

Bilingualism in Pakistani Fiction: The Analysis of *Twilight in Delhi* by Ahmed Ali

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Abstract

This research aims to find code-switching occurrences in *Twilight in Delhi* written by Pakistani English postcolonial writer Ahmed Ali. He uses many Urdu terms and expressions in his narrative to keep alive Eastern culture and traditions that would otherwise lose their essence if translated into English. In this way, he reconstitutes English language in his work. The frequency of Urdu words is recorded, and the data obtained is analyzed on semantic, phonological and syntactic grounds. The writer also tries to experiment with the form and brings creativity, and in doing so, he applies English structure on Urdu terms and introduced a new vocabulary. The deliberate use of code-switching in the novel shows that language is no one's property neither someone's hegemony.

Keywords: Bilingualism, Code-switching, Pakistani English, Post-colonialism

Introduction

The birth of a new word is the result of 'borrowing' when two or more languages come in contact with each other at the same time and place. Hock (1991) stated that "borrowing" refers to the adoption of individual words or even large sets of vocabulary items from another language or dialect. According to (Kerswell 1994) "the first foreign elements to enter the borrowing language are words", likewise, borrowing is the "introduction of single words or short idiomatic phrases." So code-switching is a sociolinguistic phenomenon which is also the outcome of this contact. In Mesthrie's view this contact is "initiated by the spread of languages of power and prestige via conquest and colonization" (qt. in. Asghar et al. 2013). English, being the language of the rulers symbolizes power and prestige and "the elite class was observed to be borrowing English words in their speech" (Asghar et al. 2013).

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The colonial era in the Sub-continent witnessed a cultural shift; a time when cultures meet languages and one wants to be dominant on the other; a sort of lingua-cultural war was started. As stated by Sapir “when there is cultural borrowing, there is always the likelihood that the associated words may be borrowed, too” (qt. in Sipra 2013). The interaction between Urdu and English is a two-way affair and “colonizing forces of Britain made English and Urdu co-exist since the 19th century” (Asghar et al. 2013). English credited itself for being a ‘donor language’ assimilated many Urdu words in it and vice-versa. English is flexible like a plastic, it can absorb words from other languages and expand its vocabulary, also “the process of loaning words from other languages is a sign of a living and progressing language” (Manwar 2011). (Sarwet 2006) noted that “the social context largely affects the linguistics choices and preferences” and English being the language of the lords becomes the choice of aristocracy after the partition of the sub-continent.

This borrowing and code-switching resulted in the formation of a new variety of English that is called Pakistani English (PE). “Code-mixing is a worldwide accepted concept that is not only found in spoken Language or interaction but also found in the written discourse” and the “reason of using the Code-mixing ... is to show the identity and also the ideology of freedom” (Ayoub et al. 2016). Postcolonial writers can be accredited for their work of mixing two great languages i.e. Urdu and English in a written form, usually at a lexical level.

For this purpose, the work of Ahmad Ali; a renowned Pakistani post-colonial writer, is selected because he is among the “Indian novelists of the first ability” (Ali 2007). He is also considered as a pioneer writer in English in Pakistan. He writes in English because he wants to challenge the ‘imperial narrative’ and also, he intends to ‘approach the secondary audience’. *Twilight in Delhi* is his first novel; published in 1940 before the partition of India, in London. The novel is translated into many languages including Urdu i.e. *Dilli ki Sham*. The novel is highly praised by the critics around the world and gathers much fame. An American critic, David D. Anderson praises the novel by saying that the book “transcends language as any substantial work of art ultimately must do...” (qt. Ali 2007). The novel is a fine example of code-switching as the writer replaces English words with Urdu words. The novel also contains rich cultural and linguistic norms of Pakistani society.

According to (Rafi et al. 2012) “publication of literary work into foreign language is one of the primary reasons for inception of a new variety”.

The present study examines the use of code-switching in a Pakistani postcolonial text *Twilight in Delhi* by Ahmed Ali. It measures CS in the novel to a larger extent. It analyses CS occurrences semantically, phonologically and syntactically and data collected is displayed in the form of a graph. This research will also question the use of code-switching (CS) in *Twilight in Delhi* by Ahmed Ali. It attempts at discovering whether borrowing and code-switching is used intentionally by the writer and to what extent. The research is only limited to the selected Pakistani English postcolonial text i.e. *Twilight in Delhi* by Ahmad Ali in which code-switching is used by the writer. The following questions are proposed in this research.

