chardiwari (N 11/2/88); chehlum (D 15/1/88); dabba pir (N 23/7/89); dargah alia (D 3/10/86); darood-o-salam (N 26/8/89); darood sharif (PT 28/8/88); dars-e-quran (N 4/6/90); darvesh (D 11/8/89); darveshi (PT 1/8/89); dastarbandi (N 26/1/87); Data Sahib (PT 13/8/89); deen-e-Islam (DE 30/7/90); deen (DE 30/7/90); deeni madaras (PT 11/7/87); Deobandi (PT 28/7/90); dhamal (PO 31/7/90); dinyat (MN 20/3/88); diyat (PT 11/7/87); Doaa-e-Maqfrat (D 3/1/88); dua (M 8/6/90); durgah (N 11/4/87); eeman (M 25/7/90); eid (N 14/2/88); Eid ai khushian lai (N 8/8/88); Eidayn (N 7/5/89); eidgah (MN 11/2/88); eidi (D 27/7/88); eidi (N 9/8/87); eid-i-milad-un-nabi (D 7/11/87); Eid Mubarak

(M 14/7/89); eid-ul-azha (N 7/5/89); eid-ul-fitr (M 8/6/90); fajr (D/L 1/6/90); fateha (D 5/2/88); fatwa (N 3/2/89); Fatwa baz (M 28/7/90); fiqh (TFT 7–13/6/90); fitra (D 18/5/88); fitrana (PT 11/5/88); Gairveen Sharif (D 12/12/86); ghaibana namaz-i-janaza (D 19/12/86); ghaibana janaza (MN 21/8/88); Ghair Muqallidin (TFT 19–25/7/90); ghazi (D 15/2/88); ghusal (D 3/10/86); hadd (D 5/2/88); hadis[hadith] (D 16/8/89); hadiya (D 25/3/88); Hadood Ullah (M 28/7/90); hafiz-e-quran (N 18/12/86); haji (MN 18/3/88); hajj (MN 18/3/88); Hajj-i-Badal (BT 14/7/87); Hajj-i-Qiran (FP/L 12/7/89); halal (N 25/5/88); halala (NS/L 7/9/91); Hamd-o-Naat (NS/L 11/5/91); haq mehr (PT 8/6/90); haraba (M 27/9/91); Harkat-ul-Mujahideen Tehreek (N 28/7/90); haram (MN 26/5/88); harmain sharifain (D 14/7/87); hazrat (D 19/2/88); hezb-i-islami (D 25/3/88); Hezbul Mujahideen (PO 31/7/90); hifz-o-qirat (MN 23/3/88); Hijra (FP/L 25/7/90); hijri (D 21/3/88); hizb-e-jehad (M 3/6/90); hudood (D 5/2/88); huffaz (MN 23/3/88); hujjaj (BT 14/7/87); hujra (PT 21/8/88); huqooqul ibad (MN 8/2/88); huqooqullah (MN 8/2/88); Husainiat (PT 21/7/90); husn-i-qirat (MN 1/12/88); ibadat (N 29/1/88); iddat (D 14/1/88); iftar (D 6/5/88); Ijtehad (M 29/7/90); ijtehad (FP/L 27/8/90); Imam Bara (PT 10/5/88); imam (D 5/2/88); Imam Masjid (NS/L 22/9/91); imamat (N 29/6/88); imambargah (D 5/3/88); inshallah (MN 24/5/88); iqra (D 6/2/88); isha (D/L 1/6/90); islah-i-muashra (D 7/11/87); Islami Hukoomat (DE 23/7/90); islami jamiat-e-tulba (N 4/6/90); Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (FP/L 1/7/90); Ittehad Bain-ul-Muslimeen (N 28/7/90); jamaat-e-Islami (FP/L 4/6/90); Jama'at-e-Islami walla (N 26/5/87); Jama'at-i-Islami (MA 31/7/90); Jama'at wala (MA 31/7/90); Jamat Ittehad-o-Ishat-e-Tauheed (DE 22/7/90); Jamiat-i-Mashaikh Pakistan (N 23/7/89); Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan (N 25/3/87); Jamiat Tulaba Arabia (N 23/7/90); Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam (FP/L 4/6/90); jamma masjid (MN 7/2/88); janamaz (M 15/7/90); Jashane Moullood-e-Kaaba (M 20/2/89); jashne wiladat-i-Ali (M 17/2/89); jehad (N 29/1/88); jubbah (PT 14/11/87); Juma Khutaba (M 29/7/90); juma (D 6/2/88); jumat-ul-wida (PT 6/5/89); Jumma-Tul-Mubarik (M 13/7/89); Jurh-al-Amd (PT 29/7/90); Kaaba (FP/P 8/12/88); kafi (N 14/7/89)—Seraiki; kafir (N 14/2/88); kalima tayyaba (PT 28/8/88); kalma (PT 13/8/89); khairati (TFT 7–13/6/90); khalifa (N 3/2/89); Khalifatullah (N 4/1/88); khanqah (PT 25/7/87); khatib (MN 7/2/88); khatna-wala (N 3/2/89); kherat (MN 17/5/88); Khilafat-i-Rashida (N 31/7/90); Khilafat (N 29/6/88); khuda hafiz (MN 24/5/88); khudai (FP/P 4/7/89); Khuddam-ul-Hujjaj (BT 14/7/87); khums (H 8/91); khutba (S 8/11/86); kufr (N 28/6/88); labbaik (M 8/6/90); La-deeni (N 9/7/90); Laila-tul-Qadr (PT 13/5/88); langar (D 8/1/88); Langar Khana (DE 29/7/90); lian (FP/L 28/7/90); lota pir (N 10/9/91); madina munawwarah (DE 3/6/90); maghrib (D/L 1/6/90); maharam (D 5/2/88); mairaj-un-nabi (S 17/3/88); Majalis-e-Muharram (D/L 24/7/90); majalis (D/L 25/7/90); Majlis-e-Ittehad-e-Islami (DE 22/7/90); majlis-e-aza (D 1/12/88); Majlis-i-Ashura-i-Muharram (D/L 24/7/90); Majlis-i-Ulema Pakistan (PT 21/7/90); Majlis Sham-i-gharibaan (D/L 24/7/90); maktab (NS/L 27/3/91); mal-i-ghanimat (PT 28/5/89); Manasik-e-Haj (FP/P 4/6/86); Maqam-i-Mustafa (PT 28/7/90); Mardan Khana (N 4/9/87); mard-i-momin (PT 28/8/88); maroo (FP/L 19/4/91)—Punjabi; marsia khwani (FP/L 31/7/



90); marsia khwan (FP/L 31/7/90); marsia go (FP/L 31/7/90); marsia (PT 26/8/88); masajid (MN 1/2/88); Masha Allah (N 9/8/87); masjid (N 4/2/88); matam (DE 4/8/90); maulana (D 6/2/88); mazar (D 15/2/88); mazloom (M 27/4/87); me'raj (D 17/3/88); Mehfil-e-Sama (PT 29/7/90); mehfil-e-naat (MN 11/2/88); Mehfil-e-Zikar (N 14/9/89); mehr (PT 8/6/90); milad (N 11/2/88); Milad Mehfil (MN 7/11/87); Millat-i-Jafariya (DE 24/7/90); Millat-i-Kafreen (M 20/4/91); minar (V 24/5/90); mir wais (N 26/5/90); miswak (FP/L 6/6/90); moazzan (N 19/6/89); mohalla maulvi (PO 28/7/90); Moharram Majalis (D/L 24/7/90); momin (D 7/11/87); momina (WP 4/10/91); momineen (N 6/6/90); Motamar-Alam-i-Islami (FP/L 25/7/90); muajjal (N 5/4/89); muawneen (NS/L 7/5/91); mufassarin (PT 24/7/90); mufti (D 14/2/88); muhafezeen (NS/L 7/5/91); Muharram-ul-Haram (PT 21/7/90); muharram (N 7/5/89); mujahid (M 14/7/90); mujahideen (D 21/2/87); mullah (N 1/2/88); mullajee (FP/L 4/8/89); munafaqat (FP/L 4/6/90); munafiq (FP/P 8/12/88); munafiqueen (FP/P 8/12/88); mureed (FP/P 26/11/88); muridi (TFT 10-16/8/89); murshid (N 23/3/88); murtid (DE 23/7/90); musallah (N 7/5/89); Musawat-i-Muhammadi (PO 29/7/90); mushaikh (PT 11/7/87); Muslim (FP/P 8/12/88); Muslimeen (FP/P 8/12/88); mustahiqeen-i-zakat (PT/I 5/9/88); mustehqeen (N 1/2/88); mutavali (N 3/6/90); na'at khawan (N 13/3/88); na'at (MAG 3-9/3/88); na'atia qawwali (N 21/11/86); naat khawani (PT 28/8/88); nafs (N 22/6/89); naib amir (MN 7/2/88); namaharam (D 5/2/88); namaz (N 8/2/88); Namaz-e-Eid (M 19/4/91); namaz-e-janaza (N 1/2/86); namazi (D 14/1/88); Namaz-i-Istesqa (PT 7/12/88); naqaub (M 7/7/90); nawafil (PT 17/7/89); nazar niaz (MN 17/5/88); nazim (N 6/9/91); nazima (FP/L 17/7/91); nazra quran (PT 8/2/86); nazra (PT 8/2/86); niaz (D 26/7/86); niaz deg (FP/L 31/8/91); Nifaze Shariah (M 31/7/90); nikah (D 26/8/88); nikahnama (PT 20/12/88); nizam-i-Islam (D 31/10/86); Nizam-e-Salat (FP/L 13/1/90); nizam-i-Shariah (PT 16/10/86); nizam-i-mustafa (D 20/3/88); nooha (PT 26/8/88); Pakistan awami tehrik (PT 19/6/90); parah (PT 8/2/86); pardadari (M 7/7/90); pardanashin (M 7/7/90); peshimam (S 8/11/86); Pir Bhai (PT 28/7/90); pir (N 11/2/88); purdah (N 5/3/88); qanoon-i-shahadat (D 12/2/88); qari (D 12/2/88); qariah (MN 23/3/88); qasas (N 22/6/89); Qatl-al-Amd (PT 29/7/90); qawwaal (N 13/3/88); qawwali (D 25/3/88); qazaf (FP/L 28/7/89); qazi (PT 11/7/87); qibla (FP/L 16/8/90); qirat (N 6/3/88); Quarz-i-Hasna (D 16/8/89); qul (N 17/3/88); qur'an (D 28/12/87); Quran-i-Hakeem (PO 29/7/90); quran khawani (D 5/2/88); Rabita al-Alam al-Islami (PO 30/7/90); Rabita Alam-e-Islami (N 21/7/90); Rahbar-e-Hujjaj (BT 14/7/87); rajm (N 13/12/88); raka (M 4/7/90); rak'at (N 7/5/89); ramazan-ul-mubarak (D 6/5/88); ramazan (D 6/5/88); rawadaari (TN 6/6/90); riba (D 27/10/87); risq-i-halal (PT 24/11/86); rooh (N 22/6/89); roza (MN 14/5/88); rozakhor (MAG 4-10/4/91); rozedar (DE 3/6/90); ruet-i-hilal (N 4/5/87); sabeel (MN 7/2/88); sadaqaat (PT 16/6/88); Sahib-e-Nisab (PT 24/7/90); sajjada nasheen (D 3/10/86); salaah (D 28/12/87); salat-ul-Eid (M 4/7/90); Salat-ul-Eid-ul-Fitr (N 7/5/89); Salat-i-Eid (N 7/5/89); saleh (N 14/5/91); salehin (NS/L 7/5/91); sawm (N 7/5/89); seerat-i-nabavi (MN 7/12/88); seerat-i-tayyaba (N 14/12/87); seerat-un-nabi (MN 9/3/88); seerat-e-rasool (N 14/12/87); seerat (N 4/12/87); sehr (N 10/5/88); sehri



(D 4/3/88); sehriwala (MN 8/5/88); shab-e-barat (N 7/5/89); shabeena (N 26/5/87); shabi-zuljinah (PT 26/8/88); Shafi-i-Joe (N 30/7/90); Shafi-i-Khilat (N 30/7/90); Shafi-i-Shariq (N 30/7/90); Shahadat-i-Imam Hussain (PT 26/8/88); shahadat (M 10/9/86); shaheed (N 23/8/89); Shaitaan (NS/L 11/10/91); sham-i-ghariban (MN 24/8/88); shari haq mehr (PT 8/6/90); Shariah (N 23/12/88); Shariat-i-Mohammadi (FP/L 24/7/90); Shariat-wala (DE 29/7/90); shariat (D 5/12/88); Shawwal (N 7/5/89); shia (N 25/7/90); shirk (D 27/3/87); Shohada (PT 26/8/88); shoora (N 14/3/87); shuhada-e-Karbala (N 4/9/87); sooz-e-salam (PT 26/8/88); soyem (D 14/1/88); soz khwani (D 27/10/87); Sunnat (D 28/12/87); sunni (FP/P 8/12/88); sura (D 6/6/90); syed (N 1/7/90); syedzada (S 18/2/88); tabarak (N 17/2/88); tabligh (MN 1/2/88); tadabbur (PT 27/7/89); tafakkur (PT 27/7/89); Tahreek Tahafuz Khatam-i-Nabuwat (D/L 24/7/90); takbir (N 7/5/89); talaqnama (D 20/3/88); talaq (N 10/3/88); Tanzeem-e-Ahlesunnat-Wal-Jamaat (M 25/7/90); Tanzeem-e-Akhuwat-e-Islami (N 18/8/89); Tanzeem-i-Islami (FP/L 21/7/90); taqwa (D 8/11/87); taroo (FP/L 19/4/91)—Punjabi; tasbeeh (PO 21/10/90); taskheer (PT 27/7/89); tauheed (M 18/10/87); tazia (D 24/8/88); tazir (FP/L 28/7/90); Tehrik-e-Amal (M 14/7/90); Tehrik-e-Niffaz-i-Shariat (FP/L 24/7/90); Tehrik Nifaz-i-Fiqah Jafria (PT 15/7/90); tibb-i-Islami (N 3/7/90); ulema-e-Kiram (PO 28/7/90); ulema (PT 26/8/88); ummah (D 5/2/88); umra (N 4/2/88); urs (MN 7/2/88); ushr (D 6/2/88); uswa-i-husna (PT 15/10/87); vazoo (PT 21/8/88); vali-ma (D 26/8/88); wahabi (FP/L 12/8/89); wahi (PT 27/7/89); Waizeen (N 4/9/87); wali (PT 11/11/87); watwani (FP/P 19/10/86)—Punjabi; ya rasool allah (PT 6/10/87); yade Ilahi (FP/P 14/10/86); Yaum-i-Ashura (N 4/9/87); Yaum-i-Shahadat (D/L 24/7/90); yom-e-khundaq (PT 4/6/90); yom-i-doa (D 13/2/88); zaakir (PT 26/8/88); zaireen (PO 3/6/90); zakat (D 6/2/88); zakat al fitr (MN 17/5/88); zakat-wallah (PT 22/5/88); zakireen (N 28/6/88); zalim (M 27/4/87); zalim-mazloom (M 27/4/87); zanjirzani (FP/L 25/7/91); zenana (D 20/5/88); Zenan Khana (N 4/9/87); ziarat (PO 3/6/90); zikr (PT 4/6/90); zil-haj (M 16/7/90); zina (N 8/2/88); zohr (D/L 1/6/90); zuhrain (FP/L 25/7/91); zuljinah (PT 26/8/88); zulm (D 5/2/88).

### RELIGION (other)

akhand path (FP/L 18/6/90); Besakhi (PT 16/4/91); bhog (FP/L 16/6/90); di-vali (MN 23/10/87); Eid Qiamat-ul-Maseeh (PT 5/4/91); gambhar (D/L 16/6/90); gurudwara (S 7/1/88); Hanud (D/L 25/7/90); Janamashtami (PO 16/8/90); keertan (FP/L 16/6/90); mahant (N 29/7/90); mandir (PT 9/6/90); masihi (D/L 17/6/90); palky (PT 27/10/90); pandit (PT 4/7/87); puja (N 2/12/87); pujari (N 28/7/90); sadhoo (D 2/9/88); saropa (PT 16/4/91); sharp (FP/L 14/7/90); tantrik (N 2/12/87); tapas (FP/L 14/7/90); uthamna (D 2/8/89); Yahud (D/L 25/7/90); yatra (N 26/4/89); yatree (PT 15/10/87).

### **SALUTATIONS/EXPRESSIONS**

bacho bacho (D 13/3/88); bas (PT 24/7/90); bo-kata (N 17/2/89); chal so chal (N 12/6/90); chor chor (N 8/6/90); farshi salam (FP/L 22/6/91); lanaat (PT 15/12/88); mubarak (D 6/5/88); salaam (N 28/1/89); shabaash (N 3/10/87); wesh aatkay (N 29/6/88)—Balochi.

### **SLOGANS/RITUALISTIC SAYINGS**

gherao jallao (PT 17/7/88); idhar hum, udhar tum (PT 7/11/88); Islam zindabad (N 25/3/87); jeewe jeewe pakistan (N 25/3/88); jiye bhutto (D 25/3/88); jiye mohajir (D 25/3/88); marde haq marde haq (MN 3/7/88); Pak Fauj Zindabad (NT 15/7/90); Pakistan Paindabad (N 30/7/90); Pakistan zindabad (N 25/3/87); punjabi sindhi bhai-bhai (D 12/7/86); Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad (N 30/7/90); roti kapra or makan (M 15/7/90); sindhi mohajir bhai-bhai (D 19/3/88); zia-ul-haq mard-e-haq (MN 21/8/88).

### **SOCIAL GATHERINGS/MEETINGS**

awami jirga (D 14/2/88); darbar (PT 15/10/87); deedar (FP/P 16/11/88); Ijlas Aam (D 1/7/89); ijlas (D 1/7/89); jalsa-i-aam (PT 18/7/88); jalsa (N 14/2/88); jamaat (D 20/2/88); jirga (D 6/2/88); kafila (MN 21/5/88); loya jirga (N 26/5/89)—Pushto; majlis (N 14/2/88); Majlis-e-Amel (M 28/7/90); mela thela (M 9/7/89); mela (D 6/2/88); mulaqat (N 26/2/88); shahi jirga (D 1/12/86)—Pushto.

### **SOCIAL SYSTEMS**

bradari (FP/P 6/11/86); chowkidari (S 23/6/88); jagirdari (N 13/3/88); kadari (D 26/3/88); sardari (N 8/6/90); sarmayadari (D 5/2/88); tharabundi (FP/L 11/7/89); vaderashahi (D 7/11/87); zamindari (N 13/3/88).

### **TERMS OF GRATIFICATION**

bakhshish (D 7/11/87); bhatta (S 26/5/88); chaey pani (PT 10/9/88); enam (D 7/11/87); jagga (PT 4/8/88); kharcha pani (NS/L 22/9/91); muk muka (FP/L 20/1/90)—Punjabi; nazrana (N 15/2/89); parchi (PT 17/8/87); rishwat (N 28/5/88); sifarish (N 21/2/88).

**TOWNS/VILLAGES**

basti (PT 5/12/86); chak (N 7/2/88); deh (D 5/2/88); gaon (N 19/4/91); goth (MN 7/2/88); pind (M 20/11/88); qasba (D 11/8/89).

**VEGETABLES**

aloo (N 22/7/89); bhindi (D 18/5/88); brinjal (D 26/8/88); ghia kaddu (N 13/7/90); gongloo (N 12/1/90)—Punjabi; kaddu (N 13/7/90); karela (PT 4/7/87); mattar (D 12/3/88); palak (D 20/5/88); saag (PT 30/9/88); sabzi (N 13/7/90).

**-WALLAHS**

almariwallay (D 30/5/88); Alhamra wallah (FP/L 26/9/91); aloowalay (S 22/10/87); Anarkaliwala (FP/L 4/7/90); angreeziwala (N 11/1/91); bandar-walla (D 16/6/90); bastiwalla (FP/L 2/11/90); bazaar walla (N 16/7/90); chabriwala (D 15/2/88); challi walla (PT 5/9/89); Channa wala (FP/L 26/7/89); chappal-walla (FP/L 18/5/90); chatwala (N 20/7/90); chaywalla (N 22/5/88); chhatri-wala (N 9/2/88); degwalla (PT 16/7/90); Delhiwala (D 13/8/89); dhoodwalla (PT 1/7/88); dilwallah (D 2/7/90); dohl walla (M 6/8/91); gaaney walla (S 19/7/90); Gadhagari-wala (T 6/7/89); ghoray wala (FP/L 13/7/90); gol gappa walla (TFT 16—22/5/91); gowala (N 29/5/88); haleem-wala (N 28/7/90); hat-tiwala (FP/L 20/9/89); himmatwalla (PO 3/6/90); Hindiwalla (FP/L 24/10/89); jalaiwale (N 23/9/88); kalaiyee wala (N 16/9/88); Karachi wala (MA 28/8/90); kebab wala (T 18/7/89); khakiwallah (TFT 1—8/6/91); khokha-wala (PT 13/12/88); maika-wallah (D Magazine 12/7/91); manadi walla (M 6/8/91); mehndiwalli (D 23/3/86); mohalla walla (S 23/6/88); nagashie-wale (N 23/9/88); nan-kebab walla (FP/L 29/7/89); ooperwalla (D Magazine 12/7/91); paetiwalla (N 19/1/90); paisawalla (MAG 18—24/7/91); pani-wala (FP/L 26/7/89); panwallah (D 5/2/88); patharewala (D 22/12/87); payewala (TFT 5—11/7/90); piyazwalay (S 22/10/87); Pukhtun wali (FP/L 15/9/89); qawali wala (WP 23/8/91); puriwalla (FP/L 12/4/91); qulfi-wala (PT 3/5/89); rabita-walla (MAG 14—20/9/89); raddiwalla (PT 10/7/90); reechhwala (N 7/5/89); rehriwala (D 5/2/88); ricksha walla (D 17/2/89); rotiwalla (D 7/7/88); saanp-wala (N 7/5/89); sabziwala (N 8/9/89); Sahira Kazmiwalla (TVT 7/88); sajji-walla (FP/L 4/7/90); samosawala (N 22/5/89); sherbet walah (M 9/6/90); tail-malish wala (M 14/6/90); tamatar-walay (S 22/10/87); tandoorwalla (TFT 24—30/5/90); tangawalla (M 30/4/89); thalla walla (D/L 10/8/90); theleywala (S 22/10/87); Urdu-wallah (PT 18/5/90); wattey wala (NS/L 16/4/91).



### ADJECTIVES/ADVERBIALS

awami (N 26/10/90); amanatan (PT 21/8/88); askari (MN 13/2/88); azad (D 27/3/88); badtameez (M 22/10/91); banjh (D 6/3/88); barani (D 27/3/88); barsati (TFT 29/8–4/9/91); be-haya (FP/L 26/8/91); benami (PT 4/9/87); bharati (PT 4/6/90); dandiwali (D 7/3/88); desi (N 5/3/88); ghareloo (Y 18/8/91); gori (MC 8/91); haqeeqi (WP 26/7/91); karobari (H 4/91); karwa (D 2/9/88); khaki (TFT 29/8–4/9/91); khandani (PT 4/7/90); khas (D 12/8/89); kutcha (MN 13/3/88); meetha (D 6/3/88); nai roshni (N 6/3/88); naksheen (PT 1/8/89); naram (D/L 1/12/89); naraz (N 19/6/89); pucca (MN 14/2/88); rawaiti (PT 28/7/90); sada (D 6/3/88); sakht (D/L 1/12/89); salees (DE 13/7/90); sarkari (N 28/6/88); shareef (D 5/2/88); tibbi (N 28/1/88); unani (N 28/3/87); zaeeef (FP/L 8/5/91).

## Appendix 3

### Religion (Islam)

#### ADMINISTRATION

auqaf (D 5/2/88); Khilafat-i-Rashida (N 31/7/90); shoora (N 14/3/87).

#### ADMINISTRATIVE POSTS

amir (D 5/2/88); naib amir (MN 7/2/88); nazim (N 6/9/91); nazima (FP/L 17/7/91); qazi (PT 11/7/87).

#### AGRICULTURE

ushr (D 6/2/88).

#### ARCHITECTURE

minar (V 24/5/90).

#### ART FORMS (dance/music/verse)

darood-o-salam (N 26/8/89); dhamal (PO 31/7/90); Hamd-o-Naat (NS/L 11/5/91); husn-i-qirat (MN 1/12/88); kafi (N 14/7/89)—Seraiki; marsia (PT 26/8/88); na'at (MAG 3—9/3/88); na'atia qawwali (N 21/11/86); naat khawani (PT 28/8/88); qawwali (D 25/3/88); qirat (N 6/3/88).

#### ARTICLES OF USE

janamaz (M 15/7/90); miswak (FP/L 6/6/90); tasbeeh (PO 21/10/90); wat-wani (FP/P 19/10/86)—Punjabi.

#### CELEBRATIONS/FESTIVALS (Eid)

eid (N 14/2/88); Eidayn (N 7/5/89); eidi (N 9/8/87); Namaz-e-Eid (M 19/4/91); Salat-i-Eid (N 7/5/89); salat-ul-Eid (M 4/7/90).

### **CELEBRATIONS/FESTIVALS (Eid/Azha)**

bakr eid (N 14/7/87); Bakra Eid (N 8/8/88); eid-ul-azha (N 7/5/89).

### **CELEBRATIONS/FESTIVALS (Eid/Fitr)**

chaand raat (S 12/5/88); eid-ul-fitr (M 8/6/90); fitra (D 18/5/88); fitrana (PT 11/5/88); maroo (FP/L 19/4/91)—Punjabi; Salat-ul-Eid-ul-Fitr (N 7/5/89); taroo (FP/L 19/4/91)—Punjabi.

### **CELEBRATIONS/FESTIVALS (Eid/Milad-un-Nabi)**

eid-i-milad-un-nabi (D 7/11/87).

### **CELEBRATIONS/FESTIVALS (Muharram)**

alam (D 24/8/88); amal-i-ashur (D 24/8/88); ashooora (D 24/8/88); Ashura-i-Muharram (N 4/9/87); azadari (PO 28/7/90); Husainiat (PT 21/7/90); Majalis-e-Muharram (D/L 24/7/90); majalis (D/L 25/7/90); Majlis Sham-i-gharibaan (D/L 24/7/90); majlis-e-aza (D 1/12/88); Majlis-i-Ashura-i-Muharram (D/L 24/7/90); marsia khwani (FP/L 31/7/90); marsia khwan (FP/L 31/7/90); marsia go (FP/L 31/7/90); matam (DE 4/8/90); Moharram Majalis (D/L 24/7/90); nooha (PT 26/8/88); sabeel (MN 7/2/88); shab-i-zuljinah (PT 26/8/88); Shahadat-i-Imam Hussain (PT 26/8/88); sham-i-ghariban (MN 24/8/88); shuhada-e-Karbala (N 4/9/87); sooz-e-salam (PT 26/8/88); soz khwani (D 27/10/87); tazia (D 24/8/88); Yaum-i-Ashura (N 4/9/87); Yaum-i-Shahadat (D/L 24/7/90); zanjirzani (FP/L 25/7/91); zuljinah (PT 26/8/88).

### **CELEBRATIONS/FESTIVALS (Urs)**

chaddar (N 13/3/88); chader poshi (FP/L 14/7/90); ghusal (D 3/10/86); langar (D 8/1/88); niaz deg (FP/L 31/8/91); urs (MN 7/2/88).

### **CELEBRATIONS/FESTIVALS (Others)**

aqiqa (D 22/6/88); Gairveen Sharif (D 12/12/86); Jashane Moulood-e-Kaaba (M 20/2/89); jashne wiladat-i-Ali (M 17/2/89); Laila-tul-Qadr (PT 13/5/88); mairaj-un-nabi (S 17/3/88); milad (N 11/2/88); shab-e-barat (N 7/5/89).



**CLOTHING/ACCESSORIES**

jubbah (PT 14/11/87).

**CONCEPTS**

Adl-o-Ahsan (D/L 10/9/91); ahadees-e-nabvi (N 3/2/89); Ahadith (PT 21/7/90); aisaal-e-sawaab (D 3/1/88); Akhuwat-e-Islami (N 18/8/89); bab-ul-islam (D 7/2/87); bid'ah (N 7/5/89); bidaat (D 27/3/87); diyat (PT 11/7/87); fatwa (N 3/2/89); ghazi (D 15/2/88); hadis[hadith] (D 16/8/89); hadiya (D 25/3/88); huqooqul ibad (MN 8/2/88); huqooqullah (MN 8/2/88); ibadat (N 29/1/88); Ijtehad (M 29/7/90); islah-i-muashra (D 7/11/87); Islami Hukoomat (DE 23/7/90); jehad (N 29/1/88); kherat (MN 17/5/88); Khilafat (N 29/6/88); kufr (N 28/6/88); Maqam-i-Mustafa (PT 28/7/90); me'raj (D 17/3/88); munafaqat (FP/L 4/6/90); muridi (TFT 10-16/8/89); Musawat-i-Muhammadi (PO 29/7/90); nafs (N 22/6/89); nizam-i-Islam (D 31/10/86); nizam-i-Shariah (PT 16/10/86); nizam-i-mustafa (D 20/3/88); rawadaari (TN 6/6/90); risq-i-halal (PT 24/11/86); rooh (N 22/6/89); sadaqaat (PT 16/6/88); shahadat (M 10/9/86); Shaitaan (NS/L 11/10/91); Shariah (N 23/12/88); Shariat-i-Mohammadi (FP/L 24/7/90); shariat (D 5/12/88); shirk (D 27/3/87); tabarak (N 17/2/88); tabligh (MN 1/2/88); tadabbur (PT 27/7/89); tafakkur (PT 27/7/89); taqwa (D 8/11/87); taskheer (PT 27/7/89); yade Ilahi (FP/P 14/10/86); zikr (PT 4/6/90); zina (N 8/2/88); zulm (D 5/2/88).

**DESCRIPTIVE LABELS FOR PEOPLE**

Ahle-Bait (M 24/7/90); Ahle-Kitab (PT/I 14/9/89); ahle hadith (N 13/2/88); Alim (PT 29/7/90); ansar (D 21/2/87); ashabi (D 16/8/89); ashraful makhlooqat (TN 6/6/90); aulia-e-karam (FP/P 11/10/86); dabba pir (N 23/7/89); darvesh (D 11/8/89); Fatwa baz (M 28/7/90); kafir (N 14/2/88); lota pir (N 10/9/91); mard-i-momin (PT 28/8/88); Millat-i-Kafreen (M 20/4/91); momin (D 7/11/87); momina (WP 4/10/91); momineen (N 6/6/90); muawneen (NS/L 7/5/91); muhafezeen (NS/L 7/5/91); munafiq (FP/P 8/12/88); munafiqueen (FP/P 8/12/88); saleh (N 14/5/91); salehin (NS/L 7/5/91); shaheed (N 23/8/89); wali (PT 11/11/87); zalim-mazloom (M 27/4/87).

**EDUCATION**

dars-e-quran (N 4/6/90); deeni madaras (PT 11/7/87); dinyat (MN 20/3/88); iqra (D 6/2/88); maktab (NS/L 27/3/91); nazra quran (PT 8/2/86); nazra (PT 8/2/86).

