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## Hybridization Within Single Words: An Analysis of the Formation of English-Pashto Lexical Hybrids In Pashto Spoken Discourse

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### Abstract

*In bi/multilingual societies, the process of code-mixing and language hybridization holds great significance. The present study attempts to examine the process of language hybridization in the Pashto local context. The purpose of the study is to show that code-mixing of English lexical items in Pashto spoken discourse has resulted in the formation of English-Pashto lexical hybrids. Research data was collected through observation and television programs in the Pashto language. Data is analyzed by using Kachru's model of code-mixing of English in Hindi, where Unit Hybridization is applied, which is further added by the Sarwet Rasul model. Based on the research data, it was revealed that the English code mixed words in the Pashto language are mostly nouns. These words, when used by Pashto speakers, are made hybrid by adding different types of Pashto suffixes. The findings also revealed that because of the prestige factor attached, English words are used in Pashto spoken discourse which shows morphological deviations because of the influence of the mother tongue, i.e., Pashto language.*

**Key Words:** Code-mixing, Language Hybridization, English Language, Pashto Language

### Introduction

There is a great role of globalization and British colonization in the spread of the English language across the globe. It is spoken and understood almost everywhere in the world. English, when spoken as a second language or as a foreign language in a non-native context, has a great influence on other languages spoken in that context. Similarly, the English language is also affected when spoken in a non-native context.

In Pakistan, being a former British colony, English being the dominant and prestigious language has influenced the national and local languages (Rasul, 2006). Similarly, English is also influenced by

the local languages because of the language contact situation. As given in Rafi (2013), languages continued to maintain borrowing and code-mixing for a prolonged period when they existed in contact. Code-mixing results because of lexical borrowing. These processes of borrowing and code-mixing are reflected in the multilingual context of Pakistan because Pakistanis make use of many English lexical items in their daily spoken discourse.

Code-mixing, code-switching, lexical borrowing, and hybridization are some of the common phenomena in a multilingual context. Code-mixing results in language hybridization.

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"Lexical hybrid" basically means a word that is formed by mixing elements from two languages. Kachru (1983) has studied and pointed out, as cited in [Ahmad and Ali \(2014\)](#), that South Asian Englishes show innovations in the use of hybridized structures which results because of joining native words to English words. In Urdu and other local languages which are spoken in Pakistan, the frequent use of English words has resulted in the process of hybridization in the multilingual context of Pakistan. As English influenced Urdu in Pakistan, it also influenced the local and regional languages spoken. Pashto language, spoken by Pashtuns in Pakistan, is also influenced equally.

The present study sets out to investigate the phenomenon of language hybridization in the local context of the Pashto language, which is the resultant process of English and Pashto language interaction. Pashto is the second-largest regional language of Pakistan and is the native tongue of Pashtuns as English words are being borrowed and used in Urdu, also revealed by [Rasul's \(2013\)](#) study that borrowing and code-mixing also exist in children's magazines. Similarly, some of the borrowed English words have become a part of the local languages too. For instance, English and Pashto interaction has resulted in the process of hybridization in the local Pashto context. Frequent use of English borrowed words has resulted in the formation of English-Pashto lexical hybrids.

The Pashto language has adopted many English words, e.g., some of the words are computer, book, light, switch, drama, film, student, etc. So, the phenomenon of borrowing is reflected in the spoken discourse of Pashtuns. Pashto speakers make use of many English lexical items such as plate, driver, chair, table, machine, etc., in their daily Pashto conversations. When a Pashtun makes use of an English word in a Pashto conversation, the word undergoes some morphological change to be adjusted in that particular context, and so hybrid lexical items are formed. These lexical hybrids show morphological deviations. The present study aims to focus on the morphological deviations that the English lexical items undergo when used in Pashto spoken discourse.

## **Research Problem**

In bi/multilingual societies, the occurrence of code-mixing and language hybridization phenomena is natural. Similarly, in the multilingual context of Pakistan, the phenomena of code-mixing and language hybridization exist. Contemporary studies reveal that in Pakistan, English-Urdu language hybridization has been researched mostly. However, less attention has been given to the English Pashto language hybridization in Pashto spoken discourse. Therefore, keeping in view the growth of the hybridization phenomenon in Pashto spoken discourse, this paper attempts to address the gap in studying the causes of the formation of English Pashto lexical hybrids in the daily conversation of Pashto speakers.

