

Part I

English in selected regional and national habitats with a glance at the role of outward-bound communication needs

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1 The development of English in Pakistan

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Abstract

This chapter traces the history of the privileged role of English in the domains of power in Pakistan. English entered these domains and became a marker of the elite culture in South Asia. Its presence in the education sector, which is the supplier of people skilled in English to all other domains, is given special attention. As English became a second language, it became a non-native variety in its own right as it did in African and other Asian countries. This variety is called Pakistani English (PakE) and some aspects of it are described syntactically. Moreover, the way English is used informally, and sometimes even in formal written discourses, involves the use of expressions from indigenous languages. Code-switching is regarded as a form of linguistic corruption or incompetence by some, but, among other things, is a device for signalling power-relations or class. It may serve the function of crossing into the desiderated class of fluent English-speakers. In order to illustrate that code-switching is not English-induced, samples of it in Persian and Urdu from the Medieval Ages will be provided; they show that code-switching is not a corruption of English but is both local and recognized in *high literature*. By presenting historical and sociolinguistic background, this chapter will provide a more holistic understanding of the interaction of English with the history of South Asia in general and that of Pakistan in particular.

1.1 Introduction

The penetration of English in Pakistan is too obvious to need proof. In a recent paper, Rahman (2006) discussed the role of English in the domains of education, media, entertainment and literature with a view to illustrating how deeply and in what ways English has penetrated these domains. This chapter updates that study with data from 2006 to 2013. It adds material on the phonetic, phonological and lexical features of the non-native variety of English called Pakistani English (PakE). It touches upon code-switching, that is, the use of words, phrases and sentences of indigenous languages (mostly Urdu) while speaking English.

1.2 Review of literature

In all publications about English in the world, even about South Asia, Pakistan is either lumped together with India or provided with passing reference without specifying in which ways the story of English in Pakistan is different from that of other South Asian countries. It is true, however, that there is an overlap in the stories of India and Pakistan, so the various studies of English in India (Kachru 1982, 1983; Hosali 2005) also apply to Pakistan but there are differences which can be brought out if the focus of research is shifted to Pakistan. This is done in Baumgardner's 'Pakistani English' (1987). That study was followed by Rahman's (1991) monograph and Baumgardner's (1993) collection of chapters. The book contains Baumgardner's earlier articles and new articles by Pakistani authors like Saleemi, Talaat and Shamim. After that, Baumgardner conducted a survey on the acceptability of PakE among teachers and journalists (1995). Since 2002, Ahmar Mahboob has contributed studies on PakE (Mahboob 2002, 2004, 2009; Mahboob and Ahmar 2004).

The specific debates on whether English should be the medium of instruction, and at what levels, were discussed in Rahman (1997b) and Mustafa (2011). Mansoor did two surveys of students' attitudes towards English (1993; 2002: 560–75). Mahboob (2005: 30) and Mansoor (2005: 408) looked at the demand for English in education. A major focus was English Language Teaching, which was encouraged by the British Council and the American Centers since the 1980s. The Society of Pakistani English-Language Teachers (SPELT) pioneered the teaching of English through modern techniques in the 1980s and continues to keep up the momentum by holding conferences once in a year in Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad. They have now started publishing a journal. Conference proceedings, such as the ones held by the Aga Khan University's English Language Unit, have been edited by Mansoor et al. (2004, 2009). In short, since 1987, there has been more activity in research on and the teaching of English than there was in the first forty years of Pakistan's existence.

1.3 English in the domains of power

The constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan (1973; Article 251) stipulates that the national language of Pakistan will be Urdu but English will be the official language for the next fifteen years (up to 1988). This date came and passed, and English continued to be the working language in the most powerful institutions of the state: the higher bureaucracy, the higher judiciary, the officer corps of the armed forces, the highest levels of government, etc. English is also ubiquitous in the elite institutions of the corporate sector. Besides the education sector where it is most visible, it is the language of elite think-tanks, NGOs, banks, media and the entertainment sectors. Let us take schools.

