

## Morphological Analysis Of Hybrid Compounds In Urdu Afsanas (Short Stories)

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### Abstract

*One of the significant morphological processes in a language is the way separate lexemes combine to form compound words. This process gives birth to Hybrid compound. Hybrid compounds are the compounds which are formed by the combination of one word from the source and one from the target language. As Pakistan and India have been British colonies and English still holds elite status in these regions, Urdu and Hindi have a large number of lexis which borrowed from English. The paper aims at analyzing the existence and nature of hybrid compounds in Urdu Language resulting from borrowing English words. A qualitative study was carried out by researchers and the selected corpus from Urdu short stories of Saadat Hussain Manto, Intazar Hussain, Shafeeq-ur-Rahman, Patras Bukhari, and Nimrah Ahmed was used to explore hybrid compounds in Urdu Literature. Fifty compound words were identified out of which 20 Hybrid compounds were observed. Partial borrowing was observed in short stories which provides evidence of hybrid compounding. Endocentric attributive, coordinative and subordinative and Exocentric attributive and subordinative compounds were observed and analyzed. Semantic transparency has been detected in all endocentric compounds where semantic opacity appears in exocentric compounds with some cultural schema at work.*

**Key Words:** *Compounding, Hybridization, Urdu Corpus of Afsanas , Endocentric, Exocentric, Semantic Opacity and Transparency.*

### Introduction

One of the interesting concepts in morphology is the way the new coinage of words occurs through the process of compounding. Compounds are<sup>1</sup> defined as words which are made up of two words (Baur, 2020). Compounds can be differentiated from the other lexemes on the basis of the headedness associated with them. Compounds can be classified into various categories. Some of the most common types of compounds are endo centric, exocentric compounds. Another category is the copulative and synthetic compounds. One of the example of endocentric compounds is electric power which (Baur,2020) has given upon explaining endocentric compounds. The other type is the exocentric compounds. Bloomfield classifies these compounds as complex compounds whose head is missing. An example can be Pickpocket. In Urdu language one of the examples of exocentric compounds is gaib o\l damagh in which there is no semantic head and semantic opacity persists.

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One of the essential components of compound words is hybrid compounds in which one word is from the target language and the other word is a loan word from another language. Interestingly one of the basic phenomena through which coinage of new words is done is through the ‘morphological word formation process’ (Islam,2011).

Hybridity in a language is not a post-colonial concept, but a colonial- concept (Prabu-2007). As British and American colonization was there upon different countries so it lead to the assimilation of the culture and language of the colonizers. Homi Bhaba has considered hybridity as the ‘third space’ which enables new possibilities to grow. Kramersch (1993) has given a lucid explanation of hybridity in which he states that hybridity, whether linguistic or cultural, produces something ‘new, different and un-recognizable’.

One of the theoretical descriptions of the compounding can be given through the theory of Construction in Morphology. An intensive work on compounding and the role Construction Morphology plays in it has been explained by Geert E. Booij in the Handbook of Oxford Compounding. Booij has explained the two kinds of endocentric and exocentric compounds on the basis of the rule of headedness as in case of the endocentric compounds; and on the basis of schemas as in the case of exocentric compounds. Here Booij (2011) uses the word syntagmatic, which depicts both the syntactic and pragmatics relations of a word. This illustrates that compounds are formed by schemas also and not only syntax but pragmatics has to play a role in it as well, i.e. contextual and cultural role in which a word is coined.

In English

### **1.2 Statement of the Problem:**

The morphological phenomenon of compounding has gained attention of linguistics as it is a coinage process through which new compound words are created. Interestingly the phenomenon of headedness has created a lot of controversy and different morphologists have given different theories pertaining to headedness in the compounds. An interesting phenomenon to explore is semantic opacity in exocentric compounds and the position of head in endocentric compounds.

Booij (2011, 2012, 2018) has given an elaborate explanation of the compound words through the theoretical framework of Theory of Construction Morphology. He states that it is the notion of the head which leads to a distinction between the endocentric and exocentric compounds. It is a theory which is not based upon the word formation rules, but rather it is based upon the ‘word formation templates’ or ‘schemas’. So heads of the compounds serve as the ‘dominating nodes’ and each node ‘inherits the properties of its dominating nodes’ (Booij, 2010b, p. 25).

