

Research on Pakistani English: Developments and Directions

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ARTICLE HISTORY	Abstract
Received: 01/08/2026	<i>This article examines advancements in Pakistani English studies over the past forty years. It systematically reviews and synthesises existing research—a first for the field in the wider context—and highlights key issues and research gaps. This helps researchers grasp the field's developments, major themes, and areas that need further study. The article demonstrates that, despite being frequently regarded as understudied, Pakistani English has attracted significant scholarly attention. However, much of this research remains inaccessible to readers outside Pakistan. This article uses a qualitative, synthetic approach to review trends, interests, and developments across multiple language domains, to map perspectives, and to identify future research directions. However, this study does not claim exhaustive coverage of the existing body of research on Pakistani English; rather, it seeks to address as much relevant literature as possible. The researchers believe scholars and researchers in Pakistan and internationally will find this study valuable for future research on Pakistani English.</i>
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1. INTRODUCTION

This article is essentially an overview of research on Pakistani English (henceforth, PE) from the late 1980s. Non-native English varieties had not garnered much scholarly attention until the last quarter of the 20th century, largely because many believed these variants were distorted, debased, and disfigured versions of native tongues. This perspective was further reinforced by linguists who focused almost

entirely on structure, abstracting from use. These linguists saw language as a single code, often defined by the standard version used by all people in all situations, rather than as a collection of variations, each serving a different purpose. As a result, early PE studies primarily treated PE-specific features as errors.

At the outset of this review, it is pertinent to lay out some general sociolinguistic facts about PE. English, a residual colonial relic of the former British Empire, is no longer exclusive to the British. The ex-colonised have subdued, beaten, and neutralised it in their multilingual postcolonial context, so it now serves purposes beyond its original intent. As a result, English continued to play significant roles—either as an elitist language or out of necessity—after their independence. In Pakistan, immediately after independence, English perforce remained the official language of the newly established state out of necessity, since Urdu did not satisfy the criteria to be recognised as a national language, in addition to political problems associated with an Urdu-Only policy when linguistic groups, like Bengali, are striving for national language status. Haque (1982, p. 7) states that:

The use of English was inevitable for system maintenance: the ruling elite were trained to do their official work in English. English perforce continued to be the official language of Pakistan. It also had the compromise candidate, at least for the interim, since the adoption of one of the two languages of indigenous origin, Urdu and Bengali, as the national language could have meant the alienation of large sections of the populace, especially in an atmosphere charged with political activism generated by Bengali nationalism. And the switch to both would have meant confusion, not least for being premature.

Thus, English has gained more traction in society's social, political, and economic fabric. As a result, English now plays a more significant role in both public and private spheres for many Pakistanis. Moreover, it is no longer a foreign language in Pakistan, but has become a Pakistani language.

Several scholars have described the linguistic features of PE. Nowadays, scholarly work on PE is often published in major research journals, and the subjects covered span the breadth of linguistics. However, no known attempt has examined the PE research landscape to date, highlighting its main concerns and study methodologies. This study used a qualitative-oriented, synthetic approach to the literature review to address this gap in the existing body of literature on PE. This approach synthesises common themes across studies and organises them under common headings based on shared thematic concerns or methodological approaches. This study provides the first comprehensive examination of research on Pakistani English from the 1980s through 2025. Khan (2012) explored the development of PE as a legitimate variety; however, her analysis focused mainly on the historical context and the indigenisation process of English in Pakistan. Her work also focused mainly on the contributions of Baumgardner, Rahman, and Mahboob. Therefore, a comprehensive review of existing research is essential to map perspectives and to identify future research directions. As Light and Pillemer (1984, p. 169) note:

The need for research synthesis can only be realised when one understands that, for gains in scholarship to be cumulative, there must be a link between past and future research. Often the need for a new study is not as great as the need for the assimilation of already existing studies. Thus, the latter is a prerequisite of the former.

Thus, this review of the PE research body highlights its breadth, identifies areas that have not received sufficient attention, and suggests future directions for study. The researchers acknowledge that this study may have certain limitations, as it is practically impossible to include every publication in the field. However, they made every effort to include all works related to any aspect of PE that are available on platforms such as Google Scholar, ResearchGate, and Academia.

2. ATTITUDE TOWARDS PAKISTANI ENGLISH

One could categorise the dominant attitudes towards PE as either progressive or conservative. Conservatives take a prescriptive approach and consider any deviant use of PE an error. In contrast,

progressives take a descriptive approach and claim that PE is a distinct variety, distinct from other English variants at all linguistic levels.