Table 1.1. *Schools with medium of instruction 2006 (Census, Private 2006: 37, see Table 23)*

No of schools (2006)	Medium of instruction				
	Urdu	Sindhi	English	Other	
Total	227, 791	64.6%	15.5%	10.4%	9.5%
Public	151,744	68.3%	22.4%	1.4%	7.9%
Private	76, 047	57.2%	1.8%	28.4%	12.7%

PS: Figures add up to 100.1 in the original.

Table 1.2. *Schools with medium of instruction 2012 (ASER 2013: 17)*

Region (schools only)	Medium of instruction	
	Government schools	Private schools
Baluchistan	Urdu (100%)	Urdu (49%) English (51%)
Azad Jammu and Kashmir	Urdu (97%) English (3%)	Urdu (32%) English (68%)
FATA	Urdu (80%) English (2%) Pashto (17%)	Urdu (12%) English (86%) Pashto (2%)
Gilgit, Baltistan	Urdu (68%) English (32%)	Urdu (16%) English (84%)
Islamabad Capital Territory	Urdu (97%) English (3%)	Urdu (32%) English (68%)
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Urdu (66%) English (3%) Pashto (30%)	Urdu (23%) English (70%) Pashto (7%)
Punjab	Urdu (50%) English (50%)	Urdu (35%) English (65%)
Sindh	Urdu (2%) English (1%) Sindhi (97%)	Urdu (59%) English (35%) Sindhi (6%)

Note: Figures do not add up to 100 per cent in the original, because some schools are classified as 'mixed', that is, they are not teaching in any one language alone.

There is a significant increase in the proportion of English-medium schools in Pakistan from 2006 till 2012.

Table 1.2 provides a basis of comparison.

It is clear from these figures that English-medium schools have increased as a percentage of all schools and that the private sector is the largest provider of such

institutions. Indeed, figures for urban schools in the private sector in the Punjab are reported to be as high as 91 per cent of the total number of private schools (ASER 2013: 138). However, the quality of these schools and whether they actually teach in English cannot be ascertained. In the case of government schools in the Punjab, which go by the name of English medium, we can be sure that they do not actually teach in English and the phenomenal increase in their proportion is illusory.

1.4 The demand for English-medium schooling

A number of surveys has been carried out to determine the demand for English among students, their parents and teachers in the country. Mansoor's (2005: 408) and Mahboob's (2002: 30) surveys indicate that English is the preferred medium of instruction both of students and their parents especially at the higher level. The present author's survey (Rahman 2002: 595) seems to suggest that English as a medium of instruction is mostly desired only by those who are already being educated in it, while others regard it as something of a burden which prevents their social and academic advancement. However, conversations with students and parents have shown how keen parents are to invest in giving their children an English-medium education so that they can advance in the world.

A more reliable indicator of the increased demand for English-medium education is the increase in the percentage of those who appear in the British Ordinary (O) and Advanced (A) level examinations as opposed to those who opt for the Pakistani matriculation and intermediate examinations. This increase since 2002 is shown in Table 1.3.

1.5 English for empowerment

Because of a perceived link between the acquisition of English-language skills with social and economic status and power, Pakistani parents and teachers assume that English should be the medium of instruction from the very beginning, which is the current practice in English-medium schools. However, several international studies have suggested that all children should be educated initially through the mother-tongue (e.g., Atkinson 1987; Xhemaili 2013). Such a policy has been also recommended by some Pakistani scholars. They argue that, although Pakistan has seventy-two languages (Lewis et al. 2015), it is only in the large cities that many linguistic communities live close together and they cannot be taught in their mother-tongues. However, it is possible to do so in concentrations of rural communities, which are mainly monolingual. After basic schooling (three to five years), children may be taught through the Language of Wider Communication (LWC), which may be Urdu except in Sindh, where Sindhi is being used in rural schools. At university level,

Table 1.3. Increase in those taking British examinations

Year	Matric+ Intermediate	O + A levels	Total
2002	1,529,014 98.95%	16,222 1.05%	1,545,236
2013	2,103,000 97%	65,000 3%	2,168,000

