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BILINGUAL COMPOUND VERBS AND LIGHT VERBS INNOVATION IN PASHTO-ENGLISH CODE-MIXING

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ABSTRACT: *The present study focuses on the bilingual compound verb, which is as an innovative syntactic category emerges through Pashto-English code mixing (hereafter CM). The study shows that Bilingual Compound Verbs (BCVs) are very prevalent in the Pashto-English CM of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP). The study explored that the BCVs in Pashto is completely productive and do not entail phonologically and semantically in the morphosyntax of Pashto language. It also shows that the dominant pattern of BCVs is the conjugation of the lights verbs kaw 'do' or 'make' keg 'become' which carries the aspectual and agreement markers and the left-most alien lexical element contributes to the core semantic content of the construction. The BCVs construction show that how the light verbs lead to a new verbal category.*

KEYWORDS: Code-Mixing, Bilingual Compound Verb, Monolingual Complex Predicate, Light Verbs, Aspectual Markers

INTRODUCTION

This paper focuses on the structural pattern of bilingual compound verbs of Pashto-English data. It explores the role of the Pashto light verbs in conjugation with the English lexical elements. This study tries to define the different role of the light verbs *kaw* 'do' and *keg* 'become' with the English language non-finite verbs. The specific data discussed here are verbs from one language which occur within the grammatical frame supplied by another, and inflected with the second language's inflectional morphology. The data differ a great deal from those studied by those psycholinguists who increasingly are interested in bilingualism. The study is to address the following questions: What is the role of the Pashto light verbs in the Pashto-English bilingual VP? The second question is to find out that how much the light verbs construction is innovative?

Objectives of the study

The study explores:

the role of Pashto aspectual markers in the Bilingual VP
the types of Pashto aspectual markers in the BCVs
the role of the alien verb in the BCVs
the morphological integration of the alien elements in the BCVs
the comparison of the BCVs with the monolingual VP
the category of alien elements in the BCVs

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Monolingual complex predicates in the literature

The monolingual complex predicate is researched in a wide range of languages where the sequence in the complex predicate comprises of a light verb and a lexical element (noun, verb, adjective). The Complex VP in most of the Indo-Iranian languages such as Urdu, Hindi and Panjabi, the first verb is called the main verb and the one at the right side having the aspectual properties is called light verb (Cattell, 1984; Raja, 2003; Rosen, 1989b; Masullo, 1992; Butt, 1995; etc.). In monolingual complex predicate, the focus of the study is on the light verb construction (LVC) which has various names as Complex Predicate, Compound Verbs (Cattell, 1984; Grimshaw & Mester, 1998; Rosen, 1989b; Masullo, 1992; Butt, 1995; etc.). The light verb in the complex predicate is studied in detail for its aspectual role (Raja, 2003). Butt (1995) claims that the light verb construction (LVC) forms a single constituent in the complex predicate. To determine the semantic role of the light verb in complex VP is a challenge (Butt, 2003). The verbs are not entirely devoid of semantic predicative power either as there is a clear difference between *take a bath* and *give a bath*. The verbs thus seem to be neither at their full semantic power nor at a completely depleted stage. Rather, they appear to be semantically *light* in the sense that they are contributing something to the joint predication. However, it is relatively difficult to characterize this component (Butt, 1995).

These light verbs have corresponding main verbs which can make their own predicate in a clause. When they are used as light verb, they are more auxiliary in nature than the main verb and their role changes to aspectual or operator 'verb', frequently translated as 'do' or 'make'. In the monolingual or bilingual predicate the light verbs do not take their role as main verb but they mainly contribute aspectual information which appears in conjunction with a lexical element; which, in turn contributes to the core semantic content of the construction (Raja, 2003; Edwards, 2007). These verbs are semantically bleached and usually follow a collocation pattern with a special class of verbs as the intransitive light verb collocates with the intransitive main verb.

In examples (1a) and (1b), Raja (2003) has differentiated the aspectual light verb form the main verb in the complex predicate. In (1a), the verb *giaa* 'go' itself refers to an event and because of this semantic nature, he called it main verb. In (1b), it is a light verb because it only contributes aspectual information to the clause.

1.

a. *o* *daak* *de* *giaa*
he.NOM post give go.PST
He delivered the mail and went away.

b. *o* *nalka* *jor* *giaa*
he.NOM hand-pump repair go.PST
He fixed the hand-pum and went away.
(Raja, 2003, p. 100)

A considerable amount of work has been done on the light verb in monolingual complex predicate of South Asian languages but a satisfactory agreement has not been proposed which can account for the licensing of the light verb (Hook, 1974, 1991; Butt, 1995, 1997; Singh, 1990; Bhatia, 1993) but the only satisfactory account that has been proposed is the productive

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nature of the light verb in complex predicate of making new verbal category at the grammatical level. However, in the present study, the focus is on the bilingual complex predicate and the role of the light verb as emerging new verbal category. In order to understand the nature of the light verb construction in Pashto-English bilingual data, it is important to highlight the role of the light verb in the monolingual complex predicate of Pashto language (Tegey & Robson, 1996; Babrakzai, 1999).

