

## English as a Linguistic Capital: The Lexical Impact of English on Pashtu Speech in Pakistan

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### Keywords

- Linguistics Capital,
- English Penetration,
- Mixed Methods Research,
- Lexical Influence,
- Negativity/Positivity.

### Abstract

*English language enjoys a privileged position in Pakistan. It is the official language, medium of instruction in education and is used in daily formal and informal interactions. The local languages in Pakistan have registered an influence of English penetration in almost all linguistic domains. The study is undertaken to ascertain the influence of English over Pashtu that is the local language of the province Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in Pakistan. By employing mixed methods research, the concept of English as a linguistic capital has been explored by identifying the lexical influence of English in Pashtu speech. It has specifically focused on the exploration of the mutual impact of English; as a dominant language, over Pashtu; as a subordinate language, from the point of view of 'penetration' of English lexicology. The frequently used categories and types of English lexical items in Pashtu speech have been analyzed and the influence of English in Pashtu Speech has been described by illustrating the positivity and negativity of the use of English words in Pashtu speech. The research has illustrated that the penetration of English in Pashtu speech has rendered richness and easiness in using the Pashtu language for spoken purposes. The study is significant in bringing awareness about the current socio-linguistic domains of the English language as a linguistic capital for the Pashtu speech community and has manifested the growing influence of English over Pashtu that has proved detrimental for the structural, syntactical, and semantic properties of speech in Pashtu.*

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## 1. Introduction

According to Pierre Bourdieu (1977), linguistic capital is a form of cultural capital defined at the level of the human individual. The concept of linguistic capital can also be applied to describe the respect and authority enjoyed by a speaker or a language in a bi/multilingual society. For Bourdieu (1986) 'Linguistic Capital' is also a form of cultural capital in the sense that authorities assert certain languages to be dominantly employed; the educational and institutionalized support add up to the dominance of that language or languages, thus, the legitimacy of language determines or ascertains the possession of power. He further argues that people in a community act on a market, a structured space of positions in which the positions and their interrelations are determined by the distribution of different kinds of capital. In the social context, language turns into a kind of capital and a source of power, determines the social and cultural relations, becomes as significant as economic capital, and ascertains a sort of distinction. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) assert that a language is a tool or instrument which is used for action and power i.e. 'the power to produce existence'. They enumerate different kinds of capital as Economic Capital, Cultural Capital, Symbolic Capital, and Linguistic Capital. A language that is considered as a linguistic capital is used with 'command' and has the power to influence other languages, which are considered inferior to it.

With the passage of time, this capital keeps on expanding in the cognitive domains of the speakers, and their native language is committed to the informal and mostly colloquial role either at home or among friends. The domains therefore shrink and in this way, the indigenous words fall in disuse. In Pakistan, English is the official language and for securing a better job, proficiency in English highly counts. In a multilingual country like Pakistan, the influence of languages on each other is affected by the user. The influence, however, is seldom uni-directional. If the second language is a dominant language, as is the case of the English language, the impact on the first language can have far-reaching implications. In Pakistan, the dominance and influence of the English language are widespread in scope and dimensions. All the indigenous languages in Pakistan are constantly under the linguistic influences of the English language. The influence of the dominant language over the native language can either be positive or negative (Ngara, 1993). Whenever languages come in contact, they influence each other in terms of enrichment of vocabulary, the introduction of new concepts, which are previously unknown, thereby granting more latitude to expression. Such influence on any language is always considered as positive for the recipient language. The negative influence of the dominant language means that a dominant language affects the structure of the native language, its repertoire of words, its idioms, and its distinctiveness.

In respect to the local languages of Pakistan, speakers prefer to code-switch or code mix English in their conversation (Jisa, 2000; Hammink & McLaughlin, 2000). In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the growing influence of the English language has even affected speech in the Pashtu language i.e. the native language of the place. At the social level, common communicative speech events necessarily use English vocabulary items without which it may not be possible to coherently continue speech in Pashtu due to which the majority of Pashtu speakers code switch and code mix with the English language. The vocabulary items of English have become part and parcel of Pashtu speech and speakers at large either do not know the Pashtu equivalents e.g. hospital is 'نوت غور' but the word is not in common use, or do not prefer to use them. Pashtu speakers preferred to borrow English

words instead of developing an indigenous vocabulary. This is because of the linguistic capital of the English language that Pashtu speakers have social acceptability towards the English language and are always inclined to demonstrate their performance in English. For instance, words like, mobile, laptop, computer, headphones, internet, email, message, chat, keyboard, channel, program, cable (TV), bulb, tube light, tyre, engine, battery, generator, screen, software, game, installing, antivirus, online, log on and off, etc., are in the common use of the Pashtu speakers in social and personal speech events. This unchecked penetration of the English language into Pashtu certainly has repercussions in Pashtu speech either positive or negative. The current study has explored the lexical influence of the English language in Pashtu speech from the point of view of English as a Linguistic Capital.

### **1.1. Research Objectives**

In this research, the concept of English as a linguistic capital has been explored by identifying the lexical influence of English in Pashtu speech. The study has specifically focused on the exploration of the mutual impact of English as a dominant language over Pashtu as a subordinate language from the point of view of 'penetration' of English lexicology (Ngara, 1993). The study has analyzed the frequently used categories and types of English lexical items in Pashtu speech and described the influence of English in Pashtu Speech by illustrating the positivity i.e. English words have added to the diversity and richness of Pashtu vocabulary or negativity i.e. English words have affected the Pashtu speech in terms of its purity and standard. The study is significant in bringing awareness about the current socio-linguistic domains of the English language as a linguistic capital for the Pashtu speech community. It has manifested the growing influence of English over Pashtu that has proved detrimental for the structural, syntactical, and semantic properties of speech in Pashtu and will develop the understanding about the penetration of English in Pashtu speech that has rendered richness and easiness in using Pashtu language for spoken purposes.