## **Research Questions**

- (1) What is the nature of English-Pashto lexical hybrids?
- (2) What are the reasons behind the formation of hybrid lexical items in Pashto spoken discourse?

## **Significance of the Study**

Many types of research have been conducted on the phenomenon of code-mixing and language hybridization in Pakistan, particularly English Urdu code-mixing and hybridization. The present paper provides an insight into these phenomena as being operated in Pashto local context and also attempts to enlist some reasons for hybrid word-formation. This study will be helpful in understanding the phenomenon of language hybridization in the Pashto context. The study will also be helpful in understanding the language contact situation in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan.

## **Literature Review**

The phenomena of globalization and British colonization are greatly responsible for the rapid growth in the spread of the English language. Globalization, which according to Giddens (1990) as cited in [Alfehaid \(2014\)](#), refers to worldwide social relations intensification, as a result of which distant localities are linked in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many

miles away and vice versa. It basically refers to a more interconnected world where people, governments, and countries are more linked.

The phenomenon of globalization and the rapid growth in the spread of the English language across the globe proceed side by side. [Meidani and Reza \(2013\)](#) stated that there are strong ties between the spread of the English language and the phenomenon of globalization. Today, English is considered to be the most important language in the world. It is the language of commerce, technology, education, etc., and is acknowledged around the world as a prestigious language used as lingua franca. It is spoken in native and non-native contexts.

In multilingual contexts, where English is used as a foreign language, it has affected the local languages spoken in that context. Similarly, English has also been affected in non-native contexts resulting in different varieties of English. When spoken in non-native and multilingual contexts, the English language undergoes certain changes which have resulted in the phenomena of code-mixing, code-switching, borrowing, language hybridization, etc. As pointed out by [Dilshad \(2006\)](#), code-mixing exist in the multilingual context because of the transfer of lexical items between the different languages.

Mehboob (2003) pointed out that the lexis of Pakistani English is the most researched area. Baumgardner (1993) pointed out, as cited in [Ahmad and Ali \(2014\)](#), that words from Urdu and regional languages are frequently borrowed and used in Pakistani English. [Rasul \(2013\)](#) also explored the phenomena of code-mixing and lexical borrowing in written language. Data was collected from two children's magazines which were analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively to investigate their nature, functions, and causes. She concluded that the English words which were mostly used are common words that are prevalent in daily conversation and that borrowing and code-mixing of English words are mostly done because English is considered a prestigious language. That is why Pakistanis incorporate English lexical items in their own native language. As cited in [Khan \(2012\)](#), Baumgardner (1993, 1998) also concluded that Urdu borrowings, native vocabulary, and grammatical usages are being used in locally-produced English books. Riaz (2019)

has also studied borrowing and code-mixing in Pakistani commercials concluding that boundaries between Urdu and English have been blurred, resulting in code-mixing. In TV commercials, code-mixing has been analyzed in another research conducted by [Mushtaq and Zahra \(2012\)](#). They concluded that code-mixing exists to a greater extent in TV commercials on Pakistani channels, i.e., Geo TV, ARY Digital Network, and HUM TV.

These phenomena of code-mixing and borrowing result in language hybridization, as pointed out by [Rasul \(2006\)](#). The process of hybridization also exists in the Urdu language, as pointed out by Baumgardner (1993) as given in [Ahmad and Ali \(2014\)](#). The English-Urdu lexical hybrids are used commonly by Urdu speakers in their spoken discourses, e.g., some of them are leaders, bankon, pipe-line, motorcycle, etc. English has donated much vocabulary to Urdu and other local languages, which resulted in the process of lexical borrowing and hybridization in Pakistan. Hybrid words have been studied in the Pakistani context by Mehboob (2003), who is of the view that when an Urdu word joins an English word, it results in the formation of a hybrid lexical item. [Dilshad \(2006\)](#), is of the same view and concluded that Urdu words have been replaced and mixed with English words resulting in language hybridization.

