Neologisms in Pashto and Their Currency in the Kandahari Dialect Spoken in Quetta and Kandahar

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Abstract

A spoken language usually has more than one dialect because of different types of linguistic variations occur. Pashto, which is widely spoken language of South Asia, has also different dialects. The present research aims to explore the lexical differences of Kandahari dialect of Pashto also known as Western dialect, spoken in Kandahar, Afghanistan and Quetta, Pakistan. The differences are in great quantity and in multitude of ways. This study narrows down on the differences in lexicon of the same dialect spoken in two different capitals: Kandahar and Quetta. In the study, some very commonly occurred neologisms are found out in Kandahari dialect through different sources: primary and secondary. The comparative study of the both varieties shows the reasons of Kandahar's Kandahari dialect being dynamic and progressive lexically than that of Kandahari Dialect spoken in Quetta and some of the very common phonological changes that have occurred in the borrowed words of dialect spoken in Quetta. These examples of the phonological changes very clearly delineate that how a borrowed word is carved by the phonotactics of the recipient language. The pivotal role of Neology, which is the study of coining of new words, and language policies is revealed in making the variety dynamic through finding out the currency of the newly coined words in both areas.

Keywords: dialect, linguistic variations, Lexical differences, Phonotactics, Neology, language policies

1. Introduction

Pashto throughout the history of Pakistan has remained marginalized. All the language polices formulated since the emergence of Pakistan have not been in favour of promotion of Pashto. This is majorly because of a fact that Pashto has always been associated with Pashtoon nationalism in the eyes of the ruling club of Pakistan, for them promoting Pashto is like fueling Pashto nationalism. The apparent steps taken by Zia's regime for the promotion of Pashto were in fact disguised means of demonizing and belittling Pashto

language, none of the steps were taken seriously. In addition, there has always been an on-going intellectual conflict and disagreement among the linguists of Kandahari dialect and Youafzai dialect. This intellectual feud has barricaded Pashto from getting dynamic and progressive. This has resulted in failure of many conferences that were arranged for the standardization of Pashto. The role of Pashto academies in Pakistan has been very discouraging. After analysing there contribution, it can be asserted that they are in fact erected to demote Pashto Language instead of promoting it. This fact is revealed by looking at the number of publication each of the academies has published: Pashto academy Peshawar has published 576 pieces since Pakistan's emergence whereas Pashto academy Quetta has set forth only 56 publications since 1971. Besides this, these academies have always warded off attempts of linguistic expurgation but supported borrowings and other linguistic contamination instead.

All of the serious work is done by people independently and without any support from either government nor from these academies, such as works of Ummar Khayam translated into Pashto by Abdul Khair Zalak, Bari Jahani, Habib Ullah Tegey, "Bhagat Kabir" by Bari Jahani, "Geeta Anjali" of Rabrindarnath Tagore by Abdul Rauf Benawa and Sadiq Sparlae, War and Peace of Leo Tolstoy by Dr. Latif Bahand, Adultery of Paulo Coelho by Dr. Naseem Achakzai etc.

In Pakistan no comprehensive linguistic study on the lexicon of Pashto is done earlier. To bridge the gap, this research is about the neologisms and their currency in the Kandahri dialect, also known as Western dialect, of Kandahar and Quetta. The study is carefully directed by a set of objectives that are carefully covered. The research is primarily protracted to prove the presence of newly coined words in the Kandahari dialect and to find out the currency of those newly coined terms in the dialect spoken in Kandahar and Quetta. This in return manages to unearth the factors, whether linguistic or non-linguistic, that are creating disparity in the form of lexical difference.