## **2. Literature Review**

The twilight and subsequent end of the colonial administration was seldom without bequeathing its linguistic and cultural heritage i.e. English culture and language. English was spoken as a second language by a multitude of local people in a country where it was also the first language of the ruling elite besides Indians, and mixed races (Fishman, 1967; and Crystal, 2003). English, by virtue of being the language of the colonialists, enjoys a higher status, whereas, all the indigenous languages are subordinate to it. It is because, during the time of decolonization, the only language available as an official language was English in most of the colonies (Chiwome & Thondhlana 1992 & Kadenge 2009). Being a dominant language imposed by masters, it is considered as an instrument of power, domination, and elitist identity across continents (Kachru, 1983; and Rahman, 1996). For Kachru (1986), although the era of 'White man's burden' (Kipling, 1899 cited by Harris, 2007) has come to an end in a political sense with the administrative apparatus in the hands of the colonized people, its linguistic and cultural repercussions resulted in the transformation of the global scenario. English is thus learned as a second language in nearly all the former colonies and is used in language contact situations that display characteristics of a speaker's "linguistic experience attained prior to the learning of the official language" (Mutonya, 2008, p.434). Thirumalai (2004) asserts that the boundaries of

two languages, which come in contact as the language of the masters and native language, blur but the individual who uses the hybridized form consciously as a routine matter, and the participants in speech event, take it as a single unit.

For Ngugi (1986), language carries culture and culture carries (particularly through orature and literature) the entire body of values by which we perceive ourselves and our place in the world. (p.16)

Penny (2002) states, in addition to political and economic domination, the powerful countries also exert tremendous cultural influence over the subjugated countries by exemplifying the case in Canada, where English has displaced the French language by emerging as Linguistic capital. Linguistic imperialism influences the local or native languages and raises the colonialist language to a high stature to be used subsequently as a weapon for the distribution of power. Van Dijk (in Coulthard, 1996), commenting on dimensions of dominance involving language, states that the dominant group affects the knowledge, attitudes, values, norms, and ideologies of the subordinate group by means of total control over public discourse or communication. Graddol (1997) states that extensive use of English as a medium of wider communication will continue to exercise pressure towards 'Global Uniformity' but at the same time, this pressure will increase anxieties about 'declining standards, language change and loss of geo-linguistic diversity.'

In the nascent sub-continent countries like Pakistan and India English language has served two main functions i.e. it provided a linguistic tool and served as a medium of communication both nationally and internationally. With the passage of time, the sub-continental English acquired neutrality in linguistic context resulting in acquired undesirable connotations of native languages, dialects, and style (Kachru, 1991). English language, being considered as the language of the masters, was always treated as alien, and only numbered elites of the society would use it. But this notion of the native is overshadowed by English vital role as a 'neutral' language (Rahman, 1990; and Kachru, 1991) and 'social neutrality' (Moag, 1982). The English language dominated and established a firm grip over the regulatory and instrumental functions of a language in the sub-continent and local languages appear to be insufficient and inadequate in performing these functions in the postcolonial era (Kachru, 1982). The majority of the population uses English for undertaking their official chores and as a first language by white elites, Indians, and mixed races (Fishman, 1967; and Crystal, 2003). Unlike any other indigenous language, English has been seen spreading its wings throughout the social fabric and is an instrument of power, domination, elitist identity, and inter or intra-continental communication medium (Kachru, 1991; and Rahman, 1996).

In Pakistan, the English and Urdu language have a long history of contact in the Indian Sub-Continent. Urdu was declared the only national language of Pakistan, whereas English was the official language. In the 1973 Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan the official language i.e. English would gradually be replaced with Urdu (Talaat, 2002). Despite many efforts to promote Urdu and replace it as the official language of the country, success is still a distant dream. According to a survey conducted by Jabeen, Mehmood, and Rasheed (2011), 98% of the people of Pakistan learn or use the English language in their native context and the percentage of Pakistanis who learn English with an objective to communicate with the native speakers is only 2%. Crystal (2001) demonstrates with the reference of Baumgardner's works (1990, 1993 & 1998) that the typical nature of both English and Urdu languages in Pakistan are mixed together. Rasul (2006) states, a new

code “Urdish” is the outcome of the hybridization of Urdu and English in Pakistan. Hussain (2008) maintains that the contact of Urdu – English has also influenced the written form of Urdu and has led to the diminishing capabilities of writing Urdu correctly by most of the people in Pakistan. Mann and Stewart (2000) have shown that the increase in Computer-Mediated-Communications has increased the tendency of relying heavily on English words. Studies and identifies mixed words of Urdu-English which are now part of our daily as well as conversation in schools and in some cases acceptable forms in written communication (Rasul, 2006; Irfan & Pashby, 2021). The intimate contact English language has also affected the Urdu language in the country, besides lingual influence, cultural insertion is also noticeable like dressing, brunch, BBQ, buffet, etc., and has also affected the transcultural pragmatics of the use of languages in Pakistan. (Saleem, Hakal, & Azam, 2021).