English has been the language of the colonizers in the sub-continent for ages and it has influenced the residents of this area. The morphology of Urdu language shows that Urdu has borrowed a lot of words from Persian, Arabic, English and Sanskrit languages. Interestingly this thing also requires attention that whether Urdu language has borrowed the loan words of English language without any changes or the loan words have experienced any morphological changes in the realm of phonology, semantics, syntax and pragmatics.

The purpose of this study is to investigate how hybridization is done in Urdu Afsanas and whether hybrid compounds exist in these short stories or not. The aim of this study is also to find out whether a loan word inherited from English language is received originally or it undergoes various morphological processes and nativization of the English loan word occurs. Urdu Afsanas have always been a popular genre of Urdu literature and the corpus in these afsanas has been used frequently to analyze the morphology of Urdu language. Kachru defined

hybrid (or mixed) formations as “those Indianisms which comprise two or more elements, and in which at least one element is from an Indian language and one from English” (p. 407).

### **Research Objectives:**

- To determine whether Urdu Afsanas have hybrid compounds in them.
- To investigate the nature of Hybrid compounds in them?
- To examine if any cultural schema is involved?

### **1.3 Research Questions:**

- Do Urdu ‘Afsanas’ have hybrid compounds in them?
- What is the nature of hybrid compounds in the selected corpora?
- Is there any cultural schema involved in formation of these compounds?

### **Significance of the Study:**

This study attempts to investigate the hybrid compounds that exist in the Urdu language by the compounding of Urdu and English words. As Urdu is a recipient language, so it has borrowed a lot of loan words from the English language. English language because of its flexibility, globalization and richness; has become a donor language from which many languages have borrowed lexical items.

Although Urdu is a rich language and is the national language of Pakistan, very little research has been done to trace or investigate the current trends seen in Urdu language. The study will add a pool of knowledge about types of hybrid compounds that exist in Urdu to the current literature on Urdu Morphology. Not much literature is available on Urdu morphology and compounding in Urdu especially pertaining to the loan and borrowed words.

The study also is significant because uses the corpus of Urdu Afsanas which are authentic pieces of Urdu literature and which are a valid source to examine how the hybrid compounds have been used in Urdu Afsanas to depict the effect of colonization which was persistent in the sub-continent.

### **Literature Review:**

Hybridity occurs as a result of linguistic creativity. The complexity of compound words and the semantic opacity attached with them leads to linguistic creativity.

Linguistic hybridity refers to “a marked breaking or bending of rules and norms of language, including a deliberate play with its forms and its potential for meaning” (Carter, 2004, p. 9), “the breaking, re-forming, and transforming of established patterns” (Maynard, 2007, p. 3), “localized linguistic innovations” (B. Kachru, 2011, p. 123), “inventiveness in form,” “innovations of meaning and of word creation in the Lexicon,” “deviation and foregrounding,” and “the departure from what is expected in language” (Wales, 2011, p. 95). Functionally, Rivlina (2020) claimed that linguistic creativity implies the “focus on the message for its own sake,” (Jakobson, 1960, p. 365) which is the crux of Jakobson’s poetic function, also known as “creative, imaginative, or aesthetic function” (Rivlina, 2020, p. 410).

These ideas imply that linguistic creativity is the language user’s ability to invent or innovate new words and expressions that may have new meanings and to deconstruct the previous rules, norms, and patterns. Different scholars see bilingual linguistic creativity either in a broad or a narrow way (Rivlina, 2020). In the broad sense, bilingual linguistic creativity is often applied to “all types of linguistic innovations and deviations induced by language contact, including various new and unconventional linguistic forms, sometimes

the very practice of code-switching, code-mixing, and borrowing” (p. 410) and in the narrow sense, it implies “dominated or determined by creative (poetic, aesthetic) function, focusing on the innovatively mixed linguistic form itself” (p. 410). In the case of linguistic creativity, B. Kachru (1985) focused on language mixing, contrastive discourse, interactional approaches, and contrastive linguistics. In the multilingual contexts, English has the Janus-like two faces: nativization, the effect of English in a localized context, and Englishization, the effect on local languages in the same context (B. Kachru, 1996, 2011; Bolton, 2006). In the context of the Outer and Expanding Circles, contact between English and local languages has resulted in nativization of English and Englishization of indigenous languages (Y. Kachru, 2020). Besides these two Circles, even in the Inner Circle, English has undergone the process of nativization and resulted in localized forms of English (Matsuda, 2020).