## **FUNERAL**

barisi (D 1/12/88); chehlum (D 15/1/88); Doaa-e-Maqfrat (D 3/1/88); fateha (D 5/2/88); ghaibana namaz-i-janaza (D 19/12/86); ghaibana janaza (MN 21/8/88); namaz-e-janaza (N 1/2/86); qul (N 17/3/88); soyem (D 14/1/88).

## **LAW**

fiqh (TFT 7–13/6/90); hadd (D 5/2/88); Hadood Ullah (M 28/7/90); hudood (D 2/5/88); Jurh-al-Amd (PT 29/7/90); lian (FP/L 28/7/90); Nifaze Shariah (M 31/7/90); qanoon-i-shahadat (D 12/2/88); qasas (N 22/6/89); Qatl-al-Amd (PT 29/7/90); qazaf (FP/L 28/7/89); rajm (N 13/12/88); tazir (FP/L 28/7/90).

## **LAW AND ORDER SITUATION**

haraba (M 27/9/91).

## **MARRIAGE/DIVORCE**

halala (NS/L 7/9/91); haq mehr (PT 8/6/90); mehr (PT 8/6/90); muajjal (N 5/4/89); nikah (D 26/8/88); nikahnama (PT 20/12/88); shari haq mehr (PT 8/6/90); talaqnama (D 20/3/88); tallaq (N 10/3/88); valima (D 26/8/88).

## **MEDICINE**

tibb-i-Islami (N 3/7/90)

## **MODES OF ADDRESS/REFERENCE**

ayatullah (PO 3/6/90); Barelvi (PT 28/7/90); Data Sahib (PT 13/8/89); Deobandi (PT 28/7/90); Ghair Muqallidin (TFT 19–25/7/90); hafiz-e-quran (N 18/12/86); hazrat (D 19/2/88); huffaz (MN 23/3/88); ijtehad (FP/L 27/8/90); imam (D 5/2/88); Imam Masjid (NS/L 22/9/91); khalifa (N 3/2/89); Khalifatullah (N 4/1/88); maulana (D 6/2/88); Millat-i-Jafariya (DE 24/7/90); mir wais (N 26/5/90); mufassar (PT 24/7/90); mufti (D 14/2/88); mujahid (M 14/7/90); mujahideen (D 21/2/87); mullah (N 1/2/88); mullajee (FP/L 4/8/89); mureed (FP/P 26/11/88); murshid (N 23/3/88); murtid (DE 23/7/90); mushaikh (PT 11/7/87); Muslim (FP/P 8/12/88); Muslimeen (FP/P 8/12/88); mustahiqeen-i-zakat (PT/I 5/9/88); mustehqeen (N 1/2/88); mutavali (N 3/6/90); na'at khawan (N 13/3/88); namazi (D 14/1/88); Pir Bhai (PT 28/7/90); pir (N 11/2/88); qari (D 12/2/88); qariah (MN 23/3/88); Sahib-e-Nisab (PT

24/7/90); sajjada nasheen (D 3/10/86); Shafi-i-Joe (N 30/7/90); Shafi-i-Khilat (N 30/7/90); Shafi-i-Shariq (N 30/7/90); shia (N 25/7/90); Shohada (PT 26/8/88); sunni (FP/P 8/12/88); syed (N 1/7/90); syedzada (S 18/2/88); ulema-e-Kiram (PO 28/7/90); ulema (PT 26/8/88); ummah (D 5/2/88); wahabi (FP/L 12/8/89); Waizeen (N 4/9/87); zaakir (PT 26/8/88); zaireen (PO 3/6/90); zakireen (N 28/6/88).

### **MONEY/BANKING/COMMERCE**

khums (H 8/91); mal-i-ghanimat (PT 28/5/89); Quarz-i-Hasna (D 16/8/89); riba (D 27/10/87).

### **OCCUPATIONS**

khatib (MN 7/2/88); moazzan (N 19/6/89); mohalla maulvi (PO 28/7/90); peshimam (S 8/11/86); qawwaal (N 13/3/88).

### **PLACE NAMES**

Bait-ul-Maal (FP/L 13/1/90); dargah alia (D 3/10/86); durgah (N 11/4/87); eidgah (MN 11/2/88); harmain sharifain (D 14/7/87); hujra (PT 21/8/88); Imam Bara (PT 10/5/88); imambargah (D 5/3/88); jamma masjid (MN 7/2/88); Kaaba (FP/P 8/12/88); khanqah (PT 25/7/87); Langar Khana (DE 29/7/90); madina munawwarah (DE 3/6/90); masajid (MN 1/2/88); masjid (N 4/2/88); mazar (D 15/2/88); musallah (N 7/5/89).

### **PLACE OF WOMEN IN SOCIETY**

burkha (MAG 10-16/3/88); chadar aur chardevari (D 5/11/88); chaddar (NS/L 27/9/91); chardiwari (N 11/2/88); iddat (D 14/1/88); maharam (D 5/2/88); Mardan Khana (N 4/9/87); namaharam (D 5/2/88); naqaub (M 7/7/90); pardadari (M 7/7/90); pardanashin (M 7/7/90); purdah (N 5/3/88); zenana (D 20/5/88); Zenan Khana (N 4/9/87).

### **POLITICAL/SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS**

Anjuman-i-Islamia (PT 28/7/90); Anjuman Imamia (M 25/7/90); Anjuman Ittehad-e-Bainal Muslimeen (N 21/7/90); Anjuman Sipah-i-Sahaba (V 31/5/90); anjuman tulaba-i-islam (DE 3/6/90); Awami Tehreek (D 19/7/90); Harakat-ul-Mujahideen Tehreek (N 28/7/90); hezb-i-islami (D 25/3/88); Hezbul Mujahideen (PO 31/7/90); hizb-e-jehad (M 3/6/90); islami jamiat-e-tulba (N 4/6/90); Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (FP/L 1/7/90); Ittehad Bain-ul-Muslimeen (N



28/7/90); jamaat-e-Islami (FP/L 4/6/90); Jama'at-i-Islami (MA 31/7/90); Jammat Ittehad-o-Ishat-e-Tauheed (DE 22/7/90); Jamiat-i-Mashaikh Pakistan (N 23/7/89); Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan (N 25/3/87); Jamiat Tulaba Arabia (N 23/7/90); Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam (FP/L 4/6/90); Majlis-e-Ittehad-e-Islami (DE 22/7/90); Majlis-i-Ulema Pakistan (PT 21/7/90); Motamar-Alam-i-Islami (FP/L 25/7/90); Pakistan awami tehrik (PT 19/6/90); Rabita al-Alam al-Islami (PO 30/7/90); Rabita Alam-e-Islami (N 21/7/90); Tahreek Tahafuz Khatam-i-Nabuwat (D/L 24/7/90); Tanzeem-e-Ahlesunnat-Wal-Jamaat (M 25/7/90); Tanzeem-e-Akhuwat-e-Islami (N 18/8/89); Tanzeem-i-Islami (FP/L 21/7/90); Tehrik-e-Amal (M 14/7/90); Tehrik-e-Niffaz-i-Shariat (FP/L 24/7/90); Tehrik Nifaz-i-Fiqah Jafria (PT 15/7/90).

## **RELIGION**

deen-e-Islam (DE 30/7/90); deen (DE 30/7/90).

### **RELIGION (Calendar)**

Hijra (FP/L 25/7/90); hijri (D 21/3/88); juma (D 6/2/88); jumat-ul-wida (PT 6/5/89); Jumma-Tul-Mubarik (M 13/7/89); Muharram-ul-Haram (PT 21/7/90); muharram (N 7/5/89); ramazan-ul-mubarak (D 6/5/88); ramazan (D 6/5/88); ruet-i-hilal (N 4/5/87); Shawwal (N 7/5/89); yom-e-khundaq (PT 4/6/90); zilhaj (M 16/7/90).

### **RELIGION (Pillars/Eeman)**

eeman (M 25/7/90); kalima tayyaba (PT 28/8/88); kalma (PT 13/8/89); tauheed (M 18/10/87).

### **RELIGION (Pillars/Haj)**

ahraam (N 26/7/87); Baitul Hujjaj (M 29/7/90); haji (MN 18/3/88); hajj (MN 18/3/88); Hajj-i-Badal (BT 14/7/87); Hajj-i-Qiran (FP/L 12/7/89); hujjaj (BT 14/7/87); Khuddam-ul-Hujjaj (BT 14/7/87); labbaik (M 8/6/90); Manasik-e-Haj (FP/P 4/6/86); Rahbar-e-Hujjaj (BT 14/7/87).

### **RELIGION (Pillars/Namaz)**

asr (D/L 1/6/90); azaan (N 11/2/88); fajr (D/L 1/6/90); imamat (N 29/6/88); isha (D/L 1/6/90); Juma Khutaba (M 29/7/90); khutba (S 8/11/86); maghrib (D/L 1/6/90); namaz (N 8/2/88); Nizam-e-Salat (FP/L 13/1/90); qibla (PO

24/11/90); raka (M 4/7/90); rak'at (N 7/5/89); salaah (D 28/12/87); takbir (N 7/5/89); vazoo (PT 21/8/88); zohr (D/L 1/6/90); zuhrain (FP/L 25/7/91).

### **RELIGION (Pillars/Roza)**

iftar (D 6/5/88); roza (MN 14/5/88); rozakhor (MAG 4—10/4/91); rozedar (DE 3/6/90); sawm (N 7/5/89); seher (N 10/5/88); sehri (D 4/3/88).

### **RELIGION (Pillars/Zakat)**

zakat (D 6/2/88); zakat al fitr (MN 17/5/88).

### **RELIGION (Quran)**

aya'at (D 27/6/86); ayat (PT 15/11/88); ayatul kursi (PO 5/6/90); Ayete Ka-rima (FP/L 28/7/90); darood sharif (PT 28/8/88); hifz-o-qirat (MN 23/3/88); parah (PT 8/2/86); qur'an (D 28/12/87); Quran-i-Hakeem (PO 29/7/90); qur-an khawani (D 5/2/88); sura (D 6/6/90).

### **RELIGION (Rites and Rituals)**

Aitkaf (PT 5/5/89); dastarbandi (N 26/1/87); dua (M 8/6/90); Namaz-i-Istes-qa (PT 7/12/88); nawafil (PT 17/7/89); nazar niaz (MN 17/5/88); niaz (D 26/7/86); shabeena (N 26/5/87); umra (N 4/2/88); yom-i-doa (D 13/2/88); ziarat (PO 3/6/90).

### **RELIGION (The Prophet)**

Milad Mehfil (MN 7/11/87); seerat-i-nabavi (MN 7/12/88); seerat-i-tayyaba (N 14/12/87); seerat-un-nabi (MN 9/3/88); seerat-e-rasool (N 14/12/87); see-rat (N 4/12/87); Sunnat (D 28/12/87); uswa-i-husna (PT 15/10/87); wahi (PT 27/7/89).

### **SALUTATIONS/EXPRESSIONS**

asalam-o-alaikum (MN 21/3/88); Eid ai khushian lai (N 8/8/88); Eid Muba-rak (M 14/7/89); khuda hafiz (MN 24/5/88).

### **SLOGANS/RITUALISTIC SAYINGS**

alhamdolillah (D 1/7/89); allah-o-akbar (PT 6/10/87); bismillah (MN 21/3/88); inshallah (MN 24/5/88); Masha Allah (N 9/8/87); ya rasool allah (PT 6/10/87).

## **SOCIAL GATHERINGS/MEETINGS**

Mehfil-e-Sama (PT 29/7/90); mehfil-e-naat (MN 11/2/88); Mehfil-e-Zikar (N 14/9/89).

## **TERMS OF GRATIFICATION**

eidī (D 27/7/88).

## **-WALLAHS**

Jama'at-e-Islami walla (N 26/5/87); Jama'at wala (MA 31/7/90); khatnawala (N 3/2/89); sehriwala (MN 8/5/88); Shariat-wala (DE 29/7/90); Zakat-wallah (PT 22/5/88).

## **ADJECTIVES/ADVERBIALS**

darveshi (PT 1/8/89); halal (N 25/5/88); haram (MN 26/5/88); khairati (TFT 7–13/6/90); khudai (FP/P 4/7/89); La-deeni (N 9/7/90); mazloom (M 27/4/87); zalim (M 27/4/87).



## A Bribe by Any Other Name . . . : Terms of Gratification in Pakistani English

Audrey E. H. Kennedy

The Civil Lines head constable was adamant about keeping Robert's driver, Wasim Ahmed, in the lock-up after a minor accident on Mall Road in Lahore on the afternoon of 15 January 1989. The lawyer who had accompanied Robert and me to the police station, on seeing the constable's unyielding attitude, mentioned something about *sifarish*, which caused the constable to rise indignantly from his chair and proceed into the courtyard. The lawyer followed him, returning shortly whispering loudly, 'He wants *chai pani*. How much should I offer him?' Four hundred rupees were offered, accepted, and the driver was allowed to leave with the rest of us.

In this particular account, *sifarish* and *chai pani* are usages which are representative of a particular kind of Urdu lexis frequently found in English-language daily newspapers in Pakistan.<sup>1</sup> This paper will examine these usages as well as other 'terms of gratification' with reference to the sociocultural context in which they occur in Pakistani newspaper reporting. Gratification as defined by *The Pakistan Penal Code* (Qadri 1988) is not restricted to pecuniary gratification, but includes gifts, services, and favours rendered. Sections 161, 162, and 163 deal with offences by and relating to public servants soliciting and/or accepting gratification within the context of their official duties with the motive of showing favour to someone. This is popularly known as bribery. While Section 161 deals with taking a bribe to allow a favour, Sections 162 and 163 deal with the accepting of gratification to influence a public servant to use his capacity to gain a favour for a petitioner.

*Sifarish*, the Urdu term used in the above incident, literally means a 'recommendation, an intercession or influence' used by someone in power to benefit a petitioner. At face value, *sifarish* is not a negative concept; it acquires negative connotations when unscrupulous persons seek unfair advantage or positions they are otherwise unqualified for. On 3 December 1989, the headline on the front page of the *Pakistan Observer* was 'Sifarish Goes'. The article reiterated the position that the new Prime Minister of Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto, had recently espoused; she said that she would not 'be influenced by pressure and recommendation from her kith and kin and associates asking for jobs, promotions, and other such favours . . .'. This was not an unusual disclaimer; nor was the phenomenon it described an unusual one, for nepotism, bribery, and corruption are subjects frequently discussed in the pages of English-language daily newspapers in Pakistan.

In addition to the above reference to the practice of *sifarish* in government, consider the following examples from other contexts—banking, education, law enforcement, and advertising.

1a. Mr. Haq said . . . there is no established criteria for . . . promotion thus giving rise to corruption, bribe [*sic*], and 'sifarish' . . . (*The Muslim*, 9 January 1989).

b. The banks are top-heavy with 'sifarishi' officials; they have unions that soak up funds till the 'profit-and-loss sharing money' . . . shrinks to nothing (*The Nation*, 3 May 1989).

A person who receives *sifarish* is a *sifarishi*; this is also the adjectival form of the word. In education not only are students affected by the practice, but teachers and administrators are also caught up in the system as can be seen in the following examples:

c. The Punjab Education Minister . . . has said that . . . no student will be admitted on 'sifarish' in any college in the Punjab . . . He said he had directed all the principals to give admission to students on merit only and not to give weight to any 'sifarish' (*The Pakistan Times*, 27 August 1986).

d. Appointments of teachers, lecturers, professors are made on the basis of kinship and 'sifarish' or on the pressure of students. In view of these malpractices, the standard of education at our universities has fallen to the lowest ebb (*The Nation*, 20 January 1989).



'Police Urged to Discourage Sifarish' reads a headline in *The Nation* of 7 April 1989. Earlier, an editorial had commented on the practice of *sifarish* in law enforcement agencies: 'The federally recruited and the haphazardly recruited "sifarishi" personnel are allowed . . . to sit in the secretariat away from the soiling hurly-burly of the police station where people have all their unsavoury experiences; and the sifarishi promotee from the range will be shunned in upper reaches of the bureaucracy because he is "illiterate" and "brutish"' (*The Nation*, 11 March 1989). And finally from the world of advertising comes the following example: 'People are going to great lengths to experience the five-day Adasia '89 extravaganza . . . However, with the limited seating capacity of approximately 800 at Alhamra, there is no hope for the "sifarishis" or palm-greasers' (*The Nation*, 15 February 1989).

While *sifarish* may connote a positive or negative act depending on the context in which it occurs, *chai pani*, which was also used in the opening anecdote has a negative connotation. It is an Urdu slang phrase which literally means *tea (chai)/water (pani)*, and conveys the idea of 'something for refreshment'. While *sifarish* is used often in English-language dailies, *chai pani* is used primarily in spoken language. However, the following usages appeared in letters to the editor of *The Pakistan Times* and *The Nation*. The first letter dealt with a problem concerning utilities: 'When I paid the full charges, I went to the Grid Station to get the power supply restored. The functionaries on duty demanded 'chai pani' . . . I paid the 'chai pani' and the power was restored' (*The Pakistan Times*, 10 September 1988). The second letter concerned the problem of cheating on examinations: 'You can cheat for Rs. 100 even and if you can offer 'chai pani' to the concerned invigilators and superintendent, you can manage to get a photostat of question papers a few days before the papers' (*The Nation*, 3 April 1989).

Another slang expression usually reserved for oral contexts is the Punjabi term *muk-mukaa*, which connotes 'a settlement', as revealed in the following example from the Lahore edition of *The Frontier Post* (19 July 1989): 'The police took the culprits to the nearest police station and released them after mutual settlement (muk-mukow).' In another example a headline reads: '"Muk-mukaa" Gets Them Out'; the article goes on to report that more than eighty drunkards had been arrested, but 'all were released after 'muk-mukaa' . . . Police acquired the liquor . . . as illegal substance and released all of them on 'muk-



mukaa' and not a single case was registered against them' (*The Frontier Post*, 17 July 1989).

*Parchi* is another term of gratification which is almost always used in the negative sense. *Parchi* literally means 'a slip of paper', but in the context of gratification it is a document which contains the name of someone in power who asks that a favour be granted to the bearer of the slip of paper. An example of this usage from the sports page of *The Pakistan Times* (17 August 1987) reads: 'The players and the spectators can be saved a lot of headache if the past performance of the players is taken into account and the selection made. Imagine the selectors' plight when players turned up who had not made it to their school, college or club teams . . . I could see a lot of "parchis" around.'

Terms of gratification also include lexis that deals with extortion, or what in American English would be *blackmail*, *graft*, and/or *protection money*. The Pakistani English usage is *monthly*, that is, money handed over every month to someone who has threatened to reveal something he knows to the police; it may also be money given to the police to look the other way rather than making an arrest for a crime being committed. It most often refers to protection money given to the police to ensure that business can go on as usual, as is exemplified in the following example from *The Nation* of 22 February 1989: 'The Government should realise that rickshaw travellers are mainly middle class white collared babus and as in the case of mini-buses, the police should take monthlies from the unions . . .'. The distinguishing feature of this sort of gratification is that it is given under duress, that a person fearing injury to himself or others is coerced into complying with the demands of the extortionists. Two other terms of this kind are *jagga tax* and *goonda tax*.

On 14 January 1987 the following article appeared in *The Pakistan Times* of Lahore:

### Jagga Tax

2. SIALKOT, Jan. 13: The transporters on Sialkot-Zafarwal route went on strike yesterday to protest against extortion of 'jagga tax' from bus owners in Zafarwal. The transporters alleged that two influential persons of the town and their accomplices forcibly received Rs. 15 per bus as 'jagga tax' and in case of refusal they beat up the drivers. The striking bus owners have decided to continue their protest till the practice of 'jagga tax' is stopped.

*Goonda*, according to Hawkins (1984), refers to a *hired rowdy* and apparently one of the activities that a rowdy is hired to carry out is to extort money from people. Note how *goonda* is used in the following examples:

- 3a. . . . the Punjab police rounded up 3,474 persons throughout the Punjab on charges of gun-running, gambling, prostitution, cattle-lifting, goonda-tax collecting, narcotics and other anti-social activities (*The Pakistan Times*, 16 June 1988).
- b. According to the prosecution . . . two proclaimed offenders . . . armed with klashnikovs demanded Rs. 5,000/- as goonda tax from Ghulam Akbar (*The Pakistan Times*, 20 June 1988).

In some contexts, another term, *bhatta*, is used in place of *goonda tax*. According to *The Star* (26 May 1988), *bhatta* is 'a protection network'. Note the following example from *Dawn*, Karachi, 9 July 1988:

4. The KMC has not been able to eject the encroachers from the footpaths even though the main road through it was declared a 'hawker-free zone' some years back! Rotiwallas have set up gas stoves exposing pedestrians to risk but nobody bothers. The KMC inspectors and constables are concerned only with "bhattas".

Also from Karachi, the evening paper *The Leader* of 5 June 1988 carried a story about a pickpocket who had been murdered by a gang of *goondas* because he had refused to pay them *bhatta*.

Another term of gratification that has the flavour of extortion but without the dire threat to life is the word *eidee*. Like *sifarish*, *eidee* has both a positive and a negative connotation depending on its context of use. When the *eid*, or festival that follows the fasting during the month of Ramazan, occurs, children are given a gift, *eidee*, to mark the occasion. At that time rickshaw and taxi drivers frequently ask for a little more than the normal fare and say that it is *eidee*. Traffic police seem to be more vigilant at this time and catch violators only to let them go after receiving an *eidee*; a headline in *The Nation* of 18 April 1989 reported: 'Police Starts Eidee Campaign'. The two following examples show the special meaning of *eidee*:

- 5a. . . . on the eve of eid [people] were running from pillar to post to buy water . . . They were even willing to pay special '*eidee*' (*Dawn*, Karachi, 27 July 1988).

b.

*Eidee squad, beware!**The Nation*, Lahore, 25 April 1989

There are three terms of gratification found in Pakistani English dailies which seem to have a less negative connotation than the foregoing terms: *baksheesh*, *nazrana*, and *enam*. *Baksheesh* means 'a tip or gratuity' freely given to someone for solicited or unsolicited services. Although it was a term much used by the British during the Raj, it is now less frequently heard. *Nazrana* means 'gift'. It usually refers to a gift that is suitable for the person receiving it. In the following context which occurred in an article describing conditions in prison, *nazrana* has the connotation of a polite bribe: 'the prisoners who pay "nazrana" to the authorities are dealt with like honourable guests and are free to get all facilities from the outside' (*The Nation*, 15 February 1989). *Enam* refers to 'a reward for services rendered' as reported in *Dawn*, Lahore, 7 November 1989: 'Jagirdari and vadera-shahi systems were the creation of the Raj by way of gifts, "enams", "baksheesh" for patriotic services rendered . . . during the expansionist period of the British rulers.'

Finally, the last word on the list of terms of gratification is the term *rishwat*. An Urdu word of Arabic origin, *rishwat* means 'illegal gratification'. It is a formal usage and is not often seen in newspapers. In fact, the expression 'illegal gratification' is more prevalent in con-



texts where such a usage might occur. In the following examples, both terms are used in context:

- 6a. This is not his first application for a telephone connection . . . As he does not like *sifarish*, nor could he afford *rishwat*, his case has never been considered (*The Nation*, 12 February 1989).
- b. A fake police inspector . . . had taken a sum of Rs. 1,500 as illegal gratification from the four shopkeepers (*Dawn*, Lahore, 15 January 1989).

Platt, Weber, and Ho (1984:89) have pointed out that creative writers using new varieties of English 'use words and expressions from the local language to convey atmosphere, shades of meaning and experience which are tightly bound up with local background cultures.' The usages found in the various contexts given in this paper reflect just one aspect of Urdu lexical borrowings used in the English dailies in Pakistan. That these usages deal with a very sensitive socio-cultural phenomenon I am well aware; however, I am not focusing on any issue that has not been written on at length by journalists for the major English-language newspapers in Pakistan. As Saleem Shiwalvi wrote in *The Muslim* (30 April 1989): 'In a country where corruption and 'sifarish' are the hallmark of every government department, the plight of the poor who have neither money nor influence to meet the necessary conditions to get work done can better be imagined than explained.' The examples presented in this paper are evidence of the variety of Urdu loan words that are used by Pakistani newspaper reporters and journalists and which enliven the reporting of the phenomenon of corruption.

## Note

1. This paper focuses on one of the fifty-four categories that Dr Robert Baumgardner, Fauzia Shamim, and I used to classify Urdu lexical borrowings in our paper *The Urduization of English in Pakistan* (in this volume). The newspapers represented in the present study are: *Dawn*, Karachi and Lahore; *The Frontier Post*, Lahore; *The Leader*, Karachi; *The Muslim*, Islamabad; *The Nation*, Lahore; *Pakistan Observer*, Islamabad; *The Pakistan Times*, Lahore; and *The Star*, Karachi.

## New English Creative Writing: A Pakistani Writer's Perspective

Bapsi Sidhwa

A way of life was imposed upon Tanya and Billy by the locality in which they lived, by their independent bungalow, and by their possessions. They made friends with modern couples equally determined to break with tradition . . . They were not of the masses, this young crowd. If their wealth did not set them apart, their ability to converse in English certainly did (Sidhwa 1980:245).

If nothing else, this passage from *The Crow Eaters* (set in the 1930s) suggests the élitist status of English in India. Although the Raj has since been banished, and the Empire repossessed, the status of English remains largely unaltered. It is a phenomenon, and the single most important factor contributing to the phenomenon is the emergence of English as a World Language.

Even if we have little cause to thank the British, thanking the Almighty for small mercies, I, for one, am content to be landed—if landed we must be—with English, rather than Chinese, Arabic, Italian or Portuguese, all of them fine languages, with the dazzle of genius in their written tradition to rest and build upon. But, and it is an important but, English, besides having its own tradition of genius, is useful by today's standards in terms of commerce, communication, and technology. And this useful language, rich also in literature, is no longer the monopoly of the British. We, the excolonized, have subjugated the language, beaten it on its head and made it ours! Let the English chafe and fret and fume. The fact remains that in adapting English to our use, in hammering it sometimes on its head, and in sometimes twisting its tail, we have given it a new shape, substance, and dimension.



It is now widely acknowledged that some of the most innovative writers in the English language come from our part of the world: Raja Rao, Narayan, Naipaul, to name a few. All this perhaps explains why my use of English in writing my novels has not been seriously questioned in Pakistan. Without putting it in so many words, it is accepted that because of British colonization English is with us to stay, and whether we like it or not it has become a useful tool: a means of communication with the rest of the world, and together with Urdu, a link, élitist if you will, between people who speak different languages within the country.

Although I speak Gujrati at home, and am relatively fluent in Urdu and understand Punjabi, English is the language I choose to write in. Fortunately I dream and think in all four languages, depending of course on who I am communicating with in my dreams, and the nature of my thoughts. I feel it is important to point out—even at the risk of stating the obvious—that my reflections and dreams, in whatever language, dwell on people and matters belonging almost exclusively to this part of the world. And just because I write in English, it does not mean I am any less of the Pakistani/Punjabi/Parsee culture, or that I think and behave at all like an Englishwoman. I never studied in England, or even visited it until quite late in life. I simply use English to write in as I would any Pakistani vernacular.

As a writer I am aware that often the very nature of my thoughts, and also the direction of events in my creative endeavours, are influenced by the language I happen to have unconsciously selected to think in. The language my characters speak also influences the action. Parsee characters in my books think and act differently from Muslim, Hindu or Christian characters not only because of the differences in customs or culture, but because the language they speak, and the idiom they favour, predisposes them to certain choices. As such it influences the turn of events, sometimes from paragraph to paragraph. And the language influences also the selection of details and incidents I make as a writer.

I feel, perhaps in common with most trilingual or bilingual writers, fortunate in having access to these languages. I am free to take what I wish from the riches each offers—the earthy gusto of Punjabi; the poetry and delicacy of Urdu; the wealth of choice which makes for exactitude and nuance in English; the comedy, farce, and burlesque that erupts so spontaneously out of Gujrati as spoken by the Parsees—and the body of meaning encapsulated in many of the single words of

these South Asian languages, and juggle them to my advantage.

But this advantage also has its pitfalls. The Pakistanized turn of phrase or choice of native word that might add originality and freshness to the writing for someone who is acquainted with this part of the world can give a headache to someone who is not. I feel that the poor Western reader has a hard enough time absorbing the different cultures, values, religions, and alien cast of characters—not to mention the subtleties and complexities of their relationships to one another—without being burdened with strange words and tricky sentences as well. Believing as I do that my primary responsibility is to the reader, Western and subcontinental, I am very selective and careful with the use of native words. I am not sure if any of this is of interest to linguists, but for whatever it is worth to other writers from my part of the world, I will try to share my experience with the problems I have encountered and the conclusions I have arrived at, as a Pakistani, writing about Pakistan—and sometimes about India—in English.

Certain Pakistani words, some of them cognates, have a tonal quality that communicates their meaning even in English. Words like *badmash*, *hulla-goolla*, *goonda*, if used in the proper context convey their meaning without recourse to translation, e.g. 'We exposed ourselves so that only they could see us . . . But what a *hulla-goolla*! The woman screamed and cursed . . . You'd have thought we'd raped them!' (Sidhwa 1988:123), or 'There is a lull in the processionists' clamor. The door snaps shut and Imam Din stands on the kitchen steps looking bomb-bellied and magnificently *goondaish*—the grandfather of all the *goondas* milling about us—with his shaven head, hennaed beard and grimy lungi' (Sidhwa 1988:180). Or an example from *The Bride* when the Superintendent of Jails asks a prisoner 'I understand you wished to see me. Well, what is it you *badmash*?' (Sidhwa 1983: 86).

Sometimes I place the English translation in brackets immediately after a Pakistani word, e.g. '*bollo*!' (speak!). It is easy and effective, and if sparingly used, not intrusive. Articles of clothing, like *dhoti*, *shalwar*, *lungi*, and *mathabana* (*mathabana* is described in a later passage) require a little more elaboration and embedding, e.g. 'Lifting an end of the white dhoti that was tied up between his legs like an oversized diaper, the Pandit moved away' (Sidhwa 1980:87). Words like *chapati* require not only a description, 'flattened disks of unleavened wheat bread', but also some action of the narrative to show how they are made: 'She slapped a chunk of rubbery dough between her



hands until it stretched into a round, thin wafer, and tossed it on the smoking griddle' (story in progress). A new detail is sometimes added when *chapati* is mentioned again to establish the value of its role within the culture to the reader. At the same time I am careful not to trivialize the atmosphere for the Pakistani reader.

In the case of titles, like *chaudhry* or *granthi*, I try to describe their status and function simply: 'As he talks, he slowly strokes his thick, up-twirled moustache: without which no village headman can look like a *chaudhry*' (Sidhwa 1988:55). Thereafter, every time I mention the *chaudhry* again, I show him doing something to his moustache, or running his palm across the 'imposing cleft in his chin.' As for *granthi*: 'Jageet Singh; a plump, smiling, bow-legged Sikh priest, a *granthi*' (Sidhwa 1988:54).

*Charpoy* is an important word in my vocabulary, and I am at pains to describe it and convey its particular light-weight character, e.g. 'Freddy tiptoed to her bed. The taut strings of the charpoy sagged like a hammock beneath her weight' (Sidhwa 1980:38); or 'A laborious upheaval took place on the hammock above him as Jerbanoo turned. The four slender legs of the string-bed creaked and groaned' (Sidhwa 1980:38-9); and 'Freddy broke out in an icy sweat. What if she got out of bed? He felt as exposed beneath the spindly-legged bed as a coy hippopotamus trying to hide behind a sapling' (Sidhwa 1980:39). I alternate the use of *charpoy* with string-cot, string-bed, cot or bed in order to prevent monotony.