The Compound verb construction in Pashto

Tegey (1996) has classified the verb according to its three different classes. He distinguished the three classes, such as simple verb, derivative verb and doubly irregular verb. He described the verbs according to perfective and imperfective aspects. In Babrakzai (1999), the verb has been described according to its transitive and intransitive nature. Roberts (2000), in his study, has focused on the verb structure according to aspects, stem variation, and its function within sentence.

Pashto language, like other Indo Iranian languages i.e., Urdu and Hindi, takes a complex predicate. In Tegey (1996), the compound verb is known as derived verb where adjectives and nouns are combined with the transitive and intransitive auxiliaries to make a compound verb. In Babrakzai (1999), the verb has been divided into transitive and intransitive verb according to its function and thematic role in the sentence. He has discussed in detail how the nominal elements (adjectives, nouns) and verbal elements (verbs) form compound verb with the transitive and intransitive auxiliaries.

Babrakzai (1999) has differentiated between intransitive 'Inchoative verb' and 'light verb'. The inchoative verbs are derived from stative or adjectival stems where the subject is affected by the event. The aspect plays a role to show the change in the subject with the help of the intransitive auxiliaries.

Intransitive compound verb constructions with the light verb – Inchoative

A light inchoative verb is made of a verbal element or nominal element. Babrakzai (1999) has differentiated two types of light verb. In the first group, the nominal element functions as 'subject' of the auxiliary and in the second group; it functions as object to the intransitive auxiliary. If the predicate has triggered another argument, then it would be in the oblique form:

dltha də cricket lube kegi
ADV.PROX of footbal.OBL play.NOM become.PRS.IPFV.3SG

Here soccer is played (Babrakzai, 1999: 134).

In the second group of the light inchoative verb, the verbal element and the intransitive auxiliary make a compound verb. In this group, it is functioning as single predicate and that is why it takes another noun which functions as subject:

Juwar karale ked -al
maz.NOM sow become.PST.IPFV –M.3PL
The maze was being sowed.

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In example (3), the verb agreement is triggered on the subject *juwar* ‘maze’; the other two elements *karale* and *kedal* function as compound verb. In the first group in example (2), the relationship between a nominal verb and the intransitive auxiliary is not closer as we have seen in the second group example (3).

The first group where the nominal elements function as subject includes the following verbs (4):

Verbal/Nominal elements	Intransitive auxiliary	Gloss
koshish try	kedəl become	try
pekar thought	kedəl become	think
lobe play	kedəl become	play

Babrakzai, (1999, p. 135)

Verb in the second group (3) is made of a verbal element that is why it takes subject to develop an agreement with the compound VP. The second group where the verbal elements function as object includes the following verbs:

Verbal elements	Transitive auxiliary	Gloss
pre cut	kedəl become	cut
pate remain	kedəl become	remain
hafa upset	kedəl become	become upset

Babrakzai, (1999, p. 136)

Transitive compound verb constructions with the light verb ‘kawəl’

In the transitive construction, most of the compound or complex predicates are made of the nominal element and the transitive auxiliary *kawəl* ‘do’ and occasionally other verbs:

Nominal	Auxiliary verb	Gloss
pekar thought	kawəl do	think

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dua	kawəl	pray
pray	do	
akida	larəl	believe
belief	have	
sandare	kawəl	sing
song	do	

(Babrakzai, 1999, p. 139)

In the complex predicate, the nominal functions as direct object with the transitive auxiliary or another verb necessitates an agent subject. Such compound verbs follow transitive pattern: nominative-accusative in the present tense and ergative-absolutive in past tense:

mina pekar kaw -i ch nan baran raz –i
Meena.NOM thought.ACC do.PRS.IPFV -3FSG COM today rain come.3SG
Subject object
agent theme
Meena thinks that it is going to be rain today.

mine pekar kaw –ə ch woar ye raz –i
Meena.ERG thought.ACCdo.PRST.IPFV–M.3SG COM brotherCL.F.3SG come.3SG
Subject object
agent theme
Meena was thinking that her brother was coming today.

(Babrakzai, 1999, p. 141)

In (7) and (8), the constituents in the complex predicate are nominal elements. If the constituent in the compound verb is a verbal element, instead of nominal, then in such construction the verb requires an argument as its direct object (Babrakzai, 1999). In (9), the verbal element *shuro* 'start' and the transitive auxiliary *kawəl* 'do' take another argument, *majlias* 'meeting':

ta majlis pə- pinzo baj -o shuro kər
you.ERG meeting.ABS at five o' clock –OBL start do.PST.M.3SG
You started the meeting at five o' clock.

