

LEXICAL VARIATION IN PASHTO: A COMPARATIVE STUDY CONDUCTED IN MARDAN AND SWAT

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ABSTRACT.

The purpose of this investigation was to find out lexical variation in Pashto spoken in Mardan and Swat. The linguistic variables of region and age were considered to find out lexical variation in Pashto spoken in both these target regions. In order to achieve the objectives of the study, two data sets were used, primary and secondary data. Primary data served as the basis of information for this comparative study of lexical variation. This primary data was encoded in an open-ended questionnaire to get secondary data. The secondary data served to confirm the primary findings. For achieving the purpose of the study, a questionnaire was distributed among a randomly selected 50, 50 participants from both the target regions. Orally administered questionnaire was also conducted in order to achieve the objective of the study. Moreover, observation of the speakers in both the target regions was another research tool.

The analysis of the data gathered from both the research tools showed that there are striking differences in Pashto spoken in Mardan and Swat from lexical point of view. Moreover, from the observation it was concluded that there are certain expletives associated with both the target regions.

1.1 LINGUISTICS

Linguistics is the scientific study of human language in general. It studies language as a universal and recognizable part of human behavior. It attempts to describe and analyze language. The field of linguistics comprises: understanding of the place of language in human life; the ways in which it is organized to fulfill the needs it serves; and the function it performs.

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According to (Raddhey L. Varshney p.11) linguistics is that science which studies the origin ,organization, nature and development of language descriptively, historically, comparatively, explicitly ,and formulate general rules related to language. Raddhey, (ibid) goes on to add that “Diachronic (historical linguistics) studies the development of language through history, through time, for example, the way in which French and Italian have evolved from Latin. Synchronic linguistics investigates how the people speak and use language in a given speech community at a given time. Comparative linguistics is concerned with comparing two or more different languages.”

1.2 SOCIOLINGUISTICS

Sociolinguistics can be simply defined as the study of language in relation to society. Language is a social, cultural and geographic phenomenon. It is in the society that a man acquires and uses language.(Raddhey L. Varshney p.295). Sociolinguistics ranges from the study of the wide variety of dialects across a given region as well as all aspects of society, including cultural norms, expectations, and context, in the way language is used, and the effects of language use on society. According to Gumperz etal “sociolinguistics also studies how language varieties differ among groups separated by certain social variables, e.g., ethnicity, religion, status, gender, level of education, age, etc., and how creation and adherence to these rules is used to categorize individuals in social or socioeconomic classes. As the usage of a language varies from place to place (dialect), language usage varies among social classes, and it is these sociolects that sociolinguistics studies.”

1.3 LANGUAGE VARIATION

Language is one of the unique possessions of human beings. It is our ability to communicate through language that makes us different from other species in this world. We employ the symbolic system of language to make meaning and communicate with other human beings as a member of social group. Language variation refers to the existence of observable differences in the way a language is used in a speech community. All languages have both dialectical variations

and registrar variations. These variations, or dialects, can differ in lexicon, phonology, and syntax from the standard Language. It depends on where, by whom, and in what situation the dialect is used as to whether or not it is appropriate. "Language use varies in many dimensions. Three major dimensions are the following:

1. Regional: dialect variation.
2. Social: sociolect or class dialect variation.
3. Functional: register or functional style variation".(1)

The movement of language users along the dimensions of regional and dialect variation is relatively restricted. Few speakers command more than a couple of dialects or languages. But, in contrast, the variation of language with different functional contexts of use is startlingly varied - formal and informal, public and private, written and spoken, professional and trade languages. "The dimension of functional variation is quite dominant, though speakers are often quite unaware of it, and respond more immediately to dialectal and sociolectal variation than functional variation. Speakers tend have a language, a dialect and a sociolect which is associated with the circumstances of their birth and upbringing. But switches in language and dialect or sociolect tend to correlate closely with switches in functional context, in addition to the basic indexical function of social classification."(2)

Regional variations tend to become more pronounced as the speech community is more isolated by physical geography, i.e. mountain ranges, rivers.(Yule. P.184) Within, and among these regional variations we find the social dialects. The primary social factors that influence dialects are class, education, occupation, ethnicity, sex, and age. And social dialects can vary on any or all three descriptor levels; syntax or grammar, lexicon or vocabulary, and phonetics or pronunciation.(Ferguson p.52).

Ferguson)ibid) adds that closely related to these social class factors are education and occupation. While occupations often produce

their own jargons, a person's occupation will also determine what style of speech is used. A lawyer and a labourer would not be likely to use the same dialect on the job. Likewise, a person with little education is not likely to use the same style of speech as a college professor. This does not imply that the lawyer and college professor speak a better variety of English, French, Urdu or Pashto but because of more exposure to, and familiarity with spoken or written form of these languages.

1.4 KINDS OF VARIATION

1.4.1 SEMANTIC VARIATION

“Semantic variation refers to different words that are used for the same thing in different dialects, or the different meanings that a particular word have from dialect to dialect. It might more accurately refers to as the study of lexical semantic variation. Simply it refers to studying variation in the meanings of words. So, an example of a single word meaning different things is the compound "knocked up". In England it means “rise from sleep”. In US it means "to make pregnant”.”(3) In Pashto, word “kada” means wife in Afghanistan whereas it means goods that are being shifted from one house to another in Pakistan. Similarly ,the word “guthay” means finger ring in Swat and shopping bag or shopper in Mardan in KPK Pakistan.

1.4.2 PHONOLOGICAL VARIATION

Phonological variation refers to differences in pronunciation within and across dialects (Jhon Rickford., p3). For instance the Pashto speakers of soft dialect pronounce the word for fine with /h/ sound whereas speakers of hard dialect pronounce it with /sh/ sound. Similarly a lot of variation across different speech communities from vowels point of view. For instance the word for rice is pronounced as “roojy” in Mardan, whereas it is pronounced as “rejy” in Swabi, clearly indicating variation in vowels. Similar is the case with the word “rora”

and “rara” (bring) in the respective regions.

1.4.3 GRAMMATICAL VARIATION

Grammatical variation involves two sub-types: morphology and syntax. Morphology refers to the structure or forms of words, including the morphemes minimal units of meaning which comprise words, for instance the morphemes {un} "not" and {happy} "happy" in unhappy, or the morphemes {cat} "cat" and {s} "plural" in cats. (Rickford., *ibid* p.4). Syntax refers to the structure of larger units like phrases and sentences, including rules for combining and relating words in sentences. Variations in these categories are referred to as grammatical variations.