I had used the word *rehra* frequently in a climactic scene in *Ice-Candy-Man*, but just before it went to print I requested my publisher to replace it with *cart*. Although I had already established the *rehra* as a shallow, two-wheeled rickety cart, I felt that the tension and the rapid flow of the action were dissipated by the intrusion of a word that at best was a strain to the Western reader; it would not matter one way or the other to the Pakistani reader. In the following example I feel the word *rehra* would have been distracting: 'There is a stamping and snorting of horses and scraping of wooden wheels on the road as the *rehra*-cavalry comes to a disorderly halt outside our gate. We see the *rehras* milling about in the dust they have raised, the men standing in them.' In this particular scene all occurrences of *rehra* were therefore replaced with *cart*: 'They pour into our drive in an endless cavalry and the looters jump off in front of the kitchen as the carts make room for more carts and the portico and drive are filled with men and horses' (Sidhwa 1988:179).



One has to use discretion. I do not like to describe a *tonga* as a carriage. It robs it of its jaunty, two-wheeled, one-horse character. Again, I am at pains to embed its description naturally with the action in the scene, sometimes creating the scene just to accommodate the *tonga*, which has played a fair role in all my novels so far. The following is an example from *Ice-Candy-Man*:

A tonga waits in the porch. Hollow-eyed and dazed with the heat we pile perspiring into the tonga. Mother and Ayah in back and Adi and I up front with the tongaman. We sit back to back on a bench divided by a quilted backrest. A flimsy canvas canopy shelters us from the sun. The tonga is held together by two enormous wooden wheels on either side of the shaft and is balanced by the harnessed horse. Up front we are more secure—unless the horse falls (Sidhwa 1988:32).

In later scenes I recall the description of the *tonga* for the reader with a qualifying word or two, e.g. 'Adi pats the horse's rump. The animal swishes his bristly tail and blows wind in our faces' (Sidhwa 1988:32). This conveys the idea of how the horse and the passengers are placed. All this is not as conscious an effort as might appear in this paper. The writer in me almost automatically embellishes a Pakistani word with an added detail or recalls certain aspects of a more detailed description with a word or two when required. This consideration of the reader is born of my own impatience with words which are alien and meaningless to me, and which I feel are often inserted by the author as a lazy way to add colour or create atmosphere with little effort to explain or to embed the word. The inclusion of French or Latin words aggravates me no end in the books I read in English. If I can ignore them, well and good; if not, I ignore the book. In good translations I notice the translators use very few native words or are at great pains to establish a word fully if it has to be used. In any case, I cannot think of anything more disturbing than flipping back to a glossary.

More important than using native words to impart the flavour of a culture is the use and translation of idioms and proverbs, and the cultural percepts they convey. In choosing these one has to be as selective as with the choice and detail in, let us say, a particular room, the contents of a drawer or the passage of a river that is vital to a narrative. If I come across a turn of phrase, a bit of doggerel, a proverb or an idea that is striking, amusing or uniquely apt in illuminating a cul-

tural insight, I take care to develop it. For example the saying *hasi to phasi*, common to many Pakistani languages, contains an entire way of thinking and behaving—a set of values that goes to the heart of the position of women in this part of the world. I have used it in *Ice-Candy-Man* thus:

Already practised in the conduct they have absorbed from the village women, the girls try not to smile or giggle. They must have heard their mother and aunts (as I have), say: '*Hasi to phasi!* Laugh (and), get laid!' I'm not sure what it means—and I'm sure they don't either—but they know that smiling before men can lead to disgrace (Sidhwa 1988:55).

In the above instance I was faced with a choice: to stay with the more or less literal, 'Laugh (and), get trapped', or to convey the spirit of the homily in its larger context, as in 'Laugh (and), get laid.' I chose the second because it exposes the sexual connotation concealed in the deceptively light-hearted ring of the rhyming words in Urdu. And one has to grow up as a girl-child in the subcontinent to comprehend the fetters a glib string of words like these can fasten on women.

*Nazar*, which combines the benign spirit of 'knock-on-wood' with the envious and ill-willed eye, is another such word. Here is an example from *The Crow Eaters* (note the word *mathabana*). In this scene Freddy, the Picaresque protagonist of the novel, has just tried to snip off a bit of his mother-in-law's hair and awakened her in the process. Jerbanoo, the mother-in-law, takes the following precautions:

She took to wearing her *mathabana* at all times; even during her afternoon siestas. Each millimetre of hair, combed back in a tight knot, was tucked away beneath the square white kerchief as in a steel safe. She blackened her eyes and pressed two large spots of soot on her temples to protect herself from the envious and evil eye. Putli, who diligently blackened her children's eyes, protested, 'Mother, no one's going to evil-eye you at your age!'

'You'd be surprised,' rejoined Jerbanoo, and in full view of Freddy, handed Putli a tattered bit of meat membrane, dipped in turmeric, commanding, 'Here, protect me from evil spells!'

Putli resignedly circled the membrane seven times over her mother's head and flung it out of the window to the crows (Sidhwa 1980:41).

The use of the actual word *nazar* here I feel would have been confusing. The word by itself is not of importance, but the spirit and the



meaning of the word, the attitude it conveys, the cultural connotations, and its place in the culture of the subcontinent are important.

The shades of meaning and the overtones contained in single, compressed words like *matlab* and *matlabi*, which in several Pakistani languages convey the same sense, require several paragraphs to explain comprehensively (*nazar* is in this compressed category as well). As Freddy Junglewalla, who lives by its creed in *The Crow Eaters*, explains *matlab*, which he considers the driving force of all action, the words 'need' and 'wants' edge past their common boundaries: 'Need makes a flatterer of a bully and persuades a cruel man to kindness. Call it circumstances—call it self-interest—call it what you will, it still remains your need. All the good in this world comes from serving our own ends' (Sidhwa 1980:10). He elaborates its meaning further, and also makes use of Parseeized words in the process: 'There was that bumptious son-of-a-bitch in Peshawar called Colonel Williams. I cooed to him—salaamed so low I got a crick in my balls—buttered and marmaladed him until he was eating out of my hand. Within a year I was handling all the traffic of goods between Peshawar and Afghanistan' (Sidhwa 1980:10). And, adding another slight dimension to its meaning: 'I've made friends—love them—for what could be called "ulterior motives", and yet the friendships so made are amongst my sweetest, longest and most sincere' (Sidhwa 1980:11).

And finally, there are examples in my novels of pure, undistilled *Baboo* English, like the message telegraphed by Harilal the clerk on his employer's marriage: 'May God grant you son at His earliest convenience' (Sidhwa 1980:225), and another: 'I am bounding in delight that my boss is returning in couple' (Sidhwa 1980:225).

At this point I need to acknowledge a debt. Robert Baumgardner was kind enough to show me his marked copy of *The Crow Eaters*. I owe much of the selection of the words in this paper to his keen linguistic eye; his singling them out has reminded me of my first encounter with a problem in linguistics. I had written an article describing a Parsee family's reaction to the birth of a son. In trying to establish the familiar tussle between two sets of grandparents, each claiming the infant resembled their side of the family, I made one of the poor grandmothers say, 'The baby has fallen upon his father.' I had translated straight from Gujrati (for those readers who know Gujrati: *Ay to potana baap par parioch!*). A friend to whom I showed the article laughed. She said, 'What you want to write is "The baby has taken after his father or resembles his father".' I am afraid I still



tend to translate literally, and the only consolation I draw from this unfortunate tendency is I will be less likely to be accused of having a 'wooden ear'.

Which leads me to my concluding point. I believe there is a difference between the writing of novelists like myself, who use English as a Pakistani vernacular, and that of the new crop of British writers of South Asian origin who have spent most of their lives in England and its educational institutions and who have absorbed the traditions of the language together with the thought patterns of the British. English as spoken and written by them is indistinguishable from that of the native population of England. Their contribution to English is, and will continue to be, extensive and valuable. They can manipulate English as only Englishmen can, with confidence and aplomb, and being of alien origins in England can avail themselves of a licence not available to native English authors.

But, no matter how much I may admire their verbal and structural innovations and flamboyance, I, as a Pakistani writer, object to being lumped together with them. It is unfair to us both. They are a new breed of British writer and their vision of the subcontinent and its cultures is essentially that of an outsider. They pick from the culture what is, from a Western point of view, exotic, amusing, bizarre, saleable, while writers like Raja Rao, Anita Desai, Mulk Raj Anand, and myself, who have to stretch the language to adapt it to alien thoughts and values which have no precedent of expression in English, subject the language to a pressure that distorts, or if you like, enlarges its scope and changes its shape without recourse to self-conscious stylistic gymnastics. Perhaps this is why while some among this new breed of English authors do well in Britain, they do so poorly in translation—the innovative or striking effect is often lost.

I will give a small example. While explaining the recipe for making *paneer*—a homemade cheese—I said to a friend, 'Heat two quarts of milk, and as soon as it comes to a boil, add one quart of yogurt. The milk will at once tear.' I quickly realized I had committed another the-baby-has-fallen-upon-his-father literal translation from Urdu and Gujrati. I groped for the correct English word and said first, 'The milk will separate,' and next, perhaps using a more apt word, 'The milk will curdle.'

Now the British writer with Asian origins will never befoul the Queen's English this way, but will be on the lookout for exactly the kind of expression I tried to avoid, and thinking it quaint, or what-

ever, will use it almost exactly as it is to his advantage to flavour his immaculate use of English with striking dashes of quaintness to add colour—or authenticity—to his tales about Asia. This view or slant on writing I feel is important. It is the same as the difference between perhaps English and American writing and is perhaps due to similar reasons. I leave the reader to ponder these thoughts.

## 12

# The Use of English in Urdu Advertising in Pakistan

Shaheen Meraj

The Urdu language has borrowed extensively from the word stocks of other languages throughout its history, having done so at times for the sake of convenience and at other times for the sake of genuine need.<sup>1</sup> Arabic, Persian, and Turkish were among those languages which had an early influence on Urdu; from the late sixteenth to the mid-twentieth century, the peoples of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent came into contact with those of Western European nations, including the Portuguese, the Dutch, and finally the British, who by the end of the eighteenth century had established themselves as the most powerful colonial power in the area, and from the middle of the nineteenth century ruled over much of the subcontinent (see Saleem 1965 and Ali [in this volume] for details). During these centuries of close contact with the British, many words of English origin were borrowed into the languages of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, particularly legal and administrative terms. The first written evidence of this borrowing in Urdu can be found in the writings of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817–98), Muslim scholar and founder of the Muslim University in Aligarh, and, as we shall see, this early tendency to borrow English words into Urdu has continued unabated even in post-Partition Pakistan.

The importance of English in Pakistan today is undeniable. In spite of policies, plans, and efforts to employ Urdu at the widest national level in governmental, semi-governmental, and private sectors, one cannot help but notice the proliferation of the use of English in Pakistan in such diverse areas as trade, business, industry, sports, entertainment, and the media. Consider, for example, Table 12.1, which shows average circulation figures of English-language dailies, weeklies, and



monthlies in Pakistan over a ten-year period:

**Table 12.1: Average Circulation of Newspapers and Periodicals**

Year	Dailies		Weeklies/Bi-Weeklies		Monthlies	
	Urdu	English	Urdu	English	Urdu	English
1978	878,564	125,397	213,826	10,069	443,750	26,376
1983	863,505	142,507	246,255	61,783	753,964	34,168
1987	1,044,677	201,169	877,301	63,268	824,532	45,444
Increase	18.90%	60.42%	76.45%	528.34%	85.81%	72.29%

*Source: Pakistan Statistical Yearbook, 1988 (Federal Bureau of Statistics, Government of Pakistan)*

From the table it is clear that the percentage of increase in the average circulation of English-language dailies (60.42 per cent) and weeklies (528.34 per cent) in Pakistan over the past decade is much higher compared to the figures for Urdu dailies (18.90 per cent) and weeklies (76.45 per cent). The increase in the circulation of Urdu monthlies (85.81 per cent) is only slightly higher than the comparable figure for English monthlies (72.29 per cent).

This increased use of English in Pakistan has also dramatically affected the Urdu used in the country, as words and phrases have been borrowed and continue to be borrowed extensively from English in numerous domains. The aim of the present paper is to examine some of the ways in which the English language is used in one such domain, that of Urdu commercial advertising. I have selected the area of advertising for investigation because it is an accurate reflection of the contemporary linguistic habits of a society. Furthermore, it is an area in which language has to be employed at its best in order to serve the two-fold purpose of communication and persuasion. In the present paper I have restricted myself to a study of the written language of commercial advertising in Pakistani newspapers and periodicals; data have been collected from the following sources:

## Newspapers

The following major Urdu dailies (Karachi editions) were examined: (1) *Hurriyet* (all issues from 1 November 1988 to 30 November 1988); (2) *Jang* (all issues from 1 November 1988 to 8 December 1988 plus selected older issues); (3) *Jasarat* (all issues from 1 November 1988 to 30 November 1988); (4) *Mashriq* (all issues from 1 November 1988 to 30 November 1988); and (5) *Nawa-i-Waqt* (all issues from 1 November 1988 to 30 November 1988).

The following Urdu evenings were also examined: (1) *The Evening Special* (all issues from 1 November 1988 to 30 November 1988); (2) *Qaumi Akhbar* (all issues from 1 November 1988 to 30 November 1988); and (3) *Today Special* (all issues from 14 November to 30 November 1988).

## Periodicals

The following Urdu weeklies (all from Karachi) were included in the data base: (1) *Akhbar-e-Jehan*, a popular weekly on general topics, which is also read by a large number of Pakistanis living abroad (53 issues from July 1983 to 4 December 1988) and (2) *Akhbar-e-Khawateen*, a popular women's magazine (33 issues from 2 September 1987 to 13 September 1988). The following widely-read monthlies on sports and show business were also examined: (1) *Akhbar-e-Watan* (31 issues from July 1979 to March 1988); (2) *Cricketer* (54 issues from August 1984 through December 1988); and (3) *TV Times* (32 issues from June 1985 through November 1988).

I studied all the Urdu advertisements found in the above-mentioned issues of Pakistani Urdu daily, weekly, and monthly publications and selected 840 of these for examination under the following broad categories:

- (a) household goods/foodstuffs/home-aid services
- (b) cosmetics/fashion/fabrics/clothing
- (c) housing/construction/furniture
- (d) personal hygiene items/soap/toothpaste/detergent/medical products/chemicals/polishes/paint
- (e) industry/cement/fertilizers
- (f) household appliances/machinery/automobiles
- (g) entertainment/sports/cigarettes
- (h) miscellaneous (airlines/commercial banks, etc.)



My analysis of English in Urdu advertising in the present paper will be presented in discussions of (1) product and manufacturers' names and (2) the three major parts of a typical advertisement—the headline or attention-getter, the slogan, and the body copy. In each discussion, I shall focus on both the type of English used (form) and how it is used (function). Where relevant I shall also touch upon how usage differs among the eight product categories listed above. I shall conclude with a discussion of some grammatical aspects of the Urduized English used in advertising in Pakistan.

In all the advertisements I examined, I came across relatively few which could be said to be totally free of English influence. Table 12.2 is illustrative of this pervasive trend. It is a category-wise breakdown of the names of the products in the 840 advertisements I examined (1) in English (2) in mixed English and Urdu, and (3) in Urdu. As the reader can see, only 9 per cent of all product names were English-free. This can be partially accounted for by the fact that a large number of items are either imported or manufactured locally in collaboration with foreign companies. The names of these products are understandably in English: *Gold Leaf Cigarettes*, *Lux Soap*, *Sony Television*, etc. The practice of using English words for the names of indigenous products and services is also quite common however: *Crush and Grind*, *Frost Juice*, *Galaxy Beauty Soap*, *Joy Hot Pot*, *Popular Pressure Cooker*, and *Milk Pure* are some common examples. Pure-English product names account for 70 per cent of the advertisements in my sample. There is also a relatively large number (21 per cent) of mixed product names, i.e. those names which contain both English and Urdu words, such as *Anchor Dhaga*, *Chanda Battery Cell*, *Good Luck Haleem*, *Habib Poultry*, *Khatoon Soap*, *Millat Foam*, *Muneer Gardens*, *National Kheer*, and *Rafi Bungalows*. English words in these product names are both borrowed and 'assimilated', by which I mean an English word which has an appropriate Urdu equivalent. In the above names *foam*, for example, is a borrowed English word in Urdu; there is no Urdu equivalent. *Garden* and *soap*, on the other hand, are assimilated as they both have Urdu equivalents ([baaGh] and [saabun]<sup>2</sup> respectively)—see Appendices I and II for a list of borrowed and assimilated words used in advertising in Pakistan. Finally, purely Urdu product names are used primarily for medicines and related products associated with Eastern pharmacology and local cuisine: *Hashmi Surma* (*surma* is a black, shiny powder applied to the eyes for



**Table 12.2: Language of Product Names**

Category	English	Mixed	Urdu
household goods/foodstuffs/ home-aid services	124	35	31
cosmetics/fashion/fabrics/ clothing	125	19	06
housing/construction/furniture	27	49	14
personal hygiene items/soap/ toothpaste/detergent/medical products/chemicals/ polishes/paint	123	12	20
industry/cement/fertilizers	31	09	—
household appliances/machinery/ automobiles	116	24	—
entertainment/sports/cigarettes	21	07	02
miscellaneous (airlines/ commercial banks, etc.)	27	18	—
<b>Total</b>	<b>594</b> (70%)	<b>173</b> (21%)	<b>73</b> (9%)

beautification); *Manjan Abdar Moti* (*manjan* is tooth powder); *Safi*, *Saulin*, *Joshina*, and *Khuban* (names of local medicines); *Hira Masaleh* (spices); and *Ahmed Murabbajat* (preserved fruit). These purely Urdu names accounted for only 9 per cent of my data base.

An examination of the script (Roman or Nastaliq) in which each product name was written also revealed some interesting figures concerning the use of English in Urdu advertising in Pakistan. Table 12.3 gives a script-wise breakdown of the product names found in Table 12.2. As can be seen, 65 per cent of all product names appear in the advertisements in Roman script. Even names composed solely of Urdu lexis (73) are found in Roman script in 30 (41 per cent) of the advertisements. An advertisement, for example, often contains a visual

**Table 12.3: Script of Product Names**

Product Name	Roman	Nastaliq	Both
English	48	145	401
Mixed	1	111	61
Urdu	0	43	30
Total	49 (6%)	299 (35%)	492 (59%)

of the product with its name written in both Nastaliq and in Roman script (see Plate 1), for as Nicholl (1978:122) has rightly pointed out: 'Pictures can create a mood . . .'. The extensive use of English in Urdu advertising is, I feel, an attempt to help to create this mood by attracting Pakistani customers' attention—and thus controlling their pocketbooks—through English. For the majority of Pakistanis, English is a foreign language; English product names, therefore, have a certain psychological appeal, a 'foreignness' which is often associated with something new and in some cases superior. This functional use of English is present as we shall see below in all types and in all parts of Urdu advertisements in Pakistan, but it is particularly evident in the naming of products.

The influence of English in product names also extends to the names of manufacturing companies. Even if the rare advertisement is totally English free, then the name of the product manufacturer will more often than not contain at least one English word, for example, *Zahoor Zafrani Tambaku Company*. Table 12.4 is a language-wise breakdown of the names of product manufacturers found in the 690 advertisements where names were present. The figures again reveal the overwhelming influence of English. As previously stated, some of this influence can be accounted for by the fact that many foreign companies produce their products locally in Pakistan under their original names; the majority of Pakistani manufacturers, however, also use English in their names. Only 3 per cent of the advertisements examined represented manufacturers with totally Urdu names; 97 per cent

**Table 12.4: Language of Manufacturers' Names**

Category	English	Mixed	Urdu
household goods/foodstuffs/ home-aid services	92	55	11
cosmetics/fashion/fabrics/ clothing	89	21	04
housing/construction/furniture	35	54	01
personal hygiene items/soap/ toothpaste/detergent/medical products/chemicals/ polishes/paint	64	25	06
industry/cement/fertilizers	20	14	—
household appliances/machinery/ automobiles	79	52	01
entertainment/sports/cigarettes	18	07	01
miscellaneous (airlines/ commercial banks, etc.)	13	28	—
<b>Total</b>	<b>410</b> (60%)	<b>256</b> (37%)	<b>24</b> (3%)

were either totally English (60 per cent) or partially English (37 per cent). It should also be pointed out that in the advertisements examined, the names of manufacturers, dealers, etc. are often preceded by English words (both borrowings and assimilations) such as *manufacturers*, *dealers*, *distributors*, etc.; these words are generally found only in Nastaliq script. Table 12.5 is a list of the words found in the 167 advertisements in which they occurred. This is yet another way in which Urdu advertising in Pakistan has been heavily influenced by the English language, so influenced in fact that out of the total of 840 advertisements examined, only two (less than one per cent) were totally English-free (see Plate 2 for one of the advertisements).



**Table 12.5: English Words (in Nastaliq) before Manufacturers' Names**

English word(s)	Occurrences
Head Office	33
Site Office	25
Distributor(s)/Sole Distributor(s)	25
Dealer(s)	14
Builder(s)/Developer(s)	13
Agent(s)/Sole Agent(s)/Booking Agent(s)	8
Promoter(s)	7
Manufacturer(s)	6
Importer(s)	5
Exporter(s)	4
Consultants/Planning Consultants	4
Architect(s)	4
Director/Project Director/Organizing Director	4
Sales/Regional/Sub/Project Office	4
Planners	3
Engineers/Consulting Engineers	3
Stockist(s)	2
Constructors	1
Chief Organizer	1
Proprietor	1
Total	167

This same trend of the extensive use of English in product and manufacturers' names can also be seen in the other parts of Pakistani Urdu advertisements. Besides the product name, a typical advertisement generally consists of three additional principal parts—the headline (or attention-getter), the slogan, and the body copy (Evans 1988). Headlines, which serve to attract the readers' attention in an advertisement, 'are statements extending to one or two sentences, and dis-

played so boldly that they are virtually seen rather than read' (Jefkins 1985:133). English is used in headlines in Pakistani Urdu advertising in two ways: (1) prominently-displayed English headlines feature in otherwise Urdu advertisements and (2) headlines contain a great deal of English-Urdu code-mixing. Consider some of the English attention-getters which appeared in the data:

- 1a. We pack it pure for you (*Kamran Masaleh/Akhbar-e-Jehan*, 9–15 April 1984).
- b. More fruit (*Rafhan Strawberry Jam/TV Times*, June 1987). (See Plate 3.)
- c. Now available in unbreakable plastic bottles (*Swiss Miss Egg Shampoo/TV Times*, July 1987).
- d. For a more beautiful you (*Medora Lipstick/Akhbar-e-Khawateen*, 20–26 July 1988).
- e. A township in the heart of the nature (*Clifton Township/Akhbar-e-Jehan*, 7–13 November 1988).
- f. Beauty cream of the East used all over the world (*Tibet Snow/Jang*, 12 November 1988).

In Plate 4, an advertisement for *Medora Vanishing Cream*, the English phrase 'For a radiantly beautiful complexion' serves as the headline. The advertisement also contains English visuals and a device now commonly utilized in advertising, the signature slogan or strapline, a phrase (here 'for a more beautiful you') which concludes the advertisement and serves 'to create a corporate image' (Jefkins 1985:137). This phrase too is in English.

Urdu headlines and sub-headlines also contain a great deal of both English borrowings and assimilations as can be seen in the following examples:

- 2a. Ghizaayyat bakhsh *full cream homogenized* taazaa duudh  
Fresh nourishing full cream homogenized milk (*Milk Pure/Akhbar-e-Jehan*, 23–29 January 1984).

b. paakistaan kaa pahlaa *Luxury Length Cigarette*

Pakistan's first Luxury Length Cigarette (*Princeton Filter/Cricketer*, August 1986).

c. *Tin pack* mē bhii dastyaab

Now also available in tin pack (*Rafhan Strawberry Jam/TV Times* June 1987). (See Plate 3.)

d. *gain protein* se bharpuur *formula* hai jis me tamaam zaruurii *vitamin* aur madanii ajza ke alaavaa das fiisad izaafii *calories* hāī

Gain high protein formula provides all the essential vitamins and minerals plus 10 per cent more calories (*Gain Milk Food/Akhbar-e-Jehan*, 14–20 October 1987).

e. har juum'ah ko *dim light buffet dinner*  
har juum'araat ko *candle light dinner*

Every Friday a dim light buffet dinner  
Every Thursday a candle light dinner (*Salva Restaurant/Jang*, 16 December 1987).

f. ab *antiseptic* aur *mouth wash* ke izaafe ke saath *fluoride* aur *mint fluoride* mē bhii

Now with the addition of antiseptic and mouth wash in fluoride and mint fluoride too (*Blend a Med/Akhbar-e-Jehan* August 1988).

Short catchy headlines which are used repeatedly often acquire the status of slogans in advertising (Evans 1988:145). Below is a list of popular slogans in Urdu advertising in Pakistan which draw heavily on the use of English/Urdu rhyme:

3a. lahmina—baraa'e *stamina*

Lahmina—for stamina (*Lahmina/Akhbar-e-Watan* December 1982).

b. sadaa bahaar—*Three Star*

Evergreen—Three Star  
(*Three Star Battery Cells/Akhbar-e-Watan* January 1983).

c. avval na doam—sab se behtar *Unifoam*

Neither first nor second—Unifoam is the best (*United Foam Industries Ltd./Akhbar-e-Watan* November 1983).



d. *Top Star*—tez aur jaandaar

Top Star—strong and powerful (*Lipton Top Star/TV Times* January 1986).

e. *Dish washing* kyō? *Zip washing* kahiye

Why dish washing? Say Zip Washing (*Zip Dish Washing Liquid/TV Times*, March 1987).

f. *naii tube* *mini tube*

New tube Mini tube (*Close Up Toothpaste/TV Times*, May 1987).

g. *millat foam* kii *guarantee*

*millat foam* kii *quality*

Millat Foam's guarantee

Millat Foam's quality (*Millat Foam/Akhbar-e-Jehan*, 4–10 January 1988).

h. *calne* me *hino*

*Taaqat* me *rin*o

In movement Hino

In strength Rhino (*Hino Pak Motors Ltd./Jang*, 20 November 1988).

An examination of the body copy in the 840 advertisements also revealed an extensive use of English. The examples below show highlights of body copy from advertisements for housing, furniture, electronic appliances, and automobiles.

4a. do aur tiin kushaada *bed room* bamae *tiled attached baths*. *vasiih drawing* aur *dining*. *Car porch*, *kitchen* . . . *American kitchen* mē *cabinet* aur *steel sink*. *garm* aur *ThanDe* *paanii* kii *line*

Two and three bedrooms with tiled attached bath. Large drawing and dining rooms. Car porch, kitchen . . . American kitchen with cabinets and steel sink. Hot and cold water lines (*Muslim Villas/Akhbar-e-Jehan* December 1984).

b. *Charisma bed room* aapkii *zaruuriaat* ko *madde nazar rakhte* *hue* *tayyaar* *kiyaa* *gayaa* *hai*. *Double bed* (*gadde* ke *baGhair*) *side tables* ke *saath*. *kushaada wardrobe*. *xubsuurat dressing table* aur *dressing stool* *sab hii mil kar* *aap ke liye* *ye kamraa* *taxliiq* *kiyaa* *hai* . . . *Mahogany*, *teak* aur *walnut finishes* mē *dastyaab*. *baad az* *farox*t *service* *ki guarantee* ke *saath*

Charisma bedrooms have been prepared with your needs in mind. Double bed (without mattress) with side tables, large wardrobe, beautiful dressing table, and stool. All these things together have created this room for your . . . Available in mahogany, teak, and walnut finishes with guarantee of after-sale service (*Charisma Furniture/Akhbar-e-Jehan* 24–30 October 1988).

- c. jadeedtareen *factory-ō mē computer se aaraastaa robot* har vaqt xuubtar kii justjuu mē sarkardaa rahte hāī. *Orion ke model 20 DX, 16 DX aur 16BR* kii aham xusuusiat iskaa *sleep function* hai. Ek baar *button* dabaane se 30 *minute* baad, . . . *TV* xud baxud band ho jaataa hai. *Digital display, electronic fine tuning aur portable antenna* kii izaafii sahuulat. paakistaan mē pahlii baar che saal kii *picture tube* kii *guarantee*. Ek saal kii muft *service* aur *spare parts* kii tabdeelii

In most modernized factories computerized robots are always in search of excellence. The special quality of Orion's models 20 DX, 16 DX, and 16 BR is its sleep function. By pressing the button once, after 30 minutes, . . . the TV is automatically switched off. Extra facilities of digital display, electronic fine tuning, and portable antenna. For the first time in Pakistan six-year picture tube guarantee. Free service and change of spare parts for one year (*Orion Colour Television/Akhbar-e-Jehan*, 6–14 August 1988).

- d. *Super Wagon semi high roof*: numaayāā xusuusiat. do tarfaa *over-head air conditioner. FM/AM radio aur cassette player/power steering/halogen head lamps, rear wiper aur washer/suspension seats/sun roof/Tachometer/oil pressure meter/voltage meter/inclinometer/spare tyre covers/spare fuel tank/central door locking.* (*Pajero Luxury Jeep/Jasarat*, 30 November 1988).

The pervasive influence of English in these examples of body copy is evident. In the last advertisement for Pajero Jeeps the copy contains only five Urdu words—[numaayāā xusuusiat] 'special features', [do tarfaa] 'dual' and [aur] 'and'. This same advertisement appeared in *Dawn*, Karachi (25 October 1988) in an English version which was identical except for the translation of the five words and the Roman script. Plates 5 and 6 are further examples of the wide use of English in the body copy of advertisements, especially in advertisements for automobiles, accommodation, household appliances, and machinery. Plate 6, the Urdu version of Plate 5, is an advertisement for National Tiles which contains no less than thirty-two (32) instances of English

borrowings and assimilations, including *balcony, bathroom, bedroom, dealers, double, glazed/unglazed, kitchen, reception hall, rough, sanitaryware, terrace, tile, etc.*

The Englishized Urdu of advertising in Pakistan is, I believe, a clear manifestation of the present wave of modernization in this country in particular and in the whole region of South Asia in general (see Bhatia 1987 for a description of English in Hindi advertising in India). It reflects the line of thinking, modes of behaviour, and aspirations of a large majority of Pakistanis. The influence of Western lifestyles through advances in science and technology, and the desire to have a high standard of living and to avail of all the modern luxuries of life are evident in Urdu advertising in the form of English words and phrases associated with modernization. A relatively large Pakistani community now resides outside Pakistan in Britain, Canada, and the United States; a large number of Pakistani students have also studied abroad. These Pakistanis, when they visit or return to Pakistan bring with them not only new ideas and new items of daily use but also the contemporary speech of the modern-day English-speaking world. This factor too I feel contributes to the Englishization of Urdu in general and of advertising in particular.

