

Pakistani English

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1. Introduction

The result of the analysis of data from Pakistan provided evidence to categorise 34 of the 235 features included in the WAVE survey as ‘neither pervasive nor extremely rare (B)’, while another 21 features were categorized as existing, but rare (C). None of the features included in the questionnaire were ‘pervasive or obligatory’ (A). There were 177 features included in the questionnaire that were ‘absent’ (D) from the data and research on Pakistani English. Finally, there were three features that need further consideration (?). A detailed description of the 55 features attested in the data is given in the appendix. However, before sharing these features, we need to note that the examples shared in this paper come from a variety of sources: written texts (newspapers, textbooks, student essays, etc.), a few oral texts (conversations, TV shows, etc.), and previously published research (in specific drawing on Baumgardner 1995; Mahboob 2004; and Rahman 2011). The identity and/or the exact sources and/or the sociolinguistic profiles of speakers/writers of these examples are not always available. Thus, we need to remember that the features identified and described in this paper represent different genres of Pakistani English and might have been produced by speakers of Pakistani English with different backgrounds. In other words, the examples and the features described in this paper only indicate that the listed features exist in Pakistani English: they do not show how these features might be distributed locally based on the speakers, use, context, or mode of communication.

2. Pakistani English

The use of English in the region that is now Pakistan predates the creation of the state of Pakistan. English was first introduced to this part of the world when the British started trading with India under the guise of the British East India Company. The use and prestige of English grew from that point in time. As the Mughal Empire was disbanded and India became part of the British Empire, English became integrated into the legal, educational, and other systems of the country. After independence from the British Empire, Pakistan maintained English as an official language and since then English has continued to play a key role in the economic, educational, social and political life of the people of the country.

English in British India initially spread because of the economic and social mobility associated with the language. People learned English either via face-to-face contact or through formal schooling. However, since there were not enough native English-speaking teachers to meet the demand, most English teachers were locals. Thus, the input that English language learners received in South Asia was largely from other South Asians. There was relatively little contact with native varieties of English in everyday life. And later, after independence, with the withdrawal of the British, local varieties of English became an even more dominant model for language

learning. As a result of these processes, English in South Asia became ‘nativized’ and ‘vernacularized’ (Kachru 1992; Mahboob and Ahmar 2004; Rahman 2011).

Using a conservative estimate of the literacy rate in Pakistan (where English is a compulsory subject in schools), it can be argued that between 30 – 40 million people speak English in Pakistan to some extent. Of these, a minute proportion speaks Pakistani English as a first language and the majority speak it as an additional language. The proficiency level of people speaking English as an additional language varies greatly. This variation is partly based on the socio-economic background of the speakers and the kind of education that they received (more on this later). In addition to the variation in proficiency levels, Pakistani English also shows a certain degree of regional variation (based on the first language of the speakers).

Currently, there is a dearth of reliable studies that investigate variation in Pakistani English based on region, first language, education, or socio-economic factors, etc. Most work on Pakistani English states that such variation exists but does not provide details (e.g. Baumgardner 1993; Mahboob and Ahmar 2004; and Rahman 2011). The data used in these and other studies tend to be collected from the educated (Urdu-speaking) population in urban settings (although the mother tongues of these speakers are not always disclosed or, perhaps, even known) and from published material (newspapers, magazines, textbooks etc.), where, again, biographical information about the writers is not usually available.

As pointed out earlier, there is some influence of first languages of the speakers on their English. This is specially the case for the phonological and phonetic features of Pakistani English. One reason for this influence of local language on Pakistani English phonology is that English language teaching material in Pakistan typically does not include sections on pronunciation or phonology. As a result, the local accents of the speakers’ local language(s) influence their English phonology, which are reinforced by their teachers, who also maintain a local accent. In contrast to this, there is little evidence to believe that similar first-language influenced variation exists in written Pakistani English (see section 3 for additional discussion of this issue). One reason for this is that English is taught throughout the country using *approved* textbooks. Many of these textbooks, especially those used in government schools, are written by Pakistanis and reflect uses of Pakistani English morphology, syntax, and discursive features (see Mahboob 2009 for some examples of these). These textbooks serve as targets of acquisition for learners of English in the country and therefore have a normalizing function. In addition to (or often instead of) these textbooks, (elite) private schools use imported textbooks (written by non-Pakistanis). These textbooks tend to reflect standard British or American English usage. The differences in the model texts and teaching material across the various school systems in Pakistan is one reason why the educational background of Pakistanis leads to variation in their English (as hinted earlier).