1.4.4 REGIONAL VARIATION

Regional dialects are varieties of a language which are spoken in different geographical areas (Rickford., *ibid* p 6). Regional variation refers to variation which becomes a sort of identity or representation of a specific region. For instance the expletive “jo” is associated with speakers of Pashto dialect in Swat and Buner in Kpk Pakistan.

1.4.5 SOCIAL VARIATION

Social dialects are varieties distinguished according to the social groups who use them, for instance, upper middle class versus working class speakers (social class), men versus women (sex or gender), young people versus old (age), African Americans versus European Americans (ethnicity or race),. In theory, since individuals typically belong to several different groups simultaneously, their speech patterns might be taken to reflect the simultaneous intersection of their social categories and experiences (Rickford., *ibid* p.9)

1.4.6 LEXICAL VARIATION

“Lexicon means vocabulary, so lexical variation refers to vocabulary differences or variations in a language. Lexical variation occurs when

a word changes its meaning with the passage of time. Take, for example, the usage of the word "gay" in the English language, a word that has mutated from meaning "happy" to meaning "homosexual" over time.”(4)

The most significant variations or differences within languages occur at the level of the lexicon (vocabulary), phonology (pronunciation), grammar (morphology and syntax). and usage. (Rickford., *ibid* p. 2)

Lexical variation also occurs when different dialects use varying words for the same thing. The lexis of dialects is perhaps the most conspicuous feature for listeners and readers. If we see unfamiliar grammatical forms, we may be able to infer meaning readily; but if we see a novel lexeme we can at best guess its meaning from the context.

Morphology is the study of the internal structures of words, which includes the patterns we follow for affixes when making a word plural, a verb past tense, or negating a word, for instance. So, morphological variation explains why English, for instance, uses "in-" to negate some words (such as inactive), "un-" for others (unhappy), and "a-" for others (asexual). It also explains why we add "-s" to pluralize some words (such as chairs) but "-es" to others (e.g., couches). The language of origin accounts for the morphological variation in the in/un/a example; one's ability to pronounce the word when made plural accounts for the variation in chairs/couches

Syntax refers to the structure of sentences, so syntactic variation occurs when the acceptable way to phrase something either changes over time or varies between dialects. Here is an example related to dialect difference. Though it is grammatically correct to phrase the question as "Where are you?," there are some regions in the United States in which the syntactic variation "Where are you at?" is commonly heard. Grammatically speaking, the latter construction is incorrect, but its incorrectness makes it no less prevalent as a syntactic variation one hears in certain dialects. Same is the case with Pashto dialect spoken in Swat. It is grammatically correct to phrase the

question as “Sta sa num dy”(What is your name) in standard Pashto, there are some regions in Pashto speaking communities in which the stylistic variation|”sta na sa num dy”is usually spoken, especially in dialect spoken in district Swat. Although the latter construction is grammatically incorrect, but its incorrectness makes it no less prevalent as a syntactic variation one hears in certain dialects.

1.5. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. To find out lexical variations in Pashto spoken in Mardan and Swat.
2. To find out age wise variations with in these speech communities.

1.6 PURPOSE OF STUDY

The main purpose of study is to find out lexical variation in Pashto spoken in Mardan and Swat. Furthermore, the study intends to investigate age wise variation with in speech communities of Mardan and Swat.

The findings of study will provide useful data for describing Pashto language variation and language use in different context .It will help the learners of Pashto language, if they are aware of these variations; they can learn Pashto in a better and convenient way.

Further more it will facilitate the foreigners who are interested in Pashto language. It is hoped that this study will provide a good base for new researchers and will pave the way for further studies in Pashto language and its variations.

1.7 .PASHTO LANGUAGE

1.7.1 GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Pashto is the native language of the indigenous Pashtun people who live primarily in the area between the Hindu Kush mountains in Afghanistan and the Indus River in Pakistan. It is a member of the Eastern Iranian languages group spoken in Afghanistan and Pakistan as well as by the Pashtun dispersed around the world.

“Pashto is one of the national languages of "Afghanistan", and the home language of Pashtuns living in the "Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa Province" of "Pakistan" and many Pushtuns living in Baluchistan (Iran and Pakistan). Major "Pashto" speaking cities in "Afghanistan" are "

Qandahar" and "Kabul" and "Peshawar", "Mardan", "Swabi", "Charsada", "Malakand", "Swat" and Buner in "Pakistan". There are 8 million speakers of Pashto in Afghanistan (50% of the population). In Pakistan, Pashto is spoken by about 27 million people (15% of the total population) in "Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa Province, Federally Administered Tribal Areas, and "Balochistan" Province. It is the mother tongue of most of the citizens of Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa Province. It is also spoken in parts of Mianwali and Attock districts of the Punjab province as well as by Pashtuns who are found living in different cities throughout the country. Modern Pashto-speaking communities are also found in the cities of Karachi and Hyderabad in Sindh" (5).

1.7.2 HISTIRICAL BACKGROUND

Based on a theory that attributes Pashtuns to Israelite origin, Pashto had been considered a language of Semitic group. That theory is recorded in great details in Makhzani Afghani, a book written by Niamatulla Herawi in the eleventh Hijri century (17th A.D.) and is widely used as a reference source by Afghan scholars and non-Afghan orientalist in favour of the Israelite theory of Pashtuns. "At the early nineteenth century, when European scholars became interested in Pashtuns' origin, some accepted the Israelite theory, but others deemed the theory wrong and called Pashtuns to be Arians. Sir William Jones, Alexander Burnes, William Moorcroft subscribe to the Israelite theory. On the other hand, Mountstuart Elphinston, John Malcolm, Bernard Doren, and James Darmsteter believe in Arian origin of Pashtuns." (6)

