



RESEARCH PAPER**Pashto-English Contact: A Study of Intergenerational Lexical Variations****¹Israr Ahmad, ²Liaquat Iqbal* and ³Irfan Ullah**

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ABSTRACT

In pursuit of understanding the factors contributing to Pashto-English contact and intergenerational lexical variations in Pashto speakers, sixty participants, including 30 young speakers of 15-30 years old and 30 elder participants aged 50 and above (both males and females) were selected through purposive and snowballing techniques. Guided by the Variationist Theory, proposed by Labov and adapted by Wanjiku, the research seeks to unravel the underlying causes behind these linguistic phenomena. With a tapestry of descriptive and qualitative methodology, the study endeavours to get a vivid picture of the linguistic landscape of Tehsil Kabal, District Swat. Data collection was executed through unmonitored interviews, capturing the essence of natural language exchange in the natural form. The data of both generations was keenly observed and compared. The findings revealed that the language variations were woven with threads of borrowing, word loss, modernization, loan translations, and the influence of schooling. As such, the causes behind these language patterns bring forth new insights into language evolution in the target region.

KEYWORDS Factors of Language Variations, Intergenerational Lexical Variations, Pashto-English Contact

Introduction

Pashto (of the eastern Iranian languages group) is used by the indigenous people living between Hindu Kush Mountains and the Indus River in Pakistan and Afghanistan. It is one of the national languages of Afghanistan and a regional language in Pakistan. English being the official language is developing a situation of Pashto-English contact. The younger generation is facing Pashto-English contact in education and media (especially social media), which is ultimately causing intergenerational lexical variations. Language contact, if continues for a long period of time, could cause changes in the less dominant language, (Stockwell, 2002). So, the paper tries to find out the causes behind intergenerational lexical variations and Pashto-English contact. The lexical differences from both generations within different domains were taken, using Variationist Theory. The theory investigates the internal changes that occur in a language and the factors responsible for it such as social factors, educational domain, media and gender. Borrowing, word loss, modernization, loan translations, and schooling were found responsible for intergenerational lexical variations.

Literature Review

Language contact emerged as an interesting field in linguistics after Weinreich (1954) wrote a detailed book, *Languages in Contact*. "Language contact means the use of more than one language in the same place at the same time, the language in dominance was called superstrate, the less dominant was called substrate and when both enjoy the same status was called adstrate, whereas a shift in norms of any of these two is called inference phenomena (Weinreich, 1954)". Weinreich (1954) believes that languages have been in touch when human beings for the first time began to speak more than two languages. Many researchers contributed to the language contact.

Thibault (2009) researched the variation in discourse markers in language contact by Anglophone Montreal French speakers. He found variations caused by English as a second language. They were found using English markers such as, *you, well, so, like, know* and *come*, calqued on English 'like'. The first language was found less changed or influenced by English. Similarly, Siemund (2008) after researching "*language contact and the ways of contact-induced language change*" argue that it is a truth that the languages facing language contact will change, but the models responsible for the language contact change are still at a premium. It's easy to find one language's influence over another in language contact but assuming the outcomes of this situation is still a tough task. In language contact it is a truth that one of the languages facing language contact will either change, die or the speakers will shift to the language in dominance and it will cause revitalization of the minority by a large number of immigrants in a bilingual society. Corvalán (2008) conducted research on Spanish-English contact in the USA, Spanish maintenance, and the shift from Spanish to English. The speakers whose grandparents came from Mexico and their language of communication was English at home. It was a fascinating result that with even less exposure to Spanish and the extreme influence of English, they tend to use segments of speech within English moreover, the syntactic structure was found well preserved. This was an unusual result as instead of shifting to English as a new language *Spanglish* was found to emerge as the speakers switch between English and Spanish.

Until 1969, Swat was the only state besides Afghanistan where Pashto enjoyed the status of an official language. As work has already been done on Pashto language around the world, we will first discuss the previous work on Pashto language within the boundary of Swat. In this regard, Kaleem and Ali (2015) conducted a comparative study of lexical variation among the Pashto speakers of Mardan and Swat, using region and age as the variables for finding lexical variation through an Open-ended questionnaire and observation. The findings showed striking differences between the speakers of the two regions and the two generations within the districts. A relevant study was conducted by Rafiq, Rahman and Hamid (2021) on phonological variations and verb forms among the speakers of upper and lower Swat by interviewing 15 participants from both regions. Due to modernization and the influence of Pashto-English contact, phonological variations related to verbs were observed concerning tense and aspect combinations. Ahmad and Ali (2021) conducted research on the present, past, and future prospects of Pashto in Afghanistan under the influence of Pashto-English contact. Using a qualitative method and interview as a data collecting tool, colonial and postcolonial forces were found responsible for Pashto-English contact. Ahmad, Iqbal and Irfanullah (2020) researched the sociolinguistics significance of Pashto-English hybridization in the language domains. A Pashto TV channel *Khyber News* was recorded for about 10 hours from 10 programs and was analyzed by using Kachru's (1978) framework. The research showed that the frequency of hybridized words varied. In the domains of economy, sports, streets, military, courts, government, administration, schools, and courts hybridization was found and the findings revealed that these domains have sociolinguistic significance.