Pashtu language is spoken predominantly in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa; it is not the language of education, law, commerce, judiciary, etc. Pashtu is not used by the Pashtu speaking community in any significant way other than as mother tongue and native language (Rehman, 1995). Ayesha (2018) researched the influence of Pashtu and Urdu over English language learning and illustrated that the Pashtu language is not used in the domains of power or education. The medium of instruction in education is either Urdu or English; therefore, the domains of use for the Pashtu language are restricted only to local social interactions. The social interaction is even marred by Code Switching or Code Mixing. Frequent Pashtu-English code-mixing leads to the creation of hybrid forms, which further contribute to a shift from original Pashtu equivalents. The frequent use of English lexical items in the Pashtu language indicates and reflects the societal acceptance of the linguistic change. It also points towards the changing attitude of Pashtu speakers towards the English language. Based on Kachru's (1986) ‘Englishization of Hindi’, we can say that Pashtu-English mixing may give way to a new variety of Pashtu language yet to be identified and described. This variety may come into existence owing to the rich vocabulary of the English language, reduction in proficiency problems for the Pashtu speakers, and provision of more adaptability in the swiftly changing world.

Ngara, (1993), describes the influence of the English language over his native language Shona in terms of penetration. Penetration according to him is the introduction of foreign words, meanings, structures, and phonemes into the local language by the bilingual. The influence is also considered in terms of negativity and positivity of a second language over the first language. If the influence deprives the language of its distinctiveness in terms of its authenticity of structure, the repertoire of vocabulary, and idiomatic expressions, then the influence is said to be negative. On the other hand, positive means enrichment in the vocabulary of the first language, refining its structure, the addition of new and novice concepts previously non-existent, addition in terms of expression of abstract ideas and concepts that result in semblance with the modern industrialized and technological world. According to him, Penetration is of two types, a. Primary Penetration i.e. when the features from the second language are introduced in the first language without compromising their distinctiveness of being foreign and remaining part of the second language. Whereas, b. Secondary Penetration i.e. The process, by which features of the dominant language are infused in the secondary language in such a way that these features lose their individuality and distinctiveness of being foreign. He has also introduced the concept of replacement i.e. to displace the existing lexical item or syntactic structures with that of the second language. Such replacement can be done directly or indirectly. In direct replacement, vocabulary

items from the second language are displaced on a one-to-one basis whereas in indirect replacement the first language did have a particular vocabulary item but after coming in contact with the second language it uses a foreign word instead. This study has looked into the nature of penetration of the English language into Pashtu speech. Similarly, English words used in Pashtu speech have also been determined in the light of direct and indirect replacement.

### 3. Research Methodology

Current research is based upon the theoretical framework of 'Linguistic Capital' by Bourdieu (1977 & 1986)', and identified English as a Linguistic Capital with reference to its lexical influence over Pashtu speech. In this research pragmatist paradigm i.e. mixed methods research is used (Dornyei 2007). The quantitative aspect of the current research pertains to the categorization of lexical items of the English language that have been penetrated into Pashtu speech during the conversation process. For the analysis and discussion, the qualitative method is used to determine the question of the mindset of the Pashtu speaker towards the English language, his act of code alternation, and the influence of domains whether internal or external, keeping in view English as linguistic capital.

Data for the current study was collected from the Pashtu TV channel including AVT Khyber, Mashrik, Pashtu 1, Kay 2, Shamshad, and Aruj. To study various registers, programs from the categories of national/international affairs, education, sports, culture and arts, and cooking are selected by using 'Convenient Sampling' (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill 2012). The selected TV programs include *Top Stories* (Current Affairs program), *Naway Sahar* (Talk show on Education), *Sports Mag* (Sports), *Da Jwand Shama* (Cooking program), and *Khyber Sahar* (morning show) on the promotion of Pashtu art and literature.

The recordings are used to study the Pashtu speech of all the participants and people making live calls. Sacks (1984) states, "recorded data had a single virtue, that I could replay them. I could transcribe them somewhat and study them extendedly- however long it might take." (p.26). Video recording can, "reduce observer bias, a systematic difference between a true situation and that observed owing to variation in observer's perception. Videos allow independent observers and researchers to review the same observations at different times and to conduct a secondary analysis of recorded data" (Johnson & Griffith 1985). One episode of each program has been selected for analysis. According to Gay, Mills, and Airasian (2012) 10% sample is considered as a representative sample for the conduct of any study. The sample obtained in the form of recordings of these programs is 16 % of total transmission. Almost all the programs are talk shows comprising interlocutors i.e. hosts, participants, and live callers. The participants vary from politicians, educationists to experts and professionals in their respective fields. Live calls are also received and thus an opportunity to include the common Pashtu speakers is also achieved. By using 'Non-Participant Observation' (Liu, & Maitlis 2010) the English words which have common use in Pashtu speech have been collected from the above programs. All English words which are used in Pashtu speech are enlisted, their categories determined and their frequent use discussed. Programs with duration, date, and domains of language use are enlisted in the table below.