Scholars favouring the Israelitic theory, believe that Pashto is like Arabic and Hebrew a Semitic language. On the other hand, those who accept the Arian origin of Pashtuns, relate Pashto to Indo-European language group. At present, based on scientific research in Philology and History, most Afghans as well as foreign scholars agree to the view that Pashto belongs to the Northeast Arian branch of Indo-European language group and its kinship with ancient (Avesta and Saka) languages is considered a proven fact. Ancient forms of the language

can be found in the (Zand and Avesta).” The late Norwegian scholar, Georg Morgenstierne (1892-1978) accepts the Indo-European and North-east Arian origin of Pashto language but instead of it’s relation with (Avesta), he believes Pashto is of (Saki) origin. Pashto alphabets are made up of Arabic letters. The numbers of sound letters (Phonemes) reaches forty, of which eight sounds are distinctly Pashto, and the rest are the same as Arabic sounds. Although, there is no much definitive information regarding the kind of letters used in written Pashto before the present Arabic based letters. From coins, earthenware and inscriptions, discovered in various parts of Pakhunkhwa, areas where Pashtuns historically lived, it can be guessed that at some point of time, Pashto was written in “Kharoshti”. But as of today, scholars have not made a lasting judgment on the subject of ancient pashto alphabets

”With regards to the formation of contemporary Pashto alphabet, it is generally said, that in the era of Gaznvid Sultan Mohmud, his wazir Khwaja Hassan Maiwandi, instructed Qazi Saifullah to develop alphabet for Pashto language. After hard work and many improvements the present form of Pashto alphabet was adopted.”(7)

But Baizid Roshan, a Pashtun religious and political leader, (931-980), prides himself for inventing Pashto letters, superimposing them on Arabic and thus creating Pashto alphabet. Anyhow, Pashto alphabet has gone through a series of changes introduced by such prominent Pashtuns as Roshan’s peer Baizid Ormar, Nangarhari Akhund Darviza (939-1048), Khushal Khan Khatak (1022-1100) and latter on by Wazir Mohammad Gul Khan, Khan Abdul Samad Khan, and Qalandar Momand. But the present form of Pashto alphabet, initiated by Pashto Tolana (official English name), rectified and agreed upon by scholars in Afghanistan and Pahtunkhwa, has become popular and is widely accepted for writing Pashto.

“Pata Khazana” or Hidden treasure, compiled by Mhammad Hotak (1728) traces Pashto literature’s poetic samples as far back as the 2nd Hijri Qamari (7th A.D.). Tazkiratul-Awlia, written in Pashto by Suliman Maku in 1215, extends the history of Pashto prose to about 800 years. After Roshani era or 10th century Hijri Qamari (16th A.D.) Pashto written literature, till present day, has had a steady continuity. The era of Khoshal Khan, his sons and his grandsons is considered the golden age of Pashto literature.

1.7.3 LANGUAGE VARIATIONS /DIALECTS

There are many dialects in Pashto language as a consequence of life in mountainous areas, weak socio-economic inter-relations, along with other historic and linguistic reasons. However, as a whole, Pashto has two main dialects: soft or western dialect and hard or eastern dialect. The difference between these two dialects is in the use of some vowels and two sounds: (sh, gh to be added in Pashto alphabet).

Western Pashto is spoken in Afghanistan and in the capital, Kabul, and Eastern Pashto spoken in northeastern Pakistan. Most speakers of Pashto speak these two dialects. Two other dialects are also distinguished: Southern Pashto, spoken in Baluchistan (western Pakistan and eastern Iran) and in Qandahar, Afghanistan; Central Pashto is spoken in northern Pakistan (Waziristan).

The variation in spelling of the language's name (Pashto, Pukhtu, Pakhtu etc.) stems from the different pronunciations in the various dialects of the second consonant in the word; for example, it is a retroflex [sh] in the Kandahari dialect, and a palatal fricative in the Kabuli dialect. The major dialect divisions themselves have numerous variants. However, one speaker of Pashto readily understands another.

1.8. MARDAN

1.8.1 GENERAL INTRODUCTION

“Mardan is a city and headquarters of Mardan District in the Khyber Pukhtoonkhwa province of Pakistan. It is the second largest populated

city of Khyber Pukhtoonkhwa. It is located at 34°12'0N 72°1'60E with an altitude of 283 meters (931 feet) lying the south-west of the district. It was part of the ancient Gandhara Civilization. Most of its land is agricultural. It has one of the world's best irrigation systems, which was laid down by the British government during British Rule of the subcontinent (1857-1947). There are still remains of the Gandhara Civilization, scattered in different areas of Mardan”(8)

1.8.2 AN OVERVIEW OF MARDAN

The dominant tribe is the Yousafzai Yousufi, or Yūsufi)(Sons of Joseph). A small number of Sayyads, Ghourghusht, Kakar, Daavi, Khattak, Utmankhel, Tanoli, Panjabi and Hindokowans are also present in the district. Mardan is inhabited largely by three sub-tribes of Yousafzai, Kamalzai, Baizai and Amazai. Kamalzais are divided into two main branches, Masharanzai, with chief town Toru and Kashranzai, with chief town Mardan. Amazais are divided into two main branches, the Doulatzai and Ismialzai.

Mardan district may broadly be divided into two parts, North-Eastern hilly area and south western plain. The entire Northern side of the district is bounded by the hills. In the district, the highest points in these hills are Pajja or Sakra, 2056 meters high and Garo or Pato, 1816 meters high. The southwestern half of the district is mostly composed of fertile plain with low hills strewn across it. This plain once formed the bed of a lake, which was gradually filled up by the load of the river flowing into from the surrounding hills. From the foothills the plain runs down at first with a steep slope, which carried the rainwater to the lower levels and ultimately to the Kabul River.

“Religion has a great impact on the culture of people. 99.51% of the people are Sunni Muslims. ”The main minorities are Ahmadiyya Muslims and Christians, who are 0.32 and 0.14 percent respectively. Hindus are 0.02 percent of the total population. The population of the rural and urban area is 99.69 and 98.81% Muslim respectively. The percentage of Christians and Ahmadiyya is greater in the urban area—0.62 and 0.46—as compared to the rural area—0.29 and 0.02 percent.”(9)

“Pashto is the most common language at 98.44%. Urdu, Punjabi, Sindi, Balochi, Saraiki are spoken by 0.33, 0.49, 0.02, 0.01, and 0.03% respectively.

