



Indigenisation of English: A Sociolinguistic Study of Automobile Jargons in Pakistani Context

¹Muhammad Naeem ²Dr. Muhammad Haseeb Nasir

¹M.Phil. English Linguistic Scholar at NUML, Islamabad mnaeemenglish@gmail.com

²Assistant Professor (English Department) at NUML, Islamabad

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*Corresponding author: (M. Nasir)

mhnasir@numl.edu.pk

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Abstract

This study explores the phenomenon of language contact and investigates how English lexicon is being indigenized in Pakistani context. The researchers have conceptualized the model given by Kachru (1983) to understand the nature of indigenization of English in the context of automobile jargons and further explored how the variation in language use is being an aid for the development of Pakistani English as a distinctive variety. This study targeted 60 vocabulary items related to automobile jargon and investigated the nature of variation in the selected lexical items in terms of their use in Pakistani context by collecting data from automobile mechanics in Rawalpindi, Pakistan. The researchers found that contact of English with local languages is reshaping features of English at phonological, lexical and grammatical level. The researchers found phonological, lexical and grammatical deviation and coinage of new and locally rooted terms for a number of English lexical items. The vocabulary items are indigenized by receiving the shade of local languages. The findings of this study attest the presence of a new variety of English which strengthens Kachru's stance that new and indigenized varieties of English are being established in non-native contexts as the result of contextualized contact between English and local languages.

Introduction

The spread of English started in early 15th century and there has been no end to it. With its first dispersal to North America, Australia and New Zealand, and second dispersal to Africa, and Asia, English as a language has undergone many changes owing to cultural, political, social factors. Particularly, the late 20th century has been truly an era of language revolution as English appeared as the most powerful language and got the status of international language of trade, commerce, education and social media. This language revolution, along with revolution in technology, science, and media created a very interesting scenario for linguistic landscape of English in different regions and countries.

The contact of different languages with English created linguistic mosaics and gave birth to the emergence of new varieties of English. English, once the language of British Isles saw a widespread and is now a global lingua franca. British English still enjoys the status of the standard variety but it is not the only standard variety, which makes the case even more interesting. There has always been a debate about the legitimacy and categorisation of the offspring varieties of English and many linguists have tried to state the case of World Englishes. The first and perhaps the oldest model about the expansion of various varieties of English was proposed by Peter Stevens in 1980s which explains the geographic spread of English. In addition to that, Braj Kachru, McArthur, Modiano and Pennycook have also developed models to describe and categorize the varieties of English, out of which Kachru's model is the most useful and influential (Jenkins, Global Englishes, 2015). Kachru has placed Pakistani English in the outer circle, also referred to as the norm developing circle (Kachru B. B., World Englishes: Approaches, issues and resources, 1992). This circle

includes the Englishes of former British colonies in Asia and Africa. The Englishes of this circle are greatly influenced by the British variety of English and follow the norms provided by the Englishes of inner circle.

Problem Statement

Automobile industry is one of the biggest markets at international level. Automobile jargon includes nomenclature of spare parts, lexical entries about vehicle anatomy, description of various aspects of vehicle functionality, engine health and mechanical system. These vocabulary items are widely used when talking about vehicles. Interestingly, these vocabulary items are not used by mechanical engineers only but are part of daily use. English language has been in contact with regional languages of Pakistan since the beginning of colonial period. It went through various changes and has been studied from different aspects to find out the nature of contact, how English is being indigenized and how it is paving ways for establishment of Pakistani English as a significant variety. This study aims to find out how automobile lexicons are used in local context of Pakistan and how far it is helpful in the development of Pakistani English as an independent variety.

Research Objectives

This study aims to serve the following objectives

- i. To highlight the significance of indigenization in creation of new varieties of English by exploring linguistic repertoire of automobile jargons
- ii. To establish a case for Pakistani English as a distinctive variety of English

Research Questions

This research aims to find out answers to the following questions.

1. How does indigenization of English in automobile jargon signify the creation of new variety of English in Pakistani context?
2. How is linguistic repertoire of automobile industry being indigenized in local contexts of Pakistan?

