

**RESEARCH PAPER****Morphological Innovation in Pakistani English: The Emergence of Hybrid Forms****¹Hajab Fatima, ²Raza-E- Mustafa and ³Aimen Zafar**

1. MPhil Scholar, Department of English, University of Gujrat, Punjab, Pakistan
2. Assistant Professor, Department of English, University of Gujrat, Punjab, Pakistan
3. MPhil Scholar, Department of English, University of Gujrat, Punjab, Pakistan

Corresponding Author: hajabcheema@gmail.com**ABSTRACT**

This research investigates morphological innovation in Pakistani English in the area of hybrid forms through the mixing of English with Pakistani indigenous languages such as Urdu, Punjabi, Saraiki. Pakistani English has come to be established as a variety of World Englishes that has developed unique characteristics on account of its sociocultural, historical and multilingual nature. In this study researcher would investigate how speakers coin new hybridized lexis and morphology through borrowing, compounding, affixation, blend, code-mixing etc. Such innovative hybridized morphology and lexis can be witnessed in spoken and social media language, advertising, in educational fields and in popular media, meeting to the communicative and identitarian needs of speakers. Through the use of qualitative descriptive method, the current research attempts to identify the hybrid morphological forms, in use in newspapers, oral discourse, and chat rooms, and identify regularities, and strategies behind such creations. To conclude that hybridization is not merely a language process, rather it also manifests as local culture, social marker and the creative ingenuity of English users in Pakistan. Indigenous languages also affect English morphology to the development of the emergent variety of English which is quite distinct from standard British and American English. Hybrid formation has helped to identify processes related to variation and morphological change within multilingual contexts.

KEYWORDS Morphological Innovation, Pakistani English, Hybrid Forms**Introduction**

Language is a dynamic process and ever-changing entity, the process of change depends upon the social, cultural, and historical factors and context. English as a world language has undergone various types of changes in different parts of the world leading to the development of local variants called the World Englishes. Pakistani English is one of the variants that have been molded by the multidimensional linguistic and social background of Pakistan. Ever since the implantation of the language during the colonial period, English has been adopted as a functional language of the Pakistani society in terms of education, administration, media, commerce and official proceedings. Pakistani English is not the mirror image of British English but it presents itself through various specific features on lexical, phonological, syntactic, and morphological levels which depict the native reality.

Morphology is the field of linguistics which is concerned with the study of internal structure of words and processes of word formation. Morphological innovation refers to creation of new words or variation in existing forms for communication, social or cultural needs. In a multilingual society like Pakistan, which hosts the co-existence of English and Urdu, Punjabi, Saraiki, Pashto, Sindhi etc., contact between the languages leads to formation of many new linguistic forms and hybrid forms are created by mixing features of English with native languages. Such morphological innovations are evident in Pakistani English as well. Local languages words are often assimilated in English with affixation, compounding, blending, reduplication, and code-mixing, producing instances like *biryani party* (Gathering with biryani meal), *load-shedding* (electricity cut-off) *shadi hall* (wedding venue), *wadera*

culture (feudal landlord culture), and local verb forms created with Urdu and native lexical items. The local verb forms in everyday language, newspapers, advertisements, television language and more significantly in social media language, where maximum creativity of language user is evident, are based on borrowings with affixation from the regional language/Urdu or original language in hybrid forms.

These hybrid forms in Pakistani English are not just linguistic entities but social and cultural phenomenon as well. Speakers often resort to them to manifest the notions of identity, in-group solidarity, playfulness, local culture and identity. As a result, Pakistani English emerges as the symbol of national identity and cultural embeddedness and marks its differentiation from other Englishes. Further, the existence of these hybrid constructs questions the supremacy of Standard English, suggesting that localization is another valid way to establish a communicative success in the relevant speech communities.

Even though the field of Pakistani English has enjoyed great academic attention, it has relatively less research as far as morphological innovation in the form of hybrid forms is concerned. Previous research in this area mainly concentrated on the aspects of lexical borrowing or phonological or syntactical varieties, therefore there has been no significant attention paid to word-formation processes contributing in localization of English in Pakistan. Hence, this study attempts to investigate into how these hybrid forms arise in Pakistani English and what morphological processes are involved in them. It examines the fusion of components from local languages into English and the way it results in a creation of new hybrid forms that reflects the nature of language use in Pakistan. This research makes an important contribution in the fields of language contact, linguistic creativity and the evolving nature of English in post-colonial context. This research considers how morphological innovation occur in Pakistani English and it reinforces the idea that Pakistani English should be perceived as a living, vibrant variety of the varied nature of Pakistan.

