

English Pashto Contact: Morphological Adaptation of Bilingual Compound Words and Hybridization in Pashto Language

Ayesha Israr¹ , Khalid Shah² , Arif khan³ 

¹Lecturer, Department of English, University of Malakand (Women Campus)

²MPhil Scholar, Department of English, Hazara University Mansehra

³Lecturer, Department of English, University of Malakand (Women Campus)

Correspondence: arif.wsc@uom.edu.pk³

ABSTRACT

Aim of the Study: Language Contact is a familiar concept in the present global world. Across the globe, languages get mixed up at different levels. Borrowing and code-switching are some of the means through which languages interact. This study examines Pashto-English contact at word and syllable levels.

Methodology: By recording the speech of 100 Pashto native speakers, selected via ‘social network’ sampling, the study located a number of Pashto-English compound hybrid words which is a unique contact of its kind. In data analysis, tokens were categorized on the basis of their pattern and morphological structure.

Findings: The study shows that Pashto-English Bilingual Compound Hybrid words (BCHWs) are very prevalent in Pashto language. The study also found that the BCHWs in Pashto are completely productive and have their own meanings. It also shows that the dominant pattern of hybrid words in Pashto is the conjugation of an independent English root word followed by a Pashto inflectional morpheme, which contributes to the core semantic content of the construction. The BCHWs construction shows that how both the languages are closer to each other. Pashto-English contact results into bilingual compound and hybrid words, which form a considerable number of tokens in the present day, spoken Pashtu.

Conclusion: On the basis of these findings, the study assumes that the same phenomenon may increase with the passage of time that would in turn result in the formation of more bilingual compound or hybrid words.

Keywords: English Pashto Contact, Morphological Adaptation, Bilingual Compound Words, Hybridization.

Introduction

Bilingualism or multilingualism emerges from language contact. Language contact, according to Wei (2000), involves communicating with different people who encounter each other in separate languages. The literature includes several definitions of bilingualism. Bloomfield (1933), for example, argues that a bilingual speaker needs to have native-like control over both languages. On the other hand, Haugen

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(1953) points out that speakers who are able to express themselves in total coherence in both languages are bilingual. Myers-Scotton (2006) describes the term bilingualism as "the ability to use two or more languages sufficiently to hold a minimal normal conversation."

One category of morphologically complex words is compound words: two words combine and yield a new meaning. Compound words, two words are combined and create a new meaning, is one category of morphologically complex words. A compound word's function in sentences is that of a single word. Compound words are different from inflection and derivation because they are made from existing words, and the constituents of the compound words are mostly from open-class words in a language. However, the derivational or inflectional stems and roots in the language remain independently in the mental lexicon, while affixes are associated with close-class words sets (Mayila, 2010).

Bilingualism is the norm in most countries in the world. It is present in all classes of society and all age groups in most countries around the world (Lewis, 1918). In the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) Pakistan bilingual speech community, the use of English and Pashto can be defined in the Afghanistan border region in terms of diglossia, where English has an official status and is used in formal settings such as in the workplace, in writing, in teaching, and court. It can be assumed that English functions are largely confined to writing. Pashto, on the other hand, is the dominant language of the speech community where it is used in the market, in the playgrounds, in the family environment, with relatives, in the cafe, in an office, and informal education setting (Muysken, 2014).

The paper is concerned with Pashto speakers; therefore, it will be conducted in Dir Lower where Pashto is considered a predominant language. Additionally, the area is conveniently accessible to the researcher.

Statement of the Problem

Fundamentally, a compound word conveys a unit, a concept or special meaning that is not as clearly or easily expressed by separated words. Pashto speakers take advantage of the use of bilingual compounds in everyday communication. This phenomenon of bilingual compound in English and Pashto appears significant before the researcher as it results in the formation of new words. A detailed insight into the pattern of compound words will help us understand the pattern of Pashto words.

Objective of the Study

1. To explore the process through which English-Pashto bilingual words are formed.

Research Question

1. What is the process by which English-Pashto bilingual compound words are combined?

Review of Related Literature

Linguists and psychologists have talked of *compound* and *coordinate* bilingualism as if such phenomenon existed in a distinguishable form. The terms were conceived in the context of behaviorist learning theory and the Saussure's theory of signs, and apparently Ervin and Osgood were the first to use them in prints. The notion seems to be based on the belief that different manners of learning second languages will result in radically different grammars in the brain. Compound bilinguals, it is thought, have not an independent grammar for their second language. It is being asserted that people can learn a second language in such a way that it will always be dependent on the first language. The case of the student who is taught an English equivalent for every French word, this student might eventually become a *balanced bilingual* and his ordinary conversation might become indistinguishable from that of a native French speaker. Yet it would be asserted by some psycholinguists that this compound bilingual, because of the way he originally learned French, would still be translating into English every time he heard French.

