



RESEARCH PAPER

**Indigenization in Multilingual Setting: Evidence from Pakistan
English Written Discourse**

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ABSTRACT

This study aims at highlighting the process of indigenization in Pakistani English written discourse. Certain features of Pakistani English have been found indigenized and variant because of the influence of Urdu and non-native Pakistani context. Such variations and modifications result in indigenization. English in Pakistan is influenced by the socio-cultural aspects of multilingual society. It has led to capture the certain variation in English at all levels. These innovative changes have been recognized as indigenized features of Pakistani English because these features occur quite regularly in different genres in Pakistani multilingual society. The data for this study comprise Pakistani English novels, short stories and newspapers. The results of the study suggest that these features of Pakistani English could be documented in the form of codification and reference books.

Introduction

In the global era of languages, English has been taken in the scenario of its different varieties which are known as world Englishes. English can be seen in its non native varieties with respect to its different features like grammatical or lexical (Kachru, 1994). New varieties of English have emerged as Pakistani English, Sri Lankan English, Chinese English, Indian English, Nigerian English, Singaporean English etc. English which is being used in Pakistan is known as Pakistani English (Rehman, 2014). Many scholars explored the distinctive features of Pakistani English in their works by highlighting different features as lexical, semantic and grammatical (Anwar 2012; Baumgardner, 1993; Rehman, 2014; Talaat 1992; Kennedy 1993; Mahboob, 2003).

According to Bell (1973), there are almost 80% people in the world who use English as a non-native language. They have a blend of different features of their native and local languages, as Bolton (2002) favors this statement and states that a

greater part of the English language speakers are not native, they have some other native languages but use English as a tool to communicate that is why new distinctive varieties of English have been established through variation. English varieties are formed by following four different processes which are native English, contact English, foreign English and new English (Platt et al., 1984). In the same scenario, Schneider (2004) is of the view that post-colonial varieties of the English language (Pakistani, Indian, and African) form their independent recognition in different stages. People of different ethnicity and geographical boundaries introduce their own cultural terms and grammatical features to give the indigenized touch to the English language (Hunjo, 2002). According to Weeks (1996), the English language has started taking “place” around the globe. It occupies the place of local languages and forms the new variety of English. For this particular reason, it highlights that cultural boundaries and speakers bring variation in a language and make its own which is according to the context of that language. According to McArthur, (1992), in the process of nativization, any transparent language is taken and used in accordance to the native language, it is also known as “indigenization”.

There is another view about nativization of language which is not suitable to all. Crystal (1997) explains that the Standard English is used as a marker and a tool to pick and correct mistakes in other Englishes of the world. In this regard, Odumuh (1984) pertinently states that the Nigerian variety of English is also a nativized variety of English and there is a great influence of cultural and linguistic items of Nigerian language on it. It has many phonological distinctiveness and grammatical changings but it is still a nativized variety of English.

The present work explores the grammatical features of Pakistani English which are important in the process of indigenization. The indigenization of any language is linked with the users of that language directly. They modify, add, rearrange and sometimes delete few items from that language and induce their own linguistic items and cultural pattern to make the language an indigenized variety (Banjo, 1971). This study aims to highlight the phenomenon of grammatical variation in written Pakistani English discourse.

Delimitations of Research

Indigenization can be observed at all levels in Pakistani English but only selected grammatical features have been discussed in this brief paper. Secondly, only the selected newspapers, novels and short stories have been used as a data for the present research, so this study is far from being comprehensive. This small study cannot give a complete picture of the indigenized grammatical features of Pakistani English. However, it will generate the sufficient interest for the future researchers to explore the grammatical feature in more detail.

Literature Review

New varieties of English have been introduced and established to communicate (Bolton, 2002) all over the world. By adapting the English language, the speakers bring variation in it. Many new words are introduced in the new variety of language and others are generated. Language variation is helpful in introducing new words at all the levels (Labov, 2001). Language variation not only eases the process of communication but it is also very helpful in understanding the linguistic structure of the language (Wolfram, 2006). "Free fluctuation," "optional rules," and "free variants" are the different processes in which language variation takes place and it also forms the new nativized variety of language (Crystal, 2003). This type of variation not only introduces new words in that variety but also helps in making the language more coherent. According to Biber (1988) the root cause of language change is variation, which is beneficial in making the language more nativized. Ethnicity, age, gender, native language and social dialect are the different factors which promote language change and develop indigenization. Kennedy (1993) states that English is used in accordance with the context in which that language is used. Language takes its specific place and forms a stable variety because the speakers use it with their own context (Halliday, 1989).

