Verb Hybridization: An Interesting Aspect of the Spread of English in Pakistan

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Abstract

Like other South Asian countries, in Pakistan, too, English holds a unique position. On one hand the colonial background and the resultant prestige attached to English has played a significant role in determining the pivotal position of English in Pakistan; on the other hand the spread of English across the globe has further strengthened this position. One of the dimensions of the spread of English in Pakistan is the phenomenon of code mixing and the resultant language hybridization. The frequent mixing of English words, phrases, clauses, and sentences in Urdu not only shows the expansion of the vocabulary of Urdu in a specific dimension but also it indicates the spread of English in Pakistan. This linguistic phenomenon has very significant socio-cultural implications.

Within this background the paper aims at exploring the process of language hybridization by focusing on the phenomenon of code mixing with specific reference to verb hybridization. The linguistic data for the research is taken from two TV programs: 'News Night' and 'Pchaas Minute'. The paper focuses only on the linguistic analysis of code mixing of lexical items falling in the verb category i.e. hybridization in compound verbs and verb phrases; and presents the linguistic and sociolinguistic dimensions of the phenomenon. Hopefully the research will help in understanding the linguistic/ sociolinguistic change that is taking place in Pakistan with reference to the spread of English.

Introduction

The spread of English as a lingua franca into non-English mother tongue countries through out the world is very significant since it has increased the scope of bi/ multilingualism resulting in the blurred linguistic and cultural boundaries than ever before.

Code mixing is one of the conversational strategies used by bi/multilingual speakers in many countries of the world. The term itself means the mixing up of the words of two or more than two languages in the course of a single utterance; and often this mixing becomes a regular element of language usage. In fact code-mixing occurs when speakers use two or more languages together to the extent that they change from one language to the other within the boundary of a sentence or utterance. If this

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process of constant mixing becomes a regular feature it some times results in the production of a hybridized language. As far as Pakistan is concerned the frequent mixing of the words/ phrases belonging to various lexical/structural categories of English into Urdu conversation has led to the production of a new hybridized variety of language.

Background of Research Problem

In Pakistan there has been a rapid change in the linguistic setting during the last few decades; and it clearly exhibits the increased use of English vocabulary. Since high prestige is attached to English, code mixing of English in every day Urdu speech reflects the conversational strategy of the speakers to identify themselves with the elite, educated, and sophisticated class. This frequent code mixing is not restricted to any specific category of lexical items, rather is found in single words (nouns, verbs, adjectives etc.), phrases, and clauses; language units are hybridized too. In this connection the code mixing of verbs of English in Urdu conversation holds a unique position, and is quite an interesting area of research because due to the structural discrepancies in Urdu and English, the verbs of English can not be directly inserted in Urdu rather they are used in a hybridized form.

Significance of the Research

Within the socio-linguistic framework of code mixing in Pakistan, the present paper aims at exploring the process of language hybridization by focusing on the phenomenon of code mixing with specific reference to verb hybridization. The linguistic data for the research is taken from two TV programs: 'News Night' and 'Pchaas Minute'. The paper focuses only on the linguistic analysis of code mixing of lexical items falling in the verb category i.e. hybridization in compound verbs and verb phrases; and presents the linguistic and sociolinguistic dimensions of the phenomenon. It is expected that the research will provide a useful insight into the nature and direction of linguistic/ sociolinguistic change in Pakistan with reference to the globalization of English.

Literature Review

Language is such an essential part of human life that we often take it for granted, and even do not notice the changes taking place in it. Languages do change. "Indeed changes seem to be inherent in the nature of language: there is no such thing as a perfectly stable human language" (Milory, 1992: 1). Birth of new languages, death of old languages, construction of new words, and changes in language at any level (semantic, syntactic, graphic etc.) etc. are the phenomena that take place gradually, and at varying speed. At any time- point the degree or speed of change may be slight and minor to the extent of being invisible, but sometimes it can be quite evident. In today's global village the constant evolution and change of languages has been accelerated even more because the socio-cultural boundaries have blurred and diffused. For research in language change, and particularly in code mixing South Asia provides a rich area because of the prevalence of bi-/multi-lingualism and bi-/multi-culturalism.