The literacy ratio of the district among the population aged 10 years and above is 36.45 percent. It has increased by 20.5% points since 1981 when it was only 15.95 percent. The male literacy ratio is much higher at 53.50% compared to 18.38% for women.”(10)

1.9. SWAT

1.9.1 GENERAL INTRODUCTION

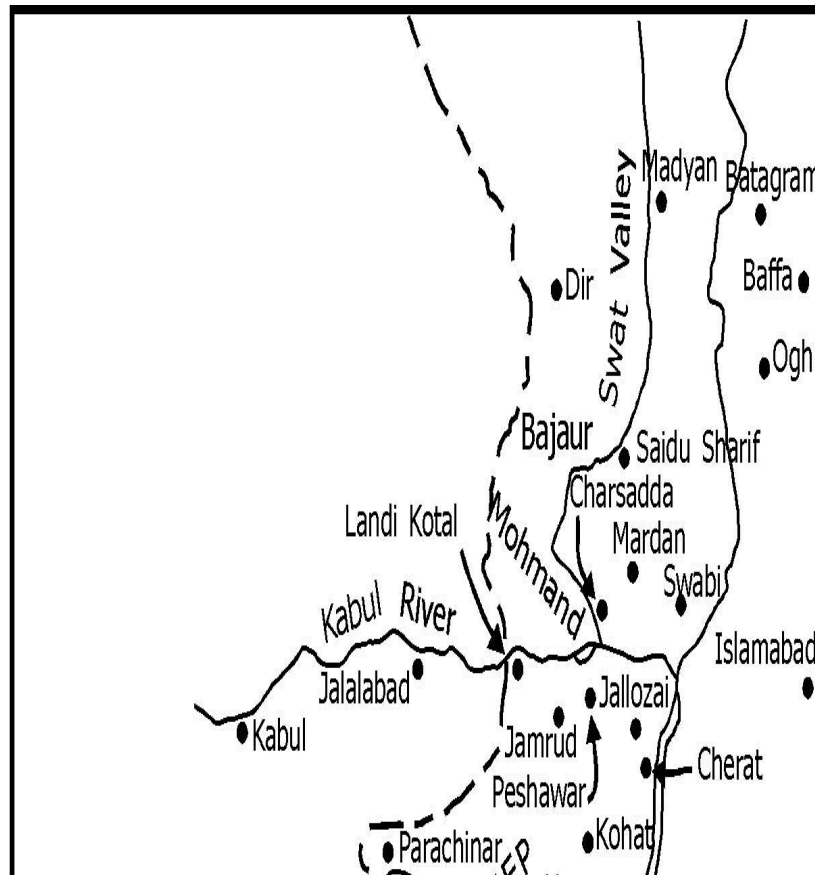
Swat is a valley and an administrative [district](#) in the [Khyber Pakhtunkhwa](#) Province of [Pakistan](#) located 160 kilometres (99 mi) from [Islamabad](#), the capital of Pakistan. Saidu Sharif, the capital city of Swat, is located at a distance of 130 kilometers from Mardan. It is the upper valley of the [Swat River](#), which rises in the [Hindu Kush](#) range. The capital of Swat is [Saidu Sharif](#), but the main town in the Swat valley is [Mingora](#). It was a [princely state](#) in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Akhund of Swat was the king of Swat before British rule. He was a sufi who led his nation, later after the British conquest, the British empire made his son Jehanzeb the Wali (Owner) of Swat and in 1969 Swat came in full control of Government of Pakistan. With high mountains, green meadows, and clear lakes, it is a place of great natural beauty and an enchanting place for foreign tourists. It is known as "the [Switzerland](#) of Pakistan".

1.9.2 AN OVERVIEW OF SWAT

The main language of the area is [Pashhto](#). Most of the people are muslims. The people of Swat are mainly [Pakhtuns](#), [Yusufzais](#), Akhund Khel Miangan (Syed), [Kohistanis](#), [Gujars](#), Akhund khel Yousafzai, and [Awans](#). Most probably they are originated from the same tribe that roamed around the great trans-Himalayan mountain ranges thousands of years before, and now remained in some isolated pockets of the

Himalayan mountain ranges. The [Dardic people](#) of the [Kalam](#) region in northern Swat are known as [Kohistanis](#) and speak the [Torwali](#) and [Kalami](#) languages. There are also some [Khowar](#) speakers in the Kalam region. .

DIAGRAM 1.



Map showing target regions of the study

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

It is typical of language to provide more than one way of expressing the same meaning. Geography provides a good base for research studies.

focusing on language variation or dialects. Since the early days of dialectological research, many of its practitioners have been at least partly concerned that it should be historical in its approach. It means that dialect geography (the study of regional variations of phonetic and syntactic aspects of speech) should look to the past, and to older living speakers, for analysis.

All languages exhibit internal variation, that is, each language exists in a number of varieties and is in one sense the sum of those varieties. (Ronald Waurdhaugh, 2006, p 25). The philologist Alexander J. Ellis was very keen to seek out older speakers of regional dialects in England for his late 19th Century work *On Early English Pronunciation*, of which Volume V was the first major dialectological survey to be published in Britain. In it, Ellis mapped out regional variation in British dialects, showing 10 ‘transverse lines, which would later become called ‘isoglosses’.

“A larger project, the Survey of English Dialects (SED) was begun by Eugen Dieth and Harold Orton, and published between 1962 and 1978. The fieldwork for this enormous survey, the bulk of which was carried out by Stanley Ellis, deliberately and painstakingly drew its informants from small, rural village communities. It was also stipulated that the informants should be of at least 60 years of age, having been born and bred in their localities, preferably without having spent much time elsewhere during their lives, and having left school very early.. The selection of informants used for Gilliiñron’s linguistic survey of France, begun in 1896, was similarly consistent. According to Milroy, Gilliiñron approached his linguistic survey of France by seeking out older male, uneducated speakers who lived in remote rural communities.” Despite Milroy’s claim, there seems to be no hard evidence to show that the largely homogeneous selection of informants was deliberately engineered, or that Gilliiñron was a necessarily directly responsible for it. Milroy fails to acknowledge the role of his fieldworker, Edmond Edmont, who selected all the informants and

conducted all their interviews between ١٨٩ and 1900. However, whatever the reasons for the narrow choice of informants in this survey, it remains pertinent to this discussion because of its findings and consequences considerable influence on later dialect geography.”(11)

Both the French survey and the SED show the validity of this type of ‘linguistic archaeology’ in at least one sense: that, if the aim of its practitioners is to identify and record the regional variation of dialects in a language, and to identify the boundaries thereof with a view to preserving a record of the speech of a bygone era, it is certainly worth undertaking.

