Borrowing and Code Mixing in Pakistani Children's Magazines: Practices and Functions

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One of the dimensions of spread of English is heavy borrowing and mixing of English words/phrases in other languages of the world. As far as Pakistan is concerned, English vocabulary is frequently borrowed and mixed in Urdu, the national language of Pakistan. The tendency of borrowing and mixing is not restricted to the spoken discourse rather is evident in the written discourse as well. The present paper explores how far this trend is exhibited in Pakistani children's magazines. Two Children's monthly magazines – *Taleem-o-Tarbiat and Hamdard Naunehal* – are taken as a sample for the current research. Practices of borrowings and code mixing in these magazines are explored to examine their nature, frequency, causes, and functions. These explorations are interesting in the backdrop of general claims that these magazines use stylized Urdu syntax, and assert that they are working for the perpetuation and dissemination of standard Urdu.

Introduction and background of the research

Language has always been a very complex and sensitive issue in Pakistan capable of triggering volatile responses from all segments of the population as "language practices are socially and politically embedded" (Heller, 2007: p.1). More than 70 languages including Urdu (the national language of Pakistan), English, and regional languages are used in Pakistan. In this background, Urdu/English controversy has serious implications. Globalization also has a significant impact on the multi-lingual context of Pakistan; resultantly English has emerged as a significant feature of the linguistic landscape of Pakistan. Code switching, code mixing and borrowing of English in the national and regional languages is one of the dimensions of spread of English in Pakistan; and this is quite significant because all of linguistic reality is determined by certain purposes, programs or aims reflective of societal needs (Prucha, 1983).

Practices of Borrowing in Pakistan

Pakistan is a multilingual society and majority of people speak and communicate in more than one language. Historically, languages that evolve at a later stage are

infected and inflected by the languages that have been earlier in their conception. For that reason, many of the words of different languages become a part of the other language due to the permanent and constant use. As far as the case of the sub-continent is concerned, Urdu emerged in a context where already English, Hindi, Arabic, Persian and many local languages were being used in varied contexts and to varying extents. In the socio-political context of the sub-continent, after colonization, English emerged as a dominant language and left its permanent marks on Urdu and Hindi. As a result, some of the vocabulary of English has been mixed in Urdu, has become a part of its vocabulary and is permanently used as a part of Urdu. Emergence of English as a global language in the recent decades has also contributed towards frequent borrowing from English into many other languages; and Urdu in this regard is no exception. This aspect is known as borrowing. Romaine (1995: p.142) argues in this regard:

> …as a result of genetic inheritance and diffusion the South Asian languages share such a large number of syntactic, grammatical and phonological features, lexis may be the most distinctive level.

Children's Magazines in Pakistan

Children's literature comes in many forms like stories, poetry, fiction, riddles etc. Books for children come in many forms but one of the most common and far-reaching source is magazines whether published weekly, monthly or annually. Gupta (1997:p.11) alludes that it was the awareness about children's literature that led to the initiation of magazines and periodicals for children. In Pakistan, too, a number of children's magazines are published predominantly in English and Urdu.

Magazines are one of the major sources of entertainment for children in Pakistan. Language is an important ingredient of the messages conveyed through literature and in children's literature language holds the place of conveying social messages. Children receive and accept whatever is presented to them. In Pakistan children's magazines are multilingual as are the people. Magazines published for children in Urdu (National Language of Pakistan), apart from anything else, play the role of promoting the national language. They use stylized Urdu and a difficult Urdu vocabulary of formal written discourse is used. These magazines are associated with the middle-middle social class who are not identified with English and the power of English. These magazines, conversely, code-switch and use borrowed words from English language to fulfill discourse demands and to convey connotations that can not be conveyed otherwise.

Significance of the Current Research

Borrowing and code mixing are not new phenomena; and they take place in almost all the languages of the world. However, the increasing globalization has added to the speed of borrowing and mixing of English into other languages. Borrowing and code mixing of English in Pakistani children's Urdu magazines is very common in the current times. This research documents the phenomena; and provides insights into what are the practices of borrowing and code mixing and how they are carried out. It also examines the functions of the borrowed and code mixed items.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Children's Literature

Children are the forbearers of the future of a nation. For a better society to be formed and a better culture to be established, children are to be educated in as positive a way as possible. Wisdom of the Chinese proverb is obvious when it says 'If you are planting for one year, plant grain; if you are planting for ten years, plant trees; if you are planting for hundred years, plant children.'

Apart from the formal education that children get at school, their informal education depends largely on the variety of materials that they read at home. Besides textbooks that are basically moralizing, factual or informative, a child needs entertainment too, which is provided in a large variety of children Literature.

> Thus, out-of-school books are a catalyst in the development of reading habit and a vivacious instrument for preventing a loss of interest in reading. They broaden a child's mental and intellectual horizon and to a large extent supplement the information and knowledge gained through the textbooks. (Gupta, 1997: p.3)

Children's literature incorporates the world in miniature for its readers i.e. children. Gupta (1997) and Hancock (2000) view children's literature as the literature that appeals to children and caters for the interests, moods and preferences of children. Obserstein (1996: p.17) cites Landsberg (1987) that children's literature is defined by its purpose to lure and connect with children, "it wants to be something in particular, because this is supposed to connect it with that reading audience – 'children'-with which it declares itself to be overtly and purposefully concerned". Obserstein (1996: p.17) further asserts, "no other

pleasure can so richly furnish a child's mind with the symbols, patterns, depths, and possibilities of civilization" as literature written for them.

The Language of Children's Literature

The linguistic content of children's literature is of vital importance; however, the way to present this content is more crucial. Linguistic choices, nature of structures and style of presentation need to be given importance in writing and publishing children's literature. Every language is associated with a different set of cultural and social boundaries.