**Table 1***Details of the Selected TV Programs*

<b>Programs' Name</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Duration</b>	<b>Domains Discussed in the Programs</b>
Top Stories	07-03-2018	56 (minutes)	Senate Election Government and Administration Political Discussion
Naway Sahar	20-02-2018	55 (minutes)	Education
Sports Mag	12-02-2018	50 (minutes)	Sports
Cooking Show	31-03-2018	25 (minutes)	Cooking Balanced and healthy diet
Khyber Sahar	31-03-2018	66 (minutes)	Pashtu Drama Pashtu Music Pashtu Writers Culture

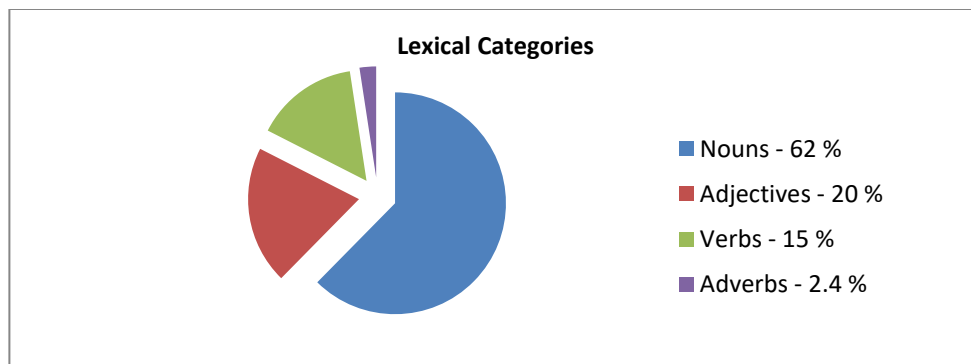
#### **4. Data Analysis and Discussion**

The obtained data is analyzed by following the analytical framework of analyzing language through the method of Penetration (Ngara, 1993). After the analysis of the English lexical items, data is quantitatively divided into lexical groups to specify their grammatical categories i.e. nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. With the help of graphical representation, the lexical influence of various categories is determined and established. The analysis is also supplemented by the positivity or negativity of English lexical influence over Pashtu speech.

##### **4.1. Program on Current Affairs**

During watching AVT Khyber programs, it has been found that in all fields, i.e. cultural, educational, current affairs, sports, or cooking, a considerable number of English words are used. The words are either primarily penetrated in our Pashtu speech or can be termed as secondary penetration. The first TV program is 'Top Stories' telecast on March 7, 2018. It is a current affairs program and attended by prominent local politicians in which the aftermath of the senate election in the country is discussed. The total number of English vocabulary used a single time is 162 words in a program of 56minutes. A simple calculation tells us that 3 to 4 English words are used in a minute. The lion share goes to the category of nouns. Out of the enlisted 162 words, the total count of nouns is 97 (one-time use) apart from repeated words that include words like *top stories*, *sanctity*,

*technocrats, and vote*, etc. Verbs count is 29 which includes *add, empower, restore* and *demand*, etc., adjectives used are 21 that includes *real, credibility, influential* and *genuine*, etc., and adverbs 4 times that includes *open, intact, transparency* and *unconditional*, etc. Among these, hybridized words are also used. With the root word from English and the plural suffix from Pashtu i.e. '*listing (Making lists)*', '*seatuna*' (seats), '*roaduna*' (roads), '*ticketuna*' (tickets), '*pointuna*' (making points), '*votuna*' (votes), and '*bankuna*' (banks), etc. These plurals are formed from English nouns with Pashtu plural suffix '*una*'. Another Pashtu plural suffix '*aan*' is also used. English noun 'leader' is pluralized with Pashtu plural suffix '*aan*'. Based on the same pattern the remaining nouns like 'workers', and 'members' are used as '*workaran*' and '*membaran*'. Apart from these hybridized words, all other words are taken over from the English language, and the speakers time and again employed English words in their discussions which in the words of Ngara (1993) can be termed as Primary Penetration. Certain nouns like '*Parliman*' and '*cultoor*' are from the category of Secondary Penetration as they are adopted from English words 'Parliament' and 'Culture'. Khan and Muysken (2014) have analyzed how nouns and verbs could more appropriately be incorporated in Pashtu-English bilingual communication. Second to English nouns, another major category is that of verbs. Common verbs like *struggle, reject, start, involve, expose*, etc, are used. There is an abundant use of Bilingual Compound Verbs i.e. '*join ki*', '*lead kol*', '*support ku*', '*demand kao*', '*assemble shu*', '*trust kai*', '*empower ku*' etc. English adverbs with Pashtu words are also used. '*Open istimaal*', '*intactpatee shu*' along with a couple of other adverbs from English are used. In the category of adjectives, '*real*', '*genuine*', '*political*', '*strength*', '*general*' etc are commonly used. There is a mixed usage of adjectives that is both to modify an English noun and a Pashtu noun for example: '*general khalaq*', '*lower house*', '*interesting khabara*' and vice versa i.e. '*qaumi assembly*', '*siasi alliance*'. Words like 'Senate', 'Parliament', 'election', 'vote', 'bank', 'documents', 'program', 'cancer', 'late', 'break' and 'action' are in common use in Pashtu language. The pie chart below represents the overall use of English lexical items in Pashtu speech.