Regional variations tend to become more pronounced as the speech community is more isolated by physical geography, that is, mountain ranges, rivers. Linguists have done extensive studies on regional dialects, producing detailed Linguistic Atlases.¹

Many linguists can tell where a person is from just by knowing whether a person carries groceries home from the supermarket in a paper bag or from the grocery store in a paper sack (Yule 184).

Regional variation may take place within the same country or between different countries.(Ntaoleng Bellina,p30).For instance the speakers of Pashto from Afghanistan and Pakistan will exhibit significant differences from each other with respect to the vocabulary of Pashto language and lesser differences with regard to its syntax.

According to Fishman (1968,143),the variety of language you use is determined by who you are,that is each speaker has learnt a particular variety of the language of his/her language community. This variety may differ at any and at all level from other varieties of the same language learnt by other speakers as their first language.

Fishma (ibid) goes on to add that “who are you” for this purpose means “where you come from”. In most language communities it is the region of origin which determines the dialectal variety of the language used by the speaker. Among Pashto speakers, for instance, geographic boundaries have brought about many marked differences especially in phonology and vocabulary. As a whole Pashto has two main dialects; soft or western dialect and hard or eastern dialect. Hard dialect is spoken in Peshawar, Mardan, Swat, Swabi, Malakand, Dir, Kohat, , Jalalabad, Bajawar Agency, Mohmand Agency and some other areas. Here the pure Pashto words are pronounced as /h/ or /kha/ and /g/ not /sh/ and /dz/ if the word comprises these phonemes or sounds. For instance the word for “fine” is pronounced here as /ha/ or /kha/ and not /sha/. The word for beard is pronounced as gira not jira. This is in the case of pure Pashto words, it may not be so in words borrowed from other languages. Soft dialect is spoken in Banu, Karak, Waziristan, Baluchistan, Qandahar, Paktya and some other areas. Here the above sounds are pronounced as /sh/ and /dz/. The word “fine” is sha here and beard is jira here. Lexical variations are also attributed to the above phonemes or sounds. Apart from these, there exist many lexical differences. For instance the word “halak” means boy in hard dialect whereas it means light weight in soft dialect. Traditionally, differences in region were noted through differences in phonology and in lexical items (Chambers and Trudgill, 1980). According to Hudson and Trudgill (1980, p 39) Since the nineteenth century, dialectologists in Europe and United States and, on a small scale have been studying the geographical distribution of linguistic items, such as pair of synonyms words (for instance pail versus bucket), or different pronunciation of the same word, such as farm with or without the /r/. A similar study of phonological variation in Pashto was conducted by (Henderson 1983) focusing on the four varieties of Pashto spoken in four different regions.

Adjacent dialects usually differ more in pronunciation than in grammar or vocabulary. For instance, in the geographically adjacent districts of

Mardan and Swabi in Khyber Pukhtoon Khwa there exists there exist more differences in pronunciation and less in grammar or vocabulary. “Rora” and “Rara” (bring something) is an example of phonological variation in Mardan and Swabi respectively, which are located adjacent to each other. Another example is of the word “Rice” pronounced as “Roojy” and “Rejy” respectively.

Hudson, (ibid p 41) goes on to add that changes in language spread outwards from the centers of influence to the surrounding areas in much the same way that a wave spreads from the place where a stone is dropped into a pool. This view of language change is accepted by most if not all scholars, both in historical linguistics (for discussion, see Byron 1977; 102) and in sociolinguistics, where it has been developed especially by Chales-James Baily (1973), Derek Bickerton (1971, 1973, 19750) and David DeCamp (1971b).

In Britain, social dialects are typically marked heavily by regional boundaries (Trudgill, 1983). The same holds true for an urban-versus-rural region. As Trudgill (1983) explains,

typically “linguistic innovations can spread from one dialect boundary to another if adjacent. This occurs mostly for grammatical and phonological features. Lexical items, however, seems to spread across greater differences.” Linguistic transfer of lexical variation in Pashto is tested for this comparative study conducted simultaneously in Mardan and Swat.

Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) used region, along with sex and age, to measure cross-cultural difference in requests and apologies. The findings from this study showed that region, along with relative age played a role in the differences. This current comparative study of lexical variation in Pashto has taken into consideration the linguistic variables of region and age in Mardan and Swat.

McMenamin (2002) stated that dialect is spoken by subgroups of individuals who are historically, geographically, and/or socially disconnected from the whole. Therefore, it makes perfect sense that there would be some variation in the language between each subgroup of speakers since they are a different set of individuals with common,

yet different, factors affecting them. For example, everyone must deal with the weather, but where they live determines if they will be facing a blizzard, a hurricane, or some weather in between..

Dialect geography does raise a number of issues, however, which are important to our concerns. One is the kind of variation that we should try to account for in language. Another has to do with sampling the population among which we believe variation to exist. Still another is the collection, analysis and treatment of the data that we consider relevant.(Ronald Waurdhaugh,(2006) p, 141).

The dimension of language variation is an area which has not been worked upon intensively in Pakistan. Especially very little work has been done in Pashto language and variations in its dialects.

Michael M T conducted his study in Pashto in 1983 mainly focusing on Phonological variations. It was a comparative study of phonological variations conducted in Kandahar,Quetta,Peshawar and Northern-East areas of Pashto Language. Muhammad Abid etal conducted a study based on grammatical variation in Pashto. It was a computation-based study of past tense verbs in Pashto.

Another important work was “Sociolinguistic Survey Of Northern Pakistan Volume 4; Pashto, Waneci,Ormury” by Daniel G. Halberg. It was conducted between 1988 amd 1990. The main purpose of the study was to explore the question of how many Pashto dialect groupings there are and what is the criteria for finding these groups. The major focus of this study was Pashto language in Pakistan. This study was conducted on the basis of phonology and word list for making dialect groups.Wored list data took in account both phonological and lexical information. In addition, a Waneci word list was collected from the Harnai area near Quetta as well as an Ormuri word list from the Kaniguram area in South Waziristan. All of these lists were compared with each other in order to obtain a lexical similarity count between each location. Recorded text testing was also carried out between two locations, Peshawar and Quetta, in order to measure levels of comprehension between these two areas. This study suggested that there are four dialects of which can be differentiated on the basis of the

pronunciation of five phonemes This study suggested that phonological information alone is not sufficient to make decisions about dialect groupings. There are other criteria, such as lexical similarity and actual measurements of comprehension, which should be taken into consideration as well. In this study, it is particularly apparent that the traditional *hard/soft* division of Pashto dialects is not adequate to predict overall differences which exist between different varieties of Pashto.

