

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF PASHAI: THE LANGUAGE AND SPEECH
COMMUNITY OF DARRAI NUR

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS

BY
RACHEL LEHR

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

AUGUST 2014

UMI Number: 3638612

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI 3638612

Published by ProQuest LLC (2014). Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.

Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code



ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 - 1346

Copyright © 2014 by Rachel Lehr
All Rights Reserved

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of my father, Velvl Lehr, who introduced me to the joy of languages, and to my mother, Genie Lehr, who has been a pillar of support. It also is dedicated to the memory of my Pashai partner Sakhi Sharay, who spoke entirely in proverbs.

Contents

List of Figures	x
List of Tables	xi
Acknowledgments	xvii
Abstract	xx
Abbreviations	xxi
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Organization of Dissertation	2
1.2.1 Part One	3
1.2.2 Part Two	4
1.3 Situating Pashai	5
1.3.1 Pashai Origins	7
1.3.2 What is Dardic	10
1.3.3 Dardic Features of Pashai	11
1.3.4 Pashai Dialects	13
1.4 Pashai – What’s in a Name	15
1.5 Risk Factors	15
1.5.1 Pashtunization	16
1.5.2 Language Preservation	18
1.5.3 Documentation and Preservation in Afghanistan	19
1.5.4 Local Efforts	20
1.6 Methodology	21
1.6.1 Personal Background with Pashai Speakers	21
1.6.2 Research Design	21
1.6.3 Additional Field Data	22
1.6.4 Language Consultants	23
1.7 Methodology for Diaspora Research	23
1.7.1 Research Design	24
1.7.2 Methodology	24
1.7.3 Documentation	25

1.8	Typology of Language and Gender	26
1.8.1	Typology of Minority Languages	26
1.8.2	Demography	28
1.8.3	Communicative Space and Usefulness	32
1.8.4	Geography of Language Use	32
1.8.5	Women and Language in the Diaspora	36
2	Language and Context	38
2.1	Language in Context	38
2.2	Introduction	40
2.3	History of Language Policies in Afghanistan	40
2.4	Ethno-Linguistic Politics	43
2.5	Creating Pashai Identity	45
2.6	Qaum	46
2.6.1	Weighted Features	48
2.6.2	Ethnic Nomenclature	49
2.7	Language and Identity	50
2.7.1	Social Hierarchy	50
2.7.2	<i>šārē</i>	51
2.7.3	Pashai Dissimulation and Aspirational Pashtuns	51
2.8	Origin Myth	54
2.8.1	Gurbuz Safi Story	54
2.8.2	Soom Shenganek Story	55
2.9	Social Status	56
2.10	Construction of Identity in the Diaspora	58
2.10.1	Women and Language in the Diaspora	58
2.10.2	Status, Language Choice, and Legitimacy	59
2.10.3	Language and Prestige	60
2.11	Models of Multilingualism – Diglossia	60
2.11.1	Pashai in Urban Context	65
2.11.2	Pashai in a Rural Context	66
2.11.3	A Visit to the Doctor	68
2.12	Summary	68
3	Phonology	70
3.1	Introduction	70
3.2	Consonants	71
3.3	Phonemic Contrast	72
3.3.1	Plosives	72
3.3.2	Waveforms	73
3.3.3	Affricates	80
3.3.4	Fricatives	81
3.3.5	Nasals	85
3.3.6	Laterals	85
3.3.7	Rhotic Liquids	87

3.3.8	Approximants	87
3.4	Vowels	88
3.4.1	Vowel Phonemes	92
3.4.2	Vowel Distribution	97
3.5	Syllable Structure	100
3.5.1	Minimal Word	100
3.5.2	Syllable Templates	101
3.5.3	Syllable Weight	105
3.5.4	Stress	105
3.5.5	Tone	108
3.6	Sequence Constraints	111
3.6.1	Consonant Sequences	111
3.6.2	Nasal Sequences	112
3.6.3	Liquid Sequences	113
3.6.4	Fricative Clusters	114
3.6.5	Vowel Clusters	114
3.7	Phonological Processes	115
3.7.1	Cluster Simplification	115
3.7.2	Stem-Final Devoicing	116
3.7.3	Vowel Shortening	117
3.7.4	Voicing Assimilation	119
3.7.5	Morphophonemic Alternations	119
3.7.6	Vowel Copying	126
3.7.7	Adjacent Vowels	127
3.8	Areal Features	128
3.9	Loanword Phonology	129
3.9.1	Nativization	130
3.9.2	Cluster Simplification	131
3.10	Conclusions	136
4	Nominal Morphology	137
4.1	Introduction	137
4.2	Word Formation	137
4.2.1	Introduction	137
4.2.2	Compounding	138
4.2.3	Derivation	138
4.2.4	Diminutive Formation	142
4.3	Inflectional Morphology	144
4.3.1	Introduction	144
4.3.2	Case Morphology	145
4.3.3	Postpositions	157
4.3.4	Definiteness	161
4.3.5	Possessive Suffixes	162
4.3.6	Direct Case Possessive Suffix Function	168
4.3.7	Oblique/Genitive Possessive Suffixes	170

4.3.8	Inherent Possession	171
4.3.9	Possessive Suffixes for Kinship Terms	173
4.3.10	Nominal Gender	176
4.3.11	Number Inflection	181
4.4	Adjectives and Adverbs	184
4.4.1	Adjectives	184
4.4.2	Adverbs	187
4.4.3	Quantifiers	190
4.5	Pronouns	191
4.5.1	Personal Pronouns	191
4.5.2	Bound Pronouns	191
4.5.3	Demonstratives	193
4.5.4	Reflexive Form	195
4.6	Deixis	197
4.6.1	Spatial Location	200
4.6.2	Temporal Location	202
4.6.3	Location and Movement	203
4.6.4	Demonstratives <i>se/ti</i> and <i>me</i>	204
4.6.5	Summary	206
4.7	Conclusion	207
5	Verbal Morphology	208
5.1	Introduction	208
5.1.1	Verbal Template	209
5.1.2	Verbal System	211
5.2	Verb Stem	212
5.3	Pronominal Suffixes	213
5.4	Non-Perfective Tenses	214
5.4.1	Present-Future Non-Specific	214
5.4.2	Present-Future Specific	219
5.4.3	Past Imperfect	224
5.5	Perfective Tenses	227
5.5.1	Perfective Intransitive	230
5.5.2	Perfective Transitive	231
5.5.3	Distal Perfect and Remote Perfect	235
5.5.4	Summary	237
5.6	Valency-Changing Suffixes	237
5.6.1	Transitivizing Suffix	237
5.6.2	Causative Suffix	239
5.7	Nonfinite Verb Morphology	240
5.7.1	Adjectival Participles	240
5.7.2	Adverbial Participles	249
5.7.3	Infinitive	251
5.8	Conclusions	252

6	Tense and Aspect	253
6.1	Introduction	253
6.2	Terminology	253
6.3	Verbal Morphology and Conjugational Elements	255
6.4	Copula and Auxiliary Verbs	255
6.4.1	The Verb <i>ā-</i> ‘be’	256
6.4.2	The Verb <i>b-</i> ‘be(come)’	258
6.4.3	The Verb <i>t-</i> ‘be’ Presumptive	264
6.4.4	Equational Construction ($x = y$)	270
6.4.5	Existential Construction ($\exists x$)	271
6.4.6	Summary	272
6.5	Tense-Aspect Forms	273
6.5.1	Non-Perfective	275
6.5.2	Perfective	283
6.6	Specificity	291
6.7	Evidentiality	295
6.8	Non-Indicative Mood	298
6.8.1	Imperative	298
6.8.2	Optative	300
6.8.3	Subjunctive	301
6.9	Conclusions	302
7	Syntax	303
7.1	Introduction	303
7.2	Word Order	303
7.2.1	Word Order – Not Strictly SOV	305
7.2.2	Ergativity and Word Order	307
7.3	Verbal Constructions	308
7.3.1	Verb Serialization	309
7.3.2	Light Verb Construction	310
7.4	Negation	312
7.4.1	Introduction	312
7.4.2	Verbal Negation	313
7.4.3	Derived Adjectival Negation	317
7.4.4	Indefinite Pronouns and Negation	318
7.4.5	Non-Indicative Negation	323
7.4.6	Summary	325
7.5	Question Formation	326
7.5.1	Yes/No Questions	326
7.5.2	Wh-Questions	327
7.5.3	Summary	339
7.6	Coordination	339
7.6.1	Conjunctive Coordination	339
7.6.2	Disjunctive Coordination	341
7.6.3	Adversative Coordination	342

7.7	Subordination	342
7.7.1	Adverbial Clause	343
7.7.2	Conditional Clauses	347
7.7.3	Relative Clauses	353
7.7.4	Complement Clauses	359
7.7.5	Sentential Complements	359
7.7.6	Infinitival Complements	363
7.8	Conclusion	364
8	Concluding Remarks	365
8.1	Introduction	365
8.2	Language, Gender, Space and Identity	365
8.3	Phonology	366
8.4	Areal Typology and Regional Languages	367
8.5	Symmetries	367
8.6	Asymmetries	368
8.7	Language Change	369
8.8	Orthography	369
	Appendix A Supplementary Maps	371
	Appendix B Gurbuz Origin Story	376
B.1	Summary of Texts	376
B.1.1	Narrative Story 1	376
B.1.2	Narrative Story 2	377
B.2	Introduction to the Texts	378
B.2.1	The Narrator	378
B.2.2	Gurbuz Text	378
B.3	Loanwords in Pashai	385
	Appendix C Women’s Wedding Song	387
	Appendix D Primary Verb Roots	389
	Appendix E How to Talk to Animals	394
	Appendix F Kinship Terms	395
	Appendix G Pashai Counting System	397
	Appendix H Participants	400
	References	403

List of Figures

1.1	Languages of Northeastern Afghanistan	6
3.1	Word-Initial [p]	73
3.2	Word-Initial [b]	74
3.3	Intervocalic [p]	74
3.4	Intervocalic [b]	75
3.5	Word-Final [p]	76
3.6	Word-Final [p]	76
3.7	Pashai Vowel Phonemes	89
3.8	Vowel Pronunciation Overlap Ellipse Chart	90
3.9	Vowel Duration Ratios	91
3.10	/a/	93
3.11	/ā/	93
3.12	Word-Final /a/	106
3.13	Word-Final /ā/	107
4.1	Gender and Animacy	177
5.1	Pashai Indicative Verb Forms	211
6.1	Pashai Tense-Aspect Time-Line	255
A.1	Afghanistan and Global Locator Map	372
A.2	Regional Languages Map	373
A.3	Eastern Afghanistan provinces where Pashai is spoken	374
A.4	Darrai Nur District	375

List of Tables

1	Abbreviations	xxi
2	Transcription Correspondence	xxiii
1.1	UNESCO Criteria for Language Endangerment	19
1.2	Edwards (1992) Framework for the Typology of Minority Languages	27
3.1	Consonant Phonemes of Pashai	71
3.2	Plosives	72
3.3	Labial Voicing Contrast	73
3.4	Dental Voicing Contrast	77
3.5	Dental Retroflex Voicing Contrast	77
3.6	Dental - Retroflex Contrast	78
3.7	Complementary Distribution [ɾ] and [ɖ]	79
3.8	Post-Nasal Position [ɖ]	79
3.9	Velar Voicing Contrast	79
3.10	Affricates	81
3.11	Affricates Voicing Contrast	81
3.12	Fricatives	81
3.13	Dental Fricative Voicing Contrast	82
3.14	Palatal Fricatives Voicing Contrast	82
3.15	Palatal Fricative and Dental Fricative Contrast	83
3.16	Retroflex /ʂ/ (ʂ) Retained Words	83
3.17	Velar Fricatives Voicing Contrast	84
3.18	Glottal Fricative [h]	84
3.19	Nasals	85
3.20	Nasal Contrast	85
3.21	Lateral Contrast	86
3.22	[l] ~ [ɭ]	86
3.23	Rhotic Contrast	87
3.24	Approximant /ʋ/	88
3.25	Approximant /y/	88
3.26	Vowel Sample Size	90
3.27	Vowel Duration Breakdown	92
3.28	Minimal Pairs /a/ /ā/	92
3.29	Minimal Pairs /e/ /ē/	94
3.30	Minimal Pairs /o/ /ō/	95

3.31	Vowels /i/ and /u/	95
3.32	Minimal Pairs /u/ /ō/	96
3.33	Minimal Contrasts /e/ /i/ /ē/	96
3.34	Diphthongs	97
3.35	Syllable Distribution /u/, /o/, /ō/	97
3.36	Initial and Final Position /u/, /o/, /ō/	98
3.37	Syllable Distribution /i/, /e/, /ē/	98
3.38	Initial and Final Position /i/, /e/, /ē/	99
3.39	Syllable Distribution /a/, /ā/	99
3.40	Initial and Final Position /a/, /ā/	99
3.41	Minimal Word	100
3.42	Minimal Word Exceptions	100
3.43	Syllable Templates	102
3.44	Syllables per Word	103
3.45	Verb Root Templates	104
3.46	Syllables per Verb	105
3.47	Vowel Length Alternation Measurements	106
3.48	Word-Final Length /a/ and /ā/	106
3.49	Stems with Rising Pitch	108
3.50	Additional Tone Words	109
3.51	High Tone	109
3.52	Vowel Length Distinction in dār ‘mountain’/‘kindling’	110
3.53	Distribution of Consonant Sequences	112
3.54	Nasal Sequences	113
3.55	Liquid Sequences	113
3.56	Sibilant Sequences	114
3.57	Vowel Cluster Distribution	114
3.58	Vowel Clusters	115
3.59	Cluster Reduction and Vowel Length Alternation	116
3.60	Voiced Stem-Final Consonants and Vowel Length Alternation	116
3.61	Voiceless Stem-Final Consonants and Vowel Length Alternation	117
3.62	Word-Final Syllables with Long and Short Vowels	118
3.63	Vowel Shortening	118
3.64	Oblique Suffix -ē Consonant-Final Stem	120
3.65	Oblique Suffix -ē Vowel-Final Stem	120
3.66	Oblique Suffix -i Consonant-Final Stem	120
3.67	Oblique Suffix -y Vowel-Final Stem	121
3.68	Genitive Suffix Consonant-Final Stem	121
3.69	Genitive Suffix Vowel-Final Stem	121
3.70	Genitive + Possessive Suffix	122
3.71	Transitivizing Suffix Consonant-Final Stem	122
3.72	Transitivizing Suffix Vowel-Final Stem	122
3.73	Causative Suffix Consonant-Final Stem	123
3.74	Causative Suffix Vowel-Final Stem	123
3.75	Stative Participle Consonant-Final Stems	124

3.76	Stative Participle Suffix Vowel Following [m], [p]	124
3.77	Stative Participle Vowel-Final Stems	124
3.78	Imperfective Participle Consonant-Final Stem	125
3.79	Imperfective Participle Vowel-Final Stem	125
3.80	Reciprocal Participle Consonant-Final Stem	125
3.81	Reciprocal Participle Vowel-Final Stem	126
3.82	Negative Prefix Consonant-Initial Stem	126
3.83	Negative Prefix Vowel-Initial Stem	126
3.84	Identical Vowels Across Morpheme Boundaries	127
3.85	Glide [y] Insertion	128
3.86	No Glide Insertion	128
3.87	Nativization f > p	130
3.88	Nativization q > x	131
3.89	Epenthesis	132
3.90	Vowel Raising	132
3.91	Prothesis	133
3.92	Word-Final Consonant Deletion	134
3.93	Word-Internal Cluster Simplification	134
3.94	Nasal Insertion	135
4.1	Compounds	138
4.2	Noun+vālā	139
4.3	Adjective +vālā	139
4.4	Postposition +vālā	139
4.5	Location +vālā	140
4.6	+vālā Professional Quality	141
4.7	Diminutive Suffix Consonant-Final Stem	143
4.8	Diminutive Suffix Vowel-Final Stem	143
4.9	Direct – Oblique Case Opposition	146
4.10	Pashai Case Suffixes	146
4.11	Oblique Singular Suffix -i	149
4.12	Oblique Singular Suffix -y	149
4.13	Oblique Singular Suffix -ē Vowel-Final Stem	150
4.14	Oblique Singular Suffix -ē Consonant-Final Stem	150
4.15	Locative Postpositions	154
4.16	Genitive Singular Suffix Vowel-Final Stem	155
4.17	Genitive Singular Suffix Consonant-Final Stem	155
4.18	Genitive Singular Suffix + Possessive Suffix	155
4.19	Pashai Postpositions	159
4.20	Locative Postpositions	159
4.21	Ablative Postpositions	160
4.22	Postpositions Taking Possessive Suffixes	160
4.23	Oblique Pronouns Taking Postpositions	160
4.24	Possessive Suffixes	162
4.25	Possessive Suffixes Class I Nouns Consonant-Final Stem	163

