

Articulation of English Vowel Sounds by Pashto Speakers: A Contrastive Phonetic Analysis

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- Phonetic Analysis
- Deviant Vowels
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Abstract

The present study aims at the vowels of two languages, i.e. English and Pashto, by conducting a contrastive phonetic analysis by looking into those deviant vowels in which the Pashto speakers face difficulty pronouncing while learning the language. The Pashto speakers tend to pronounce the vowels in the English language that are generally paralleled with Received Pronunciation (RP), revealing certain similarities as well as differences during the production of not only English short and long vowels as well in the words' initial, medial and final positions of English in terms of both the height, i.e., the F1 formant frequencies and the backness, i.e., the F2 formant frequencies as exposed by the exploration of speech samples through Praat. Pashto native speakers with an English background can articulate such vowels /ə/(short) and /ɒ/, the same as near-natives, and the vowels /æ/, /ɪ/, and /ʌ/ almost native-like, but they cannot pronounce the short vowels /e/ and /ɔ/ like native speakers. Similarly, the long English vowels /i:/, /a:/, /u:/ posed no difficulty in pronunciation for Pashto speakers, whereas the long vowels /ɜ:/ and /ɔ:/ posed difficulty for them in English pronunciation. The vowel /ɜ:/ was difficult for Pashto speakers, who pronounce it slightly differently from the natives of RP. The study also recommends that in order to achieve correct English pronunciation of teachers teaching English at the college level should sufficiently guide the Pashto (L1 learners) of English in the articulation of English vowels and also necessary to expose them to the essentials of both similarities and differences of the vowels of Pashto and English languages keeping classroom ambience in consideration so that their obstacle of lucidness may be overcome for efficacious communication with English native speakers.

1. Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study

Pashto language, recognised as the language of the Pashtuns, its speakers likewise labelled their language as Pukhto (instead of the Pukhtoons—Afghans as the Persians name them or the Indians remembered them as the Pathans). They are nominated as Afghani by the Persian literature, and in Urdu literature in Pakistan and Hindi literature in India call it Paṭhani. Pashtuns, called Pakhtuns, sometimes named Afghans or Pathans, are those who courageously speak Pashto outside the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Akbar, 2020). In Afghanistan, there are two official languages, and Pashto is one among them, and 60% of the majority Pashtun population speaks the Pashto language; the other spoken language there is Dari. It has been estimated that in Pakistan, Pashto is spoken by around 20-25 million people. Pashto is also spoken in some other communities of Tajikistan that are above and beyond the Pashtun societies and reside in different countries such as the UK, Canada, Germany, and the Gulf states (Keith & Sarah, 2008). Rahman states in his 2006 study that out of the total population in Pakistan, 15.42% population form Pashto speakers, while Pashto is spoken in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province by 73% of the population as the native tongue (Rahman, 2006). The southern economic hub of Pakistan, Karachi, also has many speakers of the Pashto language (Habibullah & Barbara, 1996). Even in Iran, some exceptional speakers speak the Pashto language as their first or mother tongue (Rahman, 2009).

As far as Pashto language dialects differences are concerned, several studies have exposed that the variances other than phonological are not so obvious as to split Pashto as a language into contrasting dialects (MacKenzie, 1959). Among the Pashtuns, most of the dialects, in other words, all dialects, are equally comprehensible, but the Yusufzai dialect is not only owned by poets, novelists, and media persons, including all kinds of writers but also spoken and understood across the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa since writing in the following dialect approves eloquence not only within the region but it supports eloquence for the international Pashto readers and listeners as well.

1.2. Phonemes of the Yusufzai Pashto

As per Olson (1996), there are forty-one phonemes in the Pashto language, which include twenty-nine consonants, eight vowels and two diphthongs. We need to contemplate the Arabic vowels as well in order to understand the Pashto vowel system. The reason behind this is that Arabic significantly influences the Pashto vowel system because Pashto has not only borrowed Arabic vowels but also pure Arabic vowels have been suitably introduced into the Pashto language. Still, it could be observed that certain features are not in use in Pashto. When it comes to the English language, there are regular vowel phonemes with distinctive alphabets and phonetic characters. However, a problem with the Pashto language is specified with certain sounds pronounced with other phonemes. However, in amalgamation, when it comes to written form, these sounds have been observed differently in that they have no divergent characters of their own in the written form as in the English language, which is employed in writing and pronunciation simultaneously.