Material and Methods

For analysis, descriptive survey research design served as a research design as it properly analyzes, interprets, compares, identifies trends and relates them to the collected data, and creates or describes how things happen to be without changing or controlling (Orodho & Mugenda, 2008). As the descriptive survey design defines the question for answering, chooses the sample, collects data and makes analysis, that is why the design was selected for answering the question in the best possible way.

The targeted population for the study was the Pashto speakers of District Swat, which is located in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan. Swat has a population of about 2,309,570 (2.31 million) of which Tehsil Kabal comprises 420,374 with a 2.9% increase rate (1998 → 2017). Tehsil Kabal comprising of 208,981 males (49.8%) and 211,007 females (50.2%) and 13 transgender. The total area of Tehsil Kabal is 485.0 km² having a population density of 866.0/km² (Pakistan's National Census, 2017).

As it was not possible to collect and analyze data from the population of the region so, a sample of 60 participants has been selected by using purposive and snowballing techniques. Lexical variation can emerge from a sample as smaller as 25 (Chambers, Trudgill & Schilling, 2002). The informants consisted of 30 young (15-30 years old) and 30 older speakers (50 years old or above), both containing 10 female participants. All the participants were of different educational, regional, social, and professional status. Table 1 shows the distribution and selection of the sample.

Table 1
Distribution of Participants

Sample	Age	Targeted	Achieve	Percentage
Younger	15-30	30	30	100%
Older	50 & Above	30	30	100%
Total	60	60	100%

Variationist Sociolinguistics uses a variety of data collection tools such as observation or questionnaires. But according to Labov (1972), unmonitored interviews are the best. Hence, the study used interviews to collect data. The variationist method goes through some basic procedures. Firstly, the linguistic items that differ within the community are identified by the researcher. Secondly, the interviews are unmonitored in both formal and informal settings. Thirdly, the data is analyzed and finally, a significant relationship between different groups and particular speech choices was found (Mesthrie, 2000).

For the analysis of lexical variations, the data was collected and presented in tables where each lexical variant was transcribed phonetically (IPA) and orthographically. The data was analyzed through and within the parameters of the variationist method. The selected theory presents different tenets for studying language such as, according to time, situations, and events it comes across. It studies language's internal aspects and changes, and external factors responsible for language changes such as society, education, and gender.

Theoretical Framework

Variationist theory was proposed by Labov (1963) for the study *Martha's Vineyard* and was adapted by Wanjiku (2018) for finding the lexical variations in the northern dialect of Gikuyu language. It focuses on social variations in dialects and examines how these

variations are highly structured. These structured variations tell us that variation within the language as a 'part of human capacity' or a well-built system of language within the human mind. It studies the sociolinguistic variables and the many ways for saying the same thing. Labov (1972) tried to find ways of interviewing people in such a way as to avoid the issue of observer paradox. He conducted interviews either through unconscious speeches (Unmonitored) or conscious speeches (Monitored).

The theory claims that language is a well-structured apparatus according to the social features of language users. The main aim of the theory is how to explain language as a structured setup if the language differs from one social or linguistic setting to the next. Variationist also claims that variation is the central part of studying languages either diachronically or synchronically. That means that variation like language has its own history of development. The theory follows different principles. Due to the convergence of linguistic and social features over the years, Variationist Sociolinguistics has become a fundamental area of studying language (Tagliamonte, 2006). Hence, the available method that mingles both social and linguistic sides of study can deal with oodles paradoxes related to language change. Labov (2001) pioneered this approach to investigating the relationship between society and language and developed the field of Variationist Sociolinguistics. It claims that variation is something inherent to linguistic structure the way speaking or writing language differs from person to person or the encountered situation by the same individual. These differences are not only common but crucial for language functioning (Labov, 1972). It deals with the social and linguistic structures together, the social and grammatical meanings (Tagliamonte, 2006). For studying such concepts, the external (social) and the internal (linguistic system) together should be taken into account.

