

Pakistani English: A Sociolinguistic Variety

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Abstract

In this paper, it has been explained on the basis of results obtained from an investigation held in Britain, how Pakistani English has diverged from Standard English, unnoticed by its speakers. The analysis and discussion are based on a qualitative research method, but quantitative data has been provided for confirmation of tentative results obtained from in-depth analysis of a text. The tentative results of analysis lead to developing an argument about how it is viewed by the Western reader, and how it should be regarded by its users as a variety in its own right. It should not carry any stigma because it is used creatively in the social context of Pakistan. This context is distinctly 'bilingual' and therefore it should not be compared to the norms of monolingual use.

1.0 Introduction

There is a great diversity in Pakistani English (PE). It is not any one thing. It has many sub-varieties in it. It is not possible even to talk about all aspects of any one given sub-variety. There are too many issues involved and too little research on this topic. In this paper, then, the sub-variety chosen for study is closest to standard English (SE) though not exactly like it. The sub-varieties at a greater distance from the native speakers' English are relatively easy to identify. But the sub-varieties close to SE need to be identified carefully.

In order to do this, only one text has been selected for in-depth analysis. The discussion starts in the following section 1.1 with a brief note on the selection of 'text' for data and the procedure of analysis based on qualitative research methodology (Hakim:1987).

1.1 Text and Analysis

The aim of the study is to explore the sociolinguistic differences in those texts that do not appear considerably different from SE on the level of grammar and vocabulary – to bilingual speakers themselves. It is not a study of already specified linguistic features of grammar or vocabulary. This is an explorative enquiry into what is Pakistani English, seen from the point of native speakers. Hence it is based on a comparison of responses of two groups of informants, on Pakistani, the other British, to a text which has been carefully chosen. The text and method of study are described in detail.

The text analysed here was selected carefully over a period of time by showing it

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to 70 Pakistani teachers of English along with two other texts. They were shown 3 texts and asked to select only one which they thought was closest to SE, or farthest from it. The same procedure was repeated among a group of British English (BE) speakers at the university of Essex, Colchester. There was no difference in the opinion of these two groups about which text was closest to (or farthest from) SE. Still, Political Upstarts, the text thus selected, elicited notably different responses from these two groups. In order to pinpoint the linguistic categories which sparked off differences of opinion, the text was 're-written' – partially, by a native speaker of BE on request. This re-written or 'amended' version of the text was then shown to a number of competent users of Pakistani English. A controversy then ensued, and this generated a lot of discussion on the nature of differences in the use of English in this particular text.

It should also be mentioned that the text has been taken from a newspaper. So it is a piece of public discourse. However, it appeared in a column that invites personal comments on some social or political problem of the country. In this piece the writer has expressed his *personal* views (or better, *sentiments*) on a political topic. Hence it stands mid-way between a public discourse and a personal discourse. That the text lies close to SE on the 'cline of bilingualism' (Kachru:1982) will become obvious from a comparison with other texts given for this purpose (Appendix-I). It neither shows any major syntactical deviation of the nature found in Mobs Attack, nor lexical divergences of the kind found in Rising Prices (Appendix-I). The text was discussed first with several groups of Pakistani readers and then with native speakers of BE. The analysis is based on a comparison of their views. The rationale for this kind of approach to individual text analysis is given below.

Rationale for Analysis

The analysis of the text is carried out according to the principles of qualitative research methodology for the following reasons. Pakistani English is not a ready made variety of English. It is a variety still *in the making* and should be approached as a *process* (of contact) rather than as a finished *product*, at least at the initial stages of enquiry. Such an approach requires the possibility of an explorative, in-depth study (see Talaat:1988, Talaat: 2002 for detail), without any *a priori* hypothesis. An explorative analysis of language can be carried out in individual texts only. In this way it becomes possible to draw some tentative conclusions at first. These tentative conclusions may provide guidelines for collecting further evidence in the form of quantitative data, wherever possible.

The explorative analysis consists in eliciting the response of a number of BE speakers to the text to compare it with perceptions of Pakistani users of English. However, in order to specify the reaction of the native speakers it was considered essential to ask a native speaker to re-write it – completely or partially – to transform it to some 'native' version of English. This re-written text made it possible to discuss the response of native speakers with Pakistani bilinguals and ask for their views on it.