4.26	Possessive Suffixes Class I Nouns <i>-ek</i>	163
4.27	Possessive Suffixes Class I Nouns Vowel-Final Stem	164
4.28	Possessive Suffixes Class II Nouns Consonant-Final Stem	165
4.29	Possessive Suffixes Class II Nouns Vowel-Final Stem	165
4.30	Possessive Suffixes Class III Nouns Consonant-Final Stem	166
4.31	Possessive Suffixes Class III Nouns Vowel-Final Stem	166
4.32	Possessive Suffixes Class IV Nouns	167
4.33	Possessive Suffixes Class V Nouns	167
4.34	Possessive Suffix Classes Minimal Pairs	168
4.35	Morgenstierne Possessive Suffixes	168
4.36	Possessive Suffixes Oblique/Genitive	170
4.37	Burnes Specimen	173
4.38	Kinship Possessive Construction	174
4.39	Kinship Possessive Suffixes	174
4.40	Possessive Construction	175
4.41	Kinship Possessive Construction HK	176
4.42	Gender Marked by Word-Final Vowels	178
4.43	Feminine Nouns Ending in <i>-ek</i>	179
4.44	Gendered Pairs in <i>-ek</i> / <i>-ā</i>	179
4.45	Unpredictable Gender	180
4.46	Animal Terms with Inherent Gender	181
4.47	Plural Animate Suffix <i>-ān</i>	182
4.48	Singular <i>-ek</i> /Plural <i>-ik</i>	183
4.49	Adjectival Gender Marking	186
4.50	Gender Neutral Adjectives	186
4.51	Interrogative Adverbs	189
4.52	Temporal Adverbs	190
4.53	Personal Pronouns	191
4.54	Possessive Pronominal Forms	192
4.55	Demonstrative <i>se/ ti</i>	193
4.56	Possessive Demonstratives	195
4.57	Location <i>lo</i> (<i>ʔo</i>)	198
4.58	Demonstrative <i>mi</i> + NEAR	199
4.59	Demonstrative <i>se/ti</i> \emptyset NEAR	199
4.60	Demonstratives with Deictic Prefixes	200
4.61	Pashai Deictic Prefixes	207
5.1	Verbal Inflection Position	210
5.2	Verbal Inflection Abbreviations	211
5.3	Verb Roots Consonant-Final	212
5.4	Verb Roots Vowel-Final	212
5.5	Verb Roots Vowel-Final / Consonant-Final	213
5.6	Pronominal Suffixes	213
5.7	Present-Future Non-Specific Pronominal Suffixes	215
5.8	Present-Future Non-Specific Intransitive	215

5.9	Present-Future Non-Specific First-Person Subject	217
5.10	Present-Future Non-Specific Second-Person Subject	217
5.11	Present-Future Non-Specific Third-Person Subject	218
5.12	Object Suffixes for Second-Person Subjects	219
5.13	Present-Future Specific Pronominal Suffixes	219
5.14	Present-Future Specific Intransitive	221
5.15	Present-Future Specific First-Person Subject	222
5.16	Present-Future Specific Second-Person Subject	222
5.17	Present-Future Specific Third-Person Subject	223
5.18	\bar{a} - ‘be’ Past	224
5.19	Past Imperfect Intransitive	225
5.20	Perfective Pronominal Suffixes	227
5.21	Perfective Aspect Markers	228
5.22	Proximate Perfect Marker Vowel-Final Stem	228
5.23	Proximate Perfect Marker Consonant-Final Stem	229
5.24	Distal Perfect Intransitive Marker Consonant-Final Stem	229
5.25	Distal Perfect Intransitive Marker Vowel-Final Stem	229
5.26	Distal Perfect Transitive Marker Vowel-Final Stem	230
5.27	Remote Perfect Marker Vowel-Final Stem	230
5.28	Proximate Perfect Intransitive	230
5.29	Proximate Perfect First-Person Subject	232
5.30	Proximate Perfect Second-Person Subject	233
5.31	Proximate Perfect Third-Person Subject	234
5.32	Transitivizing Suffix	238
5.33	Stative Participle Intransitive Stems	241
5.34	Stative Participle Transitive Stems	242
5.35	Stative Participle Transitive Stems	242
5.36	Reciprocal Participle	246
5.37	Reciprocal Participle Lexicalized	246
6.1	Morgenstierne – Lehr Terminology Correspondence	254
6.2	\bar{a} - ‘be’ Present	257
6.3	\bar{a} - ‘be’ Past	258
6.4	b - ‘be(come)’ Present-Future Non-Specific	259
6.5	b - ‘be(come)’ Present-Future Specific	259
6.6	b - ‘be(come)’ Proximate Perfect	260
6.7	b - ‘be(come)’ Distal Perfect	261
6.8	b - ‘be(come)’ Remote Perfect	262
6.9	t - ‘be’ (presumptive) Present-Future Non-Specific	265
6.10	t - ‘be’ (presumptive) Present-Future Specific	266
6.11	t - ‘be’ (presumptive) Past Imperfect	267
6.12	Copula and Auxiliary Verbs	273
6.13	Tense-Aspect Forms	273
6.14	Participial Perfect Tenses	274
6.15	Tense Aspect Intersection	275

6.16	Tense-Aspect Features	298
7.1	Light Verb <i>kar-</i> ‘do’ with Nouns	311
7.2	Light Verb <i>kar-</i> ‘do’ with Adjectives	312
7.3	Light Verb <i>an-</i> ‘hit’	312
D.1	Primary Verb Roots	389
D.2	Common Transitive Verb Stems	393
E.1	How to Talk to Animals	394
F.1	Kinship Terms	395
G.1	Cardinal Numbers 1-20	397
G.2	20-40	397
G.3	40-1000	398
G.4	Subtractive - Additive Counting	399
H.1	Interview Location	401
H.2	Additional Languages	401
H.3	Interviewees	402

Acknowledgments

The production of this dissertation took a multitude of participants. I would like to acknowledge them all.

The people of Amla village in Darrai Nur, and Darrai Nuris throughout the diaspora who provided access to their language and culture through immense hospitality and tolerance with my persistent inquiries. In Afghanistan they protected my security with their own.

Most of all I recognize the gift Sakhi Sharay gave me of his community, family and fragile culture. He would have said that this gift was but a chenar leaf.

I was so fortunate that Professor Jan Ovesen had worked with the Pashai speakers of Darrai Nur 30 years prior to my engagement with them. His perceptive and detailed research has provided a critical context for my analysis. Throughout my investigation he has served unknowingly as my historical interlocutor. Though I have taken my research in a different direction, his research nevertheless has inspired my own. Other important scholars whose work has contributed to my understanding of this community and language are Richard Strand, and Georg Morgenstierne, discussed at length throughout the dissertation.

Azizullah Taaj and his family, my only Pashai consultants in the US, who took up the slack when going to Afghanistan became impossible. They verified my data, provided data, offered hospitality, and patiently helped me get the details worked out.

The Linguistics Department and Amy Dahlstrom, who as chair at the time that I returned from my long leave of absence, championed my proposal. Amy served as chair of my dissertation committee, offering gentle direction, encouragement, and thought-provoking re-

sponses to my writing. Alan Yu, who agreed to serve on my committee without reservation, led me to perform acoustic analyses and helped me see generalizations in my data I would have missed. He motivated me to find my own voice as a linguist.

Elena Bashir for truly caring about the description of Pashai; her expertise and enthusiasm, attention to detail, and demand for excellence in mentoring me and shepherding this project were matched by the many hours she devoted to reading and commenting, and lengthy weekly meetings that guided every aspect of this dissertation.

Tom Thuerer and the Division of Humanities for easing my transition back into the University and providing logistical support for my out-grandfathered position. John Perry, who scouted out my return to the department, and Vanessa Wright, who helped me track the details and keep in touch with essential personnel.

Yoko Sugioka, who gave me the idea to pursue this project. She believed that I was a linguist when I was not so sure and suggested that the least I could do with my training is describe the understudied language of the people with whom I was so involved. Donka Farkas, whose encouragement arrived at precisely the right moment near the end of the lengthy process, insisting ‘it was time to be done’.

Jennifer Fluri and the Program in Women and Gender Studies who continued to make the resources of Dartmouth College available to me, granting visiting scholar status for multiple years. Jennifer inspired and guided my thinking about gender, language and space, ideas born of the auspicious intersection of geography and linguistics.

Alison Winter, who encouraged me to investigate the Pashai diaspora community in the UK. Sarah Elichko, whose professional bibliographic sleuthing uncovered antique references for colonial explorers of Pashai. Rangina Hamidi, whose native Pashto intuitions are sprinkled throughout this work.

Ruth Mandel, one of my oldest and dearest friends who not only nurtured me and housed me in London and Paris, but pushed me to deepen and expand my ethnography, and without whom those portions of the dissertation would have little to say.

My friends in Hyde Park, Sita Rao and Peter Orris, who nourished me with wholesome and exotic food, and sheltered me with two homes away from home. Martha Scott, Mary Gugenheim, Jeanne Fitzsimmons, John Perry and Ranjana Patnaik, who provided me with the social network that made being in Chicago delightful and leaving it again so difficult. New linguist friends Kelly Maynard, Katie Hannon Franich and Adam Singerman patiently advised and led me over rough edges and into new technologies.

Friends in New Hampshire, Geri Smariga, Margi Lord, Deborah Mahar, and Betsy Giber-son, who waited patiently for me to return to the fires and fields, river and stars. Tooky Tai Chi fellow practitioners and the silent movement and discipline I enjoyed with them through the years of writing.

My children, Jake, Anna, and Ben, who believed in me, and never stopped asking when I would graduate; my sister Naomi and brother-in-law Billy who always had my back, and my mother, who was stalwart in her support. Zhenya, my coach, task master, techie and cheerleader.

My graduate work has been supported by funding from The Linguistics Department, Title VI, Fulbright-Hays, IREX, The Committee on South Asian Studies, the American Institute of Afghanistan Studies, The Nicholson Center for British Studies, and The American Association of University Women.

Abstract

Pashai is one of the cluster of languages called ‘Dardic’ in the Indo-Aryan family of Indo-Iranian languages. Pashai speakers are considered to be speakers of the westernmost Indo-Aryan language, and to be descended from the earliest waves of Indo-Aryans who settled in the Kabul River basin in northeastern Afghanistan. This understudied language is spoken by one of the smallest communities in Afghanistan. The dominant Afghan languages, Dari and Pashto, place economic, educational, and social pressures on Pashai speakers, decreasing their language territory and reducing the communicative space of their language.

This thesis is a descriptive grammar of the Pashai spoken in the Darrai Nur district of Nangrahar province, Afghanistan. The description encompasses the structural properties of the spoken language, as well as the patterns of use in the language that are emblematic of the speech community as a whole. There are two foci to the dissertation: in addition to the descriptive grammar is an ethnographic account of gendered language use, multilingualism and notions of identity among these minority language speakers within the larger, Pashto-speaking community. Beyond Afghanistan, this study looks at language use patterns and identity among Pashai speakers in the regional and Euro-American diasporic communities.

The only grammar of Pashai produced in the west, by Georg Morgenstierne, was based on field work conducted nearly 100 years ago. This dissertation is not only the first modern grammar of Pashai, it also is the first examination of the critical role women play in preserving this language.

Abbreviations

The abbreviations and glossing conventions used in this dissertation follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules developed jointly by the Department of Linguistics of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology and the Department of Linguistics of the University of Leipzig. Some abbreviations were shortened or modified to accommodate the glossing needs in this particular work. Additional categories and abbreviations were developed for the specific requirements of Pashai where necessary. Table 1 is a list of abbreviations used in this dissertation.

Table 1: Abbreviations

ABL	Ablative
AN	Animate
APV.PCP	Adverbial Imperfective Participle
COMP	Complementizer
COND	Conditional
CONJ	Conjunction
CON.PCP	Conjunctive Participle
CS	Causative suffix
DEM	Demonstrative
DIM	Diminutive
DIR	Direct
DIST	Distal
DSPF	Distal Perfect
E	Elicited example
EXCL	Exclusive
F	Feminine
FP	Default gender/number
GEN	Genitive
IMP	Imperative

Table 1: (continued)

INAN	Inanimate
INCL	Inclusive
INF	Infinitive
IPRF	Imperfect
IPV.PCP	Imperfective Participle
INTR	Intransitive
LOC	Locative
M	Masculine
NEG	Negative
NPST	Non-Past
O	Object-indexing Pronominal Suffix
OBL	Oblique
OBL.PL	Oblique Plural
OBL.SG	Oblique Singular
P	Plural Pronominal Suffix
PAS.PCP	Past Participle
PCP	Participle
PFNS	Present-Future Non-Specific
PFS	Present-Future Specific
PL	Plural
PRF	Perfective
PROH	Prohibitive
PROX	Proximal
PRS	Present
PS	Possessive Suffix
PST	Past
PXPF	Proximate Perfect
QNT	Quantifier
REC.PCP	Reciprocal Participle
REM	Remote
RFL	Reflexive
RMPF	Remote Perfect
S	Spontaneous example
S	Subject-indexing Pronominal Suffix
SG	Singular
STV.PCP	Stative Participle
TR	Transitive
T	Oral Text example
TRZ	Transitivizing Suffix

On the translation line for each example is the code E (elicited), S (spontaneous), T (text). These codes indicate whether the example was collected through elicitation (E), spontaneously uttered (S), or taken from an oral text (T).

The terms Persian, Dari and Persian are used in this dissertation. Persian is used to refer to the language, as a whole and in a general sense. Dari is used to refer to the Afghan Persian variant specifically.

Transcriptional Practice The transcriptional practice used in this dissertation is the standard transcription used for languages of the Indian subcontinent, known as Standard Indological Transcription (SIT). Vowel length is represented with a macron over long vowels. The correspondence of this transcription, where it differs from the IPA is presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Transcription Correspondence

SIT	IPA
t	t̪
d	d̪
ṭ	t̪
ḍ	d̪
č	tʃ
ǰ	dʒ
š	ʃ
ž	ʒ
r	r̪
ṛ	ɽ
ṇ	ɳ
ṣ	ʂ

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This dissertation is a descriptive grammar of Pashai spoken in and around the village of Amla in Darrai Nur district, Nangrahar province, Afghanistan. The goal is both descriptive and documentary, creating a work that encompasses the structural properties of the spoken language, its morphology, syntax, and phonology, as well as the patterns of use in the language that are emblematic of the speech community as a whole. As stated in Hill (2006:131), “Documentary linguistics takes up a vision of the integration of the study of language structure, language use, and the culture of language. Documentary linguistics demands integration.” Extended field-based participant observation in addition to recording a large corpus of spoken language, transcribing, and the application of linguistic analysis all played a role in elucidating the communicative strategies of the Pashai-speaking people. In so doing I have attempted to work within a most generalized framework of linguistic theory.

The description of Pashai, specifically in the village of Amla in lower Darrai Nur, encompasses the community of speakers, their lives, lifestyles, practices and culture. The identity of the community and their placement within the geographic and linguistic area all contribute to a comprehensive account of the Pashai language.

Selecting a spelling convention for the district name in the title of this dissertation has raised numerous challenges. Do I choose the spelling that reflects the etymology of the location name, Darra-i Nūr, a Persian phrase, literally ‘valley of light’? The first word, *darra* ‘valley’ has a geminate in Persian, but not in Pashai. The hyphenated *-i* represents the Persian *ezafe* construction, marking head and dependent relationships, not a grammatical feature of Pashai. The vowel in the word *nur* ‘light’ is transcribed by some as *u* but often transcribed as *oo* in older texts, particularly in the colonial period. In Afghanistan today the spelling is inconsistent. Afghanistan Information Management Services (AIMS) maps, spell the district as Dar-I Nur, the capital *I* a result of the MS Word auto correct function. Given these inconsistencies, I have chosen a hybrid compromise, retaining the geminate *r*, dropping the *ezafe* hyphen and keeping the two word phrase. Pashai speakers pronounce it as one word, [darənur]. Thus, the spelling convention I chose is recognizable but not historical.

