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L2 attrition in the aspects of productive lexicon and morphology

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Abstract

This study investigated a child Mandarin speaker's attritional performance in the aspect of L2-English productive lexicon and morphology. The participant lived in Canada for 3 years (from 2 to 5 years old). She was followed for 12 months since she returned to China from Canada. During the 12 months, her attritional performance of L2-English was tested 6 times with a story-telling task. According to the testing results, the participant displayed significant attrition in the aspect of productive lexicon. The duration of time that she left Canada was found have displayed a significant effect on her productive lexical attrition. Her lexical attrition was also evidential from her complimentary strategies employed in the last 2 tests. Nonetheless, the participant did not show significant attrition on morphology. The duration of time that she left Canada was revealed to be insignificant on her morphological performance.

Keywords: productive lexicon, morphology, L2 attrition, bilingual development, Chinese

1. Introduction

Language attrition is commonly defined as “the loss of language or any portion of language by an individual or speech community” (Freed, 1982:1). It is typically caused by the insufficient use of the L2 (De Bot & Weltens, 1991), which can result from the language environment that changes the dominant language used in daily life (Olshtain, 1989:151). Loftus and Loftus' (1976) retrieval-failure theory is widely applied in the explanation of language attrition, which argues that, the difficulty in retrieval of the target information from memory, which leads to language skills that are temporarily unavailable rather than permanently lost (Loftus and Loftus, 1976; also see Weltens and Grendel, 1993). Bahrick (1984) agreed with this view and indicates, an attriter's language skills are retained in a “permastore” rather than permanently lost from memory. Some previous studies on school-aged children, teenagers, and adults' L2 attrition found that lexical skills are less immune to attrition than other skills, such as morphology, phonology (Andersen, 1982). It would be interesting to explore whether it is the same situation for pre-school children. This study compares a Chinese returnee's² attritional performance in productive lexicon with that in morphology.

Productive lexical knowledge refers to the “words which can be produced within an appropriate context and match the intended meaning of the speaker or signer” (Harmer, 2006). The difficulty in producing a vocabulary item which can be viewed as the difficulty in the access retrieval of a target

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² Returnee: in the present study, it refers to someone returns to his/her own country after staying abroad for a period of time.

item, caused by a block of the links or associations between the memory and the target vocabulary item (Cohen, 1989). It is frequently reported to be one of the most vulnerable aspects concerning attrition (e.g., Seliger, 1985; Weltens and Grendel, 1993; Paradis, 2007). Likewise, vocabulary items which are least frequently used by a language user are predicted to be the most vulnerable to attrition (Andersen, 1982), which is supported by studies of language in contact (Weinreich, 1953) also language death (Dorian, 1989), despite that there are some exceptional findings (in Weltens, van Els and Schils, 1989).

Lexical attrition can be measured in terms of lexical variation, lexical originality, lexical density, and lexical sophistication (Laufer, 1995). Various kinds of tasks which can be employed for the assessment of lexical attrition, such as lexical decision tasks in Verkaik and Van Der Wijst (1986) and Grendel (1993), storytelling and oral recognition tasks in Cohen (1989). For the assessment of lexical attrition, one of the most widely used methods would be type-to-token-ratio (TTR). It measures the change in the ratio of the number of word categories (types) and individual words (tokens) over time (e.g., Cohen, 1989; Reetz-Kurashige, 1999; Yoshitomi, 1999). Conversely, the vocabulary sample collected from a productive task may not necessarily represent all the vocabulary that the participant knows at that moment (Bingham, 2007). Furthermore, complementary strategies, which refer to the subjects' communication strategies used to compensate for their insufficient linguistic knowledge in lexical production, possible for it to be viewed as another implication of lexical attrition (Nakagawa, 2013). For instance, Cohen (1989) investigated two children's attrition in the productive lexicon after 1, 3, and 9 months of discontinued contact with L3-Portuguese. At least 6 lexical production strategies for the compensation of forgotten words which were observed, such as L1-based strategies, intralingual strategies and code-switching. In Kuhberg (1992), for example, as a consequence of lexical attrition, two L1-Turkish participants switched some German words/phrases to Turkish by the end of the 15th and 20th month respectively.

The attrition of morphemes is a more complex topic. Specifically, an attriter may display increasing difficulties in the correct use of verb forms, articles, prepositions, and the like. (Kuhbert, 1992). Compared with other language skills, (e.g., lexical knowledge), morphological skills could be comparatively less vulnerable to attrition. For instance, in the participants in Tomiyama (1999), who were teenagers/adults, did not show morphological attrition until the 24th to the 33rd month of the period. Nevertheless, it is still not sure whether it is the same situation for pre-school children. Due to pre-school children do not have complete command of L1/L2 skills, the present study only focuses on the participant's accuracy in the use of basic morphemes, which includes *plural*, *third person*, *progressive*, *auxiliary*, *copula*, *possessive*, *regular past*, and *irregular past*.

2. Methodology

2.1. Participants

The participant (Lin, female) was born in China to Chinese speaking parents. She moved to Ottawa when she was 2 and lived there until 5 years old.

When she was in Canada, she spoke Mandarin at home but English in the kindergarten. By the time, Lin returned to China, both her L1-Mandarin and L2-English proficiency was at a native-like level. On returning to China, her dominant language was Mandarin both at home and in kindergarten. She had 3 English lessons per week in the kindergarten 30 minutes per session, which she provided a basic knowledge of English to the kindergarten children. Most of the time, she used Mandarin as the instruction language within the kindergarten. At the end of the 5th month after returned to China, Lin went back to Ottawa for a 20-day summer camp holiday with native English speakers.

2.2. Data collection

Test intervals are tabulated below.

Table 2.1 The schedule of the tests conducted during the longitudinal study.

Test	Time
test 1	2 weeks after Lin returned to China
test 2	3 months after the 1 st test
test 3	2 months after the 2 nd test (before she went back to Canada)
test 4	4 days after Lin came back from the summer camp in Canada
test 5	3 months after the 4 th test
test 6	3 months after the 5 th test

The study was conducted at Lin's home. She was followed for 12 months starting within 2 weeks after her return to China. Her L2-English proficiency was tested 6 times by the end of the 12th month (see Table 2.1)

The investigator was a bilingual English teacher with native-like English proficiency. The investigator only spoke English to Lin and her parent from the first time they met. Therefore, Lin did not know the investigator could speak Mandarin, so that to elicit Lins' best English production within the study.