This difference of 'response' among the native speakers and the non-native

speakers is discussed in the following sections. First, an account of the reactions of the native speakers of standard British English is given in section 1.2.

1.2 Native Speakers' Views

The following text was given to the students of postgraduate classes in Linguistics, at the University of Essex, Colchester, England.

Political Upstarts

Some people are always a disgrace to whatever office they hold. And we have plenty of them amongst us, humph! I wonder what great sin this nation has committed that it has, more often than not, been made to endure the curse of mediocrity. Or how else would you explain the plutocracy thrust upon us by these political upstarts.

One such would-be gentleman, whose permanent abode is vulgarity, continues to grow in his office though he refuses to grow in stature. In case you are in a quandary as to what bird you make of this reference, he is the past, the present, and the future chief of the Pakistan Mediocrity League. Yes, right you are.

After vulgarizing many ministries he now has a new role. Are not we our own best enemy? Hazrat Ali was once asked why internal strifes which marked his rule has not surfaced during the period of his predecessors. "It all depends on the quality of advice one receives from one's companions", pat came the answer.

Strange is the dynamics of our polity which throws up pigmies into the political arena who then acquire an exaggerated sense of their importance and ability. The people of this land may be untutored they can still tell a politician from a political beast. It was a wonderful morning until I read the distasteful elevation of this person. Oh God, save us from the reign of mediocrity.

The native speakers of BE were flustered by two things in the text:

1. Moral tone
2. Ornamental or 'frilly flowery' English

These remarks may appear to be general and non-specific at first. But the re-written version of the text has helped in making these responses specific. The immediate reaction of the native speakers of British English (BE) relates to the 'style features' of the text, reflected in the use of certain words as the following:

humph!
pigmy
abode

Some expressions were simply disliked. For example:

vulgarizing of ministries
would be gentleman
distasteful elevation

pat came the answer

These opinions were expressed at first through random comments of several BE speaking informants. But later on a consensus emerged gradually. A general description of the differences as perceived by the majority of informants is given below.

All native speakers of BE considered the use of ‘humph’ unacceptable. ‘It has turned the text into an ‘ancient’ piece of writing’, commented one BE speaker. Some students at the University of Essex also added *pigmies* and *abode* to the list but not all BE speakers agreed. Those above the age of 20, and people more engaged in the reading of literature said that these items were literary words. The use of ‘pigmy’ has now acquired certain negative connotations in the political register of BE, of which Pakistani users are not aware.

The view that the text is written in ‘frilly, flowery’ English emerged repeatedly though, during discussions of various words and phrases. The word order in the clause ‘Strange is the dynamics of our polity’ (instead of ‘The dynamics of our polity is strange’) was identified as being ‘rhetorical’ or even ‘theatrical’ by some speakers of BE. The sentence beginning with ‘what great sin this nation has committed...’ had a ‘moral overtone’, and the next one that starts with ‘In case you are in a quandary as to what bird...’ was found to be ‘a quandary indeed!’. The latter was considered to be conveying a sense of arrogance and moral superiority. The exclamatory remark ‘Oh God’ turned out to be a cultural item as the BE speakers found it ‘odd’.

The use of *thrusted* for ‘thrust’ and *strifes* for ‘strife’ were merely pointed out by one or two people without any ‘strong’ reaction attached to them. None suggested any change in the expression ‘best enemy’ (instead of ‘worst enemy’). The word *pat* in ‘pat came the answer’ was removed from the text with a simple ‘why?’ Only one BE speaker noticed that ‘Are not we’ should have been ‘Are we not’ in order of arrangement. The expressions *distasteful elevation* and *vulgarising of ministries* were not much approved by the majority of informants who speak BE. The sentence ‘he is the present, the past and the future chief...’ was pronounced to be unEnglish in construction. The ‘catalogue’ like ‘the present, past and future’ elicited a unanimous disapproval from speakers of BE.

The final comment was made on the element of ambiguity caused in paragraph No.3, in which ‘the would-be gentleman’ who has ‘vulgarised the ministries’ is never clearly identified. The sentence ‘...he is the present, the past and future chief of the Mediocrity League’ is followed a remark that affirms ‘Yes you are right’. British English speakers, understandably, could not decode the reference. To most British informants this appeared ambiguous. But this is a ‘context-dependent’ reference. Pakistani readers understand that PML is a reference to Pakistan Muslim League, and its leader is the person under attack in this piece of satire.