Georg Morgenstierne, the Norwegian philologist, compiled his monumental three-volume Pashai grammar over the course of several decades. The vocabulary was published in 1956, the grammar in 1967,¹ the texts in 1944. His original research and data collection was done in 1924 and 1929. Morgenstierne collected Pashai from passing speakers and weekend trips, as a side occupation in his description of other languages of the region. Morgenstierne’s grammar has served as the backdrop and inspiration to this dissertation. Places where he indicated he lacked enough information were invitations to investigate further. One hopes that revisiting this work and using it as the basis for examining the language in Darrai Nur today, nearly 100 years later, would be a meaningful contribution to his legacy.

1.2 Organization of Dissertation

The dissertation is divided into two sections. The first part of this dissertation looks at the context and culture in which the Pashai language is spoken. The second part provides a

1. The edition of Morgenstierne’s grammar referenced in this dissertation is his 1973 revised and expanded second edition.

description of the properties of Pashai grammar.

1.2.1 Part One

Part one includes Chapter 1 and Chapter 2. These chapters focus on the language community of Pashai speakers, situating them historically, linguistically, and ethnographically in their home region, Afghanistan at large, the regional diaspora and worldwide.

1.2.1.1 Introduction

Chapter 1 begins with a discussion of the purpose of the dissertation as a documentary / descriptive project encompassing the speakers and the language. This chapter is an introduction to the history of the study of Pashai, providing a review of the limited literature. I situate the Pashai language with respect to other related languages and discuss the division into four major dialects by Morgenstierne (1973). I describe the methodology used to gather and analyze the data. I also include considerations about minority language endangerment and a typology of language with the gendering of space as significant variables. Women's role in language transmission in Afghanistan and the diaspora are shown to be crucial to Pashai language vitality.

1.2.1.2 Language and Context

Chapter 2 begins with a history of language policies in Afghanistan and the consequences of ethnic divisions in a plurilingual society. This chapter looks at language in context in Afghanistan and in the diaspora, taking into account the role of multilingualism in Pashai society. In this chapter I examine the relationship between language and identity with case studies describing different multi-lingual environments.

1.2.2 Part Two

Part 2 of the dissertation contains the grammatical description of Pashai spoken chiefly in the village of Amla in Darrai Nur. Comparisons are made to the dialects of other villages in the surrounding region, particularly the villages of Khewa and Qalishahi.

1.2.2.1 Phonology

In Chapter 3 I describe Pashai phonology, including a phonetic description of vowels, consonants and phonological and morphophonological processes, syllable structure, minimal word, stress, and phonotactic constraints. This chapter includes a discussion of loanword phonology.

1.2.2.2 Nominal Morphology

Chapter 4 examines the nominal morphological processes in Pashai including inflectional and derivational processes, case morphology, postpositions, possessive pronominal suffixes, diminutive formation, grammatical gender, number inflection, adjectives and adverbs, adjectival gender and number, pronouns and deixis.

1.2.2.3 Verbal Morphology

Chapter 5 looks at verbal morphology, including stems and affixes for all tense/ aspect forms for finite and non-finite forms. This chapter includes causative formation and a description of adjectival and adverbial participle forms.

1.2.2.4 Tense and Aspect

Chapter 6 provides an analysis of the Pashai verbal system. It includes a description of the form of the verb and the function of the forms; this chapter examines the tense and aspect opposition, ergativity, specificity, evidentiality, and indicative and non-indicative verb forms.

1.2.2.5 Syntax

Chapter 7 explores topics in Pashai syntax. It begins with a discussion of word order, ergativity and serial and light verb construction, followed by a description of basic affirmative and negative sentences. I look at the negative prefix and negative particle and indefinite pronouns and negation. I then take up the in-situ question formation strategy and interrogative pronouns. The final section of this chapter looks at clause combining and coordination, and subordination including adverbial and relative clauses, and sentential and infinitival complements.

1.2.2.6 Concluding Remarks

Chapter 8 provides concluding remarks, summarizing a number of puzzles uncovered in the process of describing the grammar of Pashai as well as some insights into the language practices of the speech community of Darrai Nur. Multiple areas for further research are suggested as well.

1.2.2.7 Appendices

This dissertation includes several appendices that provide maps, a list of kinship terms, Pashai numbers and how the counting system is used by men and women, how to speak to animals, a woman's wedding song, a list of primary verb roots, the text of the Gurbuz Safi origin myth, and a coded list of language consultants.

1.3 Situating Pashai

Pashai is the language spoken by a minority population in the Hindu Kush Mountains in northeastern Afghanistan. The Pashai-speaking area is bounded by the Kabul River to the south, the Panjshir River to the west, and the Kunar River to the east. Pashai speakers inhabit the river valleys and side valleys of the Alishang and Alingar Rivers.

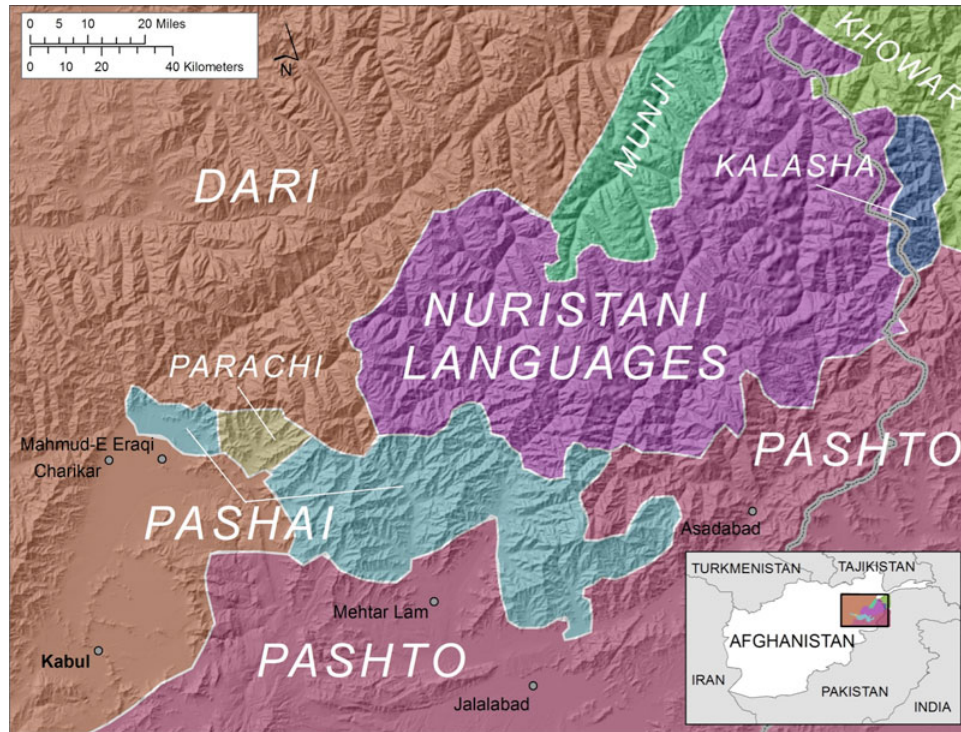


Figure 1.1: Languages of Northeastern Afghanistan

The map in Figure 1.1 shows the extent of the Pashai-speaking region in Afghanistan, with adjacent regional languages. The territory covered by Pashai speakers is approximately 3950 square km or 1525 square miles and is geographically adjacent to Nuristani speakers to the north and east, Pashto speakers to the south and Dari speakers to the west. Previous scholarship classifies Pashai as belonging to the Dardic branch in the Indo-Aryan family of Indo-Iranian languages. Pashai speakers are distinguished as the westernmost speakers of an Indo-Aryan language. Native theories locate the Pashai speakers in this region since the ‘time of Adam’. In other words, they believe themselves to be original inhabitants.

This is a region that has experienced very little foreign attention. Few travelers and adventure seekers throughout the millennia have passed through this region, and even in modern times there are only a handful of references and studies of this area. Morgenstierne quotes from the travelers Marco Polo, Ibn Batuta, and Babur, who encountered the Pashai-speaking people and their culture (1973:1-2). British Empire chroniclers encoun-

tered Pashai speakers, led by Elphinstone (1815), Masson (1844), and others. Some traveled into the Pashai-speaking region briefly describing the people and their language. Elphinstone said of the Pashai speakers “their language seems to be composed of Shanscrit and modern Persian with some words of Pushtco, and a very large mixture of some unknown root” (Morgenstierne(1973:2).

Other colonial travelers collected vocabulary lists. The first British explorers to enter Darrai Nur were Colonel H.C. Tanner’s expedition to the Hindu Kush whose report to the Royal Geographical Society was published in 1881. Language data collected by various European explorers such as Griffith (1847), Leech (1838), Burnes (1973)², and Raverty (1864) led to the classification and unification of Pashai dialects by Grierson (1919). Morgenstierne’s grammar includes much of the vocabulary and observations collected by these earlier contributors, in addition to his own material, and that of Buddruss (1959).

1.3.1 Pashai Origins

How the Pashai speakers got to their current location in the river valleys and what the origin of their culture was like have been disputed for as long as they have been discussed.

I summarize the arguments below. Strand provides a general historical scenario:

The modern Indo-Āryan speakers of the region treated here are the westernmost surviving Indo-Āryan communities. They derive from the earliest waves of Indo-Āryans who settled the alluvial flatlands of the Kābul River basin. In the absence of historical and archaeological records from the region, we rely on comparative linguistic data to sketch the early spread of these peoples. The common linguistic heritage of the region’s Indo-Āryan languages descends from the Old Indo-Āryan speech of the early Indo-Āryans. In time their language

2. Burnes says of Darrai Nur “It is, however, believed that all the inhabitants of Dura i Noor, and other defiles of the Hindoo Koosh, North of Cabool and Jullalabad, are converted Kafirs, which their appearance and language seem to bear out” Burnes (1973:213). He goes on to say “I had the opportunity of meeting some of the people who speak Pushye, which resembles the dialect of the Kaffirs, as may be supposed from the proximity to them... Pushye is spoken in eight villages named as follows: 1. Eshpein; 2. Eshkein; 3. Soudur; 4. Alisye; 5. Ghyn; 6. Doornama; 7. Doora i Pootta; 8. Mulaikir; - all of which are situated among or near the seven valleys of Nijrow. The Pushyes are considered a kind of Tajiks by the Afghans.”

differentiated into clusters of regional dialects along the major tributaries of the Kābul and further, up the Indus.(2011)

Morgenstierne suggests that “the ancestors of the Pashais at an earlier date occupied parts of the main Kabul and Panjshir valleys, and were pushed back from there into the present habitat of the language”. He also claimed that their pre-Islamic religion contained traces of “debased forms of Hinduism and Buddhism” (1973:11-12). Jettmar (1959:86) underscores this hypothesis stating that the ancestors of the Pashai hill tribes lived in the central region of the classic Gandharan culture before they were expelled to the mountain valleys south of “Kafiristan”.³ Both Morgenstierne and Jettmar conclude that the basic cultural difference between the Nuristanis and the Pashais stems from separate origins.

In an opposing view of Pashai origin, Ovesen (1983b) and Keiser (1974) argue for a closer cultural affinity between the Nuristanis and the Pashais based on evidence from religion, lineage, carvings, social practices, and other criteria. Both Keiser and Ovesen suggest that Pashai speakers were not driven up into their current position in the mountain valleys but were indigenous inhabitants of the region before the rise of Gandharan civilization.⁴ Keiser’s hypothesis is that the Pashai people’s original culture was more like that of the other remote hill tribes such as Kalasha or Nuristanis than derived from the classic Gandharan culture. He finds evidence in door frame and window carvings, comparing carving motifs associated with Gandharan culture such as scrolls, vines, flowers with those of simple straight lines, spirals, lozenges associated with Nuristan. Keiser found that Pashai samples from Darrai Nur resembled Nuristani ones. With respect to population distribution, Keiser takes issue with Morgenstierne’s conjecture that Pashai speakers who inhabited the main areas of the Kabul River system were forced up the side valleys by successive Pashtun invasions. Keiser

3. No longer called Kafiristan, this region is now known as Nuristan.

4. Gandhara was an ancient kingdom located in modern-day eastern Pakistan and Afghanistan that existed under various dynasties from 1000 BCE until its 11th century conquest by Mahmud-i Ghazni. The kingdom’s zenith was under the Kushans from the 1st through the 5th centuries CE, and was known for its syncretic art and culture that reflected Hellenistic, Buddhist, Indian and Persian influences, and for its monumental Greco-Buddhist sculpture such as the famed Buddhas of Bamiyan in what is now central Afghanistan, carved most likely in the 6th century. Keith Weissman, p. c.

suggests that a gradation in settlement patterns from bottom to top of the valley reflects the length of habitation, with recently arrived inhabitants found near the bottom and the earliest inhabitants near the top. Keiser claims the opposite happened:

In the Oygel Valley, and in the main Darra-i-Nur Valley, the latest inhabitants are located in the highest areas. In both these valleys according to local tradition, the latest inhabitants came from areas across major mountain divides and, after much fighting, forced the original inhabitants down the valley leaving the upper section to the invaders. This tradition is shared by the people living throughout the Darra-i-Nur area. (Keiser, 1974:449).

This dissertation is not concerned with addressing the history of the population distribution. However, ideologies of identity and local origin theories are encompassed in this work. As such I offer the following set of stories that contradict Keiser's claim about the settlement of Darrai Nur. AA, a resident of Sotan in the upper part of the Darrai Nur valley shared the following story about how the village of Amla in the lower part of the valley got its name:⁵

People came over the mountains and tried to invade Deshambir's area. He was master of the entire valley, sitting in his *markaz* 'capital' at the upper end of the valley. He told the invaders they could inhabit the flatter land at the lower end of the valley, saying it was *amala*- 'free', of no value.⁶

Amla residents agree that the word *amala* means 'free'. Their perspective on its meaning is different. Their story of how the first people who settled the area now known as Amla is as follows:

Invaders came from 'over the mountains'⁷ and occupied that territory in defiance of Deshambir, the ruler. They refused to pay tribute to Deshambir and so their area was known as *amala* meaning 'free'.

5. AA traces his descent from Deshambir, the ruler of the valley at the time of this story.

6. Water is in short supply there and the land is not as productive.

7. Residents usually meant Nuristan and Kunar.

Both stories tell of newcomers settling down the valley, not inhabiting the upper section of the valley as Keiser claims.

Keiser uses social structural evidence, based on patterns of similarities and differences among the Pashai and other neighboring societies to argue for a close association between the Nuristanis and Pashais. By comparing lineage structures of Pashto tribes and Nuristani society to the Pashai he concludes that Pashais are more like the Nuristanis in terms of segmentation, political corporation and marriage practices. He concludes that

during the various invasions of Indo-Iranian speaking peoples into the Hindu Kush and Karakoram regions, there was a mixture of populations, and although the Indo-Iranian languages dominated, the cultural and social systems of the immediate pre-Islamic period resulted from a synthesis of the pre-Indo-Iranian and Indo-Iranian system. New social and cultural patterns developed from a synthesis of the previous systems as emerging politico-ethnic groups came to terms with new physical and socio-cultural environments. Thus the cultural heritage of the eastern Hindu-Kush and Karakoram has Indic, Iranian, and pre-Indo-Iranian roots.(Keiser, 1974:447)

Jan Ovesen, who studied identity and social structure in Darrai Nur, supports Keiser's hypothesis, describing the social stratification system in Darrai Nur with caste-like characteristics quite similar to the Nuristani system. The role of social stratification is taken up in Chapter 2 as it affects language and identity. The questions raised about the origins of the Pashai speakers and the multiple sources of their cultural heritage are reflected in the thorny classification known as Dardic.

1.3.2 What is Dardic

Grierson found it convenient to give the general name 'Dardic' to "all Aryan languages spoken in the whole mountainous tract between the Hindu Kush and the frontiers of India proper"(1919:1). Morgenstierne considers it "simply a convenient term to denote a bundle of aberrant Indo-Aryan hill languages which contain absolutely no features which cannot be

derived from Old Indo-Aryan” (1961:139). He further remarked that there is not a single common feature distinguishing Dardic, as a whole, from the rest of the Indo-Aryan languages. Koul and Schmidt take Morgenstierne and others to task by identifying phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical features “peculiar to Dardic languages ... which ... may be considered to define them, not merely in terms of their geographic distribution, but as a linguistic grouping.” (1984:5).