Bilingual Compound Verbs in the Code switching literature

Romaine (1995) has described the BCVs as a feature of monolingual verities. In various works on code switching, BCVs are defined as a conjugation of a light or helping verb, usually translated as "do" or "make", and a lexical item which gives the semantic content of the construction. Many more studies have analyzed the light verb construction based on the asymmetries between two languages as Joshi (1985): Marathi/English, Ritchie and Bhatia (1996): Hindi/English, Tjon (1988): Chinese/Dutch and other scholars have discussed and

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analyzed such constructions (e.g. Moravcsik, 1975; Muysken, 2000; Myers-Scotton, 2002). The BCVs constructions have several names in different literature. Muysken (2000) has used a cover term 'helping verb', Myers-Scotton (2002: 134) refers to them as the 'do-construction', while Wohlgemuth (2009: 104) refers to them as the Light Verb Strategy and argues that it is "preferable to use the broader term Light Verb Strategy as the cover term for all of these constructions (bilingual VP)".

The most distinguished work in the BCVs is Muysken (2000), who has studied different corpora in his work on "A Typology of Code mixing". In the chapter on "Bilingual Verbs," Muysken (2000) has declared code mixing as innovative, productive and leading to a structure not present in either of the languages in the contact. In the light of his analysis, he proposed the followings four main types in the bilingual corpus:

The verb is inserted into a position corresponding to a native verb, in adapted form or not
The new verb is adjoined to a helping verb
The new verb is a nominalized complement to a causative helping verb in a compound
The new verb is an infinitive and the complement of a native auxiliary

(Muysken, 2000, p. 184)

In most of the language contact phenomena, the bilingual compound verb is a copy of the structure of the monolingual complex predicate. Muysken (2000) exemplifies in (11) that there is a lexical structure of the type (V *kare*) where the helping verb such as 'make' or 'do' is in conjugation with the left-most alien verb; which carries the semantic meanings. This is common in the Indic languages, such as in the followings examples of Sranan/Dutch/English mixed verbs:

a.	*onti* kare	'to hunt'	Sranan
b.	*train* kre	'to train'	English
c.	*bewijis* kare	'to prove'	Dutch

(cited in Muysken, 2000, p 185)

In (11), the process is completely productive and does not entail phonological or semantic integration into the host language (Muysken, 2000). The same pattern of insertion is observed in Tamil/ English data (Annamalai, 1989):

avan enne *confuse* – pannitten
he me confuse did
He confused me.
(Annamalai, 1989; cited in Muysken, 2000, p. 215)

In BCVs, the bilinguals exploit their resourcefulness of the languages in code mixing contact. In different languages, different morphological strategies have been developed in the bilingual VP. In some languages, a bare verbs is conjugated with the light verb or helping verb as in

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Chinese/Dutch (Tjon, 1988). In other languages, stems are affixed with the native markers (Escobar & Escobar, 1981). In the third types of code mixing contact, stems are adapted as in the following examples where the French verbs can only be introduced into Dutch language when the stem is affixed with *–er*:

bless-er-en ‘hurt’ (< Fr *blesser*)
condemn-er-en ‘condemn’ (< Fr *condemner*)
concurrence-er-en ‘complete’ (< Fr *concurrence*)

(Treffers-Daller, 1994; Cited in Muysken 2000, p. 191)

In most of the language contact phenomenon, the languages that have ‘verbalizer’ can easily nativize the embedded language noun or verb into the matrix of the host language. In Russian, the nativized strategy for loan verbs is the suffixed *-ova* which is used as verbalizer of native nouns:

klassificir-ova-t ‘classify’
abstrahir-ova-t ‘abstract’
telenfonir-ova-t ‘telephone’

(Cited in Muysken, 2000, p. 195)

In Siegel (1987) English/ Hindi code mixing data, it was noted that the left-most lexical item in the bilingual VP is not a verb stem. In (15), according to Muysken (2000), the mixing is of very ordinary types which refers to small activities and do not represent cultural borrowings in the sense of Bloomfield (1933).

sain kar sign
wait kar wait
marit kar marry (in a civil ceremony)

(English/Hindi: Siegel, 1987; cited in Muysken, 2000: 208)

In Lotfabbadi (2002) Swedish/Persian bilingual data, a Swedish bare infinitive verb occurs to the left of the Persian auxiliary, whereas in Persian counterpart VP, this element is noun. The same structural pattern in the monolingual Panjabi VP is also observed (Romaine, 1996). The dominant pattern of BCVs is the Swedish bare infinitive verbs integrated by the Persian auxiliary *Kardan* ‘do’.

man-o *b*esviken kard –i
me-ra disappointed did-2SG
You made me disappointed.