The term compounding or composition goes back to the Latin *vocabulorum genus quod appellant compositivum* 'the word class which is called composite' (Varro) and *Wguranominum composita* 'composed structure of nouns' of the Ancient Roman grammarians Priscianus, Donatus, etc where Latin

com-positum is a literal translation of Greek syn-theton. This focus on noun-noun compounds corresponds to a general preference for this type of compound in most languages. Compounding is part of grammar, governed by non-conscious rules. Thus we exclude extra-grammatical combinations of so-called expressive morphology, such as echo-word formation, as in English hip-hop or contaminations (blends) as in smog (from smoke and fog) or German jein (from ja ‘yes’ and nein ‘no’) (Dressler, 2000).

In the exemplification the researcher concentrates on regular compounds that are rule-governed, particularly productive compound formations, which account for those compounds which are of primary interest to psycholinguistic investigations. In a first approximation, a prototypical compound is a word which consists of two prototypical lexical words.

Bilingual Hybridization

Hybridization, whether at word level or phrases and sentence level, got significance as it has social as well as morphological significance. It is the reason for bringing innovations not only at the semantic level but at morphological and syntactic levels as well. It is defined as the mixing of two languages. When two languages come in contact naturally, it leads to hybridization. As a result, codes are exchanged and mixed together, forming a language chunk that has the characteristics of both the knotted languages interlinking both the social and linguistic features. The purpose of the present study is to explore the sociolinguistic features of Pashto-English hybridization at the lexical level. The domain is the context where interaction takes place (Fishman, 1972), and the number of the domain according to different sociolinguists ranges from three to nine or even more depending on the multilingual setting (Hoffmann, 2014; Fishman, cooper and Ma, 1971; Saghal 1991).

Taking Pashto-English contact, let’s talk about Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP). As it is mentioned in the above section that it is the north-western part of Pakistan which is adjacent to the Durand Line, the border between Pakistan and Afghanistan. The majority of the people living in this region are Pashto speakers, also called Pakhtuns. The speech community of the region is multilingual. Pashto is the dominant language of the people living in KP, which is used mostly in the informal domains of language use, i.e., in family, with friends, in playgrounds, in hujra (community center), and informal gatherings at offices and educational institutions. English is used in the formal domains of language use. It is used in educational institutions, in offices, in courts, in trade and in politics. Because of the instrumental nature of English, people of KP learn it to get good jobs and a higher social status. Hence, English has acquired the status of an official language of KP. The education system and electronic media, formal and informal sources of education, respectively, are the two great promoters of English across the region. Both these formal and informal sources of education have made it easier and attractive for the speech community of the region to produce mixed speeches through code-mixing.

Khan and Muysken (2014), are of the view that “in KP, especially in the Mardan division, the Peshawar division and the Malakand division, code-mixing (hereafter CM) is the driving force to introduce borrowings in the Pashto speech community” (p. 98). Pashto-English code-mixing is frequent, especially in the Yousafzai dialect of Pashto, in KP. Significant work on Pashto-English code-mixing has been carried out by Khan (2011). His study focuses on how different social factors like context, topic, style, interlocutors, social status, identity and prestige influence Pashto-English code-mixing. He narrates an interview in which a respondent is asked as to why he mixes English with Pashto. The respondent answered, “I use English while talking to other Pashto speakers for the better interpretation of my feelings and thoughts (Khan, 2011, p. 122).

Khan and Muysken (2014), have analyzed how nouns and verbs could more appropriately be incorporated in Pashto-English bilingual communication. English-Pashto Bilingual Compound Verb (BCV) i.e. ‘play kawal’ is taken as an example which shows different functions with different meanings in Pashto.

Further in the study, a few English singular nouns are taken as an example with Pashto singular definite numeral adjective ‘yəw’, which means ‘one’. ‘Yəw cup’ means ‘a cup’, and ‘yəw pen’ means ‘a pen’. But

similar to English nouns, Pashto nouns can also be pluralized. Hence, the case of the embedded English singular nouns in Pashto, a matrix language, in this case, is confusing to be termed as borrowing or code-mixing. Khan and Muysken (2014), remark that “the marking of an embedded element into a matrix language does not provide ample proof to determine the embedded word as a code mix or a loanword” (p. 101). The situation has led to language hybridization. Hybridization can occur at different levels, e.g., at a word, phrase and sentence level; however, the focus of this study is hybridization, specifically, the role of hybridization at the word level.