While the debate over the designation ‘Dardic’ persists, linguists generally agree that Dardic languages are genetically related, have interacted with each other for a long time, have been isolated from the Indian plain languages, and have retained some old features no longer found in New Indo-Aryan languages. Under mutual influences and areal contact with non-Dardic languages, they have developed new features.

Masica calls for a different approach to sub-classification, recognizing overlapping genetic zones, defined by specific criteria which may clarify the “mixed dialectal ancestry of most New Indo-Aryan languages” (1991:460). Dixon (1997) reminds us that proof of genetic relationship and the notion of language family, based on the Indo-European model, does not work for many groups of languages. This descriptive grammar of Pashai provides more information about the areal and typological characteristics in this complex region.

1.3.3 Dardic Features of Pashai

Some of the features found in Pashai that are associated with the Dardic grouping of languages are explored in this section, based on insights found in Bashir (2003).

1.3.3.1 Phonology

Dental, Retroflex, and Palatal Sibilants Pashai appears to be losing the retroflex sibilant but at least till recently had a three-way contrast in the sibilant series. Morgenstierne (1973) noted the contrast and I found this contrast with speakers who were over fifty years old.

Retroflex Affricates Morgenstierne includes these in his grammar but there is no longer any evidence of this contrast in Pashai.

Consonant Clusters Consonant clusters are a feature of many Dardic languages but Pashai has a strong constraint against them and only limited sequences of consonants are allowable.

Aspiration The loss of aspiration is a feature of some Dardic languages, to differing degrees. Pashai shows no evidence of an aspiration contrast. In some other Dardic languages a tonal system has developed from lost aspiration (Baart 2003). There may be a limited tonal phenomenon in Pashai which may have developed following the loss of aspiration.

1.3.3.2 Morphology

Case Marking Split ergative case marking and a complex system of pronominal suffixes are found in Pashai. Pashai ergativity is aspect-driven along a perfective - non-perfective split.

Animacy Animacy, grammaticized in the present tense in Pashai, is part of the morphology of some other Dardic languages. For some Dardic languages animacy is grammaticized in the verbal system, for others in nominal morphology.

Evidentiality In Pashai evidentiality is grammaticized in the verbal system in a limited way, associated with different perfective forms. This semantic parameter is less extensive in Pashai than in its closest relatives Khowar and Kalasha.

Infinitive Ending -*ik* Pashai has infinitives in *-ik* like the Dardic languages Kalasha, Khowar, Shina and Gawarbat.

Number System Pashai has the vigesimal counting system found in some other Dardic languages.

Deictic System Pashai distinguishes at least three terms of deixis in the demonstrative along the parameters of visible/non-visible, and known/not-known, as well as +near and unmarked for nearness.

1.3.3.3 Syntax

Pashai exhibits left-branching in nearly all syntactic and dependency structures. One area of exception is the relative clause construction embedded under the complementizer *ke*, an areal feature borrowed from Persian.

1.3.4 Pashai Dialects

According to Morgenstierne, Pashai has many dialects, in some cases mutually unintelligible. He says “There are no phonological or morphological features distinguishing E. Pashai as a whole from W. Pashai. But the difference in vocabulary seems to go back to a rather early date, and the most probable explanation is that W. Pashai is derived from the dialect of ancient Kapisa, and E. Pashai from that of Lampaka-Nagrahara, the two north-westernmost centers of pre-Muslim Hindu-Buddhist civilizations”(1973:11). Morgenstierne made a practical choice in dividing Pashai into four dialect groups. “For the purpose of presenting the scattered material available in a not too complicated form, it may be practical to divide the Pashai dialects into 4 major groups. The criteria, phonological and morphological, are, it must be admitted, not quite consistent and uniform.”(1973:13). The groups he designated are NE, SE, NW, and SW.

Strand (1973) offers a refinement of Morgenstierne’s classification by correlating political (tribal) groupings with dialect distinctions based on geographic distribution.

As for the distinction between Pashai dialects, Ovesen (1982a) found more linguistic

unity than dialect diversity, suggesting that the linguistic distinctions may be more a matter of social discrimination. He found that native speakers when speaking about another group may be referring more to the culture than the language when they say that they are different, or do not understand each other. Ovesen points to “the exaggeration of dialect differences to the point of purported incomprehensibility was ... used to symbolize a social discrimination” focusing on Pashai issues of self-identity and their relationship to the other inhabitants of the valley (1982a:134). Ovesen concluded that linguistic unity extended up the Darrai Nur valley in the east and the Alingar in the west supporting Morgenstierne in making a major distinction between Eastern and Western Pashai. My informal inquiry supports these claims. The dialects of Eastern Pashai are reasonably mutually comprehensible; speakers of SE Pashai tell me they understand all Pashai speakers. As one speaker said “I can understand all the dialects when they speak to me; when they speak among themselves I can’t understand any of it”.⁸ Indeed, I was in the company of a speaker from Alishang who communicated in Pashto with the speakers from Darrai Nur. When I asked why they chose Pashto they insisted that they could understand each other’s Pashai but it was easier to communicate in Pashto. I also had the opportunity to meet women in Kabul who originated from Gulbahar (Western Pashai). There was no mutual intelligibility between them and the Darrai Nuri women present.

Language is always in a state of change with each generation speaking slightly differently from the preceding one. Ovesen’s interests were not linguistic and he tells us little about the state of the language when he conducted fieldwork in 1978. Morgenstierne’s remarks from 50 years before that are impressions. An investigation of the dialects and social attitudes toward the state of the language today necessarily takes into consideration 30 years of war and displacement, increased communications (TV, cell phones, internet, Skype), and the government’s recent recognition of Pashai as an official language. Dixon (1997) decries

8. This means all the speakers they have encountered in their general region. Most have never met Pashai speakers from west of the Alishang valley.

improved communication as leading to loss of languages and a greater diminution in dialect variation. I however demonstrate here that an understanding of the communicative space filled by Pashai, patterns of multilingualism, access to education, and gendering of social space, are more relevant in considering the case of Pashai. Furthermore, I show how improved communication strengthens the role of Pashai in the diaspora.

1.4 Pashai – What’s in a Name

The ‘Pashais’ are casually referred to in Afghan ethnographic literature as ‘an ethno-linguistic minority’, however it is not at all clear that the term ‘ethno-linguistic’ is appropriately applied here. Some scholars question the ‘ethno-linguistic’ aspect of Pashai speakers’ identity, suggesting it is a recent construction. A detailed discussion of identity and ethnicity is provided in Chapter 2.

I prefer to refer to this community the way I have heard them refer to themselves, as ‘Pashai speakers’. Speakers in Amla know that their language is called Pashai, and refer to it that way for my benefit. Older speakers (over age 50) called it Laghmani, some said “we call it Degano”, most often and most significantly they called it “our language.” As elusive as the naming of the language is the naming of the people. Ovesen (1983b:330) tells us that he never met anyone who called themselves Pashai. I never have either.

1.5 Risk Factors

Morgenstierne predicted that several of the old languages of eastern Afghanistan would be lost due to the influence of Persian, growing stronger through the increased centralized government and through the spread of education. While he could not have foreseen the political and social chaos that has dominated Afghanistan, some of which might have slowed this process, he was right to be concerned “that much ancient Aryan linguistic material of great interest will be lost, unless it is soon rescued from oblivion” (Morgenstierne, 1926:3).

Northwestern Pashai is heavily influenced by Dari Persian. I have met people claiming to be ‘Pashai’ from that region who do not speak their language. In Darrai Nur, the dominant linguistic and cultural influence is from Pashto.

Morgenstierne’s concerns about increased central government and spread of education are as relevant today as they were 90 years ago. Afghanistan had mostly fallen off the development trajectory for 30 years. Education (except for very recently) has been unavailable to most. Among Pashai speakers, girls and women have had very little opportunity to be educated. War has had the effect of dispersing populations into a mostly regional diaspora, increasing the contact with regional languages such as Urdu and Punjabi. Regional migration is not a new phenomenon for young men, who have migrated around Pakistan and Afghanistan seeking seasonal and temporary work. Women have had more exposure through this process of in- and out-migration over the past 30 years. The question of language and the role of women in preserving the language practices is taken up in section 1.8.

1.5.1 Pashtunization

According to Strand,

During the past millennium, the region’s ancient lowland Indo-Aryan tongues have been overwhelmed by the Pashto of invading Afghans, while the Indo-Aryan languages of the highlands have survived. Pashto continues to displace Indo-Aryan and Nuristani speech in the bottom lands of the Laghman, Kabul, and Indus Basins.(2011)

Certainly one factor affecting ethnic and linguistic identity is the influence of the Pashtuns from the Jalalabad plain and the association of Pashtun practices with Islamic practices. Pashto is the dominant language in Nangrahar province and one of the two national languages of Afghanistan. Pashto is the prestige language one needs to use to reach out socially and economically, beyond the valley of Darrai Nur.

Ovesen (1982b) argues that, based on notions of honor, women's behavior, marriage practices, and rural economy, Pashai society is transitioning from a caste-like stratified Indian type society to a Middle Eastern one. Ovesen (1983b:178) found that the spread of Pashtun culture from the plains has become associated with the 'proper' observance of Islam. What is Muslim has become synonymous with what is Pashtun. Ovesen observed that Pashai speakers in Darrai Nur generally identified themselves with people lower down the valley, rather than higher up, choosing to associate themselves with what they consider modern and Muslim. He found people considered the inhabitants of higher up the valley on the one hand to be wild, somewhat dangerous, backward, primitive, and unsophisticated yet on the other hand felt they represented the pure and traditional Pashai life – proud, generous, honest, and fiercely independent. The strong association of the Pashai speakers I encountered with Pashto language and culture confirms Ovesen's notion of Pashai speakers as aspirational Muslims. The explicit identification with 'Pashtunness' confers increased status on the social hierarchy, making them more 'honorable' Muslims. The mixing of Pashai with Pashtun origins is at the core of the narrative text presented and discussed in Chapter 2.

When I traveled in Kabul with Pashai speakers, I found that they would respond to a query of 'where are you from?' first with the answer 'Jalalabad'. If Pashto speakers noticed their accent and pressed the inquiry they would say they were from Darrai Nur, which most people interpreted as Nuristan. They usually acquiesced, since their region is unknown to most other Afghans. It seemed to me that they were uncomfortable to have been detected as 'other'. With that association of 'other' is the risk of being seen as having 'less Muslim legitimacy' along with the concept of 'wild, backward' *šāri* discussed in Chapter 2.

Issues of language and cultural identity involve attitudes. The attitude of Pashai speakers toward their own language and other contact languages affects the risk factors for this minority language. An investigation of attitudes about culture and language identity, prestige and other contact languages in Afghanistan, the regional diaspora, and the non-regional diaspora is explored in Chapter 2.

I have seen evidence of what Strand (2011) refers to as ‘the displacement process’ that derives from marriage alliances between Pashai men and Pastun women (2011). A native Pashai-speaking man’s Pashto-speaking wife rarely learns his language, largely because of the general chauvinistic attitude of Pashto speakers, and his children grow up speaking Pashto as their primary (‘mother’) language. This is particularly evident in the language choices made in the diaspora, addressed in Chapter 2.

Many of the practices lost in the lower end of the valley are preserved higher up, where people are referred to nostalgically as ‘preserving the old ways’. Pashai speakers from Amla displayed few ‘old practices’ that were divergent from Pashtuns in the region. Older practices, such as the decoration and display of an evergreen tree at the birth of an infant, were described to me by a resident from higher up in the valley, not evident in the lower region. The women’s wedding song presented in Appendix C that I observed was one of the few rituals that Pashai speakers told me was uniquely theirs.

1.5.2 Language Preservation

Naturally, minority language issues raise questions of endangerment. This dissertation does not focus primarily on endangerment issues; rather, in addition to the descriptive grammar it provides an inquiry into the role of women in the transmission and preservation of Pashai. I explore issues surrounding the struggle between languages for communicative space and the nature of Pashai speakers’ identification with their language. Nonetheless, The UNESCO (2003) criteria for language endangerment are addressed at various points in this dissertation. I point out below where in the dissertation these criteria are addressed. The UNESCO criteria for endangerment of the language are presented in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1: UNESCO Criteria for Language Endangerment

Number	Criterion
1	Intergenerational Language Transmission
2	Absolute Number of Speakers
3	Proportion of Speakers Within the Total Population
4	Trends in Existing Language Domains
5	Response to New Domains and Media
6	Materials for Language Education and Literacy
7	Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies Including Official Status and Use
8	Community Members' Attitudes Towards Their Own Language
9	Amount and Quality of Documentation

Intergenerational language transmission and trends in existing language domains, absolute number of speakers and percentage of the larger population, trends in existing language domains, responses to new domains and media are addressed in section 1.8, of this chapter.

Materials for language education and literacy, and amount and quality of documentation are taken up in section 1.5.3.

Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies and the official status of the language, and community members' attitudes towards their own language are addressed in Chapter 2.

1.5.3 Documentation and Preservation in Afghanistan

Since 2001 and the political changes in Afghanistan there has been a resurgence of interest in providing literacy and educational materials in the minority languages. The Ministry of Tribal Affairs and Culture has produced television programs and distributed newspapers in several of these officially recognized languages, including Pashai. With regard to teaching materials and programs for school-age children, there has been only brief and inadequate funding to support the process. Teacher-training, course funding, and curriculum publication have lagged. Funding was short-lived and commitment not prioritized. I interviewed officials at the Ministry of Education and the sole staff member working on Pashai. When I asked

about numbers of speakers the response was ‘who is asking and why’ and literally, “the numbers are higher if there is more money for higher numbers and lower if there is more money for fewer speakers”. This ‘numbers game’ is familiar to documentary linguists (Dobrin et al 2007.) In some areas non-governmental organizations (NGOS) have picked up the slack.

1.5.4 Local Efforts

The NGO SERVE developed the Darrai Nur Language Committee (DNLC) in 2005 and published a series of short story books at multiple levels for beginning readers, as well as a picture dictionary and phrase book. The DNLC developed an orthography with the purpose of adult literacy education. This orthography has been influential in the development of an orthography under the Ministry of Education. They differ in intent in interesting ways. The orthography developed by the DNLC has reduced some of the phonemic vowel contrasts. It is also entirely phonetic with no historical spelling preserved. The Ministry of Education orthography preserves historical spelling in some contexts and uses different conventions to preserve length distinction of vowels in different contexts. In either case, more materials in print is a positive development for the speakers and their language. I have found these materials useful and instructive and appreciate the efforts of both organizations toward language documentation.

The development of curriculum and language planning across multiple regions, disparate dialects, and lack of standard orthography is a daunting challenge for any community, requiring a long-term financial, political, and social commitment. In Afghanistan, a continuing and entrenched conflict zone with extremely low literacy, this effort is problematic at multiple scales. Questions about which dialect is chosen for standard, what are the political forces behind uniting or dividing this community of speakers, inflation or deflation of population numbers for funders, are issues beyond strict linguistic description, but highly relevant to any description and analysis of contemporary language practices. Interviews with the Pashai language curriculum developer at the Ministry of Education indicated that in order for the

primers to be used across the Pashai-speaking region, Pashto translations for numerous words were provided in parentheses, because these lexical items would not be known in all regions. She told me all speakers but those in the district of Dawlatshah were included in the curriculum plan, suggesting that whatever was spoken in Dawlatshah was different enough to be excluded.

1.6 Methodology

1.6.1 Personal Background with Pashai Speakers

In 2000, I helped found Rubia, a non-profit organization providing an income-generation, training and education program for Afghan women and their families. This project was initiated with a Pashai-speaking refugee community in Lahore Pakistan, which later moved back to the home region of the participants, Darrai Nur, Afghanistan. Over the course of these years I lived and worked, off and on, with the Pashai-speaking community of Afghans in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

My connection to this community goes back 25 years. When I was a Fulbright exchangee in Soviet Tajikistan in 1981-82 I lived and studied alongside Afghan students at the Tajik State University; some of the friendships developed during that year were revived in 2000. Therefore when I reconnected with this community the relationships of trust that had been established long before were renewed. I have the respect and protection of an extended Pashai-speaking family, who trust that I treat their culture and privacy with sensitivity.