The conservative attitude prevailed in PE from 1947 until the 1980s, and all of the early studies on English usage in Pakistan unequivocally labelled Pakistani usage as 'errors.' For example, Jones (1971) and Bell (1973) performed an "error analysis" of speakers' English from the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, while Rafi (1987) analysed graduate students' English errors at Karachi University. Similarly, Smith-Pearse's (1975) volume, *The English Errors of Pakistani Students*, and Shah's (1987) *Exploring the World of English* treated every deviation from British English as an error. However, this conservative attitude diminished with the advent of the World Englishes philosophy, which finds classic expression in Braj Kachru's writings. This philosophy of World Englishes holds that wide, distinct varieties of English are in use today, none of which should be considered "superior" to the others, and that usage standards for any variety should be internal or "endonormative" rather than external or "exonormative." The leading proponent of this philosophy in view of PE is Dr Robert J. Baumgardner (1987, p. 244), who declared that:

The forms that do ultimately end up in print, albeit variable, are not manifestations of random usage or errors, but are part of Pakistani English, in terms of language history, a relatively new and productive dialect of English which has resulted from language contact between transplanted British English and the indigenous languages of South Asia.

This shift was further strengthened by "the International Conference on English in South Asia, which was held in the capital of Pakistan in January 1989 and featured several scholars analysing different facets of PE. This conference became the watershed moment in the study of PE; within a few years, several publications that concentrate on various aspects of PE emerged" (Jadoon, Qureshi, & Muhammad, 2025, p. 737).

Although no codified endonormative standard exists for PE usage, an exonormative standard is still used to identify and fix errors. Yet scholars show greater solidarity with PE. As Sidhwa (1993, p. 212) claims:

We, the ex-colonized, have simply conquered the language, knocked it on its head, and made it ours in her commentary on the nativization of English in Pakistan. Let the Brits grumble, fret, and fume. The fact remains that in adapting English to our use, in hammering it sometimes on its head, and in sometimes twisting its tail, we have given English a new form, substance, and dimension.

However, research generally suggests that attitudes towards PE fluctuate along the progressive-conservative spectrum, and that a conservative view tends to depend more on non-linguistic than linguistic factors. As Qureshi, Jadoon and Farooq (2023, p. 8) observe:

Even among Pakistanis, Pakistani English is not welcomed with open arms. One obvious non-linguistic factor related to this adverse attitude is the rhetoric of purists who believe that the acknowledgement of a Pakistani variant of English may spell the death of the Standard British variant of English in Pakistan. Another non-linguistic factor is the lack of knowledge about language phenomena pertaining to the birth, spread, adaptation, and even death of languages.

Despite this, scholars contend that "in the context of Pakistan, the English language has lost its British character and become a Pakistani language" (Qureshi & Jadoon, 2025, p. 370). Nevertheless, further research is essential to understand precisely how Pakistanis perceive PE and World Englishes.

3. PAKISTANI ENGLISH: A SUMMARY OF ITS RESEARCH LANDSCAPE

The research landscape of PE is quite diverse and "any attempt to classify the works on the evolution of PE may only approximately capture the diverse natures of various works" (Jadoon et al. 2025, p.

737). Some works defy assignment to a single section, as they fit into more than one category. Therefore, the classification used in this study centres on general themes linked to, and roughly corresponding to, the various levels of linguistic research. This approach reflects the synthetic literature review discussed earlier. In the sections that follow, the study describes the wide range of subjects that PE scholars have focused on over the last forty years.

3.1 Standard/Educated Variety

In the case of PE, a codified endonormative standard has yet to be developed, and efforts to do so have been made only in fairly general terms. However, because it has taken centuries for native varieties of English to develop a codified standard, it is premature to expect an endonormative standard for nativized variants like PE. PE, like other nativized variants, is a speech continuum which represents a whole range of variations based on the degree of interference among others in a culturally and linguistically pluralistic language-contact situation.