One of the strategies to nativize English is lexical borrowing. The borrowed forms are often combined with local ones to produce hybrid forms. Linguistic hybridization is a common nativization strategy advocated by B. Kachru (1986). The users of English deliberately nativize English according to the local contexts, which results in some kind of hybridity in English. Schneider (2003, 2007) elaborated the notion of nativization in his Dynamic Model as the most important, the most vibrant, the central phase of both cultural and linguistic transformation which is marked by heavy lexical borrowing for further cultural terms, phonological, phraseological and grammatical innovations, and is typified by new word-formation products, like derivations or compounds (hybrid), localized collocations and set phrases, varying prepositional usage, innovative assignments of verb complementation patterns to individual verbs, and alternative morphosyntactic behavior of certain, semantically defined word groups. The history of English studies tended to emphasize the purity and homogeneity of English (Schneider, 2016) rather than its heterogeneity and hybridity in contact situations. Currently hybridity which can only exist in opposition to purity (Stockhammer, 2012) has become an increasingly fashionable term, most notably in the field of postcolonial literary studies (Ackermann, 2012). Postcolonial scholars, most prominently Edward W. Said, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, and Homi K. Bhabha attempted to problematize the representation of “the other” in literature as well as academia and thus developed a renewed interest in the hybrid (p. 11).

In his novel *Kanthapura*, Rao (1938) expressed the idea of hybridity as “We cannot write like the English. We should not. We cannot write only as the Indians. We have grown to look at the large world as part of us” (p. vii). This perspective relates to hybridity in terms of convergence of visions when English is used in the pluralistic contexts and a linguistic consequence of this convergence results in formally distinct Indian variety of English (B. Kachru, 2011). In his first Journal article “The Indianness in the Indian English” (1965), B. Kachru defined hybrid (or mixed) formations as “those Indianisms which comprise two or more elements, and in which at least one element is from an Indian language and one from English” (p. 407). He described open set hybrid formations such as hybrid collocations, hybrid lexical sets, hybrid ordered series of words and hybrid reduplications, and closed set hybrid formations like suffixation. Tom McArthur was one of few scholars to name and describe the hybrid forms of English. In 1987, he represented different mixed or hybrid varieties of Englishes in his *Circle of World Standard English* (McArthur, 1987). He originally labelled such hybrid terms as “Anglo-hybrids” and described worldwide Anglo-hybridization as “a subject that scholars have yet to address in any detail” and professed that “the scale of such hybridization worldwide is staggering, and is likely to be a key geolinguistic issue in the early 21st century” (McArthur, 1995, p. 2). His claim sounds true in that hybrid language, literature, and culture are one of the dominant areas of study worldwide today. Lambert (2018) studied the nomenclature of hybrid Englishes and found Amerenglish to have coined in 1923,

followed by Spanglish in 1933, Chinglish in 1936, Germenglish in 1936, Frenglish in 1937, and Swenglish in 1938. Other 5 new hybrid terms .

Campbell (2004) gives an elaborated definition of a loan word in which he defines loan word as a 'lexical thing' which is derived from 'a source language'. Campbell (2004) further expands a very interesting phenomenon in which he states that although the loan word is not a lexical entity of the 'vocabulary of the beneficiary language', but once it is received in the recipient language; it is 'turned into a part of the vocabulary of the beneficiary language'. Khan (2020) gives an explanation of the donor and the beneficiary language. The donor language is the one which donates the words and the beneficiary language is the one which gets the new lexical items.

Interestingly hybridization is a phenomenon which is not only exclusive to language but is prevalent in other conditions as well like culture, mores and traditions (Stockhammer,2011).

### **Urdu as a Recipient Language**

One of the characteristics of Urdu is that it's a recipient language and hence the process of borrowing is an essential feature of the Urdu language. Urdu has borrowed a great lexicon from the English language and there are some obvious factors attached to it. English has been the language of the colonizers who have ruled the sub-continent for centuries and the Britishers left their impact and influence upon the residents of sub-continent. As English was the language of the Britishers; that is the reason why British English has so much impact upon the sub continent. As language also shapes the culture of a society, that was the reason that Urdu has borrowed so many lexicals from English and even a dialect of English exists in Pakistan which is known as the Pakistani English. This is depicted by Lee (2004) by stating that:

“Armed with technological, political, economic and cultural machines, the English language has made, and is making, a profound influence and impact on the enrichment or demise of world languages”.

English has acquired the status of global language because of its nativization and hybridization in different cultures. The same is the case in Pakistan as well in which a lot of words are incorporated in Urdu language. This trend is also interesting to observe that even population of poor middle class knows some lexical items of the English language.