- 1) What kind of linguistic elements are code-switched in the novel?
- 2) How Urdu code-switching in the text marks the emergence of a new variety of English?

The research is qualitative in nature. The frequency of Urdu language words in English are analyzed along with the phrases that are translated in English from Urdu. While the theoretical framework is the phenomenon of ‘borrowing’ and ‘code-switching’ of Urdu words in the novel. In this research paper, the data is collected from Pakistani postcolonial novel *Twilight in Delhi* by Ahmad Ali. All the Urdu words are collected after thorough reading of the text. As it contains many Urdu words, so the analysis is done on three grounds; phonetic analysis, semantic analysis and syntactic analysis and the results obtained are discussed qualitatively. The loan-translation of phrases and proverbs is marked, along with their Urdu translation. In this way we can find out the trend of code-switching in Pakistani fiction.

The novel consists of four sections and each part is further divided into parts and the total number of pages is 275. Each part opens with the translated verses of notable poets; which also acts as a chorus i.e. to give us hint what is going to be next. The story revolves around the life of Mir Nihal; the protagonist, and his household; a high-middle-class Delhi-ite who is the representative of Urdu language and wants to preserve Indian culture and traditions. He is against the

transformation of Delhi from sophisticated Eastern society to an indifferent Anglicized world. He said: "Her language, on which Delhi had prided herself, would become adulterated and impure, and would lose its beauty and uniqueness of idiom" (Ali 2007).

Frequency of Urdu lexemes in the novel

After close reading of the text, all Urdu language words are counted and coded, as well as, loan translation and proverbs/ direct expressions that are transferred from Urdu. In this dissertation, the coding is categorized into 32 categories which include addressing modes, cultural and traditional references, customs, religious terms, historical figures, and others. It is also notable that the author provides the meanings of some Urdu words at the bottom of the page. Also, he did not italicize Urdu words. The parentheses contain page numbers and the occurrence of words is written in square brackets.

Addressing mode

The writer rather than writing Mr. or Sir, he preferably writes 'saheb' or 'ji' which serves as codes of respect in Eastern society.

Akhunji Saheb (266); bi Anjum (8); Hafizji (158, 259[3], 260 & 261); Hakimji (103); Hakim Saheb (225); Khwaja Saheb, (102[3], 104 & 105); *Kothay wali, kothay wali* (259); Molvi Saheb (51); Mir Saheb's (99[2], 102, 104, 105, 123, 159); Mirzaji (59 & 64); Nawab Saheb (118); Pirji (202[3], 221, 225); Sheikhji (93[2], 94[4], 95)

Architecture

The writer is representing his culture by using the term 'kotha' instead of 'upper-story house.'

kotha (6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 19, 20, 59, 62 & 97); veranda (7[3], 22, 27, 45, 62, 110, 160, 213, 214 & 255)

Art forms

There are two possibilities for using these original terms; to introduce the native culture or no alternative in English. Ghazal and qawwali are the literary forms, ghazal is written in the praise of beloved while qawwali is

written for religious purposes. Sehra is sung on marriage ceremonies which includes “impossible verses” that “compares bride to the moon” while “bridegroom to the sun” (Ali 166). It was a custom in India to sing the songs of Saavan to welcome spring season which brings new life. ghazal (117[2]); qawwali (44 & 52); sehras (166); songs of Saavan (84 & 132)

Castes

There is no alternative available for the castes and so these are used as it is. Mughal (34 & 59); Saiyyeds (4, 36 & 59); Sheikh, Sheikh (49[2], 93[3], 94 & 95)

Clothing

For sari, sherwani and tahmat there is no alternative in English language while for burqa and chuga the word ‘gown’ is used. burqas (84 & 267); chugha (192[2]); sari (121); sherwani (12, 101, 157, 267); tahmat (100 & 123).

Descriptive labels for people

The author deliberately uses the word ‘chamar’ for ‘untouchables’ and ‘farangis’ for ‘Englishmen’ as these are the negative labels given to them by the locals which shows disapproval. chamar (69); chamari (52, 53, 154); farangis (8, 50, 135[2], 136, 137, 139, 144, 154, 156, 188, 195, 209, 210 & 250); farangan (188).