These views of the British English speakers were communicated to Pakistani users of English in various workshops of English Language Teaching. It generated a reaction of shock and surprise. In the following section 1.3, the reaction of Pakistani

users of English is described in detail.

1.3. Views of the Pakistani Users

All Pakistani informants who had been constantly consulted ever since the present investigation began – at first independently of the British group of informants and latter, to discuss the British informants' reaction to the text, viewed the text in a different light. They were unanimous in rating the text as 'good English'. Though the use of 'humph,' was conceded to be old, it was also described as rare occurrence. As for the use of *strifes* for 'strife' and the past form *thrusted* for 'thrust' is concerned, Pakistani users were less inclined to look upon them as aberrations than to view them a sign of the writer's confidence to take a few liberties with language, under 'a creative urge'. Nobody desired any change in these. The majority of Pakistani informants expressed views which are summarised below.

The Pakistani users openly expressed the view that if the text does not show any divergence from the rule of grammar as stated in the grammar books consulted and recommended in the syllabi of English, reactions like 'old, verbose, wordy and long-winded' ought to be treated a matter of opinion. Such opinions do not have a 'genuine' linguistic ground. As for words and phrases, if grammar books and dictionaries do not provide a clear statement about how a word can be used, or what words can/not be combined to form a phrase, words will be combined to form 'odd combinations'. And since misapplication of rules cannot be prevented altogether in the case of foreign language speakers, *thrusted* or *strifes* cannot be regarded as serious aberrations in a text that does not show any major grammatical deviation from the norm. This is probably a signal that pedagogical perspective would be a relevant perspective in the discussion of PE.

Similarly, expressions such as 'distasteful elevation' or '*vulgarising* the ministries' and '*pat* came the answer' were strongly defended as an example of creative use of English, which showed the confidence of the user and a greater concern for meanings than for correct words. These expressions create meanings that are comprehensible for everyone. If anything, they are more interesting for Pakistani bilinguals for 'blending' English with Urdu (or other native languages). Similar views have also been expressed by other researchers on a competent use of non-native varieties of English (Bokamba: 1982, Bamgbose:1982, Kachru:1982, Kirk-Green:1971, Sey:1973), where blending languages is considered to be a norm.

Hence, if a catalogue of words such as 'the present, the past and the future chief...' strikes as unfamiliar to the English ear, it serves to make the statement more emphatic for Pakistani bilinguals, as they will understand it with reference to a 'fused grammar' (Gorlach: 1994) of bilinguals. Similarly if anyone should ask, why *pat* should be used in '*pat* came the answer,' it is another example of a 'blended' expression.

It will not be out of place to mention that SE expressions like 'pat answer' or 'pat remark,' (meaning a 'well prepared answer') are frequently used in code-mixed speech.

In Urdu too, there is a phrase /jhat pat jawab deyna/ which means ‘to give instant answer’. Often, *jhat* is removed from the Urdu collocation and we are left with:

pat sey jawab dia or
fat sey jawab dia

In *pat came the answer*, both meanings of the word *pat* are blended through a slight variation in the word order. For example, it could be:

‘.....came the pat answer’. [SE]

Instead it says:

....pat came the answer’ [PE]

And for Pakistani bilinguals, in this order of words, ‘pat’ not only means ‘a spontaneous response’ but also ‘instantly came the answer’. Inventions of this kind are quite widespread in PE (see Appendix-II).

The SE-Version written with the help of one BE speaker was completely rejected by the Pakistani informants as ‘a distortion’ of the original text. The changes made are highlighted with the help of italics.

Political Upstart

Some people are always a disgrace to whatever office they hold. And we have plenty of them amongst us, humph! I wonder what great sin this nation has committed that *it has been cursed with being an inferior land*. Or how else would you explain why power is in the hands of *the wealthy*?

One such person who is extremely rude and offensive, continues to grow in his office though he refuses to grow in stature. In case you are in a quandary as to what bird you make of this reference, he *is* the past, *was* the present, and *will be* the future chief of the Pakistan Mediocrity League. Yes, right you are.

After *humiliating* many ministries he now has a new role. Are not we our own best enemy? Hazrat Ali was once asked why internal *conflicts* which marked his rule had not surfaced during the period of his predecessors. “It all depends on the quality of advice one receives from one’s companions” *was the reply*.