Sources: For O' and A' levels, British Council, Pakistan. For Pakistani examinations of 2002, all Boards of Intermediate and Secondary Education. For 2013, ESP (2014: 135, see Table 10.8).¹

however, English should be used as medium of instruction. To facilitate the transition from secondary schools to universities, English should also be taught as a subject at all levels (Rahman 1996: 256, 2002: 535; Coleman 2010). The policy of teaching English as a foreign language and as a subject has never been implemented because the most powerful sections of Pakistani society have invested heavily in English-medium schools. This being the case, the Punjab government thought it could satisfy popular demand by merely converting its Urdu-medium schools into English-medium ones (Govt. of the Punjab, Schools Education Department, Lahore, personal communication, March 29, 2009). In 2011, almost three years after the order of the government was issued in 2009, a survey by the British Council indicated that:

- Sixty-two per cent private school teachers and 56 per cent of government school teachers registered scores in the lowest band of the Aptis test which tests for competence in English.²
- In English-medium schools, 44 per cent teachers were in the lowest band.
- Only 7 per cent of teachers aged 51 and over scored in the pre-intermediate and intermediate categories. However, those aged 21–35 scored better, that is, 24 per cent were at this level [PEELI (Punjab Education and English Language Initiative 2013)]

Despite the nomenclature of English-medium schools, the teachers mostly teach in Urdu or Punjabi (PEELI 2013: 22–3). The SAHE [The Society for Advancement of Higher Education] report comes to the conclusion that ‘if the decision is to teach English from the very beginning, then it needs to be taught at the primary level as a subject from Grade-1, or later depending on the availability of competent teachers and not as “MO1”’ (SAHE 2013:40).

Table 1.4. *Language choice in print media (Monitor 2010)*

Most read dailies		
Name of newspaper	Language	Daily circulation
<i>Jang</i>	Urdu	850,000
<i>Nawa-e-Waqt</i>	Urdu	500,000
<i>The News</i>	English	120,000
<i>Dawn</i>	English	109,000

Table 1.5. *Language in print media (Asif 2013)*

English dailies and periodicals				
Year	Total dailies/periodicals		English Dailies/periodicals	
	Number	Circulation	Number	Circulation
1997	4,455	3,912,301	368	485,073 (dailies)
2006	1,464	8,208,874	133	905,755 (dailies)

1.6 English in the media

Though the English-using elite is small in number, the circulation of English dailies and periodicals is highly influential since they are read by the decision-makers and other influential elite pressure groups.

A recent trend in printing is the decrease in the number of dailies and periodicals but an increase in their circulation. This has affected both Urdu and English printed material in circulation as Table 1.5 indicates.

Besides print media, there are English-language radio stations. Radio Pakistan, a state-sponsored institution, launched its first 24/7 English radio channel (planet FM 94) on November 14, 2009 in Islamabad (Planet 2009) and in Lahore on August 25, 2012 (Agha 2012). Since 2002, more than one-hundred radio stations are working in Pakistan and many have bilingual programmes in which people code-switch between English and Urdu to express informality. Moreover, a number of English-language programmes are aired on Urdu channels. In short, English is seen as the passport to a middle class lifestyle, recognition and prestige in Pakistani society and is, therefore, in demand.

1.7 The English-speaking elite

According to *Wikipedia*, 49 per cent of the population of Pakistan speaks English (English 2014), but this is manifestly wrong since literacy, and that

Table 1.6. *Performance in the verbal section of English tests (ETS 2012; IELTS 2011)*