Literature Review

The study of morphology, a key branch of linguistics, involves the internal structure of words and how they are created. Katamba (1993) states that “the study of morphology can be taken as a study of morphemes” (p. 20). A morpheme is defined as “a smallest unit of meaning, which may form part of a word, or form a word by itself” (Katamba, 1993, p. 24). Morphological processes such as derivation, inflection, compounding, borrowing, blending and affixation are essential processes for the growth and creation of language (Mustafa, Anwar & Rasool, 2021). Morphology takes more complex and interactive process in a society composed of many languages; where speakers borrow morphemes from variety of languages and combined them to form new lexical item. Hybrid lexical items refer to these new lexical items that are formed with different linguistic components.

Morphological innovation is a broad area which has been thoroughly researched within linguistics. As pointed out by Yule (2020), “language is constantly changing; word formation is part of a natural way in which languages are manipulated according to the communicative demands placed upon them. Borrowing, compounding and blending are especially frequent in contact situations with the interaction of two or more languages” (pp. 57–58). Lieber (2009) also believes morphology to be deeply embedded in the social and cultural environment: “speakers will almost always produce nonce formations in response to a perceived need to talk about something that doesn’t exist” (pp. 209–210), and hybrid words are one of the manifestations of this ability. This morphological hybridization typically takes place in a multilingual setting with the help of language contact. Kachru (1985) indicated that English varieties in the post-colonial situations develop local specificities due to language contact with indigenous languages. One such variety, the Pakistani English also exhibits morphological adaptations which are caused due to contact with languages like Urdu, Punjabi, Saraiki etc. These changes manifest themselves in various blended forms. An English language expression blends together a locally derived morpheme

along with an English morpheme. Examples such as *chaiwala*, *shadi hall*, *wadera culture*, and *biryani party* show morphological hybridity.

Existing work on Pakistani English has so far mainly investigated issues related to lexical and syntactic differences and, only implicitly to a certain extent, morphological changes. Baumgardner (1993) notes that Pakistani English shows certain characteristic lexical items derived through borrowing and hybridization. Similarly, Rahman (1996) described the nature of English in Pakistan as resulting from contact between languages, mainly through lexical borrowing and code-mixing. These works nevertheless pay attention to vocabulary and sociolinguistics and not to the morphological processes underlying the creation of mixed forms. The existence of local items indicates that Pakistani English is indeed a process of substantial morphological innovation, but it has not been widely discussed so far (Baumgardner, 1993; Rahman, 1996).

Hybrid morphological forms are further justified by the existence of theoretical arguments for postcolonial Englishes. For example, Schneider (2007) offered a concept of nativization, where postcolonial Englishes arise when indigenous traits begin to influence English structure, and this involves various morphological changes brought about by contact with indigenous languages. Kachru et al. (2006a) also noticed the huge creative scope in South Asian Englishes manifested in local word choices and grammar. Therefore, it is valid to propose the emergence of hybrid forms in Pakistani English as it continually interacts with local languages. Although there is an abundance of work available on Pakistani English and on language contact, a negligible amount of study has been conducted on morphological innovation through hybrid forms. The majority of the existing studies focus on lexical borrowing, phonological variation, or code-switching but leave a void when it comes to analysis of word formation. The purpose of this research is, therefore, to analyze morphological innovation of hybrid forms in Pakistani English and identify processes such as borrowing, blending, affixation, compounding, and code-mixing used in the generation of hybrid forms in Pakistani English. The study provides a contribution to the field of morphology with a deeper understanding of the evolution of the English language in its Pakistani setting and language use that aims at creating new forms (Schneider, 2007; Kachru et al., 2006b).

Material and Methods

A qualitative research design is utilized to conduct the research, on the exploration of morphological innovation in Pakistani English focusing on the generation of hybrid forms. Qualitative methodology was appropriate as the research is concerned with understanding and interpreting patterns of linguistic behaviour, meaning, and the mechanisms involved in word formation processes rather than with counting numbers. In this regard the research explores interaction between English and native Pakistani languages, and the creation and behavior of the resulting hybrid morphological forms in linguistic and social contexts. In the present study descriptive and analytical method is used to discover and study hybrid structures present in Pakistani English. Sources for data collection have been selected from various sources of real world like; newspapers, media, advertisements, magazines, blogs, TV talk shows, and common speaking expressions in Pakistani life. These sources are selected because they are contemporary sources and provide natural samples of hybrid forms in both oral and written form. Data contain various words and expression having morphological innovation through English as its interaction with Urdu, Punjabi, and Saraiki.