[ˈpəʂt̪oː, ˈpəçt̪oː, ˈpʊxt̪oː],پښتوPax̌tō; spelled differently in accordance with different pronunciation, Pukhto, Pushto, or Pakhtu), also referred to as Afghānī (افغاني) and Pathānī (as called in India), is the most commonly spoken language in Afghanistan and Pakistan. It is spoken as a native language by over half the population of Afghanistan and is also widely spoken in Balochistan, the province of Pakistan directly to the South of Afghanistan. For variety of reasons, the name of the Pashto of language has been spelled in several ways. One reason is that the middle consonant [sh] is a sound that differs from one dialect to other. The second reason for not being able to render an exact word for Pashto is the lack of proper transliteration (Tegey & Robson, 1996; p.6). Pashto is a member of the Eastern Iranian languages group. Out of the two official languages of Afghanistan, one is Pashto. Apart from that, it is the second-largest regional language of Pakistan, after Punjabi, and is mainly spoken in the west and north-west of the country, and is the major language among the Pashtun diaspora anywhere around the world.

Figure 1: Map of Pashto speaking area (Adopted from Tegey & Robson, 1996)

Pashto is branched under the North-eastern Iranian branch of the Indo-Iranian languages, even though ethnologue categorizes it as South-eastern Iranian language. The basic word order of Pashto is subject-object-Verb, as opposed to in English in which it is SVO. Many sentences, of course, are intransitive and do not have objects. In such cases the order is Subject-Verb. In Pashto modifiers always precede the verb, whereas in English most of the verbal modifiers follow the verb. The verb is also the last element in sentences with "be". As in all Indo-European languages, Pashto sentences with "be" verbs are intransitive. Phrases that follow the "be" verb are complements not direct objects for example Layla is Aman's wife. Under predictable circumstances, subjects and objects are deleted. One of those circumstances is "Imperative". In imperative sentences, the predictable second person singular or plural subject is deleted, as it is done in English. There is no difference in word order between statement and question. Confirmatory questions are differentiated from statements solely by the rise of the voice at the end of the sentence. Similarly, as is sometimes informally done in English, John is a poet? W-H questions are differentiated from statements by positioning the appropriate question word in its ordinary position in the sentence. The intonation stays the same. There are only two Pre-positions in Pashto, but they are used quite frequently. One is "da" (of) and "pa"(WITH). It is the dative to "ta" that is counted as the only post position in Pashto. These prepositions have two elements and the subject-object is placed in between those elements (Tegey & Robson, 1996).

Whenever a new thing is invented, or a phenomenon discovered or a concept established, the language needs a word to refer to it for further references. The word for it is coined and is known as neologism. "A neologism is a new word or sense of a word." (Peprník p.76)"A naming unit which was coined to satisfy a linguistic demand, be it the demand of a single member of a speech community, or a single unrepeated demand." (Štekauer 2008: p.101) According to Kabove (2009) the origin of most neologisms is anonymous it is only in very few cases it is known that who coined the new word., "The motif for producing a neologism can be, besides the real need such as a new invention or discovery of something, also the puristic effort to replace foreign terms by domestic ones" (Peprník p.77). "Languages are accommodating and inventive in meeting these needs." (Fromkin2003: p.511). Neologisms can be made to through derivation, compounding or

composition, conversion, coinage, borrowing or loan words, blending, clipping or shortening, backformation abbreviating and acronyming, eponyms - words from names and imitation. Some very common examples of blending, acronyming, eponymy, compounding, derivation, abbreviation are "brunch" (blende of breakfast and lunch), "LAN" (local area network), Yamaha (name of a person but referred to a certain brand of bikes), dining-table, ecotage (sabotage of ecology), HD (high-definition) , respectively.

This study will set forth the importance of neologism in preventing a language from getting obsolete or in more traditional words getting impure by the trade back of borrowings from other language and import of loan words, and will contribute well to the literature of neology in Pashto which is almost not there or, if available, not in the streamline of media. The study will also delineate the existence of newly coined words in Pashto that are formed by the very concept of neology. The expected result of the collected data that is being analysed will unveil the role of government and the momentous impression of standardization on a language, because the population of the study goes right from Quetta, ignoring the Durand Line, to Kandahar, Afghanistan. This will in a way shed light on the non-linguistic factors such as language policies of a country in contributing to growth or degeneration of the dialect. Thus, propounds the factors that are causing the differences in the dialect spoken by the people who are not divided geographically but politically. Above all it will highlight the importance of neology in this era of technology.