Country	No. of test-takers (GRE only)	Score (GRE)	IELTS 2011 general training
World	466,674	151.0	N.A.
USA	318,240	152.9	8.0
India	33,504	144.7	6.1
China	29,255	145.9	6.0
Pakistan	2,212	147.0	6.1
Arabic speakers	NA	NA	5.2
Persian speakers	NA	NA	5.9
Turkish speakers	NA	NA	5.7

too in Urdu, is only 60 per cent (ESP 2014). In India, those who are fluent in English were 5 per cent in 2005 (English 2014), and this is one indicator of the size of speakers fluent in English in Pakistan. By fluent speakers, I mean those who speak English habitually even in private and send their children to elite English-medium schools which prepare them for the British O' and A' level examinations. This elite is small: between 2 and 3 per cent of the population according to the census reports of 1951 (Tables 7 and 8a) and 1961 (Tables 5.1 and 5.5); 2–4 per cent according to Rahman (2006: 221); 4 per cent according to Mahboob Ahmar (2004: 1005) and 11 per cent according to Crystal (1997: 57–9). Crystal does not reveal how he came up with this number. According to my estimate fluent English-speakers are about 3.2 per cent of the population, that is about 6 million people in 2013.³

But whatever its size, this elite is articulate and 'fashionable'. It used to be connected to the elite civil services and the officer corps of the armed forces up till the 1960s but is now connected with the corporate sector, NGOs, think-tanks and upper class urban social groups. These people read material in English, listen to English songs or rap (with code-switching between Urdu and English) and aspire to study abroad.

This elite tended towards British English and habits but is now said to be picking up certain sartorial, culinary and linguistic fashions from America.

1.8 Affordability of English-medium education

Table 1.7 suggests that even for middle class households, the tuition fees of elite English-medium schools are a disproportionately large proportion of their income.

The mean proportion of expenditure is 24.97 per cent of the estimated average middle class monthly income, which is unaffordable for many people.⁴ Nevertheless, parents spend this money foregoing other things on the assumption that private English-medium schools teach English more efficiently than government vernacular-medium ones.

Table 1.7. *Monthly expenditure on elite English-medium schooling in Lahore*

Name of school	Level/type of school certificate	Monthly fees	Proportion of fees to income
The New School	International Baccalaureate (IB)	35,000	28.81%
Learning Alliance	IB	37,000	30.45%
Aitchison College	A-Level	33,150	27.28%
Grammar School	A-Level	24,000	19.75%
LACHS	A-Level	22,575	18.58%

English also enters the lives of working-class people as they negotiate urban life styles at even lower levels. Words connected with driving (*car, jeep, bus, accelerator, clutch, brakes, etc.*), flying (*airport, boarding pass, ticket, air hostess, pilot, take-off, land, etc.*), offices (*file, meeting, time, secretary, clerk, assistant, officer, etc.*); commerce (*shopping, bank, money-changer, etc.*) and education (*school, college, university, teacher, professor, principal, registrar, vice chancellor, dean, department, etc.*) are part of the lexicon of barely literate people working in the cities. The indigenous equivalents, often borrowed from Arabic and Persian, are too abstruse to be used so English words are in popular use. The computer has forced young people with very little understanding of English to handle e-mail, visit websites and follow instructions.

The use of English keeps increasing with the rise in one's social class, the nature of one's job and level of education. In addition, one's control over the language keeps increasing, as the section on varieties of PakE below suggests. Moreover, one needs to note that the present author observed in his previous work that it was considered an insult to say that someone was speaking this variety and nobody confessed to doing it. However, in 2005 Mahboob, in a survey of 226 faculty members teaching English and students of Karachi University, found that 66.8 per cent informants called their English PakE, 21.7 per cent called it British English and 6.6 per cent thought it was American English (Mahboob 2009: 181).

1.9 Pakistani English

The phonetic and phonological features of Indian English (IndE) have been described by many scholars besides Kachru, such as Masica (1966) and Verma (1957). The features of PakE were first described by Rahman (1991: 18–40). However, Mahboob and Ahmar (2004: 1010) have argued that some features of this variety are in a state of flux and others differ from person to person or from situation to situation. One such feature, for instance, is rhoticity, which is not as fixed as the table below suggests.

Table 1.8. *Phonetic and phonological features of PakE*

Primary stress is marked with bold letters.