A significant aspect of multilingualism in South Asia is the use of English in these countries, and "as an aftermath of British colonialism in South Asia English language is a part of the repertoire of the people of every South Asian Country" (Ferguson, 1992: 27). Since, in language contact situations either a multilingual speaker assigns areas of function to each language that he uses to perform different roles, or language dependency might result in developing new, mixed codes of communication (Kachru, 1978: 28), the spread of English in South Asia and the accompanied linguistic change, too, has several dimensions ranging from the development of non-native varieties of English to the emergence of new mixed codes.

Code Mixing

Referring to the process of shifting from one language to the other Numan & Carter briefly define the term as "a phenomenon of switching from one language to another in the same discourse" (2001:275), thus making no division in code switching and code mixing. However, according to Berthold, Mangubhai, and Bartorowicz 1997 as cited by Skiba (1997) code mixing occurs when speakers shift from one language to the other in the midst of their conversation. Thus this definition accommodates inter-sentential switching and intra-sentential mixing both under the term code switching. Many other too have used code switching and code mixing interchangeably.

As far as code mixing is concerned to Odliv (1989:6), "Language mixing is the merging of characteristics of two or more languages in any verbal communication." In this regard a related yet somewhat different term is code switching. In code switching, depending on audience, setting and purpose, the speaker makes switches between two or more languages. To Gumperz (1982: 59) it is the 'juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or sub-systems'. To Fasold (1984) code mixing is one of the major kinds of language choice that is subtler than code switching. In code-mixed sentences, pieces of one language are used while a speaker is basically using another language. To him these pieces of the other language are often words, however they can be phrases or clauses.

Wardhaugh, characterizes that 'Code mixing occurs when during conversation speakers "use both languages together to the extent that they shift from one language to the other in the course of a single utterance" (1992:106). Discussing code-mixing B. Kachru (1975) claims that a bi/multi lingual speaker's code repertoires often produce a 'mixed' code by interacting with each other. He characterizes it as the use of one or more languages for regular transfer of linguistic units from one language into another, thus resulting in a language mixture that is a new 'restricted' or 'not so restricted' code of communication. Examples of code mixing are frequent in the literature of South Asian languages.

Code mixing, as compared to code switching, is more restrained, delicate and subtle to deal with since it requires the mastery to fit in pieces of one language in another language, while the speaker is using that other language as a base. However, linguistic preferences and frequency of mixing at different levels varies from language

to language. It not only depends on the two languages that are mixed, but also on the socio-cultural background of the user. Hammink, J, E. (2000) defines code mixing as 'switching at the clause, phrase level, or at word level if no morphological adaptation occurs, such as '*Abelardo tiene los* movie tickets. (Abelardo has the movie tickets). Discussing code-mixing Kachru (1978:29) asserts, it "is a role-dependent and function-dependent linguistic phenomenon. In terms of role one has to ask who is using the language, and in terms of function, one has to ask what is to be accomplished by the speech act".

The claim that speakers who mix two languages speak neither language well is palpably untrue. According to Kuchru, "mixing entails transfer of the units of code *a* into code *b* at intersentential and intrasentential levels", and thus developing "a new restricted-or not so restricted- code of linguistic interaction" (p 64). He claims that the use of such a code functions at least in a "di-system"; thus the code mixed system has "functional cohesion" and "functional expectancy". To Kachru functional expectancy means a choice of linguistic elements from the absorbed code according to the requirements of a special function.

Role of Culture in Determining Linguistic Choices

Culture also plays a pivotal role in determining the language usage. It is significant that culture is a far broader term than generally it is considered. It is something more than social, economic, and ceremonial events or arrangements as observable concrete or material phenomena. It is socially acquired knowledge that someone has by being a member of a particular society (Hudson, 1980,p74). To Ward Goodenough as cited by Bright (ed.), "Culture is not a material phenomenon; it does not consist of things, people, behavior or emotions. It is rather an organization of these things. It is the form of things that people have in mind, their models for perceiving, relating and otherwise interpreting them" (1976:13).