Tagliamonte (2006) wrote a detailed book on Variationist Sociolinguistics; she set out to discuss the story of Variationist sociolinguistics after fifty years of Labov's work. She conducted over 150 hours of recordings from 2012-2014 with 43 key figures in the field. She discusses Labov's fascination with the field when meeting his clients of different linguistic backgrounds. She proposed three premises of Variationist Sociolinguistics namely; 1) Perpetual change of language which means that there is a variation in language use. Whether the speaker of Pashto in Swat uses *chokanr* or *warjaly* for Green Mexican Rice, depends on the environment and society for the presupposition of the speaker. 2) Orderly heterogeneity; that the change in language is forever has great value in Variationist theory. That mainly happens either by replacing one linguistic item over another within the same language or is borrowed due to word loss or the language even do not have a word for a specific idea or thing. As in the case of *ada*, *istop* and *istation* are nativized variants of the word 'station'. 3) The truth is that any linguistic system can convey messages more than the total words it possesses (Tagliamonte, 2006). This means that language is used for social identity, through which we can identify a speaker's social status from their speech.

Results and Discussion

The lexical variations between the two generations are because of several factors. Various factors found responsible for lexical variation were word borrowing, word loss, modernization, loan translations, and schooling. The data regarding names of the month, animals, colors, kinships, and different verbs were analyzed.

Word Loss

Perpetual change in a language is among one of the premises of Variationist Theory. The younger speakers are inclined to prevent or use some lexical items in special

settings. It is either of the growing fashion of that word, need, or sometimes a lack of alternative terms in the first or native language. The prestigious language is always welcomed by the young generation either due to the growing trend or because of its matching their demands. In the domain of education, they feel it is the best way for bringing their identity closer to his/her peer groups. It then leads to a situation where the native word either gets limited to older who think of it as the linguistic norm. Hence, it explains why certain words disappear from language use over time; for example, the word *pathnos*, *kwanton*, *lawand* and *khwarnana* are no more used, especially by the younger generation. Even some of the participants said that they feel shy while using these words. They have borrowed Urdu or English words *tray* and *ghair shadi shoda*, and a Pashto synonym *khaza* respectively. The word *kwantoon* is lost and even there is no equivalent name found or used for the situation when a widow does not marry for the wellbeing of her children. These words will be extinct in the new future. Certain terms are only understood by the older speakers; the younger generation is not even able to get their meaning. For example, there are 11 parts of a traditional plough tool, which are known to a few of the older speakers. During the interviews, the older respondents were asked to name such items which no more exist in day-to-day conversation, for example, the traditional names for different parts of the house. When those names were asked from the younger generation, they were not even aware what it signifies. The researcher then classified those vocabularies that were on the stage of loss, for example, names related to utensils, house parts, dressings and women's ornaments. Table 2 presents the names of different parts of a house that are no more in use.

Table 2
Differences in Names of Parts of the House due to Word Loss

Word	Gloss
ور <i>War</i>	Door
مندؤ <i>mandao</i>	Veranda
تئی <i>Tatai</i>	Toilet
کندو <i>kando</i>	Box of clay inside room's wall for keeping grains
گرونج <i>gar-wanj</i>	A place where water utensils were kept
چور چابی <i>chor-chabi</i>	Toilet
کوټه <i>kota</i>	Bedroom
دېوډی <i>deodai</i>	A space between the main gate and the inner house
اسل خانه <i>osal-khana</i>	Washroom
غولے <i>gholy</i>	Yard

Table 2 shows words related to different parts of traditional houses. Even after the change in the structure of today's houses, still few places of houses could be named the same but with the growing influence of Urdu and English, the young generation does not use these words. Even calling 'toilet' *tatai*, they feel weird or ashamed, as they think of these words as outdated. The word *mandaw* is no more in use, rather it is called *baranda* a nativised form of the Urdu borrowed word *bara'anda* or English Veranda. Similarly, the name for the door is borrowed from Urdu which is *drwaza* instead of the traditional word *war*. The words *garwanj*, *daiodai* and *chorchabai* are no more in use. The Urdu words *kamra*, *sihan*, are used instead of the traditional words *kota*, and *gholy*, respectively. The Urdu word *ghosal khana* was nativized as *osal khana* by older speakers from Urdu and is called 'washroom' by the younger generation. These are the threatening words going to extinct because of Pashto-English and Pashto-Urdu contact.