(Lotfabbadi, 2002, p. 111)

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METHODOLOGY

The present data is very natural and spontaneous. The data covers a wide range of topics i.e. political, social, cultural, pedagogical, and about women rights. The collected data covers some famous shows of AVT Khyber i.e. Khyber News, Khyber Watch and Khyber club. All of the participants are bilinguals and do not consider cod switching as stigmatized behavior. The only dialect that is used throughout these shows is Yousafzi dialects. Two different formats have been used in these clips; some are group discussions on a certain topic and some of the clips are based on face to face interviews from the participants.

Sample:AVT Khyber Recording Clips

Most of the participants are highly educated and they shared the same cultural norms of Pashto speech community. Some of the participants are from the politics i.e. x-home minister and chief minister, MPAs, social workers, political analyst, and representative of different political parties. The data which I have collected from the YouTube can be categorized in the following Table 1 i.e. Topic, gender and time.

Table: 1 *Topic, gender, and time.*

Clips	Khyber Watch/ Khyber	Topic	Participants	Duration
1	Khyber club EP# 1	Computer	Male: 3 Female: 1	14 minutes
2	Khyber club EP# 11	Electronic/ print Media and its Influence on our life	Male: 3 Female: 1	14 minutes
3	Khyber club EP# 16	The use of tuition In education	Male: 3 Female: 1	14 minutes
4	Khyber club EP# 16	The use of tuition In education	Male: 3 Female: 1	12 minutes
5	Khyber club EP# 14	Peace, prosperity and development	Male: 4	14 minutes
6	Khyber club EP# 11	Electronic media	Male: 3 Female: 1	14 minutes
7	Khyber club EP# 13	Electronic media	Male: 3 Female: 1	14 minutes
8	Khyber News	My right (women Issues)	Female: 2	8 minutes
9	Khyber News	My right (women Issues)	Female: 3	8 minutes

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10	Khyber News	My right (women Issues)	Female: 3	14 minutes
11	Khyber News	Ismail (Singing)	Male: 2 Female: 1	19 minutes
12	Khyber News	Personal Political views	Male: 2 Female: 1	14 minutes
13	Khyber News	Personal Political views	Male: 2 Female: 1	14 minutes
14	Khyber News	Personal Political views	Male: 2 Female: 1	14 minutes
15	Nun Sahar	(Education and progress) VC Sarahad University	Male: 2	52 minutes
16	Nun Sahar	Self and Reality	Male: 1 Female: 1	14 minutes
17	Nun Sahar	Self Reality	Male: 1 Female: 1	14 minutes
18	Khyber Club	Politics: Care taker Prime minister	Male: 4	14 minutes
19	Nun Sahar	Unemployment	Male: 4	9 minutes
20	Nun Sahar	Unemployment	Male: 4	14 minutes
21	Nun Sahar Classics	Motorway Issues	Male: 1 Female: 1	39 minutes
22	Nun Sahar Classics	Islambad Police	Male: 1 Female: 1	27 minutes
23	Khpal Etwar	Doctor openion	Male: 1 Female: 2	27 minutes
24	Khpal Etwar	Doctor openion	Male: 1 Female: 2	21 minutes
25	Khpal Etwar	Female Education	Female: 3	14 minutes

Procedure for data collection

The source for the present data is a Pashto language TV channel AVT Khyber (Khyber News). Approximately 12 hrs of 35 clips were downloaded from the online source (YouTube) for the analysis of CM data. Out of 35 clips only 25 clips of approximately eight/8 hrs were selected. In order to select reliable and appropriate data the clips were selected by six native speakers of Pashto language. The first criteria of selection of the different shows were their language and participants. Most of the participants were educated and they were using English words/phrases with ease and spontaneously. The second criterions of selection of the online data were their topics. Their topics were about the culture, politics, unemployment, education and women

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rights in the Pashto speech community of KPK. I downloaded 25 clips of almost 8 hrs for my CM study. Here something which is really good for this research is the notion of "observer's paradox", (Labov: 1972) because all of the talk shows which I have downloaded are held in a very natural setting. There was no such risk that the participants in shows are observed for the CM purpose and their speech style remains unchanged throughout the debate held in the shows. Through this way I managed to collect valid data for my CM studies.

Transcription of the CM data

In order to transcribe the Pashto-English code-mixing data the recordings are transcribed into Roman English. In order to give it proper glossing and morphemic identification the data is transcribed with the help of "Tool Box" All of the data have been transcribed in three layers. The first layer represents the data at morphemic level. The second layer represents the data at gloss level where each morpheme has given a proper name according to its function in the data. It is found that the data is homogenous, so some of the data has been curtailed in order to make it feasible for the analysis. Each and every transcribed sentence has a reference number according to the participant gender, function and recording name.