Grammatical rules of every language are specified in the context in which that particular language is used (Chauhdary, 1995). This view catches the attention of Kennedy (1993), and he conducted research on Pakistani newspaper language to check the functional features of the English language. He is of the view that language performs emotive function through functional items. He also adds that syntactically Pakistani English is different from Standard English. Rehman (2014) also quotes few examples of stative verbs. He explains that Pakistani English speakers use stative verbs as progressive. As far as the standard English is concerned, statives are not used as progressives (Gamaroff, 1988). Progressive forms are only acceptable with action words. Rehman also makes a claim that in Pakistani English, prepositions are deleted and misused by the speakers and sometime they add more preposition (2014). The reason behind using such preposition is the impact of the Urdu language. English directly hits its grammatical features like prepositions, use of articles and clause complements. All these features are also examined by Mahboob (2004) and he also explain phonological features as well. He is of the view that Pakistan bilinguals omit many functional words like preposition and articles. Hunjo (2002) works on these merits on African English and states that cultural items and cultural settings play an important role in the formation of new variety of English.

Odumuh (1984) in his work highlights that Nigerian English is a nativized variety of English and it has unique features which are totally different from Standard English. The use of preposition is taken for granted in Nigerian English but it is still a nativized variety. He also states that many new words are formed and it is the coherent blend of historical facts and cultural impact.

In late 19th century, the turn of research shifted from traditional view to the more modern way. In this regard, Singh (1998) works on the indigenized variety of English and explains that variation is a part of all the Englishes of the world. He is of the view that language changes due to the dialect. It is the dialect which brings change in the morphology and grammar of the English language.

Wee (2002) conducts the statistical survey of English and highlights the grammatical and lexical features of new Englishes. Firstly he appreciates the non native speakers and says that they are the inventors of new English. Secondly he explains that grammatical items are more responsible to make the English variety nativised. English is not the language of Englishpeople but it is the language of those who speak it (Quirk, 1962). Similarly Pakistani English has been researched (Rehman, 2014; Anwar, 2012; Talaat, 2002; Abbas, 1995; Saleemi, 1993; Chaudhry, 1995; Haque, 1982; Baumgardner, 1993) but not a comprehensive material is produced to claim that this is an indigenized variety of English. No significant work has been done on the grammatical features of Pakistani English yet. This research tries to fill this gap and tries to bring out these features which make this variety 'indigenized variety of English'.

Methodology and Data Collection

With the development of computer based corpora in 20th century the research in language studies has been revolutionized. These corpora comprised of million words with real data from different genres. The researchers are now able to explore the distinct patterns in language. Corpus linguistics helps the researchers for analyzing the language from a quantitative perspective. A corpus of Pakistani written English texts was compiled for the present study.

Table 1

S. No	Newspapers	Word Tokens	Word Types
1	Dawn (D)	2308174	51163
2	Daily Times (DT)	1772143	43550
3	The News (TN)	1833489	40689
4	Nation (N)	1638982	39132
5	Business Recorder (BR)	1604370	35914
6	English Novels	2253873	53124
7	English Short Stories	131806	13226
	Total	11536924	112645

Antconc (Anthony, 2004) software has been used to extract the examples. However, the software has its own limitations; certain expressions were filtered and excluded during the quantification process, for example, while quantifying the use of 'already' at the sentence final position, an effort was to make sure that it is used as a verb modifier. The idiomatic use of 'only' was not considered worth-mentioning as it is beyond the scope of the study. The same with the case with other indigenized expressions.

Data Analysis

This section of the study describes the analysis of the data with different categories and sections which have been found variant with reference to Standard British English. The examples have been carefully selected.

Sentence-final Particles

Urdu particles *hi* 'only' and *bhi* 'also', are transferred to add empathic meanings in Pakistani English and termed as "sentence-final particles" (Parviainen 2012, p.232). According to Bao and Hong (2006), already and also occur quite frequently at sentence final position in Singapore English. These particles are used in sentence at final position in Pakistani English (Anwar, 2012). For example,

1. Pakistan's economy is ailing **already**. (November 6, 2018 BR)
2. However, I liked him **already**. (Novel, Collected Stories)

The word 'only' as an intensifier is the equivalent of Urdu word 'hi' and used at sentence final position as the below-given examples show:

1. The re-imposition of the tax on prepaid mobile phone cards was a proposal **only**. (November 27, 2018 DT)
2. Arshad Nawaz said that the degrees of the doctors practicing in PIMS and Polyclinic hospitals could be verified through ministry **only**. (November 29, 2018 N)

The word 'also' is preferably used in the "middle position in Standard British English" (Biber et al. 1999, p. 802) but it is used in Pakistani English at final position in a sentence. Here are some examples:

1. He said he wanted to return to Lahore next year **also**. (November 18, 2018 D)
2. Imran Khan had supported me in the past **also**. (November 8, 2018 N)