Table 3
Lost Words Associated with Utensils

Word	Gloss
کٹوائی <i>Katwai</i>	Earthenware pot used to cook food
کندال <i>kandal</i>	Earthenware bowl
لاسٹونے <i>lasnony</i>	A utensil for washing hands
چہ جوش <i>chajosh</i>	A type of domestic utensil
پتتوس <i>patnos</i>	Tray
چنپک <i>chainak</i>	Teapot
غلبیل <i>ghalbail</i>	Sieve
راکبئی <i>rakaibai</i>	Plate
دونگی <i>dongai</i>	Hotpot
منگے <i>mangy</i>	Pot for bringing water
چاتی <i>chati</i>	Earthen big pot for making buttermilk
خم <i>khom</i>	Vertical earthen pot for keeping water
مندانو <i>mandano</i>	Wooden tool for grinding

Table 3 above shows words which are no more in use, especially by the younger speakers. Some of these utensils are still in use but still, these names are skipped by alternative new borrowed words from English or Urdu. When these names were asked from the young speakers, they were unable to show the relative object or utensil which it signifies. The words including *katwai*, *ghalbail*, *kandal*, *lasnony*, *chajosh*, *pathnos*, *chainak*, *rakaibai*, *dongai*, *mangy*, *chati*, *khom* and *mandano* are no more in use, especially among the younger speakers. Some of them know the words but rarely use them. Table 4 shows word loss related to dressings and ornaments.

Table 4
Words Relating to Clothing and Jewelry

Word	Gloss
پنیری <i>panai</i>	A kind of old leather shoes
جوتی <i>jotai</i>	A kind of shoes made of leather, used by kings
پیخوان <i>paizwan</i>	An ornament from nose to ear
اوگی <i>ogai</i>	Twisted nick ornament
دیڈے <i>didai</i>	Big earrings
تعویز <i>taviz</i>	Nick chain
باؤو <i>baawo</i>	Thick bangle
لاس خوندے <i>laskhwandy</i>	Bracelet having rings
لونگین <i>lawangin</i>	Nick chain made of dry cloves
میخاکے <i>maikhaky</i>	Nose pin
لر <i>lar</i>	Necklace
جوبہ <i>joba</i>	A cloak
شوقا <i>shoqa</i>	A dress bigger than the joba
پی تاوے <i>pai-tawy</i>	A bandage over socks
امیل <i>amail</i>	Necklace
سرتارونے <i>sar taronai</i>	A cloth for tying head
چپونکے <i>chapotaky</i>	A cloth for tying head
تگرے <i>tagray</i>	A small blanket for covering the head by aged women
لونگی <i>longy</i>	A kind of turban
لٹی <i>lati</i>	A kind of turban
پتکے <i>patkai</i>	A kind of turban
کولا <i>kola</i>	A kind of turban

Table 4 shows the lost or nearly lost words that the male and female used for their dressings and ornaments respectively. Some of these dressings and ornaments are no more in use or nearly going extinct. Many of these belong to the traditional customs of the area. When these terms were collected from the older speakers and were presented to the younger generation, there were few even to understand. The words *panrai*, *jothai*, *paizwan*, *ogai*, *diday*, *tawiz*, *bawo*, *las khondy*, *lawangin*, *mikhaky*, *lar*, *joba*, *shoqa*, *paitawy*, *amail*, *sr tarony*, *chapotky*, *tagry*, *longai*, *lati*, *patky* and *kola* are rarely used. Being inspired by the West's dressings and ornaments, either their names were replaced or even no more used. The young speakers are mainly unable to identify such outdated words.

Word Borrowing

Borrowing, sometimes called loanwords, is one of the causes responsible for lexical variation, where mainly the dominant language's lexical items are taken to fulfill a specific function. It occurs either of a lack of equivalent lexical items or the growing fashion and influence of the source language. The young speakers are mostly found responsible for the process of lexical borrowing as they are more innovative or their educational status compel them to do so for making their identity similar to the environment they share with their peer. These borrowings could either be in the form of nouns, adjectives or even verbs. Hence, the loanwords developed to be part of the target language linguistic system and are called borrowed items. Sometimes either nativized for fitting in target language phonology and pronunciation criteria and sometimes they are taken as it is. This is also claimed by variationist theory as perpetual change and orderly heterogeneity, loanwords cause variation in language by borrowing new words and quitting the earlier ones. Some lexical items were borrowed and used exactly the same while, some of them were nativized to fit in Pashto's phonology. Table 5 is all about the borrowed words from English, which were then nativised to fit in Pashto's phonology.