Data coding for the present study

The Pashto-English bilingual transcribed data is discussed and analyzed on the basis of the previous approaches to the bilingual data: Moravcsik, 1975; Muysken, 2000; and Lotfabbadi 2002. The data is also analyzed on the basis of the monolingual compound verbs analysis proposed in the monolingual literature (Butt 1995; Raja 2003; Babrakzai 1999; Tegey 1996; Robert 2000).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Pashto-English Bilingual Compound verbs

The total mixed BCVs found in the present data are 40, where the bilingual pattern can be fitted into five categories of verbs; participles, gerunds, phrasal verbs and nouns as shown in table (2). The most frequent combination of the English verb is with the transitive light verb *kaw* 'do or make' and the intransitive light verb *keg* 'become'. In entire data, two examples of the English past participle and English gerund are observed (table 2). In the entire data only a single example of intransitive light verb *ra- zam* 'com -ing' is observed. In other languages like Hindi and Urdu other elements such as *daina* 'gave', *gya* 'go', *lia* 'take' are the light verbs (Raja, 2003; Butt, 1995). The table also shows 2 examples of the verb particle (brought up) in the Pashto-English data.

Table: 2*Distribution of the Embedded Lexical items in the BCVs patterns in Pashto-English CM*

English lexical elements	Kaw (do/make)	Keg (become)	Copula (be)	Others *ra- zam*
Verb	22	9	2	2
Noun	1	1		
Participle			2	
Gerund	1		1	
Verb particle		2		

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Table (3) shows the combination of the English alien elements with the Pashto helping verb. It is clear that the most dominant pattern of BCVs is the combination of the two light verb transitive *kaw* 'do or make' and intransitive *keg* 'become' and the English verb. In Punjabi compound monolingual data, the left-most cannot be a verb but can only be a noun or adjective (Muysken, 2000). In Pashto monolingual compound, the left-most element can be nominal element and verbal element in the intransitive *keg* 'become' construction. In the transitive construction, most of the compound or complex predicate is structured around the nominal element and the transitive auxiliary *kawəl* 'do' and occasionally other verbs (Babrakzai, 1999). The monolingual data discussed in Babrakzai (1999) shows the same pattern of combination of N+V and Adj+V. The data in table (3) and the following examples show that in BCVs, English verb is the most dominant pattern with the Pashto light verbs. The other remarkable feature apart from the transitivity is that the verb derived from adjective stem marked the perfective aspect by the stem and an auxiliary verb; on the other hand, the imperfective aspect is marked with a stem suffixed by a nominal marker for agreement (Babrakzai, 1999).

Table 3 *The distribution of lexical elements with the light verbs*

Lexical element	Transitive light verb	Lexical element	Intransitive Light verb	Lexical element	Copula
play *discuss* *discuss* *share* *qualified* *target* *exaggerate* *provide* *add*	*+ Kaw (do/make)*	*balance* *collapse* *computerize* *release* *use* *decide* *clear* *brought up*	*+ Keg (become)*	*missing* *connected*	*+wo (be)*

In the light of the Pashto-English bilingual data, the study proposed three patterns of BCV following the monolingual compound verb and simple verb. In table (3), the copula represents the helping verb 'be' in Pashto language. The light verb in the proposed structure represents the two auxiliary verbs transitive *kaw* 'do or make', intransitive *keg* 'become' and the light verb *razam* 'coming'. The light verb *razam* is marked for tense, person, and agreement. The following figure shows that the English elements in the bilingual VP must be in conjunction with the Pashto helping verbs where the helping verb is used as cover term for Pashto COP 'be' Light verb *kaw*, *keg* and *razam.*

The Proposed BCVs structure equivalents to Pashto Monolingual structure are as follows:

Monolingual VP	Bilingual VP
[native verb + cop]	[alien verb + cop]
[native verb + light verb]	[alien verb + light verb]
[native verb]	[alien verb + light verb]

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In Pashto-English CM data, the above three structural patterns have been observed. The most striking pattern of replacement in the monolingual VP is the (3). In (3), the Pashto native verb is a single verb inflected for tense, aspect and agreement marker is replaced by [V+ light verb] structure in the bilingual VP. The most dominant pattern of change is in (2) where the [native verb + light verb] is replaced by the [alien verb + light verb (*kaw, Keg*)]. All the above three bilingual VP patterns are productive as not a single example entails phonological or semantic integration into the Pashto morphosyntax.