Pakistani politics is such a strange force that it brings in completely bizarre and odd people who then acquire an exaggerated sense of their importance and ability. The people of this land may be *uneducated* they can still tell a politician from a political beast. It *had* started off as a wonderful morning until I read the news of this *person’s elevation*. Dear Lord, save this country from the reign of mediocrity. (SE version)

The Pakistani informants invariably expressed the opinion that the ‘force’ of the piece was considerably reduced by the changes that have been made in this text. It no longer conveyed the same ‘heard-hitting’ message as the original text. The changes made in this text were rejected by the majority of Pakistani informants. The reasons for rejection are summarized in the following section 1.4.

1.4. Why Difference?

Some reasons for the rejection of native English version of the text are more obvious than the others. For example, an obvious reason for such a forceful rejection of the native speakers' version is that it broke the internal semantic unity of the text. Anyone can see that the original text is developed around two ideas, which are intimately connected:

reign of mediocrity
vulgarity..... vulgarizing of ministries

In the context of the text, 'vulgarising' is connected with 'mediocrity'. 'Vulgarity' is spread by a 'would-be gentleman' who 'lives in an abode of vulgarity' and is the "Chief of Pakistan Mediocrity League". The use of 'pigmies' is connected with 'mediocrity' which justifies the reference to 'stature' in the comment - '...refuses to grow in stature' while he continues to grow in his 'office'. On top of it all, the text makes a hidden reference to the Pakistan Muslim League, through a play upon the word 'Mediocrity League'

Now the changes made in the SE-Version break the inherent semantic unity of the text, built through a series of word images. These images enrich each other. The original text also refers to the unnamed politician as 'would-be gentleman' which means 'not a gentleman yet'. In the SE-Version, *one such person* neutralizes the negative qualities of the political figure described. The changes made in the SE-Version 'weaken' the power of the entire text which lies in the inter-connected of 'mediocrity' and 'vulgarity'.

Quite clearly, the vocabulary is replaced in the SE-version, in conformity to the native speakers' ideas of 'correct' 'modern' and 'polite' expression. Consequently –

'curse of mediocrity' becomes 'cursed with being an inferior land'
'plutocracy' becomes 'power is in the hand of the wealthy'
'would-be gentleman' is turned into 'extremely rude and offensive'
'you are in a quandary' becomes 'still uncertain'
'vulgarizing many ministries' is 'humiliating ministries'
internal strifes becomes 'conflicts'
'Strange is the dynamics of our polity' is 'Pakistani politics is such a strange force'
'pigmies' becomes 'bizarre and odd people'
'untutored' is 'uneducated'
'distasteful elevation' is reduced to 'this person's elevation'

And finally there are the following corrections of expression:

...he is the past, the present, and the future chief of the Pakistan Mediocrity League ...he is the past, was the present, and will be the future chief
It was a wonderful morning until I read the distasteful elevation of this person.
It had started off as a wonderful morning until I read...

These corrections, many Pakistani informants found unnecessary.

All corrections, except the last two, are either inspired by the British notion of 'politically correct' language or by notions of 'politeness'. As a consequence of it, the word mediocrity is so diligently avoided that it is replaced with 'we are cursed with an inferior land' !!! This text represents the most fundamental differences between British society and Pakistani society, which arise for the following reasons.

In Britain, a political satire is not directed at a civil or military dictator. In Pakistan, it aims at hitting tyrannical rulers and military dictators. Consequently, open and direct condemnation is rare and a sign of courage and grit. The word 'pigmy' or 'mediocrity' is not directed at 'race' as has been the case in BE. For the Pakistanis it has no 'racial' connotations. One must not forget, then, that Political Upstart is a political satire and it aims at criticizing a political figure unambiguously. The presumption indeed is that the elected representatives, turning easily into dictators and not fulfilling the wishes of the people do lack imagination and must be criticized. A representative political figure who does not come up with imaginative solutions to the problems of his nation must be condemned as 'mediocrity'. A direct, forceful statement in the teeth of such opposition is a sign of vigour. But also a sense of desperation created by the futility of any protest provides a powerful incentive for invective for abuse. Or else how is one to deal with one's rage?