The choice as to which language will be used is a critical decision in itself when it comes to writing children's literature. Stephens (1996:p.58) points out the importance of language in literature dubbing that even thematic similarity of two works can be handled in a different way with the tool of language. The language in children's literature is even more sensitive as it is their early encounter with the world and the way language is employed creates and builds concepts and expectations in their minds. Obserstein (1996**:** p. 20) opines that children like difficult/hard words but citing McDowell (1973: p. 51) reports that one of the characteristics of children's literature is that the language used is "child-oriented" (p. 25). The impact of language in written work is highlighted as:

> …by analyzing how language works, we come nearer to knowing how our culture constructs itself, and where we fit into that construction. Language enables individuals to compare their experiences with the experiences of others, a process which has always been a fundamental purpose of children's fiction. (Stephens, 1996: p. 59)

When it comes to bilingual speakers, the issue of language choice becomes even more complicated. Wallerstein (1983: p.6) observes in this regard, "when we teach a second language, we are teaching different cultural expectations and communicative styles". This implies that when we choose a particular language for children's literature actually we make a choice for a particular set of cultural knowledge and social context to be shared with them. Choosing code A or B or a mix of A and B (through code switching, code mixing and borrowing) then would have different implications.

Code-switching

The bilingual speakers accommodate and mould their speech with the help of the two languages they know by alternating words from both the languages

simultaneously. This phenomenon of bilingualism is termed as Code-switching. Mesthrie, Swann, Deumert & Leap (2000: p.146) determine code-switching as a "switch back and forwards between languages, even during the same utterance". The speaker makes choice from the languages s/he knows to acquire the best possible expression. Romaine (1995: p.121) cites Gumperz (1982:p.59) that code-switching is "the juxtaposition of within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or sub-systems". Poplack (1980) asserts that there are three types of code switching: Inter-sentential, Intra sentential and Tag switching. As far as the purpose of code switching is concerned, it is "to establish, cross or destroy group boundaries; to create, evoke or change interpersonal relations with their rights and obligations" (Gal, 1988: p.247).

Code-mixing

Code mixing is also termed as intra-sentential switching. In code mixed sentences, pieces of one language are embedded in the other language while a speaker is basically using the other language. These 'pieces' of the other language are often words, but they can also be phrases or larger units. Discussing the purpose of code mixing, Kachru (1978: p. 36) asserts that there are basically three motivations for code-mixing i.e. "role identification, register identification, and desire for elucidation and interpretation". Muysken (2000:p.1) uses the term code-mixing to refer to "all cases where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence". It involves the mixing of words from one language into another and is practiced at the sentence level. Liu (2006: p.4) points out that code-mixing is the embedding of different linguistic units for instance affixes (bound morphemes), words (unbound morphemes), phrases and clauses from a "co-operative activity" where the discourse participants have to reconcile what they hear with what they understand if they really want to infer what is intended to be communicated by the speaker.

Code mixing in Urdu

Discussing the phenomenon of code mixing in Urdu, Rasul (2009: p.41) asserts, "it is not new as a linguistic process; it pre-dates partition. Through this process new languages emerged from the old ones." Rangila, Thirumalai, & Mallikarjun (2001) cite Grierson's 1901 census report on the mother tongues spoken in India that referred to situations where the natives mixed the English items in their own language (Rasul, 2009: p.41).

According to Rasul (2009: p.42), after the creation of Pakistan Urdu was given the status of national language, but "certain factors- the colonial background, controversial issue of official language controversy over medium of education, and, prestige factor attached to English, industrialization and globalization- have added to the importance of English with the rising of every dawn". Today in Pakistan, English is an important component of education; and it is taught at schools as a compulsory subject. "The rush of English through the communication/ media channels has added to the exposure to English. One of the consequences is frequent code switching and code mixing, which in turn has resulted in the desertion of certain lexical items of Urdu" (Rasul 2009:p. 42). Today code mixing is common and frequently used in almost all spheres of life. Ranging from informal conversations in everyday life to media discourse, from text books to newspapers and magazines it is frequently employed.

Borrowing: An Overview

Borrowing can be defined as "when any part of the structure of a language is changed by importation of features, whether from some other part of the same language or from some other external source, the imported features are said to be borrowed" (Hall, 1967:319). Depending on the source of borrowing we can categorize it as:

  1) Internal borrowing
  2) External borrowing

Mesthrie, Swann, Deumert & Leap (2000: p. 249) view borrowing as **"**a technical term for the incorporation of an item from one language into another". He further explains that these items could be sounds that are least frequent, grammatical elements and words that are most frequently borrowed. These items are, through a constant use, a part of the language and the native speakers are often unaware of the original roots of that specific word. The speakers of a language might not be aware of a word that is borrowed. He gives example of the word 'donga' and 'fund' that many English-speaking South Africans are surprised to know that these are not a part of the English language (Mesthrie, Swann, Deumert & Leap, 2000: p.249). They (2000: p.251) further comment that speakers prefer to borrow some terminology (register) from a language and continue speaking in their own language rather than shift and switch to another language. Borrowing, they consider, is a way of enriching one's language.

Hudson (1980: p. 55) elaborates that the main purpose or motive of borrowing can be either the intention to be identified with the native speakers or the non-availability of the word in the same language. Mesthrie, Swann, Deumert & Leap (2000: p.250) identify the practice of borrowing in the technical terms related to long-distance travel, domestic appliances, computers, television and other forms of communication whereas Romaine (1995) points out borrowing of culture-specific items, e.g. food, dress, cultural institutions and activities etc.

Stockwell (2002: p.138) asserts that there are certain constraints on borrowing as all the languages are not equally adjustable to borrowing. He asserts that all languages can not "incorporate borrowed elements equally easily". In grammar for example if two languages are typologically different, borrowing is difficult than between two languages that are closely related to each other.

Kachru, establishes the relationship of borrowing with code mixing by asserting, "code-mixed language types can easily be considered as examples of extended borrowing not restricted to the lexical level of a language. Borrowing is the initial step toward code mixing" (1978: p.31). However, to him it is not the only criterion as in the case of several South Asian languages, borrowing from other languages such as Dutch, Portuguese, and French etc. has not resulted in any 'serious code mixing" though on the other hand borrowing from English and Persian in the Sub-continent has resulted in "cultivation of special language types'. In Pakistan, too, the heavy linguistic borrowing, combined with social, economic, political, and international factors has led to code mixing. In this context Sridhar (1978) asserts that three features of the text, that is the multi level range on which mixing takes place, the non- cultural bound nature of the items, and the dual grammatical system working for their mixing, help in differentiating code mixing from 'heavy borrowing'. He further asserts that the mixed elements do not necessarily fill a 'lexical gap' in the absorbing language; they exist side by side with perfectly acceptable equivalents in the absorbing language, forming an additional lexical stratum. It is conceivable that there might be a subtle pragmatic difference in the minds of the users of the mixed language between the mixed elements and their absorbing language counterparts, but such differences- if they exist- are extremely hard to characterize (1978: p.111).