Significance of the Study

This study signifies the future prospects of English Language in Pakistan. It explores how English is constantly spreading and expanding its radius, thus giving birth to new and distinctive varieties of English which are not only different from the British English but interestingly unique as well. This study paves ground for further exploration into many other sociolinguistic arenas where English is being used and is undergoing the process of indigenization.

Delimitation

The researchers have only presented the case of indigenization of English in the context of vocabulary items used regarding automobile. Since Pakistan is a heterolingual country, with a linguistic landscape of more than fifty languages, each having a different indigenizing impact on English, the researchers have selected the context of Punjab. Punjabi is the second major language of the country after Urdu and is widely used, and understood. This study explores the indigenization of automobile lexicons in and indigenous context where Punjabi is the major language of impact. The researchers have selected Rawalpindi for the research. However, similar studies can be carried out in the contexts of Pashto, Baluchi, Sindhi, Balti and other regional languages.

Literature Review

Historical development of World Englishes

During the colonial period, English emerged as a game changer language when Lord Macaulay proposed that English should be taught as the main language instead of Sanskrit and Arabic (Macaulay, 1946). English as a language was internalized and eventually became an inevitable language. Its contact with local languages gave birth to different varieties of English including Indian English, Bangla English, and Pakistani English, also referred to as Paklish. This process of emergence of new varieties of English is referred to as 'indigenization of English' (Baumgardner R. J., 1993) and (Bill Ashcroft, 2002) labels it as 'appropriation of English'.

English has been widely used for various purposes in Pakistan since its emergence. The dominance of English in Pakistan has been challenged sometimes but it continues enjoying the status of an important language in the country. Pakistani English is one of the less well studied varieties of English. It, however, has emerged as a very distinctive variety since it is widely used in the country. It is the vehicular language of academia, legislation and is becoming the

language of day to day conversation very speedily. It is impossible for any language to keep itself away the linguistic influence of other contact languages and English in Pakistan is no exception to that. Its substantial role can well be understood by the fact that the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan is codified in English. The process of indigenization is rapidly progressing not only in literature and the discourse of the educated class of Pakistani society, but in day to day conversation and language use as well. The impact of the local languages on the lexical level has been in Pakistani English. Certain lexical items may show a shift from their original standard British English usage to indigenized usage.

Development of Pakistani English

Pakistani English has emerged as a distinctive variety of the English Language. English enjoys the status of official language in Pakistan and is the language of law and constitution. A number of scholars and linguists have studied the case of Pakistani English and some of the prominent researchers are (Rehman T. , 1990), Cheshire (1991), Haque (1993), Biber (1993), Dua (1996), Coelho (1997), Sonntag (2003), Hassan (2004), Trudgill (2004), Baumgardner (1993), Aravamudan (2006), Chand (2009), and Kachru (1978, 1983, 1990, 1992). They all have theorized the case of World Englishes.

With the emergence of many other varieties of English like Indian, Chinese, Singaporean, Pakistani English is emerging as a significant variety. The substantiality of Pakistani English can be well understood by the fact that the constitution of Pakistan is codified in English. The language is being indigenized in literature, discourse of educated class of Pakistani social contexts and a clear shift can be observed in language use which makes the Urduised English stand out from the British English (Baumgardner R. J., 1993) states, “World Englishes form a unique and variegated sociolinguistic mosaic, and each variety, whether already standard or in the process of standardizing, is an integral part of this unprecedented international phenomenon”. Jenkins is of the view that the varieties of inner circle has been codified but the varieties of outer circle are still to be standardized (Jenkins, *Global Englishes*, 2015). In British India, the spread of English was mainly because of social and economic activities. The native Indian population learned the language of colonizers through schooling and direct interaction with the colonizers. The substance acquired by the learners in South Asia was local in nature because there were not enough English speaking teachers to provide the learning facilities. Thus, most of the teachers of English were local and after the partition of India, the contact between Native and Nonnative speakers further decreased. These factors are crucial to the institutionalization and progress of South Asian varieties of English (Khan, 2012). Pakistani English is a non-native variety and its repertoire is mainly based on the words available in Standard British English. The corpus of Pakistani English is expanding with every day with new words being added with widespread use of the language in academic and social contexts. As quoted in (Khan, 2012), Baumgardner highlights a passage from “The Pakistan Times” which can be easily understood by the readers of Pakistani English but it would be hard for an American reader to understand that. The use of words like chowkidar, baildar, malis, naib qasids indicate the salient features of indigenized language which is specific to Pakistani context. The example quoted by Baumgardner strengthens the point made by (Pennycook, 1994) that the key reason behind the transformation of English is its interaction with regional languages and the global dominance of English is not a fruit of imperialism solely but it’s the product of local hegemonies of English. In Pakistan, English and Urdu are used interchangeably and share a lot in terms of code switching and code mixing. This practice furthers its impact onto the major local languages as well.