Methodology

The study is qualitative for the most part while quantitative approach is slightly utilized. Qualitative approach is used in most part of the research study by the researcher. It is used to understand the process and the structural pattern of commonly used bilingual compound words of Pashto-English data. This approach is utilized to explore the role of the Pashto root words in conjugation with the English lexical elements and the conjugation of Pashto lexical elements with English’s root words. In short, qualitative approach is used to understand the nature of the process of the conjugation of Pashto-English words revealed in the research study.

The population of this study includes the male members aging between 20 to 45 years from different areas of lower Dir, a district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province in Pakistan. Timargara city is the district headquarter and largest city, while the other small cities are Chakdara, Munda, Samar Bagh, Khall and Kumbar. Pashto language is the dominant language of the locality. According to the national census report of 2017, the ratio of the native speakers of Pashto language in district lower Dir is 99.3 %.

For data collection the researcher used the method of voice recording. As primary data for the study, spoken corpus of the participants was recorded while using ‘Rew Voice Recorder’ software. For convenience, the researcher took the help of 4 volunteer assistants in order to record the general corpus of the participants at different public places of the target region. The software was installed in the mobile phones of the volunteer assistants while instructions regarding the confidentiality of data were given to them. ‘Rew Voice Recorder’ software was selected because it has the feature of sharing the recorded files via email and social media.

Analysis

The paper explores the role of the Pashto root words in conjugation with the English lexical elements and the conjugation of Pashto lexical elements with English’s root words. The following section is devoted to the analysis and discussion on the gathered data which has been collected by the researcher via recording spoken voice corpus from 30 inhabitants of Lower Dir through ‘social network’ sampling technique. Data has been divided in various categories. The 1st category contains those words which are composed up of two independent words, one from Pashto and the other from English language. Further, this category is divided into two sub-categories. Words which have their heads or first word from Pashto and the second from English, are enlisted in the first sub-category while those words which have their heads or first word from English and the second word from Pashto language, are categorized in the second sub-category. The second category comprises of ‘Hybrid’ words in which there is one independent word and a lexical element. The collected data is analyzed below. This category has further enlightened with the analysis of those English words hybridized by Pashto affixes.

Category 01: Words Composed of Two Independent Words (1st Pashto and 2nd English)

This category of words deals with hybridization in compound words. This category deals with words which have their heads or first word from Pashto and the second from English, are enlisted in the first sub-category. For the analysis of the collected data, findings of the recorded corpus from the Pashtun speakers have been presented in tabular form. This kind of Pashto-English hybridization is analyzed in each table individually. This category is concluded with an overall discussion on Pashto-English

hybridization in compound words, emphasizing the two dominant patterns followed by hybridized compound words.

The first table shows the words which are common to governmental bodies and structures.

Table 1: *Compound Hybrid Words Related to Government affairs*

S. No	Hybrid Words	Frequency	English Meaning
1	<i>Aeeni</i> Body	3	Constitutional Body
2	<i>Ehtisab</i> Commision	2	Accountability commission
3	<i>Ehtisab</i> Act	3	Accountability Act
4	<i>Qaumi</i> Assembly	5	National Assembly
5	<i>Sobayi</i> Assembly	6	Provincial Assembly
6	<i>Mazhabi</i> Party	4	Religious Party
7	<i>Khareja</i> Policy	4	Foreign Policy
8	<i>Istehqaq</i> Committee	1	Privilege committee
9	<i>Khazo</i> Bill	2	Women bill

The above table provides nine instances of compound word hybridization. Data collected from the participants' voices show that compound words can have different forms after they are hybridized. Two dominant patterns can be noticed in the above list of words. The first pattern is a 'hybrid compound' where one part of the compound is from one language and another part from a different language. In the above list, those words have been enlisted where the first element belongs to Pashtu while the second element is from English language. Words following this pattern are; aeeni body, ehtisab commission, ehtisab act, sobai assembly, qumi assembly, khazo bill, mazhabi party etc. It means that Pashtu language has a close connection with English language even in morphological terms. The connection is close to the extent where Pashtu can cope with any English word as a prefix or suffix.