While the texts used in locally produced textbooks and in local English language newspapers and magazines etc. reflect local usage of English, the Ministry of Education used (and continues to use) standard British English as a reference for examination purposes. This has created a mismatch between the language of use in the community and the language of assessment. This problem has still not been resolved in the educational contexts in Pakistan. One way of trying to address this situation is to develop sociolinguistically sound and context-informed descriptions of Pakistani English. These descriptions will, in time, help the teachers, administrators, and test makers appreciate the variation in Pakistani English and either integrate this fact into assessment protocols or, at the least, not penalize students for using local

features in certain contexts. The present paper contributes towards the development of such descriptions in a very small way. It provides a list of features attested in Pakistani English that may be used differently in other varieties of Englishes.

3. Aspects of the Pakistani English WAVE profile

There were only 55 features out of 235 that were attested in the Pakistani data, making Pakistani English look rather close to Standard English. This raises the question of why this might be so. There are various possible responses to this and we will consider two of them here. First, the data collected here was largely collected from previously published studies of Pakistani English and/or written sources of data (including newspapers, magazines, fiction, etc.). These texts are typically edited before publication. Thus, it is possible that many other lexico-morphological properties that might have been present in the original texts were edited out (and therefore not included in the WAVE profile presented here). This is a methodological issue and one that needs to be addressed through a carefully designed research project. The second possibility for a low number of features listed for Pakistani English might have to do with the demographics of people who use English in Pakistan. English is largely learnt in schools and used by educated people. The educational material used in Pakistan is based on British English, especially for descriptions of grammar. Students have to learn the rules of Standard English grammar and are tested on them. Thus, the low proportion of differences between Pakistani English data and Standard English using the WAVE survey might be a result of the impact of education and experience in test taking. These two factors along with the fact that the WAVE project focuses only on morpho-syntactic (and not phonological, semantic, or pragmatic) variation explain why the WAVE profile of Pakistani English does not look very different from that of Standard English.

In order to compensate for the limitations of the data shared above, it might be useful to start further analyses of Pakistani English with a careful reading of descriptions of north Indian English. This is worthwhile because the current morpho-syntactic descriptions of Pakistani English and north Indian English have a lot in common (which is not the case for phonological or semantic/pragmatic features). This is partly because the local languages involved (Urdu, Hindi, Punjabi, Sindhi, etc.) are all related languages and share a lot of features themselves (Hindi and Urdu, the two dominant contact languages, are almost identical syntactically). Descriptions of north Indian English can therefore be a useful resource for linguists working on Pakistani English.

The reference to local languages above is worth some further discussion. Although, as stated in section 2, there is a dearth of evidence documenting the influence of local languages on Pakistani English, some of the WAVE features attested in Pakistani data might perhaps be attributed to the influence of local languages (in particular Urdu, which is the dominant/national language). For example, Urdu does not have articles; it forms questions by inserting a WH-word without inverting the subject-auxiliary; and it is a pro-drop language. These features are noticeable in Pakistani English data as well; see, for example, F60–F65 for articles, F227–F229 for inversion in questions, and F42–F43 for pro-drop. However, given that these features are also common in other varieties of English, it is still difficult to convincingly argue that these are substrate influences, rather than shared features of World Englishes. Furthermore, these particular features are also often found in

descriptions of English language learner data and therefore again suggest that the origins of such features cannot be attributed to local language(s), but to some other phenomenon (or a combination of factors).