In present global situations, the dominance of English language at the global level is an established fact. As suggested by (Aravamudan, 2006), ‘It is a truism, universally acknowledged, that English dominates the globe today as no language ever has in the recorded history of humanity’ and Sonntag (2003) adds, ‘its reach into nearly every corner of the world has been widely commented upon’. One of the key reasons for the appearance of new varieties of English was due to the influence of local languages on English (Baumgardner R. J., 1993). However, Pakistani English is a second language variety and it has a lot of influence of local languages and special contexts available only in the Pakistani setting. The English of educated Pakistani speakers is greatly influenced by literature, academic readings, social media and interaction with native speakers. But the indigenized use of English is mostly based on the localized imitation of the upper class speakers. There has been considerable studies to explore the impact of Urdu on indigenous languages of Pakistan. Since the world is gradually becoming multilingual global village, the impact of languages is

no more unidirectional. The languages impact each other. In the words of (Gilsdorf, 2002), “English is of course multiple English in the world today (Rehman M. S., 2021). English is being widely used by different communities and people with different backgrounds which gives birth to new vocabulary, unique instances of code-switching and code-mixing and English is becoming the lingua franca of multilingual and multicultural contexts. Kachru claims that if a language is used by a considerable number of speakers in social, cultural, and geographic contexts which differ from the contexts of its origin, it becomes transplanted. This phenomenon cuts off the language from its traditional roots and the language starts working in new contexts and settings, with new roles and responsibilities (Kachru B. B., *The Alchemy of English*, 1986).

Indigenization and Pakistani English

With technological expansion and invention of domestic use products, the linguistic landscapes have seen a tremendous change globally. In the case of Pakistani English, if not everyone is using it as a medium of communication, a number of words from English language are being used by everyone on daily basis, not in the standard dialect, but by localizing them. As asserted by Yamuna Kachru (Kachru Y. , 2008):

It is no longer the case that English is used by people from Korea, Thailand or Switzerland just to speak with Americans or the British or Australians. English is increasingly being used by people from Asia to interact with those from Europe, and people from South America to interact with people from Africa. English is frequently used among interlocutors when no ‘so-called native speaker’ is present. The contexts for the use of English may be academic conferences, business, commerce, diplomacy, educational institutes, manufacturing, mining, print or audio-visual media or tourism.

According to a survey conducted by (Rasheed, 2009) only 2 percent of Pakistanis learn English with the purpose of being able to interact with native speakers and only 3 percent of less Pakistani English speakers get a chance to interact with the native English speakers whereas 98 percent of the Pakistani learners learn and use English in local Pakistani settings. The survey further elaborates that more than 80 percent of the Pakistani speakers use the indigenized variety of English on phonological, lexical, and syntactic level. It affirms the narrative that mostly the speakers in Pakistan learn and use English in local settings which maximizes the chances of indigenization. As declared by (Reeves, 1984), Pakistan as the “Second English Empire” in his travelogue “Passage to Peshawar” which asserts the active role play of English in the Pakistani linguistic interface. The phenomenon of indigenization has become a global reality as wherever English is present, it is undergoing certain changes. English is being indigenized not only in Pakistan but throughout the South Asia. English has remained a potent force in multilingual and multicultural shaping of South Asia and still continues to play an important role. Pakistani English has freely borrowed words from indigenous domains of food, administration, clothing, politics, music, art and education (Baumgardner R. J., 1993).

Research Methodology

This research employs the qualitative research method as the core framework to explore the case and find out answers to the posed questions. This study is descriptive in nature and employs the techniques of content analysis method to classify the collected data. The data is collected using an observation sheet. The researchers have described the various aspects of lexical data after classifying them into established categories of language studies.