Drinks

Sherbet was the only cold-drink available at that time and no substitute was available for the word. sherbets (23, 27[2], 97, 98[4], 106, 154, 158 [2], 165).

Drugs

Hookah was the common drug. It is a stemmed instrument for inhaling tobacco. hookah (37, 45, 97, 118, 119, 123, 156, 208 & 210).

Edibles

Ghee and kababs are common terms, however, paan, pindis and pinjiri are the less common terms and are native to India only. copra (154); ghee (39, 92 [2], 158[4]); kababs (106[3], 259); paan (76[2], 138[2] & 165); pindis (160[2] & 161); pinjiri (190); pulao (106, 259[6])

Fauna

Although, 'bulbul' and 'maina' are common terms but 'golay' and 'nisavray' are the species of pigeons and names in local dialect. The reason for using the specific names instead of using umbrella term 'pigeon' is to introduce the readers to the aristocratic game of pigeon-flying which was common among Delhi elite. bulbul (75, 95, 102); golay (103[2], 104); mainas (84); nisavray (104[2])

Flora

These three types of trees purely represent Eastern culture. henna tree (7, 20, 41, 62, 89, 115, 183, 185, 255 & 266); neem tree (p. 46, 47[2]); peepal trees (134 & 196)

Festivals

As there is no alternative found in English for 'Eid', the writer uses the words of local culture which are originally the Arabic words; Eid in Arabic means "celebration". Eed (55, 74, 127, 128[6], 129[2], 131[2] & 191); Bakrid (191[2])

Fragrance

Attar was the only fragrance used at that time and it also represents culture because attar is made of pure flower extract and unlike modern scents no alcohol or preservatives are added. attar (38, 43, 163, 154 & 181)

Games

These are the two important games played by Delhi-ites. 'Pachchisi' is played by more than two persons in even numbers with "wooden pieces" and "seven conch shells for dice" (181). While 'painch' is the 'battle of kites' it is a part of kite-flying. pachchisi (181); painch (29 & 30)

Government

'Sarkar' means 'government' and 'darbar' means 'king's court'.

angrezi sarkar (136[2]); Darbar (105, 136); Coronation Darbar (139), Imitation Darbar (195)

Gender division

These are the two important distinctions; mardana is men's part of the house while zenana is female's part of the house, strangers were not allowed to enter in zenana. mardana (69, 131, 140, 153, 198, 215); zenana (39[2], 97, 153, 174, 186, 200, 213, 264, 266, 268)

Kinship terms

There is substitute for amma and ammi in English language i.e. "mother" but the word amma/ammi gives the reader a sense of belongingness. amma (7, 56[3], 58, 63, 79, 80, 234, 255); ammi (221 & 255)

Marriage rituals

There is no substitute available for baddhi, mayun or vida and the reason for using these terms is to give a glimpse of the rituals performed in marriage ceremonies in East. baddhi (158 & 163); Dulhan (121 & 183); henna (27, 74, 76, 92, 93, 120); mayun (155); sehra (163[2] & 167); ubtana (161); vida (168, 169, 188)

Money/finance

The writer uses the local terms for money. Although, 'lakh' is called 'lac' in English but the use of 'lakh' intensifies the situation as it was considered such a huge amount in the past.

eight-anna (131); twelve annas (135); lakh (10); mohurs (135, 161, 254[6] & 257); pice (18, 19[2], 73, 98, 121, 124, 126, 128 & 232); rupees (34, 138, 161[3], 199[2], 153[2] & 268)

Modes of Transport: The common modes of transportation available to people in the past were 'doli' means 'palanquin' and 'tonga' means 'horse-

cart' and the writer deliberately uses these terms as these are an important part of Eastern society.

doli (43, 154, 174, 258, 269, 272, 273[3]); tonga (237)

Music instruments: The writer uses these terms because there are more near to Eastern culture. sarangis (73); sitar (205)

Occupation/ profession: Though, translation is available in English, but the writer deliberately uses these terms to introduce the readers to the local occupations.

bania (135, 136, 161, 176[4], 210[2], 231[2], 250, 263, 265); coolie (43); domnis (p. 155, 157, 163[3], 168[2], 169, 170, 172); faqir (46, 95[3], 120[2], 121, 122[4], 124, 125, 126, 200, 258); ghassals (232 & 273); hakims (46, 91, 226 & 264); kababi (78, 106, 135[2], 136, 208[2], 209, 210); kahars (43[2], 174, 272, 273); karkhandar (49 & 93); naibs (142); qawwals (41, 46[3], 47, 49, 50[2], 51, 53); Qazi (95); saqi (73[2]); shohdays (165); tonga- driver (237); vizir (254[4])

Paralinguistic features: Paralinguistic features of Urdu language are different from English. Aao, haa, koo are the sounds which are used by pigeon-flyers to call the pigeons back home. While, ain, hai and ooi are commonly used by the people in different situations.