Difference between Code-Switching, Code-mixing and Borrowing: Overlapping of the Terms

Romaine (1995) asserts that certain terms in linguistics such as borrowing, code switching and code mixing overlap at certain points, and thus hamper the study of

language change and variation. Code mixing and borrowing are so closely related and the difference is so subtle that some times it becomes difficult to distinguish whether the user has code mixed or borrowed an item. This problem cannot be solved merely on the basis of "degree of assimilation" since "assimilation is a gradient and not categorical concept" (Myers-Scotton, 2000:p.133). To her, the general hypothesis that borrowings show more assimilation is also not workable in many cases. Furthermore, the general division that the insertions of L2 that carry a social significance are code switching but those that do not, are borrowings, is also problematic "since a borrowing can appear as code switch when it is a part of style switching" (Myers-Scotton, 2000:134).

Mesthrie, Swann, Deumert & Leap (2000: p. 249) differentiate between borrowing and code-switching that code-switching involves expertise of both the languages and the use of the technical rules of the languages too. Borrowing on the other hand, does not demand any of the two. Romaine (1995: p.124) seconds their view that "borrowing can occur in the speech of those with only monolingual competence, while code-switching implies some degree of competence in the two languages". According to Coulmas (2005: p.110), the difference between a borrowed and a switched word is one of frequency, clear only at the extremes of a continuum that relates both phenomena. Haugen (1956) as cited by Romaine (1995:p.143), also proposed that bilingual phenomena could be situated along a continuum of code-distinctiveness with switching representing maximal distinction, integration (or borrowing) representing maximal leveling of distinctions and interferences referring to over-lapping of two codes.

Important Characteristics of Pakistani Urdu Children's Magazines
Important characteristics of these magazines, including the sample magazines are:

- They make overt/covert claims to promote Urdu.
- They use stylized Urdu.
- Difficult Urdu vocabulary of formal written discourse is used.
- These magazines are associated with the middle-middle social class who are not identified with English and the power of English.
- These magazines do not provide any glossary for the code mixed words.

Selection of data for the current research

In the present research, code-mixing and borrowing in the magazines for children is explored. As far as the list or number of Urdu magazines published for children are concerned, the only available source was Wikipedia[1] which has provided a list of twenty nine Urdu magazines published for Pakistani children. Out of these only nine are marked as monthlies, one as as quarterly and the rest are not marked because they do not publish very regularly. The study has focused on two children magazines that are published monthly. The selected Urdu magazines for children are *Taleem-o-Tarbiat* (January 2010), and *Hamdard Naunehal* (January 2010). These magazines are selected as sample for the current research because they are amongst the most famous children's Urdu magazines in Pakistan. Secondly, these are the oldest of their kind published in Pakistan. *Hamdard Naunehal* has been published regularly since 1953 while *Taleem-o-Tarbiat* has been published since 1940. Thirdly, these two magazines are representative children's Urdu magazines published by the two most prominent publishers of children's Urdu magazines namely Hamdard Foundation Pakistan and Ferozsons Limited respectively.
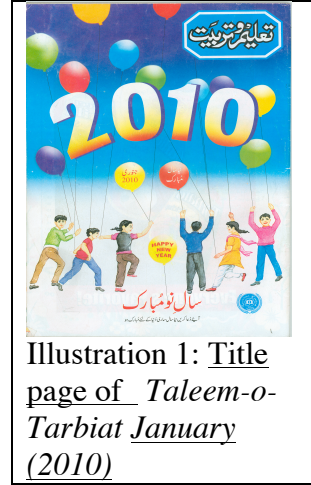

Illustration 1: <u>Title page of *Taleem-o-Tarbiat January (2010)*</u>

Research methodology for the current research

The research is both qualitative and quantitative in nature. It explores the frequency of occurrence of the instances of borrowing and code mixing under different categories. The qualitative aspects of the research provide insights into why and how they occur. Titles covers of the selected magazines, *Taleem-o-Tarbiat* (January 2010), and *Hamdard Naunehal* (January 2010), are provided in figures 1 and 2 respectively. Only two magazines are selected as sample for the current research because a content analysis of the code switched and mixed language used in these magazines is done; and it was beyond the scope of a research article to handle more data than the selected one.

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[1] *en.wikipedia.org/wiki/**List_of_Urdu_magazines_for_children***

Presentation and analysis of data

The data is categorized under two major categories: 1) Code-mixing, 2) Borrowing. Borrowing is further sub-categorized as follows:

      1a. Names, Titles, Designations, Occupations
      1b. Edibles
      1c. Measurements
      1d. General

Illustration 2: <u>Title page of *Hamdard Naunehal January (2010)*</u>

      The categorized data of borrowing from *Taleem-o-Tarbiat* and *Hamdard Naunehal* is shown in appendices A and B respectively. In the category of code-mixing, it is examined whether the words/ linguistic items that are code-mixed have an Urdu equivalent or not. The data of code mixing from *Taleem-o-Tarbiat and Hamdard Naunehal,* and the Urdu equivalents available for these code mixed items are shown in appendices C and D respectively.

      It is important to mention here that many linguistic items/ words are used repeatedly in these magazines. So, to avoid any confusion in the quantification of data, every new item that occurs in a magazine is counted as one 'instance' of code mixing or borrowing; however, any item that occurs more than once its frequency is shown against it in the table. The term 'occurrence' is used to refer to the total times these items are found. This implies that if the word 'book' is found seven times in a magazine it is one 'instance' and seven 'occurrences' of the linguistic item 'book'.

      As far as the findings are concerned, in *Taleem-o-Tarbiat* there are total 493 occurrences of both code-mixing and borrowing whereas total instances are 213. In the second magazine, *Hamdard Naunehal* total occurrences that are found are 194 whereas the number of instances is 108.