In Pashto-English bilingual data, not a single verb like go, come, keep is observed. The only possible explanation is that in Pashto, its counterpart is treated as light verb and the proposed pattern of BCV is [English element + light verb or copula]. It is not possible that the two light verbs function in the same BCV structure. The data for the BCVs analysis is as follows:

English verbs with the light verb kaw

In example (17), the BCV structure is [*play* kaw -i], where the alien verb 'play' is conjugated with the aspectual marker the light verb *kaw -i*. In the bilingual VP, the English verb 'play' can be replaced by its Pashto counterpart *ada.* It is a typical example of replacing the Pashto native verb in monolingual compound verb construction. In the entire Pashto-English bilingual data, not a single evidence of EL verbal integration can be found. This is a very productive process because without any direct marking the English verb 'play' is working as complement to the head *kaw –i. S*emantically, the verb 'play' performs many functions and takes many arguments than its Pashto counterpart *ada.* In Pashto, the word play is also used with many different concepts: play a ball, play a song, play a movie, play a music instrument, etc. On the other hand, the Pashto verb *ada* is very specific in taking the noun 'role' in its argument. The use of English verb play is really a productive entry into Pashto language. The English elements into Pashto can only be introduced when there is a helping verb in the bilingual VP.

Media [IP[NP *negative role*] hu [V *play* kaw -i]]
media.NOM negative role indeed play do.PRS.IPFV -3SG
Media indeed play a negative role

IP-internal [[NP] I] a. NP-internal [AN] b. V-internal [V light verb]

In example (18), the helping verb *kr -o* in the BCV is multimorphemic and is marked for tense, aspect and agreement. The English verb 'divide' appears in conjugation with the light verb *kaw -o.* The pattern of the BCV is equivalent to the Pashto monolingual structure. The English verb has replaced the Pashto counterpart *taqssem* 'divide' and is embedded in the native verb slot. The issue of borrowing is really complicated with the English verb in Pashto language. As the EL verb 'play' in (17) does not entail any morphological and phonological integration in Pashto language. One of the reasons with borrowing in Pashto language is the multimorphemic nature of Pashto helping verbs which have reduced the possibility of integration of the English verb in the Pashto structure.

Che [IP[PP dwa *groups* ke] mong [V *divide* kr -o]]
COMP two groups in.OBL 1PL.NOM divide do.PRS.PFV -1PL

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That we have divided in two groups

IP-internal [[PP] I] a. PP-internal [A N P] b.V-internal [V light verb]

In (19), the embedded verb 'start' appears in conjugation with the Pashto transitive light verb *kaw -o*. It is a clear example of replacement of the Pashto monolingual counterpart verb *shuro*. The process in BCVs is completely productive as the English alien verb 'start' does not carry phonological or semantic integration into the Pashto language morphosyntax. The same phenomenon in the studies of Sranan/Dutch/English (Kishna, 1979) is mentioned in Muysken (2000) where the alien verb is not integrated into the host language and the process is highly productive.

che [IP[PP də de *format*] ba sanga [V *start* kaw -o]]
COMP of this.DEM.PROX format CL.FUT how start do.PRE.IPFV -1PL
You should say to the dear audience that how we will start this format

IP-internal [[PP] I] a. PP-internal [P DET N] b.V-internal [V light verb]

The BCV construction is innovative, especially when its Pashto counterpart is a simple word marked by transitive/intransitive marker. In (20), the counterpart to the bilingual VP '*use* kaw –i' in the Pashto VP is *istimal- aw –i.* In the monolingual VP the stem *istemal* is suffixed by the transitive marker *aw* to mark the tense, aspect and subject-verb agreement with the pronominal marker *–i*. In Pashto, the stem takes a direct suffix marker for tense and aspect but when the same imperfective structure is used in BCV it changes the entire structure. In (23), the BCV (use kaw –i) functions as two parts but its Pashto counterpart *istimal -aw –i* function as a single part.

da hr sook [V *use* kaw -i]]
DEM.PROX each person use do.PRS.IPFV.3SG
This is used by every person

VP-internal [V light verb]

Example with a noun

The embedded verb 'target' appears in conjugation with the Pashto transitive light verb *kaw -u* as shown in (21). The Pashto light verb *kaw –u* is a multimorphemic word and is used as marker of tense, aspect, and agreement. It is a clear example of replacement of the Pashto monolingual counterpart verb *pə naha* 'at target' but in Pashto, it is a compound verb combination of preposition *pə* 'at' and noun *naha* 'target'. The process in BCV is completely productive as the English alien verb 'target' does not entail phonological or semantic integration into the Pashto language morphosyntax. In this example, the Pashto nominalizer is verbalized in the bilingual VP.

pə de ke monga[IP [NP *youth*] [V *target* kaw -u]]
at MED.PROX in.OBL 1PL.NOM outh target do.PRS.IPFV -1PL

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In this we target the youth

IP-internal [[NP]I] a. NP-internal [N] b. V-internal [V light verb]

Example with gerund

In the BCV example (22), the English gerund 'teaching' appears in conjugation with the light verb *kaw -o*. The English gerund teaching is a good example of nominalised verb. The English gerund in Pashto is always used as nominalizer and functions in the start of a sentence. The English nominalised verb contributes to the core semantics of the construction. The role of the light verb *kaw -o* is to mark the tense aspect and agreement of the construction. In BCV, the English gerund does not entail phonological and morphological integration in the Pashto language. The present BCV pattern is highly productive and innovative in Pashto language.