A storytelling task using the picture book called *Frog, Where Are You?* (Meyer, 1969) was used, which is suitable for the assessment of children's oral fluency, lexicon, repair strategies, and the accuracy in the use of morphemes (Bardovi-Harlig and Stringer, 2010; Cohen, 1989). The picture book called *Frog, Where Are You?* is widely used to elicit data within child language attrition/acquisition research (e.g., Tomiyama, 2000; Nakagawa, 2013; Bingham, 2007). This book has various settings in 24 pages of detailed pictures without any written text. Lin was asked to tell a story according to the pictures as well as she could, and was given as much time as she needed for the preparation. There was no time or length limitation for this task. Each time, the investigator chatted and put her at ease before the start of the task, to ensure that the test conducted was in a friendly and relaxed atmosphere. Each session, which lasted approximately 30 minutes, was audio recorded and then transcribed.

Productive lexical attrition was quantified by calculating a type-token ratio (TTR) (the number of different words divided by the total number of words produced (Kimura, 1994). Due to the limitation of the subjects' English proficiency levels, only inflectional morphemes were chosen for evaluation.

Specifically, their accurate use of *plural, third person singular, progressive, auxiliary, copula, regular past, and irregular past* were calculated and complementary strategies were noted.

3. Findings

3.1. Results of productive lexicon

Table 3.1 gives us an overall depiction of the change of the produced number of specific word categories within the four tests. It is seen that, except for contracted structures, other word categories (verbs, nouns, etc.) all dropped (decreased?) from test 1 to test 6, though with some fluctuations during the process.

Table 3.1 Number of tokens

Test	verb	Noun	adjective	adverb	preposition	conjunction	pronoun	article	auxiliary	contraction	total
Test1	20	36	3	5	15	19	18	30	11	8	165
Test2	21	33	2	3	15	21	23	25	10	7	160
Test3	16	29	0	3	12	20	30	22	9	8	149
Test4	22	38	3	4	16	20	21	28	11	9	172
Test5	15	22	0	0	11	17	26	15	8	11	125
Test6	11	19	0	0	10	17	22	14	8	12	113

During the observation, the most severe decrease with the nouns, dropped from 36 in test 1 to 19 in test 6. Moreover, comparing the number of tokens in test 3 and test 4, most categories showed an increase, yet conjunctions and pronouns decreased overall in the number of tokens. The total number of words, the same as the trend of most of the word categories, decreased from test 1 to test 3, yet increased in test 4, which then is followed by a constant decrease in the following 3 tests.

Table 3.2 Type of token

	verb	Noun	adjective	adverb	preposition	conjunction	pronoun	article	auxiliary	contraction	overall
Test1	16	19	3	5	9	3	4	2	2	5	68
Test2	15	17	2	3	10	2	3	2	2	5	61
Test3	12	15	0	2	7	2	3	2	2	5	50
Test4	16	20	3	4	9	3	4	2	2	5	68
Test5	10	13	0	0	6	2	3	2	2	5	43
Test6	8	9	0	0	6	2	3	2	2	5	37

Similarly, the type of tokens decreased from test 1 to test 6 with different degrees of fluctuation during the process. The most severe decrease was observed within the category of nouns. Furthermore, most categories increased in types of token in test 3 compared with that in test 2. Conversely, auxiliaries and contractions remained the same through all the 6 tests. The type of preposition, increased in test 2, but decreased in test 3. The overall type of token followed the same trend of the overall number of words. That is, it increased in test 4, while decreased in the following tests.

Table 3.3 TTR results

tests	verb	Noun	adjective	adverb	preposition	conjunction	pronoun	article	auxiliary	contraction	overall
Test1	0.80	0.53	1.00	1.00	0.60	0.16	0.39	0.10	0.18	0.63	0.41
Test2	0.71	0.52	1.00	1.00	0.67	0.10	0.13	0.08	0.20	0.71	0.38
Test3	0.75	0.52	0.00	0.67	0.58	0.10	0.10	0.09	0.22	0.63	0.34
Test4	0.73	0.53	1.00	1.00	0.56	0.15	0.19	0.07	0.18	0.56	0.40
Test5	0.67	0.59	0.00	0.00	0.55	0.12	0.12	0.13	0.25	0.45	0.34
Test6	0.73	0.47	0.00	0.00	0.60	0.12	0.14	0.14	0.25	0.42	0.33

As shown in Table 3.3, the overall TTR decreased from test 1 to test 6. The pattern of decline is similar to the change of the total number and type of token as described above. They have dropped from test 1 to test 3, while increased in test 4, which then was followed by more severe decrease in the following tests. The TTRs of specific word categories, however, change from test 1 to test 6 with different degrees of fluctuation without showing any uniform trend.

For each of the three dependent measures, *repeated-measures ANOVA* indicate the duration of time that the participant left the English speaking environment (Canada) displayed significant within-subjects effect on the change of overall type of token ($F(1, 5)=5.712, p<0.001$), total number of tokens ($F(1,5)=13.311, p<0.001$), and overall TTR ($F(1,5)=2.72, p < 0.05$).

3.2. Results of the accuracy of morphemes

As shown in Figure 3.1, not a big change was observed regarding the number and type of morphological mistakes from test 1 to test 6. Mistakes were mainly found on verbs and articles. For the production of verbs, all the mistakes occurred in the irregular form of verbs in past tense. The irregular forms of see (*saw*), get (*got*), be (*was/were*) were correctly produced. Lin tended to generalize past tense by adding *ed* to the end of a verb (i e., *The fog runned away.*) in all the 6 tests. For some of the verbs, she used simple present tense to substitute the past tense form (i e., they *find* the frog.). For the production of articles, *a* was incorrectly used where *an* should be used (i e., *It's a antler.*); *the* was used with a higher frequency compared with *a/an* in all the 6 tests.