1.6.2 Research Design

The process of describing any features of a language is iterative, becoming refined and deepened upon repeated inquiry. The bare-bones sketch grammar that formed the basis of my initial understanding of Pashai was expanded and examined as my understanding of the forms of the language grew. Using Morgenstierne (1973) as my language guide I inves-

tigated topics in phonology, morphology and syntax through questionnaires and repeated interviews, observations, and inquiries. Deciphering the multiple tense and aspect forms of verbal morphology with complex argument-indexing suffixes preceded my ability to decode the epenthetic vowels and assimilation processes of the phonology. Using Toolbox I initially compiled a core data base and vocabulary of 500 entries, based on the Swadesh list and Vaux and Cooper (1999) including numbers, body parts, kinship terms, terms of address, terms of reference, food, plants, environment, farming, animals, colors, and basic syntactic and morphological constructions. I found many of the questionnaires for field linguists and typological language description developed by the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology useful in guiding my data collection. I met mostly in informal settings with speakers, many of whom preferred not to be recorded. Therefore my bound handwritten notebooks form the basis of my data storage.

In addition to face-to-face interviews and observation I have collected data through all digital media: Skype, texting, email, phone. As a result I did not have recordings of all my sample sentences, and was at times challenged to interpret the vowels precisely from loosely transliterated emails and Pashto adapted transcriptions used by some of my consultants.

1.6.3 Additional Field Data

With the access of a participant observer, I collected visual ethnographies and material artifacts of domestic practices among rural Afghans over the course of these years. Working with women has given me the opportunity to observe and document the women's domestic space, including activities such as cooking, cleaning, animal tending, and life-cycle rituals and celebrations, in urban settings and in the countryside. My working language in Afghanistan and with some Afghans in the diaspora is Dari. Although I comprehend spoken Pashai I do not speak it very well.

1.6.4 Language Consultants

The data for this dissertation has been collected across a wide spectrum of speakers. The grammatical examples come from men, women and children who range in age, education, social status and multilingualism. I met with individuals in their homes in Darrai Nur villages of Amla and Bodeali, Jalalabad, Kabul, Lahore, Haripur, Peshawar, London, Sheffield, Paris, Antwerp and St. Louis. I also consulted with curriculum writers at the Ministry of Education, Zamane Kulmani, Director of the Department of Culture at the Ministry of Tribal Affairs, and representatives of the Darrai Nur Language Committee, a project of the NGO SERVE.

The identities of language consultants have been coded to protect the anonymity of the speakers. A coded list of speakers is presented in Appendix H.

At various places I point out the education, age, or gender of the speaker since it does sometimes affect their grammatical judgments, lexical choices and phonology. For example, the use of the complementizer *ke* for relative clause construction and embedded clauses is a syntactic construction borrowed from Persian, and preferred by more educated speakers. Older speakers (over 40) and less educated speakers used more serial verb construction. Women tended to be more conservative in their loan phonology than multilingual speakers.

1.7 Methodology for Diaspora Research

Grants from the Nicholson Center for British Studies at the University of Chicago and the American Institute of Afghanistan Studies enabled me to travel to the UK and other sites in Europe to conduct a short-term ethnographic study of immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers from the Pashai-speaking minority community of Afghanistan. During the research period I traveled several times between London and Sheffield to interview individuals. I interviewed Pashai speakers in various neighborhoods around London as well. In addition to asylum seekers and refugees I met with refugee advocates, program managers and volun-

teers to gain perspective on services, evolving attitudes and policy reform. Through semi-structured interviews and participant observation I collected data on the Pashai-speaking diaspora community concerning identity, language choice, integration and navigating the social welfare system.

1.7.1 Research Design

The short-term one month research in the UK was conducted in order to gain an understanding of Pashai speakers' language practices and attitudes towards language preservation in the diaspora. By spending time with Pashai-speaking families I was able to observe their language practices. Interviews were conducted in their homes, cars, or businesses. The primary contact led me to believe that there were many Pashai-speaking families in the UK. Actually, there were far fewer than I had expected. The population of asylum seekers is limited by deportations, detention, and recent changes in benefits and asylum laws. Furthermore, there are few 'families' as most asylum seekers are young men. Because of my long-standing connection and deep contacts within this community in Afghanistan, the participants in my study were familiar with my project from their friends and relatives. They had heard of my involvement in their community in Afghanistan and all participants but one were from families I knew in Afghanistan.

1.7.2 Methodology

My interviews were conducted as open-ended informal conversations. Interviewees told me about their routes to the UK, their employment, their family trees, and descent origin stories. Many were interested in talking about 'benefits' and how they worked (within) the system. Observations in household settings informed me about language transmission, inter-generational use, and individual family practices.

I refrained (for the most part) from recording interviews for the following reasons:

1. Based on prior personal experience I chose not to record interviews until I had established rapport with my consultants. I have found that using recording equipment was intimidating to many native speakers. Some, especially women, were unable to speak during recording.
2. Out of respect for the practice of *satropardah*, the sequestration and seclusion of women and home, I did not record or film in any homes.
3. Issues regarding identity, political affiliation and all things Afghanistan make for a very guarded interviewee; by not recording I gave individuals the chance to speak candidly.
4. Afghan households are lively and multi-layered and a challenging environment in which to obtain high quality language and acoustic samples.

The relevance of my gender to my research must be underscored. A male researcher would not have been invited into the homes and private spaces of these families. He would certainly not have been able to go into the kitchen and socialize with the women – wives, mothers, daughters – in the household. I also believe my age, as an older woman, was relevant to the success of my research. In the context of Afghan society older women are accorded more respect and deference than younger women. Precisely because of my gender I had unique access to a population of speakers that had never been available to Ovesen, Morgenstierne, Keiser, or any other researchers. This contribution to our understanding of the Pashai language, and the gendered aspects of language maintenance are explored for the first time with this dissertation.

1.7.3 Documentation

The forces of globalization over the past 50 years have dramatically increased the decline of minority languages world wide; their space in the world of communication has been squeezed out by the handful of regionally dominant and international languages. Recognition of the

depth of the loss to human knowledge and cultural heritage with the loss of linguistic diversity has created a sense of urgency in the field of linguistics to document the thousands of endangered languages before they disappear. The documentation of a language adds not only to the knowledge of the world but also preserves the language and practices for the speech community. Language documentation can serve the best interests of the community by involving the speakers in this research, elevating the prestige of the language and can be used in developing orthography, teaching materials and other resources for the language community. Recording the language through personal narratives and oral traditions actively includes speakers in the documentation process and demonstrates to the speakers the importance of language preservation and the appreciation of others for their culture. Appendix B presents a text collected from a speaker that tells his clan's origin story. Appendix C is a song performed by women during the wedding ritual. Appendix D provides a list of basic verb roots, and Appendix E describes the sounds and expressions used to talk to animals. Kinship terms are listed in Appendix F and Appendix G examines the gendered practices associated with the use of the vigesimal counting system. Many of the examples in this dissertation were drawn from everyday domestic experiences and conversations, therefore the grammar is more focused on cooking rice and weddings than activities outside the home, and beyond the typical site of women's household production. As previously noted, this represents the first time such (ethno-linguistic) information has been documented.

1.8 Typology of Language and Gender

1.8.1 Typology of Minority Languages

This section looks at the position of Pashai using a matrix of criteria based on Edwards' (1992) framework of typology for minority languages. I evaluate additional variables suggested in Grenoble and Whaley (1998) and introduce gender as a factor in the assessment of language vitality for Pashai.

Identifying the shared characteristics of languages at risk, and the differences that are inherent in their unique circumstances are precisely the variables that comprise this typological framework. With respect to language endangerment the most useful resource is the one that not only supplies a thorough typology of minority language situations but one that also predicts the future of threatened languages.

Table 1.2: Edwards (1992) Framework for the Typology of Minority Languages

Categorization A		Categorization B	
	SPEAKER	LANGUAGE	SETTING
Demography	number and concentration of speakers	extent of language	rural-urban nature of setting
Sociology	socio-economic status of speakers	degree and type of language transmission	nature of previous/current maintenance and revival efforts
Linguistics	linguistic capability of speakers	degree of language standardization	nature of in and out migration
Psychology	language attitude of speakers	aspects of the language-identity relationship	attitude of majority group toward minority
History	history and background of the group	history of the language	history of the area in which the group now lives
Political	rights and recognition of speakers	degree and extent of official recognition of language	degree of autonomy/special status of area
Geography	basic facts about geography	basic facts about geography	basic facts about geography
Education	speakers attitude and involvement regarding education	type of school support for language	state of education in the area
Religion	religion of speakers	type and strength of association between language and speakers	importance of religion in area
Economics	economic health of speakers	association between languages and economic success/mobility	economic health of region
Technology	group representation in the media	language representation in the media	general public awareness of area

Edwards (1992) suggests a framework for the typology of minority languages that incorporates a wide cross section of criteria. For example, Categorization A, in Table 1.2, is comprised of history, demographics, sociology, linguistics, history, politics, geography, education, religion, economics, and technology. Categorization B is the scope over which each variable is applied. The scope is the speaker, language and setting. The value of Edwards'

typology is the mapping of one criterion across the broad context, (setting) in which community is located, as well as the features of the individual community (speaker and language column). The broad context is a useful set of indicators of the potential threat to minority languages in a given region. The community context is useful for understanding the unique conditions of each language situation.⁹ I describe some of these contexts here.

1.8.2 Demography

Regional information estimates the population of Pashai speakers at around 100,000. With a current population in Afghanistan of approximately 30 million, that figure represents one-third of one percent. As a minority population the Pashai community is unique in Edwards' sense since they are only found in their fairly self-contained, contiguous region of Afghanistan, spanning parts of Kapisa, Laghman and Nangrahar provinces. Darrai Nur is further unique, because it is almost exclusively Pashai-speaking, with the exception of three small villages in the lower portion of the valley that are predominantly Pashtun. None of the other Pashai-speaking valleys have a majority of Pashai speakers.

Like most rural Afghans, Pashai speakers of lower Darrai Nur are agriculturalists, farming narrow strips of land between the mountains in the valley. Marriages are mostly endogamous. The birthrate is comparable to the rest of Afghanistan, about 6-7 children. Regionally, beyond Darrai Nur, a large number of Pashai speakers live in Jalalabad, the capital of Nangrahar province, mostly clustered in Pashai-speaking neighborhoods.

The narrower, community context informs us about the extent of the language. The language of everyday use in households and local commerce is Pashai. Yet nearly all men have a reasonable command of Pashto whether they have been to school or not. Without Pashto they could not deal with the government when necessary, negotiate their way around Jalalabad for commerce and trade, or visit a doctor. There is political, social, and economic

9. Edwards recognized the limitation of his model and offered his framework as sketch framework to be built upon.

incentive to use Pashto.

With respect to examining the demographics, Edwards' framework lacks the specificity to describe the kind of setting where Pashto and Pashai coexist. Grenoble and Whaley (1998) offer a number of refinements of Edwards' framework that address the mapping of variables across categories. They distinguish between micro variables, which are community internal variables, and macro variables which are community external variables. They organize the macro variables at the level of local, regional, national, and extra-national. Micro variables correspond to 'speaker' and 'language' in Edwards' framework. Macro variables correspond to 'setting'. Furthermore they suggest that the influence of certain variables ranks higher than others.

It becomes apparent very quickly that the variables in Edwards' typology are overlapping in obvious and necessary ways. For example, consider the local and regional setting for Pashai. Pashto is a factor not only in history, but in the political, economic, religious, and education contexts as well. Pashto is a factor in each of the categorizations of sociology, psychology, history, education, education and technology.

Pashto is the dominant language (and culture) in the Pashai context. On the national level it has been an official and or national language, and the language of its rulers since the creation of Afghan nation-state. On the regional level it is the dominant language spoken in Nangrahar province.

Pashai speakers have been in contact with Pashtuns for a millennium. Forced conversion to Islam of Pashai speakers through the efforts of Pashto tribes and political leaders began in the 18th century and continued into recent history. Access into and out of the Darrai Nur valley is mostly through Pashto-speaking territory.

Although Darrai Nur is majority Pashai-speaking, Pashto is part of the local context, too. Local is not only geographical but technological – such as radio, television and medium of education. Pashto exists in the local context of Darrai Nur in the following ways:

- Education – it is the language medium of schooling, and children are required to speak

only Pashto in school.

- Religion – Arabic is the language of prayer. Before one begins prayers they state their intention in their own vernacular. Pashai speakers use a formulaic phrase in Pashto to state their prayer intention.
- Culture – music, musicians, videos, TV, radio, is overwhelmingly in Pashto. In the diaspora every Pashai household I visited was watching Pashtun TV through the cable Jadoo ‘magic’ box.
- Law/Government – The language of local administration depends on the district governor who is appointed from the central government. Often the *uluswali* (district administration) meetings are held in Pashto or Pashai, but all reports are written in Pashto.

Education Overlapping variables point to multiple possible correlations. Education is one area where several variables overlap. On the macro-variable level, Afghanistan has a National Education Strategy with a literacy implementation plan specifically for isolated and minority linguistic groups to provide materials in their local languages as well as in Dari and Pashto. The historical situation in Darrai Nur and much of rural Afghanistan has resulted in extremely low levels of education in general and especially for girls.¹⁰ Increased education has almost always been a result of a government intervention. In a country where the historically weak government has not represented the best interest of its people, the policies and intentions of the government were always under suspicion. For example during the reign of Zahir Shah (beginning in 1933), the government initiated a concerted effort to bring education to Darrai Nur. However, since the villagers did not know what the intention of this education was and how it might benefit them, any family who could afford to, paid

10. The majority of people in Afghanistan have had little access to education. Over the past 30 years of war and instability there have been periods in which there was a drive to educate in general and educate girls in particular, and periods where no one received education.

a bribe to the official to keep their sons out of school. The only ones educated during that time were the poorest villagers. When it became apparent, after a number of years, that the schooling was not a negative, or un-Islamic force, other villagers sent their sons to school.

Another example from the recent Soviet/ revolutionary period was the drive to educate girls. This was one of the precipitants for the rise of the anti-government resistance. Thus, there is a correlation between low literacy and mistrust of the government. The view from the periphery of government has always been suspect. Education as the tool of the government has historically been a soft target for anti-government actions.

Despite new educational policies the language medium of education has always been Pashto.¹¹ Furthermore, with literacy so low in the region there is little interest in reading in Pashai. On the micro level - those who can already read do so in Pashto and claim they have no need and no utility to read in Pashai. The Pashai newspapers are not widely circulated, neither are the books. Interestingly, the Pashai speakers I asked to read the texts with me found the process novel but also in its unfamiliarity, frustratingly difficult. They were not accustomed to seeing their language in the Perso-Arabic orthography.

The fact that Pashto has been spoken in Darrai Nur for centuries mostly by non-literate, non-educated men suggests that the role of literacy is still rather minor, and does not seem to be a factor affecting current language usage patterns. Education on the national (macro) level is mirrored in the community (micro) level.

Economics Grenoble and Whaley argue that economic factors force the loss of language noting that “(T)he realities of modern day global economy place unprecedented financial pressures on minority languages.”(1998:53) Economic advancement is a key motivation to relinquish a minority language in favor of a majority. In Afghanistan, one of the world’s poorest countries, economic necessity draws Afghans (men) away from their home regions. Some migrate internally, others seek regional and further international migrations. How-

11. Logistical problems and lack of funding, training, and local interest maintain the status quo.

ever, Pashai-speaking women mostly do not participate in the public economy; this non-participation ultimately results in language preservation.

Technology The ‘virtual’ local setting, i.e. the media, has paid increasing attention to the Pashai language with daily television and radio Pashai Hour news and culture reported by Zaman Kolmani, the Director of Cultural Affairs at the Tribal Affairs Ministry. This service is appreciated more by people living outside Darrai Nur where there is more access to television. Pashai speakers have expressed pride in this programming and feel it has increased the status of their language.

1.8.3 Communicative Space and Usefulness

According to Mufwene (2003), the role of education, media, power and prestige in language endangerment is overstated. He too argues that economic factors (jobs) are more important than education in fostering language loss, pointing to practicality and the principle of least effort. Mufwene argues that languages coexist when they do not compete for communicative space. Furthermore, Mufwene suggests that another factor affecting language loss is usefulness. Yagmur and Kroon (2006) remark that native languages limited to domestic use lessen functional and instrumental use in society.