4. Beyond the WAVE profile

The WAVE project provides a broad-brush description of a range of morpho-syntactic features across a number of varieties of English; however, it does have a few limitations. Some of the constraints of the WAVE project are:

- a. the WAVE profile does not include or use biographical factors (e.g. age, gender, ethnic background, socio-economic status) to categorize the features;
- b. the WAVE profile does discuss the variation or distribution of individual features within a variety;
- c. the WAVE profile does not have a mechanism to label or categorise any features that are observed in that variety, but not included in the WAVE questionnaire;
- d. the WAVE profile does not always record whether the examples cited are from written or oral sources;
- e. the WAVE profile does not consider the genre or the context in which particular features might be present (or absent);
- f. the WAVE profile does not describe how a particular linguistic form/feature might carry multiple meanings and/or functions.

While it is not feasible to address all of these concerns here, in this section we will briefly explore how Pakistani respondents perceive four of the features that are attested in the WAVE profile of Pakistani English. In addition, we will look at if and how these features correlate with participant background. We will then have a closer look at one of these features based on the background of the participant. Although it might be better to use language production tasks to explore these biographical factors, there is no available database that can provide us with that information at the moment. Therefore, for this paper, we will draw on a large survey that I carried out in 2003 that explored the acceptability of 100 sentences (based on Baumgardner 1995). The survey was completed by 142 Urdu-speaking Pakistanis residing in Karachi, aged between 19 and 61. The four features compared here were selected from different parts of the WAVE survey and were all rated 'B' (neither pervasive, nor rare). The four features, the examples used for each feature in the acceptability survey, and the percentage of the participants that found the feature acceptable are given in Table 1 below.

Feature	Example (used in the acceptability survey)	Percentage of acceptability
use of indefinite article where StE favours zero (F65)	We received <u>a good news</u> at last.	82%
reduced relative phrases preceding head-noun (F199)	The <u>under construction bridge</u> suddenly collapsed.	90%
conjunction doubling: correlative conj (F215)	<u>Although</u> the minister did not discuss the amount of being allocated, <u>yet</u> he assumed that more funds would be needed.	79%
no inversion/no auxiliaries in <i>wh</i> -questions (F228)	<u>Why Christians are being massacred</u> in Beirut?	61.5%

Table 1: Acceptability rate of four Pakistani English features

Table 1 shows that there was considerable variation in the acceptance rate of the four features under examination – even though they were all rated as ‘B’. The most acceptable feature amongst the four was that of preposed relative clauses (F199), which had an acceptability rate of 90%. The participants also found variation in the use of articles (F65) quite acceptable (82%), closely followed by conjunction doubling (F215; 79%). The lowest acceptance rate amongst the four features examined was for *wh*-questions that lacked subject-verb inversion (F228), with an acceptance rate of only 61.5%.

To analyse the survey data further, we investigated five biographical variables: age, years spent studying English, self-evaluation of English language skills, age at which participants first started learning English, and social class. We explored whether these factors correlated significantly with any of the four linguistic features being examined. The results from this analysis are presented in Table 2. Correlations that were significant ($p \leq .05$) are italicised and presented in a shaded box. In interpreting these findings, it needs to be noted that even the findings that showed a significant result here did not have a particularly high coefficient of correlation (they ranged from only 0.2 to 0.25). Thus, while these findings show that the biographical factors of the participants have some impact on their acceptance of various utterances, we need additional research to come up with any specific conclusions about this.