1.3. Pashto Speakers and the Importance of English Pronunciation

In Pakistan, it has been observed that English is the only dominant medium of communication used for official correspondence. It also serves as a medium of instruction in different educational institutions, administration blocks, defence forces, and other sectors, including diplomatic affairs, banking, civil aviation, media, and IT.

Rehman highlighted that the crucial feature of the English language is the information and knowledge of English Phonology, which is a stress-timed language, and the intonation patterns hold importance to learning the stretches in speech (Ghani, 2005). In Pakistani pedagogy, most of the importance and focus is on grammar and vocabulary, and even they are taught from a very basic and elementary level, but there is no importance given to phonology even though it is not that important at the university level. The same issue is observed in teaching and learning at the school level in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Subsequently, Pakistani students face problems in general and particularly Pashtun students in pursuing higher education abroad because they do not understand the English language of native speakers. English plays a noteworthy position in the said province, not only in official but in academic communication. Visit of foreign tourists to spots like different valleys of Swat, Kumrat, Kashmir, and many other places, over there Pashto speakers frequently intermingle with English foreign speakers. For the following purposes mentioned above, English is learnt, and for the language being the medium it has been much sought, it serves as an instructional model in institutional establishments of the province.

Studies like Rehman in 2009 state that native-like pronunciation's stages are not essential for foreign learners; however, an intelligible pronunciation is required. As it is apparent that teaching vocabulary along structures plays a vital and significant role in English language programs, not only in elementary schools but beyond in Pakistan, so same English pronunciation must also be concomitant to such programmes, specifically in the curriculum and syllabi (Rahman, 2009). A learner of English as a foreign language learner uses such accents whatever the speaker s/he likes, but they should be comprehensible to native speakers (Fraser, 2000).

1.4. Research Objectives

The aim of the study is to:

Identify the deviated form of vowels of English pronounced by Pashtun Speakers compared to the vowels of RP.

Examine the vowels of English that pose difficulties for the Pashtun speakers while speaking English on account of the impact of their native language.

1.5. Research Questions

What English vowels are pronounced (with deviation) by the Pashto Yousafzai Dialect native speakers?

What English vowels cause pronunciation hindrances for native speakers of the Pashto Yousafzai Dialect?

2. Literature Review

Peter Roach (2009) suggests learning English pronunciation about phonemes, not letters of the alphabet. Ghani believes that the pronunciation of a language redirects the system of spelling it affects the spelling system, not in a single but in many other languages (Ghani, 2005). Though, spelling is not considered for the learner in English as the precise English sound for pronunciation. Standard English (RP) has 44 sounds and 26 letters, including 24 consonants and 20 vowels. It is necessary to know English phonetics and the meaning of phonology to use speech sounds correctly in English; thereby, knowing the sounds of English without knowing certain letters is considered not only confusing but intricacies of the spellings of English (Roach, 2009). BBC Received Pronunciation is recommended as a model for foreign learners (Roach, 2009). The British have categorised twenty vowels into short and long through standard dictionaries, with many variances in quality, length, lip rounding, and so on.