Feature	Variety A	Variety B	Variety C	Variety D
1 Replacement of /ə / and /ð/ by /θ / & /d/	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
2 Aspiration of word-initial /p ^h /, /t ^h / and /k ^h /	Not aspirated	Not aspirated	Not aspirated	Not aspirated
3 Replacement of /t / & /d / by retroflex /ʈ & /ɖ /	Replaced	Replaced	Replaced	Replaced
4 Diphthongs of R P replaced by monophthongs	/oo / & /ei / replaced by /o / & /e /	as in A	as in A	as in A
5 No intrusive /r / between two vowels	The idea is /ðəaidiəŋ iz/	as in A	as in A	as in A
6 /l / is not velarized in positions where it is in R P	Clear /l / becomes dark /l / at the end of words	Not velarized	Not velarized	Not velarized
7 Vowels /ɒ / and /ɔ / are replaced by /a /	/ɒ / & /ɔ / are used	Not used	Not used	Not used
8 /v / & /w / are not distinguished	They are distinguished	Not distinguished	Not distinguished	Not distinguished
9 Rhoticity	Non-rhotic	Rhotic	Rhotic	Rhotic
10 Stress patterns different from R P. (i.e. stress-timed)	same as RP	different (syllable-times)	different (syllable-times)	different (syllable-times)
11 Verbs and nouns have the same stress	They are stressed as in RP Ob ject (n) Ob ject (v)	Mostly same stress as in left column	Both syllables carry equal stress	Same stress as in variety C
12 Epenthetic vowels are inserted so as to preserve word-final consonantal clusters.	Not inserted	Not inserted	Urdu speakers insert /ɪ / according to these phonological rules: ϕ - /ɪ / # - [+ cont] [-cont] Punjabi speakers insert /ə / according to this formula: ϕ - /ə / # [+ cont] - [cont]	Rules given in the column to the left are used in this variety and most speakers also used the following rule. ϕ - /ə / # [+ cons] - [-cons] #

At this point, it should be mentioned that PakE has four subvarieties. There are, for instance, varieties which differ only in a few phonological–phonetic features from Received Pronunciation (RP), but are otherwise identical to British Standard English (BSE). This variety is used by people who have been exposed, generally for long periods, to BSE spoken in the RP accent. These are the fluent English-speakers mentioned above. This variety can be called Anglicized English and, in order to distinguish it from other varieties, we may call it Variety A. The acrolect (Variety B), differs from BSE in the dimensions of morphology and syntax as well as lexis and semantics in addition to that of phonology. It is used by Pakistanis who have been educated in English-medium elite schools or have had much exposure to BSE and RP later. Many good journalists, administrators, professionals and other upper middle class people write the acrolect or, at least, speak this variety of English. Most other people, however, write and speak the mesolect (Variety C), which differs more from BSE than the previous two varieties. Such people are in middle and upper middle class occupations but they have generally been educated in Urdu medium schools and have not been much influenced by native varieties of English. The basilect (Variety D) is used by clerks, minor officials and typists, who have not had much education. This kind of English is full of clichés and is the least intelligible variety for foreigners. It is probably this variety which corresponds to Indian Pidgin English (Mehrotra 1982: 155).

With this explanation, it is possible to summarize the features of PakE in Table 1.8.

Other features, dependent upon the first language, are the substitution of /p/ for /f/ and of a vowel for /h/ by Pashto-speakers. The non-segmental features, too, provide a distinctive intonation to varieties of PakE.

The morphology and syntax of the varieties of PakE are not different from IndE (see Dustoor 1954; Verma 1957; Kachru 1965, 1982, 1983; Hosali 2005). The lexical features, too, are shared with IndE because of a shared history (Yule and Burnell 1866). The differences from IndE are in borrowing from Islam, indigenous cultures and Pakistan's different experiences from India since 1947 (Rahman 1991: 66–8; Mahboob 2009: 182–4). To take the Islamic component first, Mahboob (2009: 188) says that 'the English language in Pakistan represents Islamic values and embodies South Asian Islamic sensitivities'. Turning to the word 'drone', recent uses as a verb such as 'to drone', 'droning' and 'droned' have entered the lexicon only a few years ago. They refer to the United States' use of drones to fire missiles on perceived terrorist targets in parts of Pakistan. Thus, the verb now means 'to destroy', 'to kill', 'to annihilate', and is used for anything from human beings to plans and ideas. Although the word reflects a common word pattern and could be used in other varieties of English, it is being used in Pakistan because of an ongoing debate about the use of drones in parts of the country.