Presentation and Analysis of the Data of Category 1- Borrowing

This category deals with the presentation of data from both the magazines that falls under the category of Borrowing. In the data collected from *Taleem-o-Tarbiat*, total instances of borrowing that are found are 146. As far as the other magazine '*Hamdard Naunehal*' is concerned, total 53 instances are found. These borrowings are practiced in all the sub-categories such as Names/ Titles/ designations/ Occupations, Edibles, Measurement and General. In these instances, the words used are those that have become a part of Urdu language and they are
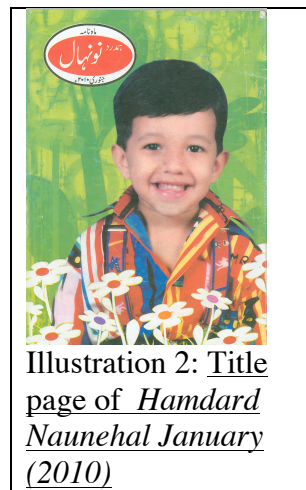
directly used in Urdu without any translation. Even the illiterate and uneducated class of people uses them frequently in their everyday language use. In the data of *Hamdard Naunehal*, the word that occurred frequently is "pound" which occurred 19th times in the data. Likewise, in *Taleem-o-Tarbiat* , "tuition" is the word that occurred 24th times in the data. The total instances of borrowing in *Hamdard Naunehal* are shown in the following table:

Table no. 1. Total Instances of borrowing in ***Hamdard Naunehal*** January (2010)

Names/Titles/ designations/Occupations	Edibles	Measurements	General	General	General
Governor [1]		Centimeter [2]	Arts [1]	Film [4]	Program [1]
Humdard foundation [2]		Feet [1]	Bulb [2]	Flat [2]	Robot [1]
Humdard centre [1]		Inch [1]	Button [1]	Gate [1]	Record (N) [1]
Speaker assembly [1]		Kilo [3]	Cabin [1]	Glass [1]	Report [1]
		Kilogram [1]	Calendar [1]	Glasson [1]	School [3]
		Kilometer [1]	Cinema hall[1]	Hotel [4]	Science [3]
		Meter [2]	Clip[1]	Lecture [1]	Swimming pool [1]
		Minute [1]	College[4]	M.A [1]	Telephone[1]
		Pound [19]	Doctor [12]	Mobile [2]	Television[1]
			Driver [1]	Number [2]	Third division [1]
			Driving [1]	Phone [1]	Traffic [2]
			Engineer [1]	Piano [2]	VCR [1]
			Engineer*on*[1]	Police [2]	
			Fees [1]	Powder [2]	

In the data of *Taleem-o-Tarbiat*, there are certain names or titles that are originally named in English and are borrowed in Urdu such as **Admiral,**

Engineer, Naval headquarter, Secretary General, Commissioner etc. Usage of English titles is prevalent in our society. Since people are used to these English terms and titles, if a loan translation of these terms is used in these magazines, they would be unidentified by the readers.

In the data of the current research, some terms and modes of address are also found that are borrowed from English. According to Girish (2005), terms and modes of address are crucial in any society for the sake of identification and expression of ideas. Their use depends upon the social status, age, and the gender of the persons involved in a communicative act. To Koul and Madhu- Bala (1989), one of the differences between English and South- Asian languages is the difference in the use of modes of address. There is a multiplicity of ways in which South-Asian languages permit their speakers to mark out different kinds of relationships between each other in the mode of address. In Pakistan, there are certain honorific words and reference terms used to address people in formal situations. In fact, in Pakistan, like many other South Asian countries, a complex system of modes of address is used in everyday life which helps in pointing out differences or establishes equality in social status of the speakers. "One of these is a highly developed system of naming in which, for example, first names and surnames, together with terms associated with professions and kinship, are all used in specific ways to imply particular kinds of social interaction and varying degrees of interrelationships" (Aitsiselmi, 2004). Usually, a borrowing fills in a lexical gap when we do not have an Urdu equivalent. However, some of the borrowings found in this category have Urdu equivalents available such as **Miss, Mrs., Sir.** We have Urdu words ***Muhtarama*** and ***Janaabah*** for females and ***Muhtaram*** and ***Janaab*** respectively for males. But, in *Taleem-o-Tarbiat* instead of Urdu words their English equivalents are preferred.

It is significant that *Taleem-o-Tarbiat* is one of those Pakistani children's Urdu magazines that make (overt or covert) claims to promote Urdu; use stylized Urdu; and generally opt for difficult Urdu vocabulary of formal written discourse. The total instances of borrowing in *Taleem-o-Tarbiat* are shown in the following table:

Table no. 2. Total instances of borrowing in ***Taleem-o-Tarbiat*** , January (2010)

Names/Titles/ designations/Occupations	Edibles	Measurements	General	General	General
Admiral [1]	Burger [1]	Foot [2]	Arts Group [1]	Master plan [2]	Sector [6]
Assistant Director [1]	Cake [1]	Kilogram [1]	Bacteria [6]	(*Bijli* ka meter) [3]	Sectron [1]
Commissioner [1]	Calcium [1]	Kilometer [8]	Blackout [1]	Model (N)(of car) [1]	Session [1]
Driver [2]	Chips1	Inch [3]	Board [1]	Motor cycle [10]	Station [5]
Doctor [8]	Chocolate [1]	Liter [2]	Bulb [2]	Motor-cyclon[1]	Steering [1]
Engineer [1]	Ice-cream [6]	Meter [3]	Century (cricket)[1]	Muffler [1]	Stop [1]
Emergency ward [5]		Minute[7]	Camera [3]	Notebook [1]	Studio [2]
Commander [1]		Ounce [18]	Cartoon[1]	Notes [1]	Sweater [1]
Embassy road [1]		Pound	Cassette[3]	Novel [1]	Switch [1]
Field marshal [1]		Second [2]	Century	Number [8]	Team[2]
Furniture House [11]		Passport size [1]	Coat[1]	Package [1]	Telephone [1]
General ward[1]			College [1]	Park [3]	Television station[1]
General Haspataal [3]			Copy [1]	Phone [4]	Test cricket[1]
Gymnastic[1]			Cricket[1]	Plastic [1]	Test match[1]
Headmistress[1]			Cycle [4]	Plate [1]	Ticket[2]
Inspector[23]			Design [1]	Police team [1]	Tyre [1]
Miss[9]			Double century [18]	Powder [1]	Torch[1]
Mrs.[1]			File, Filain, Filon [4]	Principal [1]	Tube light*ain*[4]
National Bank of Pakistan			Firing [1]	Program [3]	Truck [1]