Daniel Hallberg has explored the questions of dialectal grouping and, for this purpose, collected the data as well, specifically for Pashto research, and one of his main objectives included finding out the criteria that describe the groups (Hallberg, 1992). Olson (1996) states that the sounds pronounced in East Afghan Pashto and confesses the phonemic diversity found in various Pashto dialects; he observed that some phonemes are usually articulated but inversely by Pashtun speakers (Olson, 1996). The writer has focused on the vowel sounds that also describe the phonemes of the Pashto language but given slight detail. Olson stresses the pronunciation of Pashto words that may not rely on the spellings of Pashto words. Olson highlighted one practical issue that learners face: if they are not trying to correct the error from the beginning, not only serious but bad pronunciation habits can be expected. The author favours to utilise Arabic-based Pashto for the sake of pronunciation training and further, if needed, some other material for teaching due to the effect of the Arabic language over the Pashto language and influence not only in standings of borrowing of lexical features but also on account of Pashto's phonetic features acknowledged from Arabic. Tegey & Robson (1992, 1996), for foreign learners of Pashto, have published three different extensive publications consecutively, have endeavoured to describe in detail not only the diversity of lexical of the Pashto language but variations of phonetics in standard Pashto dialect which is used by Kabul area and spoken by educated people and also spoken by people in eastern Afghanistan as well, the following dialect is used by electronic and print media frequently. Pronunciation has also been considered vital and started included in the syllabus and teaching material, but still, it has been observed that the major focus of different series of the book was on the written skills of the learner, and here better to mention that script of a Roman has been utilised for this transcription. The writers opine that no two Pashtuns apparently pronounce any word similarly (Lorimer, 1914). Lorimer believes in extensive variability in pronunciation, practice, and vocabulary. Tegey and Robson as a model, have chosen one Pashtun speaker speech by convincing the readers with the following statement that if the students try to learn and to copy the teacher of the Pashto language, they will at least be comprehensible for all of the Pashtuns even though he will look sophisticated. Manual 3 is Pashto Conversation, conducted by Tegey & Robson, includes given pronunciation exercises for practice that testify to its difficulty, and sometimes it is impossible to know Pashto without its pronunciation. Naheed, in her research, discusses factors in the different dialects of Pashto and observes pronunciation to be a conclusive factor, specifically the two main dialects, including the major north-east and the south-west dialects in Pashto language (Naheed, Q. 2015). The research reflects the

pronunciation characteristic of the two dialects over each other. The researchers have explored how Urdu has impacted the Afghan migrants' conversation.

Penzl (1961) has found that Pashto has borrowed much vocabulary from the West, ranging from political and geographical terminology, i.e., such as dressing and wardrobe items, etc., along with pronunciation. This has been done by highlighting the phonemics of Western loanwords, however; in some cases, these sounds have been pashtoized by the natives.

In the other study conducted by Morgenstierne, an exhaustive list of Pashto vocabulary items has been collected that do not explicitly discuss pronunciation; however, it encompasses the consequence and importance of pronunciation. The study further discusses that the comprehension of words could only be possible if semantic clarity and appropriate usage could be maintained through correct pronunciation (Georg, 1927). It is pertinent to mention that inadequate research has been drawn on Pashto grammar, phonetics, and phonology. The issues that are particularly related to phonetics and the phonology of Pashto has been addressed in the study.

3. Research Methodology

The study used a contrastive analysis framework with mixed methods-both quantitative and qualitative.

3.1. Research Design

The current research employs experimental design to probe the issue under review that falls under the rubric of the quantitative research paradigm. The research objectives and questions necessitate a scientific investigation of the locale, thus, bringing objective results.

3.2. Theoretical Framework

To do a Contrastive Analysis of the vowels of the select languages, the researchers have adopted the model of Contrastive Analysis introduced by Lado in 1957. The model compares two languages, specifically their syntactic, lexical, morphological and phonological features. Lado's approach has been frequently applied by researchers in the Contrastive Analysis in multiple studies, like Arabic, German and French, etc., compared to English. The faulty production would be expected by the inaccurate perception of sounds (Brown, 1994).

3.3. Population and Sampling

The researchers have invoked Judgemental and purposive sampling for their data collection. Purposive sampling's primary concern is based on the researchers' judgment and information. The information used by the researchers would be utilised with the consent of the participants who willingly share their data.

Kumar (2011) believes that purposive sampling could be instrumental when constructing and recounting a little-known phenomenon. It is considered helpful in research, specifically quantitative research, in which such people are selected who could provide information for the following study according to the researchers' judgement (Kumar, R., 2011).

The target population for this study are the speakers of Pashto with Yusufzai dialect and English background too.

3.4. Data Collection

10 male and 10 female participants were chosen, from total number of twenty participants who basically belonged to District Malakand province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, from different regions pronounced the recorded words. The researchers were assigned the target vowels in the specific words given following words distributed at the words' indifferent positions i.e. having the initial, the medial, and the final, but this process would be done after obtaining the participants' informed consent. The researchers asked the participants to pronounce words chosen as they pronounce in the English class in their daily conversation, naturally with their regular speech pitch and rate. To utilise a sensitive microphone, the researchers took the help of a laptop core i-7 8th generation. The recording was made possible with the built-in recording software within the standard frequency range from 40 Hz to 20 KHz. The respondents were asked to articulate the chosen words but with a pause of two pulses, and the gap must be after each word they uttered. The researchers utilized quality headphones to listen to the pronunciation quite clearly.