Table 1.9. *Words used in PakE*

Word	Meaning
<i>Booty</i>	Material prepared for cheating in an examination. It probably comes from the Urdu word <i>booty</i> , which means herb. Some people, however, maintain that it comes from the English word meaning 'loot', 'captured wealth'. Also used in IndE.
<i>Bun-Kabab</i>	A young person educated in Urdu-medium schools belonging to the lower-middle and middle classes. Opposite of 'burger'.
<i>Burger</i>	A young person educated in English-medium schools
<i>Children</i>	Besides the ordinary meaning of the word it is also used for 'students' of all ages even those in a university. In the latter sense it is a direct translation of the Urdu and Punjabi words ' <i>bachche</i> '.
<i>Copy</i>	Notebook. Also used in IndE
<i>Curd</i>	Yoghurt. Also used in IndE
<i>Dish</i>	Voluptuous, sexy girl. Used only in conversation among boys.
<i>Drone</i>	Verb from <i>drone</i> , meaning 'to destroy'
First and family name	There is no strict distinction between first and family names; hence, titles and formal forms of address are used with first names. Farzana Khan is more likely to be referred to as Miss Farzana than Miss Khan and so on. Also used in IndE.
Gulluism	Disruptive conduct presumably supported by people in authority. Gained prevalence in Pakistan's English-language press from June 2014, when a policeman called Gullu Butt, in plain clothes, vandalized vehicles allegedly to intimidate the Chief Minister of Punjab, Shahbaz Sharif's, political opponents.
<i>Lift</i>	To encourage, or give attention to someone (especially in a romantic way); e.g. 'the girls give lift to boys in good cars'. However, lift also means elevator and to allow someone to ride one's car as a favour.
<i>Mummy-Daddy type</i>	Same as 'burger' above.
<i>Mutton</i>	Used for goat-meat and not sheep-meat, as in English-speaking countries. Also used in IndE.
<i>Pass out</i>	Graduate. Also used in IndE.
<i>Ragging</i>	Hazing; teasing; bullying. Also used in IndE.
<i>Shopper</i>	Plastic bags for carrying goods.
<i>Tension</i>	Worry. To 'take tension' means to 'worry' (Mohsin 2009: 22).
<i>Tight</i>	Beautiful or sexy girl. Pronounced /taet/. Used only in conversation between boys.
<i>Yo</i>	More positive than 'burger'. Fashionable in a Westernized way.

Another feature of PakE is the use of English words in Urdu and vice-versa. This ranges from borrowing only a few words to switching between English and Pakistani languages, especially Urdu, in informal conversation. Code-switching has been defined in various ways (Nilep 2006). With our interest in real-life situations, sociocultural approaches are most useful such as the markedness

model (Myers-Scotton 1983, 1995, 1998); the relationship of code-switching with identity (Heller 1988: 1–24) and the study of interaction (Auer 1984). Most relevant here are studies that look at code-switching between English and Hindi in India. Indeed, the classical studies on the phenomenon were carried out by John J. Gumperz (1958, 1971, 1992). Later research tried to identify constraints on Hindi–English ‘code mixing’ (Singh 1995: 32–40). These are also applicable to Urdu–English code-switching, though the only Pakistani study by Talaat (2002) does not mention any.

I will situate code-switching in the context of history, the expression of class identity and social power in Pakistan. English entered India when the first few Englishmen arrived as envoys, merchants and travellers in the Mughal courts of the sixteenth century. One feature of British linguistic usage in India was code-switching, the use of Hindustani words in English conversation and vice-versa (Foster 1906: 247). This is a feature of South Asians’ speaking English even now, but the British used the typically imperative forms even on such occasions. An example is as follows.