[1]

Muslim Commercial Bank [1]			Footpath [1]	Puncture *ho jay[1]*	Tuition [24]
Naval headquarter[1]			Form[1]	Quarter Quartr*on[4]*	Tuition center[2]
NGO [1]			Frame[1]	Race [8]	Tuition class [1]
Open University [1]			Fees[5]	Receiver [2]	TV 2
Pilot [4]			Furniture [11]	Recording [1]	TV channel [3]
Police[9]			Gate [1]	Record *kurnay kay liay* [3]	Vice chancellor [1]
Police station[1]			Glass [1]	Remote control [1]	Ward boy[3]
Radio station[1]			Heater [2]	Result card [2]	
Railway station [1]			Hotel [1]	School [13]	
Rome Olympic [1]			Lecture [1]	Science encyclopedia [1]	
Secretariat block [1]			Lift (Noun) [1]	Science [1]	
Secretary general [1]			MA [1]	Seat [4]	
Sir [1]					
SP [1]					
Supreme court [1]					
The jungle [3]					
Test cricketer [1]					
World Champion [1]					

Many examples of compound words and phrases are also found that are used as titles or names of companies and organizations. For example General Hospital, Furniture House, General Ward, World, Champion, The Jungle, National Bank of Pakistan, Muslim Commercial Bank. Conversely, there were a few examples where the head noun is in Urdu such as *Hamdard* Foundation and *Hamdard* Centre (*Hamdard Naunehal),* which again are the names of organizations that cannot be changed for linguistic purposes. In the Pakistani

context, the coinage of names or titles of organizations, firms, products etc. in English or a mixed code holds significance. "The identity that the founders, holders or owners of an organization or firm, or the manufacturers of a product want to attach to it, is reflected through the choice of name or title" (Rasul: 2009, p. 216). Since in Pakistan, English is associated with modernity, it is considered that a name or title of an organization or firm in English suggests connotations of being more modern, and up-to-date.

In the subcategory of Edibles in *Taleem-o-Tarbiat*, the words used are **burger, calcium, ice cream, chips** and **chocolate**. None of these words but ice cream has an Urdu equivalent. Even the Urdu equivalent *of ice cream 'Kulfi'* is considered less preferable because the connotations of *kulfi* are limited to only one specific traditional flavor of ice cream. In *Hamdard Naunehal,* no instances of borrowing in Edibles were observed.

In the subcategory of 'Measurements', in both the magazines, words like **Kilogram, kilometer, inch, centimeter, Liter, Pound, second** etc. are used; and they do not have Urdu equivalents. This is also an instance of using the specific terminology in English language that has become so much a part of the language usage of common people that no need is felt to create words/ terms in their native language is this regard.

In the 'General' subcategory all those instances are placed that do not fit into the other specific subcategories. Thus, most of the instances of borrowing fall under this subcategory. The single word examples like **Bulb, design, plate, File, Package, Gate, Number, Piano, Film**, and **Clip** are all nouns that are found in *Taleem-o-Tarbiat*. All these words are commonly used in Urdu language whether consciously or unconsciously. In *Taleem-o-Tarbiat* , there are a few examples where the borrowed word has become a part of the Urdu language with a little difference in pronunciation such as , /Progrœm/ (English) and /Progra:m/ (Urdu); /To:rch/ (English) and /Ta:rch/ (Urdu); /Mo:del/ (English) and /Ma:del/ (Urdu); Fo:rm (English) and /Fa:rm/ (Urdu). The use of such assimilated borrowings is very common in Urdu. Moreover, there are also some instances where the root word is in English whereas the inflections are taken from Urdu to assimilate the borrowing such as in the data of *Taleem-o-Tarbiat* instances are found of the use of **Sectr*on*** (the plural of sector), **Motor-cycl*on*** (the plural of motor-cyles), **Filain/ Filon** (the plurals of file), and **Tube-light*ain*** (the plural of tube-light). Interestingly the plural English equivalents are available in English but hybridized

forms with Urdu inflections are preferred. Examples of the same kind are also found in the data of *Hamdard Naunehal such as* **Engineer*on*** and **Glass*on*[2].**

At this point it is important to mention that as already discussed in the literature review section, the boundary between borrowing and code mixing is very blurred. All the above given examples of addition of Urdu inflections/ plural markers to English roots are placed in this research under the head of borrowing because the roots of all such instances that are found in the data are of such English words that do not have commonly used Urdu equivalents (a criterion to distinguish borrowings from code mixing in this research). However, the same process of creating hybrids can be found in cases where an English root word has a commonly and frequently used Urdu equivalent available. In that case, it would fall under the main head of code mixing, not borrowing. However, since the boundaries of borrowing and code mixing are not neatly defined sometimes researchers loosely use the term code mixing as an all embracing term to cover both the types. In this regard Rasul (2009) uses the term code mixing to refer to both the types of hybridization within words; and asserts that most of the instances of hybridization within word are created by adding plural suffixes of Urdu to singular nouns of English. She further adds, "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". It is to be notices that Rasul (2009) presents the data containing English roots **student, shopkeeper** and **flower** that have frequently used Urdu equivalents *taalib-ilm, dukaandaar* and *phool* with the data containing English roots **Tyre** and **Bus** that do not have Urdu equivalents.

However, the use of such hybrids is not restricted to Urdu; rather Girish (2005) cites such examples from Malayalam/English mixing in India 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)

In the Pakistani backdrop this type of hybrids has a very "limited scope and low social prestige attached" to them (Rasul, 2009: p.167). However, it is significant in the context of the current research that despite all the claims to

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[2] All the transcription rules including the rules to indicate the plural markers such as **Engineer*on*** and **Sectr*on*** are followed as used by Rasul 2009.

employ standard and formalized Urdu, these children's magazines have used such hybrids whereas according to Rasul (2009: p.166), "the use of hybridized plurals is comparatively less approved of socially; and generally on the grade of social prestige and approval attached to language use it falls on a lower level".