Not much valuable literature is available on Hybrid compounds in Urdu which is gap needs to be filled through investigation available corpus.

### **Research Methodology**

The researchers conducted a qualitative research to investigate whether the phenomenon of hybridity exists in Urdu language or not and what is the nature of those hybrid compounds. For this purpose, a corpus of afsanas (short stories) was used. Applying the classification of compounds by Scalise and Bisetto (2009), the corpus was examined to study hybrid compounds and their nature. Inter rater reliability was obtained by inviting two experts to identify hybrid compounds in the corpus and only the one which the experts and researcher agreed on were selected and put in the respective category. Moreover, two experts in Urdu language were also consulted to validate the data. For a details about the chosen short stories (See Appendix A).

## Population

A secondary data of 24 Urdu Afsanas were selected from the 2 books of Saadat Hussain Manto and Intazar Hussain to analyze the hybrid compounds in them.

## Sample:

A corpus of 50 hybrid compounds was selected to analyze their nature. Three were dismissed by Urdu experts, therefore, 47 hybrid compounds were chosen for further analysis.

## Data Analysis

A corpus of 50 hybrid compounds was selected to analyze the nature of these compounds. Forty seven hybrid compounds were then chosen for further analysis. The selected hybrid compounds were examined for the identification of classes proposed by Scalise and Bisetto (2009). Scalise and Bisetto (2009) presented Endocentric compounds comprised of Attributive, coordinative, and subordinative compounds and they also identified exocentric compounds which also include attributive, coordinative, and subordinative. The criteria proposed by them was applying on hybrid compound selected from the corpora and their nature was observed and discussed.

## Findings and Discussion

The data show that hybrid compounds exist in the selected corpus. Most of the hybrid compounds were endocentric involving attributive, coordinative, and subordinative compounds. Whereas some exocentric attributive, subordinative compounds were also observed. No occurrence of exocentric coordinative compound was detected. (see Table 1)

**Table 1 Presence of Hybrid Compound in Percentages**

Endocentric		Exocentric	
Attributive	41%	Attributive	9%
Coordinative	31%	Coordinative	0%
Subordinative	15%	Subordinative	4%

The table shows substantial occurrence of endocentric compounds in all categories which means hybridity of English and Urdu word in these compounds does not damage the semantic transparency. For example, the compound “eik minute” retains its meaning though it is made of two words from two different languages Urdu and English. One of the plausible reasons for this semantic transparency is that adjectives in Urdu language do not make any inflectional or derivational change in the word it gets combined with. This is the case with at least all observed endocentric compounds from the selected corpus. Some examples are in the following table:

**Table 2 Examples of Endocentric compounds showing semantic opacity**

Attributive Endocentric	khafi:f	influenza (hidden influenza)
Subordinative Endocentric	Review.ba:zi	(act of reviewing)
Coordinative Endocentric	Principal sa:hib	(gender identification)

When exocentric compounds were examined, semantic opacity was noted for instance, in the hybrid compound “Band baḍʒnə” the meaning of the compound tends to be different from its lexis. “Band baḍʒnə” does not mean here to play the band rather it means the state when

someone was given a tough time. This shows semantic opacity may result as the process of hybrid compounding takes place. Another example is of “Haathi sportsman” where Haathi (elephant) refers to giant and it does not take literal meaning of the elephant. Following are a few examples as the evidence:

**Table 3 Examples of Exocentric compounds showing semantic opacity**

<b>Ishtehaari dakter (doctor)</b>	<b>ɪʃteɦɑ:ɾɪ dɑ:ktər</b>	<b>means a fake doctor</b>
<b>Poora dakter (doctor)</b>	<b>means genuine doctor</b>	<b>means genuine doctor</b>
<b>Barra dakter (doctor)</b>	<b>bəɾə dɑ:ktər</b>	<b>means well known doctor</b>

#### **Nature of Endocentric Attributive, coordinative and subordinative compounds:**

All endocentric attributive compounds have been noted to be headed by English word. For example, ɦoʊɾɪ fees, ɖoʊ ti:n sɑ: foot, kɑ:mɪ leader are the compound headed by English words, fees, foot and leader. This data show some sort of semantic compatibility as in all of them modifiers seem to be controlled by the head and they collocate well giving the same overall meaning. The notion of high or low is intact when the English word ‘fees’ is combined with Urdu word “ɦoʊɾɪ”. However, Urdu grammar appears to be at work as we can see the ‘fees’ is being modified by feminine lexis “ɦoʊɾɪ”. One can safely comment that cultural schemas pinned down in the formation of this hybrid compound as Urdu is gender based language probably under the influence of culture in the subcontinent.