Similarly, [Khan, Shah, Jang, Hamid, & Shams \(2020\)](#) have studied the use of the phenomenon of hybridization in bank advertisements in Pakistan and concluded that English-Urdu hybridization has a persuasive role in the advertisements. Hybridization has also been studied by [Rasul \(2006\)](#), who conducted her study with the objective to examine the phenomena of language hybridization and code-mixing of English in Urdu in the multilingual context of Pakistan. For this purpose, she collected data from TV programs to show that media reflected the process of code-mixing and language hybridization in Pakistan and concluded that hybridization is mostly done within single words to make nouns plural.

## Methodology

The present paper makes use of both the qualitative and the quantitative methods of research. It is quantitative in the sense that the research data has

been divided into categories and sub-categories to show the frequencies of hybrid lexical items. The research is qualitative because it is observational and exploratory in nature. The present study attempts to explore and explain how and why the phenomenon of hybridization exists in Pashto spoken discourse.

Research data was collected from four TV programs in the Pashto language. The reason for taking some data from Pashto TV programs was to show that the use of English-Pashto lexical hybrids is also prevalent in the spoken discourse of Pashto speakers on television. The selected programs were related to different domains, i.e., political, health, law, entertainment, and sports. The reason for selecting programs related to different domains was to show that the phenomenon of hybridization is not confined to only one domain. The program's detail is given below.

**Program 1:** *Top Stories with Ayaz Khan*, Ep no. 64, was aired on 13<sup>th</sup> July 2016. It was related to the political issues of Pakistan.

**Program 2:** *Khyber Sahar ISL* was aired on 3<sup>rd</sup> May 2016. In the first part of the program, some health problems were discussed, while the 2<sup>nd</sup> part was related to the Law domain.

**Program 3:** *Sheena Meeno Show* aired on 29<sup>th</sup> July 2016, was an entertainment program.

**Program 4:** *Sports Mag* Ep # 85 was aired on 31<sup>st</sup> July 2016. The program was related to the sports domain.

Apart from TV programs in the Pashto language, data was also collected through personal observation. Through observation, when the researcher collects data, he/she becomes the primary data collection instrument. When the observer observes, he/she is active and not the passive collector of data.

Data were analyzed by using the basic framework, which was taken from Kachru (1978). He gave the following categories while analyzing the process of code-mixing of English in Hindi.

**Category A:** Unit Insertion

- a) Np Insertion
- b) Vp Insertion.

**Category B:** Unit Hybridization

**Category C:** Sentence Insertion

**Category D:** Idioms and Collocation Insertion

**Category E:** Inflection Attachment and Reduplication.

However, [Rasul \(2006\)](#) has adopted Kachru's framework, which is given above, for her dissertation "*Language Hybridization in Pakistan as Socio-cultural phenomenon: An analysis of code-mixed linguistic patterns*," in which she modified the framework to analyze the code-mixing of English in Urdu. So, this paper makes use of the research paradigm given by Rasul, which involves the following categories.

- 1. **Category A:** Insertion
- 2. **Category B:** Hybridization
- 3. **Category C:** Synthesis

Since the present study deals with hybridization only, so, category B which is, hybridization has been focused on in this term paper. English-Pashto hybrid lexical items will be analyzed first by analyzing the data collected from TV programs in the Pashto language, followed by the presentation of data collected through personal observation.

### **Data Analysis and Discussion**

This section presents data of English-Pashto lexical hybrid items. The section presents the hybrid words collected from TV programs and through observation. Hybridization within single words is explored.

This section presents the data which shows hybridization within single words. The data collected from each program and through observation is listed separately.

#### **Program 1**

The following table presents hybridization within single words collected from program 1.

**Table 1.**

Hybridization within Single Words Collected from Program 1.			
1. Postero	2. partay	3. partyaani	4. ministeraan
5. journalistaan	6. doctoraan	7. anchoraan	8. patwaryaano
9. posteri	10. agencyaano	11. generalaano	12. questioni
13. damuna	14. leaderaan	15. companyaano	16.

**Program 2**

The following table presents hybridization in single words collected from program 2.