Aao, Koo, Ha! (18); Aao, Aao (20 & 90); Ain, Ain (23); Haa, Koo (20); Koo, Haas (69); hai, hai (49, 59, 63, 97, 183, 188, 257); Ooi (11 & 155)

Places: There is no substitution for bazar while 'mohallah', 'chowk' and 'serai' have alternatives in English. 'Mohallah' means 'locality', 'chowk' is 'round-about' and 'serai' means 'inn' in English.

bazar (41[2], 90, 191, 196); caravan-serai (75); chowk (100, 214); mohallah (1, 6, 24, 31, 41, 91, 92, 178, 192 & 229); serai (135)

Sacred places: The writer uses the word Masjid instead of mosque because masjid gives a sense of duty and association which mosque can't convey.

Jama Masjid (18, 30, 95, 100, 103, 121[2], 122, 132, 134, 143[2], 145, 146 & 147)

Pseudonyms: The writer uses the pseudonyms of famous poets of Delhi. Bekhud (264, 265[4]); Daagh (116[4], 117[2]); Dard (241); Ghalib (241); Hafiz (25); Insha (241); Mir (116[2], 241); Saadi (p. 129); Saeel (116[2], 117[2], 166) Sauda (241) Zauq (116[2], 196, 241)

Religion (Islam): The reason for using religious terminology is to introduce his readers to Islamic culture.

Allah (63); Allah-o-akbar (130); Assalaam-alaikum (p. 93); azaan (17[3], 31, 34, 92[2], 97, 105, 118, 126[2], 190[2], 213, 232, 233, 241); Balal Habshi (92); Haq Allah Haq (45); Izrael (233); Kaaba (273); Koran (19, 81, 158, 165, 167, 192, 198, 221, 266 & 271); mazjoob (259[2]); meelad (81[2], 82); mehr (224 & 270); moazzin (30, 31, 34, 105 & 118); mussalmans (8, 64, 92, 137, 138, 145, 146[3], 3 times- 147, 251, 252, 148, 149); Noor Naama (127); Mohammad (47, 81[3], 82); purdah (33, 160, 167, 215, 258, 264); Ramazan (126 & 127); Shab-barat (137); Sufis (41); Waalaikum-assalaam (93,194[2]); Ya Rasool Allah (158)

Religion (Hinduism): Asoka (145); Kauravs (4); Mahabharat (4); Pandavas (4); sacred Jamuna (230)

Slogans: The following Urdu slogans are used in the novel.

Allah-o- akbar (146); *Bol gai My Lord Kukroo-koon, ...* (249)

Superstitions: The author deliberately uses the word 'jinn' instead of 'ghost' because children are more afraid of jinn as stated in part I of the book.

jinn (51, 63[2], 64[3], 264, 265[5])

Titles: The word 'Nawab' means 'duke' in English while 'Raja' means 'prince', but the writer uses these Urdu titles to show their rank.

Nawab of Loharu (59); nawabs (144); Raja Yudishtra (4); rajahs (144)

Weather: Here, Ali uses the word 'loo' for 'hot air' which shows the intensity of summer season peculiar to East only.

loo (61, 83 ,98[2], 102, 200, 230)

Weighing units: The substitute for weighing units is available in English like ounces and grams but the author preferably uses the local terms. chattanks (210); seer (161[2], 210, 268)

Others: Other Code-switched words are written are follows bakshish (191); iqbal (195); kazzaq (187); kismet (45); maqta (117); mureed (122); paan-box (8); paan-case (27); sabeel (91); Yogi (205)