A final area which I would like to discuss is that of the Urduization of borrowed English words found in the language of advertising. This Urduization is most prominent in the use of Urdu derivational and inflectional morphology with English bases and in hybrid compounds. Urdu derivational suffixes (e.g. [ii], [aa], [uu], and [aail]) are often attached to English nouns and adjectives to form new words. For example, [peT] means *belly*, and [peTuu] means 'one who eats a lot'. [mail] in Urdu means *dirt* and [mailaa] means *dirty*. This same process is used with English bases to create new product names:

carmine	+ aa	= Carmina (a digestive medicine)
chocol(ate)	+ aa	= Chocolla (a chocolate spread)
dur(able)	+ aa	= Dura (a mattress foam)
energy	+ aail	= Energile (glucose)
nose	+ uu	= Nozou (a nasal spray)
palm	+ ii	= Pami (a toilet soap)
plant	+ aa	= Planta (a vegetable oil)
somin(L.)	+ aa	= Somina (a sedative)



Another interesting product name is *Neemodent*, which is formed by the combination of two Urdu morphemes and one English morpheme. *Neem* in Urdu is a tree whose antiseptic leaves are used in making this product; *dent* is the English morpheme as in the word *dental* or the product name *Pepsodent*. Hence the Urdu product name [*neem* + *uu* + *Dent*].

Urdu inflectional morphemes in combination with English bases can also be found throughout Urdu advertising. English, for example, has so-called natural gender. In Urdu, on the other hand, gender is grammatical, every Urdu noun being either masculine or feminine. Urdu masculine nouns generally end in [aa], as in *laRkaa*, 'boy', or in a consonant, as in *mard* 'man'; feminine nouns generally end in [ii] as in *laRkii* 'girl' or *kursii* 'chair'. Urdu nouns are also inflected for both case and for number. Two cases—direct and oblique—are distinguished. The direct form of a noun usually denotes sentence subjects or direct objects, while the oblique form is used with a postposition. The manner in which a noun is declined for case depends on whether it is masculine or feminine and singular or plural:

	masculine	feminine
singular direct	<i>laRkaa</i> 'boy'	<i>laRkii</i> 'girl'
singular oblique	<i>laRke ko</i> 'to the boy'	<i>laRkii ko</i> 'to the girl'
plural direct	<i>laRke</i> 'boys'	<i>laRkiyāā</i> 'girls'
plural oblique	<i>laRkō ko</i> 'to the boys'	<i>laRkiyō ko</i> 'to the girls'

When English nouns are borrowed into Urdu they assume either the masculine or feminine gender and are declined according to the above paradigm as the following examples show:

5a. . . . mauttal rehne vaalii *policy*-āā  
 . . . . suspended *policies*

b. *party*-āā fauran raabtaa qaayam karē  
*parties* should contact immediately

In examples (5a) and (5b) where the two nouns *policy* and *party* are feminine in Urdu, the feminine plural direct inflectional morpheme [āā] is added to the English nouns.

- c. field *worker*-ō kii zaruurat hai  
field *workers* are required
- d. professional *artist*-ō kii pahlii pasand  
first choice of professional *artists*
- e. *car*-ō, *scooter*-ō, *cycle*-ō ke *tyre*  
*tyres* for *cars*, *scooters* and *cycles*

In the above three examples, the English nouns *worker*, *artist*, *car*, *scooter*, and *cycle*, which are masculine in Urdu, are used in the plural oblique case and therefore take the [ō] ending. Note also *tyre* in (5e), which is masculine plural direct and therefore takes a zero plural.

A final area in which English is Urduized is that of compound verbs. Appendix 3 gives a list of commonly-used Urdu compound verbs made up of English nouns, adjectives, and verbs plus the Urdu verb *karnaa* (to do/to make)—other verbs can also be used in such constructions. Urdu verbs agree with the gender of the agent in sentences; hence compound verbs containing English morphemes are also inflected for gender as the examples below show:

- 6a. *caay pack* kii jaatii hai  
tea is *packed*
- b. *caaval pack* kiyaa jaataa hai  
rice is *packed*

In (6a) above the subject of the sentence *tea* [*caay*] is feminine, and the passive Urdu compound verb *pack honaa* is therefore *kii jaatii hai*. In (6b) the verb form is *kiyaa jaataa hai* because the subject of the sentence *rice* [*caaval*] is masculine.

I have attempted in this paper to show the pervasive influence of the English language in the area of advertising in Pakistan. This influence is by no means limited to this field; it is well-illustrated by it however. English was shown to be present in all parts of the contemporary Urdu advertisement—the product name, the manufacturer's name, the headline or attention-getter, the slogan, as well as the body copy—in the form of borrowings as well as assimilations. Much of this borrowing has no doubt resulted from the historical contact between Pakistan and the English-speaking world and the proclivity of Urdu to incorporate loan words. Other factors, however, were also noted to be at work, the foremost being the modernization of society

in Pakistan and the desire, whether well-founded or not, to have those things which are foreign. Under the influence of these dynamic currents, we are beginning to discern a very much changed form of the Urdu language not only in the realm of advertising but in numerous other areas as well.



پاکستان میں سب سے زیادہ  
فروخت ہونے والی چائے



سپریم


نمبر 1 کوالٹی چائے

خوشبو، ذائقہ اور رنگ میں مکمل تسکین

TV Times, December 1987

Plate 1

نزلہ وزکام  
جوشینا سے آرام



اجزاء حاصل کرنا کمالِ فن ہے، دوا سازی کی عظمت ہے۔ ہمدرد میں ماہرینِ فن  
اس عظمت اور خدمت میں ہمدرد اور ہرجیت مصروف ہیں۔

ہمدرد کی فنی محنت اور دوا سازی  
کی صلاحیت کا ایک منظر ہے

جوشینا

نزلہ وزکام - جوشینا سے آرام  
کھانسی اور سینے کی جکڑن کا موثر علاج



ہمدرد

خدمتِ خلقِ رُوحِ انسانی ہے

Jang, Karachi, 8 November 1988

Plate 2



رفحان

More Fruit

اسٹرابیری  
جام

تنازه پھل کے مشلوں کے ساتھ

ٹن پیک میں بھی دستیاب

Rafhan  
Strawberry Jam

TV Times, June 1987

Plate 3





**Medora**  
VANISHING CREAM  
For a radiantly  
beautiful complexion

100cc Rs. 20.00      75cc Rs. 16.50      50cc Rs. 11.00

اب  
تین سائز میں  
دستیاب

میدورا  
ونیشنگ کریم

آپ کے چہرے کو شادابی اور  
نہایت خوبصورت بناتی ہے

میدورا آپ کے لئے  
اصلی کوالٹی کی ممتاز بیوٹی کریم

**MEDORA OF LONDON** for a more beautiful you

Nawa-i-Waqt, Karachi, 30 November 1988

Plate 4

A new breed of split tiles

# National Tiles



National Tiles are ideal choice for:

- Reception Halls • Drawing Rooms
- Bed Rooms • Bathrooms • Kitchens
- Stair Cases • Passages • Balconies
- Terraces • Facing of Buildings • Factories
- Offices • Hospitals and all other places where strength, hygiene and elegance in tiles are of paramount importance.

## Elegant Walls Durable Floors

100% Acid Resistant.  
Abrasion Resistant

National Tiles are made with the revolutionary 'Split' technology in technical collaboration with M/s Agrob Anlagenbau GmbH of West Germany. These Tiles are glazed with high temperature (about 1180°C) imported glazes for incomparable strength. National Tiles are vitrified and have antislip surfaces.



### Built-in grip

National Tiles are specially designed with grooves at the back of each tile to provide an in-built grip for fixing on walls and thus making them far more durable than ordinary tiles.

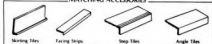
Only National Tile offers matching Angle Tiles, Skirting Tiles, Step Tiles and Facing Strips that can be effectively used for a variety of applications, conveniently and imaginatively.

Available at  
All major sanitaryware  
and tiles dealers.

NOW YOU HAVE  
THE ADVANTAGE OF

**National Tile**  
more than a tile

### MATCHING ACCESSORIES



AVAILABLE IN UNGLAZED • ROUGH GLAZED • GLOSSY GLAZED  
• DOUBLE GLAZED SURFACES



Visit our display centre

**National Tiles & Ceramics Ltd.**

NO. 1 Services Club Extension Behind Mehran Saddle, Karachi.  
Phone: 511137, 528047, 528040 Tlx: 25188 NE-WCO PK.

TV Times, July 1988

Plate 5

# اسپلٹ ٹائلز میں انقلابی تصور نیشنل ٹائلز



آپ کا بہترین انتخاب، متراشہ

• ۷-۱۰ ٹائلز • ٹیسٹڈ ہل • ڈرائنگ روم • بیڈ روم • باہر دام  
• کچن • ٹوربین • بالکن • فیس • لٹ چار • حمام کا سامنے کا فرش  
• دفاتر • کارخانے • اسکول • پزل • اسٹریٹ • کلاش  
اور چپاں چپاں ٹائلز کی تنصیب میں پائیداری، مصفاہ، استقامت  
اور دیہہ زندگی کی اولین اہمیت ہو نیشنل ٹائلز کی بہترین انتخاب ہے۔



مضبوط گرفت ہے

نیشنل ٹائلز کی پائیداری، بارگسیالی، درمناست، خوب رنگ، سطح پر مضبوط گرفت کہ  
محکمہ ٹیلیفون ہے۔ اکیٹھ پچاس ام ٹیسٹڈ کہ مقابلہ میں کہیں زیادہ بہتر ہے چاکلیت

مضبوط ٹائلز کی پائیداری، بارگسیالی، درمناست، خوب رنگ، سطح پر مضبوط گرفت کہ  
محکمہ ٹیلیفون ہے۔ اکیٹھ پچاس ام ٹیسٹڈ کہ مقابلہ میں کہیں زیادہ بہتر ہے چاکلیت

آپ کے لئے مزید سہولت  
نیشنل ٹائلز

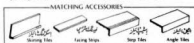
عام آئٹم سے کہیں زیادہ بہتر اور مضبوط

مضبوط اور پائیداری  
کا دلکش امتزاج  
تیزابیت کا مکمل مزاحمت، آکرکچہ پڑت

نیشنل ٹائلز سرمدیہ انتظامی اسپلٹ ٹائلز اور ٹائلز  
مطلوبہ کی طرح کی پائیداری، بارگسیالی، درمناست، خوب رنگ، سطح پر مضبوط گرفت کہ  
محکمہ ٹیلیفون ہے۔ اکیٹھ پچاس ام ٹیسٹڈ کہ مقابلہ میں کہیں زیادہ بہتر ہے چاکلیت



تمام شے ٹائلز کی پائیداری، بارگسیالی، درمناست، خوب رنگ، سطح پر مضبوط گرفت کہ  
محکمہ ٹیلیفون ہے۔ اکیٹھ پچاس ام ٹیسٹڈ کہ مقابلہ میں کہیں زیادہ بہتر ہے چاکلیت



انگلینڈ • روت گلینڈ • گلاس گلینڈ • ڈبل گلینڈ سٹورس • روت شاپ

SOILED GLAZED GLOSS GLAZED ROUGH GLAZED UNGLAZED



Visit our display centre

**National Tiles & Ceramics Ltd.**

NO. 1 Service Club Extension Behind Mangrove Lumber, Karachi. Phone: 511137, 528047, 528040 Tlx: 25188 NEWCO PK.

TV Times, November 1988

Plate 6



## Notes

1. This is a revised version of the paper presented at the International Conference on English in South Asia, 4–9 January 1989, in Islamabad. I would like to thank Dr Robert J. Baumgardner for encouraging me to present a paper at the Conference and for guidance in the revision of the paper for publication.
2. I would like to thank Mariam Ahmed and Yamuna Kachru for assistance with Urdu transcriptions.

## Appendix 1

### Borrowings

The lists below include words from the eight categories of advertising which I examined. Only the most common words from the fields of science, technology, and medicine are included however. All words are nouns except where indicated.

after shave lotion	cabin	cooler
air-conditioned (adj.)	cake	cosmetics
air conditioner	calcium	cottage
air cooler	calcium carbonate	crate
alarm	calculator	cream
alarm clock	calendar	creme
allergy	camera	cricket
allotment	capsule	custard
aluminium foil packing	carbolic	cutlery
antenna	card	cylinder
apartment	cardigan	
arcade	cassette	dairy
audio level/system	cement	dashboard
automobile	cement block	deep freeze
	ceramics	delivery
badminton	chalk	departmental store
bakery	challenge (noun/verb)	deposit
baking powder	champion	diesel
balcony	championship	disc
bank	channel	dish
basement	cherry	doctor
basketball	chips	double bed
battery cell	chocolate	draft
beauty parlour	cigarette	drawing-room
belt	class	dry-cleaning
biscuit	cleaning cream	
blade	coat	electrician
blender	coffee	electronics
block	collar	engine
board	college	engineer
booking	cologne	engineering
booking office	company	exhaust fan
boutique	complex	
brand	compressor	fashion
briefcase	computer	film
brochure	computerized (adj.)	finishing
brush (noun/verb)	concealed wiring	fitting
bun	concentrate	flat
bungalow	confectionery	fluoride
button	contact lens	flush doors

foam	machine	radio
football	margarine	record (noun/verb)
footwear	market	refrigerator
formula	matching (adj.)	refrigeration
frying-pan	medical store	roll
furniture	menthol	rubber
	millilitre	
gas	minute	safari suit
geyser	mixer	sandal
glass	model	sandwich
glassware	moisturizing cream	sanitaryware
glazed tiles	monitor	schedule
gram	motor	school
grinder	motorcycle	scooter
	mouthwash	seat
hair-colour	movie camera	second
hair-conditioner		sector
hair-dye	nail polish	service
hall	napkin	set
hanger	nicotine	shade
headlight	nourishing cream	shampoo
hockey	number	shave
horsepower	nursery	shaving cream
hotel	nylon	shirting
housing block		shockproof
	omelette	showroom
ice-cream	operation	sink
indoor games	order	size
intercom	overhauling	smart (adj.)
	overhead	sofa-set
jacket	pack (noun/verb)	speaker
jeans	packet	sponge
jelly	packing	sportswear
jog (verb)	parking	spray
jogger	party	spring
jogging	pencil	square
jug	phase	squash
	photo	stage show
karate	photo print	stationary (adj.)
kilometre	picture tube	steel
knitwear	pipe	steel washbasin
	plant	steering-wheel
label	plastic	stereo (adj.)
lather	plaza	sticker
laundry	polish (noun/verb)	stool
lift	polyester	store
line	pond	strawberry
linen	portable	suitcase
lipstick	powder	suiting
litre	pressure-cooker	supermarket
loadshedding	print	surgeon
lotion	processing	sweater
	pudding	
marble chips		talcum



tank  
tape-recorder  
technology  
telephone  
television  
tennis  
terrace  
test-cricket  
thermos  
tile  
tissue  
toaster  
toothbrush  
toothpaste  
tractor  
traffic

trailer  
transistor  
tropicalized  
T-shirt  
tube  
tube light  
T.V. lounge  
typewriter  
tyre  
  
underwear  
unit  
utility store  
  
van  
vanishing cream

VCP/VCR  
vest  
video  
villa  
volleyball  
voltage  
voltage stabilizer  
volume  
voucher  
  
wagon  
watt  
weightlifting  
wiper  
workshop  
wrapper

## Appendix 2

### Assimilations

The assimilations listed below have been chosen on the basis of their frequent occurrence in the advertisements examined. All words are nouns except where indicated.

accounting	حسابات	bath soap	نہانے کا صابن
advance	پیشگی	bathroom	غسل خانہ
agent	نمائندہ	beauty soap	حسن بخش صابن
agreement	معادہ	bedroom	خواب گاہ
airline	فضائی کمپنی	bed-sheet	پلنگ پوش
anti-dandruff (adj.)	شکی ختم کرنے والی، رافغ خشکی	blood	خون
antiseptic (adj.)	جراثیم کش	blood pressure	خون کا دباؤ
architect	ماہر تعمیر	body	جسم
artist	فن کار	boundary	احاطہ
attached bath	ملحقہ غسل خانہ	branch	شاخ
automatic (adj.)	خود کار	bread	ڈبل روٹی
ball	گیسند	brown (adj.)	بادامی، خاکی، بھورا
basement	تہہ خانہ	building	عمارت
bath	غسل	bulb	بتی

cabinet	خزانہ، الماری	curry	سالن
carpet	قالین	curtain	پردہ
category	قسم	cushion	تکیہ
centre	مرکز	customer	گاہک، خریدار
certificate	تصدیق نامہ، سند	daily use	روزمرہ استعمال
check-up	معائنہ	decoration	آرائش
chicken	مرغ	dentist	دندان ساز
cholesterol	چربی کے اجزا	design (noun/verb)	نمونہ، نمونہ سازی
clinic	مطب، دواخانہ	development	ترقیاتی، ترقی
cloth merchant	کپڑے کا تاجر	dining-room	کھانے کا کمرہ
colour	رنگ	discount (noun/verb)	رعایت، کم کرنا
commercial	تجارتی	dish (utensil)	قاب
community centre	جماعت خانہ	display (noun/verb)	مظاہرہ، مظاہرہ کرنا
construction	تعمیر	distributor	تقسیم کنندہ
control (noun/verb)	بندش، ضبط کرنا	double-storey	دو منزلہ
cooking oil	پکانے کا تیل	drainage system	پانی کی نکاسی کا نظام
cornflour	مکئی کا آٹا	dressing-table	سنگھار میز
corner	کونہ، گوشہ	education centre	تعلیمی مرکز
cotton	سوتی (کپڑا)، روئی	electric supply	بجلی کی فراہمی
cup	پیالہ	electrical current	برقی رو



executive (noun/adj.)	انتظامی (افسر)	importer	درآمد کنندہ
export (noun/adj.)	برآمد، برآمد کرنا	insurance	بیمہ
exporter	برآمد کنندہ	intensive care	انتہائی نگہداشت
fabrics	پارچہ جات	international (adj.)	بین الاقوامی
factory	کارخانہ	jeweller	جوہری
family	خاندان، گھرانہ	juice	عرق
first class (noun/adj.)	درجہ اول	kitchen	باورچی خانہ
fish	پھلی	ladies	خواتین
free (adj.)	مفت، آزاد	leakproof	ٹپکنے سے محفوظ
fruit	پھل	light	روشنی
garden	باغ	local-assembled	مقامی طور پر جوڑا گیا
garment	ملبوسات	location	محل وقوع
glamour	دلفریبی، سحر	luxury	پر تعیش
ground floor	پنچلی منزل	maintenance	دیکھ بھال
guarantee (noun/verb)	ضمانت، ضمانت لینا	make-up	آرائش و سنگھار
hair oil	بالوں کا تیل	manufacturer	بنانے والے
handicrafts	دستکاری	material	سامان و مال
head office	مرکزی دفتر، صدر دفتر	medium	درمیانہ
housing scheme	رہائشی منصوبہ	member	رکن
import (noun/verb)	درآمد، درآمد کرنا	membership	رکنیت

milk	دودھ	pocket	جیب
milk powder	خشک دودھ	pole	کھمبا
minerals	معدنیات	power	طاقت
mixed (adj.)	آمیزش شدہ	production	پیداوار۔ پیشکش
multipurpose (adj.)	کثیر المقاصد	project	منصوبہ
normal (adj.)	معیاری۔ ٹھیک	publicity	تشہیر
office	دفتر	purse	بٹوہ
oil	تیل	quality	معیار۔ خوبی
orange (noun/adj.)	نارنگی/سنگترہ	ready-made (adj.)	تیار شدہ
paint	روغن	sale	فروخت
paper	کاغذ	scene	منظر
park (noun/verb)	باغ/گاری کھڑی کرنا	scheme	تجویز۔ منصوبہ
part	حصہ۔ ٹکڑا	screen	پردہ
pen	قلم	seal (noun/verb)	مہر/مہر لگانا
perfume	خوشبو	sewerage	گندے پانی کی نکاسی
picture	تصویر	shirt	قمیض
plan (noun/verb)	منصوبہ/منصوبہ بنانا	shoe	جوتا
planning	منصوبہ بندی	shopping	خریداری
playground	کھیل کا میدان	shopping centre	خریداری کا مرکز
plot	قطعہ اراضی	single storey	ایک منزلہ

slice	ٹکڑا	tablet	گولی
smoking	سگریٹ نوشی	test (noun/verb)	آزمائش - آزمانا
soap	صابن	textile	پارچہ (بافی)
spare parts	فاضل پرزہ جات	tin	ڈبہ
special (noun/adj.)	خصوصی، خاص	toilet soap	نہانے کا صابن
specialist	ماہر	tonic	شریت، طاقت بخش دوا
sports	کھیل	tooth-powder	منجن
stamina	طاقت	transparent (adj.)	شفاف
standard	معیار	transport (noun/verb)	سواری، منتقل کرنا
start (verb)	شروع کرنا، آغاز کرنا	tray	کشتی
stock	ذخیرہ	type (noun/verb)	قسم، ٹائپ کرنا
super (adj.)	اعلیٰ	underground (adj.)	زیر زمین
supply (noun/verb)	فراہمی، فراہم کرنا	urgent (adj.)	فوری، ضروری
sweet dish	میٹھے کھانے	variety	نوع، قسم
swimming-pool	نہانے کا تالاب	wall-clock	گھنٹہ (دیوار گیر)
syrup	شریت	washing-machine	پہرے دھونے کی مشین
system	نظام	water supply	پانی کی فراہمی



## Appendix 3

### Compound Verbs

*allot karnaa*

*bleach karnaa*

*blend karnaa*

*book karnaa*

*brush karnaa*

*charge karnaa*

*check karnaa*

*control karnaa*

*design karnaa*

*export karnaa*

*focus karnaa*

*fuse karnaa*

*glaze karnaa*

*load karnaa*

*normal karnaa*

*order book karnaa*

*pack karnaa*

*paint karnaa*

*polish karnaa*

*press karnaa*

*record karnaa*

*repair karnaa*

*retire karnaa*

*role ada karnaa*

*shave karnaa*

*smart karnaa*

*start karnaa*

*supply karnaa*

*test karnaa*

*weld karnaa*

## **IV. Language Pedagogy**





## Utilizing Pakistani Newspaper English to Teach Grammar

Robert J. Baumgardner

One of the most valuable aids today in the advanced English Language Teaching (ELT) classroom worldwide is the newspaper.<sup>1</sup> There are numerous reasons for this, the foremost being the easy accessibility and relatively low cost of newspapers. In South Asian countries where English is spoken as a second language, a plethora of daily and weekly publications exists to be chosen from for classroom use. In Pakistan alone twenty-one English-language newspapers are printed daily.<sup>2</sup> In addition to being readily accessible and low in cost, newspapers are a ready-made form of 'home-grown' teaching materials which can create a feeling of shared interests and hence high motivation among students. Pedagogically, the newspaper is many-faceted, affording the mature language learner possible practice in all skills at almost all proficiency levels, from the relatively short, simple telegraphic news-brief to the more linguistically-complex editorial. Furthermore, it is hoped that by reading the newspaper in class, students will develop the so-called newspaper habit, which is only the beginning of the infinite experience of language learning and the attainment of knowledge.

An often-cited objection in South Asia to the pedagogical use of newspapers in the ELT classroom centres around the English used in locally-published newspapers. A number of my Pakistani colleagues, for example, reject their use altogether because of the so-called 'errors' found in these local publications. This objection deserves careful attention.

Three types of 'errors' need to be distinguished here: typographical errors, actual errors, and local innovations. English typographical errors can be dismissed forthright. They can be found in all newspa-

pers—some more than others—but are certainly no excuse not to use newspapers as pedagogical aids. Actual errors in grammatical use, I feel, can also be dismissed. Most of the time they are the result of poor editing, and their occurrence is also a flimsy excuse to reject outright the use of newspapers in the classroom. Definitely of more concern are the local usages which often find their way into print in Pakistan.

Such local usages have become in recent years the focus of attention in the rapidly expanding field of study of non-native or local varieties of English. These varieties have developed in numerous countries formerly colonized by Britain and to a lesser extent by the United States. Local varieties of English are now spoken in countries in South and South-East Asia, East and West Africa, the Caribbean, and the Philippines. Unlike varieties of English spoken by speakers of English as a foreign language (the Japanese, the Germans, and the French, for example), local varieties of English are so widely used, so disseminated through the media, and so much an integral part of the culture of these former colonies that they have become 'institutionalized' (Kachru 1986). English, therefore, plays not only an international role in these countries as a link language to the outside world, but also serves an intranational function. In India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka, for example, English is still used at the highest levels of education, government, commerce, and jurisprudence. In India it also acts as a neutral link language between ethnically- and linguistically-diverse groups of Indians. There is, in fact, strong evidence (Kachru 1986; Baumgardner forthcoming) for a pan-regional variety of South Asian English, including the local Englishes spoken in Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka.

On what basis, then, can English in Pakistan be termed a local, institutionalized variety of English? First, it is a fact that to be able to read a local Pakistani English newspaper thoroughly and with complete understanding, it is necessary that the reader be familiar with both the Urdu (and to a lesser extent Punjabi, Sindhi, Pushto, and Balochi) language and Islamic culture. As a case in point consider the following letter to the editor from *The Pakistan Times* (3 October 1986):

The Secretary, Finance, Punjab, has issued a circular letter under which peons, chowkidars, baidars, watermen, malis, behishtis, sweepers and other work-charged employees have been granted a special benefit. But it is very strange that the Secretary, Finance,



has extended this gracious concession to three departments only. Why a step-motherly treatment is being meted out to the poor peons, naib qasids, chowkidars and malis of the Education Department?

Also consider the following set of headlines:<sup>3</sup>

Nai Roshni schools plan suffers from snags (D 1 November 1986)  
 Jirga imposes Rs. 2,000 fine on air firing (FP/P 4 November 1986)  
 Self-styled obnoxious Pir held (N 30 October 1986)  
 Directorate of Tibb to be set up (D 28 October 1986)  
 Hathora Group kills two more (D 15 November 1986)  
 5-year R.I. 10 stripes for committing zina (D 26 August 1986)

Newly-arrived expatriates in Pakistan, needless to say, find the experience of reading a Pakistani newspaper an educational, but initially exasperating task! Direct lexical borrowing is of course a natural linguistic process in language-contact situations. Pakistani English and other varieties of South Asian English have moved well beyond the stage of mere lexical borrowing, however. Hybrid lexical items are also very prevalent in Pakistani English and have become an integral part of the lexicon: *bradarism*, *to challan*, *to commit zina*, *to gherao*, *goondaism*, *mela-ground*, and *pan-shop* to name but a very few.<sup>4</sup>

Numerous distinctively English words have also taken on a flavour of their own in Pakistani English: *to baton-charge*, *to brickbat*, *to chargesheet*, *eveninger*, *history-sheeter*, *time-barred*, and *wheel-jam strike*, again to name only a few. Consider also the 'step-motherly treatment' which is being meted out in the above letter to the editor or the fine on 'air firing' and the ten 'stripes' in the headlines. It is obvious, then, that at the lexical level Pakistani English has a distinctiveness of its own. Could this, however, be the basis of the previously-mentioned objections of English teachers to using Pakistani newspapers as pedagogical aids in the classroom? Probably not. These lexical innovations are, in fact, a matter of pride among Pakistani speakers of English. What therefore could be the cause for such negative attitudes towards the use of locally-published newspapers? What are the so-called 'errors' that cause such a reaction?

We can begin answering this question by referring again to the previously-cited letter to the editor. In Pakistani English *Wh*-questions, there is frequently no subject-operator inversion: 'Why a step-



motherly treatment is being meted out . . .?'. There have therefore been changes not only at the lexical level in Pakistani English, but also changes in the grammar of this variety of English as a result of the multilingual context in which English is used in Pakistan. Differences such as these in the basic grammatical system of English in Pakistan are without a doubt the basis for the above-mentioned objections to using newspapers in the classroom since a number of these features regularly appear in print.

I should now like to focus on one area of grammar—adjective, verb, and noun complementation—where Pakistani English frequently differs from both Standard British and American Englishes (which, for all practical purposes, are identical).<sup>5</sup> As a framework for my discussion of complementation, I shall use Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik's *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (1985). In addition to Pakistani newspaper data on complementation, I shall also present data found in what is, as far as I am aware, the most complete description of Pakistani English complementation available, *Exploring the World of English* by Sayyid Saadat Ali Shah (1978). Ironically, all of Shah's data is found in a chapter entitled 'How to Avoid Common Blunders, or Errors in Grammar and Idiom.' For the sake of comparison, I have also included data on complementation found in Whitworth (1907/1982) and Nihalani, Tongue, and Hosali (1979), which are, again as far as I am aware, the only two works which give somewhat extensive data on complementation in Indian English.

Quirk *et al.* discuss two principal types of complementation: adjective complementation and verb complementation. Adjective complementation is divided into six subtypes, only two of which—complementation by an *-ing* participle clause and complementation by a *to*-infinitive—manifest differences in Pakistani English from Standard British and American. Adjective complementation by an *-ing* participle clause is illustrated in (1). It is made up of an adjective plus an optional preposition plus a participle clause (gerund):

- 1a. He is *interested in learning* Urdu.
- b. He is *busy (in) doing* his income tax.
- c. They are *capable of doing* anything.

In Pakistani English complementation, the adjective is frequently followed by a *to*-infinitive instead of the preposition and participle clause:

- 2a. They were not at all interested in democracy . . . and were only *interested to grab* power at any cost (PT 14 September 1986) (also in Nihalani *et al.* 1978:103).
- b. Anti-Islamic forces are *busy to create* differences among Muslims (M 8 November 1986).
- c. He should be well-versed with the latest developments in the accounting profession and fully *capable to enforce* financial and budgetary controls (PT 30 October 1986).

Additional adjectives which pattern in this manner in Pakistani English can be found in the Appendix. Also included there are similar data on Indian English from Whitworth (1907/1982) and Nihalani *et al.* (1979).

Adjective complementation by a *to*-infinitive consists of an adjective (either nonparticipial or participial) plus a *to*-infinitive:

- 3a. They are not *eligible to enter* the context.
- b. His is not *prepared to repay* the money.

There is a tendency in Pakistani English to use a preposition plus *-ing* participle in this type of adjective complement in place of the *to*-infinitive of Standard British and American:

- 4a. Students who are likely to be admitted by the end of January 1987 are also *eligible for appearing* in the qualifying examinations (MN 7 November 1986).
- b. It is believed that PIA is *prepared for filing* an insurance claim (FP/P 8 November 1986).

Whitworth (1907/1982:144) also cites two examples of this construction with the adjective *fit* (*fit for taking* instead of *fit to take*) and *incumbent* (*incumbent by showing* for *incumbent to show*).<sup>6</sup>

Quirk *et al.* discuss four main types of verb complementation: (1) copular, (2) monotransitive, (3) complex transitive, and (4) ditransitive. The following examples of Pakistani verb complementation fall into only two of these classes, monotransitive and ditransitive. Monotransitive verb complementation can be subdivided into complementation: (a) by a noun phrase as prepositional object, (b) by a finite clause, and (c) by a nonfinite clause, all three of which pattern grammatically as an object, hence monotransitive complementation. A verb

complement by noun phrase as prepositional object is made up of a prepositional verb plus an *-ing* participle clause:

- 5a. He *succeeded in getting* a loan.
- b. I am *looking forward to going* to Lahore.

Pakistani English frequently substitutes a *to*-infinitive for the prepositional verb plus *-ing* participle clause:

- 6a. According to him the Government had not *succeeded to redress* the real problems of the people (PT 15 March 1987) (also in Whitworth 1907/1982:141).
- b. Javed . . . was *looking forward to become* a millionaire (M 8 November 1986) (also in Nihalani *et al.* 1979:116).

Further examples of this pattern can be found in the Appendix along with examples from Shah (1978), Whitworth (1907/1982), and Nihalani *et al.* (1979).