The sentence can end with 'always' in Pakistani English. For example,

1. Pakistan People's Party has also supported the initiative **always**. (November 27, 2018 TN)
2. I mean, I will do everything I can to get better, to compete with them **always**. (November 20, 2018 N)

Urdu particle 'na' and 'haan' are features of spoken language and used frequently now-a-days to emphasize, convenience or assure. The use of these particles can also be observed in Pakistani English as a sentence final particle. For example,

1. Look, she said, and held up the two cards in the lamplight. Nice, **na?** (Novel, The Wish Maker-Riverhead Trade)
2. She said, So tell me, **na.** (Novel, The Wish Maker-Riverhead Trade)
3. She said, just got it, **na.** (Novel, The Wish Maker-Riverhead Trade)
4. *Babaji* why making noise **haan?** (Short Story, After that, We are ignorant)
5. All hand-made, all pure cotton. Want to see, **haan?** (Short Story, After that, We are ignorant)

Table 2

S. No.	Adverbial	Occurrence	S. No.	Adverbial	Occurrence
1	Already	59	4	Also	91
2	Only	111	5	Always	38
3	Na	5	6	Haan	5

Wherein

The expression 'wherein' is quite old-fashioned in modern English but is frequently used in Pakistani English (232 times) as equivalent of where, when, in which etc. It is a direct translation of Urdu equivalent 'jahan per'. For example,

1. The federal cabinet meeting has been convened in the morning whereas an event **wherein** the government's performance would be unveiled is schedule in the evening. (November 28, 2018 BR)
2. The interview went viral on the social media and was reflected in the media as well, **wherein** Durrani had vehemently denied kidnapping of Dawar. (November 18, 2018 TN)
3. The inflated political sense of a welfare state is also losing its meaning in the face of mounting inflation **wherein** the poor have to bear the brunt of economic recovery. (November 9, 2018 TN)

Plural Noun Suffixes

In Pakistani English, some nouns take the plural suffix -s which is quite variant from Standard British English. For example,

1. The cabinet, he said, formed a committee, which would be headed by Minister Tourism and Youth Affairs Muhammad Atif Khan, to work out

changes in the forest policy to allow the development of eco-tourism roads and other **infrastructures** through forests in the hilly areas. (November 09, 2018 TN)

2. One afternoon I went across London on numerous public **transports**. (Novel, Something to tell you)
3. These statements, along with all the **fictions** and assumptions that lie beneath them, are stronger than science. (November 7, 2018 D).
4. I see these boys come through Karachi on two-week **vacations**. (Short Story, Our Lady of Paris)

Table 3

S. No.	Nouns	Occurrence	S. No.	Nouns	Occurrence
1	An advice	8	4	fictions	6
2	infrastructures	11	5	equipments	26
3	Transports	5	6	vacations	25

In British English ‘a piece of’ as ‘partitive expression’ (Carter & McCarthy 2006, p. 343) is used with uncountable nouns to make them countable, for example ‘a piece of equipment’. But in Pakistani English plural suffix *-s* is attached with such uncountable nouns. Here are a few examples:

1. The outdated **equipments** and old-aged laboratories can hardly meet the patient’s needs. (November 6, 2018 N)
2. Pakistan marble industry has lagged behind due to outdated extraction methods and lack of latest **equipments**. (November 27, 2018 BR)
3. I hope you will give me **an advice** to the best of your knowledge. (November 20, 2018 TN)

In some cases, plural suffix *-s* is placed at the end of the word in hyphenated compounds instead of on the head of phrase as is clear from the following examples:

5. Chief Human Resource Officer, PTCL, distributed the trophies amongst the winners and **runner-ups**. (November 29, 2018 N)
6. The senior management applauded the winners and encouraged the **runner-ups**. (November 29, 2018 N)

Passive Constructions

The rules of passive constructions are not observed in some cases although this feature is common in spoken English. For example,

1. **It decided** that electricity prices would not be raised for domestic consumers using 300 units or less in a month. (November 8, 2018 DT)
2. **It decided** that handicraft and book stalls would be set up on these two days. (November 4, 2018 D)
3. **It said** the majority-Muslim country touched the water stress line in 1990 and crossed the water scarcity line in 2005. (November 10, 2018 DT)

Quantifier

Quantifiers are used differently in Pakistani English (Anwar & Talaat, 2011). The word 'data' is not used with countable quantifiers in Standard British English. But in Pakistani English we could find a few examples of such a variant use.

1. There is **little data** on the number of Kihal people in Pakistan. (November 24, 2018 TN)
2. "Sorry, we are not providing **any data**," a representative of the college said. (November 1, 2018 N)

One of the + singular noun

The occurrence of a singular noun after 'one of the' is also observed in Pakistani English. Although this phenomenon is not quite frequent, a few examples have been found.