Taking exception to their formulation, I argue that it is the very use of space itself that has maintained Pashai as it today. And contrary to Yagmur and Kroon, domestic use of language is instrumental in preserving Pashai vitality.

1.8.4 Geography of Language Use

The geography of cultural space in Afghanistan is often described as a dichotomy of public and private space. The public sphere is where children are educated, business is conducted, politics played out, and government has its most visible presence. Men dominate in the public sphere. The private sphere, being that space that is not in the public view, is thus

considered women's sphere.

The private sphere is often equated with the privacy of the home, but that does not fully capture the dichotomy. While men may move freely from the privacy of their homes to the public sphere, women's public access is restricted physically and visually. As a woman moves into and through the public sphere, she envelops herself in a full body veil, chadri or burqa, which maintains her private space, while providing her mobility. For this reason I refer to the women's space as bounded. The public gaze is to be avoided. A burqa allows the private in the public, minus the gaze.

Bounded space can be 'public' in the case of a women's event, such as a wedding, or a visit to a women's hair salon, or seamstress. Or it can be 'private', inside the home. For many women bounded space is what they carry around themselves at all times. It determines who sits next to whom on a bus, in a car, even in a family. Spaces of influence or production are both concentric and overlapping.¹²

Gendered space has a linguistic effect as well. It is an important variable to consider in understanding the Pashai language situation. Most men in Darrai Nur are bilingual with Pashto – whether educated or not – they all have some communication skills in Pashto. As noted above, Pashto must be considered part of the local setting, even though Darrai Nur is predominantly Pashai. It would be more accurate to say that Pashto is part of the local public (unbounded) setting, useful for government, and some commerce, particularly in the urban center. It is not in competition with Pashai – which has its strongest concentration in the bounded setting of women's space.

Women's exposure to (public) Pashto has been far more limited compared with men's. Women do not interact in the village markets; they do not shop and they do not sell. When they go shopping in Pashto-speaking Jalalabad, their male escorts translate and speak for them. Women do not participate in public religious practices; they do not attend the public

12. It is not completely gendered, i.e. boys at around 16 move into the male space. In my observations in Darrai Nur I have noticed that women do not practice as strict purdah with considerably older men (70+), blind men, and men of the lowest social stratum.

mosques. For most of the past 30 years women have not gone to school and so they have not been exposed to Pashto in education.

Therefore the Pashai-speaking women are in many ways twice removed from the public sphere, doubly veiled and doubly distanced. In the first instance their adherence to the constraints of a gendered division of space places a physical boundary around them. This is actualized by the corporeal chadri (full body veil) they wear in public. In the second instance they are bounded by their inability to communicate outside their linguistic and kinship network, in the language of the public sphere.

Women's public experiences are both visually and auditorily bounded. Visual in that they can see without being seen, and auditory in that they can hear but cannot communicate. This serves an important social function in Pashai society with respect to preserving honor, since women's behavior is accountable for their family's honor. The fact that women are not 'compromised' with another language stands as a metaphor for the purity of the family's honor.

What is happening on the micro level in Pashai mirrors the macro/larger politics of ethnicity in Afghanistan. Preservation of language and ethnic culture is secured firmly with the sequestering of women from public society. The perpetuation and protection of these conditions requires women be kept from being educated.

Thus, contrary to Yagmur and Kroon's (2006) utilitarian suggestion that language just used at home is not very useful, in the case of Pashai I contend that it is indeed quite central. It is precisely the bounded space of Pashai domestic use that strengthens the language.

Pashai is truly the mother-tongue as it is the only language in which children can speak to their mothers. For Pashai speakers the language holds a place in their deepest private sphere, the space that women and their children inhabit. In this space children confide in their mothers. In the private space mothers make many of the family decisions, marriage arrangements chief among them. The bounded private space of the home is the nest for Pashai language. Young children spend more time with their mothers and female relatives

for the first seven years than they do with their fathers and male relatives. Boys do not join the men's sphere till they are late teens, still spending most of their social time with sisters and mothers.

Women have the closer relationship to their children, both boys and girls, throughout their lives. The trust and confidential relationships children have with their mothers is in opposition to the canonical relationship of fear and respect for their fathers. Adult brothers compete to keep their mothers in their respective households. The language bond is planted in infancy and extended throughout their lives. The affection for the language is strongly associated with the affection for the mother.

It is the very gendering of social space that enables Pashai speakers to maintain a division of labor in communicative functions between Pashto and Pashai, making it unnecessary, even unlikely, that they give up Pashai in favor of only Pashto. Women, and the bounded space they inhabit – with their children – help maintain the vitality of Pashai. As long as people need to speak to their mothers they will need their home language.

Evidence of Pashto language and culture influencing much of Pashai language and culture can be found in the lexicon, grammar, life cycle rituals, and religious practices. However, in a society with gendered space so clearly defined, Pashai still has its most important role at home. For Pashai, women are agents of preserving their language. Gender is a micro variable that carries considerable weight.

Grenoble and Whaley (1998) discuss the relative weight that different micro variables might play in any given speech community. They argue that relinquishing a native tongue is tied to the belief that success in a non-native language is crucial to economic advantage. One can hardly disagree that in general economic forces weigh heavily on language loss. Yet many questions remain about the effect of different economic systems on their local languages and including the role 'belief' might play. Despite the impinging forces of Pashto language and culture, one can still become a successful and rich farmer without leaving the valley. In Darrai Nur the cash economy is still rather new. I would argue that in Pashai language

vitality, economics is not as important a factor as gender/space.

Thus, somewhat paradoxically, while the greatest threat to Pashai is the prevalence of Pashto in its local context, the greatest strength for Pashai's future is its micro local context of women's bounded space. For now, the languages coexist.

In the diaspora, this dichotomy is even more pronounced. Abroad, Pashai is a home language among diasporic Pashai speakers. Currently, at least, within the first generation of migrants, most women continue to live in bounded space, linguistically and culturally, maintaining the relationship of domestic sphere and language use.

1.8.5 Women and Language in the Diaspora

There were few 'families' among the Pashai-speakers I interviewed in the European diaspora. Most of the interviewees were young males. I did, however, have the chance to observe and interview some women. These women all expressed disappointment in their inability to learn English. They explained that they only attended English language classes sporadically because of their family responsibilities. Some mentioned that the changes in asylum services meant that they no longer had classes available to them.

Women who also spoke another Afghan language, such as Dari or Pashto, interacted somewhat with other Afghans in the community. The monolingual Pashai speakers were quite isolated. I witnessed this isolation when I accompanied an older woman on a visit to another Afghan family. She sat with the women for several hours but the language barrier prevented her from conversing.

In all Pashai households in the diaspora I found that women spent a great deal of time on Skype with their relatives not only in Afghanistan but elsewhere in the world as well. Several hours a day could be filled with intermittent Skype calls from their mobile phones.

Women often engaged in mundane activities while on Skype; they cooked meals, tended their children and drank tea 'together' as they visited with relatives. One woman told me about a wedding party they celebrated with relatives over Skype.

We got all dressed up. We bought new outfits, some quite expensive. We cooked special food and had music. Then we danced together and had a great party.

Some families chose to speak Pashto with their children, a language with more status and utility in the larger Afghan diaspora than their home language Pashai.

For many this choice had to be justified – to me and each other – as the woman having a Pashto mother and therefore a ‘right’ to speak Pashto. As will be discussed in the next chapter, the social hierarchy that informs language choice is at work here.

More research might reveal the nuances of Pashai vs. Pashto language choice and use in the digital world of diasporic communication.

Chapter 2

Language and Context

2.1 Language in Context

Chicken Street has been a magnet for foreign travelers passing through Kabul for decades. During the years of the rainbow buses, hippie caravans from Istanbul to Kathmandu, Chicken Street was a destination for pot-smoking wanderers looking for a cheap cot to sleep on, Afghani hash to smoke, all the while running the risk of hepatitis-contaminated food. Even now, after the Soviet period, Taliban period and current occupation of Afghanistan by the international community, Chicken Street has an enduring flavor and allure. It is the antiques and souvenir row, selling hand-knotted rugs from Bukhara to Baluchistan and animist carvings from Nuristan alongside Islamic calligraphy. Chicken Street is remembered fondly and revisited by old Afghanistan hands, while admired by Afghanistan neophytes exploring the terrain anew. The merchants of Chicken Street have been there through it all; many shops are owned by extended families of Turkmen, Uzbeks, and Tajiks. When SS and I passed by Chicken Street he often retold me an anecdote set in this urban location and context.

SS once found himself at the corner where Chicken Street and Flower Street meet. He ran into an old friend, also a Pashai speaker from Darrai Nur, who had been a student with

him in Soviet Tajikistan in the 1980s. His friend greeted him in Pashto, inquiring after his health and well-being. SS responded in Russian, asking his interlocutor how things were going. His friend was taken aback and asked in Pashto, “Why are you talking to me in Russian?”, to which SS responded in Pashai, “Why are you talking to me in Pashto, we are both Pashai speakers after all.”

This multilingual exchange contains numerous cultural and linguistic elements. One element demonstrated by this exchange is diglossia, how speakers choose their language of communication in differing status environments and what mitigates those choices. Language choice and prestige and the status of Afghanistan’s national and regional languages have been domestic political and regional geo-political issues for the last hundred years. In this brief interchange the recent history of Afghanistan – the shifting competition among languages for cultural value in the wake of Soviet, Islamist, nationalist, and international influence – is referenced as well. An understanding of multilingualism in Afghanistan requires an appreciation of the ethnic and linguistic composition of Afghan society, situated at the very heart of the Silk Road. Chicken Street itself represents a crossroads of Silk Road society.

Yet another element brings our attention to the gendered dimension of public practices and multiple language communication; this conversation would not, could not, have happened between two Pashai women. This gendered aspect of language use will be dealt with later in the chapter. As well as gender, Pashai identity comes to the fore in the interchange. Pashai itself references a complex layering of fluid identities, at times solely linguistic, other times regional, tribal or ethnic. Finally, the choice of communication strategies as driven by the rural – urban divide in Afghan culture intrudes here as well. The setting of the conversation is the most cosmopolitan street in Afghanistan’s capital, Kabul; the interlocutors originate from the hinterland, yet their shared Soviet experience is international.

I will return to this example, to further unpack it, later in the chapter. The issues highlighted above, as well as others discussed below, provide the focus of this chapter, showcasing the abstract and mundane relationships between language and culture.

2.2 Introduction

Just as the analytic challenges presented by the linguistic diversity of Afghanistan are undisputable, the ethnic diversity equally presents myriad challenges to the researcher. Often, the scholarship has assumed a one-to-one correlation linking ethnicity to language. This chapter analyses this scholarship while questioning many of the underlying assumptions. For example, evidence from the research presented here demonstrates how the practices of the Pashai-speaking communities prove analytically useful in how they ultimately destabilize some of the traditional assumptions about the relationship between language and identity.

The next section of this chapter addresses the history of language policies in Afghanistan and describes a story of promotion and demotion of national and official languages. Following this, section 2.4 presents a discussion of the political history of the categorization of ethnicity in Afghanistan; section 2.5 examines the key impact outsiders have had on this categorization, for Pashai speakers in particular. Embedded in this discussion is the term *qawm* and its multiple definitions and manipulations, examined in section 2.6. Section 2.7 looks at what all this means to Pashai speakers at home in Darrai Nur, elsewhere in Afghanistan, and in the Euro-American diaspora.

2.3 History of Language Policies in Afghanistan

The history of language policies in Afghanistan is an exploration of linguistic duality in a plurilingual society. Persian has been described by many as the lingua franca of the region. In the area of modern Afghanistan, Persian language has dominated culture, education and government administration for centuries. Regardless of ethnicity or language of origin, Persian was used most widely among the population. According to Rzehak (2012b:84) “Persian was not identified so much with a particular ethnic group but rather a specific culture first of all”. Persian language has been associated with cosmopolitan culture, signified by the persistence of urban Pashtuns, and royal descendants in particular, in speaking Persian

rather than their ‘ethnic’ language, Pashto.

Early Period The nation-state of modern Afghanistan was established by Ahmad Shah Durrani in 1747 as the Iranian Safavid Empire was in decline. Although Durrani was a Pashtun, all state affairs continued to be conducted in the administrative language of the era, Persian. In 1924 when the Loya Jirga¹ ratified the first Afghan Constitution, it directed the government to translate regulations and the Constitution into Pashto for the first time (Nawid, 2012).

Language planning as such began during the reign of Zahir Shah, 1933-1973, aimed at advancing the Pashto language and the concept of the Pashtun State. What previously was only a monolingual Persian language administration became bilingual through the promotion of the Pashto language, when in 1936 Pashto was elevated to the status of an official language. However, the implementation has always been problematic as Pashto lacked the linguistic depth and vocabulary that Persian had, as the centuries-long language of trade, bureaucracy and education. Furthermore, there were fewer publications and less standardized orthography in Pashto.

In the 1964 constitution Pashto and Dari Persian were recognized as official languages. Official language designation refers to the language of education and administration. This is when Dari became the official name for Afghan Persian (Schiffman and Spooner, 2012). Pashto was named the national language, meaning recognition as the language of the people of Afghanistan. This era saw increased Pashto nationalism and policies that aimed to unite Afghans around the notion of ‘Pashtun’. Education became the tool for language promotion in the 1960s and the country was divided into Pashto dominance and Dari dominance by region. Each language dominated education in its designated region with the other, second language, being compulsory in 3rd grade and up (Rzehak, 2012b).

1. The Pashto phrase *loya jirga* ‘mass assembly’ is used to refer to the part of the Afghan political process that ratifies major decisions, such as a new leader or constitution.

Soviet Period Soviet style language and ethnicity policies followed the 1978 coup that brought the communists to power. These policies were aimed at protecting one language from becoming privileged over the others, although such policies were widely believed to have been intended to weaken the hold of Dari while promoting Pashto language and culture.² During this period Pashai, along with Uzbek, Turkmen, Baluchi, and Nuristani were decreed national languages. Soviet-style policies created boundaries and divisions that had not previously been articulated; ultimately this resulted in greater ethnic divisions and conflict.

Taliban Period The Taliban ruled Afghanistan for barely five years, beginning in 1996. The dominant language and culture of the regime was Pashtun, as the leadership of the Taliban were rural Pashtuns who did not know Dari. There were no official language decrees made during this era.

Afghanistan Post 9/11 The 2004 Constitution of Afghanistan recognizes Pashto and Dari as official languages. It also recognizes other minority languages, including Pashai, as a third official language. No language has been designated as the national language. Interest in minority language preservation, documentation and publication promoted by the government has raised the profile of minority communities as well as the related issues of ethnic and linguistic identities.

In explicitly recognizing Pashai and five other minority languages, and the rights of their speakers to be educated in their own languages, in their home regions, Article Sixteen of the Constitution of Afghanistan states

From amongst the languages of Pashto, Dari, Uzbeki, Turkmani, Baluchi, Pachaie, Nuristani, Pamiri, and other current languages in the country, Pashto and Dari shall be the official languages of the state. In areas where the majority of the people speak in any one of the Uzbeki, Turkmani, Pachaie, Nuristani, Baluchi or Pamiri languages, any of the aforementioned languages, in addition

2. Language and ethnic conflict during this period saw the development of two communist factions, one was dominated by Dari speakers, and the other one dominated by Pashto speakers.

to Pashto and Dari, shall be the third official language, the usage of which shall be regulated by the law. (Nawid, 2012:50)

2.4 Ethno-Linguistic Politics

Under the Monarchy, Republic, and up to the Marxist coup in April 1978, the government recognized no ‘separate ethnicities’ in Afghanistan. The review of the history of language policies (till very recently) might give the impression that there was no plurality of ethnicities in Afghanistan, only the dual linguistic identities of Dari and Pashto.