Moreover, in the data of the current research collected from *Taleem-o-Tarbiat* there are also examples of verb hybridization '**record** *kurnay kay liye'* and '**Puncture** *ho jay'*. Again the verbs in these hybridized forms are taken from English; and they are borrowed items as they do not have prevalent Urdu substitutes. In Urdu, the substitutes of several English main verbs take additional auxiliaries, thus resulting in "the production of compound verbs for instance, **feel** (*mehsūs kurnā*) and **train** (*tarbiat daynā)* etc." (Rasul, 2009: p.192). Both the examples found in the data of the current research are of compound verbs. However, apart from this type, conjunct verbs are also created in Urdu by taking a noun from English and turning it into a verb by adding auxiliary from Urdu for instance **acting** *kurna* (to perform acting), though no example is found in the data of the present research.

Presentation and Analysis of the Data of Category 2- Code-mixing

Code-mixing, in these magazines, provides interesting observations. As it has already been mentioned, code mixed items are those for which the embedding language has equivalents; however, as a social practice or for convenience linguistic items from the other language are mixed. As far as the mixing of English in Pakistani children's Urdu magazines is concerned, the instances of mixing of single words as well as phrases are found. Some examples of mixing of single words with their Urdu equivalents are given below:

> **Accident** (*Haaidsa)*, **Advance** (*Payshgi)*, **Airport** (*Hawai-adah)*, **Auntie** (*Khala*, *phopho*, *chachi*, *mumaani etc.*), **Bag** (*Thayla*, *boura)*, **Compartment** (*Dibah*, *bogi)*, **Coupon** (*Prchi)*, **Degree** (*Sanad)*, **Fashion** (*Rwaaj)*, **Injection** (*Teekah)*, **Library** (*Kutab- khana),***Lunch** (*Zuhrana)*, **Order** (*Hukm)*, **Modern** (*Jadid)*, **Mood** (*Mizaaj)*, **Teacher** (*Ustaad)*, **Train** (*Rail-gari)*, **Transfer** (*Tabdili)*, **University** (*Jaamia)*, **Plate** (*Thaali*, *rkabi)*, **Result** (*Natijah)*.

The word "coupon" occurred with the highest frequency as it occurred 9th times in the data of *Hamdard Naunehal*. While in *Taleem-o-Tarbiat* "part" is the word with highest frequency as it occurred 11th times in the data. The total

instances of code-mixing of single lexical items in *Hamdard Naunehal* are shown in the following table:

Table no. 3. Total Instances of code-mixed words in ***Hamdard Naunehal***, (January 2010)

Code mixed Words	Equivalent	Code mixed Words	Equivalent
Canteen [1]	*Dukaan*	Mission [1]	*Maqsad*
Car [4]	*Gari*	Papers [1]	*Prchay*
Checkup [2]	*Muaainah*	Party [1]	*Daawat*
Chemicals [3]	*Kimyaai maaday*	Perfume[1]	*Itar, khushbu*
Class [2]	*Jmaat*	Position[1]	*Drjaah*
Coupon [9]	*Prchi*	Operation (Noun) [3]	*Jaraahi,*
Currency [1]	*Sikkah raij-ul-waqt*	Miss (In the context it means teacher)[1]	*Ustani*
Degree [1]	*Sanad*	Library[1]	*Kutab-khana*
Depression [4]	*Udaasi, yaasiyat*	Regular[1]	*Mustaqil*
Discipline [1]	*Nazm-o-zabt*	Result[2]	*Natijaah*
Duty [2]	*Zimaah, farz*	Road[3]	*Sarak*
Emergency [1]	*Hungaami haalat*	Second [1]	*Doum*
Fashionable [1]	*Khush-posh*	Sir [2]	*Janaab*
Hormones [1]	*Gudood*	Sociology[1]	*Samaajiat, muashriyat*
Infection [1]	*Choot, waba*	Society [1]	*Muashrah*
Guard of honor [1]	*Salami*	Surgeon [1]	*Jaraah*
Kitchen [1]	*baawrchikhanah*	Sweet dish[1]	*Mithah*
Late [1]	*Dayr*	Test[1]	*Imtihaan*
Leader[2]	*Rahnuma*	Ticket[3]	*Prchi*
Train [3]	*Rail gari*	Time[1]	*Waqt*
Tumor [3]	*Gilti*	Uncle[1]	*Chacha, taya, phopha, maamu etc.*

A few code-mixed compounds and phrases are also observed in the data of *Hamdard Naunehal*. These are shown in the following table:

Table no. 4. Total Instances of code mixed compounds
and phrases in **Hamdard Naunehal**, (January 2010)

Code mixed compounds and phrases	Equivalent
Businessman	*Taajir*
Membership card	*Rukniyat ka* card
Mango ice-cream	*Aam ki qulfi*
Private student	*Infraadi taalib-e-ilm*

There are a few code-mixed hybridized compounds and phrases in the data of *Hamdard Naunehal*. These are shown in the following table:

Table no. 5. Total instances of code mixed hybridized compounds
and noun phrases in **Hamdard Naunehal** (January 2010)

Code mixed hybridized compounds and noun phrases	Equivalent
Javed And Company (Note: In context it means what the Urdu equivalent connotes)	*Javed aur uskay saathi*
Mukhtalif Size	*Mukhtalif naap*
Rangeen title	*Rangeen sar-e-warq*
Khubsurat getup	*Khubsurat waza*

Likewise, a few code-mixed verb-hybridized compounds and phrases are observed in the data of *Hamdard Naunehal*. These are shown in the following table:

Table no. 6. Total instances of code mixed verb-hybridized compounds and phrases in **Hamdard Naunehal**, (January 2010)

Code mixed verb-hybridized compounds and phrases	Equivalent
Practice *kur ruhay hain*	*Mushq kur ruhay hain*
Operation *kur dia*	*Jaraahi kur di*

Prasad (2008: p.242) considers code mixing as "linguistic cocktail" which involves "a few words of one language and a few from others, and again a few words from the former and a few from the latter and so on, mix up" and such "changes generally takes place more or less randomly". In *Taleem-o-Tarbiat*, total forty four code mixed words have been used. In the category of code mixed words, mostly those words are used that are part of daily routine conversation. As stories in children's magazines are mostly based on daily routine life's events and situations, therefore, mostly the words are used that are related to the routine conversation. Words such as **Fashionable, Auntie, Car, Cheating** (Noun)**, Cousin, Teacher, Library, Market, School, Diary, Accident,, Airport, Bag, Bed, Bedroom, Box, Cabin, Canteen, Case, , Checkup, Class, Compartment, Coupon, Currency, Degree, , Fashion, , Injection, Inter, Kick, , Modern, Mood, Plan, Party, Train, Result, Perfume, , Order, Transfer, University, Plate, Point**, all are part of routine conversation in the Pakistani context. Although their Urdu equivalents do exist, still they are preferred and used so frequently that now they have become part of daily Urdu conversation. It is found that in terms of code mixing of single lexical items all the mixed items are nouns.