	F65	F199	F215	F228
Age	<i>-0.241</i>	0.108	-0.136	-0.022
Number of years of studying English	-0.077	-0.12	-0.122	0.002
Self evaluation of English skills	<i>-0.254</i>	<i>-0.208</i>	<i>-0.227</i>	0.01
Age at which first started learning English	0.091	0.138	<i>0.238</i>	0.038
Social class	0.022	-0.073	-0.091	0.08

Table 2: Correlation of demographics and acceptance of four Pakistani English features

The results in Table 2 show that only one biographical factor, self-evaluation of English skills, correlated significantly (negatively) with three of the features (F65, F199, and F215). The negative correlations for this factor indicates that the higher the rating that a participant gave to their English, the lower the chances that they would find a given language feature acceptable. This result suggests that participants who

considered their language closer to the standard (i.e. more proficient) were able to identify that the examples given to them were not Standard English. This finding corroborates research on second language testing that assumes that people with higher proficiency are able to identify and use more standard language. In addition to language proficiency, age seemed to have a negative relationship with F65 (indefinite article instead of Standard English zero): the older a participant, the less likely they were to accept examples with non-Standard English use of articles. The last significant finding showed that the age at which participants first started learning English had a positive relationship with the acceptability of F215 (conjunction doubling). This finding implies that the older a participant was when they first started learning English, the more likely they were to accept the feature. This finding suggests that participants who started learning English at an earlier age were more likely to identify conjunction doubling as inappropriate than those who started learning English later.

Three of the four features under examination here also showed that they were related to at least one of the five biographical factors being considered. The fourth feature, however, lack of inversion in *wh*-questions (F228) – did not correlate with any of the five factors considered. This finding suggests that F228 is not statistically discriminated in the data based on the five biographical factors; or, in other words, the acceptance or rejection of this feature does not significantly correlate with any of the five aspects of the participants' background being studied. This feature had the lowest acceptability rate in the set of four features examined (61.5%). This suggests that a large number of the participants – regardless of their background – found this feature unacceptable. The current analysis does not tell us much about what some of the factors might be that can be used to show patterns of variation in responding to this feature. Having said this, a closer look at the raw data does seem to suggest patterns of variation which can be further investigated in future studies.

In looking more closely at the rating for *wh*-questions that lacked subject-verb inversion, we can observe differences in how the feature was rated by participants based on their gender, profession, socio-economic status, and the age at which they started learning English. Let us look at each of these briefly. 65% of the female participants found the feature acceptable, but only 59% of the male participants marked it as appropriate. The profession of the participants seemed to make a difference in their rating of this feature. While 58% of the participants who worked in the education sector (teachers, etc.) found this feature acceptable, 68% of the participants working in other professions marked this feature as appropriate. There was also a gradual decrease in the percentage of people who found this feature acceptable based on their socio-economic status. 62.5% of the participants who identified themselves as belonging to a working class background found this feature acceptable; 57% of the participants who identified themselves as belonging to the middle socio-economic group rated the feature as acceptable; and only 50% of the participants who identified themselves as belonging to the upper socio-economic strata marked this feature acceptable. Finally, the results of the survey also showed that there was a difference in the ratings based on the age at which participants first started learning/using English. In this case, 64% of the participants who started learning English early on in their life (in their primary school; typically before the age of 12) rated this feature as appropriate, and only 44% of the participants who started learning English in their secondary school (age 13+) found this feature acceptable. However, as stated, these differences did not prove significant in a statistical analysis of the data. Thus, while interesting, we need additional data to show how these factors

might influence participants' responses. One thing that these results do demonstrate is that descriptions of Pakistani English which cite 'no inversion/no auxiliaries in *wh*-questions' as a general feature of Pakistani English (e.g. Rahman 2011) need to be revised based on biographical information of the participants etc.

In conclusion, the results of the survey above stress the need to carry out sociolinguistically oriented studies of Pakistani English. In addition to looking at the biographical factors (e.g. age, gender, education, socio-economic status, mother tongue, etc.) of the users of a particular variety, it would also be useful to consider other sociolinguistic factors, such as the context of use, register, formality, modality (written vs. oral), etc. While it is understandable that the WAVE project was not designed to report on all these aspects of language variation, it is important for researchers working on varieties of English to not simply take the WAVE profiles at their face value, but to explore these features in their sociolinguistic contexts.