Winford (2003) says that when two or more languages come into contact with each other, three contact outcomes are likely to happen as a consequence: Language Maintenance, Language Shift and Language creation. Language maintenance refers simply to the preservation by a speech community of its native language from generation to generation. Preservation implies that the language changes only by small degrees in the short run owing to the internal developments and/ or (limited) contact with other languages. Hence the various sub-systems of the language- the phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and core lexicon- remain relatively intact. Language maintenance can further turn out into three possible forms: borrowing, structural convergence and code-switching. Out of these three outcomes we would be concerned with the borrowing only.

2. Literature Review

With the advent of time, languages need to be synchronized by updating the inventory of referents. This is supplemented further by Crystal (2002) who thinks that for the description of new concepts and technologies new words are regularly becoming the part of lexicon. On the contrary, those old words which are culturally not very significant fall out of the use. So with advancements in technology, the need of neologism in present time is increased.

The world of IT has influenced the language to great extents. It has compelled language to make new words for the new concepts. Schaffer (2001) says that for the technological inventions there is a need of neologisms, for example the e-prefixing is used to coin new words: e-book, e-mail, e-banking etc. With the growing boundaries of the field of IT neology is working with equal pace to coin new words for the new concepts in this field and it is making it possible to turn all those new advents in the field in to black and white form. Thus, a very specialized and technical knowledge is made tangible for a layman who is interested in getting on with the field.

This time period can be classified crucial for the languages all over the world, as Maxwell (2014) highlights that in the modern period of technology language change is more quick because of coining of new words with tremendous speed. He further explains he term 'protologism' which is described a newly coined term which has not commonly accepted into usage, so it is an initial stage in the development of neologism. In the other words, it can be said that it is this staggering pace of the growing technology that the language is either growing rich or getting obsolete: depending on the role of neology in a language. In the light of these studies on the growing demand of neologism, the present research is designed to explore the newly coined words in Pashto varieties.

3. Research Methodology

It is primary research based on first hand data by concluding through analysis. This research at the beginning is descriptive because it is directed at making careful observations and detailed documentation of a phenomenon of interest and examines the what where and when of the phenomenon, but it is an explanatory research because it answers the how and why of the phenomenon as well because the research objectives seek

explanations of observed phenomena, problems, or behaviours. The research statement was incepted with a scope wide enough to engulf the objectives of the research and to effectively trickle down the lexical differences between the single dialect of Pashto spoken in the same strip of land divided politically. The type of data that is collected has come within the definition of qualitative approach because it reveals the choice of the sample representing the population. The tool used for the extraction of the data from the sample was an open ended questionnaire to ensure less possible ambiguity and subjectivity. The population of the conducted research were the speakers of Kandahari Dialect in Kandahar and Quetta, out of whom the sample of 20 participants were selected with the equal number of males and females by maintaining to a possible extent the age and literacy of the participants. The questionnaire was distributed through the medium of social media to the participants of Kandahar, Afghanistan; and the participants of Quetta filled the questionnaire in person. During this procedure the components of scientific method such as parsimony, falsifiability, precision and replicability were taken great care of and thus the research ethics were not violated.

3.1. Sample Size

The sample was carefully secluded out of the population for the sake of good representation. The sample of my research comprised of 20 participants funnelled by the criteria of age, sex and literacy.

Table 1: Participants' demography

Participant No	Age	Sex	City	Literacy
5	23 to 28	Female	Kandahar	Undergraduate
5	23 to 28	Female	Quetta	Undergraduate
5	23 to 28	Male	Kandahar	Undergraduate
5	23 to 28	Male	Quetta	Undergraduate

The sample size comprised of 20 participants, out of them 10 participants, 5 males and 5 females were from Kandahar, Afghanistan, and 10 participants,

5 males and 5 females, were from Quetta, Pakistan. The participants were provided with a questionnaire that had questions related to newly coined words in the field of technology, emerging concepts in Pashto culture, terms used in society because of modernization, commonly used words on media and academia. The collected data is then analysed to find out the lexical and phonological differences.