**Table 2**

Hybridization in Single Words Collected from Program 2.			
1. Officeraan	2. Questioni	3. buildinguna	4. secretaryaan
5. boxa	6. copyaani	7. pencili	8. cyclo
9. Bankunam	10. buildingunam	11. croro	12. hospitaluno
13. doctory	14. schooluno	15. juicuna	16. testuna
17. doctoraan	18. testuno	19. spraygaani	20. channelo
21. paperi	22. videom	23. companyaani	24. bottleo
25. drumuno	26. doctoraano	27. glassuna	

**Program 3**

The following table presents hybridization in single words collected from program 3.

**Table 3**

Hybridization in Single Words Collected from Program 3.			
1. filmy	2. filmuna	3. programuno	4. filmuno
5. giftuna	6. carduna	7. messaguna	8. funkaraan
9. ACgaan	10. Glassa	11. doctoraan	12. artistaano
13. hospitaluna	14. artistaan	15. programuna	16. hospitalunam
17. toastuna			

**Program 4**

The following table presents hybridization in single words collected from program 4.

**Table 4.**

Hybridization in Single Words Collected from Program 4			
1. Recordunam	2. Bowler	3. traineraano	4. runsuno
5. runsuna	6. matching	7. fielder an	8. catchuna
9. wicketi	10. playeraan	11. ballo	12. positionuna
13. bowleraano	14. pitchuna	15. testuna	16. bowleraam
17. tournamenti	18. team no	19. matchuna	20. seriesuna
21. trophyaani	22. shielduna	23. hospitaluna	24. hoteluna
25. sidea			

**Data Collected Through Observation**

The following tables i.e. 5-9 list the data which show single word hybridization. They were collected

through personal observation and are related to different categories as following:

**Table 5.** Hybridization within Single Words. Data Collected Through Observation

<b>Words Related to the Educational System</b>			
1. classuna	2. perioduna	3. siraan	4. penuna
5. schooluna	6. colleguna	7. studentaan	8. markeri
9. questionni	10. paguna	11. sheetuna	12. pencili
13. filuna	14. copyaani	15. madamaani	16. answeri
17. baguna	18. universityaani	19. engineeraan	20. doctoraan

**Table 6.** Hybridization within Single Words. Data Collected Through Observation

<b>Words Related to Technology</b>			
1. laptop	2. computer	3. speaker	4. fridge
5. Asian	6. Lighting	7. Bulbuna	8. buttoni
9. cameri	10. cellular	11. switchuna	12. generatori
13. freezer			

**Table 7.** Hybridization within Single Words (Data Collected Through Observation)

<b>Words related to Mobile</b>	<b>Words related to Sports</b>	<b>Words related to Television/Entertainment</b>
1. charger		1. Ballina
		2. drama
2. mobile	1. catchuna	3. filmuna
3. messaguna	3. batuna	4. programuna
4. calluna	4. grouping	5. programuno
5. selfiaani	5. Jamuna	
6. screenuna	6. teamuna	

**Table 8.** Hybridization within Single Words. Data Collected Through Observation

<b>Words Related to Transport</b>		
1. vagani	2. busuna	3. truckuna
4. motori	5. scooteri	6. seatuna
7. drivetrain	8. rikishi	9. cycli

**Table 9.** Hybridization within Single Words. Data Collected Through Observation

<b>Miscellaneous Words</b>			
1. creamuna	2. chairuna	3. table	4. pursuna
5. glassuna	6. skirtuna	7. marble	8. gatuna
9. stickers	10. pipuna	11. beltuna	12. shirtuna
13. spraygaani	14. brushuna	15. sofi	16. trousers
17. coatuna	18. handli	19. frockuna	20. hanger
21. boot	22. an		
	23. cardinal		

The following table 10 Provides the Total Number of Single Hybrid Words.

**Table 10.** The Total Number of Single Hybrid Words

Programs	Frequency of hybrid words
Program 1	15
Program 2	27
Program 3	17
Program 4	25
<b>Total single hybrid words collected from programs</b>	<b>84</b>
<b>Data through personal observation</b>	<b>No. of words</b>
Words related to the educational system	20
Words related to technology	13
Words related to mobile	6
Words related to sports	6
Words related to television/entertainment	4
Words related to transport	9
Miscellaneous words	22
Total single hybrid words collected by observation	80
Total no. of single hybrid words	164

Plural suffix like "o" is added to cycle to make the hybrid word "cyclo". Another Pashto plural suffix "una" is added to runs and glass to make hybrid forms "runsuna" and "glassuna" respectively. The

following table, i.e., table 11 provides a list of Pashto suffixes based on the above-listed data which are frequently added to English words to make hybrid words.