Since man's environment is physical as well as social, "a state of social well being, which depends on harmony with the environment, demands harmony of both kinds" i.e. physical and social (Halliday1984: p8). Social harmony needs some medium or channel for the transmission of those patterns of living to him, which he has to learn to act as a member of a 'social environment' or 'society'. Language serves as the main channel for this purpose. It is through the medium of language that "man' adopts a society's 'culture', its modes of thought and action, its beliefs and values (Halliday1984: p8). On the other hand according to Prucha (1983), language usage is determined by consideration of extra individual and extra linguistic purposes or social needs. To him, linguistic reality is determined by certain purposes, programs or aims reflective of societal needs. As a result, social needs cause an evolution of language. In this context if we examine the phenomena of code mixing and language hybridization the significance of the socio-cultural aspects in the linguistic choices for mixing becomes evident. According to Trudgill, "speakers switch to manipulate or influence or define the situation as they wish, and to convey nuances of meaning and personal intention" (2000:105).

To Yule G. (1987, p190) two people growing up in the same geographical area, at the same time, may speak differently because of certain social factors. This social aspect of language should not be overlooked because "in many ways, speech is a form of social identity and is used, consciously or unconsciously, to indicate membership of different social groups or different speech communities". Not only the social identity of the addressor, the addressee, and the person mentioned, play a role in determining the linguistic choices but also other factors in the social context are closely interrelated to it; thus, the threads of linguistic variation and social variation are inter-knitted in the fabric of human existence.

Role of Media in Code Mixing and Language Hybridization

The scope of communication has broadened very much in the contemporary societies (Hermaan and McCheseny, 1997). Amongst all the electronic media television is a significant mode of communication and the pervasive role of TV is transforming the sociolinguistic scene all over the world. To Hermaan and McCheseny (1997) "it is with this world wide surge of commercial television that decisive changes in global media in the 1990s are most apparent (p45)." No society can escape the pervasive influence of television, and it has become a part of modern man's life. Discussing the same in Japanese context Makita, asserts, "teliviewing is the most common habit except, of course, sleeping, even if it has been formed in recent years" (1974, p57). Japan is not unique to experience this; it has become a worldwide phenomenon now.

As far as the case of Asia is concerned the process of globalization in media has played a significant role in bringing the linguistic change, particularly in increasing the influence of English, its mixing in the national and local languages of the world, and the creation of new hybridized varieties. In Pakistan on TV, the creative use of Urdu marked with the phenomenon of code mixing may lead to new and complex linguistic forms in Urdu in future.

Language Hybridization and Code Mixing in Various Languages of the World:

Language hybridization, as the very word 'hybrid' indicates, refers to the process of the fusion of two languages. According to Backus what Alvarez-Caccamo mentions as an "alloy" is the frequent use of intrasentential code switching resulting in a "bilingual lect" (2000:833). The speakers over all use a single mixed 'lect', where the users probably do not think that they are switching between two languages rather they take it as one single language. This 'lect' according to him comprises utterances in both languages i.e. utterances that are mixed as well as the utterances that are in a single language. So, this 'lect' is the language of this speech community.

In the present world since bilingualism is prevalent everywhere code mixing is done in almost every society/culture. For example code mixing is done frequently in Hong Kong. Though both Chinese and English are official languages in Hong Kong, spoken English does not appear in daily communication in general; however it is code

mixed with various varieties of Chinese (Sociolinguistics-Code-Switching and Code-Mixing. www.ctlwmp.cityu.edu.hk/ lingintro/ english/lang-soc/code-e.htm-13k.). Instances of code mixing in Welsh/English are given by Deuchar, M. (2004) such as " *t'isio mynd â'r* carrier bags?" (D'you want to take the carrier bags?)" or " *mae'n* hope less" (It's hopeless).