4. Data Analysis

This section is further divided into two sub-sections: first section presents list of newly coined words in Kandahari dialect of Kandahar; and second presents Phonological change in the borrowed words of Pashto spoken in Quetta.

4.1 Neologism in Kandahari dialect of Kandahar

A list of forty newly coined words was prepared before the formulation of questionnaire from the articles of BBC PASHTO, the Programs of Aryana Channel, Programs of AVT Khyber and the latest translation of various English books Pashto writers such as Mohammad Latif Bahand, Dr. Naseem Achakzai, Bari Jehani etc. The list is mentioned below.

Table 2: Newly coined words in Pashto

Sr. No	Words in English	Coined version Of Pashto	Phonetic transcription
1	Email	Breshna lik	[brIshƩnalIk]
2	Website	Web paṛa	[web-paɳə]
3	Home Page	Kor paṛa	[kor-paɳ]
4	Media	Rasanae	[rəsənəi]
5	Telephone	Mukhabira	[mYxabIra]
6	Fridge	Yakhchal	[jəxʧal]
7	President	Ulas masher	[Yləs məƩər]
8	Prime Minister	Lomṛae wazir	[lYmɽəiwəzIr]
9	Globalization	Naṛewaltob	[neɽəwalʈɒp]
10	Global Village	Naṛewal Kalae	[neɽəwal kələi]

11	Terrorism	Tarhagaṛi	[ʈərhagəri]
12	Sociology	Tolan Pohana	[ʈolanpohanə]
13	Anthropology	Bashr Pohana	[bəƩer pohanə]
14	International Relations	Naṛewali aṛeki	[neɽəwali əɽeki]
15	Civil Society	Madni Pohana	[məɖni pohanə]
16	Linguistics	Zhab Pohana	[ʒəb-pohanə]
17	School	Showanzai	[Ʃowənzəi]
18	College	Pohanzai	[pohanzəi]
19	University	Pohantun	[pohanʈүn]
20	Helicopter	Charkhaka	[ʧərxakə]
21	Loudspeaker	Zhaghtandae	[ʒaɣtəɳɖəi]
22	Page	Paṛa	[paɳə]
23	Sweater	Ganjai	[gəndʒəi]
24	Calculator	Shumargar	[ƩYmargər]
25	Accounting	Garhanna	[gəɽanə]
26	Company	Gadoon	[gəɖYn]
27	Management	Sambalasht	[səmbaləƩʈ]
28	Link	Tarhonai	[tərhonəi]
29	Generator	Breshnazezh	[brIƩnazəƩ]
30	Editor	Sarlik	[sərlIk]
31	Medical	Tib	[ʈɪb]
32	Country	Hewad	həvaɖ

33	Province	Welayat	[vɪlajət]
34	Spokesman	Wayand	[vəjaˈnd̪]
35	Newspaper	Wradz Para	[vrədzˈ pa) ˈa]
36	Governor	Wali	[valiˈ]
37	Kindergarten	Waruktun	[vəɽəkt̪Yn]
38	Assitant	Mrastwaal	[mrəst̪vaˈl]
39	Library	Kitabtun	[kɪt̪aˈbt̪Yn]
40	Birthday	Kaleza	[kəlɪza]

All the 5 females from Kandahar used the newly coined words of Pashto for the respective words of English. All the 5 females of Quetta used loan words or the same words of English instead of Pashto words acquired through neologism. The female speakers of Kandahari dialect of Quetta were not even familiar with any word acquired through neology. All 5 males of Kandahar used the Pashto words of neologism for the above mentioned list of English words. In case of 5 male participants of Quetta, all were acquainted with some of the newly coined words but not even a single male was able to tell the Pashto words for all of the above English words. Such as participant 1 was able to answer 26 out of forty words and participant 4 was able to tell 21 out of forty.