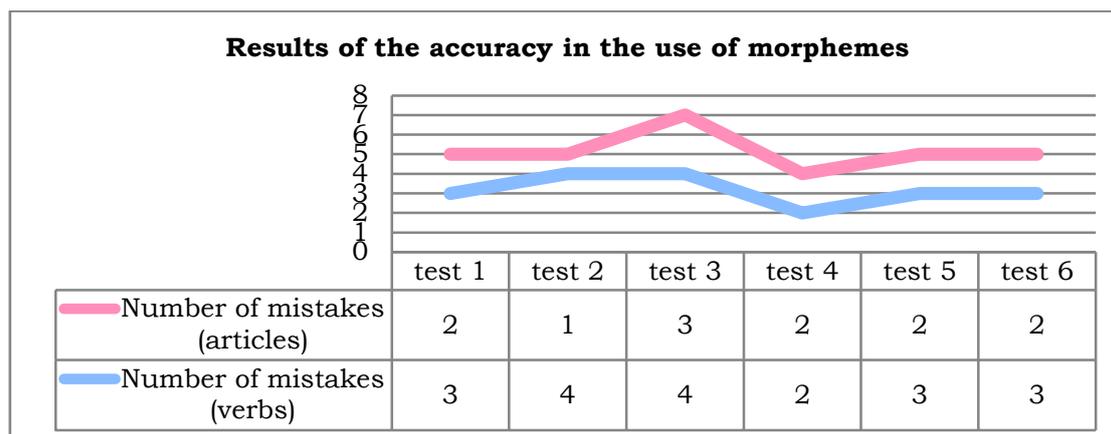


Figure 3.1 Number of morphological mistakes made in the six tests

Nonetheless, *repeated-measures ANOVA* failed to illustrate any statistical significance of the duration of time that the participant left Canada on her morphological performance ($p > 0.05$).

3.3. Complementary strategies

The uses of complementary strategies observed from test 5 to test 6. In test 5, when describing picture 15, Lin said, *It's a (2sec) Ah (3sec) LingYang* (means *antler* in English). Then she generalized the word *LingYang* with *animal* in English in the following content. When depicting picture 20, the sentence *He said Ah (2sec) Ah he said xu* (means *hush* in English). Moreover, English *antler* was code-switched to Chinese *Lingyang*. An interesting finding was that Lin generalized *antler* with *animal* in the following narration of the study in test 5 and test 6. She repeatedly generalized different characters with the pronoun *he* in the last 2 tests. In test 6, *Owl* was replaced by *bird*. Moreover, code-switching occurred 4 times in this test: 1. *He ah (3sec) he diao xia qu le*³. 2. *And there's (2sec) ah (3sec) shuzhi*⁴. 3. *Ah (4sec) ranhou (2sec) ta (2sec) he (3sec)*⁵ 4. *He's (2sec) he's behind a (4sec) huzhuang*⁶. However, instead of code-switching *antler* to *Lingyang* in Chinese as that was done in test 5, Lin used the word *animal* to refer to it without self-repairing as done in test 5.

4. Discussion

This study is aimed to examine a young child returnee's L2-English attrition on the productive lexicon and morphology. As evident in the baseline data (test1), Lin did not have any difficulty in expressing herself in English upon immediate return to China despite a few grammar mistakes. Noticeable lexical attrition occurred very quickly after returning to China for 3 months, which was observed in the total number and the diversity of the produced words. The length of time since leaving Canada had a significant effect on

³ Chinese *diao xia xu le* means *fell down* in English.

⁴ Chinese *shuzhi* means *branches* in English.

⁵ Chinese *ranhou* means *then*; *ta* means *he* in English.

⁶ Chinese *shuzhuang* means *log* in English.

her linguistic performance. Lin's morphological knowledge, however, was relatively spared where she maintained similar levels of morphological accuracy, with little fluctuation throughout the 6 tests. This finding may have provided further supporting evidence for the view that lexical knowledge is less immune to attrition than other language skills (Tomiyama, 2000; Andersen, 1982). It is in accordance with findings and predictions in many previous studies on older children, such as Seliger (1985), Weltens and Grendel (1993), and Paradis (2007). Nevertheless, it is in odds with that of other studies, such as Weltens et al (1989), in which other language skills found to have steeper rates of decline than the lexicon. Moreover, the subject in Tomiyama (1999; 2000) maintained perfect performance concerning the use of English prepositions in the first 19 months after left the target L2 environment. In the present study, Lin showed noticeable decline in the accurate use of morphemes, despite that it was revealed to be insignificantly affected by the time of leaving the L2 environment. Nevertheless, as the present study was limited in focus on productive lexical skills and morphology, it is possible that the receptive lexical knowledge may attrite later and/ or less than other language skills.

The use of complementary skills, such as code-switching and generalization, was in accordance with that in Cohen (1989). It may be because after returning to China, Lin lost the need to use English on a daily basis. She could hardly maintain the acquired English knowledge from the English classes in China, which were at beginners' level, and most of the time, the English teacher used Mandarin as the introduction language to teach. However, there were some words which were supposed to be frequently used, yet were code-switched to Chinese, such as *he* and *then*. Nevertheless, these mistakes only occurred once in the test. Lin correctly produced these words in the preceding and following content. Therefore, these code-switched words can either be viewed as the slip of tongue, or the embodiment of the increasing influence of L1-Mandarin on her production of L2-English on sentence level.

Another significant finding of this study is that in test 3, which Lin had taken before returning back to Canada for 20 days holiday, improvement was found in the production of lexicon, yet not a big difference was shown in the morphological accuracy. During the 20 days in Canada, Lin interacted with native English speakers, thus had the chance to use English on a daily basis. It might be viewed as a process of relearning L2-English, though no systematic instruction was carried out. Given the fact that it was only 20 days after which Lin displayed improvement, it may have confirmed the prediction of *retrieval-failure theory*. That is, instead of losing the acquired language skills permanently, language attrition is in fact the temporary difficulty in the retrieval of the acquired language skills (Loftus and Loftus, 1976; Weltens and Grendel, 1993).

5. Conclusions

This study examined a young Chinese returnee's (Lin) L2-English attrition over a 12-month period, which was limited in the aspects of productive lexicon and the accuracy in the use of morphemes. The results indicate Lin's proficiency in productive lexicon declined by the end of the 3rd month after

returned to China. However, her morphological proficiency did not show severe attrition. After a 20-day stay in Canada in the 6th month, some improvement was found in lexical proficiency, yet not in Morphological aspect. With the increase of time of leaving Canada, more severe lexical attrition found within the tests undertaken. The duration of time that she left Canada was only found to be statistically significant for her lexical attrition, but not for morphological skills. Therefore, similar to school aged or older L2 speakers, pre-school aged children's lexical knowledge may be more likely to suffer from attrition than morphological skills.

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Pakistani English: Deviant pronunciation of English words by uneducated native Punjabi speakers

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Abstract

Punjabi is spoken as a mother tongue by a vast majority of people in Pakistan. English being the language of media, science and technology has strong impact on the native languages in Pakistan because code-mixing is a common phenomenon and even uneducated people employ words of English language due to multiple reasons such as the influence of media or class-consciousness. The regional languages also influence English in this process of borrowing and code-mixing because the borrowed words go through a make-up caused by the phonetic features of the regional languages. The study explores the ways in which the pronunciation of certain English words uttered by uneducated native Punjabi speakers in Pakistan differs from Standard English pronunciation. 195 borrowed English words have been suggested along with the transcription of deviant as well as British and North American pronunciation. It can clearly be observed that uneducated native Punjabi speakers pronounce these words in a significantly different manner due to the first language influence.