This study based on phonology and word list of different regions concluded that the three more clearly defined dialect groups would be the Northern group, the Baluchistan group, and the Waziristan Central group; the fourth, less distinct, grouping would represent a middle area in tribal territory. Of all the varieties examined in this study, the type of Pashto spoken in South Waziristan may be the most divergent

According to. Michael M T Henderson, Lexical, syntactic, morphological, and phonological features vary widely in Pashto, and few of their isoglosses coincide.

The above relevant literature shows that studies in Pashto have been conducted focusing on phonological and grammatical variation. The dimension of lexical variation is an area which has not been worked upon intensively in Pashto language. This comparative study focuses on lexical variations in Pashto language simultaneously conducted in Mardan and Swat.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

The concept of research “design” can be defined. as the plans of procedure for data collection and analysis that are undertaken to evaluate a particular theoretical perspective”(Bokang T Nfila,p 58).

According (Rubin and Rubin,1995:42),a research design entails “planning what you are going to ask and whom you are going to ask and why”. This can be seen as a formal way of data collection. This comparative study was based on mixed method research using both qualitative and quantitative research tools. Questionnaire and observation were the main research tools for this study. The

questionnaire designed for this comparative study of lexical variation in Pashto was open-ended type of questionnaire.

3.3 SAMPLING

Randomly selected fifty participants from Mardan and fifty from Swat comprise the target population of the study. Among these 30 participants are aged between 20 and 35 and 20 participants are aged between 50 and 65 in both the regions. The 20 participants aged between 50 and 65 were illiterate.

3.4 INSTRUMENTATION

A questionnaire was the main instrument of data collection. Berdie and Anderson (1974:11) define this measuring instrument as “a device for securing answer to question by using a form which the respondent fills in himself”. The self-administered open ended questionnaire has been chosen because of its advantages.

According to Taylor et al(2006,p92.) “The advantage of an open ended questionnaire is that the respondent is given the freedom and use a word of their own choice in phrasing a reply.” The open ended questionnaire suited more to this comparative study because the target population replied with freedom whatever was asked and that was what this study of lexical variation aimed at. Moreover that data obtained was much more authentic as compared to closed-ended questionnaire in which options are given and the respondent has to choose one of them. According to Birdie and Anderson, the questionnaire allows one to cover a large geographical area. Secondly questionnaire save time and money. Mason and Bramble (1989:308) and Oppenheim(1974:33) have observed that this instrument can be used to collect information from a large sample at a low cost. Questionnaire was the most suitable research tool for collecting data from a large geographic area of Mardan and Swat in this comparative study. Moreover it saved a lot of time and money as compared to interviews which was more demanding and suited less to this comparative study of lexical variation.

The questionnaire has also disadvantages. For instance the largest disadvantage of the questionnaire is that sometimes it produces poor

response rates .With this research instrument the desired participant who has no interest in the questionnaire may pass the form to someone whom he thinks to be more interested. When this takes place, an unintended population is being included in the study and has effect on collected data. Observation along with questionnaire was the other important research tool for this study. The researcher with the help of some friends kept keen observation on the speakers of both the target regions. Intentionally interviews with the speakers of the target locations were avoided. Because in the process of conducting interviews it was possible that study would experience the following shortcoming as identified by Becker and Geer (1957 in Taylor & Bodgan 1998,p 82).

“Interviews are likely to misunderstand informants’ language since they do not have opportunities to study it in common usage ;informants are unwilling or unable to articulate many important things ; and only by observing these people in their daily lives the researcher can learn about those things.” That is why observation of the speakers of the target regions was the second research tool along with questionnaire and interviews were intentionally avoided.

3.5 DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURE

For this study, two data sets were used: primary and secondary data. The primary data served as the basis of information for this comparative study of lexical variation in Pashto. Observation and discussion with Pashto speakers of Mardan and Swat were the research tools for primary data. Furthermore, the researcher paid visits to the target region in order to collect the primary data. The secondary data served to confirm primary findings. These primary findings were encoded into an open ended questionnaire. The questionnaire consisted upon lexical items and phrases. A blank portion was also provided in the questionnaire for additional lexical differences and comments from participants. Data was collected through the same questionnaire separately in Mardan and Swat. The secondary data was analyzed in terms of responses to the questionnaire and additional comments provided.

For getting the primary data discussion was done with informants who had spent time in both Mardan and Swat. The researcher paid visits to the rural hamlets of the target regions in order to get primary data. This primary data was used for designing a questionnaire. Apart from this, observation of speakers of Mardan and Swat in real life situation was another tool for getting the primary data. The open-ended approach was preferred for this study because it produced the most natural and authentic responses from participants. Data collection was done in the most natural way possible. Individuals ranging from teenagers to the elderly were approached and asked if they were interested in providing information. They were told that their responses were needed to collect data for this comparative study of lexical variation in their respective areas.

3.6 DEMOGRAPHICS FOR COLLECTING DATA

In questionnaire, questions about age, educational level, and occupation and residence were addressed. The target number of participants was set between 5 and 8 for the primary data and between 45-50 for the secondary data. Participants were grouped by region and age. The first group consisted upon participants aged between 20 and 35. The second group consists upon participants aged between 50 and 65. The regional variation was preset using Mardan and Swat as the target districts. An intentional gap of 15 years was created between the two age groups. Any participant between the ages of 36 and 49 was omitted and eliminated from the Study. Because of the small participant numbers used in the primary data set, secondary data set was needed to validate lexical variation in the target districts. The secondary data was gathered from a separate set of informants living in the regions of Mardan and Swat.

4.2 MAJOR FINDINGS.

The data collected through this questionnaire showed that there are striking differences in Pashto spoken in Mardan and Swat from lexical point of view. The lexical items in the questionnaire are described and interpreted one by one. There were some lexical items in the

questionnaire for which the response was similar from both the comparative regions. They have been ignored for description and interpretation. A Considerable space was given in the questionnaire for the participants to write down any other lexical variation in both the comparative regions if they know. This proved to be very helpful and fruitful as it provide more stuff on the variations in the both the comparative regions.