This study has employed purposive sampling because only such lexical items have been considered as samples that are clearly indicative of the hybrid morphological processes. The choices for the samples have been dictated by their relevance to the study goals and their existence in Pakistani English usage. It incorporates a sample selection of items like *chaiwala* (Tea seller), *shadi hall* (wedding venue), *biryani party* (gathering with biryani meal), *wadera culture* (feudal landlord culture), and such other local expressions

and analyse its role as a linguistic factor upon English morphology. Morphological analytical frame of word-formation is adopted for the analysis of data collected. Morphological processes like borrowing, compounding, blending, affixation, derivation, code-mixing are applied for classification of data. The composition, source and morphological processes applied for formation of each hybrid word form are identified. The formation of new hybrid words by using local morphemes with English lexical items and their correlation to the socio-cultural aspects of Pakistan are examined.

Data Collection

In this research, data has been gathered by a qualitative method of data collection. The data analyzes the aspect of morphological innovation in Pakistani English where hybrid forms arise due to the contact with native Pakistani languages. In this study, the nature of data collected is the words and phrases representing English hybridized with local languages such as Urdu, Punjabi, and Saraiki, as the research questions addresses structural formation of words and hybrid forms need to be identified. In order to ensure credibility and authenticity the data was collected from various written, print and oral sources where Pakistani English is widely used. Print sources are Pakistani English newspapers namely; The Dawn, The Express Tribune, The News International. This choice is made on the premise that these papers abound in locally relevant usages of English in political, socio-cultural and academic settings. Localized linguistic expressions like *atta crisis* (wheat flour shortage), *load shedding* (electricity cut-off), and *wadera culture* (feudal landlord culture), often occur in news discourse and reflect morphological innovation in Pakistani English.

Apart from print media, sources of linguistic data include digital sources like Facebook, Instagram, YouTube and WhatsApp. These sites provide informal and natural occurrences of the phenomenon on discussion boards, comment sections, ads, wedding invitations, memes, lifestyle articles, chat messages, etc. Terms like *biryani party* (gathering with biryani meal), *mehndi function* (Henna ceremony), *desi vibes* (traditional cultural feeling), *sohna look* (attractive appearance), and *dhholki event* (small drum ceremony), appear more frequently in these media. As language on these sites also represents trends and present usage, these are beneficial for capturing present-day innovations in the morphological structures of Pakistani English.

The research uses both spoken discourse and field observation to gather samples which have been affected by Punjabi and Saraiki. In the multilingual societies of Pakistan, English words occur with local language influences in spontaneous discourse. Some natural spoken samples, such as, *pind life* (village life), *vehra culture* (rural courtyard-centered culture), *sanjh time* (evening period), *chok party* (gathering at a village crossroad) were observed during colloquial interaction and local social activities. Such spoken examples are necessary because many hybrid phrases used in Punjabi and Saraiki-speaking communities may not always be found in written text but occur frequently in spoken discourse. Purposive sampling technique has been used in the present study to gather suitable examples for analysis. The corpus is made up of the lexicon only that show clear indication of hybridization in terms of its formation process. The examples used clearly exemplify the process of the hybridization of English words and expressions with Urdu, Punjabi or Saraiki morphemes using borrowing, compounding, blend, derivation and code-mixing etc. Moreover the words or expressions used have to be recurrent in many contexts to show their wide use.

The procedure of data collection is conducted systematically in a few steps: firstly, samples of hybrid forms are searched and collected from some resources such as newspaper, social media, advertisement, or even speech; secondly, obtained forms are analyzed to delete irrelevant or duplicated items that don't fit the study; thirdly, selected items are analyzed according to the morphological structure and the origin of the language;

fourthly, a table is organized with selected words in terms of morphological structure, language of origin, formation rule, meaning, origin, and reference links.

Table 1
Collected Data of Hybrid Forms in Pakistani English

Sr.	Hybrid Form	Morphological Structure	Source Language (s)	Morphological Process	Source of Data
1	<i>Chaiwala</i> (tea seller)	Chai+Wala (tea+seller)	Urdu+English usage	Derivation/Borrowing	Social media, food blogs
2	<i>Shadi Hall</i> (wedding venue)	Shadi+Hall (wedding+venue)	Urdu+English	Compounding	Wedding advertisements
3	<i>Pind Life</i> (village life)	Pind+ Life (village +life)	Punjabi+ English	Compounding	Youtube vlogs
4	<i>Biryani Party</i> (gathering with biryani meal)	Biryani+Party (biryani meal+gathering)	Urdu+English	Compounding	Facebook posts
5	<i>Sohna Look</i> (attractive appearance)	Sohna+Look (attractive+appearance)	Punjabi+English	Compounding	Instagram posts
6	<i>Mehndi Function</i> (henna function)	Mehndi+Function (henna+function)	Urdu+English	Compounding	Wedding content
7	<i>Vehra culture</i> (rural courtyard - centered culture)	Vehra+Culture (rural courtyard + culture)	Saraiki+English	Compounding	Spoken discourse
8	<i>Sanjh Time</i> (evening period)	Sanjh+Time (evening + period)	Saraiki+English	Compounding	Daily conversations
9	<i>Mitti Love</i> (love for homeland)	Mitti+Love (homeland + love)	Saraiki/Punjabi+English	Blending	Poetry Pages
10	<i>Atta Crisis</i> (wheat flour shortage)	Atta+Crisis (wheat flour+shortage)	Urdu/Punjabi+English	Compounding	Newspapers