The most frequently used words are from semantic context out of which 'mode of addressing', 'occupation' and 'religion' are common in the novel. It is also interesting that the author uses the Urdu word "Begum" instead of "Mrs." while addressing to a married woman. The word Begum comes in the novel 225 times for Begum Nihal, Begum Waheed, Begum Shahbaz, Begum Jamal, Begum Habib and Begum Kalim. Likewise, 'jan' in Babban Jan, 'bai' in Mushtari Bai, 'mirza' in Mirza Shahbaz Beg, 'khwaja' in Khwaja Ashraf Ali is also used several times in the novel. The writer uses religious terms like 'azaan', 'moazzin', 'mussalmans', azaan is the religious practice that is performed by a 'moazzin'; person who calls the 'mussalmans'; Muslims, to prayer, five times a day. The occupation is also mentioned, 'bania' is a person who runs a shop and also lend money to the people and 'domnis' are the professional singers who used to sing in marriage ceremonies. The data shows that most of the words have alternatives in English like addressing mode, flora, fauna, titles, occupation, money, modes of transport while religious terms, art forms and rituals can't be translated into English. The writer highlighted the cultural value by using local terms.

Loan Translation of Urdu proverbs and metaphors into English

There are six Urdu proverbs are used in the novel by the author. One example of these is "When husband and wife are willing, what can the Qazi do?" (Ali 2007) (original: *jb mian biwi razi, tou kya karay ga qazi?*) It is a well-known saying in Urdu that when two parties are agreed on a point then the opinion of a third party lose its weight or when husband and wife are agreed then nobody can stop them. Some other examples include:

- "You have become the moon of Eed."
(Urdu: *aap tou eid ka chaand ho gaye han*).
- "A man remains young at sixty, and a woman grows old at twenty,"

(Urdu: *mard sath sal ka ho kr bhi jawan rehta hai, or aurat bees sal ma bhi dodhi ho jati ha*).

- “you seem to have all your fingers in the ghee these days,”
(Urdu: *aaj kal apki panchon unglian ghee ma hain*).
- “You eat his salt and are talking like this about him....”
(Urdu: *namak kha k namak-harami kartay ho*).
- “she felt like ‘a cow under the butcher’s knife’”
(Urdu: *qurbani ka baqra*)
- **Metaphors/ similies**
 - Like a beaten dog it has curled its tail between its legs.
(Urdu: *kuttay ki tarha dum dabana*)

Self-Translation of verses

The writer uses many verses in the book. Every part of the novel begins with a poem/ghazal of some famous poets like Haifz, Mirza Ghalib, Mir Taqi Mir and Zaibun Nisa. As Delhi was famous for his “standard and most chaste Urdu” (Ali 2007). All these poems are translated by the writer himself because these were written in Urdu and no translation was done so far. Other than poems, the writer also translated the everyday verses of common people like street vendors or beggars etc.

- Dhum! Qalandar, God will give,
Dhum! Qalandar, God alone;
Milk and sugar, God will give’
Dhum! Qalandar, God alone....
- With one twist I’ve cut thy kite,
my darling boy....
- Sweeter than honey, two pice for a quarter.
Eat these mulberries, cool and sweet.
- Here is Shah Maqbul,
He will take a pice
And a yard of tulle.
Give today or tomorrow
But must give on the day of Eed.
- O Delhi, ho Delhi,
To hell with you Delhi,

- Some other verses are:
 - This damned disease of piles is so inconvenient:
It shoots an arrow of death at the fundament.
 - How deadly this fever is,
Everyone is dying of it.
Men become lame with it
And go out in dolis
The hospitals are gay and bright,
But sorry is men's plight.

Translation of Phrases

The translation of typical Urdu verses is also done by the writer in the novel. The following verses are pointed out from the novel and their Urdu translation is also done.

- “You never see the time nor the opportunity....”
(Urdu: *na aap waqt dekhtay han na moqa*)
- You illegally begotten ones,
(Urdu: *haram zaday*)
- beaten-with-the-broom farangis
(Urdu: *jharoo maro farangion ko*)
- good-as-dead farangis
(Urdu: *mar janay farangi*)

Phonological analysis

The focus here is on spellings and pronunciation difference only. The writer uses the native pronunciation of words with spellings. He uses the word “Dilli” which is transcribed as /di'li/ in Urdu, while the English pronounce the word as ‘Delhi’ /'del.i/ (source: Cambridge Dictionary). It was Dilli before the siege of the city by British and became New Delhi later. Likewise, ‘George’ is pronounced as /dʒo:ɟ/ while in Urdu the word George is pronounced as “Jaraj” /dʒa:ɾɟ/ so the writer writes the Urdu pronunciation for ‘George’ because ‘Jaraj’ is pronounced by the milk-seller in the novel who is against English government, and has little knowledge of English language.