**Table 11.** List of Pashto Plural Suffixes

Pashto Plural Suffixes				
1. ay	2. m	3. y	4. gaan	5. gaani
6. unam	7. a	8. o	9. aani	10. uno
11. aano	12. aan	13. i	14. una	

The following tables i.e. 12-25 presents single hybrid words data according to their suffixes.

### Pashto Suffix "ay"

Only one English word from program 1 "party"

added "ay" to make hybrid. In **Program 1**, word "party" was used in the sentence i.e.

- "Barrister saib da Qaumi Watan *Partay* spokesperson d.

**Table 12**

Pashto Plural Suffix "ay"	
Program 1	<i>Partay</i>

### Pashto Plural Suffix "m"

Only one English word from program 2 "video" added "m" to make hybrid. In **Program 2**, word "video" was used in the sentence i.e.

- sa dase agha conversation km ch stasu shwalo, agha tasu record kare d, ya *videom* jora kraala ...

Table 13

Pashto Plural Suffix “m”	
Program 2	Vodacom

### Pashto Plural Suffix “y”

This category includes the words which are made hybrid by adding the Pashto plural suffix “y”.

**In Program 2:** The word “doctor” was used in the sentence i.e.

- Nu tasu ch d, para hafta, da doctor said da tajarbaat a o da aghwe da *doctor* na faida ochatawale shay.

**In Program 3:** Word “filmy” was used in the sentence i.e.

- Nan saba *filmy*gaanim wae.

Table 14

Pashto Plural Suffix “y”		
Program 2	I.	Doctor
Program 3	II.	Filmy

### Pashto Plural Suffix “gaan”

The English word AC (air conditioner) is made hybrid by adding the Pashto plural suffix “gaan”.

**In Program 3:** Word “ACgaan” was used in the sentence i.e.

- Parun za laka hospital ta tale Om kana, kha *ACgaan* pake shoro d.

Table 15

Pashto Plural Suffix “gaan”	
Program 3	i. <i>Again</i>

### Pashto Plural Suffix “Gaani”

The English word “spray” is made hybrid by adding the Pashto plural suffix “gaani”.

**In Program 2:** The word “spraygaani” was used in the sentence i.e.

- ch sumra ajnaas razi, sumra ghala razi, pa aghe da dunya *spraygaani* kege.

Table 16

Pashto Plural Suffix “Gaani”	
Program 2	<i>Spraygaani</i>

### Pashto Plural Suffix “Unam”

This category includes the words which are made hybrid by adding the Pashto plural suffix “unam”. In

**In Program 3:** Word “hospitalunam” was used in the sentence i.e.

- Sarakunam kha d, *hospitalunam* kha d.

**Program 2:** Word “bankunam” was used in the sentence i.e.

**In Program 4:** Word “recodunam” was used in the sentence i.e.

- Da ch km rawan d, ch km stasu pa taxes o stasu pa paiso bande *bankunam* dak kare d...

- pa aghe ke yo shmer *recordunam* jor shawe o.

Table 17.

Pashto Plural Suffix “Unam”			
Program 2	i.	Bank <i>unam</i>	ii. Building <i>name</i>
Program 3	i.	Hospital <i>unam</i>	
Program 4	i.	Record <i>unam</i>	

### Pashto Plural Suffix “a”

This category includes the words which are made hybrid by adding the Pashto plural suffix “a”.

**In Program 2:** Word “box” was used in the sentence i.e.

- Cha b da kor na *boxa* raware wa, pa aghe bande bay lekal kawal.

**In Program 3:** Word “glass” was used in the sentence i.e.

- Za drta waim oba skal hrwakh pakar d. so *glassa?*

**In Program 4:** Word “sidea” was used in the sentence i.e.

- Da masala da km *sidea* wa.

Table 18

.Pashto Plural Suffix “a”			
Program 2	i.	Box <i>a</i>	
Program 3	ii.	Glass	
Program 4	iii.	Bowler	i.Side

### Pashto Plural Suffix “o”

This category includes the words which are made hybrid by adding the Pashto plural suffix “o”.