In the same way in Turkish insertional as well as alternational mixing with other languages is also done. Examples of both kind of code switching i.e. insertional and alternational from Turkish- Dutch data are as follows:

1) bir sürü *taal*-lar-I *beheersen* yapiyorken, ….
   A range language-pl-ACC master doing
   ":while he knows a lot of languages, …" (Insertional)
2) çok yapinca, *dan is het niet meer erg*,…
   many do- when then is it not so bad
   "when many peope do it, it's ok, .." (Alternational)
   (Dutch words are in italics) (Backus, 2000: 831)

Wardhaugh (1992: 107-8) too has cited several examples from Pfaff (1979) of code mixing among Spanish –English bilinguals. Two of these are as follows:

1: *No van a* bring it up in the meeting.
   'They are not going to bring it up in the meeting.'
2: *Todos los Mexicanos* were riled up.
   'All the Mexicans were riled up.'

Some examples of code mixing from Welsh-English data, as given by Deuchar (2004) are as follows:

1: *t'isio mynd â'r* **carrier bags**?
   D'you want to take the carrier bags?
2: *mae'n* **hope less**
   It's hopeless
3: *dw i'n* **suppport***io Cymru*
   I support Wales
4: *Mae o'n reit* **camouflaged** *yndydi?*
   He's quite camouflaged, isn't he?
5: *mae o'n fath â* **catching**
   It's sort of catching

As far as the code mixing of English, the lingua franca, with the national or local languages of different countries/ cultures or societies is concerned it is quite frequent. Following are some more examples of code mixing cited by Romaine (1995: 1,2) that are recorded by different people in different bi/multilingual contexts:

Have *agua*, please. (Spanish/English bilingual child recorded by Kessler1984)
'Have water, please.'
Won o arrest a single person. (Yoruba English bilingual recorded by Amuda 1986)

'They did not arrest a single person'
Kodomotachi liked it. (Japanese/ English bilingual recorded by Nishimura 1986)
The children liked it.'
Sano ett□ tuylla t□nne ett□ I'm very sick (Finish/ English bilingual recorded by Poplack, Wheeler and Westwood1987)
'Tell them to come here I'm very sick.'
Will you *rubim* off? *Ol* man will come.
'Will you rub [that off the blackboard]? The men will come.' Tok Pisin/ English mixing in Papua New Guinea:

As far as South Asian countries are concerned in almost all of them, especially in Pakistan, India, Srilanka and Bangladesh code mixing is a regular feature of everyday language usage. The frequent processes of code mixing and code switching of two or more languages may lead towards the creation of a new hybridized variety of language.

The Case of Urdu:

The phenomenon of code mixing in Urdu is not new; it can be traced back in the pre-partition times. Through this process new languages emerged from the old ones. After independence though Urdu was given the status of national language, certain reasons such as the colonial background, controversial issue of official language controversy over medium of education, and, prestige factor attached to English, industrialization and globalization have played a significant role in adding to the importance of English in Pakistan. In today's Pakistan the on rush of English through the communication/ media channels has added to the exposure to English and one of the outcomes is the frequent code mixing, which can be observed at all levels of language usage varying from very informal to highly formal.

The Processes of Code Mixing

Code mixing can take place at various levels ranging from below the word level to above the sentence level. It can be basically done in two ways: either through insertion or through hybridization. For instance there can be single word insertions of various lexical items such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs etc.; or there can be phrase insertions such as insertion of a noun phrase, a prepositional phrase, a verb phrase etc. In the same way insertions can take place at clause and sentence level as well. As far as the mixing of hybridized forms is concerned it can be divided into two major types: Hybridization within Single Words and Hybridization in Units. The category of hybridization within words is very interesting. Hybridization within single words can be traced in various languages of South Asia. In Pakistan we can frequently observe hybridization of English noun + Urdu suffix in Urdu-English code mixing in everyday life for instance **student*on*** (students), **shopkeeper*on*** (shopkeepers), **tyr*on*** (tyres), **bus*on*** (buses), and **flower*on*** (flowers) etc. are a few more examples; and, the list of such hybrids is exhaustive. Apart from the mixing of Urdu/ English, in the regional languages of Pakistan, too, such instances are frequent such as **studenta*n*** (students),

shopkeeper*an* (shopkeepers), **tyr*an*** (tyres), **bus*an*** (buses), and **flower*an*** (flowers) etc. Certain language varieties in the sub- continent, too, offer a diversified range of hybridization within word. For instance I would also like to cite the examples of Malayalam/English mixing in India from Girish (2005) in which English noun and Malayalam suffix are used:

Shop + kaaran (Shopkeeper - male singular)
Shop + kaari (Shopkeeper - Female Singular)
Shop + kaar (Shop keepers - Common plural)

As far as hybridization in compounds and phrases is concerned it can be found in various lexical/structural parts of a sentence for instance for instance there can be hybridized compound nouns, hybridized noun phrases, hybridized compound verbs and hybridized verb phrases. The variety within these types is abundant for instance Sridhar (1992) mentions a very interesting sub-category, "hyponymous compounds", with reference to hybridization in compound nouns such as K*a:lra ro: ga(* cholera disease), D*isko: nrutya (*disco dance), and *A:spirin ma:tre(* aspirin tablet). Examples of this category can be found in the mixing of English and Urdu in Pakistani context for instance in eatables: fruit *chat*, chicken *karahi*, chiken *kabab*, and mutton *kabab*.

Code mixing of the Verbs of English in Urdu: Hybridization in Verbs Units

In the code mixing of English and Urdu mixing of verbs is done frequently, and the findings of the present research are a proof of it. In the code mixing of English and Urdu mixing of verbs holds a unique status. In Urdu the equivalents of many English main verbs take additional auxiliaries. Thus, the result of the code mixing of such English verbs in Urdu syntax, thus, is the production of compound verbs for instance, **feel (*mehsus kurna*)** and **train (*tarbiat dayna)*** etc. Apart from this type, another interesting type of verb hybridization that takes place is of conjunct verbs: verbs formed by taking a noun from English and turning it into a verb by adding auxiliary from Urdu for instance **training *dayna* (to give training)**. The hybridization of verbs, however, is not limited to only these two types. Further possibilities of hybridization remain open in terms of making hybridized verb phrases by adding adverbs etc. to these types. **Presentation of Findings**

The linguistic data for the present research was taken from two TV programs: Program 1:'News Night' and Program 2: 'Pchaas Minute'. However, for the present research only the lexical items falling under the verb category i.e. hybridization in compound verbs and hybridization in verb phrases were selected for linguistic analysis. Program 1 i.e. News Night consisted of two parts, part one was about "The Situation of Peace in the Country and Role of Police", whereas part two was about "The Role of Sarhad Assembly". It was telecast on February 9, 03 on PTV World, and on the whole it was of 55 minutes duration. Program 2 i.e. Pchaas Minute was on "The Legal Aspects of Iraq War", was telecast on April 12, 03 on Geo television, and was of 50 minutes duration.

As far as the presentation of the data of this research is concerned all the instances of verb hybridization from both the programs selected for the present research have been presented in the appendices. Thus, appendices A and B respectively present the findings from program 1 i.e. News Night and program 2 i.e. Pchaas Minute. However, within the tabulated presentation of the findings of each program a further division of category 1 and 2 is made which respectively stand for compound verbs and phrases, and conjunct verbs and phrases.

The data analysis reflects the following results:

Program	Constituent Category	No. of Constituents Used
1: News Night	Compound verbs and phrases	Part 1: 29, Part 2: 50
		Conjunct verbs and phrases
		Part 1: 2, Part 2: 18
2: Pchaas Minute	Compound verbs and phrases	75
	Conjunct verbs and phrases	30

Analysis of the Findings and Discussion

As the table of findings indicates in part 1 of program 1 i.e. News Night from PTV World, total 31 instances of verb hybridization were found. Out of these 29 occurrences of verb hybridization fell under category 1 that dealt with compounds, while only 2 instances were found in category 2. In part 2 of this program total 68 times hybridized verb forms were used. 50 times these occurrences were of compound type and 18 times they were of conjuncts verbs and phrases. Thus, in total in both the parts 99 instances were found.