Table 5
Borrowed words to Pashto from English

Words		Source Language
ټينکي	<i>tankai</i>	Water tank
ليټر	<i>laitar</i>	Liter
ليټ	<i>lat</i>	Light
بيلا	<i>bailar</i>	Metal Barrel
سرف	<i>sarp</i>	Washing surf
گارنتي	<i>gharanti</i>	Guarantee
بليډ	<i>balaid</i>	Blood pressure
کم پوټر	<i>kmputer</i>	Computer
ټليفون	<i>talephone</i>	Telephone
بيډ	<i>baid</i>	Blood pressure
فره س	<i>paras</i>	Purse
کي چن	<i>kitchen</i>	Kitchen
پاليت	<i>palate</i>	Plate
اټيک	<i>ataik</i>	Heart attack, stroke
آفس	<i>afis</i>	Office
سټيلايزر	<i>stuf laser</i>	Stabilizer
شاقبزر	<i>shaqabzr</i>	Shock observer

Table 5 above shows the English borrowed words which were nativized for fitting in target language phonology. The words in italic form are nativized borrowed words while the words in brackets are original source words. These include *tankai* (tank), *later*

(lighter), *lat* (light), *balar* (barrel), *sruf* (surf), *garanti* (guarantee), *blaid* (blood pressure), *paras* (purse), *ki-chan* (kitchen), *palat* (plate), *a'pis* (office), *stuplazer* (stabilizer), and *sha qabzr* (shock observer). Mainly, some of these items lack any equivalent native name such as stabilizer, blood pressure and shock observer. The young speakers have borrowed many other words which are used in their source form. Here an intergenerational gap emerges, the older speaker after hearing a new lexical item from the younger speaker can hardly pronounce it exactly, so they just nativize it. Hence, a lack of understanding occurs.

Loan Translation

Unlike borrowing exact lexical items, a loan translation is a situation where the meaning from the source language is borrowed word by word into the target language. Loan translation is sometimes called a *calque*. It is a method of translating difficult sentences or discourse word by word with the help of possible similar elements in the target language. It makes a difficult foreign expression easier for the target language speaker. Table 6 shows such borrowed loan translations into Pashto language.

Table 6
Loan Translations

Words		Transcribed
Health department	ده صحت محکمه	<i>da sehat mahkama</i>
Deputy chairman	نائب ناظم	<i>naib nazim</i>
Chief of army	ده فوج مشر	<i>da pwaj mashar</i>
Passport office	ده پاسپورتونو دفتر	<i>da passportono daftar</i>
Headmaster	ماسټر صيب	<i>master saib</i>
Sea ship	سمندري جاز	<i>samandari jaz</i>
Sugar free	ده خواگو نه پاک، پيکا	<i>da khwago na pak/pka</i>

Table 6 above shows that besides borrowing and nativizing borrowed words, some items are translated word by word for getting equivalent meanings in the target language. Due to Pashto-English contact situation, mostly all the names related to governmental institutions are named exactly the same as they are in English but the older speakers have translated those terminologies word by word. The compound word 'health department' was translated as *da sehat mahkama*, and the 'deputy chairman' was translated as *naib nazim*. Similarly, the chief of the army was named *da foj/poj mashar*. The passport office was called *da passportono daftar*. Headmaster, seaship and sugar-free were called *master saib*, *samandari jaz* and *da khwago na pak*, respectively. It was found that for loan translation, Pashto compound word structure was followed.

Modernization and Schooling

Another prominent cause of intergenerational lexical variation is the modernization of the younger generation due to schooling, which led to variation between the two generations. This is because of the innovation of new concepts guided by new social settings and the educational standing of the speakers. Especially, the young generation is influenced directly while the older and illiterate younger speakers are being influenced indirectly. This concept is based on one of the premises of heterogeneity of Variationist Sociolinguistics, which claims that 'language use' is guided by the educational status of the speaker and by the social situation he faces. Like the educated younger speakers prefer using *papa* and *mama* for father and mother, instead of saying *dada* and *adai*. They think of these words as outdated. Table 7 shows intergenerational variation regarding the names of the months.

Table 7
Names of Months among the Young and Elderly Speakers

Elder speakers		Young speakers
اسان	<i>Asan</i>	January
سفره	<i>Safara</i>	February
خور، اوواله خور ورمبی	<i>worombai khor/ awala khor</i>	March
خور دوئمه	<i>dwayama khor</i>	April
خور دریمه	<i>draiyama khor</i>	May
خور سلورمه	<i>salorama khor</i>	June
زبرگه	<i>Zbarga</i>	July
شوقدر	<i>Shoqadar</i>	August
روژه	<i>Roja</i>	September
اختر وروکے	<i>waroky Akhtar</i>	October
خالی	<i>Khali</i>	November
اختر غت	<i>ghat Akhtar</i>	December

Table 7 presents the variation in names of the months among the illiterate elders and youth. Although, both calendars do not share a sequence as one follows the Islamic lunar year while the other follows the solar year. The young speakers were found using borrowed English calendars, even though they can write them in Urdu too, while the illiterate used the Pashto calendar that is, *Asan, Safara, Worombai khor or Awala khor, Dwayama khor, Draiyama khor, Salorama khor, Zbarga, Shoqadr, Roja, Warokai akhtar, Khali and Ghat akhtar*. Whereas the younger used *January, February, March, April, May, June, July, August, September, October, November and December*. Similarly, the names of the months are also borrowed from the Punjabi lunar calendar which is based on seasons. Table 8 shows the borrowed Punjabi names of months in Pashto language.