Monotransitive verb complementation by a finite clause consists of a transitive verb plus a *that*-clause as object:

- 7a. They *announced that* there would be another drawing soon.
- b. He *suggested that* the meeting be postponed.
- c. The director *stressed that* he would be fair to all concerned.

Pakistani newspaper English often replaces the *that*-clause complement with a *to*-infinitive complement:

- 8a. The Baluchistan Clerks Association has *announced to take out* a procession (D 8 December 1986).
- b. He also *suggested to curtail* the number travelling through sea route by half (D 28 October 1986).
- c. Many members *stressed to eliminate* bribery, dearness, unemployment and corruption (PT 26 August 1986).<sup>7</sup>

See the Appendix for other example verbs of this class.

The third type of monotransitive verb complementation, complementation by a nonfinite clause, is divided into four types: (i) *-ing* participle (without subject), (ii) *to*-infinitive (without subject), (iii)



-*ing* participle (with subject), and (iv) *to*-infinitive (with subject). In the present data only types (i), (ii), and (iv) differ from Standard British or American usage.

A nonfinite clause with an -*ing* participle (without subject) is illustrated below in (9):

9a. He *avoided seeing* her.

b. They *contemplated committing* the murder.

In standard native varieties of English this structure consists of verbs which take an -*ing* participle as complement. In Pakistani English, however, verbs of this class are often followed by a *to*-infinitive in place of the Standard British and American -*ing* participle:

10a. Meanwhile, the police are *avoiding to enter* the campus where the culprits are stated to be hiding (D 2 December 1986) (also in Whitworth 1907/1982:146).

b. As regards issuance of Rs. 1000 notes, he said that it had been *contemplated to issue* these during December last (N 28 February 1987) (also in Nihalani et al. 1979:55).

Additional examples of nonfinite clauses (without subject) which take a *to*-infinitive can be found in the Appendix.

The second type of complementation by a nonfinite clause is made up of a main verb plus *to*-infinitive (without subject):

11a. He *wants to go*.

b. The lady *hesitated to speak*.

c. The star *failed to appear*.

Although my newspaper data contain no variation from (11a) in Pakistani English, I have often heard *want* used with a *that*-clause in spoken discourse. Shah (1978:461) also cites this usage as a frequent 'error' in English in Pakistan:

12. I *want that* I should get leave.

Whitworth and Nihalani *et al.* cite the use of verbs of this class with a preposition plus -*ing* participle clause in Indian English:

- 13a. He doesn't *hesitate from using* four-letter words (Nihalani *et al.* 1979:96) (also in Whitworth 1907/1982:145).
- b. The Sabha may be expected to do what the Government have hitherto *failed in doing* (Whitworth 1907/1982:146).

Whitworth (1907/1982:143) also cites this usage with *refuse* and *care*.

The last type of monotransitive complementation by a nonfinite clause is made up of a verb plus *to*-infinitive (with subject):

- 14a. He *wants her to go*.
- b. The teacher *likes students to be* on time.

In Pakistani English the *to*-infinitive is often replaced by a *that*-clause with the verbs *want* and *like*:

- 15a. She said that her party *wanted that* we should not intervene in internal affairs of Afghanistan (N 20 March 1987) (also in Shah 1978:461; Whitworth 1907/1982:209; Nihalani *et al.* 1979:190).
- b. Most observers agree that the Soviets and Indians *would like that* the two-front situation vis-à-vis Pakistan continues (N 23 November 1986) (also in Nihalani *et al.* 1979:115).

The verb *let*, which patterns in a similar manner but with the base form (without *to*) in Standard British and American, is often found used with a *to*-infinitive in Pakistani English:

- 16. She said democratic forces would not *let* any conspiracy against the nation *to succeed* (N 10 April 1987) (also in Nihalani *et al.* 1979:113).

An additional group of verbs in this class takes a preposition plus *-ing* participle clause as complement in Pakistani English instead of the *to*-infinitive:

- 17a. She *forbad me from pursuing* the story (N 28 March 1987).
- b. Mr. Afsar then *beseached them for opening* his handcuffs (D 8 October 1986).

The above example would read 'forbad me to pursue' and 'beseached them to remove' in Standard British or American usage. *Press, direct,*

and *request* also pattern in the same manner in the English of Pakistan.

The last type of major complementation in the data is ditransitive complementation, which consists of *two* object noun phrases, hence ditransitive. I shall present data illustrating variance from three kinds of ditransitive complementation: (a) indirect object plus prepositional object, (b) indirect object plus *that*-clause object, and (c) prepositional phrase idioms. Type (a), indirect object plus prepositional object, is illustrated in the following sentences:

- 18a. They *prevented him from speaking*.
- b. They *banned the film from being distributed*.
- c. He *discouraged them from seeking re-election*.

In Pakistani English a large number of ditransitive complements of this type are found with a *to*-infinitive instead of with a prepositional object as in standard native-speaker dialects:

- 19a. The student activists yesterday occupied the University administration block and *prevented the Vice-Chancellor to take charge* of his office (S 1 March 1987) (also in Shah 1978:469; Whitworth 1907/1982:142; Nihalani *et al.* 1979:143).
- b. The resolution *banning Americans to enter* the University campus is still in force (M 1 July 1986).
- c. Therefore it is necessary *to discourage the anti-socials to sit* at hotels during night hours (D 12 July 1986).

Further examples of verbs which pattern similarly can be found in the Appendix.

The second type of ditransitive complementation is made up of an indirect object plus a *that*-clause object:

- 20a. He *reminded the students that* it was time for a break.
- b. The warden *informed the prisoners that* their demands would be met.
- c. He *told his wife that* he would return early.

The difference in the data between Standard British or American dialects of English and Pakistani usage is that in the latter variety the indirect object is frequently omitted ( $\phi$ ):



- 21a. The Sind Minister *reminded*  $\phi$  *that* the public memory was not so short as to forget the capture of a large quantity of lethal weapons by the army on the Baluchistan border (N 29 November 1986).
- b. He *informed*  $\phi$  *that* the convention would decide whether to form a new party (M 23 August 1986).
- c. The Minister *told*  $\phi$  *that* the pay committee had recommended for a solid pay structure for employees of different categories (PT 21 March 1987) (also in Shah 1978:456; Nihalani *et al.* 1979:176).

Other such verbs which are often used without an indirect object in the data are *assure* (also in Nihalani *et al.* 1979:25) and *reassure* (also in Nihalani *et al.* 1979:148). Similarly, a direct object is often omitted in Pakistani English in such sentences as (22), which would read 'deplored the fact that' in British or American English:

- 22. He has *deplored*  $\phi$  *that* the nation has been divided into more than 50 political units (PT 28 March 1987) (also in Nihalani *et al.* 1979:65).

Nihalani *et al.* (1979:148) have also noted the same type of direct object omission for *rectify*.

The last type of ditransitive complementation involves prepositional phrase idioms:

- 23a. He *showed no interest in studying*.
- b. They *attached great importance to earning money*.

There is a tendency in Pakistani English to substitute a *to*-infinitive for the preposition plus gerund in these idioms:

- 24a. The Prime Minister of Sri Lanka has *shown keen interest to send* his agricultural scientists to interact with Pakistani scientists (N 28 March 1987) (also in Nihalani *et al.* 1979:103).
- b. The Government was *attaching importance to remove* the procedural difficulties (D 8 November 1986).

The Appendix contains more prepositional phrase idioms which pattern in this way in both Pakistani and Indian English.

Parallel to the various adjective and verb complements in English are the corresponding noun complements:

- 25a. He was *eager to go*/his *eagerness to go* . . .
- b. They are *interested in going*/their *interest in going* . . .
- c. She *succeeded in passing*/her *success in passing* . . .
- d. They *decided to change*/their *decision to change* . . .

Noun complements in Pakistani English manifest the same structural differences as we saw above in adjective and verb complementation:

- 26a. The freedom movement termed Iran's *insistence to continue* the war as being against the teachings of the Quran and Islam (N 18 February 1987).
- b. Pakistan has no *influence to control* affairs inside Afghanistan (N 22 December 1986).

In Standard British or American English the nouns in (26) would take preposition plus *-ing* participle clause complements instead of *to*-infinitive complements (*insistence on continuing* and *influence in controlling*). Additional nouns in the data which pattern in this manner are *inefficiency*, *intention* (also in Nihalani *et al.* 1979:103), and *sincerity*. Whitworth also cites *tendency* (1907/1982:143) and *satisfaction* (1907/1982:141).

Consider also the following examples:

- 27a. Leaders of the parties collaborating with the PPP in the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy had *no desire of executing* Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (PT 12 October 1986).
- b. The Minister said that *any decision for changing* uniform from current shalwar-qamis to coat-trousers would be after an agreement with the parents and teachers (FP/P 4 November 1986).

In standard native varieties of English 'desire' and 'decision' would take a *to*-infinitive complement. Whitworth (1907/1982:144) also cites examples with *curiosity (for witnessing)*, *endeavours (for enlisting)*, and *tendency (being)* in Indian English.

Finally in this section I would like to point out a related usage in both Pakistani and Indian varieties of English:

- 28a. While awaiting response to their ransom, the bandits again *went out for committing* their crime in a nearby village (FP/P 10 October 1986).

- b. He *went to Karachi for doing* some business (Shah 1978:470).
- c. We should be *given* sufficient legislative power *for preventing* fraud (Whitworth 1907/1982:143).
- d. He *went to China for learning* Chinese (Nihalani *et al.* 1979:83).

The 'infinitive of purpose', which is structurally similar to a *to*-complement, is a reduced adverbial clause which has been added to structurally complete another clause (Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman 1983:436). It answers the question 'for what purpose?' and *in order to* can be substituted for *to*. In most standard native varieties of English the above examples would read 'went to commit', 'went to do', 'given to prevent', and 'went to learn', respectively. As anyone reading a newspaper or listening to a conversation in English in Pakistan or in India quickly realizes, however, the *for* plus gerund variant for the infinitive of purpose is very common.

We have seen from the preceding section of data on complementation in newspapers in Pakistan that there are distinct differences in this grammatical structure as compared to complementation in Standard British or American English. We also saw evidence that a similar system is present in Indian English. It of course goes without saying that every instance of complementation in Pakistani newspapers does not categorically follow this nativized pattern. Usage is variable, and numerous variables condition occurrence. The present data, for example, are from a written source. I have observed, however, while living and working in Pakistan for the past seven years that localized complements occur more frequently in casual conversation than in formal speech or writing. Similarly, usage in the newspaper itself is variable. An editorial in a Pakistani newspaper will therefore contain fewer instances (or none at all) of a localized form than a front-page article, and a front-page article is likely to contain fewer usages than, say, a news report from the provinces. The very fact, however, that instances of nativized complementation, or any nativized grammatical structure for that matter, find their way into print attests to the permanence of these structures in the linguistic system since writing allows time to reflect and edit before one commits oneself to a particular choice of linguistic form (Baumgardner and Tongue 1988). The forms that do ultimately end up in print, albeit variable, are not manifestations of random usage or errors, but are part of Pakistani English, in terms of language history a relatively new and productive dialect of



English which has resulted from language contact between transplanted British English and the indigenous languages of South Asia.

At this point I should like to return to the question posed earlier of whether the English found in newspapers in Pakistan should prevent their being used as classroom aids. The often-cited objection was that newspapers contain too many errors. We have seen, however, that what perhaps appear to be errors in complementation in Pakistani newspaper English are in reality instances of a systematic but variable linguistic code. Should the presence of these nativizations in newspapers prevent teachers from using this valuable source of supplementary materials? I should hope not. If this is the case, then how can local English-language newspapers be used most effectively in the Pakistani ELT classroom?

I believe it would be useful when using newspapers to think in terms of *content-focused* activities and *language-focused* activities. The content-focused activity which the newspaper can undoubtedly offer the most practice in is reading. One of the most important aspects of reading is that reading style and strategies differ according to what is being read. One reads a newspaper in a different way from a chemistry book or an Arthur C. Clarke science fiction novel. Furthermore, one reads the comic section of the newspaper differently from the editorial or the classified ads. Students using newspapers in class can, therefore, be taught the often little-known concepts of reading rate, reading for information, skimming, and scanning. Teachers often voice the concern that newspaper English, or journalese, is not the type of English students should be using as a pedagogical model for reading and that more classical or academic forms of writing should be used instead. This reasoning seems to me rather weak, as newspapers in addition to the more traditional or academic types of writing are all the stock in trade of the modern, educated person. Using newspapers as teaching aids will, therefore, also develop in language learners the realization that there are indeed different types of writing which should be approached using different reading strategies.

Going beyond content-based activities, a more challenging use of local English-language newspapers in the classroom centres around language-focused activities. These would include not only traditional grammatical exercises based on newspaper material, but also activities which would serve the purpose of raising the students' consciousness concerning the differences between Pakistani and other varieties of English, 'awareness' exercises as it were (see Crewe 1977). Exercises

of this type could be done either as 'correcting' exercises or 'translating' exercises, depending upon the teacher's stance *vis-à-vis* localized varieties of English. As correcting exercises, students could use newspaper articles in order to locate 'errors', correct them, and then rewrite the article partially or entirely in 'the Queen's English'. Such exercises are found in locally-published grammar handbooks, which contain endless sentences with typical errors to be corrected (Shah 1978). Newspapers would at least provide more timely fare for this kind of exercise.<sup>8</sup>

Of more constructive use, I believe, is the 'translating' exercise. The basic assumption here is that the linguistic data with which students are dealing in doing exercises from the newspaper are not an inferior form of English but simply a *different* form of English. The essential task then would be to have students 'translate' from one variety to another. A Pakistani newspaper is aimed at a Pakistani readership. The majority of news items in the paper concern events in and related to Pakistan and are certainly best expressed according to local intranational linguistic norms.<sup>9</sup> Students should be made aware, however, that when intended for a wider, international audience, a different standard of English may be appropriate. Using newspaper articles as texts for translation rather than for correction will thus help to build up the very important awareness in students (and teachers) of differences in varieties of English. A few exercise types follow which illustrate how this can be done with a class of high-intermediate or advanced students.

As a warm-up activity, the class should discuss the concepts of language, dialect, linguistic standards, etc. Students should then be asked to locate and underline *all* complementation, for example, in an article. Teachers must choose articles carefully so that enough nativized structures appear. Students would then be asked to determine which usages are local and why. As an aid to this part of the task, the lists of adjective, verb, and noun complementation types found in the appendices of the two volumes of William E. Rutherford's *Modern English* (1975 and 1977) could be effectively utilized. These lists serve as an easy reference to Standard American (and British) complementation. Finally, students should edit the article, changing local usages, for example, to British English. In a similar vein students could be told that they are journalists and have been given the task of rewriting an article which appeared in *Dawn* for publication, say, in the *International Herald Tribune*. Here students must not only locate



and edit usages of local complementation and other grammatical and lexical nativizations but must also rewrite the entire article. A similar task which would challenge very advanced students would be the reverse process of taking a British or American newspaper article and rewriting it for local, Pakistani consumption.<sup>10</sup> Editing and rewriting activities such as these could be done either individually or in groups or pairs.

Yet another variation on the above activity would involve dictionary use. The *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English* (Hornby and Cowie 1989) is an excellent source for complementation. Each adjective and verb entry gives example sentences of usage which often contain complements. If dictionaries are available for classroom use (the *Advanced Learner's Dictionary* is sold in Pakistan at a special low price), students working in groups or pairs could consult the dictionary to determine which usages in a newspaper article are nativized. If more basic work on complementation is needed, students could be asked to write down example sentences from the dictionary and make additional sentences of their own. Language-focused listening comprehension activities could also be done utilizing newspaper articles as texts. As a selective listening exercise, students could be asked to listen for localisms and either write them down or simply note how many occur in an article. A more global listening task would be to have the students determine from which newspaper an article came—Pakistani, British, American, etc.—by listening to the article read aloud. Students would have to explain *why* they chose one dialect over another.

All of these suggested activities would naturally lead to a discussion of the lexical items, grammatical structures or discourse being focused on. In this manner students' awareness of differences between their own variety of English and other world Englishes would be raised in a positive, productive way. Many Pakistani students pursue higher education in the West, and a Pakistani who arrives at a British or American university with an enlightened view of the differences between his/her own variety of English and that of the host country will be in a much better position not only to succeed academically but also to ward off the linguistic imperialism that foreign students from South Asia sometimes encounter in the West (see Prator 1968).

Despite previously-mentioned objections, the English-language newspaper affords endless possibilities for use as supplementary content- and language-focused activities in the ELT classroom. From



the teaching of the traditional four skills, grammar, and dialect awareness to the more practical use of teaching students how to look for a job, it can serve numerous purposes by opening up whole new vistas of contrastive cultural and linguistic pedagogical possibilities. Teachers should use newspapers to exploit the linguistic differences between native and non-native varieties of English to the students' advantage rather than allowing these differences to be an obstacle to using what is an excellent source of classroom material.

## Notes

1. This paper is a revised version of a paper, 'The Use of Local Newspapers in the Teaching of Advanced Reading and Writing Skills', presented at the Fourth Conference on the Teaching of English as a Foreign/Second Language, University Grants Commission, Islamabad, 17–19 November 1986. I would like to thank Audrey E. H. Kennedy, R. K. Tongue, Robert Shiell, Kimberley Brown, Tom Miller, Mohammad Zafar, Salma Jafar, and Abdul Hameed, each of whom contributed in his or her own unique way to this effort.
2. See Endnote 1 of 'The Indigenization of English in Pakistan' for details.
3. Newspaper data have been taken from *Dawn*, Karachi (D); *The Frontier Post*, Peshawar (FP/P); *Morning News*, Karachi (MN); *The Muslim*, Islamabad (M); *The Nation*, Lahore (N); *The Pakistan Times*, Lahore (PT); and *The Star*, Karachi (S). All copies of the above papers were purchased in Quetta.
4. See Kachru (1983*b*) for examples of Indian English hybrids.
5. Each instance of Pakistani complementation included here has been judged by a usage panel of two British and two American English native speakers. If three members of the panel agreed that a usage would not occur in Standard British or American written English, the item was included in the present data.
6. A possible explanation for the examples in (2) is that Urdu and Hindi contain only two types of complementation—clausal (*that*) and *to*-infinitive—not *-ing* participle (see Barker *et al.* 1975 and 1976 for Urdu and Y. Kachru 1980 for Hindi). There is in fact a tendency throughout the present data for complements in Pakistani and Indian English to be formed with *to*-infinitives. This, however, does not explain why the preposition plus *-ing* participle clause is substituted for the *to*-infinitive in the examples in (4). A explanation for this particular usage could be that it is analogous to the adjective complement with prepositional phrase ('eligible for admission' and 'prepared for war').
7. The *-ing* participle clause can also be used in (8*b*) and (8*c*) in Standard British and American English.
8. A typical handbook of this type in Pakistan, as previously mentioned, is Shah (1978). For Sri Lankan English see Passé (1955). For Indian English see Smith-Pearse (1968), although it does not contain exercises. These handbooks are either entirely or partially devoted to common errors made by local speakers of English. Ironically, they are virtual gold-mines as sources of data on nativized Englishes. To be fair, these handbooks do often contain some outright grammatical errors; numerous usages, however, are well-established nativizations.
9. A distinction should probably be made here between the use of mother-tongue lexical items and hybrids mentioned earlier and, say, complementation. Few would question, I believe, the use of the former in local news-

papers. The use in the media of local innovations in the grammatical system, however, is more problematic if we are concerned with international standards of written English. As Greenbaum (1986:194) has noted:

It is . . . reasonable to speak of an international written standard. If English is to retain its value as an international language, it is important that the norms of written English in countries where English is a second language do not diverge too far from those of the international written standard. Grammarians in those countries have a major responsibility to advocate norms for the written language which will allow the new national standards to take their place as constituents of an International Standard English. As in Britain and the United States we can expect only a minority to be fully competent in the Standard variety, but their influence can percolate through the mass media and the educational system to make the standard forms the norms for at least written English, a goal to be aimed at if not always reached

See Baumgardner and Tongue 1988) for a related discussion of IWSE (International Written Standard English).

10. This activity is not so far-fetched as it may seem to some readers. Halverson's (1966:72) Sri Lankan experience comes to mind in this regard:

Early in my visit to Ceylon, I was talking to a young man about the possibility of arranging a dance performance. His English was excellent, and I was making a concerted effort to overcome my propensity for a mumbling monotone, but to no avail. All my remarks had to be translated by Mr A. J. Selvadurai, of the Vidyalandara University (who is very expert at this sort of thing). I would say, for example, "If you need a place, I can get one." Nonplussed, the young man appealed silently to Mr Selvadurai, who translated, "Doctor says, if it is a question of accommodation, suitable quarters can be arranged." Which was understood perfectly. The problem was not my phonation, but my lexicon: "place," "get," "one"—these are all too abstract and therefore confusing.



# APPENDIX

## Complementation types\*

### Monotransitive complementation

By noun phrase as prepositional object	By finite clause	By nonfinite clause (to-infinitive/no subject)
aim	assure	consider
fail (W)	demand	discuss
hesitate (W)	reiterate	like (also Ni)
persist (Sh/Ni)	urge	miss (Ni)
refrain		obstruct (W)
resort		require
think		suggest

### Adjective complementation

### Ditransitive complementation

By -ing participle	By indirect object plus object	By prepositional phrase idioms
committed	blame	at work
firm	coerce	find difficulty (Ni)
handicapped (Ni)	congratulate	for the purpose
indifferent (W)	console (Ni)	have a flair (Ni)
insecure	deter	have pleasure (W)
involved (Ni)	incapacitate	on the way
offended (W)	oblige	play a role
responsible	preclude (Ni)	save time
successful	prohibit (Sh/W)	say not to
unanimous (W)	suspect (also Ni)	spend time (Ni)
		with a view (also Sh/Ni)

\* Unless otherwise marked, entries are from Pakistani newspapers. Shah (1978) is indicated by (Sh); Whitworth (1907/1982) by (W); and Nihalani *et al.* (1979) by (Ni).

## The Use of Local Contexts in the Design of EST Materials

Robert J. Baumgardner and Audrey E.H. Kennedy

One of the hallmarks of English for Specific Purposes (ESP) as it developed more than two decades ago was that English Language Teaching (ELT) should be learner-centred, i.e. it should respond to the language needs of the learner in whatever form those needs might take.<sup>1</sup> In this view each language-learning situation is unique and should be thoroughly studied and delineated as a prerequisite for the design of language courses. This relatively recent emphasis on the specific-purpose aspect of language teaching rejects the idea that the learning of English must necessarily be accomplished through the traditional teaching of literature or other culturally-oriented language courses. As ESP, or more specifically, EST, is concerned with the teaching and learning of English for Science and Technology, it skirts altogether the problems of culture-bound materials—for science, it is often said, is international, without boundaries or borders, and is virtually devoid of culture.

This notion is in fact not entirely true. Certainly, there are aspects of science that transcend culture; science, however, also has its humanistic aspects. It has, for example, both a popular and a classical literature, legends and myths, and moral and aesthetic concerns which vary from culture to culture (Stevens 1971). Simply consider the attitudes of different cultures towards space travel, euthanasia, test-tube babies, or abortion.

There is, furthermore, a typically Western way of presenting scientific or technical exposition, which has been inherited in great part from Greco-Roman forensic argumentation. As Stevens (1980b:143) has observed, in certain contexts 'the simple statement of scientific

principles may look like a new kind of colonialism and be justifiably resented if it is not made in the knowledge and acceptance of cultural differences.' Strevens continues: 'many of the learner's difficulties with the foreign language, English, reflect not just linguistic problems but problems of his adjustment to a culture and a language which requires the expression of some subtly different presuppositions and attitudes towards, for example, causality, precision, quantification, etc.' Furthermore, rhetoricians (see for example Kaplan 1972; Connor and Kaplan 1987) have also found culture-specific organizational patterns in the expository writing of students from diverse cultural backgrounds.

It was with considerations such as these in mind concerning the cultural aspects of science that we embarked on a project of *localization* of EST materials. The English Language Program, sponsored by the National Academy of Higher Education of the University Grants Commission of Pakistan and The Asia Foundation, comprises four English Language Centers at four universities in Pakistan: the University of Balochistan, Quetta; Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan; the NWFP University of Engineering and Technology, Peshawar; and the University of Engineering and Technology, Lahore. These Centers offer courses to both undergraduate and graduate students of science and engineering in basic scientific English and study skills. The core textbook for science students is the highly successful *Nucleus General Science* by Martin Bates and Tony Dudley-Evans (1982), which has provided a solid basic framework for the Program's localized supplementary materials.

Localization of scientific content in textbooks may be carried out in two principal ways: (1) through the contrasting of rhetorical differences in the scientific discourse of two cultures where such differences exist and can be pinpointed, and (2) through the use of local contexts in the design of classroom materials. With regard to (1), the physical description of an apparatus in an experiment within a Western scientific context proceeds from left to right and from large to small, i.e. the description begins with the largest apparatus on the left and moves to the right. Small appended or adjoining apparatus are then described, again from a left-to-right perspective. We have noted that this left-to-right/large-to-small movement is often not the way in which our students in Balochistan describe apparatus. With regard to (2), we have found that interest level and relevance, and hence learning, are greatly enhanced if local contexts are also used in the teaching of sci-



entific English. To this end we supplemented our core text with our own locally developed EST materials, which have proven to be both popular and effective with our students. The remainder of this article will focus on some of the materials using local contexts that we have developed.

The English Language Program course has been designed to provide low-proficiency Pakistani university students with basic scientific English through the integration of the four skills: reading, writing, listening, and speaking. Every writing assignment, for example, has an accompanying speaking and/or reading exercise as the warm-up for the written exercise. Reading exercises generally include listening and speaking activities and may include writing as well. Reading is a laborious task for many university science students, as they have been taught primarily to read aloud. This not only slows their reading speed and hinders comprehension but also makes the task of discerning discrete bits of information unusually difficult. Thus, the first exercise we created for reading dealt with skimming and scanning. Scanning lends itself easily to localization.

The exercise that we developed makes use of three familiar sources for scanning: local Pakistani telephone books, the Pakistan Railways timetable, and locally published English-language newspapers from which we chose material such as reports on sporting events, the TV schedule, and short news items. A page chosen from each source was photocopied and given to the students. Five questions for each source were prepared, and students were instructed to listen to the questions and find the answers as quickly as possible by referring to clues on the pages. For example, 'What time does the Lahore-bound *Chiltan Express* reach Sahiwal?' (See timetable.) Students were initially surprised that scanning is indeed a type of reading, but they quickly saw its usefulness for their studies. Thus, through the use of familiar local materials for the teaching of scanning, we were able to extend this concept easily to more challenging academic scientific contexts of the students' textbooks.

A reading/speaking exercise was created to supplement *Nucleus General Science*, Unit 4 on Measurement, which deals with the metric system. Officially the metric system is currently in use in Pakistan, but there is also an older, indigenous system of measurement that is frequently seen used in the newspapers and heard in the vegetable, cloth, spice, and gold markets throughout the country. When the topic

DOWN		UP		DOWN		UP	
23	QUETTA-LAHORE-RAWALPINDI	24	QUETTA-LAHORE-RAWALPINDI	21	QUETTA-D.G. KHAN-LAHORE	22	QUETTA-D.G. KHAN-LAHORE
Quetta Express A.C., 1st & 2nd.		Quetta Express A.C., 1st & 2nd.		Chiltan Express A.C., 1st & 2nd.		Chiltan Express A.C., 1st & 2nd.	
Quetta to Rawalpindi. Rawalpindi to Quetta.		Quetta to Rawalpindi. Rawalpindi to Quetta.		Quetta to Lahore. Lahore to Quetta.		Quetta to Lahore. Lahore to Quetta.	
13 40 d	QUETTA .. a	14 15		12 0 d	QUETTA .. a	15 15	
18 55 a	Sibi Jn. R	9 10 d		17 0 a	Sibi Jn. R	10 5 d	
19 25 d		8 40 a		17 30 d		9 35 a	
22 5 a	Jacobabad Jn. ..	6 1 d		20 30 a	Jacobabad Jn. ..	6 45 d	
22 15 d		5 51 a		20 45 d		6 30 a	
0 1 a	Sakhr ..	4 1 d		0 2 a	Kashmor Colony ..	3 11 d	
0 16 d		3 46 a		0 4 d		3 9 a	
0 30 a	Rohri Jn. ..	3 38 d		5 10 a	Dera Ghazi Khan ..	22 20 d	
0 55 d		3 13 a		5 25 d		22 5 a	
4 27 a	Khanpur Jn. ..	23 48 d		7 0 a	Kot Adu Jn. ..	20 35 d	
4 35 d		23 40 a		7 5 d		20 30 a	
8 55 a	Multan Cant. ..	19 15 d		9 10 a	Multan Cant. ..	18 25 d	
9 5 d		19 5 a		9 25 d		18 10 a	
9 55 a	Khanewal Jn. ..	18 16 d		10 20 a	Khanewal Jn. ..	17 15 d	
10 15 d		17 56 a		10 40 d		16 55 a	
12 11 a	Sahiwal ..	15 59 d					
12 16 d		15 54 a					
15 23 a	LAHORE JN. R ..	12 35 d		12 44 a	Sahiwal ..	14 40 d	
16 5 d		12 5 a		12 49 d		14 35 a	
23 30 a	RAWALPINDI .. d	5 0		16 40 a	LAHORE JN. R ..	10 45 d	
				.. d		.. a	

Time and Fare Table. 1985.  
Lahore: Pakistan Railways Headquarters.

of indigenous measurement was first brought up, students ridiculed the study of these so-called 'old-fashioned' terms. However, the lessons we created showing them how widely the terms are still used in Pakistan piqued their curiosity.

The lesson consisted of two handouts. The first one contained several articles from the local English press. The second sheet was a chart

## Jewellery worth Rs. 7 lakh looted

BY A STAFF REPORTER

LAHORE—Two dacoits  
snatched jewellery weighing 210  
tolas of gold worth seven lakh  
rupees, from a goldsmith here in  
broad daylight in Ghalib Market,  
Gulberg, Saturday.

*The Pakistan Times, Lahore, 1 July 1990*

of Pakistani terms of measurement and their equivalents in the metric system. Students were asked first to read the articles, and then in pairs to define the terms by looking at the metric equivalents. There was a great deal of excitement in the classroom as students competed to explain the origin of the terms to the teacher in the class discussion that followed: a *rutee*, for example, is a kind of pea; in measurement one *rutee* is equal to eight *chawal* (grains of rice); eight *rutee* equal one *masha* (a legume).

The discussion also revolved around the contexts in which such terms are used: a *maund* (37.324 kg) is used for heavy, bulky items like flour; a *lakh* (100,000) is used to express amounts of money; while a *tola* (11.664 g) is used to measure a costly item such as gold. Every young Pakistani woman knows that her dowry will contain several *tolas* of gold bangles. This activity was excellent for generating genuine in-class discussion and was by far one of the most interesting ones using local contexts that we have thus far developed.