In the data of this program some instances (transfer *jo baytahasha huay*, copy *yahan peh nuhi kia,* provide *tou nuhin kia)* were found. These instances are noteworthy in terms of the violation of the syntax of the sentence. The word/group of words inserted between the parts of hybridized verb unit has been indicated by underlining it. Such uses have been underlined in the same way in the findings of other programs.

Program 2 i.e. 'Pchaas Minute' had total 105 instances of the use of hybridized words. 75 out of these fell under category 1 while 30 came under category 2. Thus, in the linguistic data for the present research total 204 instances of verb hybridization were found.

Since the data for the present paper is taken from television it is important to point out that in Pakistan the everyday phenomenon of code mixing that has become a part of our daily lives in a conscious or unconscious way, is completely projected in media. And, the linguistic choices of the participants of the programs used for data collection for the present paper reflect this fact fully.

In most of the South Asian countries such as Pakistan, India, Nepal, Srilanka where English is a lingua franca, educated people whose first language is a language

other than English but who are also somewhat fluent in English often employ code mixing by inserting English words, phrases or sentences into their conversations. Examples of this type of code mixing can be seen in the media of these countries as well. TV in these countries provides exhaustive example of this kind of mixing. The process of code mixing has a great potential of productivity and creativity.

In Pakistan also media projects the process of code mixing. To Kachru the process of hybridization has resulted " into an extremely productive process for 'mixing'" in the languages of the sub-continent (1978: 33). As far as the code mixing of verbs is concerned it is done frequently and is quite promising in terms of creation. Kachru, B. cites Kachru, Y. that " this process is most productive in producing what are termed 'compound verbs' and conjunct verbs' in Hindi- Urdu". The example that Kachru, B. provides are of **'expect *karna* (to expect), bore *karna* (to bore),** and **satisfy *kurna* (to satisfy)** for compound verbs; and **holiday *lena* (to take holiday), permission *dena* (to grant permission),** and **leave *dena* (to grant leave)** for conjunct verbs (1978: 33).

Romaine (1995:1, 4), too, gives the examples of compound verb in Punjabi English mixed code: *'kio ke six hours te school de viè spend kurday ne, they are speaking English all the time*'(Punjabi English bilingual in Britain).'Because they spend six or seven hours a day at school, they are speaking English all the time.' In this instance the verb is a mixed compound: English verb *spend* + Punjabi auxiliary *kurna*. The analysis of the data for the present research proves that in Pakistan verb hybridization is frequently done in the code mixing English in Urdu conversation.

The analysis of the findings proved that there was no verb in the conversation that does not have a substitute in Urdu. However, sometimes there are subtle differences in the meaning of a verb in both the languages. For instance in the data of the present research following verbs of English were used by the speakers in their Urdu conversation that have a subtle difference in meaning from their Urdu equivalents: Practise kur sukain, appeal kurna, challenge kurna, deal kurna, miss ho gia, coordinate kurna, operation kurtay hain, smuggle ho gi, relief mila, walkout kurna, credit layna, bill *laytay hain,* addition *nuhin kur sakti,* bulk allocation *ho jati thi,* notification *nuhin hua hai, m*eetings *kur ruhay hain,* crash measures bhi kiay hain, award *laey chukay hain,* conventions *bhi kiay.*

In fact code mixing is role dependant as well as situation dependent. When the user feels that elements or items from another code will enable him to participate in a situation or to play a role in a better way, by establishing a communicative intimacy he uses a mixed code. The findings reflect that it is more a matter of considering one code more appropriate than other instead of the availability of items.

We need to look at the data not only in the immediate context but also in the light of Firthian concept of context. Linguistic choices are not only constrained by the immediate linguistically relevant situation rather the wider cultural context is considerably significant in relation to the choice of linguistic forms.