Table 8
Names of the Month Borrowed from Punjabi Language

Nativized Punjabi names		Solar calendar
بیساک	<i>Vaisakh</i>	15 April to 15 May
جیټه	<i>Jeth</i>	15 May to 14 th June
هار	<i>Harh</i>	15 th June to 15 th July
پسکال	<i>Sawan</i>	15 th July to 15 th Aug
بادرو	<i>Bhadon</i>	15 th Aug to 15 th Sep
اسو/منے	<i>Assu</i>	15 th Sept to 15 th Oct
کتک	<i>Kattak</i>	15 th Oct to 15 th Nov
مگھر سبے سله	<i>Magghar</i>	15 th Nov to 15 th Dec
پوه	<i>Poh</i>	15 th Dec to 15 th Jan
ماگه/تورے سله/ هتکي	<i>Magh</i>	15 th Jan to 15 th Feb
پگھن	<i>Phaggan</i>	15 th Feb to 15 th March
چیتھر	<i>Chet</i>	15 th March to 15 April

Table 8 above shows borrowed names of months of the year that the aged speakers were asked about. The illiterate farmers who were mostly above 60 were found using Punjabi's lunar calendar, some of the months were either nativized or changed according to the morphology and phonology of Pashto language. The words *Vaisakhi, Sawan, Bhadon, Assu and Chet* were nativised as *bisak, pashakal, badro, ma-nay* and *chether*, respectively, while the names such as *Jeth, Harh, Kattak, Magghar, Poh, Magh* and *Phaggan* were borrowed as they were. There were few other terminologies regarding season such as *toray salay,*

spiny salay and *hatki* which were used for the different months of winter. When these names were presented to the young educated speaker, they were found unaware of these words. They could hardly even compare them with English months. The majority of the younger generation were using English names, which clearly declares the growing linguistic gap between the two generations and the growing influence of the Pashto-English contact situation.

The names of the days of the week also vary among the young and old generations. The older illiterate speaker uses Pashto names for days, the educated elders and younger uses borrowed Urdu names for days, whereas the elite class educated younger speaker uses English borrowed names for days. Table 9 shows the lexical variation among the different ages based on their educational and social status.

Table 9
Lexical Variation based on Names of the Days of the Week

Elder illiterate speakers		Young literate speakers		Elite class literate
خالي	<i>khali</i>	هفته	<i>hafta</i>	Saturday
اتوار	<i>itwar</i>	اتوار	<i>itwar</i>	Sunday
گل	<i>gul</i>	پير	<i>peer</i>	Monday
نہہ	<i>naha</i>	منگل	<i>mangle</i>	Tuesday
شورو	<i>shoro</i>	بده	<i>bood</i>	Wednesday
زيارت	<i>ziyarat</i>	جمعرات	<i>jumma raat</i>	Thursday
جمعہ	<i>jumma</i>	جمعہ	<i>jumma</i>	Friday

Table 9 shows the lexical variation among the young and older generations based on their educational status. The illiterate speakers above the age of 50, especially the women used *khali* (Saturday), *itwar* (Sunday), *gul* (Monday), *naha* (Tuesday), *shoro* (Wednesday), *ziyarat* (Thursday) and *jumma* (Friday). Whereas, the educated older than 50 years of age and the educated younger from the lower or middle class used Urdu borrowed names, which are *hafta* (Saturday), *itwar* (Sunday), *pir* (Monday), *mungle* (Tuesday), *budh* (Wednesday), *juma-raat* (Thursday) and *jumma* (Friday). The educated younger speakers from the elite class were mainly found using English borrowed names for days of the week such as Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. Education is found the most influential cause of lexical variation between the two generations, educational institutions were also found to be the most suitable environment for Pashto-English and Pashto-Urdu contact situations. It was proved in Tables 6 and 7.