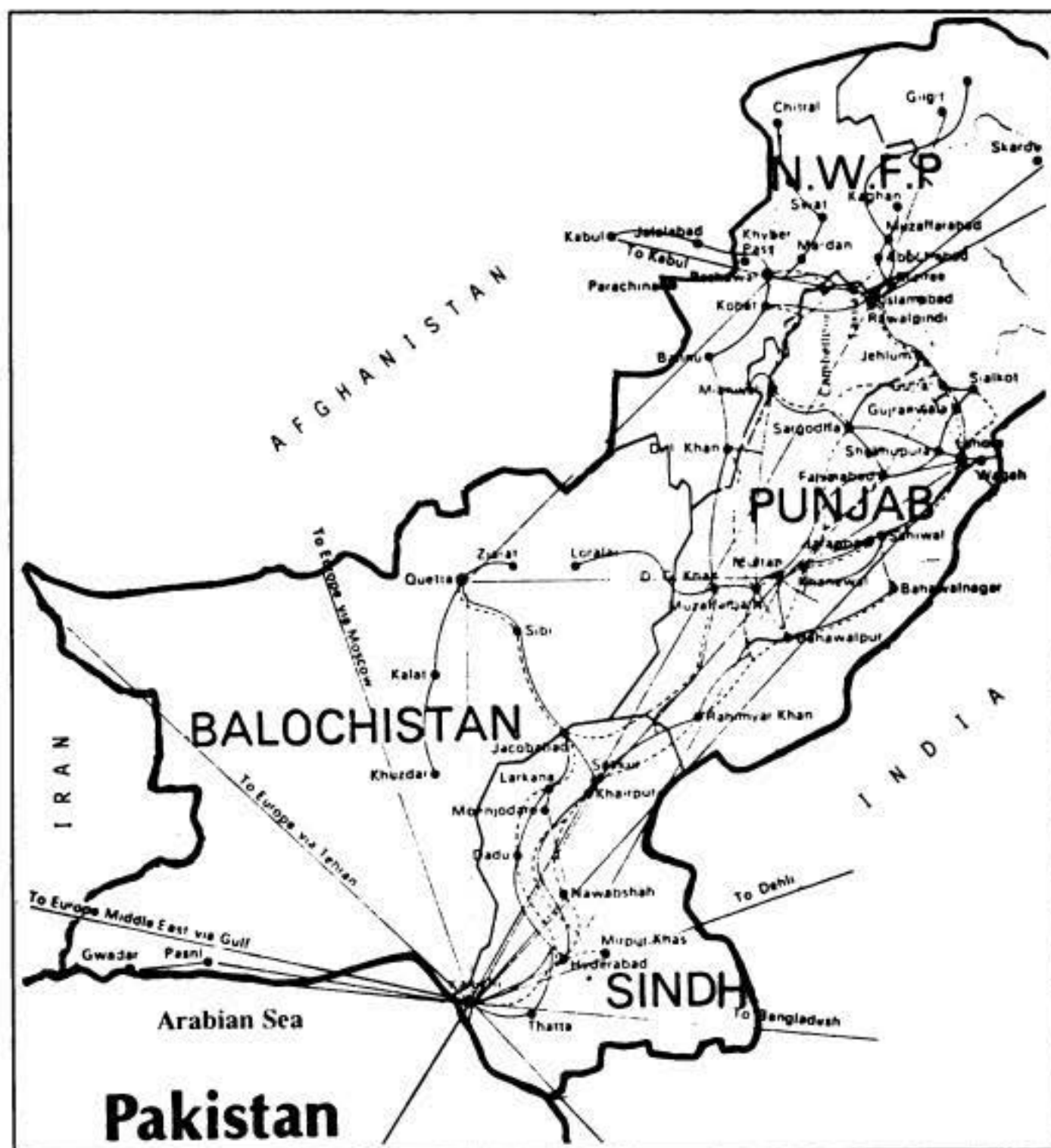
Teaching writing in Pakistan is a challenge. University students coming from secondary schools rely heavily on patterned compositions given to them by their teachers or bought in the bazaar to be memorized and reproduced faithfully on examinations. Students are neither encouraged to choose their own subjects for their writing assignments nor are they normally asked to produce an innovative piece of writing. The examination compositions are checked primarily for correctness of mechanics and grammar; little attention is paid to what is being communicated.

The first speaking/writing exercise in which Pakistani subject material was used in our course is a short description based on terms for shapes, dimensions, and properties that the student has learned from the *Nucleus* text. The activity is done in three parts: a demonstration, a listening/speaking exercise for pre-writing, and the final product, a short original paragraph. The object frequently chosen for the demonstration is an egg. A hard-boiled egg is taken into the classroom and shown to the students, who are asked to give as many descriptive words and phrases as they can about the exterior. The egg is then cracked open so that the students can see and describe the interior. Students are also encouraged to add general information about eggs, and all the descriptive words and information are written on the blackboard. Together the teacher and students then write a model descriptive paragraph of between six to ten sentences on the blackboard.

In the next class period the pre-writing activity is done. Each student receives a sheet of paper to which is stapled a small slip of paper containing the name of an object to be described. Students are cautioned not to reveal their object to their classmates. They are instructed to write ten descriptive words and/or phrases on the sheet of paper. When they have finished, each student reads out his/her description and allows the rest of the class to guess the name of the object. In order to create interest in the classroom, some local terms for objects are given: a *samosa* (a crisp, triangular, deep-fried snack), a *tawa* (a circular, concave iron griddle for making bread), a *dupatta* (a two-metre piece of sheer fabric used as a head-covering by women), etc. Examples of other objects used are a mango, a cricket bat, a handkerchief, a carrot, and a 7-Up bottle. When all objects have been described, the students are asked to add to the descriptions that their peers read out by suggesting other descriptive terms. The final task is the written assignment. Using the model paragraph based on the egg

description, students are asked to write a paragraph describing their object. We have found that in this exercise the local terms for objects have generated the most interest among the students.

Another speaking/writing exercise was developed for use in a subsequent unit dealing with location. The *Nucleus* textbook provides a map of the world, and students have to find the location of places in relation to the Equator and the Tropics. To put the exercise in a more familiar context, a map of Pakistan was provided for the students. As a warm-up oral activity the teacher asked students questions like *Where is Lahore?* or *Where is the Sindh in relation to the Punjab?* Students were then asked to write about the location of Pakistan in relation to bordering countries. As an extension of this exercise, stu-





dents were later asked to write about the geography of their own province, responding to such warm-up questions as *Where is your province located? What is the source of water in your area?* and *What is the nature of the topography of the land?* Students became much more involved in those exercises pertaining to Pakistan and their provinces than in the similar ones found in the textbook using foreign localities, particularly since these exercises enabled students to share genuine information about their environment with the teacher.

The first two writing exercises presented above dealt with descriptions using spatial order. The following exercise deals with the linear relationship of chronological order. Maps showing the air, road, and railway routes through Pakistan provided the basis for this exercise, which uses sequence markers (*first, then, before, after, etc.*). Travel brochures from the Pakistan Tourist Development Corporation are given to students to provide information about areas of the country they are not familiar with. Students working in pairs are then asked to plan a trip beginning in the mountainous north of Pakistan and ending at the shores of the Arabian Sea. Students are required to visit all provinces of the country and use as many modes of transport as possible. In the following class period each student is asked to write up his/her journey through Pakistan.

Three class exercises have been prepared to teach composition. The first, adapted from Eckstut and Miller (1986), consists of a chart with data on the Pakistani provincial capitals of Lahore, Karachi, Quetta, and Peshawar. (See chart.) Working in pairs, students must determine which city is the best place to live, work, and raise a family, based upon such considerations as population, size, climate, and higher education facilities. This speaking exercise is again used as a warm-up for a writing assignment, with comparison and contrast as the mode of organization.

The second exercise on comparison provides information about the cost per person of travelling from Quetta to Karachi by various means of transport (air, bus, rail, hire car, and motorcycle). This activity, an information-gap exercise, requires students working in pairs first to determine the actual transport costs by sharing information. They then discuss which means of transport is best (most economical, fastest, most comfortable, etc.). The third exercise on comparison using local contexts provides a data chart for a cost-efficiency analysis of moving goods in various cities in Pakistan by different modes of transport—



	Lahore (Punjab)	Karachi (Sindh)	Quetta (Balochistan)	Peshawar (NWFP)
Population (1981)	2,952,689	5,208,132	285,719	566,248
(1951)	849,333	1,068,459	83,892	83,892
(ranking in Pakistan/1981)	(2)	(1)	(11)	(8)
Average Temperature (°c)—Winter	14	19	7	12
—Summer	33	30	23	31
Annual Rainfall (mm)	490	240	244	331
Elevation (ft)	698	73	5,500	1,048
Area (sq km)	156	700	705	30
Unemployment Rate (%)	3.16	3.30	3.09	2.24
No. of Universities	2	3	1	3

camel, donkey, horse, coolie, and lorry. Working in pairs, students discuss the advantages and disadvantages of each mode, and then write up as a group a cost analysis of transporting bricks from a kiln to a building site.

These three exercises on comparison have proven to be excellent warm-up activities for more advanced writing exercises in reasoning and argumentation, or what Williams (1978) calls the 'opinion paragraph'—begin with a question, analyse facts, come up with a reasoned opinion. This is an activity that scientists often engage in, and it is hoped that by using familiar local contexts to formulate the arguments for such advanced reasoning processes, students will then transfer these skills to more exacting contexts of science and technology.<sup>2</sup>

In conclusion, this article has presented a small sample of ways in which the English Language Program staff in Pakistan have started to supplement commercially-prepared, Western-oriented EST materials with localized Pakistani materials. These steps were necessary, we felt, in order to make the science contexts more familiar to our own learners' culture and hence a more relevant and hopefully richer language-learning experience. As we stated earlier, we have seen a very positive reaction to these indigenous elements in the materials in our classes, and have virtually just begun to exploit all the potential local contexts available to us. We have also begun to study some of the earlier-mentioned rhetorical differences we have found in the writing of Pakistani science students and hope in the future to incorporate

these, too, in formal classroom activities in order to bridge the science culture gap.

## Notes

1. This is a revised and expanded version of a paper that appeared in the SPELT (Society of Pakistan English Language Teachers) *Annual Newsletter*, 2(4), 1987.
2. See also Baumgardner, Chamberlain, Dharmapriya, and Staley (1988) for a discussion of similar materials in the Sri Lankan context.

## References

- Abbott, Gerry. 1981. Understanding One Another's Englishes. *World Language English* 1(1):1–4.
- Abedi, Razi. 1991. What To Do, What To Do . . .? Review of *Pakistani English: The Linguistic Description of a Non-Native Variety of English*, by Tariq Rahman. *The Frontier Post (Week-end Post)*, Lahore, 29 March, 3.
- Afzal, Muhammad, A. R. Siddiqui, Rashid Matin, and Abid Ali Gohar. 1987. *Handbook of Universities of Pakistan*. Islamabad: University Grants Commission.
- Ahmed, Akbar S. 1987. *Toward Islamic Anthropology: Definition, Dogma and Directions*. Lahore: Vanguard.
- . 1988. *Discovering Islam: Making Sense of Muslim History and Society*. Lahore: Vanguard.
- Ahmed, Ziauddin. 1981. *Problems of Book Publishing in Pakistan*. Islamabad: National Book Council of Pakistan.
- Akhtar, A. Salam. 1987. Pakistan. In *Publishing in Asia/Pacific Today*, 112–18. Tokyo: Asian Cultural Centre for Unesco.
- Algeo, John. 1985. The Mirror and the Template: Cloning Public Opinion. In *The English Language Today*, ed. Sidney Greenbaum, 57–64. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Ali, Ahmed. 1935. *Hamari Gali (Our Lane)*. Sagi. Reprinted in translation in *New Writing IV*, 1937, ed. John Lehmann, 77–88. London: Lawrence and Wishart. Also in Ali 1985: 7–26.
- . 1940. *Twilight in Delhi*. London: Hogarth. Reissued by Oxford University Press, Delhi 1966, and Oxford University Press, Karachi, 1984.
- . 1968. Illusion and Reality: The Art and Philosophy of Raja Rao. *The Journal of Commonwealth Literature* 5:16–28.
- , ed. and trans. 1973. *The Golden Tradition: An Anthology of Urdu Poetry*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- , trans. 1984. *Al-qur'an: A Contemporary Translation*. Karachi: Akrash. Reissued by Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1987, and Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1988.



- . 1985. *The Prison-House: Short Stories*. Karachi: Akrash.
- . 1986. *Rats and Diplomats*. Karachi: Akrash.
- Allen, R. E., ed. 1990. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*. 8th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Anees, Munawar Ahmad. 1988. Menstruation, A Biological Lunacy? *Hamdard Medicus* XXXI(1, January–March):51–67.
- Anjum, Tanveer. 1991. *Urdu-English Code-Switching in the Speech of Pakistani Women in Texas*. Dissertation, Department of Foreign Language Studies, The University of Texas, Austin.
- Ayto, John. 1989. *The Longman Register of New Words*. Vol. 1. London: Longman.
- Bailey, Richard W. 1982. The English Language in Canada. In *English as a World Language*, ed. Richard W. Bailey and Manfred Görlach, 134–176. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press.
- . 1985. The Conquests of English. In *The English Language Today*, ed. Sidney Greenbaum, 9–19. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Bailey, Richard W., and Manfred Görlach, eds. 1982. *English as a World Language*. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press.
- Baker, Sidney J. 1981. *The Australian Language*. Melbourne: Sun Books.
- Baloch, Nabi Baksh Khan, and Ghulam Mustafa Khan. 1985. *Sindhi-Urdu Loghat*. 3rd ed. Jamshoro: Institute of Sindhology.
- . 1989. *Urdu-Sindhi Loghat*. 2nd ed. Jamshoro: Institute of Sindhology.
- Barker, Muhammad Abd-al-Rahman, Hasan Jahangir Hamdani, Khwaja Muhammad Shafi Dihlavi, and Shafiqur Rahman. 1975. *A Course in Urdu*. Vol. 1. Ithaca, NY: Spoken Language Services.
- . 1976. *A Course in Urdu*. Vol. 2. Ithaca, NY: Spoken Language Services.
- Barnett, Stanley A., Nat Engel, and Ivan Kats. 1984. Developmental Book Activities and Needs in Pakistan. The Asia Foundation, Islamabad. Report.
- Barnhart, Clarence L. 1984. *The Barnhart Dictionary Companion* III (2–3). Cold Spring, NY: Lexik House.
- . 1986. *The Barnhart Dictionary Companion* V(2). Cold Spring, NY: Lexik House.
- Barry, Michael V. 1982. The English Language in Ireland. In *English as a World Language*, ed. Richard W. Bailey and Manfred

- Görlach, 84 – 133. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press.
- Bates, Martin, and Tony Dudley-Evans. 1982. *Nucleus General Science*. Revised ed. London: Longman.
- Bauer, Laurie. 1983. *English Word-formation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Baugh, Albert C., and Thomas Cable. 1978. *A History of the English Language*. 3rd ed. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Baumgardner, Robert J. 1987. Utilizing Pakistani Newspaper English to Teach Grammar. *World Englishes* 6(3):241 – 52. In this volume.
- . 1988a. The Pakistanization of English. *Higher Education News* 8(12):2,7. Reprinted in *The Nation*, Lahore, 7 November 1989: III and *SPELT Newsletter* 5(1), January 1990:11 – 14.
- . 1988b. Contextualizing Indian English. Review article of *The Indianization of English: The English Language in India*, by Braj B. Kachru. *World Englishes* 7(3):339 – 46.
- . 1989a. English in Pakistan: Pedagogic Schizoglossia? Paper presented at the 23rd Annual TESOL Meeting. San Antonio, Texas.
- . 1989b. Acceptability and the Norm: Complementation in Pakistani English. Paper presented in the Colloquium on Teaching World Englishes, 23rd Annual TESOL Meeting. San Antonio, Texas.
- . 1990. The Indigenization of English in Pakistan. *English Today* 6(1):59 – 65. In this volume.
- . 1991. English in South Asia. *The Friday Times*, Lahore, 12 – 19 December, 22.
- . 1992a. *To Shariat or not to Shariat: Bilingual Functional Shifts in Pakistani English*. In *The Extended Family: English in Global Bilingualism (Studies in Honor of Braj B. Kachru)*, eds. Larry E. Smith and S.N. Sridhar, 129 – 40. *World Englishes* 11(2/3), Special Issue. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- . 1992b. Pakistani English through Cartoons. *The News*, Lahore, 31 August, 19.
- , ed. forthcoming. *South Asian English: Structure, Use and Users*. Urbana and Chicago: The University of Illinois Press.
- Baumgardner, Robert J., Dick Chamberlain, A. T. Dharmapriya, and Bevil W. Staley. 1988. Materials Case Study: National Diploma in Technology—Engineering. In *ESP in the Classroom: Prac-*

- tice and Evaluation*, ed. Dick Chamberlain and Robert J. Baumgardner, 145–62. ELT Documents 128. Oxford and London: Modern English Publications in Association with The British Council.
- Baumgardner, Robert J., and Audrey E. H. Kennedy. 1988. Creativity in Pakistani Newspaper English. Paper presented in the Colloquium on World Englishes, 22nd Annual TESOL Meeting. Chicago.
- . 1991. The Use of Local Contexts in the Design of EST Materials. *English Teaching Forum* XXIX(1):40–2. In this volume.
- Baumgardner, Robert J., and R. K. Tongue. 1988. The Problems and the Potential of Exploiting the English Language Press as an Aid to Language Teaching in South Asia. In *ESP in the Classroom: Practice and Evaluation*, ed. Dick Chamberlain and Robert J. Baumgardner, 134–44. ELT Documents 128. Oxford and London: Modern English Publications in Association with The British Council.
- Bell, Roger T. 1973. The English of an Indian Immigrant: An Essay in Error Analysis. *ITL: Review of Applied Linguistics* 12:11–61.
- Bellew, Henry Walter. 1901/1982. *A Dictionary; Pukhto or Pukshito and English*. 2nd ed. Facsimile Reprint. Peshawar: Saeed Book Bank.
- Bhatia, Tej K. 1982. English and the Vernaculars of India: Contact and Change. *Applied Linguistics* 3(3):235–45.
- . 1987. English in Advertising: Multiple Mixing and Media. *World Englishes* 6(1):33–48.
- Bhutto, Benazir. 1988. *Daughter of the East: An Autobiography*. London: Hamish Hamilton.
- Bokhari, Tanvir. 1989. *Punjabi-Urdu Loghat*. Lahore: Urdu Science Board.
- Branford, Jean. 1987. *A Dictionary of South African English*. 3rd ed. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Brumfit, Christopher J. 1982. English as an International Language I. What do we mean by 'English'? In *English for International Communication*, ed. ———, 1–7. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Capell, A. 1973. *A New Fijian Dictionary*. Suva: Government Press.
- Cassidy, F. G., and R. B. LePage, eds. 1980. *Dictionary of Jamaican English*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.



- Celce-Murcia, Marianne, and Diane Larsen-Freeman. 1983. *The Grammar Book: An ESL/EFL Teacher's Course*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Chan, Mimi, and Helen Kwok. 1985. *A Study of Lexical Borrowing from Chinese into English with Special Reference to Hong Kong*. Occasional Papers and Monographs No.62. Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies and University of Hong Kong.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1981. *Lectures on Government and Binding*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- . 1986. *Barriers*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- . 1991. Some Notes on Economy of Derivation and Representation. In *Principles and Parameters in Comparative Grammar*, ed. Robert Freidlin, 417–54. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Close, R. A. 1981. English as a World Language and as a Mother Tongue. *World Language English* 1(1):5–8.
- Collins, Maurice. 1940. *Time and Tide*. London, 30 November.
- Connor, Ulla, and Robert B. Kaplan, eds. 1987. *Writing Across Languages: Analysis of L<sub>2</sub> Text*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Costello, Robert B., ed. 1991. *Random House Webster's College Dictionary*. New York: Random House.
- Coulthard, Malcolm. 1977. *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis*. London: Longman.
- Crewe, W. J. 1977. *Singapore English and Standard English: Exercises in Awareness*. Singapore: Eastern Universities Press.
- Curtin, Philip D. 1971. *Imperialism: The Documentary History of Western Civilization*. New York: Walker.
- de Souza, Doric. 1979. Targets and Standards. In *Socio-Economic and other Factors Affecting the Teaching of English in Sri Lanka*, 36–43. Sri Lanka Foundation Institute Pocket Book No. 3. Colombo: Sri Lanka Foundation Institute.
- Deverson, Tony. 1991. The Maori Dimension. *English Today* 7(2): 18–25.
- Diebold, A. Richard. 1961. Incipient Bilingualism. *Language* 37(1): 97–112.
- Dil, Anwar S. 1966. The Position and Teaching of English in Pakistan. In *Pakistani Linguistics: Shahidullah Presentation Volume*, ed. ———, 185–242. Lahore: Linguistic Research Group of Pakistan.

- Dixon, R. M. W., W. S. Ransom, and Mandy Thomas. 1990. *Australian Aboriginal Words in English: Their Origin and Meaning*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Dubey, Vinod S. 1989. *Newspaper English in India*. Delhi: Bahri Publications.
- Eckstut, Samuela, and Tom Miller. 1986. *Interlink*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Evans, Robin B. 1988. *Production and Creativity in Advertising*. London: Pitman.
- Farah, Iffat. 1989. Speech Behavior and Non-native Varieties of English: Pedagogical and Political Implications. Paper presented in the Colloquium on Pedagogy and Pragmatics, 23rd Annual TESOL Meeting. San Antonio, Texas.
- Fatehpuri, Farman, Maulvi Abdul Haq, and Abullais Siddiqui, eds. 1977–19—. *A Dictionary of Urdu on Historical Principles*. Vols. 1 ——. Karachi: Urdu Development Board.
- Ferguson, Donald William. 1887a. Anglo-Indianisms. *Ceylon Literary Register* 1(28):231–2.
- . 1887b. Anglo-Indianisms *Ceylon Literary Register* 1(29): 238–40.
- . 1903. Hobson-Jobson. *Tropical Agriculturist (Literary Supplement)* 22(June):89–91.
- Ferozuddin, Maulvi. 1983. *Feroz-ul-Loghat (Jaame')*. 3rd ed. Lahore: Ferozsons.
- Fishman, Joshua A. 1977. The Sociology of Language: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow. In *Current Issues in Linguistic Theory*, ed. Roger W. Cole, 51–75. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Fishman, Joshua A., Robert L. Cooper, and Andrew W. Conrad. 1977. *The Spread of English: The Sociology of English as an Additional Language*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Flexner, Stuart B., ed. 1987. *The Random House Dictionary of the English Language*. 2nd unabridged ed. New York: Random House.
- Foley, Joseph, ed. 1988. *New Englishes: The Case of Singapore*. Singapore: Singapore University Press.
- Ghaffar, Muzaffar A. 1990. Which language do we speak: Engdu, Urdu, or Urduish? *Midasia*, Islamabad, 12 April, 11.
- Gilani, Ijaz Shafi, and Syed Muttaqeen-ur-Rahman. n.d. *The Language Question: Public Attitudes on Language of Education and Em-*

- ployment*. Islamabad: Gallup Pakistan and National Language Authority.
- Glassé, Cyril. 1989. *The Concise Encyclopedia of Islam*. London: Stacey International.
- Gonzalez, Andrew. 1983. When Does an Error Become a Feature of Philippine English? In *Varieties of English in Southeast Asia*, ed. R. B. Noss, 150–72. Anthology Series No. 11. Singapore: SEAMEO Regional Language Centre and Singapore University Press.
- Gove, Philip Babcock, ed. 1986. *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language*. Unabridged ed. Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster.
- Greenbaum, Sidney. 1986. English and a Grammarian's Responsibility: The Present and the Future. *World Englishes* 5(2/3): 189–95.
- Gumperz, John J. 1982. Interethnic Communication. In *Discourse Strategies*, 172–86. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gumperz, John J., Gurinder Aulakh, and Hannah Kaltman. 1982. Thematic Structure and Progression in Discourse. In *Language and Social Identity*, ed. John J. Gumperz, 22–56. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gunesequera, Manique. 1989. *Discourse Genres in English Newspapers of Singapore, South India and Sri Lanka*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Linguistics, University of Michigan.
- Haley, Alex. 1976. *Roots*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Halliday, M. A. K., Angus McIntosh, and Peter Stevens. 1964. *The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching*. London: Longman.
- Halverson, John. 1966. Prolegomena to the Study of Ceylon English. *University of Ceylon Review* 24(1/2):61–75.
- Hancock, Ian F., and Rachel Angogo. 1982. English in East Africa. In *English as a World Language*, ed. Richard W. Bailey and Manfred Görlach, 306–23. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press.
- Hanley, Barbara. 1981. *Concise English-Pushto Dictionary*. Quetta: Afghan Publishers.
- Haque, Anjum Riyazul. 1983. The Position and Status of English in Pakistan. *World Language English* 2(1):6–9. In this volume.
- . 1987. Language Planning, Language Education and Human Resource Development in Pakistan. In *Language Education in Human Resource Development*, ed. Bikram K. Das, 87–



104. Anthology Series No. 20. Singapore: SEAMEO Regional Language Centre and Singapore University Press.
- Hasan, Khalid. n.d. The Queen's English. In *A Mug's Game*, 36–7. Lahore: Sh. Ghulam Ali & Sons.
- . 1985. The Queen's English, Local Style. In *Give Us Back Our Onions: People and Politics in Pakistan*, 222–4. Lahore: Vanguard.
- . 1986. Rest in Peace English Language. *The Muslim*, Islamabad, 21 April, 4.
- Hasan, Ruqaiya. 1984. Ways of Saying: Ways of Meaning. In *The Semiotics of Culture and Language*, Vol. I. 'Language as Social Semiotic', ed. Robin P. Fawcett, M. A. K. Halliday, Sydney M. Lamb, and Adam Makkai, 105–62. London: Pinter Publishers.
- Hashmi, Alamgir. 1986. The Literature of Pakistan. *World Literature Written in English* 26(1):192–9.
- Hassan, Mahmud ul, and Zamurad Mahmud. 1990. *Pakistani Serials—Bibliographic Control List*. Rawalpindi: Federal Book Corporation.
- Hassan, Riaz. 1983. Urdu, English, Urduish. *Higher Education Review: A Journal of the University Grants Commission* 1(1): 70–2.
- Haugen, Einar. 1972. Bilingualism as a Social and Personal Problem. In *Active Methods and Modern Aids in the Teaching of Foreign Languages*, ed. Rudolf Filipovic, 1–14. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hawkins, R. E., comp. and ed. 1984. *Common Indian Words in English*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Hill, L. A. 1967. Neutral English. In *Selected Articles on the Teaching of English as a Foreign Language*, 90–5. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hirsh, Walter. 1989. *New Zealand English . . . Alive and Very Well*. Auckland: The Office of the Race Relations Conciliator.
- Ho Lee Choo. 1984. Malaysian English Mini-Dictionary I. In *Mini-Dictionaries of Southeast Asian Englishes*, ed. Lawrence Johnson, 39–54. Occasional Papers No. 35. Singapore: SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.
- Hornby, A. S., ed. 1974. *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*. 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Hornby, A. S., and A. P. Cowie, eds. 1989. *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*. 4th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Howe, D. H. 1983. *Oxford English for Colleges*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Husein, Badruddin G., and Manzoor A. Khan. 1983. *Companion to Oxford English for Colleges*. Karachi: Alia Publishing House.
- Iqbal, Zafar. 1987. *Aspects of the Learner's Dictionary with Special Reference to Advanced Pakistani Learners of English*. Dissertation, English Studies Unit, The University of Aston in Birmingham.
- Jamil, Maya. 1990. Not the Queen's English. Review of *Pakistani English: The Linguistic Description of a Non-Native Variety of English*, by Tariq Rahman. *Newsline*, Karachi, August, 155–6.
- Jefkins, Frank. 1985. *Advertising*. Estover, Plymouth: Macdonald and Evans.
- Jibril, Munzali. 1982. Nigerian English: An Introduction. In *New Englishes*, ed. John B. Pride, 73–84. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Jones, Hywel. 1971. Error-Analysis in Language Teaching. *English for Immigrants* 4(3):33–8.
- Journals/Periodicals of Universities of Pakistan Available in the UGC Library up to 15.9.87*. University Grants Commission, Islamabad. Mimeo.
- Jowitt, David. 1991. *Nigerian English Usage: An Introduction*. Lagos: Longman Nigeria.
- Kachru, Braj B. 1978. Code-mixing as a Communicative Strategy in India. In *International Dimensions of Bilingual Education*, ed. James E. Alatis, 107–24. Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics 1978. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press. Also in Kachru 1983a: 193–207.
- . 1981. The Pragmatics of Non-Native Varieties of English. In *English for Cross-Cultural Communication*, ed. Larry E. Smith, 15–39. London: Macmillan. Also in Kachru 1983a: 211–40.
- . 1982a. South Asian English. In *English as a World Language*, ed. Richard W. Bailey and Manfred Görlach, 353–83. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press. Also in Kachru 1986:33–56.

- . 1982b. The Bilingual's Linguistic Repertoire. In *Issues in International Bilingual Education: The Role of the Vernacular*, ed. Beverly Hartford, Albert Valdman, and Charles R. Foster, 25–52. New York: Plenum Press. Also in Kachru 1986: 57–80.
- . 1982c. An Overview of Language Policy and Planning. In *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics 1981*, Vol. 2, ed. Robert B. Kaplan, 2–7. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- . 1983a. *The Indianization of English: The English Language in India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- . 1983b. Lexical Innovations. In *The Indianization of English*, 147–64. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- , ed. 1983c. *The Other Tongue: English Across Cultures*. Oxford: Pergamon Press. 2nd ed., University of Illinois Press, Urbana and Chicago, 1992.
- . 1983d. Meaning in Deviation: Toward Understanding Non-Native English Texts. In *The Other Tongue: English Across Cultures*, ed. ———, 325–50. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- . 1986. *The Alchemy of English: The Spread, Functions and Models of Non-native Englishes*. Oxford: Pergamon Press. Also published by Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1989.
- Kachru, Yamuna. 1980. *Aspects of Hindi Grammar*. Delhi: Manohar.
- Kakakhel, Mian Bahadur Shah Zafar. 1981. *Zafar-ul-Lughat Pashto-Urdu Dictionary*. Peshawar: University Book Agency.
- Kalanchvi, Dilshad. 1979. *Urdu-Seraiki Loghat-e-Dilshadia*. Bahawalpur: Seraiki Library.
- . 1981. *Seraiki-Urdu Loghat-e-Dilshadia*. Bahawalpur: Seraiki Library.
- Kandiah, Thiru. 1987. New Varieties of English: The Creation of the Paradigm and its Radicalization (Part 1). *Navasilu: Journal of the English Association of Sri Lanka* 9:31–41.
- Kaplan, Robert B. 1972. *The Anatomy of Rhetoric: Prolegomena to a Functional Theory of Rhetoric*. Philadelphia, PA: The Center for Curriculum Development.
- Kennedy, Graeme. 1973. Conditions for Language Learning. In *Focus on the Learner: Pragmatic Perspectives for the Language Teacher*, ed. John W. Oller and Jack C. Richards, 66–82. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Khalid, Farooq. 1977. *Siyaah Aa'iine (Black Mirror)*. Lahore: Maktaba Meri Library.