Mong hapal [V teaching kaw -o]
1PL own *teaching* do.PRS.IPFV -IPL
We do our own teaching.
V-internal [V Light verb]

English verbs with the intransitive light verb 'keg'

In (23), the light verb *shw -a* 'become' is marked with the tense, aspect and is further inflected by the 3rd person pronominal marker *-a* for the subject-verb agreement. In the BCV, the left-most lexical element, the bare infinitive verb 'release', is carrying the semantic meanings. The insertion of the English bare infinitive is innovation because its counterpart *ragl -a* 'came' is an intransitive verb having a stem inflected for tense, aspect and person. In Pashto-English bilingual data, the BCV is very productive when its counterpart in Pashto is a stem inflected for tense, aspect and person. On the other hand, semantically the two stems 'release' and *ragla* by no means are equivalent but here the English verb 'release' carries the same meanings in the following construct.

Halaq wayi Che [IP [NP *cassette*] [*release* shw -a]]
People say.PRS.PFV COMP cassette release become.PRS.PFV -3SG
The people say that the cassette has been released

IP-internal [[NP]I] a.NP-internal [N] b.V-internal [V light verb]

In (24), the BCV structure is following the proposed structure of the [alien verb + light verb]. The embedded verb 'use' is used as bare infinitive form without any direct inflection or affixation. The other remarkable feature beside the transitivity is that the verb derived from adjective stems marked the perfective aspect by the stem and an auxiliary verb. On the other hand, the imperfective aspect is marked with a stem suffixed by a nominal marker for agreement (Babrakzai, 1999). This process is highly productive as it has not been observed in the Pashto language such as:

Pashto	Pashto-English (BCV)	Urdu	English-Urdu (BCV)
Istimalegi	use keg –i	Istemal huta hain	use huta hain
Istamalwai	use kaw –i	Istemal krtha hain	use krta hain

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In English-Urdu bilingual VP, the lexical item is marked with the Urdu light verb such as ‘use huta hain’ and ‘use krtha hain’. In Pashto-English bilingual VP this process of code mixing is highly innovative as it produces an entirely new structure.

da computer [IP [NP *all overthe world*] [V *use* keg -i]]
this.DEM.PROX computer all over the world use become.PRS.IPFV -3SG
The computer is used all over the world

The BCV [*collapse* sh -i] has two parts where the English verb is in conjugation with the Pashto intransitive light verb *sh -i* ‘become’ as shown in (25). The Pashto light verb *sh -i* is multimorphemic and is marked for tense, aspect and agreement. The insertion of English verb ‘collapse’ in Pashto VP is highly productive as it does not show any phonological, morphological and semantic integration into the matrix language.

Nu [IP [NP pura *system*][VP *collapse* sh -i]]
then complet esystem collapse become.PRS.PFV -3SG
Then the complete system collapsed

IP-internal [[NP] [V]] a. NP-internal [A N] b. V-internal [V light verb]

Example with a noun

In example (26), the English noun ‘balance’ is used as verb in the bilingual VP with the Pashto intransitive light verb *sh -o*. The English verb balance is more compatible with the argument NP ‘answer’. On the other hand, its Pashto counterpart *barabər* or *masawi* is not compatible with the ‘answer’ in its argument. The English noun balance is an example of nominalised verb in the BCV. The present process of insertion is strongly innovative because the embedded element does not entail phonological or semantic integration into the Pashto matrix.

staso [IP [NP *answer*] [V *balance* sh -o]]
GEN.2PL answer balance become.PST.PRF -1PL
Your answer had become balanced

IP-internal [[NP] I] a. NP-internal [N] b. V-internal [V light verb]

Example with a phrasal verb

In example (27), the insertion of the English phrasal verb ‘brought up’ in the light verb construction is very productive and innovative. In Pashto, the counter part of ‘brought up’ is *pervarish* but in Pashto, there is no such structure as phrasal verb and that is why it is an innovation into the Pashto language. There is no evidence of phonological and semantic integration of the embedded phrasal verb in the matrix language.