4.3 VARIATION IN LEXICAL ITEMS

1.Meal/dish. Speakers in Mardan use word “tarkary/pahkary” whereas speaker in Swat use word unguly for meal

2.Bean. Speakers in Mardan use word “lobia” whereas speaker in Swat use word “shooper”.

3Shopping bag Speakers in Mardan use word “guthay/shopper” whereas speaker in Swat use word “Thelay/kasora”

4.Walnut. Speakers in Mardan use word “akoor” whereas speaker in Swat use word ”ghuz”.

5.Engagement. Speakers in Mardan use word “kuedan/kuejdan” ” whereas speaker in Swat use word ”hwara/gul”.

6.Lock of a girl. Speakers in Mardan use word “zulfy/latoona” whereas speaker in Swat use word “sundai/sanary”.

7.Hot bath. Speakers in Mardan use word “naye khana/hamam” whereas speaker in Swat use word “chaap”

8.Grapes. Speakers in Mardan use word “angoor” whereas speaker in Swat use word “kwar”

9.Mirror. Speakers in Mardan use word “sheesha” whereas speaker in Swat use word “ayeen”

10.Milk. Speakers in Mardan use word “pay” whereas speaker in Swat use word “shooda/pai”

11.Viranada. . Speakers in Mardan use word “baranda” ” whereas speaker in Swat use word “mandow”

12.Match box. Speakers in Mardan use word “dabia” whereas speaker in Swat use “da karnko dabai”

13.Finger ring. Speakers in Mardan use word “gutma” whereas speaker in Swat use “guthay”

14.Tomato. Speakers in Mardan use word “tamator” whereas speaker in Swat use “kashmiry”

15.TV Antena. Speakers in Mardan use word “entena” ” whereas speaker in Swat use “jhanda”

16.Pigeon. Speakers in Mardan use word “kamtara” whereas speaker in Swat use “kaotara”

17.Bowl. Speakers in Mardan use word “jam/knadoly” whereas speaker in Swat use “silver/jaisy”

18.Kite. Speakers in Mardan use word “kankiwak/badiwa” whereas speaker in Swat use “taas/bajawa”

19.Apricot. Speakers in Mardan use word “hurmanrai” whereas speaker in Swat use “hubanai”

20.Kettle. Speakers in Mardan use word “chainak” whereas speaker in Swat use “chaijosh”

21.Greens. Speakers in Mardan use word “saag” whereas speaker in Swat use “saba”

21.Fall down. Speakers in Mardan use word “raprewatal” whereas speaker in Swat use “raghozaredal/raoledal”

22.Teacher. Speakers in Mardan use word “master/ustaz” whereas speaker in Swat use “ustaz sahib”

23.He-goat Speakers in Mardan use word “chelae” whereas speaker in Swat use “piskory”

24.Cup. Speakers in Mardan use word “pyalay” whereas speaker in Swat use “pyala”

25.Ok. Speakers in Mardan use word “sahi da/tek sho” whereas speaker in Swat use “ha bary/tek sho bary”

26.Stokes of a player. Speakers in Mardan use word “shatona” whereas speaker in Swat use “shattan”.

27.A game played by girls with lines drawn on ground. . Speakers in Mardan use word “chendro” whereas speaker in Swat use “chendah”.

28.Make. Speakers in Mardan use word “jorawal” ” whereas speaker in Swat use “sazawal/raghawal”.

29.Puppy .Speakers in Mardan use word “kutray” whereas speaker in Swat use “kukray”

30.Tennis ball. Speakers in Mardan use word “jeem ball” whereas speaker in Swat use “badi ball/munjama/jeem ball.

31.Fine. Speakers in Mardan use word “teek” ” whereas speaker in Swat use “barabar/teek”.

32.Bakine tree. Speakers in Mardan use word “bakyara” whereas speaker in Swat use “beekanra”

33.Green tea. Speakers in Mardan use word “qahwa/shna chai” whereas speaker in Swat use “sheen chee”.

34.No mood of eating something. Speakers in Mardan use word “zra tan a kedal” whereas speaker in Swat use “hwa tan a kedal”.

35.Cooldness. Speakers in Mardan use word “sarzi/saraa” whereas speaker in Swat use “yah”.

36.Piece of meat. Speakers in Mardan use word “potay” whereas speaker in Swat use “pisanry”.

37.Footwear. Speakers in Mardan use word “kerray/chapary” whereas speaker in Swat use “chappal”.

38.Kit-cat. Speakers in Mardan use word “shuthy danady” whereas speaker in Swat use “ampira kakee”

39.Quilt. Speakers in Mardan use word “tulayee” ” whereas speaker in Swat use “Toshakay”

40.Crystal . Speakers in Mardan use word “biloray” ” whereas speaker in Swat use “Tekan”.

41.They. Speakers in Mardan use word “haghwy” whereas speaker in Swat use “hagho”

4.4 VARIATION IN PHARASES

1.It has started raining. Speakers in Mardan use “baran shoro sho” whereas speaker in Swat use “baran ra key sho”.

2.Let us go. Speakers in Mardan use “za ache zo” whereas speaker in Swat use “za jo zo”.

3What is your name, Speakers in Mardan use “sta sa nom dy” whereas speaker in Swat use “ta na sa num dy”.

4.Come here. Speakers in Mardan use “dehawa rasha” whereas speaker in Swat use “ista rasha”.

5.Anybody possessing extraordinary qualities. Speakers in Mardan use “Da zalim zwy dy/ Da kafir bachy dy”, whereas speaker in Swat use “bala landay dy”

4.5 AGE-WISE VARIATION

Language variation can be measured by altering and focusing on various social variables. These may include age, gender, educational level, socio-economic status, and ethnicity(Laura Elizebeth p34). For this comparative study, the role of geographic region and a relative ge has been taken into consideration focusing on lexical variations in Pashto. Several studies have used region and age as a means for dividing groups . Age is also a social variable due to which variation in language of a speech community occurs. This study tried to find out intra-regions age-wise variations in both the target regions Mardan and Swat.

4.5.1 AGE-WISE VARIATION IN MARDAN

In this table column in 1 words are given. Column 2 (Y.group) represents youngsters aged between 20 to 35. Column 3 (E.group) represents elder’s group aged between 50 and 60. . An intentional gap of 15 years was created between the two age groups. Any participant between the ages of 36 and 49 is omitted and eliminated from the Study. As this comparative study focused on the participants of rural hamlets in Mardan, the “Youngster group” comprises of literate and illiterate participants. “Elder group” comprises of only illiterate participants.