Keywords Pakistani English, code-mixing, pronunciation, Standard English, Native Punjabi speakers

1. Introduction

The study aims at identifying the words which vary in pronunciation from Standard English and are clearly marked by an influence of the first language of uneducated speakers in Pakistan. Uneducated Punjabi speakers only employ English words because they haven't learnt how to speak English formally. They use English words for different reasons such as fashion, ease of use, need for use of such words because sometimes they cannot find their substitute in Punjabi language. English being the language of science and technology possesses certain words that do not have substitutes in other languages. As English is the language of media and is also considered to be a symbol of social superiority; so, native Punjabi speakers employ English words which they have heard from different programs or dramas broadcasted on television. They also listen and learn such words through their communication with the educated people such as their children around them.

Due to the impact of English as an international language, code-mixing and code-switching are also in vogue. Consequently, the native Punjabi speakers who do not have formal education, especially of English, employ English words in their own unique style which is marked by a stamped impress of their Punjabi accent; which contributes towards creating Punjabi-cized

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English. Just like English goes through a nativized make-up in accordance with the other regional or native varieties such as Urdu (Shabbir et al, 2013; Mahmood et al, 2011), Pashto, (Rehman et al, 2012), Pahari, (Khan & Qadir, 2012) spoken by the Pakistani learners of English as a second language; similarly, Punjabi speakers also pronounce the borrowed English words in a Punjabi-cized manner because the native languages influence the pronunciation of English language. Even most of the educated native Punjabi speakers speak these English words with similar Punjabi-cized pronunciation while speaking Punjabi.

The study aims at identifying 195 such English words which deviate in pronunciation from Standard English pronunciation due to the influence of Punjabi language. English is an international language and it belongs to native speakers of any language in any country as much as it belongs to Native English speakers. According to Raza (2008), "Pakistan is one of those countries where English is fast spreading". The deviant pronunciation of the native Punjabi speakers in Pakistan is a natural manifestation of the influence of their first language and there is nothing wrong in pronouncing the words like that. According to Sheikh (2012), "There is a strong tendency in non-native varieties to restructure the sounds of native English to suit their purpose." Therefore, the restructuring of sounds is need based as well as influenced by the first language. The study doesn't aim either at degrading or glorifying anyone.

It is essentially important to explore how native speakers of other languages are using English. Pakistani English is a unique variety of English in its own rank because it has features that differ from the features of Standard English. (Talat, 2002; Talat, 2002; Baumgardener, 1993; Rehman, 1990). Vast majority of Pakistani nation constitutes of Punjabi speakers. According to Akram and Yasmeen (2011), In Pakistan, "44% population has Punjabi as their mother tongue." Understanding their patterns of pronouncing English words is vitally valuable. Research has been carried out on various phonetic features of Pakistani English. Khan (2012), carried research out on the phonetic features of Pakistani English and concluded that Pakistani speakers pronounce /r/, do not aspirate stops in word initial position and difference between /w/ and /v/ is not maintained. Moreover, Punjabi speakers break consonant clusters by inserting a short vowel sound /ə/.

Hussain & Mehmood (2012) observed that Punjabi speakers reverse the sounds, delete any phoneme at the beginning of a word, /v/ and /w/ are adapted as /v/, /d/ is substituted with /d/, /v/ and /w/ are substituted with /b/. Raza (2008) also came up with similar results. Heselwood & McChrystal (2007) found that boys tend to speak English in Punjabi accent more than the girls do. Punjabi English differs in pronunciation from Standard English due to varied stress patterns as well. According to Nadeem and Rehman (2013),

"The speakers may face stress problem due to the interference of their own language which does not have verbal delivery the way English language suggests ... It may be a natural tendency of first language Urdu/Punjabi speakers to use tones without denoting stressed syllables which is the prime cause of confusion."

Shabbir (2013) found that “The RP speakers pronounce words differently. /th/ voiced and unvoiced has specific sounds transcribed as /θ/ and /ð/. While the Pakistani English speakers pronounce /th/ voiced and unvoiced as /th/ and /d/.” According to Jabeen (2012) “This research shows that epenthesis is a prominent feature of Pakistani English. It occurs at all positions. It can be at onset and coda positions as well as at word boundary in certain circumstances. But the most regular pattern of insertion is before syllable consonants.”

Not much has been done on the pronunciation of the uneducated native Punjabi speakers in Pakistan. This study will help make the readers aware of many words with deviant pronunciation.

1.1. Significance of the study

The study is highly significant because it explores the ways in which the pronunciation of native Punjabi speakers, especially uneducated speakers, varies from the Standard English pronunciation. Such speakers employ only English words while speaking Punjabi and utter these words with a special Punjabi flavor added to them due to the first language influence. Just like British, American and Australian English, Pakistani English has specific features and Punjabi English may possibly be called an extension of Pakistani English. The study may help familiarize the global audience with the unique phonetic features of uneducated native Punjabi speakers. The words suggested in this article can help understand the patterns of pronunciation of native Punjabi speakers and may also help while teaching English to such speakers, if needed.

With this significance in mind, the specific aim of this study is to unearth the words which deviate regarding their pronunciation from the Standard English; and to define their phonologic and phonetic qualities.

2. Methodology

It is an exploratory-qualitative study in which deviations in pronunciation have been suggested through making lists based on long-term observation of the uneducated native Punjabi speakers. The study is exploratory in nature because, the research could not find any significant study on the same topic. Moreover, it has been endeavored to explore the number of words being pronounced in a manner different from the Standard English. The findings have been displayed and presented verbally.

The Lists have been made through observing the uneducated native Punjabi speakers who learn these English words by way of listening from TV programs or educated people around them. They may not be able to write these words or even recognize/read them in written form but they can use them with their own unique style in appropriate contexts because they have listened to these words being used in those contexts by their educated children, TV artists appearing in different TV serials and programs or other educated people around. For example, a rickshaw or taxi driver may learn an English word after listening it from an educated passenger and then start speaking it himself. Similarly a domestic woman, may learn an English word from a host of a TV program or a TV artist working in a play or movie. As such uneducated speakers are not taught these words as such, so they

pronounce them in accordance with their systems and ways of pronouncing Punjabi words. They pronounce them to the extent their physical make-up, habitual of speaking Punjabi, allows them to do.