4.2 Phonological change in the borrowed words

Cases of influence may involve varying degrees of influence on the lexicon and structure of group's native language from the external language with which it is contact. This kind of influence is referred to as "borrowing". Thomason and Kaufman (1988:37) refer to it as the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by the speakers of that language. This puts it plainly that the borrowed features are brought to the language by the speakers of that language itself. As Van Coestem (1988:3) asserts that borrowing involves recipient language agentivity, and this crucially distinguishes it from the other major type of cross-linguistic influence that involves source language agentivity in cases of second language learning.

On the basis of degree, borrowing can be either categorized as casual lexical borrowing or heavy lexical borrowing and as slight to significant or less

significant structural borrowing. Lexical borrowing is the borrowing of contentive words, such as nouns, verbs, adjectives etc.

As discussed earlier, with the growing pace of discoveries, inventions and formation of new concepts, a language is required either to coin new words for them, of course through the apparatus of neology, or to borrow words. In case of Pashto both of the linguistic strategies are used to overcome the linguistic insufficiency of the lexicon. In case of the Kandahari dialect spoken in Kandahar, neology is seen in action, whereas the Western dialect, spoken in Quetta, seems to have resorted to borrowing.

The Kandahari dialect spoken in Quetta, Pakistan, has borrowed words from English, Urdu and to some extent from Russian (due to the influx of migrants from Afghanistan during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979). Pashto is an ancient language that is written in Perso-Arabic script. Its vocabulary contains words also from Ossete, Persian, Sanskrit, Hindi, Urdu and other regional languages of Pakistan, also some Indo-Aryan languages. The Pashto spoken in Pakistan has borrowed more from Urdu than other languages. The English borrowings are also from Urdu, the language has hundreds of borrowed words of English because of the presence of Britians during the 19th and early 20thcentury.

The borrowed words in return undergo phonological changes in order to conform with the phonetic chart and phonotactic restrains of Pashto language. Morgenstierne's comment (1940:89) seems appropriate here: "Pashto in its turn...has been subject to a series of violent phonetic changes, affecting as well vowel quality and quantity as simple and compound consonants." Voiced and voiceless aspirates series is absent in Pashto. Aspirates exist in written script but they are present in those words that have been borrowed from other languages so in speech they are not spoken and whenever in written script there is an aspirate, its corresponding unaspirated sound is spoken (Bukhari, 1985, p. 16). Now the vowel system in Pashto it was found that there are seven short vowels in Pashto /a/, /e/, /i/, /ə/, /o/, /u/ and three long vowels /a:/, /u:/, /i:/. Also there are four diphthongs /ey/, /ay/, /oy/ and /aw/.   /i:/ as a high front un-rounded vowel is found infrequently in Pashto and mostly in those words that are borrowed from other languages. /e/ is a mid-front vowel. It is found word initially in those words that are from other languages.

Sometimes the process of conformations of borrowed words would lead to supra-segmental changes as well, the English word motor has a stress over its first syllable, but the stress shifts towards the second syllable once it is used in Pashto. Words that have undergone phonological changes are given in the table below.