TABLE NO 1

WORDS	Y.GROUP	E.GROUP
1.Game	Game	Lawrghy
2.Circular utensil used for drinking water	Jam	Kandoly

3.Antena	Antena	Da tv stan
4.Cellular phone	Mobile	Mobaile
5.Charger	Charger	Charage
6.Call somebody on cell phone	Ring kawal	Telephone kawal
7.Shopping bag	Shopper	Guthay
8.Mirror	Sheesha	Aiena
9.Fine	Tek tak	Rogh jor
10.Teacher	Ustaz	Master
11.Photos	Tasweeran	Photwan
12.Tailor	Tailor	Darzi

4.5.2 AGE-WISE VARIATION IN SWAT

In this table column in 1 words are given. Column (Y. group) represents youngsters aged between 20 to 35. Column 3 (E. group) represents elder's group aged between 50 and 60. . An intentional gap of 15 years was created between the two age groups. Any participant between the ages of 36 and 49 is omitted and eliminated from the Study. As this comparative study focused on the participants of rural hamlets in Swat, the "Youngster group" comprises of literate and illiterate participants. "Elder group" comprises of only illiterate participants.

TABLE NO 2

WORDS	Y.GROUP	E.GROUP
1.Shopping bag	Thelay	Kasora
2.Car(a specific type)	Motor	Ghwagay
3.Antena	Antena	Da tv jhanda
4.Kite	Taas	Bajawa
5.A circular utensil used for drinking water	Silver	Jassy
6.Tailor	Tailor	Darzi
7.Cellular phone	Mobile	Telephone
8.Greetings	Pa khair Raghly	Stery ma shy
9.Bow	Lenda	Hurhul

4.6 EXPLETIVES ASSOCIATED WITH TARGET REGIONS

As this comparative study aimed to find the lexical variations in Mardan and Swat. The questionnaire as well as the observation in both the target regions resulted that there are certain expletives associated with both the target regions. An expletive is a word or phrase serving to fill out a sentence and it comes out unintentionally and naturally of the mouth.. Expletives associated with Mardan and Swat have been described below.

4.6.1 EXPLETIVES ASSOCIATED WITH MARDAN

The most common expletives of Mardan region are:

1.Mara. In conversation it is used as “Mara pregda ” (Just leave it).

2.Yar. It refers to a sweet Friend in Pashto. In conversation ,it is used time and again.

3.Qasm dy. It means to swear. In conversation ,it is also used time and again.

4.6.2 EXPLETIVES ASSOCIATED WITH SWAT

The most common expletives of Swat region are:

1.Jo. This expletive is associated with the speakers of Pashto in Swat and Bunir. A speaker belonging to any other region realizes it ,if he has conversation with a speaker from Swat or Bunir. District Bunir is also located adjacent to district Swat.

4.7 INTRFERENCE OF ENGLISH IN PASHTO LANGUAGE IN MARDAN AND SWAT

English is global language ,it is consider as an international language and spoken almost through out the world. Being a global language it has effect and influence on other languages spoken in the world ,especially on the languages of developing countries. Pakistan is also a developing country, so it has also accepted the influence of English. Potshot language has also accepted the influence of English language. Pashto spoken in Mardan and Swat is also influenced by English. In daily life, weather literate or illiterate, people use in one way or the other, English words in their conversation. Code switching and code mixing is noticed among the Pashto speakers in Mardan and Swat.

4.7.1 CODE MIXING IN MARDAN AND SWAT

The use of electronic media and other modern facilities has resulted in code switching code mixing in Mardan and Swat among the educated speakers. Especially the use of television ,computer and internet can be attributed to this code switching and code mixing. The following examples will illustrate it. The italic words and phrases shows code mixing.

- 1.Afridi der ha *player* dy. (Afridi is a good player).
- 2.Za nan saba der *busy* yam.(I am very busy now a days).
- 3.Da hagma *result* der harab dy.(His result is very poor)

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**5.2 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION**

A broad analysis of the this study does appear valid in marking lexical variations in Pashto focusing on linguistics variables of region and age. The findings suggest that lexical variations in Pashto exist in Mardan and Swat taking region as a linguistic variable. Apart from this, age wise variations also exist with in a speech community from lexical point of view.

In the process of data collection the blank portion in the questionnaire proved to be very helpful and fruitful as it provided more lexical variations from the participants in the target regions. The response from the participants was very friendly and an appreciating one.

Primary data was collected from speakers who spent time in both the target regions. Moreover the researcher paid visits to both the target regions in order to collect primary data. It provided the base for this comparative study of lexical variation in the target regions. The primary data was then encoded in an open- ended questionnaire .The data got from the questionnaire served as a confirmatory data of the primary findings. These were secondary findings of study. Apart from primary and secondary data observations in the target regions helped the researchers to find out certain expletives associated with both the target regions.

Open-ended questionnaire suited more to this comparative study of lexical variation in Pashto . It probed out natural and more authentic

data from the participants of the study. Closed- ended questionnaire suited less to this study in which options are given and the participant has to chose one of them . Therefore, it was avoided having apprehension of less authentic and unnatural data . For, age wise variation with in speech community orally administered questionnaire were conducted from illiterate participants of the study. Interviews were intentionally avoided in this comparative study of lexical variation.

5.3 OBSERVATIONS

1. Pashto spoken in Mardan and Swat varies from standard Pashto.
2. Code-switching, code mixing and borrowing are identified as common features in modern Pashto, especially in educated people.
3. The findings from the study shows that code mixing and code switching can be used as a parameter to demonstrate the socio-economic status and education of the speakers.

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings from this study offer an inside to Pashto language variation between region and age. While these findings showed variation between the two regions from lexical point of view, further research is suggested in other linguistics variables apart from region and age. More ever the following areas are suggested for further research studies in Pashto language and its dialects.

1. Comparative study of phonological and lexical variation of hard and soft dialect of Pashto.
2. A comparative study of rural and urban areas including a linguistic variable of gender.
3. The impact of Pakistani Pashto on Afghan immigrants settled in various areas of Pakistan.
4. A sociolinguistic study of Pashto speakers in non Pashto speech community, such as in Karachi.
5. A sociolinguistic study of variation in spoken and written Pashto.

It is hoped that this study has paved the way for further studies in Pashto language.

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