As they would be unable to read or recognize these words, so data have been collected through observation over a long period of time and repeatedly pronounced words in Punjabi English have been suggested through the study. Not every word with deviant pronunciation could be added; however significant endeavors have been made to add as many words as possible.

The population generally comprises of uneducated men and women, teenagers as well as relatively educated people with no formal education of English language, for instance, rickshaw drivers, farmers, domestic women, waiters, chefs, maids, tailors etc. They belong to all age groups and speak Punjabi as their native language. They use these borrowed English words out of need or an effort to display their class or style consciousness consciously or unconsciously. Punjabi speakers prefer learning English because they consider it language of “educated and refined people” and “symbol of upper and upper-middle class” (Riaz & Qadir, 2012, p 2). Uneducated Punjabi speakers, in an effort to behave or speak like educated people or in need to talk to educated people, follow them by using as many words as they can possibly employ. Moreover, sometimes, they cannot help using certain words for which they do not find substitutes in Punjabi. For example product names, edibles or words introduced due to the influence of science and technology such as sprite, bulb and SIM etc.

One hundred and ninety five words have been collected and data have been displayed and analyzed qualitatively. Oxford English Dictionary has been consulted for transcribing the words and IPA chart has been used for the deviant transcriptions. A few words could not be transcribed well due to being unable to communicate the same effect as was needed; therefore, those vowel sounds have been underlined.

3. Findings

Table 1 Word list containing different pronunciation in different forms of English

Serial No.	Words	British Pronunciation	Deviant Pronunciation	North American Pronunciation
1	Alarm	/ə'la:m/	/ə'la:rəm/	/ə'la:rm/
2	And	/ænd//ənd/	/ændə/	/ænd//ənd/
3	Athlete	/ 'æθli:t/	/əθ'li:t/	/ 'æθli:t/
4	Acting	/ 'æktɪŋ/	/ 'æktəŋ/	/ 'æktɪŋ/
5	Apple	/ 'æpl/	/ 'eɪpəl/	/ 'æpl/
6	Basket	/ 'bɑ:skɪt/	/ 'bɑ:skət/	/ 'bæskɪt/
7	Bomb	/ bɒm/	/bʌmb/	/ bɑ:m/
8	Biscuit	/ 'bɪskɪt/	/ 'bɪskət/	/ 'bɪskɪt/
9	Bracelet	'breɪslət	/ 'bræslət/	'breɪslət
10	But	/ bət// bʌt/	/bʌtə/	/ bət// bʌt /
11	Bulb	/bʌlb /	/ 'bəlʌb/	/bʌlb /
12	Building	/ 'bɪldɪŋ /	/ 'bɪldəŋ/	/ 'bɪldɪŋ /
13	Blood	/blʌd /	/bled/	/blʌd /
14	Blue	/blu: /	/bɪlju:/	/blu: /
15	Book	/bʊk /	/bʊk /	/bʊk/

16	Box	/bɒks/	/bʌks//bʌksə:/	/bɑ:ks/
17	Beautician	/bju:ˈtʃɪn/	bju:ˈteɪʃən	/ bju:ˈtʃɪn/
18	Brush	/brʌʃ/	/'bʊrʌʃ/	/brʌʃ/
19	Biology	/baɪˈɒlədʒi /	/bɪˈjɑ:lədʒi /	/baɪˈɑ:lədʒi /
20	College	/'kɒlɪdʒ /	/'kɑ:lədʒ /	/'kɑ:lɪdʒ /
21	Cigarette	/.sɪgə'ret /	/'sɪrgət /	/.sɪgə'ret/
22	Calendar	/'kælɪndə(r)/	/'kæli:ndər/	/'kælɪndər/
23	Conductor	/kənˈdʌktə(r)/	/kənˈdæktər /	/kənˈdʌktər/
24	Chain	/tʃeɪn/	/tʃæɪn/	/tʃeɪn/
25	Cycle	/'saɪkl/	/'sækəl/	/'saɪkl/
26	Competition	/ˌkɒmpə'tɪʃn /	/ˌkæmpɪ'trɪ:ʃən/	/ˌkɑ:mpə'tɪʃn /
27	Cinema	/'sɪnəmə/	/'sænma:/	/'sɪnəmə/
28	Course	/kɔ:s /	/kɔ:rəs /	/kɔ:rs/
29	Company	/'kʌmpəni /	/'koumpni:/	/'kʌmpəni /
30	Confirm	/kənˈfɜ:m /	/kənˈfərəm /	/kənˈfɜ:rm /
31	Connect	/kəˈnekt /	/kəˈnekt /	/kəˈnekt /
32	Challenge	/'tʃælɪndʒ /	/'tʃæləndʒ /	/'tʃælɪndʒ /
33	Continuously	/kənˈtɪnjuəsli /	/kənˈtɪnju:zli /	/kənˈtɪnjuəsli/
34	Cork	/kɔ:k /	/kɑ:rk/	/kɔ:rk/
35	Chance	/tʃɑ:ns /	/tʃɑ:nəs /	/tʃæns/
36	Coca-cola	/ˌkəʊkəˈkəʊlə /	/ˌkəʊkəˈkəʊlə:/	/ˌkəʊkəˈkəʊlə/
37	Concert	/'kɒnsət /	/kənˈsərt/	/'kɑ:nsərt/
38	Chocolate	/'tʃɑ:klət//ˈtʃɒklət/	/'tʃɑ:kleɪt/	/'tʃɒ:klət/
39	Chassis	/'ʃæsi/	/'ʃeisi:/	/'ʃæsi/
40	Drip	/drɪp/	/drɪp/	/drɪp/
41	Desk	/desk/	/deks/	/desk/
42	Dark	/dɑ:k/	/dɑ:rək/	/dɑ:rk/
43	Driver	/'draɪvə(r)/	/'drævər/	/'draɪvər/
44	Disturb	/dɪˈstɜ:b/	/dəsˈtərəb/	/dɪˈstɜ:rb/
45	Document	/'dɒkjumənt/	/'dɑ:kju:ment/	/'dɑ:kjumənt/
46	Diary	/'daɪəri /	/'dæri:/	/'daɪəri/
47	Dance	/dɑ:ns/	/'dɑ:nəs /	/dæns/
48	Design	/dɪˈzaɪn /	/dɛˈzæɪn /	/dɪˈzaɪn /
49	Diamond	/'daɪəmənd/	/'dæmənd/	/'daɪəmənd/
50	Dispensary	/dɪˈspensəri/	/dɛˈspænsri:/	/dɪˈspensəri/
51	Dressing	/'dresɪŋ/	/'dresəŋ/	/'dresɪŋ/
52	English	/'ɪŋɡlɪʃ/	/'ɪŋɡləʃ/	/'ɪŋɡlɪʃ/
53	Excuse me	/ekˈskju:s/	/ɪkˈskju:s/	/ɪkˈskju:s/
54	Election	/ɪˈleɪʃn/	/ɪˈlæɪʃən/	/ɪˈleɪʃn/
55	French	/frentʃ/	/frəntʃ/	/frentʃ/
56	February	/'februəri/	/'fɜ:vri:/	/'februəri/
57	Fire/firing	/'faɪə(r)/	/'fæər/	/'faɪər/
58	Finance	/'fainəns/fəˈnæɪn/	/fəˈnɑ:ns/	/'fainəns/fəˈnæɪn/
59	Formula	/'fɔ:mjələ/	/'fɑ:rmu:lɑ:/	/'fɔ:rmjələ/
60	Final	/'faɪnl/	/'fæɪnəl/	/'faɪnl/
61	Facial	/'feɪʃl/	/'fi:ʃəl/	/'feɪʃl/
62	Form	/fɔ:m/	/fɑ:rəm/	/fɔ:rm/
63	Fortune	/'fɔ:tʃu:n/	/'fɑ:rtʃu:n/	/'fɔ:rtʃən/
64	File	/faɪl/	/fæɪl/	/faɪl/
65	First	/fɜ:st/	/fəst/	/fɜ:rst/
66	Glass	/glɑ:s/	/gɪˈlɑ:s/	/glæs/
67	Guide	/gaɪd/	/gæɪd/	/gaɪd/
68	Guarantee	/.gærən'ti:/	/.grən'ti:/	/.gærən'ti:/
69	General	/'dʒenrəl/	/'dʒɜ:rnəl/	/'dʒenrəl/
70	Heading	/'hedɪŋ/	/'hedəŋ/	/'hedɪŋ/
71	Horn	/hɔ:n/	/hɑ:rən/	/hɔ:rn/