Decko, you want this admi abhi, but you ain’t goin’ to get ‘im. Tumhara nahin. He’s mine, mehra admi, sumja? If you want to lurro, come on (Steel, Voices in the Night, 1900 in Lewis 1991: 12).⁵

While this is a caricature, former British officers who have spent their lives in India use many Hindustani words they had become accustomed to. In India it was an expression of their power – an insouciant way of saying that they did not care for native linguistic norms and mixed languages if they so desired. In England, however, it was an identity symbol – a way of proclaiming that they had dared to serve the empire and were, therefore, superior to stay at homes they were talking to (Rahman 2011: 199–225).

The mixing of languages has a tradition that goes back to the medieval period in India, when Persian was the language of power. Verses of this kind attributed to Ameer Khusrau (1253–1325), a major poet and intellectual, are considered high literature. An example is:

Zahal-e-Miskeen makan taghافل /Durae nainan banae batian.
Ke tab-e-hijran nadaram ae jan /na leho kahe lagae chattiyan.

(Do not be indifferent to my sorry state/she rolls her eyes makes excuses. That I cannot bear separation from you/Oh! Why won’t you clasp me to your breast.)

The first line in bold is in Persian, the second one is in a variety of the common ancestor of Hindi–Urdu. Here is a couplet by Moazullah Khan Mohmmad, a Pashto-speaking poet living in India (Fl. 1674–1715), in three languages, Persian, Hindi–Urdu and Pashto. The Persian words are in bold, the Hindi ones are underlined and the Pashto is in italics.

sajan za lutf o karam ke amshabla ma ghariban che khwa pe khwa del qasam bamushaf jo gham khushi soon la dera meene na heer zama de) (Bukhari 1958).

(My beloved, out of graciousness and favour, has bestowed her favours upon me/ I swear on her radiant countenance! That in ecstasy I have forgotten sorrow.)

In short, code-switching is not ephemeral and confined to spontaneous, informal conversation. It is used for literary effect and occupies a prestigious niche in Urdu literature. Code-switching has also been used by creative writers for characterization, for comic effect and other literary purposes. Its use by the Pakistani novelists Bapsi Sidhwa, Zulfikar Ghose and others has been noted by the present author (Rahman 1990) and it is a perennial theme of comic shows and dramas on TV). Even more than TV the music industry has made code-switching a fashion in Pakistani music. Code-switching between Urdu and English is considered 'cool' in modern songs.

And yet one hears the drawing room and classroom complaint that our children do not know any language and the proof which is offered is that they code-switch between the two languages. Parents and teachers, who generally offer this criticism of the younger generation, generally do not know the historical role of code-switching described above. Examples of this phenomenon are legion with the film '*Jab we met*' being a trendsetter. In the title of this film, only '*jab*' (when) is Urdu-Hindi while the rest is English.

Examples of code-switching in informal conversation are excessively numerous to be enumerated. This kind of borrowing and code-switching is also a feature of IndE as mentioned earlier. Talaat (2002: 133–5) has several other examples. Her hypothesis is that phrases, idioms and words from the indigenous linguistic and cultural traditions are the most creative source of code-switching.

In my view, Myers-Scotton's markedness model mentioned earlier, along with the relationship of code-switching with identity and interaction, provide insights into why Pakistani speakers, competent in both Urdu and English, code-switch between them. According to Myers-Scotton, each language in a multilingual society like Pakistan is associated with certain social roles – called 'rights and obligations' (RO) by her – and is indexed to a certain identity, a certain social role, in a given context. So a conversation is a process of continual negotiation in which one starts with an unmarked code (say English) but then explores one's linguistic repertoire by using Urdu or uses that language so as to signal informality and ease (Myers-Scotton 1995: 113–42). Even more relevant are the insights of code-switching as a 'political strategy' (Nilep 2006: 12). Also relevant is the work of Monica Heller who argues that groups use one code to maintain symbolic dominance, while the dominated ones use codes to resist that dominance. In his research on code-switching in