Research Design

The case of lexical indigenization in automobile jargon is explored using qualitative approach where the researchers have applied descriptive research method. The researchers used content analysis technique to categorize, classify and codify the data. The researchers aim to highlight the nature of indigenization at various levels of language use in terms of automobile vocabulary. The data in this study is analysed after categorizing the data into various sections using content analysis techniques.

Methods of Data Collection

The researchers created a rubric based observation sheet and observed the responses of the participants against 60 lexical items, written on the observation sheet in the first phase. The respondents were shown pictures of selected parts of vehicles and were requested to pronounce the names of those parts. The responses were transcribed and written on the observation sheet. The responses were orally repeated and verified from the respondents. The data was triangulated

by collecting the responses against same lexical items by showing the real objects installed in the vehicles to the respondents. The responses were transcribed and written on the observation sheet.

Population

The data was collected from automobile mechanics in Rawalpindi, Pakistan. The researchers visited the famous automobile market 'Chah Sultan' in Rawalpindi and collected the data from mechanics. The reason for selecting that particular area is that this area is considered the hub of automobile repairing shops. Rawalpindi is adjacent to Islamabad, the capital city of Pakistan. The population of both cities is diverse and people from different parts of the country come and live here for different purposes. Rawalpindi was selected as demographic area to provide representative findings. The data was collected from fifty automobile mechanic who agreed to respond to the questions and to facilitate the researchers.

Sampling

The researchers employed convenient sampling method. The rationale for convenient sampling was to collect the data from only those individuals who play the pivotal role in coining new words, indigenizing the lexicons and are considered the experts of the field. The researchers requested seventy automobile mechanics to provide data. Fifty automobile mechanics agreed to provide the data. The proforma with a list of automobile vocabulary items, along with their pictorial images were shown to the mechanics and their responses were collected.

Methods of Data Analysis

The data consists of the lexicons, mostly nouns for different spare parts and items used in automobiles. The words were selected randomly with their actual names. The responses were collected and tallied with their standard names. The impact of local languages, contextualization and indigenization was highlighted and analysed.

Theoretical framework

Many scholars have worked on the linguistic features of World Englishes. However, (Kachru B. B., *The Indianization of English: The English language in India*, 1983) and (Baumgardner R. J., 1993) have provided the most appropriate model for the underlying features of South Asian Englishes where they have elaborated the contextualization phenomenon with respect to Indian and Pakistani Englishes. Kachru analyzed structural and contextual patterns of vocabulary items which differentiate local varieties of English from Standard English varieties.

In his model, (Kachru B. B., *The Indianization of English: The English language in India*, 1983) has devised four levels of indigenized features of South Asian features including sound system, grammar, lexis, and semantics. Further, he has developed subcategories of these levels such as sound system may have differences in systemic properties, distributional features, substitutional properties, and prosodic transfer. Grammatical features of South Asian Englishes vary in the use of long sentences, deviant phrase structures, systemic variations while using articles, use of complex noun, reduplication of articles, and deviant formation of interrogative sentences. Semantic features include restriction, extension, archaism, register shift and contextual redefinitions of vocabulary items. Lexical variation includes inclusion of single item vocabulary items from local languages to indigenized variety of English and hybrid constructions. Single item innovation comprises of unique lexical items from regional contexts into the repertoire of Indigenized variety of English whereas hybridization includes words which are blend or compounding of words out of which, at least one component is from the local languages. He further categorized hybrid innovations in four groups namely hybrid collocations, hybrid lexical sets, hybrid ordered series, and hybrid reduplications and developed twenty-six semantic areas based on functional contexts of these lexical items. His list of semantic areas include administration, animals, arms, agriculture, particles of use, art and music, architecture, clothing, food, habits, furniture, education, politics, banking, places, medicine, addresses, trees, village jargons, religion, social expressions, and vehicles. His model was further enhanced and matured by Baumgardner, Kennedy, and Shamim (Baumgardner R. J., 1993) with particular focus on Urduization of English in Pakistani context. The increased the list of categories from twenty six to fifty four and focused on the single item transfer from Urdu to English whereas Kachru's focus was on hybrid formation.