The same pattern that can be noticed in the compound word hybridization is that the first element or part of the compound is from Pashtu language but the second element or part of the compound from English have been discussed in the following section with vivid description along with the process of hybridization. The compounds which follow the said pattern are as follow;

Pashto-English Compound |Chabi-chain|

The word 'Chabi-chain, is frequently used in common Pashtu discourse. During the collection of data, the researchers often noticed that most of the participants were using the word 'Chabi-chain' in their common discourse. Grammatically, the word 'Chabi-chain' comes under the category of nouns. Morphologically, this word contains two independent words. In this compound, the first element 'Chabi' which is actually a Pashto word which stands for the word 'Key' in English language while the word 'Chain' in 'Chabi-chain' is from English language. Chain means any device made up of a series of usually metal links or rings connected to or fitted into one another used for various purposes e.g. support, restraint, or pulling. Or chain is a series of links used or worn as an ornament or insignia. Both the words are independent and can stand individually. Both are common nouns and have different meanings if we separate them from one another. The equivalent English word for 'Chabi-chain' is 'Key-chain'. 'Key-chain is sometimes known as key-ring which is a device that is used to hold keys and that usually consists of a metal ring, a short chain and sometime a small decoration.

The correct pronunciation of the word 'chain' is /tʃein/ but it was commonly mispronounced by the participants while articulating the compound word 'Chabi-chain. Mostly, the participants pronounced the word 'chain' as /Chainch/, so the word 'Chabi-chain' (Key-chain) was often pronounced as /Chabi-chainch/. It is important to note that this fundamental error in pronouncing the second word (English word) is a sort of assimilation.

Pashto-English Compound /Mahajar-Camp/

In the common discourse of Pashtuns, the word ‘*Mahajar-Camp*’ is also very common. The word ‘*Mahajar-Camp*’ is a Pashto-English bilingual compound which consists of two different independent words, ‘*Mahajar*’ and ‘*Camp*’. The initial word ‘*Mahajar*’ is a Pashto word, its equivalent word in English language is ‘*Refugee*’ or also ‘*Refugees*’. The Oxford Advanced Dictionary has defined the word ‘*Refugee*’ as, “A person who has been forced to leave the country or home, because of war due to political, social or religious reasons” (Oxford Advanced Dictionary). So the word ‘*Mahajar*’ is an independent word which possesses its own solo meaning. On the other hand, the word ‘*Camp*’ is an English word which means, any place with temporary accommodation of huts, tents, or other structures, typically used by soldiers, refugees or travelling people. When both the words join one another, it forms a new word ‘*Mahajar-Camp*’ which means any place with temporary accommodation of huts, tents, or other structures where refugees are settled. Commonly in the spoken corpus of Pashtu, the word ‘*Mahajar-Camp*’ is particularly used for any place where Afghan refugees are living. The equivalent English compound word for ‘*Mahajar-Camp*’ is ‘*Refugee-Camp*’ having the same meaning. During the collection of data, the researchers discerned that the second part of the word ‘*Mahajar-Camp*’ which is obviously an English word, was also mispronounced by the participants. The actual pronunciation of ‘*Camp*’ is /kæmp/ but the participants frequently pronounced it /Kaim/ instead of /kæmp/. Moreover, it was also observed that they omitted /ha/ sound in the articulation of ‘*Mahajar*’. So, in common the word was pronounced as /Majar-Kaim/.

Pashto-English Compound /Shanakhti-Card/

The word ‘*Shanakhti-Card*’ is used as a common noun in Pashto language and mostly used by the participants. The hybrid ‘*Shanakhti-Card*’ is the blend of two words ‘*Shanakhti*’ and ‘*Card*’. This word also comes under the category of those words which begins with a Pashto word and ends with an English word. In terms of morphology, the word ‘*Shanakhti-Card*’ is composed up of two words, ‘*Shanakhti*’ and ‘*Card*’. As it is obvious that the initial word in the under discussion word belongs to Pashto while the final element of the compound ‘*Card*’ is from English language. Generally, the Pashto word ‘*Shanakhat*’ means ‘*identification or recognition*’ of something, and if /e/ phoneme is added as a suffix to the word, then it means anything, mark or document which serves for identification or recognition. Hence, the former word in ‘*Shanakhti-Card*’ means anything or mark which is used for recognition. Whereas, the second part in the under discussion word is a pure English word which means any piece of hardened, usually rectangular paper bearing bio-data and statistical data or any other information about a person or any organization. When both the words connect with each other, then a new word emerges with a single unique meaning. Ordinarily, the word ‘*Shanakhti-Card*’ is used by the Pashtun speakers for National Identity Card (N.I.C). An identity card is an official legal document or card bearing the card holder’s name, date of birth, photograph or other information issued by the government that proves or verifies who the person is? (Cambridge Dictionary).