Table 3: Phonological Changes in borrowed words

1.	Kalinar	=	Cleaner	[k↔lin↔r]
2.	Tulbaks	=	Toolbox	[ʈYlb↔ks]
3.	Kaysit	=	Cassette	[kesIʈ]
4.	Larae	=	Lorry	[l↔r↔i]
5.	Mashin	=	Machine	[m↔ΣIn]
6.	Motar	=	Motor	[moʈ↔r]
7.	Aitar	=	Heater	[iʈ↔r]
8.	Saykal	=	Cycle	[sek↔l]
9.	Jaaz	=	Jahaaz (an Urdu word)	[dʒa↔z]
10.	Lapta:p	=	Laptop	[lepʈap]
11.	Telfun	=	Telephone	[ʈelfYn]
12.	Botal	=	Bottle	[boʈ↔l]
13.	Kat	=	Cot	[k↔ʈ]
14.	Kular	=	Cooler	[kYl↔r]
15.	Amrika	=	America	[↔mrIk↔]
16.	Baks	=	Box	[b↔ks]
17.	Atam	=	Atom	[eʈ↔m]
18.	Sayins	=	Science	[sens]
19.	Tim	=	Team	[ʈIm]
20.	Semat	=	Cement	[sIm↔ʈ]
21.	Rakit	=	Rocket	[rakIʈ]
22.	Filam	=	Film	[fIl↔m]
23.	Andle	=	Handle	[enɖ↔l]
24.	Banat	=	Bonnet	[ban↔ʈ]
25.	Mublayl	=	Mobil oil	[mYblel]
26.	Palas	=	Pliers	[p↔las]
27.	Wal	=	Valve	[ʋal]

28. Tayr = Tyre		[ʈeˑ↔r]
29. Podar = Powder		[poɖ↔r]
30. Amlat = Omlette		[amleʈ]
31. Maydical = Medical		[meˈdɪkəl]
32. Gornar = Governer		[gornər]
33. Ganraytar = Generator		[dZənretər]
34. Caalcolatar = Calculator		[kaˈlkoletər]
35. Tublait = Tube light		[tYblaɪt]
36. Balap = Bulb		[bələp]
37. Palate = Plate		[pəleˈt]
38. Gilas = Glass		[gɪlas]
39. Kapae = Copy		[kəpəɪ]
40. Layter = lighter		[leˈʈər]

5. Conclusion

After analysing the collected data, enough dimensions are explored that meet the ends of the objectives of this research. Firstly, it is proved that the inventory of lexicon in Pashto is updated by the apparatus of neologism, in order to make the words for newly discovered and invented things and for the newly formed concepts etc. This was something that can be said generally about the Pashto language but it can't be said in specific cases such that of our research. The differences observed in currency of neologisms within the same dialect but spoken in Kandahar and Quetta forced us to trail the issue even beyond the boundary of linguistics. Even though in both of the cities, the same dialect is spoken, in Kandahar they use neologisms but in Quetta most of the target population use loan words, which is due to the language policies of the countries, Afghanistan and Pakistan respectively. There are two official languages in Afghanistan and Pashto is one of them. Pashto is standardized and thus technically synchronized with the passage of time to meet the growing needs of time, which makes it rich ultimately. The same dialect is spoken in the strip right from Kandahar, to Spin Boldak (Afghanistan), then to Chaman (Pakistan) and Quetta, but as far as the boundaries of Pakistan get close, the frequency of neologisms in the speech of Kandahari Dialect speakers decrease; the usage of these neologisms gets almost nil when we go further in Pakistan: Chaman to Quetta. This is because in Pakistan not only Pashto but almost all the regional dialects are

marginalized instead of standardized. This research provides enough scientific evidence to support the claim. The speakers of Kandahari Dialect in Quetta use loan words instead of neologisms that is due to the lack of mechanism for the standardization of this language in Pakistan. Those male participants of Quetta who were able to use some of the neologisms were in good contact with the Afghani Radio Channels, BBC Pashto, Voice of America etc. This is evident that the apparent disparity in the lexicon of these two regions is due to the language policies of their countries.

Grimm (2004) says, "when a foreign word falls by accident into the fountain of a language, it will get driven around in there until it takes on that language's colour". While taking in mind the above cited examples in table two, it is very obvious that the borrowed words do alter phonologically to some extent. Many factors are found active in this process of sound change. The pronunciation of the borrowed words changes, sometimes, due to assimilation and dissimilation. Most of the times, either vowel is deleted or added to the word. Supra-segmental features are also seen to be changing the words phonologically, such as the ultimate stress pattern in Pashto was found very common, in case of borrowed words.

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