Endocentric coordinative hybrid English nouns come onto left side, for example, Superintendent sɑ:ɦɪb, Cinema ɡɦɑɾ we can see here English words are put before Urdu words and it also means that the English words are apparently semantics head but grammatical meaning is driven from the social context which means Urdu words also act as semantic heads. For instance, “cinema ɡɦɑɾ” can be called “cinema ɡɦɑɾo” (cinemas plural) if the speaker intends to say cinemas the change will occur in the Urdu word (ɡɦɑɾ) not the English word (cinema) As no change occurs in cinema it can be concluded that Urdu noun Ghar is also a semantic head. The combination in most of cases is coordinative hybrid compound is Noun + Noun.

Endocentric subordinative hybrid compounds are being headed by English words. The words “Review.bɑ:zɪ” and “cigarette soʊlgɑ:nə” clearly manifest that semantically English nouns are controlling the Urdu verbs. The verb bɑ:zɪ cannot be attached with Cigarette. This means that English nouns are semantic heads. Mostly semantic heads are English words and headedness is left sided.

#### **Nature of Exocentric Attributive, and Subordinative compounds:**

Exocentric attributive compound words have right sided semantically headed English lexis. Following are some examples:

**Table 4 Exocentric Attributive Compounds.**

<b>Haathi sportsman</b>	<b>ɦɑ:θi: sportsman</b>
<b>Ishtehaari dakter (doctor)</b>	<b>ɪʃteɦɑ:ɾɪ dɑ:ktər</b>



It can be noted from these examples that English lexis “sportsman” and “doctor” are right sided and appear to be controlling “Haathi” and “Isithehaari. The semantic meaning of modifiers is different from their lexical meaning which impacts the overall meaning of each compound. For example, “ha:θi: sportsman” does not mean that sportsman resembles the elephant. In fact, here metaphorically it means a giant or strong sportsman. In the same manner “iʃteihɑ:rɪ dɑ:ktər” refers to a quack doctor rather than the one who is involved in advertising job.

A few Subordiantive exocentric compound are also observed in the corpus. The pattern here is different from exocentric attributive compounds as here one word is the argument of another. For example, in “Band bʌdʒnə” and “Fire bʌnðr” Band and fire are English lexis and are the argument of Urdu words” bʌdʒnə”, “bʌnðr”. The position of English words is right sided as opposed to Exocentric attributive compounds.

### Conclusion

English has influenced Urdu to a great extent that hybrid compounds exist in Urdu literature of different types which include attributive, coordinative and subordinative endocentric and attributive, subordinative compounds. In exocentric hybrid compounds cultural schema seem to be at work. Moreover, English words appear to be controlling the overall semantic meaning being semantic heads particularly in attributive endocentric, exocentric attributive and subordinative compounds English lexis are right sided. On the other hand, in coordinative endocentric English lexis are found to be right sided.

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## Appendix (A)

### Text Titles, Collections and Authors

➤ **Sa’adat Hasan Manto**

❖ **“Thanda Gosht”**

➤ **Intizar Hussain**

❖ **“Khaali Pinjrah”**

➤ **Shafeeq-ur-Rahman**

❖ **“Lehraen”**

- Review
- Radio
- Hamari Filmaen
- Qisa Chahaar Dervaesh

❖ **“Himaqataen”**

- Baby
- Ninaanway Not Out
- Blood Pressure
- Club

➤ **Patras Bukhari (Syed Ahmed Shah)**

❖ **“Patras kae Mazameen”**

- Hostel Mae Prhna
- Mae Aek Mian Hoon
- Mureed.poor ka Peer
- Cinema ka Aashiq
- Mable aur Mae
- Urdu ki Aakhri Kitaab

### Contemporary Literature

**Nimrah Ahmed**

- **“Mus.huf”**

### Text Titles and Authors

➤ **Sa’adat Hasan Manto**

- **“Thanda Gosht”**

- **Intizar Hussain**
  - “Khaali Pinjrah”
  
- **Shafiq-ur-Rahman**
  - “Lehraeñ”
  - “Himaqataeñ”
  
- **Patras Bukhari (Syed Ahmed Shah)**
  - “Patras kae Mazameen”

**Contemporary Literature:**

- **Nimrah Ahmed**
  - “Mus.huf”