The policy during the Daoud Khan (1974-78) era was that ethnic identity could not be listed on the *tazkirah* ‘identity paper’ and that people were prevented from choosing a *laqab* ‘surname’ that reflected their ethnicity. The policy was intended to deny the plurality of Afghan diversity and promote a unified identification for all citizens as Afghans, a key part of the central government’s nation-building project.³

However, since the end of that era and its homogenizing policies, many people have chosen surnames that reflect ethnicity, language or geography. ‘Nuristani’ for example, is a widely used surname. Interestingly, among Pashai speakers interviewed I never encountered anyone with ‘Pashai’ as a surname.⁴ I met several Pashai speakers who chose Nuristani toponyms to invoke their claims to a Nuristani heritage though they had never been there and did not speak the Nuristani language. Many Pashai speakers use Pashto tribal names, tracing their descent in that direction, or aspirational in their choice of surname. ‘Safi’ is a widely used surname, invoking the northeastern region of Afghanistan where the Safi tribes reside.⁵ The Pashai speakers I met who use this surname told me they do so to affirm their Pashtun lineage credentials. Doubt has been raised among scholars regarding the roots of the Safis

3. The term ‘Afghan’ is also used to refer to Pashtuns, making some people seem more ‘Afghan’ than others.

4. That is not to say it has never been used. There are people who chose this surname, but not among the population I studied.

5. Safi tribes reside in Kapisa, Laghman, Nangrahar, Nuristan, and Kunar provinces.

within the greater Pashtun family of tribes, suggesting that Safis are original Pashais not Pashtuns. See Ovesen (1983b), Evans-von Krbek (1977), Allan (2001), Bellew (1891), and Masson (1974-1977).

Centlivres and Centlivres-Demont (2000) suggest that the paucity of data on ethnic groups and spoken languages from that time period is a result of the Monarchy-driven and then Republican state-run Pashtunization programs which aimed to create unity through the denial of ethnic and linguistic differences. By contrast, the 2004 Constitution describes the ethnic composition of the country “and in so doing it declares unmistakably that national unity is not to be based upon rejection of ethnic or linguistic differences” (Rzehak, 2012b:85).

According to Crews and Tarzi (2008) estimates concerning the number of ethnic groups in Afghanistan range from 50 - 200, recognizing that many Afghans do not identify with a single classification. Social and political contexts affect how Afghans identify themselves and each other. It was during the Soviet-era (1978-92) that nationalities policies were developed on the Soviet model that both recognized the rights and status of ethnic and linguistic minorities. Soviet policy “conceived of populations as divided into ‘formally bounded, clear-cut, even ‘concrete’ ethnic groups, with every person belonging to one” (Crews and Tarzi, 2008:22). During this period, priority was given to language as a means of spreading political ideology; “the communist rulers understood very quickly that for the spread of their political ideas among the population of Afghanistan it would be very useful to recognize everybody’s identity from the outset” (Rzehak, 2012a:136).

Political conflict led to an increased emphasis on ethnicity and language identities, stressing divisions and inter-group distinctiveness. So much so, that “The role of ethnicity in the Afghan civil war remains one of the most controversial themes of scholarly debate about Afghanistan.” (Crews and Tarzi, 2008:20).

The field of the anthropology of Afghanistan was pioneered in the west, where scholars brought attention to the diversity of languages and ethnicities. The western scholarly interest in and assumptions about ethnic and tribal taxonomies and strict delineation of identities

often has muddied the analytic waters. Tapper notes that “in many areas it is common for individuals to claim a variety of identities that would be mutually exclusive in other contexts” (1988:29).

2.5 Creating Pashai Identity

Still, the lack of an easy fit between language and group identity has proved puzzling and frustrating to even the most observant of ethnographers. For example, in an ethnogenetic corollary to Hobsbawm’s *Invention of Tradition* (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983), Ovesen admits that when he sought to study the Pashais he did not find people who called themselves by that name, so he intentionally called them ‘Pashai’.⁶

In an effort to bring them more clearly into focus. I quite deliberately referred to them as Pashai. I did that partly to redress the balance that was upset in the works of, for example, Wilber, Gregorian, and Dupree, ... and partly because it appeared to me that the various, Pashai-speaking groups had ‘objectively’ so much in common (besides their language) that it was anthropologically warranted to treat them as one ‘people’, even though that was not the way they saw themselves. I readily admit, however, that I had not contemplated all the possible ramifications of assisting in this way to create an ‘ethnic group’ and possibly even an ‘ethnic identity’. (Ovesen, 1983b:321)

Ovesen further takes some credit for helping establish the ethnic identification of the Pashai, as he mentions in a footnote. “I also rejoice in the recollection of the companionship of my ‘counterpart’, Mr. Noor Moh. Ghamjan, who shares with me the responsibility of having helped in the creation of a Pashai ethnic identity” (1983b: 332).

Ovesen was not the first. Schetter, whose work about Afghan ethnicity discusses a variety of Afghan tribal identities and ethnicity issues, claims that Wutt (1981) was the first to ‘construct’ the Pashai ethnicity.⁷ Schetter points out that researchers and policy makers

6. If I appear overly critical of Ovesen it is because his are practically the only publications on the Pashai speakers of Darrai Nur with which I can compare my ideas.

7. Conrad Schetter, p. c.

focus on ethnicity though this conceptualization “does not constitute the main reference of identity and solidarity for the population” (2005:5).

Further confounding is the fact that Pashai speakers have been listed by census takers and government agents as Tajik. A number of individuals spoke to me about this representation saying it was not that they were Tajik but they believed the census takers themselves were, and to increase their own numbers, and the consequent benefits, they listed Pashai speakers as such.⁸

Rzehak further confirms this tendency to create new ethnic units based on the linguistic behavior of groups or individuals seeking a positive social identity. He claims that “a new ethnic unit named ‘Tajik’ is being created in Afghanistan based exclusively on the criterion of language” (2012b:87).

2.6 Qaum

Further complicating this already confusing set of categories, labels and identities, is the term *qaum*. *Qaum* has been variously described, transcribed and translated as a tribe, an ethnic group, a family, a profession. It has been described and defined by many scholars such as Barth (1965), Barfield (2010), Tapper (1988), Rzehak (2012a), and Mills (unpubl). Barfield says “solidarity groups known as *qawm* were basic political blocs at the local level, a term that was also extended to apply generally to the country’s major ethnic groups” (2010:103). He argues against the view of Afghan ethnicity as ‘primordial’; rather, he posits that that Afghan ethnicity is “explicitly circumstantialist; no immutable history or commonality that cannot be jettisoned for self-interest” (2010:106). This view is shared by others including Tapper (1988) and Rzehak (2012a).

Rzehak portrays the concept of *qaum* as a ‘continuum’ that “expresses identity as a cu-

8. (Ovesen, 1983b) offers an explanation for the designations ‘Tajik’ and ‘Safi’ among the Pashais as embedded in the local history of conflict that would be conveniently translated to outsiders with these ‘outside’ ethnonyms.

mulative feature... as a pool of fragmentary characteristics like common descent, language, culture, shared history, customs, way of life, religion, neighborhood, and so on.” (2012a:139). This definition allows for a situation-dependent character of identity, the accumulation of features and their differential weighting in any given context. In that way a person’s membership in a group is contextual, in which a range of features are employed or excluded as qualifications.

The difficulty in translating *qaum* – the lack of one-to-one correspondence in terminology – is precisely the beauty of the term, capturing the very fluidity in Rzehak’s definition.⁹

To the ‘initiated’ qaum is apparent Many of the speakers I interviewed were linked to one another through geography, being from the same village or valley, or by lineage, social class, or marriage. The ‘language’ aspect of their identity was incidental in this context, not salient, as they explained it to me. This dis-aggregation from language is crucial when attempting to unpack identity configurations. Moreover, this destabilizes the efforts of scholars to match up language with ‘culture’, however defined, to identify ethnicity.

Lineage identities, an element of *qaum*, often have more to do with far-off locations than with language. Many Darrai Nur inhabitants I met trace their lineage to other locations (and tribal/ethnic units), such as Kunar (Pashto), Nuristan (Nuristani), or Arab. This connection repeated itself so much to the extent that it almost seemed that to be ‘Pashai’ meant to be from elsewhere.

Qaum and Gender A man’s lineage determines clan membership (possibly and partially glossed as *qaum*), descent, and tribal affiliation; when a woman marries she acquires those affiliations. The only way to become part of a Pashai-speaking *qaum* if one is not born into it is to marry into the group as a woman. There are many cases of women who do just that and some learn to speak the language as well. By contrast, there are few cases of non

9. Rzehak points out that *qaum* is translated differently in the German and English versions of the 2004 Constitution (2012a:293).

Pashai-speaking men who marry Pashai-speaking women; they rarely learn the language, and neither they nor their children are ‘Pashai’ since *qaum* is passed on through patrilineal descent. In interviews with women the only ones who were interested in talking about *qaum* were those who claimed – even boasted of – their Pashto lineage and the right to pass on that language (and culture) to their children. Given the social hierarchies at play, and the widespread sense that all things Pashto are superior to Pashai, these women felt that their rights to claim Pashto heritage trumped any acquired Pashai characteristics.

Identity and language use are not an either/or situation. For example, there are Pashtuns who only speak Dari but consider themselves to be Pashtuns because of their lineage and descent group. Likewise, some non-Pashtuns who speak only Pashto do not consider themselves part of Pashtun tribal structure. Thus, the boundaries of *qaum*, lineage, descent and language do not easily overlap, but are represented in more complex and fluid expressions.

2.6.1 Weighted Features

Rzehak describes how some features of identity might be weighted more than others, particularly in the Pashto context versus other groups. For our purposes, the question for Pashai speakers is whether and to what extent language is weighted, or valorized. The Pashai speakers in the region in which I worked aligned themselves culturally with Pashtuns of the same region and were hard pressed to identify any distinctive cultural practices that were not shared by Pashtuns.¹⁰ Thus, the criteria for *qaum*-ness is neither vested in a single authority nor a unified and established set of features. Moreover, the criteria are not evenly weighted for each group, (Centlivres and Centlivres-Demont, 2000), (Rzehak, 2012a), and (Tapper, 2008). What makes one a Pashtun is not the same as what makes one a Tajik, for example. Therefore, the answer to the question ‘What constitutes Pashai-ness?’ must take into account the fact that Pashto and Pashai do not encompass the same constellations of meaning and practice. To most people interviewed, Pashto meant Islam, opportunity,

10. Or for that matter, practices that were simply typical of rural Afghan households.

sophistication, and mobility. By contrast, Pashai meant the language they spoke. For many, it also was strongly associated with backwardness and carried a social stigma.

Much has been made in the literature of the way people ‘do’ Pashto. It often has been noted that Pashto is not spoken it is ‘done’. In addition, for many, Pashtun-ness cannot be performed in urban settings, outside the strict confines of what is seen as a quintessentially rural and traditional *pashtunwali*, the overarching sense of the rules, practices and expectations, the entire cosmological make-up, of what it means to be/live/do Pashtun-ness. Such a definition eliminates a wide swathe of Pashtuns – especially urban sophisticates who cannot speak the language but claim its ‘ethnicity’ as their own.

Similarly, Pashai is also not ‘spoken’ rather, the verb *karik* ‘to do’ is used to express the speaking of a language. One ‘does’ Pashai, and for that matter any other language. From a cultural-linguistic perspective, this begs the question about over-interpretation, leading one to wonder if the performance of Pashto has perhaps been over-‘done’. Further research needs to be carried out to determine whether this is simply a morpho-syntactic convention or actually more culturally laden.

The 2004 Constitution that brought legal status (and requirements) of ethnicity into increasing importance has brought the notion of Pashai-ness into current focus. This raises questions of how ‘natural’ is this category and what are the forces behind the grouping? Rzehak addresses this issue in his examination of Baluch ethnicity, showing that “the common name can stand for a wide variety of different groups with differing concepts of being Baloch” (2012a:151). Similarly, Pashai can be understood as a synthetic category, weighted with different attributes depending on the given context, and who ‘uses’ it and for what purposes.

2.6.2 Ethnic Nomenclature

According to Rzehak some group names are “less mutually exclusive than others, borderlines between the groups can be defined more easily in some cases. Some designations are more

expandable than others ...”(2012a:138). The ethnic nomenclature is based upon a variety of mixtures of very different criteria. Language is a possible distinctive feature but as we have seen, it must not necessarily be applied in all cases.

It is evident that language alone is not a sufficient criterion for membership, according to Pashai speakers interviewed. In the Euro-American diaspora people interviewed disparaged their fellow Darrai Nuris who did not speak Pashai to their children and among themselves, deprecating them as not being considered Pashai. In some sense the lack of language is seen as a shameful deficit.

Additionally complicating the situation, I was told repeatedly about the Sikhs who lived and worked in Darrai Nur at one time, some of whom were now in London. It was clear to the other Pashai speakers that though these Sikhs spoke Pashai, they were not considered by Pashai speakers – in their words, ‘one of us’. Language was not the feature that made someone ‘one of us’. Interviewees told me that those Sikhs who had converted to Islam were considered ‘one of us’ but not those who had not.

Even further confounding any simplistic effort to overlay ‘ethnic’ identity onto language, are the Pashai-speaking Ismailis. Emadi (2000) writes about this population who are unified by their linguistic and religious coincidence, but consider themselves ethnically Tajik.

2.7 Language and Identity

In Afghanistan, in particular northeastern Afghanistan, the position of the Pashai speakers in the local social hierarchy is problematic.

2.7.1 Social Hierarchy

Marsden tells us that his rural Afghan informants are seen by urban Kabulis as *atrafi* “provincial; rude, ill-mannered, backward” (2009:22). Marsden’s informants are not Pashai, but I have found that many of my interviewees express the same ideas about themselves.

According to many people interviewed, there is no Pashai high culture, no sophistication, valued religion, or better social or financial opportunity associated with ‘being Pashai’. Pashai-speakers are called *šāṛē* by the local, Jalalabadi Pashtuns, a derogatory term similar to ‘hillbilly or country bumpkin’.

2.7.2 *šāṛē*

Pashai speakers I interviewed expressed a strong identification with Pashtuns in their region. Many describe their sameness with Pashtuns, an association that strengthens their Islamic heritage, and makes them look less *šāṛē*. Yet at the same time, the otherness of their linguistic association, and the fact that Pashai-speaking women are isolated by it, has become a point of pride. The women’s isolation is tied to men’s honor. Many Pashai speakers spoke about how much more conservative they are than the Pashtuns around them. One man said to me “Pashtunwali? we out-Pashtun the Pashtuns on that”. The isolation of their women linguistically and socially provides double walls of bounded space, increasing men’s ability to protect their honor.

Pashai speakers told me the term *šāṛē* was insulting. They said it is used derogatorily to refer to their rural nature, which they defined with terms such as unsophisticated, wildness, simplicity, uncouthness, innocence. On numerous occasions I was given a folk etymology for the term, saying that it comes from the Pashai expression *šāṛe ke šāṛaman*, ‘let’s go’ an expression used commonly by Pashai speakers, from the verb *šāṛ-ik* ‘to go, to move along’.¹¹ The association of being ‘Pashai’ with being *šāṛē* contributes to the Pashai dissimulation.

2.7.3 Pashai Dissimulation and Aspirational Pashtuns

Another element of being Pashai in an urban context has to do with how Pashai speakers dissimulate and/or claim Pashto tribal affiliation to increase their status. The initial in-

11. I would caution others writing about Pashai not to use this as a name for dialects because it is an adjective with negative connotations.

terchange described above between SS and his interlocutor, who addressed him in Pashto exemplifies one aspect of this tension.

2.7.3.1 Pashai Dissimulation

On several occasions I observed my Pashai-speaking companions explain who they were to casual inquirers in Kabul. People might have noticed them speaking a language they were unfamiliar with or detected an accent in their Pashto and asked where they were from. They would answer “Nangrahar.” People would say “oh you are Nuristani” to which they often replied “yes”.¹² Most conversations ended there. The questioners, if not satisfied (because they knew something about Nangrahar, or detected an accent) would ask further “where in Nangrahar?” and would receive the reply “Jalalabad”. Then the Pashai speaker would say “do you know Jalalabad?” If they did know the region the Pashai speaker would say they were from Darrai Nur. This prompted one of two responses. The questioner had heard of Pashai, may have been in the region, knew of the well-known Pashai commander Haji Hazrat-i Ali, or the popular Pashto song about the splendor of the Darrai Nur valley.¹³ Alternatively, they knew nothing of the region, and continued to think that Darrai Nur was in Nuristan.

In any case the Pashai speakers never made it easy for the questioner to discover who they were or what language they were speaking; they never revealed this information on initial inquiry.