Table 2 highlights the target vowels, while Table 3 highlights some of the words of Pashto that contain similar vowels of the English language. There are blank spaces mentioned in the table that identify some English-language words that do not possess vowels in the final position.

The data were transcribed after recording it and analysed through the software PRAAT, specifically designed for speech analysis. The software helped in obtaining the spectrograms in order to observe the data. The target vowels that Pashto speakers pronounced were measured up with the English vowels of RP. Wells (1962) and Deterding (1997) have explored data on native vowels for comparing vowels produced by Pashto speakers against English vowels.

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.

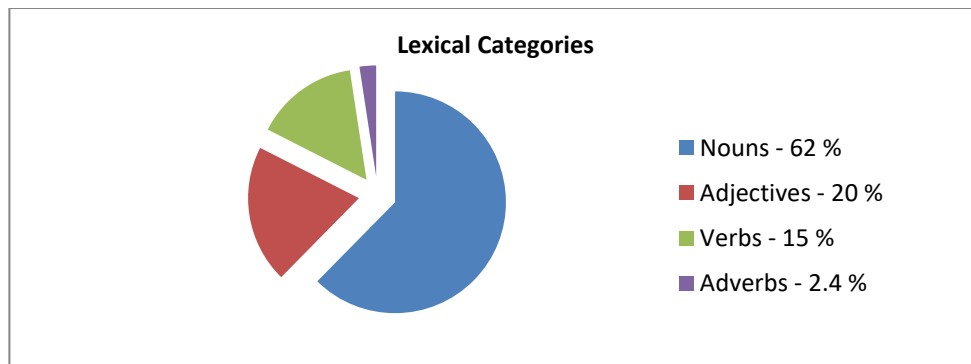


Figure 1: Pie Chart of English Lexical Items in Pashtu in Current Affairs Programs

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 *khalaaq (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' (څانگه), 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.

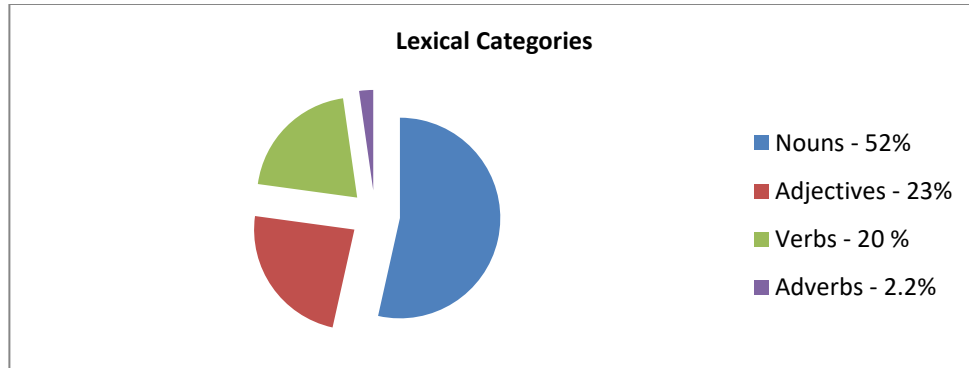


Figure 2: Pie Chart of English Lexical Items in Pashtu in Education Programs

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 ورځلوبه). 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 'koraney 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.

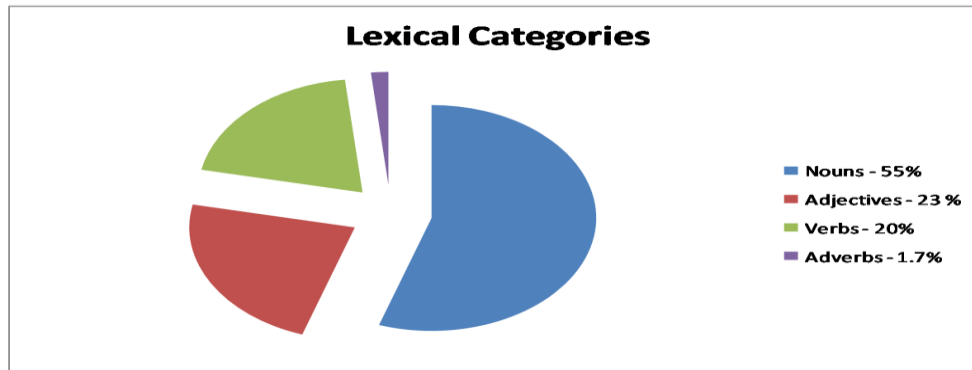


Figure 3: Pie Chart of English Lexical Items in Pashtu in Sports Programs

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 teel' (پخليتيل) 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*’ (کاغذتشناب) 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.