After general observation and listening to the recorded Pashto corpus many times, the researcher noticed that the participants were pronouncing the word ‘*Shanakhti-Card*’ correctly. Except, few of them randomly pronounced the lateral part of the word /Kaarad/ instead of /ka:d/. Hence, they pronounced ‘*Shanakhti-Card*’ as ‘*Shanakhti-Kaarat*’, and the rest of the participants pronounced it in the correct manner.

Major Findings

Language contact occurs when speakers of two or more languages or varieties interact and influence each other. When speakers of different languages interact closely, it is typical for their languages to influence each other. Mostly language contact occurs in a variety of phenomena, including language convergence, assimilation, borrowing and code mixing or code-switching. The most common products are pidgins, creoles, code-switching, and mixed languages. Normally, language contact may occur at

inter-sentential, clause or phrase level. But the present study found out that the contact between Pashto and English is very close and this contact is up to the word/morphological level.

The present study concentrated on the existing bilingual compound words in Pashto language, which is as an innovative morphological category emerges through Pashto-English code mixing. In order to bring forth this Pashto-English compounding, the study also focused on the structural and semantic pattern of commonly used bilingual Pashto-English compounds in Pashto language. As primary data, the researcher recorded the common Pashtu corpus from the natives of District lower Dir where almost 99% people are native speakers of Pashto. The collected data were organized with respect to the morphological structures of words. After analyzing the collected data, the researchers arrived at the conclusion that Pashto language contains a number of compound hybrid words which is the blend of English and Pashto words. These words can be described in different manifestations. The present study explored the role of the Pashto root words in conjugation with the English lexical elements and the conjugation of Pashto lexical elements with English's root words.

While proceeding the study, the researcher came across different categories of compound hybrid words used by the participants in their spoken discourse. The gathered data were categorized in two categories. The 1st category comprised of those words which are composed of two independent words, one from Pashto and the other from English language. Further, this category was divided into two sub-categories. Words which have their heads or first word from Pashto and the second from English, while those words which have their heads or first word from English and the second word from Pashto language. The other category of compound hybrids is comprised of words in which there is one independent word particularly English word and a lexical element/ inflectional morpheme.

After scrutinizing the collected data, it is concluded that Pashto-English hybridization occurs in all of the important realms, including formal and informal domains except religion. It is the only domain where hybridization has not been found. The rest of other domains e.g. administration and government, education, economy, military, games etc of language provide satisfactory data which represent almost every facet of society. Amongst these, a considerable number of compound hybrid words are because of a proper suffixation. Suffixation is responsible to construct hybridized words. Morphologically, such words are composed of an independent English root word and a Pashto lexical element/morpheme and vice versa. Different kinds of Pashto lexical morphemes were detected, including 'ona', 'yani', 'ae' and 'ee' which were mostly attached to the English singular nouns for marking plurality. Moreover, it was also noticed that most of the compound hybrid words which came into being from Pashto-English contact were nouns. Henceforth, those singular nouns in English which end on letter 'y' were mostly followed by 'yani' and 'ae' morpheme in Pashto language in order to form their plurals. Most of the newly formed hybrids followed two markers of plurality in which one bound morpheme was found common i.e. 'ae'.

During analysis of the collected data the study also found some phonetic changes in the newly formed compound words resulted in Pashto-English contact. The participants were mispronouncing such words rather than their original pronunciation. It is important to note that this fundamental error in pronouncing the second word (English word) is a sort of assimilation.

Conclusion

Keeping in view the statement of the problem, objectives of the study and research questions, the researcher was investigating for Pashto- English contact. After analyzing the relevant data, the researcher arrived at the conclusion that Pashto language contains a large number of compound hybrid words which are composed of Pashto and English elements. It can be deduced that most of the compound words are nouns that are used in the daily discourse of Pashtuns. The data show that hybridization occurs in all of the important domains, including formal and informal domains. Religion is the only domain where hybridization has not been used. Additionally, the researcher found out bilingual compound hybrid words, which is as an innovative category of words emerges through Pashto-English code mixing. The research found that the contact between English and Pashto is very close and this phenomenon can best be

justified by contemplation upon their close contact up to the word level rather than phrase or inter-sentential level. These compound and hybrid words have almost lost their original phonetic status due to the influence of Pashto phonetic system, hence they are pronounced slightly in another way.

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Conflict of Interest

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ORCID iDs

Ayesha Israr ¹ <https://orcid.org/0009-0009-0687-4554>

Khalid Shah ¹ <https://orcid.org/0009-0003-6205-5699>

Arif khan ¹ <https://orcid.org/0009-0006-6521-1580>

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