5. Summary

This paper provided a broad description of some of the morpho-syntactic features of Pakistani English. In order to do this, it first reported on the features identified in the WAVE profile. It then gave a broad introduction to Pakistani English. Next, the paper discussed some of the issues that emerged in analysing the WAVE data. The paper then identified some of the limitations of the WAVE project and compensated this by showing how four features varied in their acceptability based on the participants' backgrounds. This discussion of how biographical factors of the participants of a survey can impact their perception of features reflects the importance of studying the features of a variety (both those included in the WAVE profile and others that may not have been included) within a larger sociolinguistic context.

Finally, I would like to note that while the WAVE project provides an important broad-brush description of a number of varieties of Englishes, this work is only a stepping-stone for more detailed work that needs to be carried out on these Englishes. What we need is not only a survey of features that are attested in various varieties of Englishes, but also who uses these features, where, how, when, and for what functions.

Appendix: Overview of WAVE features attested in Pakistani English

#	feature	Pakistani English example	rating
I. Pronouns, pronoun exchange, nominal gender			
3	alternative forms/phrases for referential (non-dummy) <i>it</i>	<i>Yet sugar has gained a bad reputation through the preaching of many goody-goody doctors, and by an assessment of the ghastly number of diabetic cases in the young. I personally do not care for the thing. That sounds like I'm saying 'I don't care for silver and gold', but I'm no martyr, and it's true.</i>	C
7	<i>me</i> instead of <i>I</i> in coordinate subjects	<i>Juanaid and me went to our favourite restaurant in Zamzama.</i>	B
8	<i>myself/meself</i> instead of <i>I</i> in coordinate subjects	<i>Unfortunately we couldn't keep up with the momentum and we had lost four main wickets in 10-15 overs session, out of which 3 batsmen, Shahid (12), Shakir who solid 6 runs in the middle and Faraz (0) were out in the 15th over alone, when Faisal and myself came to bat.</i>	C
14	no number distinction in reflexives (i.e. plural forms ending in <i>-self</i>)	<i>Till we make ourselves educated and work hard to change ourselves. Nothing will change and noone else but we will suffer.</i>	C
16	emphatic reflexives with <i>own</i>	<i>Except for your own self who do you listen to?</i>	B
34	forms or phrases for the second person plural pronoun other than <i>you</i>	<i>Another leading psychiatrist Dr Haroon Ahmed, attributes Chanda's resilience to the fact that she is so involved that there is little or no time for her own self.</i> <i>Except it didn't quite work: get real, Zardari was told, we'll help you guys out when you guys get serious about reforms.</i>	B
39	plural forms of interrogative pronouns: using additional (free or bound) elements	<i>Shabbir began, "You people make fun of me because I don't know how to look and behave in a modern way. But you don't know that I don't lag behind when it comes to knowledge and wisdom and I will show you all what I am capable of in the upcoming quiz competition!"</i>	B
41	singular <i>it</i> for plural <i>they</i> in anaphoric use (with non-human referents)	<i>Who all have been working hardest to expose the truth there and also to provide legal support to the victims?</i> <i>I looked for the two things Imran recommended on the menu, but according to waiter it is not available.</i>	C
42	object pronoun drop	<i>A: "I am going to Jumma Bazaar and get some mangoes. Should I get any for you?"</i> <i>B: "Yes, please get."</i> <i>A: "What did you do this weekend?"</i> <i>B: "Play games and sleep. I enjoy a</i>	B