Similarly, the writer writes the Bengali accent of a doctor when he visits his patient and prescribes medicine. He said: “Bot there is nauthing, Babu ... He will gat vell soon”. which can be transcribed as /bɒt ðeə ɪz 'nəʊθɪŋ bɑ:bʊ/ /hi: wɪl ɡɜ:t vel su:n/ Here, he is speaking English with a different accent and there is also difference in the pronunciation of words. The actual pronunciation is /bʌt ðeə ɪz 'nʌθɪŋ bɑ:bʊ/ /hi: wɪl ɡet wel su:n/

Addition of -s with Urdu words

Another notable thing is the addition of a morpheme ‘-s’ with Urdu singular words like farangis, kahars, molvis, etc. to make them plural. But this addition of a morpheme does not affect the grammar. For instance, it is written in the book, “... how the Farangis had turned all the Mussalmans out of the city”. Here, we can see that there is no change in the grammatical structure of the sentence. It follows S-V-O rule and the meaning is also clear to the reader that Farangis (Englishmen) occupied Delhi and mussalmans (Muslims) were turned out of their city. It can be said that the writer experimented with the language and gave it a new aromatic flavor.

The below table shows the words with which the morpheme -s is used.

1. Azaans	2. banias	3. Chamaris	4. domnis	5. farangis
6. faqirs	7. ghassals	8. jinns	9. kahars	10. kababs
11. moazzins	12. molvis	13. mussalmans	14. naibs	15. nawabs
16. qawwals	17. rajahs	18. saqis	19. sufis	20. shohdays
21. mohurs	22. chattanks	23. sherbets	24. pindis	25. sarangis
26. mainas	27. paans	28. burqas	29. hai-hais	30. golays
31. dolis	32. seers			

Table 1. Addition of -s with Urdu words

Addition of -ed

The writer adds -ed; past participle, with the Urdu verb 'salaam' means 'to greet' and it becomes "salaamed". The writer experimented with the language by taking the lexicon of Urdu while the structure is of English.

Findings and Results

In this research, the code-switching is found in Ahmed Ali's *Twilight in Delhi*. Out of 275 pages of the novel, there are app. 995 CS occurrences recorded in the book. These occurrences show the use of code-switching in the text. Some words do not have alternative in English that's why they are written in Urdu while at various occasions the writer intentionally code-switched from English to Urdu. It is also found that CS does not affect the meaning nor grammar of English language.

The reason for the frequent use of Urdu expressions and lexicons is to preserve the essence of the native culture. Many of the words and phrases used in the novel carries socio-cultural connotations and their true meaning would be lost if they are replaced with English words. He also tries to guard the nativity by translating cultural proverbs & beliefs into English. He, actually, tries to shift the Orient ways into the language of the rulers because he wants to show the real image of his land, his people, his language, and desires to clear the distorted image of the East as portrayed by the intruders. He wants to own their language and choose English as a creative medium. By using code-switching as a tool, he wants to glorify the status of Urdu language which was once in Ali's words "well-preserved, jealously guarded language" (Ali 2007). Ali also tries to experiment with the language and brings creativity, and in doing so, he applies English structure on Urdu terms and introduces a new vocabulary in English like salaamed or faqirs.

Conclusion

To conclude, Urdu lexicons are code-switched and embedded gracefully in the novel by the writer. By writing these local terms the writer is highlighting the importance of Urdu language in everyday use. As his age was the age of transition; when English was dominating other local languages due to colonization and became the language of prestige. Ahmad Ali challenges this notion in his work and he deliberately uses Urdu lexicons in his writing to show that language is no one's

property neither someone's hegemony. By using code-switching, it is also clear that words from local language are used to fill the gap of cultural and philosophical ideas that are not found in English language. Also, one language cannot be justifiably translated into another language, it loses its texture. Due to code-switching, many of the English words have entered in Urdu and sometimes, it becomes nearly impossible to differentiate between the lexemes of two languages. Code-switching has become a norm in our society. We Pakistanis have owned and personalized English in such a way that it is no more the language of the rulers, but has become ours.

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