Under these circumstances, the idea of 'politically correct' language (in essence a product of democratic feelings represented in politics) cannot flourish. In Western societies, the language of media may have to adjust itself to the 'revised social norms' of public discourse off and on. It is also true that the British (and Western) concept of 'politically correct language' in some specific areas is not relevant to the situation in Pakistan. Our political context and ideals are different from Western societies.

Then, as already said in section 1.3, some of the references in this text are context dependent too. None of the Pakistani informants thought that the text was ambiguous, because everyone knew who the 'would-be gentleman' in this piece of satire was. It is clear to all Pakistanis that Pakistan Mediocrity League is a reference to the Pakistan Muslim League. No wonder that speakers of BE have appeared to Pakistani users of English as over-reacting to the use of 'normal words and expression.' Certain items are context-dependent and the users of BE are not familiar with the whole context of Pakistani situation.

In this text the least suspected item for criticism, among Pakistanis, was the use of 'Oh God'. This created quite a sensation among all the Pakistani informants. The surprise sprung from the fact 'even such items' too have been mentioned in the use of 'language'. The general reaction was: "How can one stop calling upon God or Lord merely because it is not popular among the middle class BE speakers".

The BE speakers insisted that their reactions sprang from the 'nature of the

language used'. They referred to some words, collocations and phrases. But the Pakistani informants insisted that the response of BE speakers was based on purely 'cultural differences' and had no genuine 'linguistic' ground. The genuine linguistic response is 'grammatical divergence' or misuse of words.

Now, the response of each group may have some justification. Since this text has drawn upon literary vocabulary like *abode*, *quandary*, *pigmies* which the young British students thought 'old' and the middle aged informants 'formal,' the dependence of PE on the written sources is clearly indicated in it. But even within the speakers of SE, the response of the well-read, educated and relatively mature readers varied considerably from one feature to the other. The older generation (plus forty) did not object so much to vocabulary (*pigmy*, *abode*, *quandary*) as to certain 'comments' which were not palatable to their taste (calling upon God, 'distasteful elevation' etc). There were, however, a few who did express some delight over the use of expressions like 'lives an *abode* of vulgarity' and critical remarks like 'refuses to grow in stature even if continues to grow in office.' This later remark, as pointed out earlier was considered to be, by a majority of (younger group of) informants, a statement loaded with 'moral judgement.' Most Western speakers of English associate the use of old words with conservative values (or social system), which is again a controversial point.

The Pakistani group of informants saw this text as a creative use of English. When it was pointed out to them that some of its vocabulary was considered to be old, and morally loaded, many shrugged their shoulders, to brush aside these judgments. This is understandable too. The Pakistani users are more familiar with old vocabulary because of their contact with written forms of English (classical literature and legal English) in the absence of contact with spoken varieties. However, the reason why the informants thought that the text was creative was on account of the combinations made out of, say, even old words. So it is not just old words, but the inventiveness of 'abode of vulgarity' 'one would-be gentleman' of 'vulgarising of ministries' that most Pakistani informants relished. They appreciated the 'new combinations' and 'subtle variations' or twists which blended English with subtle shades of meaning from Urdu (L1). The blending is considered to be a creative feature of the text by Pakistani users. This is the point where the use of English is apparently entangled in a skein of attitudinal differences.

It is clear, for example, that:

- 1) Pakistani users of English judge their own performance of English against a 'norm' of English language use which allows them flexibility not only on the levels of phonology and lexis but also on 'finer' levels of grammar.
- 2) Pakistani users of English have demonstrated in practical terms, through rejection of revised BE text, their half-conscious belief that English in Pakistan has its own pragmatics since the socio-cultural norms and religio-political contexts are different.

So finally the question arises: Is this text an isolated phenomenon or are there

more like it? If yes, do they help us to identify a sub-variety in Pakistani English? The texts given in Appendix-II will make it clear that the use of old words in new combinations is a feature of many Pakistani texts. In the context of Pakistan, it is irrelevant how the Western readers regard such English. Their views become relevant only for the minority who may visit Western countries at some later stage in life. It is sufficient to remember for Pakistani users of English that a variety of texts taken together reveal an underlying similarity in the habit of use. This is the use of all the available resources of our bi- or multilingual codes to create new combinations, for successful communication. In the following section we shall look at the contours of the text that may help us to identify a sub-variety in PE.