43	subject pronoun drop: referential pronouns	<i>lot."</i> <i>A: "Fawzia, can you please bring me a glass of water?"</i> <i>B: "Here already, next to the dictionary!"</i>	B
44	subject pronoun drop: dummy pronouns	<i>Used to be so common, but it is very difficult to find nowadays.</i> <i>Is highly unlikely that he will be here on time!</i>	C
45	insertion of <i>it</i> where StE favours zero	<i>There is a major problem in Pakistan cricket set-up, as it is the case in almost all social segments, and that is dearth of positive approach.</i>	B
II. Noun phrase			
55	different count/mass noun distinctions resulting in use of plural for StE singular	<i>An attempt has been made, hereunder, to piece together these advices and edicts from the Scripture.</i>	C
60	use of definite article where StE has indefinite article	<i>You will pass by the small market [the context of the sentence suggests that an indefinite article be used instead of a definite one] on the right before coming to the intersection.</i>	B
61	use of indefinite article where StE has definite article	<i>A timetable says that the train will leave in 20 minutes. [the context of this utterance suggests that a definite article should be used instead of an indefinite one]</i>	B
62	use of zero article where StE has definite article	<i>He said that Education Ministry is reorganizing English syllabus.</i>	B
63	use of zero article where StE has indefinite article	<i>There I had bought small Scooby-Doo toy.</i>	B
64	use of definite article where StE favours zero	<i>It's not about the money or the fame for me, it's about my desire to play.</i>	B
65	use of indefinite article where StE favours zero	<i>It is the time for us to leave.</i> <i>We received a good news at last.</i>	B
66	indefinite article <i>one/wan</i>	<i>Boy, it was one long wait. [it is also possible that <i>one</i> is used for emphasis]</i>	C
79	regularized comparison strategies: extension of synthetic marking	<i>You thought that no matter what your acts of omission and commission, the slick-willy Husain Haqqani, the bestest diplomat in this universe and in the world's beyond, would work his magic on the Americans and everything would be as hunky-dory for you as it was for the Commando when he committed his acts of omission and commission.</i> [double comparatives may be used to create humour and/or to exaggerate]	C
80	regularized comparison strategies: extension of analytic marking	<i>It was the most happy day of my life.</i>	B
81	<i>much</i> as comparative marker	<i>This was the most hard assignment that I had ever worked on.</i> <i>Ms. Stocker urged the government and the humanitarian community to mount an urgent effort to keep 1.8 million vulnerable survivors alive, warm and</i>	C

		<i>well this winter, which, she said, was expected to be much severe than the last one.</i>	
	III. Verb phrase: tense and aspect		
89	wider range of uses of progressive <i>be</i> + <i>V-ing</i> than in StE: extension to habitual contexts	<i>I am doing it all the time.</i>	B
91	<i>do</i> as habitual marker	<i>They do go fishing.</i> [<i>do</i> used as habitual marker in this context; although it is possible to interpret this ‘do’ as an emphatic marker as well]	B
96	<i>there</i> with past participle in resultative contexts	<i>They way it fell, there's something broken inside for sure.</i>	C
99	levelling of the difference between present perfect and simple past: simple past for StE present perfect	<i>We can only go to Lahore, since my aunt decided to cut down the budget.</i>	B
100	levelling of the difference between present perfect and simple past: present perfect for StE simple past	<i>He quoted a recent Harvard University study which has mentioned that Pakistan's higher education sector was performing better than India and Bangladesh.</i>	B
109	perfect marker <i>already</i>	<i>Dr Afridi is already under custody of the Inter Services Intelligence. Confirming the detention of Dr Afridi by the ISI, a senior security official said the agency was interrogating the medical doctor because he had been found involved in anti-state activities.</i>	C
113	loosening of sequence of tenses rule	<i>Even though I lost, I was happy that I participated in it.</i>	C
119	<i>would</i> for (remote distant) future in contrast to <i>will</i> (immediate future)	<i>I would be going to the movies this weekend – would you like to join me?</i> [e-mail invitation]	B
120	<i>would</i> in <i>if</i> -clauses	<i>If you would like a machine for gaming, then this would be quite suitable.</i>	C
	IV. Verb phrase: modal verbs		
123	present tense forms of modals used where StE has past tense forms	<i>He will like to go, if he gets a chance.</i>	B
127	non-standard use of modals for politeness reasons	<i>They may be a little bit late today.</i> [<i>may be</i> used for politeness instead of ‘will be’]	B
	V. Verb phrase: verb morphology		
133	double marking of past tense	<i>He didn't came yesterday even though he promised.</i>	C
144	use of <i>gotten</i> and <i>got</i> with distinct meanings (dynamic vs. static)	<i>There is mujahedeen activity in Kashmir and it has risen ... and therefore all the mujahedeen groups in Pakistan have gotten [‘become’] more activated ... all are gaining in public support and public sympathy in Pakistan</i>	B
		Vs.	
		<i>They got [‘received’] what they deserved: Latif vs. Earlier, Advocate</i>	