Domains of code mixing/switching are directly related with the domains of 'Power'. The term power needs to be used in an abstract sense in this context, and it refers to the language's control over knowledge and prestige factor through its use in certain important domains. "The more important a domain is, the more "powerful" a language becomes" (Kachru, 1986: 2). Since the English language was "part of the pose and power"(Kachru, 1986:5), in the past, use of English items in the process of code mixing is a projection of this power; and the more formal a situation is the more conscious efforts are made by the speakers to insert the items of English in the speech. The heavy mixing of hybridized verbs /verb phrases in the data of the research taken from very formal television programs reflects this fact.

This hybridization not only reflects the attitude of individuals but also of the whole society and nation. How far the implications of this hybrid media language are serious in terms of national identity and national language needs to be given a serious consideration. The issues of national identity, integration and language and the role of media in this regard are not unique to Pakistan. Thussu (2000:36) refers to the role of television in Malaysia and its significance in the development of Malaysian national identity and culture. He points out the role of language as the central force in this connection; and asserts that from mid 1960s onward the promotion of Malay language, the language of dominant majority, as the national language on media has played a pivotal role in promoting the sense of national identity in the region. Another example is that of the role of popular television in Hong Kong in the formation of local identity. In this background of the changing linguistic scenario of the world language hybridization in Pakistan that is reflected through media, gathers further significance.

Since language and culture are closely related, most of times loss of language is accompanied by social and cultural disruptions, and vice versa. Thus, socio-cultural change and linguistic change accompany each other; and in Pakistan this change is in motion. As a matter of fact language change is not something new, it has always been taking place in all the languages through all the times, including Urdu. But, what is significant in the present scenario of Pakistan is the speed of this change that is quite noticeable and visible; and the present paper has tried to document it.

Conclusion

The spread of English in Pakistan has various dimensions such as the emergence of new varieties of English, and code switching and code mixing of English with the national and other local languages of Pakistan. In this context verb hybridization is an interesting aspect of the spread of English. The speakers of Urdu frequently code mix the hybridized forms of English verbs in Urdu, and this mixing is not caused only due to the need to fill in lexical gaps rather there are strong socio-cultural reasons for these choices. It seems that in future the process of globalization will further increase the tendency towards code-mixing and language hybridization in Pakistan.

Appendix A

Findings from Program 1: News Night (Part 1)

Part1

Category 1	Category 1	Category 2
Crop up *hotay rehtay hain*Control *kurnay* Implement *kurna* Coordinate *kurti hia* Chair *kia tha* Ensure *kurnay* Meet *kur lain gaey* Meet *kur sakain* Progress *kur ruhi hai* Rule out *nuhin kurun ga*Involved *hai* Involved *ho* Combat *kur ruhay hain* Control *bhi kur saktay hain* Combat *kur kay* Justify *nuhin kur saktay* Face *kur ruhay hain*	Import *ki hain* Plug *kurnay* Dismantle *ho chukka* Operation *kurtay hain* Onboard *hon* Check *kur ruhay hain* Raise *kurnay* Enhance *kurna hai* Debate *tou nuhin kurun ga* Provide *nuhin kur saktay* Raise *kia hai* Smuggle *ho gi*	Injustice *ho ruhi hai* Training *bhi dayni hai*