The term interference implies the rearrangement of patterns that result from the introduction of foreign elements into the more highly structured domains of language, such as the bulk of the phonemic system, a large part of the morphology and syntax, and some areas of the vocabulary (Kinship, colour, weather, etc.). (Weinreich 1953, p. 1)

Therefore, PE appears to align with Kachru's (1965) "cline of bilingualism," a three-point random scale, which he used to categorise the educated variety of Indian English, and which helps categorise the varying degrees of English proficiency among PE speakers:

Zero	Central	Ambilingual
<i>Kachru's (1965) cline of bilingualism</i>		

The ambilingual point denotes native-like competency, the centre point denotes educated and semi-educated varieties, and the zero point denotes the bazaar variety. It indicates that four sub-varieties of a nativized variety exist: native-like, educated, semi-educated, and bazaar. However, because speakers—especially those at the ambilingual and central points—constantly adjust their language use to context, this cline is not rigid. Most educated speakers fall "around the central point" on this cline (Kachru 1965, p. 26). In this context, Rahman (2014, p. 20) states:

Pakistani English, like other non-native varieties of English, also has four sub-varieties. There is, for instance, that variety which differs only in some phonological-phonetic features from RP but is otherwise identical to BSE. This variety is used by people who have been exposed, generally for long periods, to BSE spoken in the RP accent. Such people belong to highly educated, and often very Westernized families, and are either writers with international reputations or academics and highly placed administrators. This variety can be called Anglicized English and, in order to distinguish it from other varieties, we may call it Variety A. The acrolect (Variety B), differs from BSE in the dimensions of morphology and syntax as well as lexis and semantics in addition to that of phonology. It is used by Pakistanis who have been educated in English-medium elitist schools or have had much exposure to BSE and RP later. Many good journalists, administrators, professional people and other upper middle-class people write the acrolect or, at least speak, this variety of English. Most people, however, write and speak the mesolect (Variety C) which differs more markedly in every way from BSE than the previous two varieties. These people are in middle and upper middle-class occupations but they have generally been educated in Urdu medium schools and have not been much influenced by native varieties of English. The basilect (Variety D) is used by clerks, minor officials and typists etc. who have not had much education. This kind of English is full of bureaucratic clichés and is the least intelligible variety for foreigners.

Qureshi and Jadoon (2025, p. 3) assert that "Pakistani English is the culmination of all these different PE [Pakistani English] speaker variations." This implies that PE is an umbrella term encompassing all English sub-variants used in Pakistan. Among these, the acrolect variant—often referred to as the educated variant of PE—is a legitimate contender for the endonormative standard. However, scholars have not done enough to determine an endonormative standard for PE; therefore, it seems like a potentially productive area of future study.

Foundational Works

The foundation for scholarly study of PE is laid out by Dr Robert J. Baumgardner's (1987) article, "Utilising Pakistani Newspaper English to Teach Grammar." Although the article centred on teaching English grammar through PE newspapers, it also examined syntactic features unique to PE, such as verb, adjective, and noun complementation. This represents a paradigm shift in the study of English in Pakistan from error analysis to feature analysis. Baumgardner's (1988) study, "Pakistanization of English," further solidified this shift and opened new avenues for analysing English usage in the Pakistani context.

The International Conference on English in South Asia, held in Islamabad, Pakistan, in January 1989, marked the beginning of a new era in the study of PE. One of the conference's primary themes was the state of English study in Pakistan, notably its literary and linguistic facets. Several scholars, including Robert J. Baumgardner, Ahmed Ali, Alamgir Hashmi, and Bapsi Sidhwa, presented papers on the linguistic, sociological, and historical facets of PE, making the conference a groundbreaking event for the study of the language. In 1993, Robert J. Baumgardner's edited volume, *The English Language in Pakistan*, published some of these papers. Meanwhile, Talaat's M.Phil. Thesis, *A Study of Lexical Variations in PE: A View on Language Contact and Change* (1988), and Rahman's M.Litt. Thesis, *Pakistani English: The Description and Pedagogical Use of a Non-Native Variety of English* (1989) – also appeared in print in 1990. Rahman (1991) also published on aspects of phonetics, phonology, and word usage in PE. Audrey E. H. Kennedy also examined lexicography, journalistic style, and the impact of indigenous culture on PE.

However, Robert J. Baumgardner's writings, whether independent or in collaboration with scholars such as Audrey E. H. Kennedy and Fauzia Shamim, dominate PE studies in the 20th century. His writings cover a wide range of topics, including PE's cultural and linguistic identity, its norms and acceptability, and its lexicosemantic and morphosyntactic features. His seminal works have served as a point of reference in scholarly research on PE, providing a comprehensive and well-reasoned argument grounded in textual evidence. Therefore, he deserves to be called the founding father of PE studies.