The researcher further investigated the reason behind the borrowing due to language contact and the intergeneration lexical variations. During the data collection, some pictures of wild animals were shown to the participants and they were asked to name them. The result was astonishing, as many of the participants were unable to name them. The reason behind it might be that no wild animal exists nearby or if there were in the past after they were extinct due to increasing human population and deforestation, their names might also be extinct. But the most fascinating aspect was that, Swat being a hilly area with a lot of forests should have some of these animals in the nearer past or even specific names for them in Pashto should exist, as being historically old and rich language. Table 10 shows words related to animals naming, only a few of the educated younger speakers were able to answer the names of those animals in Pashto after seeing their pictures, although they used English borrowed words. Only the names of those wild animals were asked, which possess a native name in Pashto.

Table 10
Lexical Variations Relating to Animals

Elder speakers		Young illiterate speakers		Young literate speakers	Gloss
زمرے، منزرے	<i>zmary/manzary</i>	منزرے	<i>manzary</i>	Tiger	Tiger
پرانگ، منزرے	<i>plang/manzary</i>	پرانگ	<i>prang</i>	Leopard	Leopard
شادو	<i>shado</i>	شادو	<i>shado</i>	Gorilla	Gorilla
اوسى	<i>osai</i>	اوسى	<i>osai</i>	Deer	Deer
زمرے، منزرے	<i>zmaryz/manzary</i>	شير	<i>shair</i>	Lion	Lion
ليوه، شرمخ	<i>liwa/sharmakh</i>	بيريا	<i>bairyra</i>	Wolf	Wolf
ديو، ميلو	<i>diwo/milo</i>	ريچه	<i>reech</i>	Bear	Bear
باز، عقاب	<i>baaz/oqab</i>	شاهين	<i>shaheen</i>	Eagle	Eagle
باز	<i>baaz</i>	باز	<i>baaz</i>	Hawk	Hawk
زرافه	<i>zarafa</i>	زرافه	<i>zarafa</i>	Giraffe	Giraffe
زيبراء، وحشي خر	<i>zaibra</i>	زيبراء	<i>zaibra</i>	Zebra	Zebra

Table 10 shows the lexical variation relating to animals naming among the two generations. Only a few among the older speakers and the illiterate younger speakers were able to name them in Pashto. Even the answers of some of the aged and illiterate younger speakers were not matching and they were not sure of the names of some wild animals and few birds. The majority of the younger educated speakers named the animals in English after seeing their pictures. The elder illiterate speakers named tiger, leopard, gorilla, deer, lion, wolf, bear, eagle, hawk, giraffe and zebra as *zmaray* or *manzary*, *prang*, *shado*, *osai*, *manzary* or *zmary*, *laiwo*, *milo* or *yag*, *baz* or *oqab* and *zaibra* or *zangali khar*, respectively. Some of the young illiterate or with little formal education used Urdu borrowed names for animals such as lion, wolf and eagle as *shair*, *bairyra* and *shaheen*. The majority of the younger educated speakers named all of these animals with English borrowed names such as tiger, leopard, gorilla, deer, lion, wolf, bear, eagle, hawk, giraffe and zebra, respectively.

From the ongoing discussion, it was observed that the younger speakers of the Pashto language in Tehsil Kabal choose borrowed words despite the equivalent lexical items available and are strictly preserved by the older speakers. That attributes to their contact with English and Urdu during their formal education. Due to their choice of selecting suitable words, it is foremost necessary that they do style switching for fruitful communication, in accordance with the person he/she is communicating with. The scenario clarifies that there is a communication breakdown waiting ahead. There could be two possible outcomes of Pashto-English language contact, either it will lead to a hybrid language or possibly lead to multilingualism by adding Urdu. Table 11 below shows the lexical variation relating to the name of colors among the two generations due to language contact situation.

Table 11
Lexical Variation Relating to Color

Elder speakers		Young speakers		Gloss
كلابي	<i>gulabi</i>	Pink	<i>Pink</i>	Pink
باتنگري	<i>batingari</i>	Purple	<i>Purple</i>	Purple
اسماني	<i>asmani</i>	اودي	<i>Odi</i>	Sky blue
سور	<i>sor</i>	سور	<i>Sor</i>	Red
سپين	<i>spin</i>	سپين	<i>Spin</i>	White
مالتا رنگے	<i>malta rangy</i>	نارنجي	<i>Naranji</i>	Orange
تور	<i>tor</i>	تور	<i>Tor</i>	Black

زیر	<i>zyar</i>	Yellow	<i>Yellow</i>	Yellow
خیر	<i>khar</i>	غنم رنگے	<i>ghanam rangy</i>	Brown
نسواری	<i>naswari</i>	بادامی	<i>badami</i>	Brown
سروزرو رنگ	<i>srozaro rang</i>	Golden	<i>Golden</i>	Golden color
سپین زرو رنگ	<i>spinzaro rang</i>	Silver	<i>Silver</i>	Silver color