India, Gumperz (1971: 183) pointed out that ‘a switch from Hindi to Urdu to English may have similar status-marking functions’. In Pakistan, English being indexed to a sophisticated, urban, Westernized identity, signals the speaker’s position as a member of the urban elite. The switch to Urdu, then, signals the desire to be relaxed, to unbend, to be at ease and often to be condescending to those who may not be fluent in English. Those less proficient in the language use it to signal entry into the elite but have to slip back into Urdu, because they are merely ‘crossing’ (Rampton 1995) into a desired identity role. However, a few may even ‘pass’ for fluent English-speakers in short, formulaic interactions. Briefly, the social functions of code-switching are related to the linkage of English with power, class, sophistication and elite status in Pakistan.

1.10 Conclusion

English is not only a colonial legacy any longer in Pakistan. It has been appropriated by the elite – the governing elite, the professionals, the educational and research elite, the cultural elite – in order to empower itself and to modernize the country. Empowerment is a consequence of treating English as symbolic capital, which is concentrated in a certain section of the urban, educated elite and functions as the identity marker of that elite. The second objective, both of the British and the Pakistani post-independence elite, is that of modernizing the state which makes English a professional necessity. But the two objectives are mismatched. The first requires a concentration of the capital of English in a small elite; the second its dispersal in as large a population as possible. The first needs English to continue to function as an impediment to those outside the elite circles where it is entrenched. The second would have these privileged circles abolished while making English a tool of modernization, a means of transcending one’s socioeconomic class for far more people and far more easily than it is now. Being a world language, English is very much in demand for its modernizing role and, therefore, being cognizant of its empowering potential, ordinary people invest in it disproportionately to their income. This makes English both a class-oppressor and a class-changer in Pakistan.

This account of English in Pakistan has taken note of the kind of English written and spoken in the country. It is a non-native variety – Pakistani English – which comes in several subvarieties indexed to the level of exposure to English and class. While speaking the language in informal contexts, there is a lot of mixing of words and sentences of the indigenous languages. This phenomenon of code-switching has been examined in a historical context to suggest that it is a universal and age-old phenomenon and the popular idea that it is an indicator of linguistic incompetence is incorrect. On the contrary, it may be an indicator of competence in English along with Pakistani languages as well as a means

for indicating switches between social identities in the context of power, class and status. It is also an indicator that English has been indigenized in important ways in Pakistan.

NOTES

- 1 The figures for total enrollment in the ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth grades have been halved on the assumption that only half the enrolled students will take the final examinations. This makes comparison possible with figures of 2002 given for final examinations of the tenth (matriculation) and twelfth (intermediate).
- 2 Aptis testing was designed by the British Council and tests the ability in speaking, listening, reading and writing English.
- 3 Students in the O' and A' level examinations of 2013 were 3 per cent (65, 000) of the total of 2,168,000. The 3 per cent of the total enrollment of 41 million is 1,230,000. Assuming that every young person in school has five members of the family not in school, the number comes to 6,150,000, which comes to 3.2 per cent of the total population (192 million in 2013) (ESP 2014; British Council). The good performance of Pakistani students in English in GRE [Graduate Record Examination] and the IELTS [International English Language Testing Service] tests – especially the latter compared to other, mostly Muslim, countries – indicates that the competence in English is high in Pakistan.
- 4 Income is calculated using the figure of USD 13,500 per year which is PKR 121, 500 per household per month @ 1 USD= PKR 108 in December 2013 (McKinsey 2010 in Nayab 2011: 6). Pakistani economists use the above definition of 'middle class'.
- 5 *Decko* is *dekho*= see; *admi*= man; *abhi*=just now; *tumhara*=yours; *nahin*= is not; *mehra* is *mera*= mine; *sunja* is *sumjhe*= do you understand [*sumjha* is the impolite form which does not go with *tumhara*]; *lurro*= to fight.