72	Height	/haɪt/	/hæɪt/	/haɪt/
73	Ice-cream	/aɪskri:m/	/eskri:m/	/aɪskri:m/
74	Information	/,ɪnfə'meɪʃn/	/,ɪnfə:r'meɪʃən/	/,ɪnfər'meɪʃn/
75	Jacket	/'dʒækɪt/	/'dʒækət/	/'dʒækɪt/
76	Knowledge	/'nɒlɪdʒ/	/'nɑ:lədʒ/	/'nɑ:lɪdʒ/
77	Library	/'laɪbrəri/	/læb'reɪri:/	/'laɪbreri/
78	License	/'laɪsns/	/l'sənəs/	/'laɪsns/
79	Lighter	/'laɪtə(r)/	/'læɪtər/	/'laɪtər/
80	Liner	/'laɪnə(r)/	/'læɪnər/	/'laɪnər/
81	Line	/laɪn/	/læn/	/laɪn/
82	Lunch	/lʌntʃ/	/lentʃ/	/lʌntʃ/
83	Light	/laɪt/	/læɪt/	/laɪt/
84	Limit	/'lɪmɪt/	/'lɪmət/	/'lɪmɪt/
85	Lace	/leɪs/	/læs/	/leɪs/
86	Milk	/mɪlk/	/mɪ'læk/	/mɪlk/
87	Modern	/'mɒdn/	/'mɑ:drən/	/'mɑ:dərn/
88	Management	/'mænɪdʒmənt/	/'mænədʒmənt/	/'mænɪdʒmənt/
89	Memory	/'meməri/	/'mæməri/	/'meməri/
90	March	/mɑ:tʃ/	/'mɑ:rətʃ/	/mɑ:rtʃ/
91	Message	/'mesɪdʒ/	/'mæsədʒ/	/'mesɪdʒ/
92	Mayonnaise	/meɪə'neɪz/	/'mɑ:junɪ:z/	/'meɪəneɪz/
93	Monkey	/'mʌŋki/	/'mouŋki/	/'mʌŋki/
94	Meeting	/'mi:tɪŋ/	/'mi:təŋ/	/'mi:tɪŋ/
95	Music	/'mju:zɪk/	/'mju:zæk/	/'mju:zɪk/
96	Market	/'mɑ:kɪt/	/'mɑ:rkɪt/	/'mɑ:rkɪt/
97	Marker	/'mɑ:kə(r)/	/'mɑ:lkər/	/'mɑ:rkər/
98	Menses	/'mensɪ:z/	/'mænsəz/	/'mensɪ:z/
99	Moustache	/mə'sta:ʃ/'mʌstæʃ/	/'maʊstæʃ/	/mə'stæʃ/
100	Member	/'membə(r)/	/mɪmbər/	/'membər/
101	Modem	/'mɒdəm/	/'mouðəm/	/'mouðəm/
102	Mobile	/'məʊbaɪl/	/mu:'bæl/	/'moubaɪl/
103	Marriage	/'mæərɪdʒ/	/'mæərɪdʒ/	/'mæərɪdʒ/
104	Nurse	/nɜ:rs/	/nərrʌs/	/nɜ:rs/
105	Off-white	/ɒf-waɪt//ɔ:f/	/hɑ:f-wæɪt/	/ɑ:f-waɪt/
106	Onion	/'ʌŋjən/	/'ouŋjən/	/'ʌŋjən/
107	Phone	/fəʊn/	/fu:n/	/foʊn/
108	Problem	/'prɒbləm/	/'prɑ:bləm/	/'prɑ:bləm/
109	Prepare	/prɪ'peə(r)/	/pər'peɪr/	/prɪ'per/
110	Park	/pɑ:k/	/pɑ:ræk/	/pɑ:rk/
111	Powder	/'paʊdə(r)/	/'poudər/	/'paʊdə(r)/
112	Photo	/'fəʊtəʊ/	/'foutu:/	/'foutu:/
113	Probably	/'prɒbəbli/	/'prɑ:bebli/	/'prɑ:bəbli/
114	Party	'pɑ:ti	/'pɑ:lti/	/'pɑ:rti/
115	Pipe	/paɪp/	/pæp/	/paɪp/
116	Police	/pə'li:s/	/pʊ'ləs/	/pə'li:s/
117	Plastic	'plæstɪk	/'plɑ:skət/	/'plæstɪk/
118	Public	/'pʌblɪk/	/'pʌblək/	/'pʌblɪk/
119	Pencil	/'pensl/	/'pensəl/	/'pensl/
120	Puncture	/'pʌŋktʃə(r)/	/'pentʃər/	/'pʌŋktʃər/
121	Petrol	/'petrəl/	/pət'rəʊl/	/'petrəl/
122	Position	/pə'zɪʃn/	/pʊ'zɪ:ʃən/	/pə'zɪʃn/
123	Polish	/'pɒlɪʃ/	/'pɑ:ləʃ/	/'pɑ:lɪʃ/
124	Profit	/'prɒfɪt/	/'prɑ:fət/	/'prɑ:fɪt/
125	Purse	/pɜ:s/	/'pərrʌs/	/pɜ:rs/
126	Package	/'pækɪdʒ/	/'pækədʒ/	/'pækɪdʒ/
127	Pants	/pænts/	/pent/	/pænts/
128	Ride	/raɪd/	/ræd/	/raɪd/