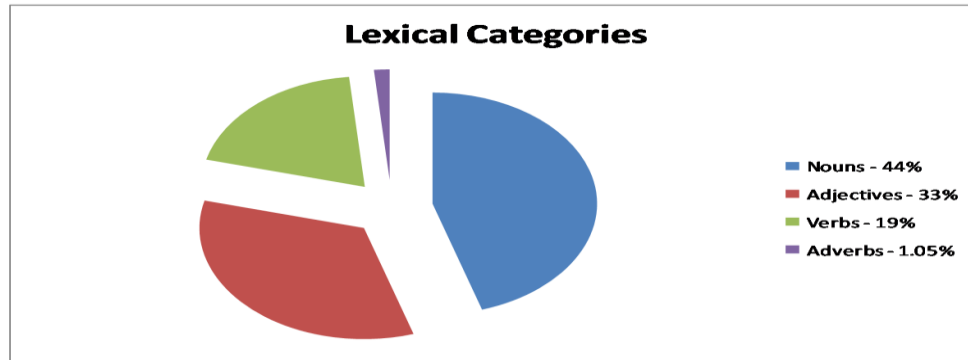


Figure 4: Pie Chart of English Lexical Items in Pashtu in Cooking Programs

4.4. Morning Show

The 5th 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 (موسیقی), 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.

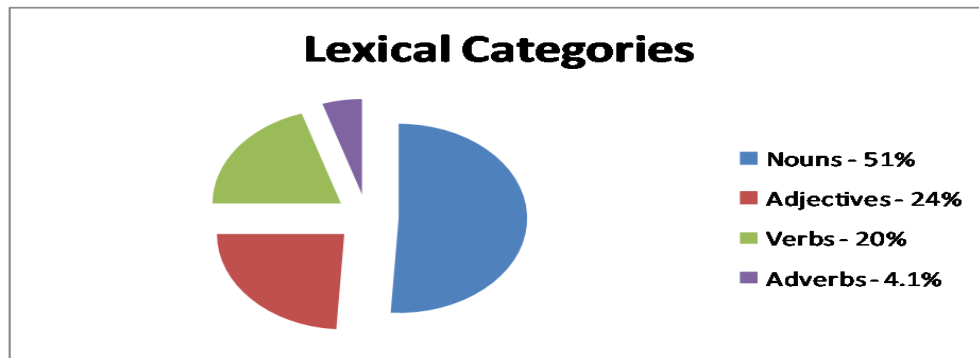


Figure 5: Pie Chart of English Lexical Items in Pashtu in Morning Shows

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

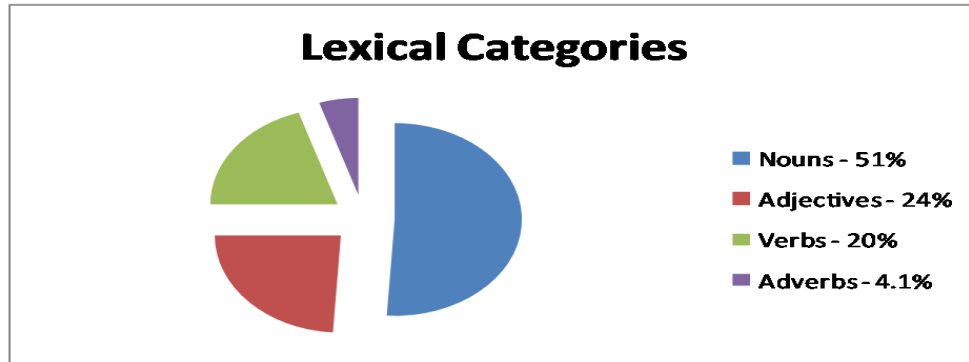


Figure 6: Pie Chart of Lexical Items in Pashtu in All the Selected Pashtu Programs

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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