Che da aghwi hə [V *brought up* wa- sh - i]

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COMP of 3PL.DIST good brought up become.PRS.PFV -3PL
That they should have best brought up
V-internal [V light verb]

English lexical elements with the Pashto verb 'be'

In (28), the English embedded verb 'apply' is conjugated with the Pashto copula *wi*. The process of insertion in the bilingual VP is highly productive because the nature of all English elements in Pashto VP is a good example of code switching as there is no evidence of phonological and semantic integration in the Pashto matrix.

də Islam [IP[NP toul *golden rule*] ba halta [V *apply* wi]]
of Islam all.DET golden rule CL.FUT DEM.DIST apply COP.PRS.IPFV.3PL
All golden rule of the Islam will be applied there

IP-internal [[NP] I] a. NP-internal [DET AN] b. V-internal [V COP]

English gerund with the Pashto copula (be)

I have mentioned in example (23) that in Pashto speech community, the use of English gerund is very common but in the present data, only few examples are observed with the Pashto transitive light verb *kaw -o* and copula 'be'. In the BCV example (29), the English gerund 'missing' appears in conjugation with the Pashto imperfective past tense copula *wo*. The Pashto copula by no means is equal with the English past tense 'was' because Pashto copula has more multimorphemic functions than the English 'was'. The English gerund in Pashto has many more functions as it can be used as noun, verb, and as adjective. The English gerund 'missing' is a good example of adjective verb. This type of construction is highly innovative and productive in Pashto language structure. The Pashto monolingual counterpart of the bilingual VP is *shamil na wo*. In the Pashto monolingual, there is negation marker in the VP slot, while in bilingual VP, the English adjective has turned into a verb.

che Ajab khan da yaw dwa -o *program* -uno na
COMP Ajab Khan.ABS of one.M.SG two -ENG program -PL.ENG from
[V missing wo]
missing COP.PST.IPFV.3SG
That Ajab Khan was missing from one and two programs

V-internal [V light verb]

Example with a participle

In example (30) in the bilingual VP, the English past participle appears in conjugation with the Pashto present imperfective copula *yu* 'be'. In the Pashto language, the use of particle is very common but in the present data, only 2 instances have been observed. The English participle

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is a strong example of code switching and the process is innovative and productive because it does not show any phonological and semantic integration in the Pashto morphosyntactic frame.

monga agha halaq -o sra [V *connected* yu]
1PL DM.MID people -OBL with connected COP.PRS.IPFV.1PL
We are connected with those people

V-internal [V +be]

English lexical element with a light verb ra- zam

In entire data, only two examples of such type are observed. In Pashto syntax, the light verb *ra- zam* is not a typical type of auxiliary verb like the transitive auxiliary *kaw* 'do/make' or intransitive *keg* 'become' but it is more like in function with the Urdu light verbs *jaa,* 'go', gya 'went', etc. In the BCV, the participle 'prepared' is used as past stem conjugated with Pashto light verb *ra- zam*. The counterpart of the English participle 'prepared' in Pashto is the adjective *tyar* 'ready'. The Pashto verb *tyar* is used in the VP slots by the light verbs in the bare from and does not take tense or aspectual marker. The English verb 'prepared' in the Pashto language structure is an innovation as it deviates from the Pashto monolingual VP structure.

za [IP [PP *class*ta] [VP [V *prepared* ra- zam]]
1SG.NOM class to.OBL prepare 1SG- come.PRS.PFV.1SG
I come prepared to the class

IP-internal [[PP]I] a.PP-internal [N P] b. V-internal [V light verb]

CONCLUSION

The study confirms that the BCV is the most striking and innovative pattern of insertion in Pashto-English CM. This chapter concludes that the total mixed BCVs found in the present data are 40 where the bilingual pattern can be fitted into five categories verbs, participles, gerunds, phrasal verbs and nouns. The most frequent conjugation of the English verb is with the transitive light verb *kaw* 'do or make' and the intransitive light verb *keg* 'become'. The light verbs (kaw, Keg) are suffixed with the agreement marker. The agreement markers are multimorphemic and they are marked for aspect, tense and agreement. The data is also compatible with the Myers-Scotton (1993, 2002, 2009) claim that embedded verb in bilingual VP is integrated by the outsider system morpheme of the ML.

The data presents that embedded elements inside the bilingual VP is not integrated morphologically, while the French verbs can only be introduced into Dutch language when the stem is affixed with the marker *–er* (Cited in Muysken 2000, p. 191). The discussion and the BCVs in Pashto-English data show that marking of an embedded element for adaptation can be the marking system of a language. In different languages, even for the first time insertion of a verb is marked with a marker. In the present data, the English verb 'play' is used in different contexts with different concepts which validate that marking of an embedded element for adaptation is not necessary.

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