**In Program 1:** The word “postero” was used in the sentence i.e.

- Da *postero* bara kem pake khabare raghale d.

**In Program 2:** Word “bottle” was used in the sentence i.e.

- Preservatives ch pa km ke v, o pa bazar ke ch km pa *bottleo* ke v...

**In Program 4:** Word “ballo” was used in the sentence i.e.

- Agha da Anderson, regular che (6) *ballo* bande the times ch d, ya keeper ya ch d 1<sup>st</sup> leg ta e catch wrkare d.

Table 19

Pashto Plural Suffix “o”			
Program 1	i.	Poster	
Program 2	i.	Cycl <i>o</i>	ii. Cor <i>o</i>
	iii.	Channels	iv. Bottl <i>e</i>
Program 4	i.	Ball <i>o</i>	

### Pashto Plural Suffix “Aani”

This category includes the words which are made hybrid by adding the Pashto plural suffix “aani”.

**In Program 1:** Word “partyaani” was used in the sentence i.e.

- Da inquiry bande, across da board accountability bande tol *partyaani* yozay d.

**In Program 2:** Word “companyaani” was used in the sentence i.e.

- Dere kame dase *companyaani* d ch agha kha tail ch d agha jorae.

**In Program 4:** Word “Tropicana” was used in the sentence i.e.

- Pa d moqa e gatawar cricket team ta o ghwara karkardagi khodunke khilarryano bande inamat, *trophyaani* o shielduna taqseem kral.

**Table 20**

Pashto Plural Suffix “Aani”		
Program 1	i. <i>Partyaani</i>	
Program 2	i. <i>Copyaani</i>	ii. <i>Companyaani</i>
Program 4	i. <i>Tropyaani</i>	
Observation	i. <i>Copyaani</i>	ii. <i>Madamaani</i>
	iii. <i>Universityaani</i>	iv. <i>Selfieaani</i>

### Pashto Plural Suffix “uno”

This category includes the words which are made hybrid by adding the Pashto plural suffix “uno”.

**In Program 2:** Word “drumuno” was used in the sentence i.e.

- Dase ganda ganda *drumuno* ke agha prata v.

- Yara bs bazi auqaat ke dase v ch programuna v, *programuno* pa waja bandem...

**In Program 4:** Word “matching” was used in the sentence i.e.

- Pa d *matching* ke ch d nu, agha sal wicketi, ch agha tar lasa kre nu, da Australia da bowler record b hum maat ke.

**In Program 3:** Word “programuno” was used in the sentence i.e.

**Table 21**

Pashto Plural Suffix “Uno”		
Program 2	i. <i>Hospitaluno</i>	ii. <i>Schooluno</i>
	iii. <i>Testing</i>	iv. <i>Drumuno</i>
Program 3	i. <i>Programuno</i>	ii. <i>Filmuno</i>
Program 4	i. <i>Runsuno</i>	ii. <i>Matsuno</i>
	iii. <i>Teamuno</i>	
Observation	i. <i>Programuno</i>	

### Pashto Plural Suffix “Aano”

This category includes the words which are made hybrid by adding the Pashto plural suffix “aano”.

**In Program 1:** Word “generalaano” was used in the sentence i.e.

- Ya sa nur tariq e kar da *generalaano* dapara ch yo kaal sewa ki Chief of Army staff.

- Aghe na pas bia munga pa *doctoraano* zargao rupay lagau kana.

**In Program 3:** Word “Artistaano” was used in the sentence i.e.

- *Artistaano* saram kha d.

**In Program 2:** Word “doctoraano” was used in the sentence i.e.

**In Program 4:** Word “bowleraano” was used in the sentence i.e.

- Da agha agha skill da Pakistani *bowleraano* dapasa d.

Table 22.

Pashto Plural Suffix “Aano”		
Program 1	i.Patwaryaano ii.Generalaano	i.Agencyaano ii.Companyaano
Program 2	i.Doctoraano	
Program 3	i.Artistaano	
Program 4	i.Traineraano	ii.Bowleraano

### Pashto Plural Suffix “Aan”

This category includes the words which are made hybrid by adding the Pashto plural suffix “aan”.