Therefore, the material collected forms a valuable and authentic resource for investigating the morphological innovation in Pakistani English. By drawing from Urdu, Punjabi and Saraiki language as well, the study is inclusive in providing knowledge on the interactional influences of multilingualism on the formation of hybridity and English language development in Pakistan.

Results and Discussion

The data for this study has been examined qualitatively by applying morphological analysis, so that we get to know the mechanism of creation of hybrid forms in Pakistani English through the interaction with Pakistani indigenous languages (especially Urdu, Punjabi, and Saraiki). As the main purpose of this research is to find out how morphological innovation takes place in Pakistani English, researcher conducted morphological analysis, analyzing internal word structure, etymology of morphemes and the process of word formation that results in hybrid lexical units. Researcher looking for how English forms hybrid lexical items in Pakistani social context. The choice of hybrid forms is first analyzed by breaking them down into morphemes in order to obtain a better insight into the composition of these hybrids. Each of the lexical items is broken down into components belonging to English or local languages. This allows an analysis of the influence of the two linguistic systems (English and the various local languages of Pakistan) on Pakistani English. For instance, the hybrid form *shadi hall* (wedding venue) is derived from the Urdu word *shadi*, meaning 'marriage', and the English lexical item *hall*. Similarly, the hybrid form *pind*

life (village life) comprises of the Punjabi word *pind*, meaning 'village', and the English word life; the hybrid form *vehra culture* (rural courtyard -centered culture) is derived from the Saraiki word *vehra* ,meaning 'courtyard', and the English word culture.

The data is categorized based on processes: compound, borrowing, blend, derivation and code-mixing for systematic study. The most salient one appears to be compounding, involving joining of local items (with indigenous languages) with English items. This is seen in words such as *mehndi function* (henna ceremony), *sohna look* (beautiful look), *biryani party* (gathering with biryani) and *sanjh time* (evening period). Here, the local items take their normal lexical value within the English pattern. The process of borrowing can be seen in words such as *chaiwala* (tea seller). These are local words (with indigenous languages) used within the scope of English communicative acts taking their own lexical values. Another mechanism of morphological innovation in Pakistani English is blending and derivation. *Mitti love* (love for homeland) is an example of blending in which local and English lexico items are fused to convey the notion of affection and/or sense of belonging. *Chaiwala* (tea seller) reflects derivational strategy in which the locally functioning morpheme -wala is used to denote a profession or an association to a place or an object.

For a better representation, all the collected data were organized and categorized in the following table based on their morphological form, language source and ways of word formation. Here are the analyzed forms:

Table 2
Morphological Analysis of Hybrid Forms in Pakistani English

Sr	Hybrid Form	Morphological Breakdown	Source Language(s)	Morphological Process	Explanation
1	<i>Chaiwala</i> (tea seller (	Chai+wala (tea+seller(	Urdu	Derivation/Borrowing	Refers to a tea seller; local suffix retained
2	<i>Shadihall</i> (wedding venue(	Shadi+Hall (wedding +venue (	Urdu+English	Compounding	Combines local marriage term with English noun
3	<i>Pind Life</i> (village life(	Pind+Life (village+life(	Punjabi+English	Compounding	Represents village lifestyle
4	<i>Biryani Party</i> (gathering with biryani meal(	Biryani+Party (biryani meal+gathering(	Urdu+English	Compounding	Food-related gathering using mixed lexical items
5	<i>Sohna Look</i> (attractive appeared(	Sohna+Look (Attractive +appearance (	Punjabi+English	Compounding	Refers to attractive appearance
6	<i>Mehndi Function</i> (henna function (	Mehndi+Function (henna + function(	Urdu+English	Compounding	Wedding-related event
7	<i>Vehra Culture</i> (rural courtyard-centered culture(	Vehra+Culture (rural courtyard+ culture(	Saraiki+English	Compounding	Describes local courtyard-centered culture
8	<i>Sanjh Time</i> (evening period(	Sanjh+Time (evening+period (	Saraiki+English	Compounding	Refers to evening period
9	<i>Mitti Love</i> (love for homeland(	Mitti+Love (homeland+love (	Saraiki/Punjabi+English	Blending	Expresses Emotional attachment to homeland
10	<i>Atta Crisis</i> (wheat flour shortage(	Atta+Crisis(wheat flour+ shortage)	Urdu/Punjabi+English	Compounding	Refers to flour shortage issue