1. It is considered as **one of the biggest ever public sector project** undertaken in Pakistan. (November 14, 2018 N)
2. However, PTI- led government while following the PML-N initiated **one of the costliest metro bus project** in Peshawar. (November 29, 2018 TN)

Use of article

The indigenized use of the article can be observed in Pakistani English. Here are a few aspects of such a usage.

In many cases, the article 'the' is not used or is replaced with indefinite article 'a' as is clear from the following examples:

1. Defense Secretary James Mattis announced that the US was shifting from a war of attrition to **one of annihilation** in Syria and Iraq. (November 10, 2018 TN)
2. The board recommended 12 cases, **including one of a condemned prisoner**. (November 11, 2018 D)
3. And perhaps, this is **one of a kind experience**. (November 12, 2018 DT)

* Majority

The omission of article 'the' with 'majority' can be observed in Pakistani English particularly in newspapers. Here a few examples:

1. Both group agreed one thing time scale either four tier formula. **Majority** wants and is favoring timescale. (November 14, 2018 N)
2. **Majority** of educational institutions across the country were closed today. (November 3, 2018 TN)
3. **Majority** of the individuals in Asia did not have internet facility in their mobile phones which were mainly used for calling and texting. (November 19, 2018 DT)
4. **Majority** of educational institutions across the country were closed today. (November 3, 2018 TN)
5. **Majority** of the political parties adhered to it. (November 25, 2018TN)

Most of * Noun/s

In many cases, article 'the' is omitted between 'most of' and 'noun/s' as is clear from the examples:

1. He said in **most of *cases** huge loss to state exchequer was involved. (November 17, 2018 D)
2. Despite such mammoth machinery, most of FBR taxes are indirect taxes, whereas **most of direct taxes** are in indirect mode. (November 16, 2018 BR)
3. At a time when **most of TV actors** are stuck with monotonous roles, Iqra Aziz has managed to play a diverse set of characters. (November 18, 2018 TN)
4. He said that **most of money** is either stashed in UAE or UK which may not agree to return the money as it will affect their economies. (November 28, 2018 BR)

5. The word junk basically refers to something that is unserviceable, hopeless, useless and extra, so **most of fast foods** really deserve to call them as junk food. (November 21, 2018 DT)
6. **Most of time** terms and condition are not very favourable for farmers but the process is easy to access the credit. (November 9, 2018 DT)

*** UK/USA/UAE**

Pakistani speakers omit the article 'the' before the names of some institutions and places. For example they do not use article with USA and UK in many cases. The reason of this variant use is the result of over generalization because article is not used with country names in Standard English.

7. The prosecution's witness said that the NAB had asked **UK Central Authority** for sending reply of joint investigation team's mutual legal assistance (MLA) requests. (November 10, 2018 BR)
8. Many of his properties are in **USA and UAE**, according to the declaration. (November 07, 2018 TN)
9. One scholar from **USA** endorsed my view point and called it a 'new Great Game, still being played by old rules. (November 21, 2018 DT)

Table 4

S. No.	Nouns	Occurrence	S. No.	Nouns	Occurrence
1	*Majority	60	3	Most of *noun	37
2	*USA/UK/UAE	50			

Copula deletion

Copula 'to be' is deleted in many cases in non-native varieties. This feature can be observed in Pakistani English as well especially in fiction. The copula 'be' is not used mostly with -ing inflected forms of verbs as the following examples show:

1. 'Babaji **why *making** noise *haan*? (After that, We are ignorant)
2. I'm careless, **I * sorry**. (Novel, The Crow Eater)
3. We said she sprang from marsh, **I * from desert**. (Short Story, Ice mating)
4. **The pelicans * gone**, the seagulls multiplied. (Short Story, Ice mating)

Conclusion

Pakistani English has its own grammatical norms and features that are evolving continuously particularly through English newspapers. Pakistani English is undergoing substantial changes at grammatical level. The data analysis shows some interesting facts. Firstly we have seen that variation is not limited to one or two aspects. Secondly, these features occur quite frequently in Pakistani English particularly the variant and indigenized use of article and sentence final particles is quite evident. Thirdly it has been observed that mostly these indigenized features emerge because of the influence of L1 and language contact in multilingual setting, for example, there is no 'article system' in Urdu and the grammatical knowledge of local language results in the indigenization of English in Pakistan.

However, there is a dire need of more comprehensive studies on the grammatical aspects of Pakistani English with a larger data to support the argument that Pakistani English being a nativized variety of English is heading towards 'endnormative stage' of Schneider's (2007) model. The detailed studies particularly by using the spoken data are required to explore the distinct and variant features of Pakistani English at different levels. This study will explore the new horizons for the future researchers.

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