129	Ring	/rɪŋ/	/rɪŋ /	/rɪŋ /
130	Rickshaw	/'rɪkʃə:/	/'rækʃa:/	/'rɪkʃə:/
131	Recorder	/'rɪkə:də(r) /	/'r'ka:dər/	/'rɪkə:rdər/
132	Radio	/'reɪdiəʊ /	/'rædiu /	/'reɪdiu/
133	Respect	/'rɪspekt/	/'rəs'pekt /	/'rɪspekt /
134	Rocket	/'rɒkɪt /	/'rɑ:kət /	/'rɑ:kɪt/
135	Switch	/'swɪtʃ/	/'sɒtʃ/	/'swɪtʃ /
136	Station	/'steɪʃn /	/'teɪʃən /	/'steɪʃn/
137	Silencer	/'saɪlənsə(r)/	/'slənsər/	/'saɪlənsər/
138	Stylish	/'stɑɪlɪʃ/	/'stæləʃ/	/'stɑɪlɪʃ/
139	Spider	/'spɑɪdə(r)/	/'spædər/	/'spɑdər/
140	Sprite	/'sprɑɪt /	/'səpræt /	/'sprɑɪt /
141	Stupid	/'stju:pɪd/	/'stu:pəd/	/'stu:pɪd/
142	Speaker	/'spi:kə(r)/	/'spi:kər/	/'spi:kər/
143	Science	/'saɪəns/	/'sæns/	/'saɪəns/
144	Shirt	/ʃɜ:t /	/ʃəlt /	/ʃɜ:rt/
145	Steering	/'stiəriŋ/	/'steəriŋ/	/'stiəriŋ/
146	Straightener	/'streɪt /	/'sətreɪtnər/	/'streɪt/
147	Strawberry	/'strɔ:bəri/	/'sətrɔ:bəri/	/'strɔ:bəri/
148	Service	/'sɜ:vɪs/	/'sərvəs/	/'sɜ:rvis/
149	Scarf	/'skɑ:f /	/'skɑ:rəf /	/'skɑ:rf/
150	Style	/'stɑɪl/	/'stæɪl/	/'stɑɪl/
151	Shelf	/'ʃelf/	/'ʃəlf /	/'ʃelf/
152	Shiner	/'ʃaɪnə(r)/	/'ʃænər/	/'ʃaɪnər/
153	Sign	/'saɪn/	/'sæn/	/'saɪn/
154	Stop	/'stɒp/	/'stɑ:p / /'ʃ'tɑ:p/	/'stɑ:p/
155	Science	/'saɪəns/	/'sæns/	/'saɪəns/
156	Style	/'stɑɪl/	/'stæɪl/	/'stɑɪl/
157	Side	/'saɪd/	/'sæd/	/'saɪd/
158	Secretary	/'sekɹətəri/	/'sæktri:/	/'sekɹətəri/
159	Sim	/'sɪm/	/'sɪm/	/'sɪm/
160	Scissors	/'sɪzəz/	/'sɪ:zər /	/'sɪzərz/
161	Shopper	/'ʃɒpə(r) /	/'ʃɑ:pər / /'ʃæpər/	/'ʃɑ:pər/
162	Shopping	/'ʃɒpɪŋ /	/'ʃɑ:pəŋ /	/'ʃɑ:pɪŋ/
163	Shampoo	/'ʃæm'pu: /	/'ʃæmpu/	/'ʃæm'pu: /
164	Television	/'telɪvɪʒn /	/'tæɪlɪvɪzən /	/'telɪvɪʒn/
165	Tractor	/'træktə(r)/	/'træktər/	/'træktər/
166	Training	/'treɪnɪŋ/	/'treɪnəŋ/	/'treɪnɪŋ/
167	Tub	/'tʌb/	/'tʌp/	/'tʌb/
168	Temporary	/'tempərəri/	/'təmpreɪli:/	/'tempərəri/
169	Tube	/'tju:b/	/'tu:p /	/'tu:b /
170	Thirsty	/'θɜ:sti/	/'θərəsti:/	/'θɜ:rsti/
171	Tops(jewellery)	/'tɒp/	/'tæpʌs/	/'tɑ:p/
172	Topic	/'tɒpɪk /	/'tɑ:pək/	/'tɑ:pɪk/
173	Thermometer	/'θə'mbɹɪtə(r)/	/'θərma:mɪ:tər/	/'θər'mɑ:mɪtər/
174	Tube-well	/'tju:b wel /	/'tu:vəl /	/'tu:b wel /
175	Traffic	/'træfɪk/	/'træfək/	/'træfɪk/
176	Time	/'taɪm/	/'tæm/	/'taɪm /
177	Turn	/'tɜ:n/	/'tərən/	/'tɜ:rn/
178	Tyre	/'taɪə(r)/	/'tær/	/'taɪər/
179	Type	/'taɪp/	/'tæp/	/'taɪp/
180	Toll	/'təʊl/	/'tu:l/	/'tu:l/
181	Tip	/'tɪp /	/'tɪp/	/'tɪp/
182	Transformer	/'træns'fɔ:mə(r)/	/'trɑ:ns'fɑ:rmər/	/'træns'fɔ:rmər/
183	Tiger	/'taɪgə(r)/	/'tægər/	/'taɪgər/
184	Tweezers	/'twi:zəz/	/'tvi:zər / /'tju:zər/	/'twi:zərz/