- Khattak, M. Ibrahim. 1991. English Teachers Can Teach Technical Writing. *English Teaching Forum* XXIX(2):34–5.
- Khoo Cheng Imm. 1984. Malaysian English Mini-Dictionary II. In *Mini-Dictionaries of Southeast Asian Englishes*, ed. Lawrence Johnson, 55–64. Occasional Papers No. 35. Singapore: SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.
- Khwaja, Waqas Ahmed. 1987. Taufiq Rafat and the Creation of an Idiom. *The Star*, Karachi, 16 July, III.
- , ed. 1988. *Mornings in the Wilderness: Readings in Pakistani Literature*. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications.
- . 1991. The Case for Pakistani English: A Pedagogical Approach. Review of *Pakistani English: The Linguistic Description of a Non-Native Variety of English*, by Tariq Rahman. *The News*, Lahore, 8 June, 11.
- Lamb, Christina. 1991. *Waiting for Allah: Pakistan's Struggle for Democracy*. London: Hamish Hamilton.
- Lanham, L. W. 1982. English in South Africa. In *English as a World Language*, ed. Richard W. Bailey and Manfred Görlach, 324–52. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press.
- Lee, W. R. 1978. Realistic and Differing Aims in the Teaching and Learning of English as a Foreign or Second Language. In *In Honour of A. S. Hornby*, ed. Peter Stevens, 75–82. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lemay, Harold, Sid Lerner, and Marian Taylor. 1988. *The New New Words Dictionary*. Revised ed. New York: Ballantine Books.
- Lewis, E. Glyn. 1981. *Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Lowenberg, Peter H. 1986. Sociolinguistic Context and Second-Language Acquisition: Acculturation and Creativity in Malaysian English. *World Englishes* 5(1):71–83.
- Lugg, Manee. 1984. Singapore English Mini-Dictionary I. In *Mini-Dictionaries of Southeast Asian Englishes*, ed. Lawrence Johnson, 7–21. Occasional Papers No. 35. Singapore: SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.
- Marckwardt, Albert H. 1958/1980. *American English*. 2nd ed. Revised by J. L. Dillard. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Marri, Mitha Khan, and Atta Shad. 1972. *Urdu-Balochi Loghat*. Lahore: Markazi Urdu Board.

- Mehrotra, Raja Ram. 1975. Some Registral Features of Matrimonial Advertisements in Indian English. *English Language Teaching* 30 (1):9–13.
- . 1982a. International Communication through Non-Native Varieties of English: The Case of Indian English. In *English for International Communication*, ed. Christopher J. Brumfit, 73–80. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- . 1982b. Indian English: A Sociolinguistic Profile. In *New Englishes*, ed. John B. Pride, 150–73. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Mesthrie, Rajend. 1988. Toward a Lexicon of South African Indian English. *World Englishes* 7(1):5–14.
- . 1992. *A Lexicon of South African Indian English*. Leeds: Peepal Tree.
- Meyer's English-Biluchi Dictionary*. 1909/1975. Facsimile Reprint. Lahore: Sheikh Mubarak Ali.
- Middle Stage English, Book I for Class VI*. 1989. Hyderabad: Sindh Textbook Board.
- Middle Stage English, Book I for Class VI*. n.d. Peshawar: NWFP Textbook Board.
- Moag, Rodney F., and Louisa B. Moag. 1979. English in Fiji, Some Perspective and the Need for Language Planning. In *New Varieties of English: Issues and Approaches*, ed. Jack C. Richards, 73–90. Occasional Papers No. 8. Singapore: SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.
- Mooraj, Anwar. 1987. English As She Is Spoke. *Dawn (Magazine)*, Karachi, 11 September, V.
- . 1989. Low Notes on a High Level. *Dawn (Magazine)*, Karachi, 17 February, III.
- Moss, W. E. 1964. English in the Commonwealth: Pakistan. *English Language Teaching* 18(2):63–9.
- Mottau, S. A. W., comp. 1985–6. Glossary of Terms Used in Official Correspondence of the Government of Sri Lanka, compiled from Records at the National Archives. *The Sri Lanka Archives: Journal of the Sri Lanka National Archives* 3.
- Niazi, M. A. 1989. Vardag's Externment and Engg. Varsity Crisis. City Notes. *The Nation*, Lahore, Late city ed., 24 June, 3.
- Nicholl, David Shelly. 1978. *Advertising: Its Purpose, Principles and Practice*. Estover, Plymouth: Macdonald and Evans.

- Nihalani, Paroo, R. K. Tongue, and Priya Hosali. 1979. *Indian and British English: A Handbook of Usage and Pronunciation*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Noss, R. B., ed. 1983. *Varieties of English in Southeast Asia*. Anthology Series No.11. Singapore: SEAMEO Regional Language Centre and Singapore University Press.
- Nyrop, Richard F., ed. 1984. *Pakistan: A Country Study*. 5th ed. Area Handbook Series. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- Okeke-Ezeigbo, Emeka. 1982. The Role of the Nigerian Writer in a Carthaginian Society. *Okike* 21. Cited in J.O.J. Nwachukinu-Agbada. 1987. Content and Form in Nigerian Pidgin Poetry: The Pidgin Poetry of Aig-Imoukhuede and Mamman Vatsa. *Chelsea* 46:91 – 105. Special Issue on World Literature in English.
- Omar, Kaleem. 1986. The Pakistanisation of English. *The Star*, Karachi, 27 February, II.
- Pakistan Statistical Yearbook*. 1988. Karachi: Federal Bureau of Statistics, Government of Pakistan.
- Pakistan Press Directory*. 1988. Islamabad: Press Information Department, Government of Pakistan.
- Paracha, Nadeem Farooq. 1991. The Paki-Shaadi Syndrome. *Mag*, Karachi, 17–23 January, 22.
- Passé, H. A. 1955. *The Use and Abuse of English: Common Errors in Ceylon English*. Madras: Oxford University Press.
- Patel, Rashida. 1986. *Islamisation of Laws in Pakistan?* Karachi: Faiza Publishers.
- Platt, John T. 1982. English in Singapore, Malaysia, and Hong Kong. In *English as a World Language*, ed. Richard W. Bailey and Manfred Görlach, 384–414. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press.
- Platt, John T., Heidi Weber, and Ho Mian Lian. 1984. *The New Englishes*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Prator, Clifford. 1968. The British Heresy in TESL. In *Language Problems in Developing Nations*, ed. Joshua A. Fishman, Charles A. Ferguson, and Jyotirindra Das Gupta, 459–76. New York: John Wiley.
- Pride, John B., ed. 1982. *New Englishes*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Procter, Paul, ed. 1978. *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*. Harlow: Longman.



- Qadir, Samina A. 1984. Review of *The Pronunciation of English with Special Reference to the Problems of Urdu Speakers*, by Shams-ud-din. *Journal of Research (Humanities)* 1(1):92–4.
- Qadri, Shahid Hussain. 1988. *The Pakistan Penal Code*. Lahore: Mansoor Book House.
- Quirk, Randolph. 1962. *The Use of English*. London: Longman.
- . 1978. Towards an International Pronunciation of English. In *In Honour of A. S. Hornby*, ed. Peter Stevens, 45–53. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 1981. International Communication and the Concept of Nuclear English. In *English for Cross-Cultural Communication*, ed. Larry E. Smith, 151–65. London: Macmillan.
- Quirk, Randolph, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech, and Jan Svartvik. 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. 2nd ed. London: Longman.
- Qureshi, Bashir Ahmad. 1989. *Kitabistan's 20th Century Standard Dictionary: Urdu into English*. Reprint of 1st ed. (1964). Lahore: The Kitabistan Publishing Co.
- Rafat, Taufiq. 1969. Towards a Pakistani Idiom. *Venture: A Bi-Annual Review of English Language and Literature* 6(1):60–73.
- Rafi, Talat. 1987. Common Errors in Written English of Pakistani Students. *Pakistan Education Journal* 2(1):72–81.
- Rahman, Tariq. 1989. *Pakistani English: The Description and Pedagogical Use of a Non-Native Variety of English*. M.Litt. Thesis, Department of English Studies, University of Strathclyde (UK).
- . 1990a. Pakistani English—Nothing to be Ashamed of. *Pakistan Times (Magazine)*, Lahore, 1 June, I, IV.
- . 1990b. *Pakistani English: The Linguistic Description of a Non-Native Variety of English*. National Institute of Pakistan Studies Monograph Series. Islamabad: Quaid-i-Azam University. Chapter 3 published as 'Pakistani English: Some Phonological and Phonetic Features.' 1991. *World Englishes* 10(1): 83–95; Chapter 4 published as 'The Morphological and Syntactic Features of Pakistani English.' 1991. *Journal of English Studies* (University of the Punjab) 2(1):57–81; Chapter 5 published as 'The Use of Words in Pakistani English.' 1991. *English Today* 7(2):32–8.
- . 1991. *A History of Pakistani Literature in English*. Lahore: Vanguard.

- Rao, Raja. 1960. *The Serpent and the Rope*. London: John Murray.
- Raof, Syed Muhammad Abdur. 1988. Culture and Reading Comprehension. *English Teaching Forum* XXVI(2):44–6.
- Raverty, Captain H. G. 1901/1982. *A Dictionary of the Pukhto, Pushto, or Language of the Afghans with Remarks on the Originality of the Language and its Affinity to the Semitic and Other Oriental Tongues, etc.* 2nd ed. Facsimile Reprint. Peshawar: Saeed Book Bank.
- Reeves, Richard. 1984. The Second English Empire. Chap. 9 in *Passage to Peshawar*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Richards, Jack C., and Mary W. J. Tay. 1981. Norm and Variability in Language Use and Language Learning. In *English for Cross-Cultural Communication*, ed. Larry E. Smith, 409–56. London: Macmillan.
- Richardson, John, Charles Wilkins, and Francis Johnson. 1829/1984. *Dictionary, Persian, Arabic, and English with a Dissertation on The Languages, Literature, and Manners of Eastern Nations*. 3rd ed. Facsimile Reprint. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications.
- Rogers, John. 1982. The World for Sick Proper. *English Language Teaching Journal* 36(3):144–51.
- Romaine, Suzanne. 1982. The English Language in Scotland. In *English as a World Language*, ed. Richard W. Bailey and Manfred Görlach, 56–83. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press.
- Russ, Charles V. J. 1982. The Geographical and Social Variation of English in England and Wales. In *English as a World Language*, ed. Richard W. Bailey and Manfred Görlach, 11–55. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press.
- Rutherford, William E. 1975. *Modern English*. Vol. 1. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- . 1977. *Modern English*. Vol. 2. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Said, Edward W. 1978. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon.
- Said, Yunus. 1987. *A Report on the Book Industry in Pakistan*. NDFC Research Report Series, Report No. 27. Karachi: National Development Finance Corporation.
- Saleem, Wahiduddin. 1965. *Waza' Istelaahaat (The Making of Terminology)*. Karachi: Anjuman Taraqqi-e-Urdu Pakistan.

- Saleemi, Anjum P. 1985. English in Nonnative Use: A Second-Language View. *English Teaching Forum* XXIII(2):16–20. In this volume.
- . 1987. The Subcategorization of Adjectives in English: From Principles to Application. *Studia Linguistica* 41(2):136–53.
- . 1991. English, Pakistani Style. Review of *Pakistani English: The Linguistic Description of a Non-Native Variety of English*, by Tariq Rahman. *The Friday Times*, Lahore, 2–8 May, 14.
- . 1992. *Universal Grammar and Language Learnability*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sarhindi, Waris. 1976. *Ilmi Urdu Loghat (Jaame')*. Lahore: Ilmi Kitabkhana.
- Sarwar, Zakia. 1991. Adapting Individualization Techniques for Large Classes. *English Teaching Forum* XXIX(2):16–21.
- Schmied, Josef J. 1991. *English in Africa: An Introduction*. London: Longman.
- Sey, K. A. 1973. *Ghanaian English: An Exploratory Survey*. London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Publishers.
- Shah, Sayyid Saadat Ali. 1978. *Exploring the World of English: A Practical Course in Composition for College Students and Competitive Candidates*. 2nd ed. Lahore: Ilmi Kitabkhana.
- Shahani, A. T. n.d.(a). *The English-Sindhi Dictionary*. Revised ed. Sukkur: Ajaib Store.
- . n.d. (b). *The Sindhi-English Dictionary*. Revised ed. Sukkur: Ajaib Store.
- Shamsie, Muneeza. 1991. Not the Queen's English. Review of *Pakistani English: The Linguistic Description of a Non-Native Variety of English*, by Tariq Rahman. *Dawn (Magazine)*, Karachi, 31 May, 4.
- Shams-ud-din. 1983. *The Pronunciation of English with Special Reference to the Problems of Urdu Speakers*. Multan: Caravan Book Centre.
- Shastri, S. V. 1988. Code-mixing in the Process of Indianization of English: A Corpus-based Study. *Indian Linguistics* 49(1–4): 34–53.
- Sidhwa, Bapsi. 1980. *The Crow Eaters*. London: Jonathan Cape.
- . 1983. *The Bride*. London: Jonathan Cape.
- . 1988. *Ice-Candy-Man*. London: Heinemann. Published in the USA as *Cracking India*, Milkweed Editions, 1991.



- Simpson, J.A., and E.S.C. Weiner, eds. 1989. *The Oxford English Dictionary*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Singh, Bhai Maya. 1895/1983. *The Vanguard Punjabi-English Dictionary*. Facsimile Reprint. Lahore: Vanguard. First published as *The Panjabi Dictionary* by the Punjab Education Department.
- Smith, Larry E., ed. 1981. *English for Cross-Cultural Communication*. London: Macmillan.
- , ed. 1987. *Discourse Across Cultures: Strategies in World Englishes*. New York: Prentice-Hall.
- Smith, Vincent A. 1967. *The Oxford History of India*. 3rd ed. Reprinted with corrections, ed. Percival Spear. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Smith-Pearse, T. L. H. 1968. *The English Errors of Indian Students*. 5th ed. Madras: Oxford University Press.
- . 1975. *The English Errors of Pakistani Students*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Spear, Percival. 1965. *A History of India*. Vol. 2. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- SPELT Newsletter*. 1985–19—. Karachi: Society of Pakistan English Language Teachers.
- Sridhar, S. N., and K. K. Sridhar. 1989. The Syntax and Psycholinguistics of Bilingual Code-mixing. In *English in Indian Bilingualism*, 75–87. Delhi: Manohar.
- Stern, H. H. 1981. Unity and Diversity in L<sub>2</sub> Teaching: English in Non-Native Settings from a Canadian Perspective. In *English for Cross-Cultural Communication*, ed. Larry E. Smith, 57–73. London: Macmillan.
- Stevens, Peter. 1971. Alternatives to Daffodils—Or, Scientist Thou Never Wert. *CILT Reports and Papers* 11:7–11. London: Centre for Information on Language Teaching.
- . 1977. *New Orientations in the Teaching of English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 1980a. *Teaching English as an International Language: From Practice to Principle*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- . 1980b. Problems of Learning and Teaching Science through a Foreign Language. In *Teaching English as an International Language*, 136–50. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Tabor, Myrna G. A. 1984. Filipino English Mini-Dictionary. In *Mini-Dictionaries of Southeast Asian Englishes*, ed. Lawrence John-

- son, 65–84. Occasional Papers No. 35. Singapore: SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.
- Talaat, Mubina. 1988. *A Study of Lexical Variations in Pakistani English: A View on Language Contact and Change*. M.Phil. Thesis, Department of Linguistics, University of Nottingham.
- . 1991. Our Version. Review of *Pakistani English: The Linguistic Description of a Non-Native Variety of English*, by Tariq Rahman. *The Muslim (Magazine)*, Islamabad, 3 May, 5.
- Tan Gek Eng. 1984. Singapore English Mini-Dictionary II. In *Mini-Dictionaries of Southeast Asian Englishes*, ed. Lawrence Johnson, 22–38. Occasional Papers No. 35. Singapore: SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.
- Tauqir, Abdul Hafeez. 1988. Modern Trends in Book Publishing with Special Reference to Technical and Scientific Books Being Produced in Pakistan. In *Report on Three Day Training Course on Modern Trends in Book Publishing*, 29–32. Islamabad: National Book Council of Pakistan.
- Textbook of English for Class X*. 1992. Quetta: Balochistan Textbook Board.
- Textbook of English for Class IX*. 1991. Lahore: Punjab Textbook Board.
- Todd, Loreto. 1982. The English Language in West Africa. In *English as a World Language*, ed. Richard W. Bailey and Manfred Görlach, 281–305. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Ure, Jean A. 1982. Introduction: Approaches to the Study of Register Range. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 35: 5–23.
- Verma, Yugeshwar P. 1973. *The English Language Press in Nepal*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu.
- Waseem, Mohammad. 1989. *Politics and the State in Pakistan*. Lahore: Progressive Publishers.
- Watson-Gegeo, Karen Ann, ed. 1989. *English in the South Pacific*. *World Englishes* 8(1). Special Issue.
- Whitworth, George Clifford. 1885/1981. *An Anglo-Indian Dictionary: A Glossary of Indian Terms Used in English, and of Such English or Other Non-Indian Terms as Have Obtained Special Meanings in India*. Facsimile Reprint. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications. First published by Kegan, Paul Trench and Co.

- . 1907/1982. *Indian English: An Examination of the Errors of Idiom Made by Indians in Writing English*. Facsimile Reprint. Delhi: Bahri Publications. First published by Letchwerth, Herts, Garden City Press.
- Widdowson, Henry G. 1982. English as an International Language II: What Do We Mean by 'International Language'? In *English for International Communication*, ed. Christopher J. Brumfit, 9–14. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Williams, Barbara. 1978. *The Well-structured Paragraph*. Columbus, OH: Charles E. Merrill.
- Yule, Col. Henry, and A.C. Burnell. 1886/1985. *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive*. Facsimile Reprint. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. First published in 1886. Second ed. edited by William Crooke and published by John Murray, 1903.
- Zahir, Sajjad, Ahmed Ali, Rashid Jehan, and Mahuduz-zafar. 1932. *Angaray (Burning Coals)*. Lucknow: Nizami Press.
- Zuengler, Jane E. 1983. Kenyan English. In *The Other Tongue: English Across Cultures*, ed. Braj B. Kachru, 112–24. Oxford: Pergamon Press.



## Notes on Contributors

AHMED ALI is one of the founding fathers of a national literature both in Urdu and in English. Starting as a Lecturer at Lucknow University, he rose to an eminent position as a scholar and educationist during his academic career. He has been Visiting Professor at universities both in China and in the United States and has also held senior posts in the diplomatic service of Pakistan. Co-founder of the Progressive Writers' Movement of India, he achieved international fame with his English novel *Twilight in Delhi*, published in 1940. In addition to four volumes of short stories in Urdu, he has published two other novels in English, a critical study of T. S. Eliot's poetry, an anthology of classical Urdu poetry in English, and a contemporary translation of the *Qur'an*. He has also translated from both Indonesian and Chinese.

ROBERT J. BAUMGARDNER was Co-ordinator of the English Language Program for the University Grants Commission of Pakistan and The Asia Foundation from 1985 to 1992, a position he also held with The Asia Foundation in Sri Lanka from 1982 to 1985. Born in Texas, he received his Ph.D. in Linguistics from the University of Southern California, Los Angeles. He is co-editor (with Dick Chamberlain) of *ESP in the Classroom: Practice and Evaluation*, and editor of *South Asian English: Structure, Use and Users*. Dr Baumgardner is also author of numerous articles and reviews on English for Specific Purposes and World Englishes.

ANJUM RIYAZUL HAQUE holds a Master's degree in English Literature from the University of the Punjab and one in TESL from the University of Hawaii. She has seventeen years of professional experience in Pakistan in both senior academic and administrative posts, including Director Training, National Academy of Higher Education of the University Grants Commission. She is currently on leave pursuing a Ph.D. in Development Education at the University of Santo Tomas, Manila, The Philippines.

AUDREY E. H. KENNEDY was an English Language Teaching Consultant for the University Grants Commission and The Asia Foundation from 1988 to 1992, serving as Academic Co-ordinator of the UGC and Foundation English Language Program. She holds an MA in TEFL from the American University in Cairo, where she also taught in the Freshman Writing Program from 1969 to 1984. Her professional and research interests include the teaching of writing, teacher training, English for Science and Technology, and varieties of English.

SHAYAN AFZAL KHAN is the Parliamentary Project Manager for The Asia Foundation's Legislative and Library Program. Prior to joining The Asia Foundation in 1989, she was Research Officer for International, Political, and Economic Affairs in the Library and Research Service of the National Assembly of Pakistan. Her areas of research include Pakistan's relations with the United States, Afghanistan, and India, as well as international trade and monetary policy. She is author of *The Impact of Foreign Aid on Pakistan's Economy* (Islamabad: National Assembly Secretariat, 1988) and *The Afghanistan Conflict and its Impact on Pakistan* (Islamabad: National Assembly Secretariat, 1988).

JANE ANNE LINDLEY works in The Asia Foundation's Legislative and Library Programs, serving as Consultant to the National Assembly Secretariat in Islamabad. She has written and lectured extensively on parliamentary research services, international co-operation in the dissemination of information, library automation and networking, and international recognition of intellectual property rights. She has also produced numerous informational programmes for the closed-circuit television system of the United States Congress.

SHAHEEN MERAJ is Lecturer in English at Government Karachi College for Women and a resource person for English Language Teaching training programmes for the Society of Pakistan English Language Teachers (SPELT). Her special fields of interest include the Teaching of English as a Foreign and Second Language, syllabus design, and teacher training.

ANJUM P. SALEEMI received his Master's degree in Applied Linguistics in 1986 and his Ph.D. in Linguistics in 1988, both from the

University of Essex. He is currently an Associate Professor of English at the Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad. Dr Saleemi's major areas of interest are syntactic theory and formal learning theory, extending to the issues related to their applications. He is author of *Universal Grammar and Language Learnability*.

FAUZIA SHAMIM is Assistant Professor in the Department of English, University of Karachi. She holds an MA in English Literature from the University of Karachi as well as an MA in Linguistics for English Language Teaching from the University of Lancaster, UK. She is presently working on her Ph.D. research on 'The Culture of Large ESL Classes in Pakistan' at the University of Leeds, UK. Ms Shamim is a founding member of the Society of Pakistan English Language Teachers (SPELT), and is co-author (with Zakia Sarwar and Amberina Mahmood Kazi) of *A Think-out on Oxford English for Colleges* (Karachi: Kifayat Academy, 1985).

BAPSI SIDHWA, who divides her time between the United States—where she teaches at Columbia University in New York City—and Pakistan, was born in Karachi and brought up in Lahore. An active social worker among Asian women, in 1975 she represented Pakistan at the Asian Women's Congress. She has published three novels, *The Crow Eaters* (1980), *The Bride* (1983), and *Ice-Candy-Man* (1988). Her work has been translated into both German and Russian.

MUBINA TALAAT is Assistant Professor in the Department of English at Bahauddin Zakariya University in Multan, where she received her Master's degree in English Literature in 1977. She also holds an M.Phil. degree in Linguistics from Nottingham University. Ms Talaat's primary research interest is Pakistani English, a topic which she has researched extensively.



# Index

Abbott, Gerry 33, 35  
 Abedi, Razi xvii  
 acrolect 37; acrolectal varieties of English 38, 63, 68  
 adjectives, *see* complementation; pluralization; *and* Urduization of English  
 adverbial clause, reduced 266  
 adverbials, 92, 171 n.20, 175, 176, 195, 203; sentence-initial 48  
 advertising, the use of English in Urdu 221–52; attention-getters 224, 228, 229, 235; body copy 224, 228, 231–2, 235; slogans 224, 228, 229, 230, 235; strapline 229. *See also* product names  
 Afghanistan 49, 218  
 Africa 3, 4, 84, 256  
 African English 83, 84  
 African writers 4  
 Afzal, Muhammad 24  
 Afzal Khan, Shayan xvii  
 Ahmed, Akbar S. 114  
 Ahmed, Mariam 62 n.1, 243 n.2  
 Ahmed, Ziauddin 20  
 AJK, *see* Azad Jammu Kashmir  
 Akbar II, Mughal Emperor 10  
 Akhtar, A. Salam 20  
 Algeo, John 78  
 Ali, Ahmed xvii, 8, 10, 11, 12 n.3, 221

Allen, R. E. xx n.3, 152, 153  
 ambilingualism 37  
 American colonies 83; dictionaries 49; magazines, newspapers and tabloids 71, 72, 78; writing 220  
 American English 69, 77, 78, 83, 151, 152, 155, 207, 258–68 *passim*  
 Americas, the 4, 83  
 Anand, Mulk Raj 8, 11, 219  
 Anees, Munawar Ahmad 167 n.7  
 Anglicization 6  
 Anglo-Indian 152; journalists 9  
*Anglo-Indian Dictionary, An* 41  
 Angogo, Rachel 84  
 Anjum, Tanveer xvi, 107  
 Arabian Sea 281  
 Arabic 3, 5, 6, 13, 29, 43, 56, 58, 102, 106, 114, 115, 141, 143, 144, 149, 168 n.9, 209, 212, 221; books published in 23, 24; grammatical elements in Urdu borrowings in Pakistani English 129–39; periodicals published in 26  
 Asia 83, 153, 220  
 Asia Foundation xix, 275  
 attention-getters, *see* advertising  
 attitudes, *see* non-native varieties of English  
 Aulakh, Gurinder xvii, 107  
 Aurangzeb, Emperor of

- Hindustan 5  
 Australia 153  
 Australian English 83, 155  
 awareness exercises, *see* classroom activities  
 Ayto, John 153  
 Azad Jammu Kashmir (AJK)  
   periodicals published in 27, 28
- Baboo* English 218  
 Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan 275  
 Bailey, Richard W. 83, 84  
 Baker, Sidney J. 83  
 Baksar, battle of 5  
 Baloch, Nabi Baksh Khan 96, 97, 167 n.6  
 Balochi 3, 13, 14, 25, 86, 93, 167 n.6, 256; books published in 23; borrowings in Pakistani English 93–4, 97, 178, 181, 182, 184, 186, 193; periodicals published in 26  
 Balochistan xv, 13, 14, 25, 275; periodicals published in 27, 28  
 Balti 86; borrowings in Pakistani English 178, 185  
 Bangladesh 3, 256  
 Bangladeshi English xiii, 84, 85, 256  
 Barker, Muhammad Abd-al-Rahman 141, 142, 171 n.20, 271 n.6  
 Barnett, Stanley A. 20, 22, 23, 29  
 Barnhart, Clarence L. 49, 153  
*Barnhart Dictionary Companion*, *The* 49  
 Barry, Michael V. 83  
 basilect 37  
 basilectal varieties 38  
 Bates, Martin 275  
 Bauer, Laurie 45  
 Baugh, Albert C. 83  
 Baumgardner, Robert J. xiii, xiv, xv, xvi, xvii, xviii, xx nn.3 & 4, 43, 48, 49, 63, 65, 72, 77, 84, 85, 113, 167 n.4, 211, 218, 266, 272 n.9, 283 n.2  
 Bell, Roger T. xiii  
 Bellew, Henry Walter 95, 97, 148, 167 n.6  
 Bengali 13, 14; books published in 23, 24  
 Bengali nationalism 14  
 Bentinck, William 6, 7, 9  
 Bhatia, Tej K. 39, 233  
 Bhutto, Benazir 49, 88, 114, 120, 205  
 Bhutto, Zulfikar Ali 14  
 bilect 39  
 bilingualism 37–40 *passim*; cline of 37  
 bilingual shifts, *see* shifts  
 body copy, *see* advertising  
 Bokhari, Tanvir xv, 94, 95, 126, 148, 167 nn. 6 & 7, 171 n.15  
 borrowing, grammatical aspects of 129–43. *See also* Urduization of English  
 borrowing, semantic aspects of 113–21; extension 47; field 61; 'load' 119–20; range 121–7. *See also* lexical integration *and* lexical restriction  
 Brahvi 3, 13, 14, 25; books published in 23; periodicals published in 26  
 Branford, Jean 83  
 Brazil 4

*Bride, The* 214

Britain xvii, 5, 7, 9, 83, 153,  
219, 233, 256, 272 n.9

British, the 4–11 *passim*, 50,  
153, 209, 212, 219, 221

British colonialism 4–11, 41,  
221 (*see also* colonialism);  
colonization 83, 213, 256;  
policy of divide and rule 8

British Council xix

British dictionaries 49; gov-  
ernment 7, 10; literature 76;  
promotional system 46;  
territories 6; writers of South  
Asian origin 219–20

British English xx n.2, 6, 45, 47,  
49, 55, 62, 77, 151, 152, 153,  
258–68 *passim*, 271 nn.5 &  
7; ellipsis in xvii

British Isles 83

broken plural, *see* pluralization

brown Englishmen 7, 8, 9, 10

Brumfit, Christopher J. 40

Burnell, A. C. 41, 84, 107, 113

Cable, Thomas 83

Calcutta 5

Calicut 4

Canada 153, 233

Canadian English 83

Capell, A. 84

Caribbean 256

case, *see* Urdu

Cassidy, F. G. 84

Celce-Murcia, Marianne 266

Central Copyright Office, *see*  
copyright

Ceylon 84, 114, 272 n.10. *See*  
*also* Sri Lanka

Chamberlain, Dick 283 n.2

Chan, Mimi 84

Charter Act (1813) 6

China 11

Chinese 212

Chomsky, Noam 63, 64, 68

Christianity 3, 4, 5, 98

Christian(s) 4: characters 213

civilization, Western definition of  
6

classroom activities: awareness

exercises 267; content-focused  
exercises 267; information gap  
exercise 281; language-  
focused exercises 267–9;  
scanning 267, 276; skimming  
267, 276. *See also* skills

clauses, finite and non-finite 65,  
67, 259, 260, 273. *See also*  
complementation

Clive, Robert 6

Close, R. A. 33

code-mixing 39, 84, 107, 229

code-switching xvi, xvi, 39

Collins, Maurice 11

collocations 47, 57, 59, 75; hy-  
brid 112, 118, 119–20, 121,  
142, 168–70 nn.11 & 12,  
171 n.17; Urdu 103, 116, 119.