**In Program 1:** Word “anchorman” was used in the sentence i.e.

- Alta *anchoraan* azad d, alta TV azad d.

**In Program 2:** Word “doctoraan” was used in the sentence i.e.

- Da mashoom ch km d kna, nu da da *doctoraan* wae kana, ch da da aduke kamzori da.

**In Program 3:** Word “artisan” was used in the sentence i.e.

- Mung sara der dostaan om o, *artistaan*.

**In Program 4:** Word “fielderaan” was used in the sentence i.e.

- Joe Roots, ch km performance warko, pa aghe ke zyot las da Pakistan ch km *fielderaan* d, da aghwe hum o.

Table 23

Pashto Plural Suffix “Aan”			
Program 1	i. Ministera <span style="font-variant: small-caps;">aan</span> iv. Journalista <span style="font-variant: small-caps;">aan</span>	ii. Doctora <span style="font-variant: small-caps;">aan</span> v. Leadera <span style="font-variant: small-caps;">aan</span>	iii. Anchora <span style="font-variant: small-caps;">aan</span>
Program 2	i.Officera <span style="font-variant: small-caps;">aan</span>	ii.Doctora <span style="font-variant: small-caps;">aan</span>	iii.Secretarya <span style="font-variant: small-caps;">aan</span>
Program 3	i.Funkara <span style="font-variant: small-caps;">aan</span>	ii.Doctora <span style="font-variant: small-caps;">aan</span>	iii.artist <span style="font-variant: small-caps;">aan</span>
Program 4	i.bowlera <span style="font-variant: small-caps;">aan</span>	ii.fielder <span style="font-variant: small-caps;">aan</span>	iii.player <span style="font-variant: small-caps;">aan</span>
Observation	i.Sira <span style="font-variant: small-caps;">aan</span> iv.Engineera <span style="font-variant: small-caps;">aan</span>	ii.Student <span style="font-variant: small-caps;">aan</span> v.Boot <span style="font-variant: small-caps;">aan</span>	iii.Doctora <span style="font-variant: small-caps;">aan</span> vi.Driver <span style="font-variant: small-caps;">aan</span>

### Pashto Plural Suffix “i”

This category includes the words which are made hybrid by adding the Pashto plural suffix “i”.

**In Program 1:** Word “posteri” was used in the sentence i.e.

- Cha khu lagole d kna, da *posteri* cha lagole d?

**In Program 2:** Word “questioni” was used in the sentence i.e.

- Wae ch mung taqreeban da d alak na chalees *questioni* okrale.

**In Program 4:** Word “wicketi” was used in the sentence i.e.

- Om dagha waja wa ch pa d Yasir Shah *wicketi* wanaghasti.

Table 24

Pashto Plural Suffix “i”			
Program 1	i. Posteri	ii. Questions	
Program 2	i. Questions	ii. Paper	ii. pencil

Program 4	i. Wicket	ii. Tournament	
Observation	i. Table	ii. Marble	ii. Stickers
	iv. Sofi	v. Trousers	vi. hangeri
	ii. Handle	ii. Laptop	ix. Computer
	x. Speaker	ci. Button	ii. markeri
	ii. cameri	v. pencil	v. generatori
	vi. freezer	ii. questioni	ii. answeri
	ix. dram i	x. mobilei	xi. chargeri
	ii. scooteri	ii. rikshi	iv. motori
	iv. vagani	vi. Cycle	

### Pashto Suffix “Una”

This category includes the words which are made hybrid by adding the Pashto plural suffix “uno”.

**In Program 1:** Word “damuna” was used in the sentence i.e.

- Pa Afghanistan ke *damuna* jorae.

**In Program 2:** Word “juicuna” was used in the sentence i.e.

- Sir, tasu mata da owaye, ch da *juicuna* khu hr suk nashi afford kawale.

**In Program 3:** Word “hospitaluna” was used in the sentence i.e.

- Os e *hospitaluna* gware der khkule kal.