This work is descriptive in nature and the researchers have adopted qualitative research method to highlight the features of Pakistani English by analyzing the linguistic repertoire of automobile industry. The data comprises of both local and standard words used for different spare parts of cars, and different terms used to refer to various technical

and mechanical aspects of automobile. The data is further divided into different categories based on linguistic features of South Asian English highlighted by (Kachru B. B., *The Indianization of English: The English language in India*, 1983). The researcher also kept in view the contextualization model proposed by (Baumgardner R. J., 1993) for studying the hybrid innovations in South Asian Englishes.

Data Analysis

Data Presentation and Analysis

In this study, the researchers focused on how the linguistic patterns related to automobile are used in local settings of Pakistan. The researchers selected 60 words from automobile jargons and collected the responses. The data was classified in different categories according to the nature of changes and differences. The list includes following lexical items along with their indigenized forms.

Table 1

Phonological indigenization of automobile jargons in Pakistani context

<i>Serial Number</i>	<i>Standard Word</i>	<i>Indigenized Form</i>
1	Polish	Palish
2	Steering	Staring
3	Rod	Raad
4	Nozzle	Nozel
5	Fuse Box	Fuse Bux
6	Pipe	Paip
7	Bumper	Bampar
8	Engine	Ingun
9	Oil	Ail
10	Light	Lait
11	Dashboard	Deshbord
12	Tyre	Tair
13	Bonnet	Bonut

Indigenization of phonological aspects is one of the major changes a language faces in the foreign lands. This can be because of the influence of native languages, the amount of efforts paid to learn and use a language and the nature of language contact. Being an international language, English language has been in contact with so many other languages. Dispersal of English in other parts of the globe diversified it in terms of linguistic properties and new varieties of its use emerged. In Pakistani context, the phonological indigenization usually occurs while pronouncing the vowel sounds, thus giving birth to a new variety of words which are distinctive in Pakistani context. The local languages play a vital role in creation of new phonetic and phonological patterns.

Table 2

Lexical indigenization of automobile jargons in Pakistani context

<i>Serial Number</i>	<i>Standard Word</i>	<i>Indigenized Form</i>
1	Mudguard	Mad Gard
2	Accelerator	Axilator
3	Tail light	Back light
4	Spare Tire	Stupney
5	Box	Buxa
6	Dicky	Diggi
7	Washer	Washal
8	Fuel Gauge	Gage
9	License	Lasuns
10	Chain	Chane

11	Dashboard	Deshbod
12	Shock absorber	Shakh
13	Bearings	Barung
14	Brush	Bursh
15	Petrol Tank	Tanki
16	Chassis	Chaysi
17	Piston	Pishton
18	Puncture	Penchur
19	Shaft	Shafat
20	Cylinder	Salander
21	Screw	Uskro
22	Horn	Haran
23	Gear	Gare
24	Carburetor	carborator
25	Toe Chain	Tochen
26	Switch	Such
27	Wrench	Ranch

In addition to the phonological indigenization, some words are used in such a way that their lexical properties obtain a new form, both in spellings and pronunciation. Automobile vocabulary is mostly part of oral communication. Since these vocabulary items are usually part of oral communications, users do not feel it necessary to look for the correct spellings or phonetic transcriptions of the words being used before using them in real settings.

Table 3

Neologism: New words coined in automobile jargons

Serial Number	Standard Word	Indigenized Form
1	Suspension	Chimta
2	Indicators	Ishaary
3	Connecting rods	Wakhian
4	Exhaust fan	Pakha/Pankha
5	Glove compartment	Seat box
6	Rear View Mirror	Pichla Sheesha
7	Steering column	Staring Raad
8	Wheel brace	Paana
9	Sprocket	Grari
10	Roof	Chatt
11	Spanner	Chabi
12	Screw driver	Paich kus
13	Accelerator pedal	Race pedal
14	Wing mirror	Side ishara
15	Ignition	Salaf
16	Drive shaft	Madhani
17	Seat covers	Poshish

Neologism refers to coinage of new terms in any language. Invention of new things, emergence of new concepts and contact of languages are fundamental reasons for emergence of new words in languages. Apart from the phonological and lexical adaptation of automobile vocabulary, there are certain lexicons which are entirely different from their original terms and reflect nativization. The indigenized words are morphological different but they have semantic similarities with respect to their functions or usages in vehicles. For example, drive shaft is called 'Madhani' in local contexts of automobile jargon. Madhani is Urdu equivalent of churner and works like a drive shaft to blend

the yogurt to produce butter. Connecting rods or joining rods are called ‘Wakhian’ which means ribs in English. Since ribs provide the shape and order to the skeleton, the word is used for the rods that connect the foundation of the vehicle anatomy.