Post-2000 Works

In the post-2000 era, PE studies have garnered significant attention, and scholars have begun to examine different facets of PE, building on the groundwork laid by Baumgardner, Kennedy, Rahman, and Talaat, among others. Articles that sought to lay out the PE's uniqueness in the domains of World Englishes in the post-2000 era of PE studies includes Talaat's (2003) analysis of the divergence of PE from British English, Mahboob's (2009) study of the Islamic identity of PE, Khan's (2012) review of the existing studies of PE, Rahman's (2016) analysis of the development of English in Pakistan, Adnan and Tehseem (2022) study of PE as a unique, indigenized variant reflecting local culture in the light of Kachru's Three Concentric Circles model, and Jadoon, Ahmad, and Qureshi's (2023) attempt to analyse the evolution of PE in the light of Schneider's dynamic model. In addition, this review covers key works addressing the various facets of PE in the main linguistic domains—phonology, morphosyntax, lexico semantics, and discourse-pragmatics.

Phonology

PE is best distinguished by its phonological features, even though considerable phonological variation exists within the variety, based on speakers' mother tongues. At least 71 languages are spoken in

Pakistan, and speakers of these languages would likely use English quite differently. "However, no study has yet been done to determine how different mother languages affect PE (es)" (Jadoon & Ahmad 2022b, p. 3). Following Rahman's (1990) foundational work, Mahboob and Ahmar (2004) offered a preliminary description of PE phonology, covering segmental and suprasegmental features. However, it is based on a small sample of data collected from six educated Pakistanis in Karachi. Its findings suggest that PE speakers do not aspirate stops in word-initial position before a vowel, have a "reduced" vowel system, exhibit epenthesis, and tend to use spelling as a guide to pronunciation, compared with inner-circle variants. At the suprasegmental level, they reiterated what Nelson (1992) and Kachru (1983) observed about South Asian Englishes: PE uses pitch-accent and syllable-timed rhythm as a subvariant of South Asian Englishes.

Based on an analytical and comparative study, Sheikh (2012) suggests that PE's segmental characteristics include restructuring vowels by substituting front or back vowels for central vowels, thereby 'monophthongising' some diphthongs by lengthening the first element and omitting the second. Long and short vowels are not distinguished in PE either. In their study of how PE speakers perceive and produce English consonants, Syed, Ansari, and Gopang (2017) found that PE is characterised by specific phonological shifts influenced by native languages such as Urdu/Punjabi. Key findings include reducing dental fricatives to stops or other fricatives, neutralising aspiration in stops, and significantly retroflexing /t/ and /d/. Farooq and Mahmood (2017) confirm the impact of PE speakers' L1 on word syllabification, vowel duration, and formant frequencies of vocalic segments. Several other studies have addressed specific aspects of vowel realisation in PE. For example, Farooq and Mahmood (2018), Riaz (2021), Khattak and Shah (2022), Mahmood (2022), Bilal and Asghar (2023), Khalfan and Anjum (2024), and Tufail, Zia and Bin Sadiq (2024), among others.

Jadoon and Ahmad (2022b) examine both segmental and suprasegmental aspects of PE. At the segmental level, their study reveals deviant tendencies of PE from British English, such as different vowel realisation, substitution of the dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ with the voiced stop /d/ and the aspirated voiceless stop /tʰ/, respectively, absence of phonemic distinction between the voiced labiodental fricative /v/ and the velar semi-vowel /w/, and different realisation of /p/, /t/, and /k/ among the plosives. In addition, it suggests the absence of allophonic variation between clear and dark /l/, the simplification of consonant clusters, the occasional use of spelling as a pronunciation guide, and the general pronunciation of /r/. At the suprasegmental level, the study says that PE tends to use syllable-timed rhythm, tends to place stress on suffixes or at random time stresses, the placement of stress frequently occurs on a different syllable than in Received Pronunciation (RP), lacks differential patterns to indicate changes in parts of speech, and has a propensity to break up grammatical units within sentences arbitrarily. Other suprasegmental analyses include Kamran, Afsar, and Khan's (2017) lexical stress and foot patterns of PE, and Fuchs's (2023) comparative study of the speech rhythm of Pakistani, Philippine, Nigerian, and British English, which addresses methodological inconsistencies in previous studies.