*See also* compounds

colonialism 3–5, 275. *See also*  
British colonialism

colonial lag 47, 72 n.

communication, sociology of 36

*Companion to Oxford English for*  
*Colleges* xv

Company Bahadur 6, 9. *See also*  
East India Company

complementation 47–8, 63; ad-  
jective 66, 258–9; clausal 65;  
ditransitive 259, 263, 264,



- 273; *-ing* participle clause  
 258–62 *passim*, 265, 271 nn.6  
 & 7, 273; monotransitive 259,  
 260, 262, 273; noun 65–6,  
 264–5; *that*-clause 260–3  
*passim*, 271 n.6; *to*-infinitive  
 258–62 *passim*, 265, 271 n.6,  
 273; in Urdu 271 n.6; verb  
 66–7, 259–64. *See also*  
 infinitive of purpose
- composition: teaching of 281–2;  
 opinion paragraph 282. *See*  
*also* skills
- compounds: English 49, 72; hy-  
 brid 45, 84, 107–110, 233;  
 Punjabi 105; Urdu 103–4,  
 126, 138–9, 144. *See also*  
 collocations
- Comprehensive Grammar of the*  
*English Language*, A 258
- Connor, Ulla 275
- Conrad, Andrew W. 34
- conversion, *see* shifts
- Cooper, Robert L. 34
- copyright: Central Copyright  
 Office 19; deposits 23; in-  
 fringement 27, 29; law 22
- Cornwallis, Charles 6
- Costello, Robert B. 152
- Coulthard, Malcolm 69
- Cowie, A. P. 269
- creativity, literary xiii, 212–20
- Crewe, W. J. 267
- Crow Eaters*, *The* 212, 217, 218
- Curtin, Philip D. 12 n.2
- Dard, Khwaja Mir 11
- Darwin, Charles 9
- death announcements, nativi-  
 zation of 79
- Decadents 9
- Desai, Anita 219
- de Souza, Doric 113, 114
- Deverson, Tony 83
- Dharmapriya, A. T. 283 n.2
- Diebold, A. Richard 56
- Dihlavi, Khwaja Muhammad  
 Shafi 141
- Dil, Anwar S. xiii
- Directorate of Libraries 19
- ditransitive complementation, *see*  
 complementation
- divide and rule, British policy of  
 8. *See also* British colonialism
- Diwani* of Bengal 5
- Dixon, R. M. W. 83
- double plural, *see* pluralization
- Dravidic 3
- dual number, *see* pluralization
- Dubey, Vinod S. 153, 154
- Dudley-Evans, Tony 275
- Duncan, Jonathan 5
- Dutch, the 4, 221
- East Africa 256
- East African Englishes, *see*  
 African English
- East Bengal 13
- East India Company 5, 6. *See*  
*also* Company Bahadur
- East Pakistan 13, 14
- Eckstut, Samuela 281
- Education, Ministry of 19, 30
- Edward VIII, King of Great  
 Britain 9
- Egypt 4
- EIIL, *see* English as an Interna-  
 tional and Intranational Lan-  
 guage
- Elizabeth I, Queen of England 4

ellipsis, *see* British English

ELT, *see* English Language Teaching

Engel, Nat 20

English: books published in 23–4; borrowings of Asian origin in 153; borrowings of Ceylonese origin in 84; borrowings of pre-Partition India in 84; contact and transfer xx n.2, 41, 43, 55, 83, 257, 267 (*see also* lexical transfer; lexis; *and* Urduization of English); contact dialect 34; divisive forces of 4; in Hindi advertising 233; history of 3; history of, in South Asia 3–11; in India 212, 256; indigenization of 41–54; institutionalized variety of xvii, xix, 83, 84, 256; as an international/world language 17, 33–6, 40, 212–13, 272 n.9; as a language of wider communication 34, 40; as a link language 256; loanwords in 83, 216; multilingual context of use xvi, xviii, 62, 85, 151, 155, 258; newspapers published in 25; as official language of Pakistan 14; in Pakistani culture and society xiii, 3–11, 79, 85, 114, 210, 213, 215, 216, 218, 256, 275; periodicals published in 25–7; position and status in Pakistan 14–19, 41–2, 221–2; publishing in 19–30; in Raj education policy 7–10; in Sri Lanka 256; in Urdu advertising 221–52. *See also*

non-native varieties of English; Pakistani English; *and* Urduization of English

English as a foreign language 256

English as an International and Intranational Language (EIL) 34; contradiction in concept of 35

English as a second language (ESL) 18, 33, 35–6, 153, 255, 272 n.9;

English English 83

English for Science and Technology (EST) 274, 275, 276, 282; localization of materials for 275–83

English for Specific Purposes (ESP) 274

Englishization, *see* Urdu

English Language Program 275, 276, 282

English Language Teaching (ELT) 255, 267, 269, 274

English literature 7, 17

error analysis xiii

errors xiii–xiv, xvi, 257, 261, 266–7, 268, 271 n.8; types of 255–6. *See also* interlanguage

ESL, *see* English as a second language

ESP, *see* English for Specific Purposes

EST, *see* English for Science and Technology

Europe 4, 9, 221

Europeanization 6

European languages 3, 16; literature and science 7; women 76

Evangelicals, and Indian policy 5–6, 9

- Evans, Robin B. 228, 230  
*Exploring the World of English*  
 xiv, 258
- Farah, Iffat xvi
- Fatehpuri, Farman 86, 95, 96,  
 149, 167 n.6
- Federal Capital, *see* Islamabad
- Ferguson, Charles A. 39
- Ferguson, Donald William 84
- Ferozuddin, Maulvi 86, 94, 96,  
 97, 149, 167 n.6
- Fiji English 84
- Filipino English 84
- Fishman, Joshua A. 34, 35, 36,  
 39, 40
- Flexner, Stuart B. 151
- Foley, Joseph 84
- Forster, E. M. 11
- France 4
- French 83, 216
- French, the 4, 9, 256
- Gama, Vasco da 4
- Ganges 5
- gender: in nouns 136, 139–40,  
 234–5; in verbs 235. *See also*  
 pluralization
- Germans 256
- Ghaffar, Muzaffar A. 154
- Ghalib, Asadullah Khan 11, 155
- Ghanaian English 84, 114
- Gilani, Ijaz Shafi xiii
- Glassé, Cyril 115, 126, 168 n.9
- Glossary of Pakistani English 51
- Gohar, Abid Ali 24
- Gokhale, Gopal Krishna 11
- Gonzalez, Andrew 84
- Görlach, Manfred 84
- Gospel 5
- Gove, Philip Babcock xx n.3, 152
- Government-Binding, *see* syntax
- grammar, *see* skills
- grammaticalization 43
- grammatical shifts, *see* shifts
- Grant, Charles 5
- Greco-Roman forensic argumen-  
 tation. *See* scientific exposition
- Greek 3
- Greek drama 9
- Greenbaum, Sidney 258, 272 n.9
- Gujrati 13, 213, 218, 219; books  
 published in 23, 24; news-  
 papers published in 25; peri-  
 odicals published in 26
- Gumperz, John J. xvii, 107
- Gunsekera, Manique 153, 154
- Haley, Alex 3
- Halliday, M. A. K. 37, 69, 79
- Halverson, John 272 n.10
- Hamdani, Hasan Jahangir 141
- Hancock, Ian F. 84
- Handbook of Universities of*  
*Pakistan* 24
- Hanley, Barbara 167 n.6
- Haq, Maulvi Abdul 86, 167 n.6
- Haque, Anjum Riyazul xiii, xvii,  
 85
- Hasan, Khalid xvii
- Hasan, Ruqaiya xvii
- Hashmi, Alamgir xiii
- Hassan, Mahmud ul xvii
- Hassan, Riaz 155, 156
- Hastings, Warren 5, 6
- Haugen, Einar 37
- Hawkins, R. E. 208
- Hazara 13
- Heer* xv
- Hill, L. A. 33



Hindi 6, 56, 73, 84, 86, 98, 107, 121, 233, 271 n.6  
 Hindi-Urdu 77, 107  
 Hindko 13  
 Hindu characters 213; gods and mythology 8; novelists 8; women 76  
 Hinduism 98  
 Hirsh, Walter 83  
 Ho Lee Choo 84  
 Ho Mian Lian 73, 84, 154, 210  
*Hobson-Jobson* 41, 84, 113  
 Hong Kong 84  
 Hopkins, Gerard Manley 9  
 Hornby, A. S. 152, 269  
 Hosali, Priya 37, 72, 258  
 Howe, D. H. xv  
 Husein, Badruddin G. xv  
 hybrid(s) 107, 139, 153, 271 nn.4 & 9; collocation/compound 45, 84, 107, 109–11, 112, 118–19, 121–2, 233; derivational 107–9; inflectional 43, 129–30; lexical items 86, 257; linguistic system 39; verb 112–3; word-formation 113  
  
*Ice-Candy-Man* 215, 216, 217  
 imperialism, linguistic 269  
 India 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 41, 42, 113, 214, 233, 256  
 Indian English xiii, 36, 39, 65, 72, 73, 84, 86, 118, 121, 152, 271 n.8. *See also* South African Indian English  
 Indo-Iranian 3  
 Indonesia 4  
 Industries, Ministry of 30  
 infinitive of purpose 266. *See also* complementation

information-gap exercise, *see* classroom activities  
 -ing participle clause, *see* complementation  
 innovation: grammatical 68; lexical 49, 77, 257; local 255, 272 n.9; structural 219; verbal 219  
 institutionalized variety, *see* English  
 interlanguage 34, 35, 37, 38. *See also* errors  
 International Conference on English in South Asia xix, 166 n.1, 243 n.1  
 International Written Standard English (IWSE) 272 n.9  
 Iqbal, Zafar xiii, 152  
 Irish English 83  
 Islam 4, 5  
 Islamabad, Federal Capital of Pakistan xix, 41; books published in 27, 28  
 Islamic bloc 15; culture 256; law 149; lexis, *see* lexis  
 Italian 212  
  
 Jacobins 6  
 Jamaican English 84  
 Jamil, Maya xvii  
 Japanese 64, 256  
 Jefkins, Frank 229  
 Jehan, Rashid 10  
 Jibril, Munzali 84  
 Jinnah, Muhammad Ali xv, 123, 173 n.26  
 Johnson, Francis 96  
 Johnson, Samuel 9  
 Jones, Hywel xiii  
*Journals/Periodicals of Universities of Pakistan* 24

- Jowitt, David 84  
 Joyce, James 9
- Kachru, Braj B. xiii, xvi, xvii, xx n.4, 33, 36, 37, 39, 56, 57, 79, 83, 84, 85, 86, 88, 97, 98, 107, 113, 118, 121, 127, 148, 151, 153, 175, 256, 271 n.4  
 Kachru, Yamuna 62 n.1, 243 n.2, 271 n.6
- Kafiri 3  
 Kakakhel, Mian Bahadur Shah Zafar 95, 96, 167 n.6  
 Kalanchvi, Dilshad 101, 167 n.6  
 Kaltman, Hannah xvii, 107  
 Kandiah, Thiru xx n.2  
 Kaplan, Robert B. 275  
 Karachi, provincial capital of Sindh 43, 281; as publishing centre 27, 29  
 Karachi University xiii  
 Kashmir, *see* Azad Jammu Kashmir  
 Kashmiri 3; books published in 23, 24; borrowings in Pakistani English 86, 178, 187  
 Kats, Ivan 20  
 Kennedy, Audrey E. H. xiii, xv, xvi, xviii, xix, xx n.3, 43, 72, 77, 113, 171 n.18  
 Kennedy, Graeme 38  
 Kenyan English 84  
 Khalid, Farooq 57  
 Khan, Ghulam Mustafa 96, 97, 167 n.6  
 Khan, Manzoor A. xv  
 Khan, Sir Syed Ahmed 221  
 Khattak, M. Ibrahim xiii  
 Khoo Cheng Imm 84  
 Khwaja, Waqas Ahmed xiii, xvi, xvii
- Kipling, Rudyard 9  
 Kwok, Helen 84
- L<sub>1</sub> 153  
 Lahore, provincial capital of the Punjab 45, 51, 54 n.2, 55, 69, 106, 119, 137, 167 n.3, 204, 275, 281; as publishing centre 27, 29  
 Lamb, Christina 93, 143  
 language acquisition 68  
 language change 35  
 language pedagogy xiii  
 language planning xiii  
 Lanham, L. W. 83  
 Lankan English, *see* Sri Lankan English  
 Larsen-Freeman, Diane 266  
 Latin 3, 83, 216  
 Latin America 3  
 Lawrence, D. H. 9  
 lectal cline 37  
 Lee, W. R. 33, 36  
 Leech, Geoffrey 258  
 Lemay, Harold 49, 153  
 LePage, R. B. 84  
 Lerner, Sid 49, 153  
 Lewis, E. Glyn 38  
 lexical gaps 56, 58, 62, 85, 113–16, 129  
 lexical head 67  
 lexical idiosyncrasies 68  
 lexical integration 56, 58, 85; annotation 147; apposition 146; glossing 145–6, 148–51; graphic conventions 143–4, 166 n.2. *See also* borrowing, semantic aspects of  
 lexical restriction 127; non-

- restricted borrowings 151–3;  
restricted borrowings 151. *See also* borrowing, semantic aspects of
- lexical transfer 84, 85, 114, 129
- lexical variation, *see* Pakistani English
- lexicon 65, 83, 84, 86, 151, 257, 272 n.10; bottom-up forces in 68. *See also* mini-lexicon
- lexis, borrowing of, in Pakistani English: general Urdu xv–xvi, 42–3, 73, 87–92, 177–95, 214–19, 257; indigenous 93–7; Islamic 95, 97–102, 110–12, 114, 115–16, 119, 121–3, 130–9, 149, 154, 167 n.6, 168 nn.8 & 11, 171 n.22, 172 n.23, 173 n.26, 196–203. *See also* borrowing, grammatical aspects of *and* semantic aspects of
- Libraries, Directorate of 19
- Library, National 22, 23, 24
- Lindley, Jane Ann xvii
- linguistic imperialism 269
- link language, *see* English *and* Urdu
- listening, *see* skills
- literary creativity xiii, 212–20
- loan-translation 51
- localization of materials, *see* English for Science and Technology
- Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* 152
- Lowenberg, Peter H. 84, 168 n.8
- Lugg, Manee 84
- Macaulay, Thomas Babington 6, 7, 9, 15, 155
- Macaulay's Minute (1835) 10, 12 n.2
- Mahmud, Zamurad xvii
- Mahuduz-zafar 10
- Malayalam 3
- Malaysian English 84, 168 n.8
- map of Pakistan 280
- Marckwardt, Albert H. 47, 72 n., 79, 83
- Marri, Mitha Khan 94, 167 n.6
- Matin, Rashid 24
- matrimonial advertisements, nativization of 79
- McIntosh, Angus 37, 69, 79
- Mehrotra, Raja Ram 36, 77, 79, 84
- Meraj, Shaheen xviii, 86, 155
- mesolect 37
- Mesthrie, Rajend 84
- metaphysical poets 9
- Mexico 4, 72
- Middle East 4, 29
- Middle Stage English* xiv, xv
- Miller, Tom 281
- Milton, John 9
- mini-lexicon 85, 98, 166 n.2, 177–203
- Ministry of Education 19, 30
- Ministry of Industries 30
- Minute, *see* Macaulay's Minute
- Mir, Mohammad Taqi 11
- Moag, Louisa B. 84
- Moag, Rodney F. 84
- model: exonormative British 49; native(-speaker) 37, 68; pedagogical 267
- Modern English* 268
- Mohammad, the Holy Prophet 101, 115, 126, 132, 168 n.9,



- 170 n.13, 173 n.26, 176, 202  
 monotransitive complementation,  
   *see* complementation  
 Mooraj, Anwar xvii  
 morphology, *see* word-formation  
 Moss, W. E. xiii  
 Mottau, S. A. W. 84  
 Mughals 5, 8  
 Mujahideen 49  
 Multan 275  
 multilect 39  
 multilingualism 39, 40  
 Muslim characters 213; ethos 8;  
   law 153; rule 9; society 98;  
   women 76, 168 n.10  
 Muslims 8, 9, 13, 115, 136  
 Muslim University, Aligarh 221  
 Muttaqeen-ur-Rahman, Syed xiii
- Naipaul, V. S. 213  
 Napoleon 6  
 Narayan, R. K. 11, 213  
 National Awami Party 14  
 National Bibliography 22, 23  
 National Book Council 19  
 National Book Foundation 19, 22  
 National Library 22, 23, 24  
 nativizations 267, 269, 271 n.8.  
   *See also* non-native varieties of  
   English  
 negative transfer 38. *See also*  
   interlanguage  
 Nepal 3, 256  
 Nepali English xiii, 84, 85, 256  
 Neutral English 33  
 New Englishes xix, xx n.2, 72,  
   83, 88, 120, 153, 154  
*New New Words Dictionary, The*  
   49  
 newspapers, pedagogical use of  
   255–8, 266–70  
 New Zealand English 83  
 Niazi, M. A. 49  
 Nicholl, David Shelly 226  
 Nigerian English 84, 155  
 Nihalani, Paroo 37, 72, 73, 258,  
   259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264,  
   265, 266, 273  
 nonce-words 37  
 non-native grammars of English  
   63–8  
 non-native speakers/users of  
   English 15, 33, 35, 63, 68  
 non-native varieties of English  
   xvii, xviii, 33–40 *passim*, 63,  
   68, 83, 84, 256, 270; attitudes  
   toward 33, 36, 38, 154, 257;  
   de-ethnicized language 34;  
   delocalized English 35; trans-  
   planted English 41, 83, 267.  
   *See also* English and Pakistani  
   English  
 non-South Asian Englishes  
   xx n.3, 47, 88, 151  
 norms: acrolectal 37; complexity  
   of 37; international 34; intra-  
   national 268; native-speaker  
   35; non-native 36, 37; peda-  
   gogic 36; of written English  
   272 n.9  
 North-Western Frontier Province  
   (NWFP) xv, 13, 14, 25, 49,  
   95, 147, 275; periodicals  
   published in 27, 28  
 Noss, R. B. 84  
 nouns, *see* complementation; gen-  
   der; Urdu; *and* Urduization of  
   English  
 Nuclear English 33, 34  
*Nucleus General Science* 275,

- 276, 279, 280  
 NWFP, *see* North-Western Frontier Province  
 NWFP University of Engineering and Technology, Peshawar 275  
 Nyrop, Richard F. 86
- odd-mixing 156. *See also* code-mixing  
*OED*, *see* *Oxford English Dictionary, The*  
 Okeke-Ezeigbo, Emeka 4  
 Omar, Kaleem xvii, 73  
 opinion paragraph, *see* composition  
*Orientalism* 4  
 Orientalists 5, 9  
 orthography 130, 141, 142, 166 n.2  
 Ottoman peril 4  
*Our Lane* 10  
*Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English* 152, 269  
*Oxford English Dictionary, The* xx n.3, 49, 50, 72 n., 152, 166 n.1  
*Oxford English for Colleges* xv  
*Oxford History of India, The* 11  
 Oxford University Press 30
- Pacific, the 84  
 Pakistan: books published in 22–4; English newspapers published in 54 n.1; linguistic makeup of 13–14; literacy rate 20, 27; map of 280; newspapers published in 24–5, 222; periodicals published in 25–7, 222; position and status of English in 14–18, 19; textbooks published in 20–2  
 Pakistani English xiii–xvii; in bilingual dictionaries xvi; conversational analysis of xvii; discourse xvi; in electronic and print media xiv; features of xiii–xvi; formal studies of xvi; Select Glossary of 51; grammar xvi; in grammar books, textbooks, and study guides xiv–xvi; lexical variation in xvi, xviii, 47, 55–62, 76–8; linguistic sub-family xiii; literary creativity in xiii, 212–20; press coverage of xvi–xvii; sound system of xvi; Standard 49; terms of gratification in 204–11. *See also* complementation; lexis; Urduization of English; and word-formation  
 Pakistani Urdu 86, 97, 148, 167 n.6, 172 n.24, 223, 228, 229  
 Pakistan Movement 13  
*Pakistan Penal Code, The* 75, 76, 204  
 Pakistan People's Party 88, 105, 120  
*Pakistan Press Directory* 24, 25  
 Pakistan Publishers and Booksellers Association 30  
*Pakistan Statistical Yearbook* 20, 25, 27, 222  
 Pakistan Tourist Development Corporation 281  
 Paracha, Nadeem Farooq 90  
 Parsee 213, 218

- Partition 14, 41, 84, 113, 221  
*Passage to Peshawar* xiii  
 Passé, H. A. 271 n.8  
 Patel, Rashida 149  
 pedagogic schizoglossia xiv  
 performance factors xvii  
 Persian 3, 5, 6, 13, 56, 58, 96,  
 121, 129, 131, 141, 143,  
 171 n.20, 221; books pub-  
 lished in 23, 24; grammatical  
 elements in Urdu borrowings  
 in Pakistani English 136–9;  
 periodicals published in 26  
 Persianized poetry 171 n.20  
 Peru 4  
 Peshawar, provincial capital of  
 North-West Frontier Province  
 218, 275, 281  
 phonology, *see* Pakistani English,  
 sound system of  
 Pidgin 4, 37  
 Pitt, William 5  
 Platt, John T. 73, 84, 88, 113,  
 116, 120, 144, 154, 156, 210  
 pluralization of Urdu borrowings  
 in Pakistani English: adjectives  
 142–3; Arabic inflection  
 130–5; broken plural 131–3;  
 double plural 135, 137, 142,  
 143; dual 135; English in-  
 flection 43, 129–30, 134–5,  
 137; gender 136, 141–3; Per-  
 sian inflection 136–8; sound  
 plural 130–3; Urdu inflection  
 141–3; zero plural 141, 235  
 Portuguese 4, 5, 212, 221  
 Prajapati 6, 8  
 Prator, Clifford 269  
 Pride, John B. 84  
 Principles-and-Parameters, *see*  
 syntax  
 Procter, Paul 152  
 product names in Urdu advertis-  
 ing: in Nastaliq script 225,  
 226; in Roman script 225,  
 226, 232. *See also* advertising  
 pronunciation, *see* skills  
 publishing in Pakistan 19–30.  
*See also* Pakistan  
 Punjab xv, 13, 14, 25, 94,  
 171 n.19; periodicals published  
 in 27, 28  
 Punjabi 13, 25, 27, 86, 93, 148,  
 167 n.6, 213, 256; books pub-  
 lished in 23; borrowings in  
 Pakistani English 89, 94–5,  
 105, 123, 124, 126, 127, 128,  
 140, 142, 148, 150, 167 n.7,  
 171 nn.15 & 19, 177, 178,  
 180, 181, 182, 185, 187, 188,  
 190, 192, 193, 194, 196, 197,  
 206–7; periodicals published  
 in 26, 27  
 Pushto 3, 13, 14, 86, 93, 167 n.6,  
 256; books published in 23;  
 borrowings in Pakistani Eng-  
 lish 95–6, 97, 148, 178, 180,  
 182, 183, 185, 186, 187, 193;  
 newspapers published in 25;  
 periodicals published in 26  
  
 Qadir, Samina A. xvi  
 Qadri, Shahid Hussain 75, 76,  
 204  
 Quetta, provincial capital of  
 Balochistan 54 n.2, 167 n.3,  
 271 n.3, 275, 281  
 Quirk, Randolph 33, 34, 258,  
 259  
*Quran*, the Holy 11, 114, 126,



- 136, 176, 202  
 Qureshi, Bashir Ahmad xiv, xv, xvi, 115, 125, 142, 171 n.16  
 Radicals, and Indian policy 5–6  
 Rafat, Taufiq xiii  
 Rafi, Talat xiii  
 Rahman, Shafiqur 141  
 Rahman, Tariq xiii, xvi, xvii, 85  
 Ramazan 95, 99, 108, 110, 208  
 Ransom, W. S. 83  
 Rao, Raja 8, 213, 219  
 Raof, Syed Muhammad xiii  
 Raverty, Captain H. G. 96, 167 n.6  
 reading, *see* skills  
 Reeves, Richard xiii  
 register xiv, xviii, 43, 69; of crime-reporting 69–79; development of 75–8  
 relative clause 147; reduced attributive 47  
*Religio Medici* 9  
*Report on the Book Industry in Pakistan, A* 29  
 Restoration Comedy 9  
 rhetoric, *see* scientific exposition  
 Richards, Jack C. 37  
 Richardson, John 96  
 Rogers, John 34  
 Romaine, Suzanne 83  
 Romantics 9  
*Roots* 3  
 Roy, Ram Mohan 5  
 Russ, Charles V. J. 83  
 Russia 9, 11  
 Rutherford, William E. 268  
 Said, Edward W. 4  
 Said, Yunus 29  
 Saleem, Wahiduddin 221  
 Saleemi, Anjum P. xiii, xvii, xviii, 48, 62, 63, 68  
 Sanskrit 5, 6, 13  
 Sarhindi, Waris 86, 94, 96, 115, 149, 167 n.6  
*Sartor Resartus* 9  
 Sarwar, Zakia xiii  
 Sassanian-Pahlavi 3  
 scanning, *see* classroom activities  
 Schmied, Joseph J. 84  
 scientific exposition: cultural aspects of 274; Greco-Roman forensic argumentation in 274–5. *See also* English for Science and Technology  
 Scottish English 83  
 script: Arabic-Persian 13; Roman 58; Sanskrit 13; Urdu 58, 166 n.2. *See also* product names  
 semantic extension, *see* borrowing, semantic aspects of  
 semantic field, *see* borrowing, semantic aspects of  
 semantic range, *see* borrowing, semantic aspects of  
 Seraiki 13, 25, 86, 167 n.6; books published in 23; borrowings in Pakistani English 97, 101, 183, 185, 190, 196; periodicals published in 26  
 Sey, K. A. 84, 114  
 Shad, Atta 94, 167 n.6  
 Shah, Sayyid Saadat Ali xiv, 258, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 266, 268, 271 n.8, 273  
 Shah, Waris xv  
 Shah Alam 5  
 Shahani, A. T. 96, 97, 148,

- 167 n.6  
 Shakespeare, William 15  
 Shamim, Fauzia xv, xviii, xx n.3, 43, 211  
 Shamsie, Muneeza xvii  
 Shams-ud-din xvi  
 Shastri, S. V. 84  
 shifts (conversion): bilingual 90, 115, 167 n.4; grammatical xviii, 45–6, 61, 62  
 Shina 3  
 Shiwalvi, Saleem 210  
 Sicily 4  
 Siddiqui, A. R. 24  
 Siddiqui, Abullais 86, 167 n.6  
 Sidhwa, Bapsi xviii, 114, 171 n.21, 212, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218  
 Sikhism 98  
 simplification, as linguistic model 34–5  
 Simpson, J. A. xx n.3, 49, 72 n., 166 n.1  
 Sindh xiv, 13, 14, 25, 97; periodicals published in 27, 28  
 Sindhi 13, 14, 27, 86, 93, 167 n.6, 256; books published in 23; borrowings in Pakistani English 96–7, 148, 149, 178, 179, 180, 181, 184, 185, 188, 189, 193; newspapers published in 25; periodicals published in 25, 26  
 Singapore(n) English 36, 84, 153  
 Singh, Bhai Maya 167 n.6  
 skills: grammar 258–70; integration of 276; listening 36, 269, 276, 279; pronunciation 36; reading 36, 267, 276; speaking 276, 279, 280; writing 267–9, 275, 276, 279–82. *See also* classroom activities *and* composition  
 skimming, *see* classroom activities  
 slave trade 4  
 slogans, *see* advertising  
 Smith, Larry E. 34, 84  
 Smith, Vincent A. 9, 11  
 Smith-Pearse, T. L. H. xiii, xx n.1, 271 n.8  
 Society of Pakistan English Language Teachers (SPELT) xiii, 283 n.1  
 sociology of communication 36  
 sound plural, *see* pluralization  
 South African English 83  
 South African Indian English 84  
 South America 4  
 South Asia 7, 255  
 South Asian English xiii, xvi, xix, 65, 67, 68, 84, 88, 107, 113, 151, 256, 257  
 South Asian languages 3, 214  
 South Asian lexis 152, 153, 166 n.1, 171 n.22; 172 n.23; innovation in 49; variation in 66, 67  
 South-East Asia 4, 256  
 South-East Asian Englishes 84  
 Spain 4  
 Spaniards 5  
 speaking, *see* skills  
 Spear, Percival 4, 5, 6, 7  
 SPELT, *see* Society of Pakistan English Language Teachers  
 Sridhar, K. K. 107, 120  
 Sridhar, S. N. 107, 120  
 Sri Lanka 3, 113, 256, 283 n.2. *See also* Ceylon

Sri Lankan English xiii, 84, 149,  
 256, 271 n.8  
 Staley, Bevil W. 283 n.2  
 Stars and Stripes 7  
 Stern, H. H. 34  
 strapline, *see* advertising  
 Strevens, Peter 33, 34, 36, 39,  
 69, 79, 274, 275  
 subject-operator inversion 48  
 Sumerian 3  
 Svartvik, Jan 258  
 Sylhet 13  
 Sylhetti 13  
 syntax 68; Government-Binding  
 xviii, 63–5; Principles-and-  
 Parameters 63; X-bar 64;  
 zero-level categories 64  
  
 Tabor, Myrna G. A. 84  
 Talaat, Mubina xv, xvi, xvii,  
 xviii  
 Tamil 3  
 Tan Gek Eng 84  
 Tauqir, Abdul Hafeez 22  
 Tay, Mary W. J. 37  
 Taylor, Marian 49, 153  
 Telugu 3  
 Textbook Boards 19, 22  
*Textbook of English for Class IX*  
 xv  
*Textbook of English for Class X*  
 xiv  
*that*-clause, *see* complementation  
 Third World 11, 15  
 Thomas, Mandy 83  
 Thompson, Edward 11  
 Todd, Loreto 84  
*to*-infinitive, *see* complementation  
 Tolstoy, Leo 11  
 Tongue, R. K. 37, 72, 258, 266,

272 n.9  
 Tories, and Indian policy 5  
 transfer, negative 38. *See also*  
 interlanguage  
 transplanted English, *see* non-  
 native varieties of English  
 trilingualism 9, 148, 213  
 Turgenev, Ivan 11  
 Turkish 221  
*Twilight in Delhi* 11  
  
 United States of America 7, 49,  
 71, 75, 153, 233, 256, 272 n.9  
 University Grants Commission  
 xix, 19, 24, 40 n., 271 n.1,  
 275  
 University of Balochistan, Quetta  
 275  
 University of Engineering and  
 Technology, Lahore 275  
*Urdu* 156  
 Urdu 10, 213, 217, 219, 256;  
 books published in 23–4;  
 borrowings in Pakistani  
 English, *see* lexis *and* Urdui-  
 zation; case in nouns 234–5;  
 complementation in 271 n.6;  
 compound verbs 235, 252;  
 derivational morphology 233–  
 4; in dictionaries xvi, xx n.3;  
 ellipsis in xvii; English assimi-  
 lations and borrowings in  
 221–52; Englishization of  
 xviii, 233; in English text-  
 books xv, 49; gender in bor-  
 rowings in Pakistani English,  
*see* gender; grammatical ele-  
 ments in borrowings in Paki-  
 stani English 139–43; inflec-  
 tional morphology 234–5; as



- lingua franca 6, 13; as link language 213; as medium of instruction 17; as national language in Pakistan 13–17 *passim*, 19, 42; newspapers published in 25; as official language in Pakistan 14, 15, 86; periodicals published in 25, 26, 27; as a second language 86. *See also* lexis; Pakistani Urdu; *and* Urduization of English
- Urdu bazaar xiii
- Urdu-Bengali language conflict 13–14
- Urduization of English 83–6; borrowing of adjectives 92–3; of compounds 103–5; of lexical sets 127–8; of nouns 87–92; of phrases 105–6; of sentences 106–7; of verbs 90. *See also* hybrid(s); lexis; *and* pluralization
- Ure, Jean A. 75, 76, 77
- variation, lexical, *see* Pakistani English
- Vedantism 8
- verbs, *see* complementation; gender; hybrid(s); Urdu; *and* Urduization of English
- Verma, Yugeshwar P. 85
- Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Empress of India 9
- Victorians 9
- Waseem, Mohammad 114
- Watson-Gegeo, Karen Ann 84
- Weber, Heidi 73, 84, 154, 210
- Weiner, E. S. C. xxn.3, 49, 72 n., 152
- Wells, H. G. 9
- Welsh English 83
- Wesleyan Mission School, Azamgarh 8
- West Africa 256
- West African Englishes, *see* African English
- Westernization 8, 9
- Whitworth, George Clifford 41, 84, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 265, 266, 273
- Widdowson, Henry G. 34, 35, 40
- Wilberforce, William 5
- Wilkins, Charles 96
- Williams, Barbara 282
- Wilson, Horace Hayman 5
- word-formation xvi, 43–5; hybrid 113. *See also* collocations; compounds; hybrid(s); *and* pluralization
- word order 48, 63, 67, 68
- writing, *see* skills
- X-bar syntax, *see* syntax
- Yule, Col. Henry 41, 84, 107, 113
- Zahir, Sajjad 10
- Zem-zem 5
- zero plural, *see* pluralization
- Ziaul Haq, Mohammad 45, 49
- Zoroastrianism 98
- Zuengler, Jane E. 84