Table 4

Grammatical adaptation of indigenized lexicons in Pakistani context

Serial Number	Standard Word	Indigenized Form
1	Breaks	Breakan
2	Washers	Washeran

Grammatical adaptation is one of the key features of indigenized varieties of Englishes. Generally, functional morphemes are added with local lexical items but interestingly, in automobile registers, inflectional morphemes of plural nouns are attached with indigenized root words of English to make new words. At this level, the phenomenon of indigenization works twofold. First the root word is indigenized and then inflectional morphemes of Urdu and Punjabi are added to that.

Discussion

Indigenization of language in any setting is a gradual phenomenon and is the result of interaction between languages. The nature of the contact between languages determine the outcome of the linguistic hybridity. In the case of automobile jargons, although certain words, spare parts and parts of the car body have their standard names which may be well known to a mechanical engineer but public usually relies on the vocabulary that is provided to them mostly by the mechanics. From where the mechanics get this vocabulary? For this, we need to see how mechanics become the mechanics in Pakistan. There would be very few people who would get formal education or certifications before starting their career as mechanic. People willing to be a mechanic usually find a workshop and start their apprenticeship under the supervision of the mechanic or “Ustad”. With the passage of time in the workshop, they familiarize themselves with the names of the spare parts and they will also learn about various words from their clients when they would explain the issues with their cars while visiting a mechanic. Since the mechanics or the workshop crews do not have proper formal education and mostly they are the dropouts of high schools, they indigenize the standard words in terms of their phonological and lexical properties, thus providing them indigenous identity. Sometimes, they coin new words for certain terms for their own convenience and this gives birth to an indigenized variety of the jargon. The words are further received and used by the customers, car users, and drivers without questioning the authenticity of the words and the new vocabulary finds itself prevailing without any considerable opposition.

These types of occurrences can be observed in other non-native varieties of English as well which would be having their distinctive features marking the presence of a variety of the English that differentiates it from the rest of the varieties.

Findings

The researchers found the presence of distinctive features of lexical items used in automobile linguistic repertoire which are special to the context of Pakistan. These features mark the presence of a distinctive variety of English being used, not in its original form but in its indigenized form. Indigenization of English vocabulary attests the phenomena of creation of new varieties of English with respect to their contextual factors as highlighted by (Baumgardner R. J., 1993). The linguistic repertoire of automobile industry is rapidly being indigenized by creating new lexical items which are distinctive markers of Pakistani English.

Conclusion

The influence of local languages on English is evident from the data. English as language enjoys the status of international language and it is no more the language of a particular land or geographical territory. Pakistan is linguistically diverse and English is being indigenized in terms of its use in different fields of life. The contact of English with local languages reshapes its vocabulary in terms of phonological, morphological and syntactic properties. It leads towards the creation of a distinctive variety of English- Pakistani English. These lexical items are code-switched in local languages as well and are used frequently. Automobile industry is thriving and familiarity of words related to cars is considered as a shared knowledge. Indigenization of automobile jargons is the result of language

contact, translanguaging, borrowing, codemixing, and hybridization. The users of newly created words do not worry about correcting themselves in the light of the Standard English and use the jargons in their indigenized form confidently. The analysis of data shows the distinctive features of Pakistani English which are hard to find in other varieties of English.

Suggestions for Future Research

This research has been limited to the study of automobile jargons in context of Punjab in Pakistan. This area of research has great room for further studies of different registers and discourses where English is used. Similar studies can be carried out in literature and sociolinguistic contexts to explore the nature of indigenization. The contextual features of language use provide significant areas of research to understand the phenomenon of indigenization and open new avenues of research for future researches.

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