Morphosyntax

The morphosyntax of PE is believed to be the most similar to British English, in contrast to phonology and lexis. Therefore, deviant usage of morphosyntactic forms is highest at the 'less educated,' 'non-Standard,' and 'non-acrolectal' end of the PE speech continuum and decreases as one approaches the 'more educated,' 'Standard,' and 'acrolectal' level. However, Mahboob's (2004) study notes certain morpho-syntactical variations that distinguish PE from British English at both the sentential and clausal levels. These include tense use (e.g., progressive and perfective aspect), complementation (e.g., noun, adjective, and verb), tag questions, word order, reduced relative phrases, and the omission of auxiliaries, articles, and prepositions. Anwar and Maryam (2017) observed the use of stative verbs as progressive in PE, and Iqbal's (2018) work also highlights syntactic variations.

Other works which explored the morphosyntax of PE include Imran's (2020) study of syntactic variations in adjective phrase—double comparatives and double superlatives in PE, based on a corpus – GlowbE- which has 50 million words of PE. The study shows that superlatives and double comparatives appear in PE due to the influence of regional languages, even though this is not a feature of British English. Ahmad, Mahmood, and Farukh's (2020) corpus-based study examines how modal verbs serve as stance markers in 500 editorials from PE newspapers. Buriro, Zaki, and Ashraf (2023) examined PE in periodicals and newspapers and noted substantial grammatical variations from standard English. Imran's (2023a) study of the adverb phrase "as well" in initial position in PE also reflects the impact of regional languages on PE. Sibtain, Iqbal and Aslam's (2023) analysis of PE noun phrase patterns illustrates the structure of Noun Phrases (NP) in PE media. Maqbool, Ahmed and Rehmat (2024) highlight that PE has developed a unique identity by blending regional Pakistani languages and cultural norms with British Standard English. Fatima, Anwar, and Shahid (2024), in their research on adverbial placement in PE, found notable variations compared with British English norms, reinforcing PE's distinct identity. Anwar, Butt, and Zuree's (2024) study of verb use in PE newspapers shows that these newspapers exhibit distinctive lexical choices and nativisation that contribute to PE's unique regional identity. Qureshi and Jadoon (2025), in a qualitative study of Pakistani Anglophone literature, examined tense, auxiliary, and preposition use to identify consistent grammatical shifts influenced by native mother tongues and an artificial-language learning environment. Schmidt and Funke (2025) explored the mandative subjunctive in PE to demonstrate how frequently speakers select the "bare" subjunctive (e.g. I suggest he stay) over the modal should (e.g. I suggest he should stay).

At the morphological level, Sadiq, Nadeem, and Nousheen (2024) argue that morphological blending—not straightforward code-switching—is central to PE's linguistic identity. Through examples such as '*Nikkahfied*', they show how patterns of affixation and hybridisation enable Urdu and English to blend and reflect regional cultural realities.

Lexicosemantics

The lexicosemantic domain of PE has garnered more attention than any other, presumably because 'acculturation' or 'nativisation' is readily observable. For example, several studies have identified lexical borrowing and the subsequent adaptation of borrowed items to the English grammatical system as the most significant aspect of PE lexicosemantics. Building on these findings, Mahboob (2004) affirms Baumgardner, Kennedy, and Shamim's (1993) results on PE's lexicosemantic characteristics. Specifically, he categorises several distinctive traits of PE, including borrowing, conversion, archaisms, affixation, proposed phrases, hybridisation, compounding, and semantic shift/extension.

These studies collectively demonstrate that PE is profoundly shaped by culture-specific borrowings and innovations, especially from Urdu and regional languages. Mahmood and Shah (2011) show that bilinguals strategically use Urdu nouns in written PE to capture sociocultural and religious nuances not expressible in English. Jadoon (2017) reports widespread borrowings across lexical areas in Pakistani Anglophone literature, while Jilani and Anwar (2018) identify distinctive, nativized lexico-semantic features in PE newspapers, shaped by borrowing, coinage, and semantic adaptation. Khan (2020) finds that Urdu loanwords in PE are morphologically integrated yet preserve their grammatical identity. Soomro and Larina (2022) document notable phonological and semantic influences from Urdu, Punjabi, and Islamic culture—such as the /r/ sound and kinship terms—setting PE apart from Standard British English. Riaz (2022) shows that Moni Mohsin employs grammatical deviations to forge a distinct PE idiom and promote regional vernacular expression.