Table 11 above illustrates the lexical variation among the older and younger speakers. The older speakers used *gulafi*, *batinganri*, *asmani*, *sor*, *spin*, *malta rangy*, *tor*, *ziyar*, *khar*, *naswari*, *da sro zaro rang* and *da spino zaro rang* for pink, purple, sky blue, red, white, orange, black, yellow, brown, brown, golden color and silver color, respectively. On the other hand, the younger speakers used a variety of words for these colors, depending on its name, mostly the name suggested Urdu and English contact in Pashto language. They either used English borrowed words or nativized Urdu names for these colors. As the participants were free to name the colors without any interruption, so they named them in such a way that was feasible for them. They used English names for pink, yellow, purple, golden and silver colors. For brown and skyblue colors they preferred *ghanam rangy* and *odi*, unlike older speakers who used *khar* and *asmani*, respectively. For colors like red, white and black they used similar Pashto's names such as *sor*, *spin* and *tor*, respectively. The youth were found using Urdu borrowed names for orange and brown colors such as *narangi* and *Badami*, respectively. The naming of colors also suggests that formal schooling and education do cause lexical variation between the two generations. The youth quit the use of some of these Pashto words as they think of these words as outdated and used English or Urdu words that sound stylish and modern. Table 12 shows the lexical variations between the two generations regarding kinship ties.

Table 12
Lexical Variation Relating to Kinship Nicknaming

Elder speakers		Young speakers		Gloss
رورداد	<i>ror dada</i>	بہای جان	<i>bai jan</i>	Brother
دادا	<i>dada</i>	Papa	<i>papa</i>	Father
ابی	<i>abai</i>	امی مامی	<i>ami</i>	Mother
بے بے / خور بیو	<i>bai bai/khor babo</i>	باجی	<i>baji</i>	Sister
کاکا	<i>kaka</i>	Uncle	<i>uncle</i>	Uncle
ورندار بی	<i>wrndar bi</i>	بہابی	<i>Bai</i>	Brother's wife

Table 12 illustrates the difference in naming kinship ties among the young and older speakers. The younger speakers call their immediate relatives either in Urdu or English. The aged used *khanda da* for brother whereas the younger used Urdu's borrowed word *baijan*. Similarly, the older called their parents *dada* and *abai* whereas the educated young speakers used *papa* and *mummy* or *ami*. The *papa* and *mummy* are English borrowed words whereas *ami* is an Urdu borrowed word used for mother. The older, mostly the illiterate used *bebei* or *khor babo* for refereeing sister while the younger speaker used Urdu borrowed word *baji*. The older speakers used *wrandar bi* for brother's wife while the young speakers mostly the educated used an Urdu borrowed word *babi*. The elder speakers used *kaka* for uncle whereas the elite class educated young speakers called him uncle. For them (youth), it is necessary for shaping their identity per the social settings they share with their peer group.

Conclusion

This study aimed to search out different causes behind intergenerational lexical differences. A descriptive survey design was used for data analysis. It was found that Pashto language has undergone tremendous changes regarding lexical variations among

the two generations of Pashto in Tehsil Kabal of District Swat. Pashto-English or Pashto-Urdu contact, word loss, loanwords, formal education, loan translation, modernization and schooling were identified to be the major causes of these lexical variations. Either the meaning of words has been changed with the passage of time or new words have been borrowed. It was found that either the younger generation has abandoned the use of certain words or the items for which these words were used no longer exist due to innovation and modernization of humans. Which ultimately caused word loss and a shift in the young speakers' word choice. As already said, the major cause of these lexical changes is word borrowing either from English or Urdu due to language contact. The growing trend of younger speakers on social media and the compulsory literature of Urdu and English up to secondary school have caused this language contact situation. The development of the internet and distant cultures have introduced new lexical words. The new generation's language was found influenced by Urdu/English movies, and the fashion industry (new dressing and ornaments), which brings new vocabulary with itself and also because of the lack of any suitable names in the target language. As the youth share interest in world politics and the lack of trust in national news channels, they do watch international English news channels, which is also causing variation. The study also discussed the process of phonological and morphological nativizing of those borrowed words. In line with the Variationist Theory's principle of accountability, the researchers discussed the maximum related variables; both the dialectal and the lexical variation due to contact were discussed. The influence of Punjabi, Arabic and Urdu was discussed too. However, the main focus of the study was Pashto-English contact and the interrogational lexical variation. Another cause for the lexical variation between the two generations was loan translation and the word-by-word translation as the target language lacks equivalent words for those items. The borrowing of words by the youth from Urdu and English was found and the loyalty of the elder speakers to their language for preserving their identity was also observed.

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