According to Treffers-Daller (1993: p.243) code-mixing can be defined as "the interaction between the grammars and the lexicons of two languages", while borrowing as "the interaction of the grammar and the lexicon of language A with only the lexicon of language B". In *Taleem-o-Tarbiat*, an instance of code-mixing on a word level is also found as a word 'partion' is used that is the anglicized plural version of the English word 'party'. Here the plural Urdu marker is added to create a code mixed item.

In the data of *Taleem-o-Tarbiat* , code mixed compounds and phrases are also found. There, total number of such occurrences is thirteen. Some of them are instances of code mixing of English compounds or noun phrases, while others are the instances of Urdu-English hybridization at compound or phrase level. For example: **main *bazaar*, *taamiraati* firm, new year night *ki* party, private *idarah*** are the examples of Urdu-English hybridization. The remaining compounds and noun phrases are those in which the phrases are formed by two or more English words. For example: **gold medal, , music show, new year night, new year party, new year night party, office building, business-man, coaching centre**, and **happy new year night**. The total instances of code-mixing of single lexical items in *Taleem-o-Tarbiat* are shown in the following table:

Table no. 7. Total Instances of code-mixed words in **Taleem-o-Tarbiat** (January 2010)

Code mixed Words	Equivalent	Code mixed Words	Equivalent
Accident[1]	*Haaidsa*	**Fashionable**[1]	*Khush-posh*
Advance[3]	*Payshgi*	**Injection**[2]	*Teekah*
Airport[1]	*Hawai-adah*	**Inter**[2]	*Baarhwin*
Auntie[1]	*Khala, phopho, chachi, mumaani etc.*	**Kick**[1]	*Thokar*
Bag[9]	*Thayla, boura*	**Library**[1]	*Kutab-khana*
Bed[1]	*Bistar*	**Lunch**[1]	*Zuhrana*
Bedroom[1]	*Khwabgah*	**Market**[2]	*Bazaar*
Box[1]	*Dibah*	**Order**[1]	*Hukm*
Cabin[5]	*Hujra, kamrah*	**Modern**[2]	*Jadid*
Canteen[3]	*Dukaan*	**Mood**[1]	*Mizaaj*
Car[3]	*Gaari*	**Plan**[1]	*Munsubaah*
Case[7]	*Muqadmaah*	**Party**[11]	*Daawat*
Cheating[1]	*Dhokaah, naqal*	**Teacher**[9]	*Ustaad*
Checkup[1]	*Muaainah*	**Train**[8]	*Rail-gari*
Class[2]	*Jmaat*	**Transfer**[1]	*Tabdili*
Compartment[2]	*Dibah, bogi*	**University**[3]	*Jaamia*
Coupon[1]	*Prchi*	**Plate**[1]	*Thaali, rkabi,*
Currency[10]	*Sikkaah raij-ul-waqt*	**Point**[1]	*Muqaam*
Cousin[1]	*Khalazaad, maamuzaad etc.*	**Result**[1]	*Natijah*
Degree[1]	*Sanad*	**Perfume**[1]	*Itar, Khushbu*
Diary[14]	*Roznaamchah*	**School 1**[3]	*Mudrisah*
Fashion[1]	*Rwaaj*	**Part*ion***[1]	*Daawaton*

A few code-mixed compounds and phrases are also observed in the data of *Taleem-o-Tarbiat*. These are shown in the following table:

Table no. 8. Total instances of code mixed compounds and phrases in *Taleem-o-Tarbiat* (January 2010)

Code mixed compounds and phrases	Equivalent
Gold medal	*Talai tamgah*
Music show	*Mehfil-e- mousiqi*
New year night	*Saal-e-nou ki raat*
New Year Party	*Jashn-e-saal-e-nou*
New year night party	*Saal-e-nou ki raat ka jashan*
Office building	*Daftar ki amaarat*
Business-man	*Tajir*
Coaching centre	*Tarbiyati mrkaz*
Happy new year night	*Shab-e-saal-e-nou mubaarik*

The data of *Taleem-o-Tarbiat* shows a few code-mixed hybridized compounds and phrases. These are shown in the following table:

Table no. 9. Total instances of code mixed hybridized compounds and noun phrases in *Taleem-o-Tarbiat* (January 2010)

Code mixed hybridized compounds and noun Phrases	Equivalent
Main bazaar	*Sadar bazaar*
Taamiraati Firm	*Idaraah*
New year night (ki) party	*Saal-e-nou ki raat ka jashan*
Private *idarah*	*Niji idarah*

There are a few instances of code-mixed verb-hybridized compounds and phrases in the data of *Taleem-o-Tarbiat*. These are shown in the following table:

Table no. 10. Total instances of code mixed verb-hybridized compounds and phrases in ***Taleem-o-Tarbiat*** (January 2010)

Code mixed verb-hybridized Compounds and Phrases	Equivalent
Fail *ho gia*	*Naakaam*
Filter *kurta hai*	*Saaf kurta hai*
Note *kur ruha tha*	*Likh ruha tha*
Join *kur lia*	*Dakhil ho gia*
Start *kur di*	*Chla di*
Shift *kur dain gaey*	*Muntakil kur dain gaey*

There are a few instances of verb hybridization in the data too. The data reveals verb hybridized phrases such as, '**fail *ho gia*', '**filter *kurta hai*', '**note *kur ruha tha*', '**join *kur lia*', '**start *kur di*' and '**shift *kur dain gaey*'**. It is interesting to note that the main or head verb is in English which is followed by the phrase which is in Urdu.