185	University	/ ˌjuː.nɪˈvɜːsəti/	/juːnɪvˈrɛsti/	/ ˌjuː.nɪˈvɜːrsəti/
186	Umbrella	/ ʌmˈbrɛlə/	/ʌmbˈreɪlə:/	/ ʌmˈbrɛlə/
187	Very	/ ˈveri/	/ ˈværi/	/ ˈveri/
188	Visit	/ ˈvɪzɪt/	/ vɪˈzət/	/ ˈvɪzɪt/
189	Violin	/ ˌvaɪəˈlɪn/	/ ˌvæˈlɪn/	/ ˌvaɪəˈlɪn/
190	Wire	/ ˈwaɪər/	/ ˈvæər/	/ ˈwaɪər/
191	Wolf	/ wʊlf/	/ vʊləf/	/ wʊlf/
192	White	/ waɪt/	/ ˈvæɪt/	/ waɪt/
193	Water	/ ˈwɔːtər/	/ ˈvɑːtər/	/ ˈwɑːtər/
194	Wicket	/ ˈwɪkɪt/	/ ˈvɪkət/	/ ˈwɪkɪt/
195	Warrantee	/ ˈwɒrənti/	/vˈrɛnti/	/ ˈwɑːrənti/

It can be stated after going through the word list that the pronunciation of Punjabi English markedly varies from the Standard British or North American English on the basis of the following reasons or conclusions. The following conclusions can be drawn from observing the word list keenly. Not every conclusion can be generalized to every word; however, in most of the words, patterns can be found in the following ways:

1. /oo/ sound changes to /u/ sound which gives flat sound (pronounced without glide in tongue) of the vowel 'o'. For example, 'coca-cola' and 'soul'
2. Short /ɪ/ sound changes to even shorter /ɪ/ sound which isn't that refined. It sounds like a very short /eɪ/ sound. IPA chart doesn't contain this sound so it can only be described as a very short /eɪ/ sound. In the list mentioned above, this sound has been underlined. There are many words in which short /ɪ/ sound is flattened in Punjabi English. Many of these words have not been mentioned in this list. Examples include 'sim', 'slip', 'kill', 'flip', 'slim', 'click', 'omit' and 'tin' etc.
3. Reversal of sounds such as in 'plastic', 'desk', 'general' etc
4. /w/ changes to /v/ because /v/ is not pronounced with lip-rounding. For example, 'wire', 'water', 'white' and 'wicket' etc.
5. /ə/ sound is added between various consonant sounds such s/p or s/t occurring in the beginning of words such as 'sprite', 'spread' and 'strange' etc.
6. /ə/ sound is added between various consonant sounds occurring in the end of words such as between /l, f/ , /s, l/, /r, f/, /b, r/, /k, r/, /r, tʃ/, /p, r/, /n, s/, /r, m/, /ʃ, n/, /tʃ, n/, /r, n/, /n, s/. Examples include 'wolf', 'march', 'park', 'form', 'facial', 'final', 'pencil', 'horn', 'information', 'license' and 'alarm' etc.
7. /æ/ changes to /ɑː/ such as in transformer.
8. Words like copy, coffee, job, top, toffee and shopping etc. are pronounced with North American /ɑː/ instead of British /ɒ/. It is not the case that the speakers are aware of this difference; instead they do it due to the first language influence.
9. If /b/ and /v/ sounds are placed together, then /b/ becomes silent such as in 'obviously'.
10. /e/ changes to /æ/. For example, 'memory' and 'television'.

11. /eɪ / changes to flat a sound which is not pronounced with a glide in tongue. For instance ‘information’ and ‘training’. Every /eɪ / is pronounced without glide in tongue.
12. /b/ changes to /p/ such as in ‘tube’ and ‘tub’ etc.
13. /ɪ/ changes to /ɪ:/ . For instance, ‘market’, ‘temporary’ and ‘library’ etc.
14. /ɜ: r/ changes to / ə r/ because sounds are separated with the help of /ə/ instead of getting instantly joined. For example, ‘service’, ‘first’ and ‘nurse’ etc.
15. /ɜ:/ changes to /ə / and /ɪ/ for example in ‘shirt’ and ‘turn’ etc.
16. /aɪ/ changes to /æ/ ‘mobile’, ‘science’, ‘file’, ‘style’, ‘final’, ‘diary’, ‘driver’ and ‘pipe’ etc.
17. /eɪ/ changes to /æ/ such as in ‘radio’, ‘lace’ and ‘bracelet’ etc.
18. /ɪ/ changes to /ə/ such as in ‘public’, ‘traffic’, ‘meeting’, ‘college’ and ‘rickshaw’ etc.
19. /ɪ / changes to / æ/ such as ‘cinema’.
20. / æ/ changes to / ə / such as ‘calendar’.
21. /ʌ/ changes to /ə/ such as ‘puncture’.
22. /r/ is pronounced and this feature more or less matches with North American pronunciation. For example, ‘park’, ‘nurse’ and ‘turn’ etc.
23. /e/ changes to /æ/. For instance ‘memory’, ‘election’, ‘television’ and ‘dispensary’ etc.
24. /ə/ changes to /e/ such as ‘management’.
25. /ə/ sound is added by the end of many words such as ‘and’, ‘but’ etc.
26. /ɪ/ changes to /ɪ:/ such as ‘temporary’, ‘library’, ‘market’ etc.
27. /i:/ changes to /i/ such as ‘speaker’.
28. /ɔ:/ changes to /a:/. For instance, ‘form’, ‘horn’, ‘formula’, ‘walk’ and ‘rickshaw’ etc.
29. /eɪ/ changes to /ɪ:/ such as ‘mayonnaise’ and ‘facial’ etc.
30. /oʊ/ changes to /u:/ such as ‘phone’, ‘photo’ and ‘mobile’ etc.
31. /ʌ/ changes to /oʊ/ such as in ‘company’ and ‘monkey’ etc.
32. Sometimes /s/ becomes silent in the beginning of certain words such as station. /s/ also changes rarely to /ʃ/ such as the initial /s/ sound in ‘style or stylish’.

4. Conclusion

It can be concluded that the pronunciation of uneducated native Punjabi speakers inordinately varies from the standard British or American English and the study claims that it can be termed as Punjabi English. Additional sounds specially schwa is added in the beginning, middle or end of words. Sounds, especially vowel sounds are replaced with other vowel sounds which consequently give a different effect or impression. The study emphasizes that this pronunciation of native Punjabi speakers is punjabi-cized and very unique in its own right.

5. Suggestions and Recommendations

The following recommendations can be made for future research:

Further research can be conducted with the help of words suggested in this article. These words can further be used as data for future research. The study may be carried out with the help of collecting data through recordings and analyzing it through softwares; while, mixed approach of data analysis may be employed.

The study may be replicated in other contexts for other languages such as Brahvi.

The frequency of deviant pronunciation can be analyzed quantitatively through checking the percentage of participants who pronounce the suggested words with a punjabi-cized pronunciation. Findings should be discussed here with reference to the findings in the related literature.

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