1.5 Socio-linguistic Contours of Pakistani English

The discussion of Political Upstarts in the fore-gone section 1.2 has shown that the Western readers of PE think that the vocabulary of the text is relatively outdated. This is not however the only variety in which old words and expressions have been preserved. In Western minds, old words are associated with old and conservative values (Gorlach:1991). But American English contains many old words not necessarily equated with old values. We have already seen in PE that old words are put to new uses too. Secondly, they also think that PE is wordy or verbose. The academic implication of the second difference is that it lacks precision. The third difference that emerged from the foregone discussion is that the Western readers think that PE has a moral tone. Although this is a tricky notion to describe, the reaction over the use of 'God' is fairly representative of this difference.

The text helps us to understand that differences between PE and SE exist on two levels:

1. Linguistic
2. Socio-cultural (on account of religious sentiments and political circumstances)

Linguistic differences may be minor - seen from the point of view of Pakistani users. But they seem to exist on the level of grammar – for the level of morpheme is a (subtle) level of grammar. This is the most crucial level of language change according to Weinreich (1958). Now, most Pakistani users of English do not regard all morphological variations as part of 'grammar.' For, grammar for them consists in learning tenses and general rules like direct/indirect or active/passive transformations. That is why the majority fails to recognize *thrusted*, *strifes* as examples of grammatical variation. Also, morphological variations found in this particular text are regarded to be creative because they are viewed in the total communicative competence of the writer. The total competence includes languages more than one. Then also the writer has taken liberties with 'word morphemes' merely 'occasionally' in the same way as with lexical collocations. Lexical words (with their morphological ending) are an open set of language and admit both variation and invention in use. On top of it all, our experience of the use of a second language, like Urdu in the native context, forces us to assume liberal values in the use of 'other' languages. In the Indo-Pakistani sub-continent 'linguistic differences'

count only when two varieties become mutually unintelligible. It is more important to speak many languages (even if imperfectly) than to speak one with perfection. There is a considerable flexibility in the norms of the use of a language - even in writing. For example, Urdu has had at least four different regions of standardization including Punjab.

The flexibility in our norms we owe not only to multilingual, but also to oral norms of culture. Here, the 'word' does not enjoy the same sanctity as in the Western tradition of writing. In our bi-or multilingual context nothing is as important as 'meaning' - because the word will vanish. Besides, meaning does not lie in the word. It lies in the context and the 'shared knowledge' of the readers and writers. All texts presented in Appendix-II are written in a style that draws on our familiar habits of 'bilingual speech.' which permit verbosity, circular arguments and so on (Kachru: 1999).

Far more shocking for Pakistani users are judgements of SE speakers resulting, of course, from a host of socio-cultural factors and summarized in one phrase - PE has 'moral overtones.' For example appeals to 'God' are a big cultural difference. In SE, such appeals are rare and always invite negative reactions from the readers. Although most Pakistanis would be surprised to hear it, this forms the basis of a major divide between the east and the West. The seriousness with which this difference is treated by native speakers of English is lost upon the speakers of PE. This difference is, however, deep, abiding and one which sparks off conflicts not immediately resolvable at all.

Pakistani English has its distinct features then. Its structure, form and functions represent a diffusion into oral, multilingual norms of expression dictated in some measure by religious systems of belief that seems to work against abstract values of Western culture favouring secularization.

APPENDIX. I

Note: Political Upstarts can be compared to the following texts in order to work out how it compares with other texts in Pakistani English. The following texts belong to the middle point on a cline of bilingualism. Political Upstarts stands closer to the Standard English than the following texts.

Rising Prices

There remains a continuous and unchecked upward trend in the price structure of essential commodities. It has naturally become unbearable for the common man to make a living in the society. Unfortunately no political party tries to peep into the lives of people. How a person succeeds in making his both ends meet is at least not the business of our political parties. On prices, our past and present government's record is truly dismal; not only did it fail to rein in inflation but, what is much worse, it actually contributed to a further increase in prices by pushing up the cost of various essential commodities including petroleum products. This was bound to reflect adversely on the price level. There does not exist a realistic connection between the wages and the

market prices. The people as such are encouraged to adopt illegal means to make a living rather than to survive. Utility shops are not sufficient in number to cope up with the situation. In Turkey a peon gets as much salary as his officer. In Iran there exists a Khilafat system under which an employee having more children gets more salary. We, in our country, also need such type of drastic policies. God better knows such time will ever come in our country and in our life.