From the analysis it is clear that compounding is the commonest process of word formation for forming hybrid words in Pakistani English. The lexical elements of the local language tend to be mixed with English noun to form words that are context specific and relevant to the local cultural and social scenario. Urdu stands out as the most prominent

source language, followed by Punjabi and Saraiki in contributing for hybridization. Punjabi and Saraiki provide hybrid words related mostly to rural life, culture, traditions and common usage. This demonstrates that Pakistani English is a dynamic variety which develops by contact and interaction with local languages.

On the whole, the analysis shows that the morphological innovation of Pakistani English arises out of creative linguistic mechanisms in a regular manner, rather than the random construction of words. The formation of these hybrid forms is a linguistic response to the plurilingual nature of Pakistani society and demonstrates how morphology serves as an important mechanism for the adaptation of English to local linguistic and cultural context. This study contributes to an increased understanding of the mechanisms by which language contact generates innovation and language variety in post-colonial English languages.

Conclusion

The results of this study show that there is morphological innovation in Pakistani English by creating hybrid forms arising from the contact of English and Pakistani native languages such as Urdu, Punjabi and Saraiki. The study also indicates that Pakistani English has been undergoing development through contact and its speakers create new lexical items with the pragmatic, sociocultural and semantic purposes in mind. Forms like *shadi hall* (wedding venue), *biryani party* (a party with biryani), *pind life* (village life), *sohna look* (attractive appearance) and *vehra culture* (rural courtyard-centered culture) are a witness of the speaker's construction of the meaningful hybrid forms by combining the morphemes of different languages. The data further suggests that among all the morphological processes in hybrid forms, compounding turns out to be the most prevalent process in Pakistani English. The vast majority of these hybrid forms consist of a local lexical item with an English noun, such as hybrid compounds, which simultaneously reflect both linguistic and cultural meaning. Examples like *mehndi function* (henna ceremony) and *sanjh time* (evening period) demonstrate that concepts specific to the local culture can be put to function together with the existing English structure which enables its comprehensibility in a multilingual environment. Apart from compounding, borrowing, blending, derivation and code-mixing also facilitate in the creation of hybrid forms; such an approach exemplifies the permeability of English and its assimilative function on the local lexical resources in Pakistan, where it functions in a multilingual situation.

From the result, it is observed that the contribution of Urdu, Punjabi, and Saraiki to the morphology of Pakistani English is significant. As for the dominant contributing language Urdu can be seen contributing mostly because of it being the national language and in the public context of speech. However, there is a considerable contribution by Punjabi and Saraiki as well; especially regarding village life, traditions, emotions, cultural identity and region as far as the utterances are concerned. The hybrid formations showing the contribution of Punjabi and Saraiki reveal that regional languages are actively participating in the indigenization of English and are contributing to its lexicon and structure (morphology). This is clear from the fact that Pakistani English is influenced by not only the urban/ formal practices but also the regional and rural ones. It should be noted that there is an added sociolinguistic dimension to the development of hybrid forms. These novel morphological formations appear to serve as symbols of identity and in-group membership, allowing the speakers to 'speak' local culture, custom, feeling and experience within an English language framework. Such language blending is indeed a testament to the multilingual situation in Pakistan where speakers use English along with other Pakistani languages, in all spheres of life, formal and informal. It is an innovative way of breaking down the long established notion that English ought to be the preserve of natives, thereby vindicating localized forms of English.

In conclusion, this study has shown that the morphological innovation occurring in Pakistani English is a predictable and productive process due to the effects of multilingualism, language contact and socio-cultural factors. The existence of the hybrid forms reflects both the fluidity of the English language in the context of Pakistani linguistic milieu and the prominent role of indigenous languages in affecting the coining of new words. The research expands the field of morphology in terms of analyzing how English word formation occurs through borrowing, compounding, blending, derivation and code-mixing in the context of Pakistani English. It is also an endorsement of the view of Pakistani English as a unique and developing variety of the language, representing the linguistic diversity and cultural identity of the country. Further research will benefit from looking at hybrid morphological forms in other Pakistani regional languages and analyzing the use of hybrid morphological forms in the digital communication and the media.

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