In the data of *Taleem-o-Tarbiat* , a few compounds and noun phrases are found which could not be fixed into any of the devised categories. These phrases are, '***saylaabi* camp'** and '**copy size *kaagaz*'**. In these instances, 'camp' and 'copy size' are borrowed from English, and do not have equivalents in Urdu.

In the other magazine *Hamdard Naunehal*, forty two instances of code mixed noun words are found. All these words are used frequently in mundane conversation. The word like '**uncle**' is used on regular basis as an equivalent of *Chacha, taya, phopha, maamu* etc. This word may be used due to its easy availability as it caters for multiple meanings in Urdu. It is also an example of fast contemporary life style in which those words are used and preferred that generate multiple meanings in a single instance. Similarly, **Fashionable, Car, Kitchen, Party, Operation, Society, Test, Time** have replaced their Urdu equivalents due to their frequent usage. Sometimes both the English and Urdu equivalents are used; the purpose of this repetition is desire for elucidation. For example in the data of *Hamdard Naunehal* following instance is found:

- *Muashra ya* society *ya samaaj …*

Alam (1996: p.79) asserts, "most of the lexical switches are connected with the noun, verb and adjective". The devices used for this purpose are mostly Urdu/English modifier + Urdu/English headword+ Urdu/English qualifier (p.80). Some examples of Urdu English hybridization given by Alam (1996: p.80) are 'shaandaar pageant', 'seyaah hood', 'himaaqat zada cookery book', 'nafees sa lecture', 'nafees impression', 'marmareeN porch', 'kaam ka overcoat' and 'nafsayaati complex'. Alam suggests, "English modifiers are attached to Urdu headwords (English+Urdu)" and few such examples are: 'French cut darhi', 'immature dimagh', 'adventures ki kahaaniyaN', 'indoor qism ke mashgale', 'typical qism ka shauhar' etc (1996: p.80). Likewise, eight instances of code mixed compounds and noun phrases are found in the data of *Hamdard Naunehal*, such as **Businessman, Membership card, Mango ice-cream** and **Private student.** Examples of hybridized noun phrases from *Hamdard Naunehal* are *mukhtalif* **size,** *rangeen* **title,** *khubsurat* **getup** etc.

As far as hybridized verb phrases are concerned, two instances of code-mixing are observed. These verb phrases are, '**practice *kur ruhay hain'*** and '**operation *kur dia'***. It is interesting to note that for these English verbs 'practice' and 'operation', Urdu equivalents are available as '*mushq*' and '*jarahi*' respectively, but English verbs are used to create verb-hybridization.

In the data of *Hamdard Naunehal*, also a few instances are found that could not be fixed into any of the devised categories. For example, in the phrases, '*misri* **pound'** and '*soudaani* **pound'**, 'pound' is an English borrowed word which is used as-it-is in Urdu language and has no Urdu equivalent. Likewise, in '*shanaakhti* **card'** and '*Eid* **card'**, 'card' is a borrowed word and is used frequently in Urdu that is hybridized with Urdu words here.

The data of *Taleem-o-Tarbiat* and *Hamdard Naunehal* reveals the instances of code-mixing and borrowing in Pakistani Urdu children's magazines. It also shows the variety of instances of code-mixing and lexical insertions on deep structural level. The code-mixing has been observed in single lexical items as well as in compound noun and verb phrases. The instances of Urdu-English hybridization have also been found.

Conclusion

The phenomenon of code-mixing and borrowing is part and parcel of a bilingual society which enables bilingual speakers to converse conveniently. To differentiate the process of code-mixing and borrowing, Fernando (2003: p.8)

states, "code mixing is not a permanent borrowing or a part of the lexicon, but is used spontaneously, and depends on meaningful juxtaposition of two distinct grammatical systems. Code mixing is limited to single words or idiomatic phrases". On the other hand, borrowing is simply the copying of the words from the target language and using them in their original forms.

Code mixing occurs when a bilingual speaker fails to converse comprehensibly in one language. Sometimes code mixing of a word occurs because it is shorter and thus requires less linguistic effort. As media is a mirror of any society, therefore it reflects back the contemporary literary practices and rituals. Likewise, print media also replicates the existing literary traditions and produces the literature in such a way that it becomes acceptable for its readers. The data for this research has been taken from the two children's magazines. In children's magazines, the simplest words and vocabulary is used so that the young readers may grab them easily. The instances of code-mixing and borrowing are found in these selected magazines; and English words or phrases are used instead of their Urdu equivalents. English language has penetrated so much in Pakistani society that it has more or less gained the place of national language. Prestige factor attached to English forces its users to incorporate it in speaking as well as in writing. It is noticed that in these magazines English words are used that belong to the simple vocabulary and are prevalent in every day language uses in Pakistani society. These words as well as phrases have been used in the magazines for convenience and to convey the ideas more easily. All of the discussed reasons are true and applicable in spoken situations and in non-formal writing. But, formal writing in a children's magazine provides a model for the young learners. Therefore, in these magazines the usage of code-mixing is indicative of the changing literary traditions in Pakistan.

The study reveals that frequent borrowing and code-mixing of English occurs in Pakistani children's magazines that claim to promote Urdu language. It shows the existing literary practices in Pakistan in which no form of media can escape the effects of penetration of English and globalization. English language has so much protruded in Urdu that sometimes it becomes difficult to distinguish between the Urdu and English lexical items as they are frequently used interchangeably.

The research raises a few questions for its intended readers to be pondered over. Using very bookish and proper Urdu interspersed with heavy borrowing and code mixing in the children's magazines that are associated with the middle-middle social class who are not identified with English and the power of English,

leaves one with certain questions to think about. It is difficult to say with certainty whether the use of code mixing and borrowing in these magazines is an over sight or is it caused due to the lack of awareness about code mixing. The confusion persists whether it is an unconscious or conscious substitution. It also raises the question how far this code-mixing adds to the richness of Urdu or affects is beauty; and what implications does it have with reference to the issues of globalization and Identity.

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