Mobs Attack

Sheikhupura – Disgusted over police failure to control highway robberies, theft and burglaries in Farooqabad and adjacent areas, a mob of over 5,000 local people attacked Farooqabad Police Station and burned all its records to ashes besides damaging police station premises building on Monday morning.

Upheaval occurred when people read about two dacoities in Sharifpur locality in the houses of Khudabuksh and Gulam Rasool Qureshi in which armed dacoits had decamped with cash Rs.3,000 and Rs.5,000 with jewelry worth 40,000, respectively besides causing death of the latter with a bullet while saving preventing kidnapping the kidnap of his minor little son. The enraged demonstrators dislodged the gates, doors and windows of police station and set them on fire. Telephone and communication set up was disrupted. The demonstrators also smashed the police post at Farooqabad and destroyed all its belongings furniture/records. Traffic on Sheikhupura-Sargodha road was blocked by the demonstrators with the help of burning tyres and other hurdles. The running of trains through Farooqabad was also disrupted. District authorities reached the spot to bring the situation under control. Police force available there fired teargas shells and lathi-charged to disperse the demonstrators.

The processionists and demonstrators also threw bricks and stones at law enforcing agencies and ten policemen sustained injuries in the clash. A jeepster of the Ilaqa Magistrate was also set on fire by the demonstrators. DIG Police, Lahore Range, visited Farooqabad and reviewed law and order situation.

APPENDIX-II

The following texts are reproduced to show how several texts, written by different writers on a variety of topics share the same kind of ‘creativity’ in the use of English. This proves that Political Upstart is not an isolated phenomenon. It merely represents a characteristic habit of use of English in a bilingual context. The invented expression is written in italics.

1. Lastly, and I know this is low on everyone’s priority, why *inflict more boredom* on the poor people? As it is they are having a rough time at the hands of Aslam Azhar *and his Light Brigade*. Why pile another insult on the masses who are having a hard time making both ends meet?

2. *Pithily*, 'Music Viewsik', the second album of Fareeha Pervaiz, is yet not successful in creating any lasting impression like her *maiden venture* 'Patang Baz Sajna' among music lovers. And for this seeming failure, she cannot be awarded grace marks because it is her second attempt.
3. Safia Bibi is raped and sent to jail for lack of evidence. Every time a woman complains to the police, the result is a *nullified situation*. There is reluctance on the police side, which has a sickening extent. The authorities have an attitude where they think the more they ignore, the fewer cases will be reported.
4. What would the father of the nation say to the abusive, bitter and unforgiving politics of today in Pakistan?..... May be he would be told to keep away from politics and not meddle in our internal quarrels. One can imagine some fiery speaker haranguing in Mochi Gate saying to the Quaid, "What do you know of *the gut politics* and the problem of the people? You go back to Bombay where you came from."
5. Problems, that's what is next. The moment the Punjab government goes on air and I admit that they have enough hot air to do so, they'll be straightaway in *knee-deep trouble*. The ruling party will start *taking out processions* protesting against the one-sided coverage the PUNJTV is giving to the nation.
6. Medical students protesting against the injustice meted out to their *white-coated brethren* in the Ganga Ram Hospital attempted to bring out a procession. When this was a lathi-charged, the *medicos holed up* in the hospital. As they brick-batted the police, the uniformed men lobbed tear-gas shells into the hospital compound. The day's fight exhausted individual aggression in the absence of any credible organization to articulate their demands and the whole strike simply petered out.
7. Up and up we went through impossibly narrow and steep roads, past olive and fig trees and bushes laden with all kinds of fruits. The views were breathtaking as we ascended, but being people of the plains, *our hearts were in our mouths* more than once.
8. Manifestos of the political parties promise so much in exchange for the citizen's vote that one is apt to dream that after November 1988 Pakistan will become a land of *milk and honey* where *the sheep and the wolf will drink from the same water hole*. Modest and measurable goals are not hard to accomplish provided we attack the root cause of all our ills, bribery and corruption. After all these cruel years we must overcome the corrupt among us. Surrender to them this time and even the wisest amongst us will not have the slightest idea where it will end. *Dust in my mouth* for what I am to say, for if we fail now, history will write the obituary. "Here lies Pakistan which perished due to self-inflicted wounds of corruption."

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