**Figure 1: Pie Chart of English Lexical Items in Pashtu in Current Affairs Programs**



#### 4.1. Program on Education

The second program is 'NAWAY SAHR' on education. It is a one-hour program in which an educationist is invited to discuss our education system. It is astonishing to note that in 60 minutes' duration program, both the host, the guest, and viewers through live calls used approximately 355 words (single time) in their conversation. It can be said that per minute the frequency of code alternation to English is approximately 7 times. 200 words are nouns that include *educationist*, *system*, *theory* and *practical*, etc., 100 words are verbs that include *adjust*, *progress*, *neglect*, and *float*, etc., and remaining are adjectives like *expensive*, *conceptual*, *regular* and *private*, etc, and adverbs like *outside*, *intensive* and *conceptual*, etc. As in the previous program, hybridized words are also employed in the category of nouns. 'Studentanu / studentan' (students), 'check postuna' (check posts), 'school basuna' (school buses), 'academyane' (academies), 'tuition centery' (tuition centers), 'bookuna' (books), and 'dancuna' (dances) are used with nouns of English pluralized with Pashtu suffixes. These words are familiar in the Pashtu language and acceptable forms for the Pashtu speakers. In adj + noun phrases, the speaker used bilingual adjectives with bilingual nouns. English adjectives with Pashtu nouns like general *khalaq* (people), important *khagara* (talk), primary *taleem* (education), Indian *dancuna* (dances), school *basuna* (buses), etc. In the last three examples hybridized nouns are used. Pashtu adjectives with English nouns e.g. *sahi* (suitable) environment.

During the conversation replacement of both direct and indirect of English words happened. It is the displacement of existing lexical items and syntactic structures by foreign ones. Certain words are borrowed into the Pashtu language, for instance, in Pashtu language school is called 'Madrassa', a word which has fallen in disuse especially for schools both government and private. The connotation of this word has now tilted towards religious seminaries if spoken by a Pashtu speaker. Similarly, the college has no equivalent in Pashtu language so the word as a whole is borrowed from the English language. For university, the Pashtu word is 'Pohantun' (پوهنتون) which is not in common use and is in disuse. Similarly translated in Pashtu 'degree' will become 'daraja' (درجه) which is seldom used by Pashtu speakers to refer to qualification. 'Masters' is borrowed as it is from English. The local word 'Qamoos' for the dictionary is interestingly not used. Similarly 'society' has been taken over from English is used instead of 'tolana' (ټولنه). 'Department' is in common use in Pashtu language when a reference is made to various subjects like English department, Urdu department and so on. Its Pashtu equivalent is 'Sanga' (څانګه), which is not in common use for the aforementioned purpose. The pie chart indicates the use of various categories of English lexical items in Pashtu speech during the program.

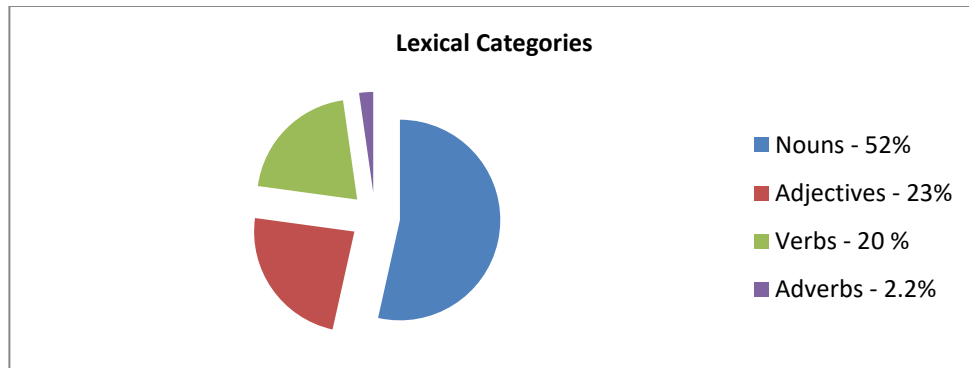


Figure 2: Pie Chart of English Lexical Items in Pashtu in Education Programs

#### 4.2. Program on Sports

Another program under scrutiny for establishing the lexical influence of the English language over Pashtu speech is 'Sports Mag'. The participants comprised the anchorperson, a cricket analyst, a local cricketer, and viewers through live calls. The duration of the program is approximately 50 minutes. During the complete duration, the participants' code alternated (one-time use) to the English language about 282 times that include nouns like *squad*, *winner*, *century* and *panel*, etc., verbs like *improve*, *miss*, *pick* and *deliver*, etc., adjectives like *tough*, *consistent*, *fit* and *bright*, etc., and adverbs like *especially*, *still*, *inside* and *overall*, etc. The lexical items belong to the category of primary penetration and secondary penetration. The title of the Pashtu program on a Pashtu channel itself is in English i.e. 'Sports Mag'. English noun 'match' is taken over in Pashtu speech and preferred over its Pashtu equivalent 'loba' (لوبه). 'One Day Match' is never, however, translated into Pashtu as 'yo wras loba' (يوه ورخلوبه). This cricket format is known and referred to in the Pashtu language as One Day Match. The nomenclature is taken over in the Pashtu language as it is. Similarly 'cricket' is cricket in Pashtu without any indigenous vocabulary item for it. In some areas it is referred to in common language as 'bat ball' but the combination of nouns 'bat' and 'ball' are again English nouns. Bat is a bat in Pashtu whereas the ball has certain Pashtu alternatives like 'pandoos' or Urdu adaptation 'gaynd'. Around 200 times nouns are used. These nouns are either directly taken over from the English language or are hybridized. English nouns used as plural with Pashtu suffixes are *channely*, *mickuna*, *cricketeran*, *shotuna*, *runzuna*, *playeran*, *questioney*, *matchuna*, *sixey*, *academyane*, *performaran*, *teamuna*, and *trophyane*. The English nouns 'channels' and 'sixes' are changed into a plural with the suffix 'y'. Similarly 'mick' becomes 'mickuna', the same way word 'runs' is pluralized as 'runzuna', 'match' as 'matchuna', 'shots' as 'shotuna', and 'team' as 'teamuna'. Another common plural suffix in the Pashtu language is 'aan'. English nouns: cricketer, player, and performer are changed into a plural by adding suffix 'aan'. Further plurals of English nouns are with Pashtu suffix 'yane' i.e. 'academyane' instead of academies and 'trophyane' rather than trophies.