Part 2

Category 1	Category 1	Category 2
Conduct *kurtay hain* Pass *kiay hain* Pass *hua hai* Pass *kia hai* 2 Pass *huay hain* Settle *kurain* Pass *ki* unanimously Pass *hui thi* Walkout *kia* nuhin support *kurtay* Pass *kia tha* Copy *yahan peh nuhi kia* Unanimously *pass hua* Feel *kia* Pass *ki* Pass *hui hai* Play *kur ruhi hai* Pass *kurwa laytay hain* Walk out *kurtay hain* Accept *kurain* Support *kia hai* Pass *kur dia* Pass *kiay huay* Pass *kia tha*	Pass *ho gia* 2 Discuss *kurna* Implement *hui hain* Implement *nuhin hua* Transfer *jo baytahasha huay* Relief *di* Decide *nuhin kur ruha* Decide *kuray ga* Relate *kurtay hain* Check *kurta ja ruha tha* Pass *hua hai* Support *kia* Implement *kurain* Table *bhi nuhin kia* Support *nuhin kurain gaey* Table *nuhi hua* Provide *nuhin ki* Provide *tou nuhin kia* Develop *kurnay* Absorb *kurnay* Discuss *ho ruhy hain* Discuss k*uray* 2 Assess *kia*	Requisition *ki* Effective *bunanay* Crash measures bih kiay hain Meetings *kur ruhay hain* Credit *layna chahtay thay* Serious *lia hai* Discussion *ho gi* Relief *milta* Unanimously committee form *ki* Bill *laytay hain* Addition *nuhin kur sakti* Bulk allocation *ho jati thi* Notification *nuhin hua hai* Conventions *bhi kiay* Convention *kia* Relief *milay ga* Relief *mila* Reforms *lain*

Appendix B

Findings from Program 2: Pchaas Minute

Category 1	**Category 1**	Category 2
Explain *kia jana*	Use *hua tha*	Award *laey chukay hain*
Challenge *kia ja sakta tha*	Misuse *kur kay*	Statement *dayni thi*
Follow *kur ruhay hain*	Put kur *dayta hai*	Statement *na dain*
Follow *kurtay hain*	Kill *kia*	Session *maen jaay gi*
Comply *nuhin kur ruha*	Deal *kurta hai*	Statement *daynay*
Comply *kurnay*	Attack *kia hai*	Compliance *ho ruhi hai*
Sign *kiay huay thay* 2	Add kurna *chahay ga*	Compliance *hui hai ya nuhin hui*
Cease fire *hui*	Eliminate *kurna*	Action *layta hai*
Attack *kurnay*	Raise *ho ruha hai*	Action *laey saktay hain*
Change *hua*	Share *kurna chahta hun*	Strong *kurnay*
Consider *kuray gi*	Add *ho gia*	Relevant *bunanay*
Emerge *hota hai*	Violate *kurtay hain*	Crime *ho ruhay hain*
Seek *kur suktay hain*	Curtail *kurnay*	Crime *ho ruhay*
Pass *ki*	Deal *kurain* 2	Crime *kurtay hain*
Report *kur ruha tha*	Prove *kurtay hain*	Session *kurain gaey*
Pull out *na kurta*	Pass *hui hai* 2	Advice *kia hai*
Challenge *kia ja sakay*	Condemn *nuhin kurtay* 2	Chances *shayad bun jaatay hain*
Set *kur dia*	Condemn *nuhin kur ruhi hai*	Evidence *daey ga*
Brow beat *kia*	Permit *nuhin ho ga*	Point *uthati nuhin hai*
Pass *kurwa dain*	Allow *nuhin kurtay*	Leadership *bunatay hain*
Comply with *nuhin kur ruhay*	Condemn *kurwa saktay hain*	Defect reh *gia*
Comply *with nuhin kia*	Show *kurain*	Requisition *kia*
Reject *kur dia*	Miss *ho gai hai*	Perfect *bnanay*
Block *kurnay*	Side-line *kur dia*	Strengthen *kia jaay*
Practise *kur sakain*	Bear out *kurain gaey*	Automatic *kia jaay*
Cooperate *kurain gi*	Show *kuray ga*	Itni lumbi chori discussion *ki*
Operate *kurnay*	Rectify *nuhin kur hua*	Argument *ki*
Appel *kurnay*	Immune *kia jaay* 2	Theoretical *bat ki*
Claim *kia hai*	Immune *kurain*	Implement *kaysay kia jaay*
Claim *kia*	Case *ho sakta* 2	Consensus *hua tha*
Use *kur nuhin saktay*	Develop *kia*	
Threat *kurtay hain*	Progress *tuk nuhi kia*	
Threat *kur saktay hain*	Concede *kia hua hai*	
Clear *kur dun*	Accept *kurta hun*	
Attack *kurnay*	Economic *boycott kurain gaey*	

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