		<i>General Punjab khawaja Harris appeared before the court and submitted only two cases were got registered against the contractor on the direction of CM because the contractor failed to complete development work of a park in Murree in front of CM's House within specified time and over payment.</i>	
145	use of <i>gotten</i> instead of <i>got</i> (i.e. <i>gotten</i> with static meaning or neutralization of the static/dynamic distinction)	<i>One of my neighbors has gotten a bull.</i>	B
147	<i>was</i> for conditional <i>were</i>	<i>I would have been overjoyed if I was a squirrel, but a squirrel I am not.</i>	B
		<i>I don't know how I survived while passing through the machines which sliced, banged and crashed me as if I was their arched enemy.</i>	
	VII. Negation		
159	<i>never</i> as preverbal past tense negator	<i>The clearance never came and it was time for me to leave for Pakistan.</i>	B
165	invariant non-concord tags (including <i>eh?</i>)	<i>You are ill, isn't it?</i>	B
169	non-standard system underlying responses to negative <i>yes/no</i> questions	A: <i>"He does not want to go to the wedding, does he?"</i> B: <i>"Yes, he doesn't."</i>	C
	VIII. Agreement		
174	deletion of auxiliary <i>be</i> : before progressive	<i>He leaving for Peshawar tomorrow.</i>	C
	IX. Relativization		
199	reduced relative phrases preceding head-noun	<i>There is nothing like Amma cooked food!</i>	B
		<i>Apart from one of the loops, an under construction bridge on a nullah at Kashmir Highway, which is part of the project, will not be completed by the end of this month.</i>	
	X. Complementation		
202	unsplit <i>for to</i> in infinitival purpose clauses	<i>A young man was shot dead in the Bohra Pir area just two weeks before he was to leave for the UAE for to join his new job, police said on Thursday.</i>	C
203	<i>for (to)</i> as infinitive marker	<i>If the government opts for to go ahead with the devolution of the HEC, it will sound the death knell for the higher education in Pakistan.</i>	C
204	<i>as what / than what</i> in comparative clauses	<i>Justice (retired) Tariq Mehmood, a well-known lawyer of the Supreme Court, though opines that there is more to the resurfacing of the petition than what meets the eye.</i>	B
		<i>Askari Sahib paid compliments to Aali</i>	

		<i>more for his dohas than his ghazals.</i>	
		<i>He says: "Aali has revived the form of doha in quite a new way. Here we see lively emotions expressed freely more than what we had seen in his ghazals."</i>	
207	substitution of <i>that</i> -clause for infinitival subclause	<i>I want that I should get leave. [other verbs in this category are: hesitate, fail, refrain, think, aim]</i>	C
209	addition of <i>to</i> where StE has bare infinitive	<i>He made me to do it.</i>	C
XI. Adverbial subordination			
215	conjunction doubling: correlative conj	<i>Although I came first, but I was kept waiting for 35 minutes!</i>	B
XII. Adverbs and prepositions			
220	degree modifier adverbs have the same form as adjectives	<i>In the West, people said and still say that if you see a shooting star, it means that you're going to have some real good luck, real soon.</i>	B
222	<i>too; too much; very much</i> 'very' as qualifier	<i>That is too much ['a lot of'] money to keep at home.</i>	B
XIII. Discourse organization and word order			
227	inverted word order in indirect questions	<i>I asked him where is he?</i>	B
228	no inversion/no auxiliaries in <i>wh</i> -questions	<i>What this is made of?</i>	B
229	no inversion/no auxiliaries in main clause <i>yes/no</i> questions	<i>He came here by bus?</i>	B
235	<i>like</i> as a quotative particle	<i>And my friend was like "No way!"</i>	C

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