'Century' as a vocabulary item has its Pashtu substitute 'peeri' (پیری). But it is never used to refer to a century in a cricket match. 'Domestic Cricket' is taken over in the Pashtu language as it is. The Pashtu equivalent 'korany cricket' (کورني کرکت) is not in use. Noun 'team' is adopted from the English language as it is. 'Tournament' is *tournament* in the

Pashtu language. Other loan words from English include *opener, wicket, pitch, wicketkeeper, batsman, bowler, spin bowler, swing, seam, bills, ground, one day match, test match, PSL, T-20, helmet, tracksuit, catch, bouncer, Yorker, quarter-final, semi-final, and final*, etc. In the adjective + noun phrases, there are instances of loaning adjectives and nouns from English as well as employing adjectives for hybridized nouns like interesting *matchuna*. A large number of English verbs are also used during the discussion. Verbs are often supplemented by Pashtu syllables like *share kom (to share)*, *improve kol (to improve)*, *serve ku (to serve)*, *arise ku (to arise)*, *perform kare (performed)*, *miss shu (to miss)*, *survive ku (to survive)*, *break akhlu (to take a break)*. In the negative, the English verbs are accompanied by Pashtu negative forms e.g. *perform na kru*. The ratio of adverbs, however, is the least in the total discussion session. The pie chart below represents the amount of English lexicology in Pashtu speech.

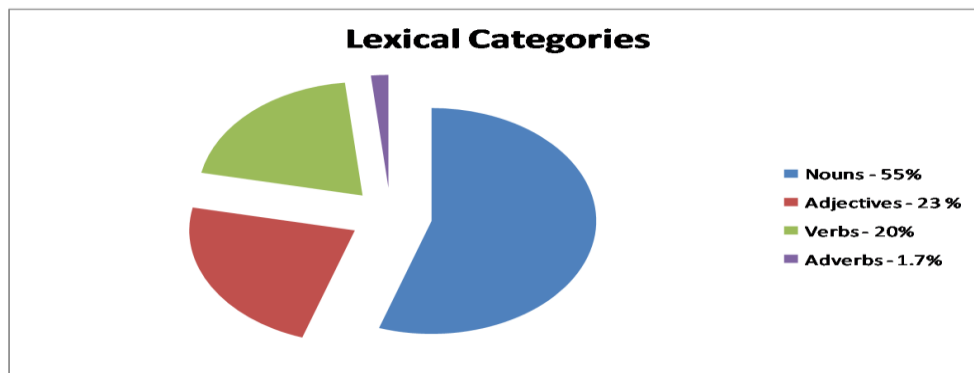


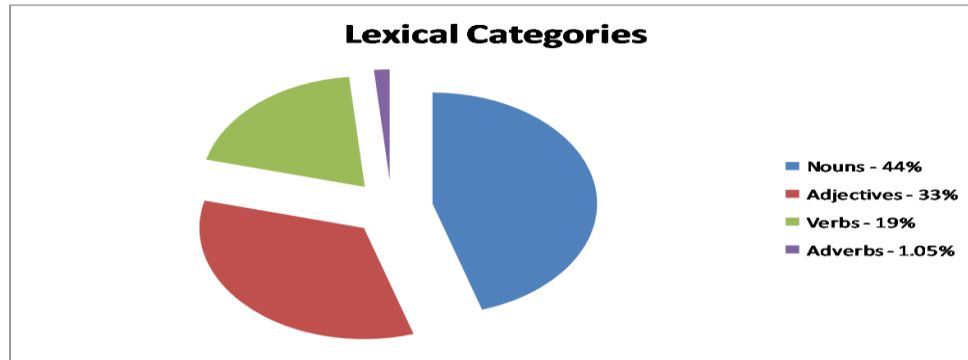
Figure 3: Pie Chart of English Lexical Items in Pashtu in Sports Programs

#### 4.3. Program on Cooking

The next program is a cooking program of short duration i.e. 25 minutes. The title of the program is '*Da Jwan Shama Cooking Show*'. The name itself is a mix of Pashtu and English. The first half of the title is in Pashtu language and the second half in English. There are a host and an expert cook in the program, a recipe is being prepared with live commentary and discussion by both the host and the cook and live calls from the viewers. During this brief session of cooking the host and the chef have time and again code switched to English. The total number comes to around 100 words that include nouns *hygiene, bacteria, kitchen, and etiquettes*, etc., verbs *cut, fry, grind and crush*, etc., adjectives *favorite, spicy, tasty and thick*, etc., and adverbs *once again, twice and especially*, etc. There is certain terminology that is associated with cooking and used by all and sundry. Words like, *chicken, dish, cup, tray, plate, stove, fridge, cooking oil, fry, cutting board, glass, Chinese rice, tissue paper*, etc., are English words and used by the host and chef. Similarly 'plate' has replaced its Pashtu substitute 'taali' (تاليه). Instead, the word is localized with the addition of vowel between P and L 'palate' in Pashtu speech. Another common terminology is 'cooking oil' which is replacing '*pakhli teal*' (پڅلي تيل) its Pashtu alternative. 'Cup' is equally in use in Pashtu speech as '*pyala*' and 'stove' is a loan

word from English. Another common word taken from English into Pashtu speech is ‘dish’ which is associated with a particular variety of food as well as a container for cooking or serving food. ‘Oven’ and ‘Micro wave’ are loan words from English and used as such. ‘Cutting board’ translated into Pashtu becomes *‘prekawalo takhta’* seldom used in Pashtu speech. The exact nomenclature of ‘tissue paper’ or for that matter ‘toilet paper’ is *‘tushnab kaghaz’* (کاغذ شنباب) which is a direct replacement of word.