**In Program 4:** Word “runsuna” was used in the sentence i.e.

- Hafeez agha shan cricket, agha shan *runsuna* na d kare sanga ch pakar d

**Table 25**

Pashto Plural Suffix “Una”			
Program 1	i. <i>Damuna</i>		
Program 2	i. <i>Buildinguna</i>	ii. <i>Juicuna</i>	iii. <i>Tuna</i>
	iv. <i>Glassuna</i>		
Program 3	i. <i>Filmuna</i>	ii. <i>Programuna</i>	iii. <i>Giftuna</i>
	iv. <i>Carduna</i>	v. <i>messaguna</i>	vi. <i>hospitaluna</i>
	vii. <i>toastuna</i>		
Program 4	i. <i>runsuna</i>	ii. <i>catchuna</i>	iii. <i>positionuna</i>
	iv. <i>pitchuna</i>	v. <i>testuna</i>	vi. <i>matchuna</i>
	vii. <i>shielduna</i>	viii. <i>Hospitaluna</i>	ix. <i>Hoteluna</i>
	x. <i>Seriesuna</i>		
Observation	i. <i>Classuna</i>	ii. <i>Perioduna</i>	iii. <i>penuna</i>
	iv. <i>schooluna</i>	v. <i>colleguna</i>	vi. <i>paguna</i>
	vii. <i>sheetuna</i>	viii. <i>filuna</i>	ix. <i>baguna</i>
	x. <i>creamuna</i>	xi. <i>chairuna</i>	xii. <i>pursuna</i>
	xiii. <i>glassuna</i>	xiv. <i>skirtuna</i>	xv. <i>Gatuna</i>
	xvi. <i>Pipuna</i>	xvii. <i>Beltuna</i>	xviii. <i>Shirtuna</i>
	xix. <i>Brushuna</i>	xx. <i>coatuna</i>	xxi. <i>frockuna</i>

ii. cardinal	i. fridge	v. light <i>una</i>
v. bulb <i>una</i>	i. cell <i>una</i>	i. switch <i>una</i>
ii. messag <i>una</i>	x. call <i>una</i>	x. screen <i>una</i>
i. ball <i>una</i>	i. catch <i>una</i>	i. bat <i>una</i>
v. group <i>una</i>	v. team <i>una</i>	i. gam <i>una</i>
ii. film <i>una</i>	i. program <i>una</i>	x. truck <i>una</i>
d. bus <i>una</i>	i. seat <i>una</i>	

As mentioned earlier, English in Pakistan is the co-official language and is considered a prestigious language and the language of the educated and elite class. The English lexical items which are code mixed in Urdu and other local languages are known as loan or borrowed words. People in Pakistan, use many English lexical items in their daily conversations. Urdu and regional languages have assimilated many English words.

The above-listed tables i.e. table 1-9 presented the data which revealed single word hybridization.

The plural forms of these words exist like doctors, creams, pencils, artists etc. but Pashto speakers make the choice of the hybrid forms like doctoraan, creamuna, pencil, artistaan respectively. Speakers, make use of English words, but instead of using the plural form of these English lexical items, they use the Pashto plural form of the English loan words.

The following table i.e. table 26 provides a list of the number of single hybrid words according to their suffixes.

**Table 26.** Single Hybrid Words According to their Suffixes

Pashto plural suffixes	No. of words	Pashto plural suffixes	No. of words
1. ay	1	2. o	6
3. m	1	4. aani	8
5. y	2	6. uno	10
7. gaan	2	8. aano	8
9. gaani	2	10. aan	20
11. unam	4	12. i	33
13. a	4	14. una	63

Total no. of single word hybrids = 164

Total 164 *single lexical hybrids* have been identified. These words are made hybrid by adding Pashto plural suffixes. Table 26 revealed that the suffixes “aan”, “i” and “una” are most frequently added to English words to make them plurals.

### Conclusion

The study was conducted to explore the nature and some of the reasons for the formation of English-Pashto lexical hybrids in the Pashto spoken discourse of Pashtuns in the multilingual context of Pakistan. From the data analysis, the findings reveal that the English words that are frequently code mixed in daily

Pashto conversation are nouns. These nouns are mostly loan/borrowed words and are being hybridized most frequently in the Pashto context. The findings also reveal that these loan words are hybridized to make plural forms. Furthermore, the English loan words are made plural by adding a plural suffix of Pashto to the English loan words. It has also been revealed, based on the research data, that, this usage of Pashto plural form of the English loan words is because of the influence of the mother tongue i.e. Pashto, on the non-native language i.e. English language.

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