Jadoon and Ahmad (2022a) argue that PE is a distinct, institutionalised variety, identifiable through its unique lexical features. They observe that PE writers deliberately employ processes such as lexical borrowing, compounding, affixation, hybridisation, and, at times, archaisms to reflect Pakistani sociocultural realities. These strategies help fill lexical gaps or express emotions precisely, especially in areas such as food, clothing, and social relations. Supporting this, Qureshi, Muhammad, and Jadoon

(2023) analysed Pakistani Anglophone literature and found that PE frequently borrows from local languages, reinforcing its unique lexicon and distinct identity.

At the semantic level, Bibi, Ishaq, and Qasim (2023) examine semantic shifts in meaning and grammatical categories resulting from terms borrowed into PE from Urdu, Punjabi, Arabic, and other languages. The study argues that these borrowings are internalised and often involve shifts in semantic context, reflecting a distinct Pakistani socio-cultural identity. Qureshi, Jadoon, and Farooq (2023) describe how semantic adjustments in English, shaped by Pakistan's social and cultural context, led to the "Pakistanization" of the language. However, PE lexicography has not been studied, and now is an ideal time for scholars to focus on it.

Discourse-pragmatics

The discourse-pragmatics studies of PE should have received more attention, but they have received hardly any. This is strange, given that PE speech is full of discourse markers, many of which are derived from indigenous languages and have received no attention until now. To illustrate this limited attention, a few articles are worth noting. For example, Abbas, Anjum, and Pasha's (2019) study focuses on the pragmatic strategies PE speakers use during the speech act of apology, one of the more recent publications. The study also examines how social characteristics, such as gender and formality, affect linguistic choices using Brown and Levinson's (1987) Politeness Theory. Another relevant work is Noor and Anwar (2021), which explores the nativisation, variation, and categorisation of discourse markers in PE, examines their particular uses (such as "however" and "anyway"), and emphasises the evolution and unique linguistic characteristics of PE as a distinct variety. In addition, Rehmat, Ahmed, and Maqbool (2024) examine the pragmatic, cultural, and linguistic subtleties in how PE-speaking students respond to apologies and offer congratulations. This study demonstrates how these speech acts are modified to conform to Pakistani social standards.

3.4 Use of Pakistani Anglophone Literature in the Study of Pakistani English

Early studies of PE relied on linguistic analyses of Pakistani English newspapers and scholars' personal observations and insights. Surveys, questionnaire responses, and comparable sources increasingly provided empirical data. However, Pakistani Anglophone literature, which offers a wide range of data for studying different aspects of PE from a linguist's perspective, is largely ignored. Recently, a few works have focused on this line of inquiry, namely Jadoon (2017), Ali and Ahmad (2019), Khan and Nawaz (2019), Sarfraz (2021), Jadoon and Ahmad, (2022a; 2022b), Riaz (2022), Qureshi, Jadoon and Farooq (2023), Qureshi, Muhammad and Jadoon (2023), Jadoon, Ahmad and Qureshi (2024), Jamshaid (2024), and Qureshi and Jadoon (2025) mainly aim to prove the presence of PE as a general fact, while they also find examples of its distinct features in Pakistani literary texts.

4. CONCLUSION

This article provides the first mapping of the major works and interests defining the study of PE, establishing the field's current research landscape. It orients scholars to achievements so far and positions this overview as a foundation for future inquiry. Central to the argument is the need to expand PE research in five areas:

- (1) online contexts, reflecting rising digital engagement, which may include:
 - a) What linguistic features of Pakistani English appear on digital platforms such as social media, messaging apps, and blogs?
 - b) What role does computer-mediated communication (CMC) play in shaping lexical innovation, orthographic variation, and code-switching practices in Pakistani English?
 - c) How does digital discourse reflect and construct cultural identity among Pakistani English users?
- (2) diasporic Pakistani Anglophone literature, which provides ample data for linguistic analysis of PE

- (3) corpus-based language investigation to provide linguistic insights into PE; and
- (4) lexicography to compile and write dictionaries of PE usage
- (5) comparative studies with other South Asian English varieties, such as Indian English, Sri Lankan English, and Bangladeshi English.

Electronic aids enable further empirical research in these areas. However, limitations of corpora are becoming apparent. Their findings may not always be reliable, and their novelty can lead to overvaluation. Traditional research methods, such as surveys and ethnographic approaches, remain valuable and should be used alongside corpora to achieve a more nuanced understanding of linguistic aspects of PE. Given the significant number of publications in the past decade, the future of PE research appears robust.

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