In the category of verbs, familiar in Pashtu speech are: *cooking, frying, cutting, garnishing, and baking*. ‘Boiled’ instead of *‘yashedali’* is in much use. Verbs like cooking, frying, grinding, and cutting are repeatedly used in the program. In the category of adjectives, some adjectives are used with English nouns like cooking oil, personal hygiene, dining chairs, chicken fry, cutting board, first time, mineral water, serving spoon, and dining, etc. Adjectives are also employed to qualify Pashtu nouns like chicken *karai* and unique *insaan* (unique human beings). All the adjectives enlisted above without nouns are used to qualify Pashtu nouns (local words). A quantitative grid of the categories of English words in the mentioned program is given below.



**Figure 4: Pie Chart of English Lexical Items in Pashtu in Cooking Programs**

#### 4.4. Morning Show

The 5<sup>th</sup> and last program for discussion and finding is a morning show *‘Khyber Sahar’*. The title as compared with previous programs is in Pashtu language except the format is being referred to as ‘Morning Show’ which again is taken over from English. The total duration of the program is one hour. Apart from the host, the program has 4 guests: an activist in the UK for the promotion of the Pashtu language, a seasoned Pashtu channel actor, and two singers. Viewers also join the discussion through live calls in the program. There is a healthy discussion on Pashtu drama, art, and literature with intermittent songs by the singers. The main focus of the program is on the promotion of the Pashtu language and art. Interestingly in such a program on Pashtu language and art, the instances of code-switching and code-mixing is 120 times (single use) that include nouns *gift, songs, feelings, and videos*, etc., verbs *return, fit, ignore and conceive*, etc., adjectives *young, proud, minimum and respectable*, etc., and adverbs *almost, always, briefly and anytime*, etc. Certain English nouns are taken from English as a direct replacement. The word ‘music’ is used throughout the program by all the participants including the two singers. The Pashtu alternative for

‘music’ is (موسيقي), which is in common use but never used in the program. Similarly, the term ‘showbiz’ is now very much in the diction of Pashtu's speech. The host of the program uses ‘viewers’ instead of (ليدونکي). The word ‘artist’ is preferred during the speech by all the participants instead of its Pashtu counterpart (فنکار). Certain nomenclature like CD is used as it is in Pashtu speech like ‘mike’ or ‘microphone’ for which there doesn’t exist any local nomenclature. The word ‘drama’ again is taken over from English. As in previous programs, the tendency to hybridized English nouns is also found to a greater extent in this program. ‘Films’ are *filmuna*, ‘families’ are *familyane*, ‘drama’ is pluralized as *dramy*, ‘artists’ as *artistan*, ‘singers’ as *singaran*, ‘programs’ as *programmuna*, ‘schools’ as *schooluna* and ‘albums’ as *albumy*.

In the category of adjectives, which is the second-largest both English adjectives with Pashtu nouns and Pashtu adjectives with English nouns are used. There are also instances of English adjectives with English nouns. ‘Town *nazim*’, ‘smooth *jwand*’, and ‘proud *mara*’ are examples of English adjectives qualifying Pashtu nouns. The last example ‘proud *mara*’ is an interesting use by a singer in the program by which she means ‘snobbish’. Then certain Pashtu adjectives are used to qualify English nouns like: ‘*pukhtun* student’, ‘*kha* personality’ and hybridized adjective ‘*machini jwand*’. Verbs come in the third position in terms of frequency of use. Most of the verbs are supplemented with Pashtu endings like, ‘feel *kol*’, ‘fit *kedal*’, ‘use *kari*’, ‘item *uku*’, ‘message *warku*’, ‘prefer *kari*’ and ‘promote *kolo*’. Adverbs like ‘always’, ‘almost’, ‘briefly’ etc are used during the conversation. There is also an example of the conjunction ‘*tolo na* (of) must’ during the discussion. Quantitative grids of all categories of English words used in this program are as follow.

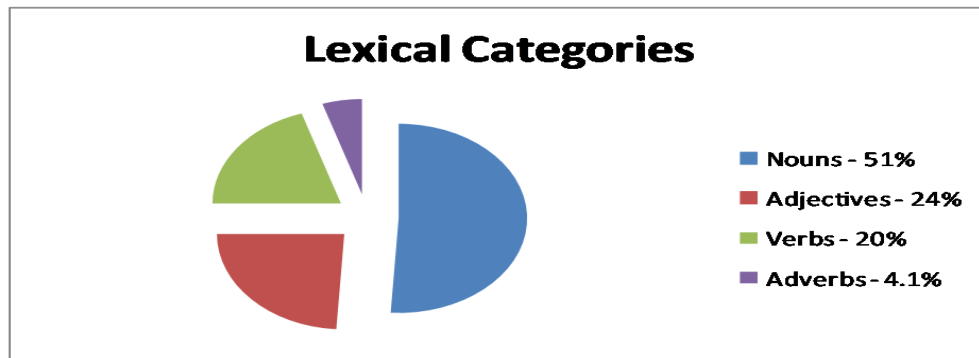
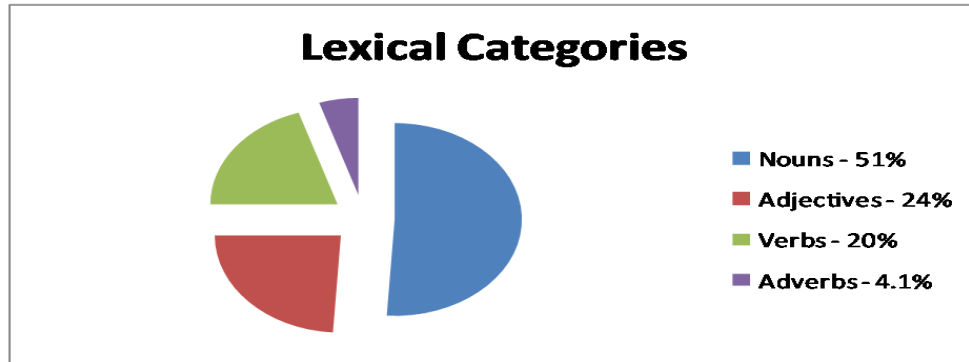


Figure 5: Pie Chart of English Lexical Items in Pashtu in Morning Shows

The pie chart below illustrates the overall use of nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs in all five programs.



**Figure 6: Pie Chart of Lexical Items in Pashtu in All the Selected Pashtu Programs**

#### **4.5. Positivity or Negativity of English Lexical Influence on Pashtu**

According to Ngara, (1993), the negativity or positivity of the language contact can be gauged from the fact that if penetration adds to the repertoire of words, idioms, and structure i.e. enriches the language then the influence is termed positive whereas if penetration from the dominant language deprives the local language of its distinctiveness then it can be termed as negative. Based on the data analysis, it can be said that the influence of English over Pashtu speech is both positive and negative.

Positive in the sense that it has expanded the repertoire of words and extended the horizons of Pashtu speakers in terms of thought process. Kachru (1986) asserts that code-switching is like a dramatic device called aside which is used to clarify identity or establish “communicative intimacy”. The alternation between English and Pashtu by a Pashtu speaker may be to gain this communicative intimacy and render him socially acceptable. English has had its greatest impact on Pashtun areas where Western civilization has brought new ideas, new concepts, and new ways of living. This is evident in such spheres as technology, government, education, etc. The growing tendency of Pashtu speakers to equate themselves with English as a language and as culture shows their intention to display their education and superiority in a social relationship. Similarly, parents encourage their children to talk in English. Students prefer to display their English proficiency rather than sticking only to their native language i.e. Pashtu. It can also be said that the native speakers find it difficult to employ native vocabulary in contexts that are introduced or extended by the West. Van and Phillipson (1992) regards the substitution of local languages with English as an intrinsic part of ‘modernization’ and ‘nation-building’. Similarly, social networks in Pashtu-speaking communities also demand an extension beyond the local ambits. The amount of English lexical items used in the above-reviewed programs validates the point that English is a valid, beneficial, and opportunistic language. Irrespective of the formal and informal context, it is observed in the programs that the participants ranging from actors, singers, anchors, chefs, analysts, educationists and common people (viewers) are actively code-switching, code-mixing, and tag-switching, etc.

Whereas, negative in the sense that it has deprived the majority of the educated lot especially, the young generation of the purity and beauty of the Pashtu language. Today a student can utter from his memories idioms of English in greater number than that of Pashtu. This growing tendency of penetration in the form of code-switching, code-mixing, and borrowing may result in the desertion of local or indigenous vocabulary. An example is the names of months that are borrowed from the English language and used instead of Pashtu names. This may lead to the evolution of a new language, a process which Kachru (1986) has termed as the 'Englishization of Hindi'. This phenomenon can also be termed as language convergence as endorsed by Rasul (2006).

## 5. Conclusion

As an official language in Pakistan and medium of instruction of schools as well as the competitive exam in the country, English, apart from being a colonial language, has its importance for the people of Pakistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is no exception to that. The instances of using English lexical items in Pashtu speech are testimony to the fact that English enjoys a considerable influence on Pashtu speech and indicates the social acceptability of the English-Pashtu mixture in Pashtu speech. This contact, on one hand, may add to the richness of the Pashtu language but considering the hybridization and direct replacement, where words are taken over from the English language, may result in waning the purity and individuality of the Pashtu language. Pashtu's speech, however, with all this may be rendered more flexible and easy to understand. Zschomler (2019) with reference to the Linguistic Capital (Bourdieu 1986), advocates that empowerment of an individual in the social circle and workplace is due to knowledge of the language. Knowledge of both English and Pashtu empowers the speakers and makes them exert their symbolic power on those who do not have similar credentials. In the Pashtu-speaking community, competence in the English language is a symbol of status and authority. To show own education and assert it, a Pashtu speaker constantly borrows, replaces, or uses English vocabulary in his speech. Therefore, the influence of the English language as linguistic capital on Pashtu speech has positive linguistic, social, political, educational, and professional repercussions for the Pashtu community in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

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