In Kabul SS and I met a young anthropology student who was very interested in studying ‘the Pashais’. She told us that though her family origin was in Khewa; she had never been there.¹⁴ SS talked to her about her lineage and reported to me that she was indeed Pashai.

12. Nuristanis, a geographically adjacent ethno-linguistic group are well-recognized throughout Afghanistan.

13. The title of this poem and popular song in Pashto is *qurban shum darey noora* ‘May I be sacrificed for Darrai Nur’.

14. An area at the southern entrance to Darrai Nur with a mixed population of Pashai and Pashto speakers.

She insisted she was not, but merely interested in ‘those people from that region’. It was telling that this young student wished, in her social scientific role, to objectify these people but knowing full-well of their low social status, refused to identify with them. Or, having been raised in Kabul she may have been told her ethnicity was Pashtun.

At a dinner party of political elites in Kabul, SS and I met a man, N., from Nurgal, a district bordering Darrai Nur. N and SS talked a long time and N never revealed his ‘Pashai-ness’. This was despite the fact that it was apparent to both of them that they both were ‘Pashai’, and that SS even knew his uncle well.

2.7.3.2 Aspirational Pashtuns

Other forms of aspirational Pashtunism are found in the example of a young man from a Pashai-speaking family I knew well who proudly showed me his resume which listed his ethnicity as Pashtun. When I inquired about this he said he had several justifications. First, he was a descendant of the Gurbuz Safi tribe and felt he could therefore claim Pashtun ethnicity. Furthermore, he was raised in Kabul and felt little connection to ‘those people’; he admitted that it looked better (professionally) to claim to be Pashtun. A Pashai Gurbuz Safi origin story is presented in the next section.

As mentioned above, some women elect to speak Pashto to their children. When queried about this, they explain that they think it is their birthright, often there was a snobbery implied, as they bragged about their Pashtun heritage.

SS told me a story/joke about the janitor of the elementary school where he had been a student. He said this man insisted on speaking in Pashto. The joke, SS said, was that whether he claimed Pashtun descent or not, his social status as a cleaner was low and nothing to brag about. This case resonated with many whom I interviewed, in that social status emerged as the most salient identity marker, and in this case as in other instances, Pashtun status clearly was superior to Pashai.

2.8 Origin Myth

Narratives of personal lives, daily chores, weddings, religious tales, historical or mythological stories of the region and its inhabitants contribute to a rich picture of the values and culture, language, and communicative practices of the people.¹⁵ A transcription of the text of the recording of this story is presented in Appendix B.

Tapper reminds us, regarding Afghanistan, that the legends of “any supposedly homogeneous groups ... are in fact heterogeneous and that any notions of common descent are mythical” (1988:28) . Cultural identity, common and distinctive language, religion, customs, are the product not of generations of isolation from others, but of processes of (often recent) assimilation, negotiation, accommodation and social construction in a context of power relations with the state and competing groups. Essential to these processes is the ambiguity of the names and labels concerned. The story of how the village of Amla got its name, described in Chapter 1, is a case in point. Insiders and outsiders have differing perspectives on what ‘free’ means in the naming of this village. In the stories presented here the different tribes and lineages become ‘hitched’ to the same story by focusing on diverse symbolic terms.

2.8.1 Gurbuz Safi Story

A pregnant woman died and was buried, but her baby was born in the grave. An opening appeared on the grave. A goatherd brought his flock to that area every day. One of the goats would stand on the ground over the grave and nurse the infant. The goatherd wondered why the goat gave no milk in the afternoon so he decided to watch that goat more carefully. He then saw how the goat fed the baby. The goatherd took the baby and named him Gurbuz. That is where we come from. The word *gur* means ‘grave’, *buz* means ‘goat’ in Dari.¹⁶

15. This narrative was told to me many times over the years by different people. It is presented as historical (although miraculous) record about the progenitor of one branch or descent group of the Safi tribe.

16. Gurbuz may be a reinterpretation of the name Gurbāz.

2.8.2 Soom Shenganek Story

A version of this story is presented by Ovesen as the origin of the two major descent groups in Darrai Nur:

In Darrai Nur the two most important ‘descent’ groups are called Soom and Shenganek. The origin of those two groups is accounted for in the following myth: An unmarried woman had become pregnant and to hide her shame she went up into the mountains, where she gave birth to a boy. She hid the infant under some leaves and left him. A goat in search of food scraped away the leaves with its hoof and thereby discovered the boy; it nursed him and took care of him. He got the name Soom - which means hoof – and grew up and became the ancestor of the Soom Pashai. The story is repeated, but this time the goat discovered the boy while scraping away the leaves with its horns, and the second boy got the name Shenganek – from sheng ‘horn’ – and became the ancestor of the Shenganek Pashai. (The suffix -ek is diminutive, and it reflects the inferior social position of the Shenganek in relation to the Soom.)(Ovesen, 1981:224).

Another version of the origin of the Soom and Shenganek descent groups was told to me by AA.

The king of the region had two sons. He sent them off to seek their fortunes. One was a good son and one was a bad one. The good son found a place that was *sama* ‘flat, even’ and settled there, becoming the progenitor of the Soom descent group. The other son was evil, in his search for a home he was butted by a goat, *šij an-e-k-en* ‘hit by horn’ hence the name for his descent group Shenganek.

All three stories have the goat theme in common. The miraculous rescue of the infant is found in both the Soom/Shenganek descent story and the Gurbuz descent story. Both the Ovesen version and the version told by AA indicate an inferior status for one group, Shenganek, and a superior status for the other, Soom, although not for the same reason. Ovesen interprets Shenganek as a diminutive, and inferior; AA interprets Shenganek as ‘attacked for being evil’ and inferior. All three stories interpret descent lines. For the Ovesen and AA stories they explain a rivalry between indigenous Pashai origins. The Gurbuz story interprets a descent

lineage as well, by naming the child in the story. The people who call themselves ‘Gurbuz Safi’ tie their lineage to what they believe is a Pashto (Safi) origin, not a Pashai one.¹⁷

The fluidity of identity and the complexity of multiple ties were reinforced by GA, another elder Gurbuz descendant, who said of their origin:

There were two brothers who came from Kunar, Aliahmad and Allamahmad. They were from the Shenganek tribe from Kunar, originally Safi (Pashto-speaking). Now their descendants – that is us – have become Soom by association because of where we live. So we consider ourselves Soom, but our original ancestors were Shenganek.

Without speaking to the higher status of Soom over Shenganek that Ovesen points out and AA alludes to, GA indicates clearly they chose to associate themselves as Soom. However, every Pashai-speaking Gurbuz Safi I met insisted they were of Pashtun origin.

2.9 Social Status

Pashai speakers interviewed expressed that they ‘identified’ most with their extended family members. It is within this extensive network that they associate socially, arrange marriages, perform reciprocity, and plan business transactions. Most important to them is that the people within these networks are perceived as social equals. The preference for marriage within clan/family results in Pashai speakers marrying each other. But, it needs to be stressed that it is not because they are co-linguists; rather, it is because they identify as each others’ ‘in-group’ of trusted kin.

A local story, so often repeated that it has attained quasi mythological status, exemplifies the significance of social stratification and sensitivity to it. The first version comes from AA, a Pashai speaker from Sotan, at the upper end of Darrai Nur. He told me of the proposal of a King Nadir Shah (d. 1933) who was visiting Darrai Nur and decided to take a Pashai bride.

17. See section 2.4 on the question of whether Safi is an original Pashtun tribe.

The King made his proposal to the community leaders who summarily rejected him. The leaders, in considering the offer, concluded that they could not give him a bride from among them because they did not know if this king could be considered their *siyāl* ‘social equal’. They discussed whether they could offer him a bride from the *peišawar* ‘artisan’ class¹⁸ but decided that if they did so the *peišawar* would have a closer connection to the king and they (*siyals*) would lose status (power...). Therefore they rejected the king’s proposal. The king then went to Nuristan where he found a bride.

AA related this story in order to explain two things. First, he said, it stressed how obsessed his own people are with status and social stratification distinctions, and second it explains why the Nuristanis have relatively strong connections with the central government.¹⁹

Jan Ovesen tells this same story. His version assigns the king as Habibullah (d.1919). His story is a simpler version used to illustrate the rules of endogamy that ‘pertain to the whole ethnic group’.

A village leader related with considerable pride that the king Habibullah – who had a hunting lodge in Darra-i Nur – had once asked his grandfather for one of his daughters in marriage, and that the man had refused, ‘because you are not my *siyal*’! (Ovesen, 1982b:150)

Ovesen uses this story to reinforce the point that a Pashai man would strongly resist marrying his daughter to an non-Pashai man.

A third version of this story was told to me by a woman, HH. She tells it as the story of her grandfather, who refused to give his daughter to the king. HH was descended from a politically powerful family and used the story to show how important her family was.

The ubiquity and insistence on the retelling of this story demonstrates the sensitivity and centrality of being *siyal*, or structurally equal, in the local cosmology and social structure.

18. Craftsman or artisan, considered the lowest social stratum.

19. Ovesen (1983b) explored the different paths Nuristani identity and Pashai identity have taken. The central insight is that for a complex combination of local and geo-political reasons the Nuristanis became a well-recognized ethno-linguistic group. The prominent identity, forged through a history of close relations with Kabul was reinforced during the Soviet occupation as the Mujahid movement began in Nuristan.

Understanding how *siyal* articulates with *qaum* would help tease apart further these identity issues, an exciting inquiry for future researchers.

2.10 Construction of Identity in the Diaspora

In the diaspora Afghans from diverse origins unite in their common exile, reaffirming a national consciousness. Networks of various sorts, kinship but also travel companions, co-workers, and neighbors, have reinforced ties at some level. Pashai speakers are few in number and scattered; many have come to Europe claiming political asylum. Most identify with northeastern region Jalalabadi Pashtuns, with whom they feel the closest cultural and linguistic affinity. However, marriage is still endogamous within their extended kin groups/families. While previous waves of immigrants tended to be the urban elite (e.g., the flight of the royal retinue and others during the communist coup) the recent wave of immigrants represent a different stratum. The Pashai diaspora is a new one, lacking generational depth. Thus, it is too early to comment definitively on the effect of diaspora on marriage practices. Asylum seekers either bring their wives after they are settled or bring wives from Afghanistan through traditional channels of endogamy.

2.10.1 Women and Language in the Diaspora

Most of the Pashai women in the diaspora are housebound for a variety of reasons. All the women I met are limited in their language abilities in their new homes (not just in the UK, but throughout the EU and US). The least housebound woman I met told me that she went to local stores, walked her children to school and socialized a bit with the other Afghan families in her neighborhood. None of the women I met worked outside the home. However, despite the physical constraints on their movement, they daily engage in lively transnational conversations and connections. Using video Skype and cell phones, they are in constant contact with their relatives in the diaspora and Afghanistan; in many households

the conversations continue for hours on end, as social lives intersect and are mediated through the internet.

2.10.2 Status, Language Choice, and Legitimacy

What people know about each other and the languages they speak among themselves and their families can be an issue of status and disdain among the Pashai speakers I interviewed. On several occasions people disparagingly remarked on the family-internal language use choices of their relatives and other Pashai speakers they know. An example can be seen in one of the diaspora families I visited. The husband and wife, both Pashai speakers, speak Pashto among themselves and to their children. The husband's mother has also been living with them for the past year. Since she only speaks Pashai, everyone must speak to her in Pashai, the grandchildren (age 7 and 4), her son, and his wife. If it were not for her presence there would be no Pashai spoken in the home. The wife told me she has a legitimate right to speak Pashto because her mother was a Pashto speaker. In this household, had the paternal grandmother not come to live with them, the grandchildren would have been the first non-Pashai-speaking generation of this extended family.

The legitimacy of speaking Pashto in the household is an issue that is raised regularly. When other Pashai speakers in the diaspora discussed this woman's legitimacy to claim a right to Pashto language they had to talk about *her* mother and whether *she* had a legitimate claim to Pashto. It was decided that she indeed did have a legitimate claim, although some people felt that the husband was trying to 'up class' himself by speaking Pashto. I observed this same scenario repeatedly not only in the diaspora but in Afghanistan as well, where a mother speaks Pashto to her children, passing on her more prestigious (and socially, economically advantageous) mother tongue. Some Pashai speakers consider this an offense to their status, saying they should speak Pashai not Pashto since they are 'Pashai'.

While people did not say "we are Pashai", some referred to themselves or others as 'Pashai people'. As one speaker said to me, "the government says we are Pashai so we must

be Pashai”.

2.10.3 Language and Prestige

The literature on masculinity and femininity in the Middle East, Muslim societies, and the Afghan context is extensive and growing. The gender relations have been viewed over the course of scholarly research as expressing shame/honor and a range of masculinities and femininities along a continuum. Power is seen as vested with men and their public presence, while women are relegated to the domestic realm. The details of this dynamic are beyond the scope of this dissertation, but since Pashai is very much a ‘home’ language and ultimately guarded by the seclusion of women from the public setting, a discussion is not irrelevant, as explained in Chapter 1. Here we have looked at the social position of women as language transmitters.

Women by their social position are guardians of the language but not sole participants. While a women’s natal *qaum* is ‘formally’ relinquished when she marries and acquires her husband’s *qaum* identity, nevertheless she still is identified with the language and culture of her origins. A woman with a legitimate claim to Pashto often choses to retain her linguistic identity and can ‘determine’ that of her children.

This example of diglossia provoking social tension is not unique to the Pashai – Pashto dynamic or Afghanistan. The following section explores diglossia in the Pashai context.

2.11 Models of Multilingualism – Diglossia

Diglossia refers to a situational bilingualism where speakers use two variants of a language to communicate in different social contexts. The term was originally used by Ferguson (1959) to describe the use of two variants of a language, ranked in a hierarchy from prestigious or highly-valued (H) for formal, liturgical, literary, educational settings to a vernacular or low-valued (L) colloquial, informal, ‘street’ variety. The classic examples linguists refer to are

variants of spoken Greek, Swiss German, and colloquial and classical Arabic. The domain of linguistic behavior is often in complementary distribution with each variety contained in its own sphere. Fishman, noting that different languages (or codes) within a single society depended on the distinct and non-conflicting arenas that each code serves, said, “[O]ne set of behaviors, attitudes, and values supported, and was expressed in one language, another set of behaviors attitudes, and values supported and was expressed in another” (Fishman 1971:74).

The complementarity of this situation maintains the stability of the diglossia, with both speech varieties maintained. Concomitant with the complementarity of languages it is implicit that one is High (education, religion, ‘high culture’), while the other, Low, is used for every day, ‘lower work sphere’ hearth and home, and ‘the street’.

Fishman extended Ferguson’s definition of diglossia to include speakers using two languages, which could be genetically unrelated or historically quite distant, for socially functional differentiation. This ‘extended’ diglossia discussed by Fishman tends to be less stable. Fishman notes that “[W]ithout separate though complementary norms and values to establish and maintain functional separatism of the speech varieties, that language or variety which is fortunate enough to be associated with the predominant drift of social forces tends to displace the other(s)” (1973:36).

Pashai is not a diglossic language, though some of its speakers operate in a diglossic language situation. For SS and his interlocutor, in the situation described on the corner of Chicken and Flower Streets at the start of the chapter, two models of multilingualism apply at the same time and each speaker is subscribing to a different model. The interlocutor chooses his language of utterance under a society-allocated function (diglossia) while SS makes an individual choice (bilingualism). In the exchange the interlocutor chose not to use his native Pashai, a low-valued (L) language associated with illiterate farmers, a rustic rural lifestyle, women and the home.

Pashai is used among Pashai speakers wherever they live and congregate, though the

present case study is an exception. In this case the interlocutor chose Pashto, a prestigious language, to address SS in public. Pashto is spoken by a large number of Afghans and is the language of power and dominance in these speakers' home region.²⁰ While the level of education is extremely low in Darrai Nur, those who do attend school are educated in Pashto. Even in the valley of Darrai Nur, where the overwhelming majority of the population is Pashai speaking, students have been prohibited from speaking Pashai in school during lessons and in the school yard. That was the experience of both speakers on Chicken and Flower Streets.

Although Pashto is spoken widely in Kabul and other parts of Afghanistan, Kabul is a predominantly Dari-speaking city. Dari being the Afghan dialect of Persian, and historically the language of administration, as described earlier. Thus, the friend could have addressed SS in Dari, or even Tajik, the dialect of Persian spoken in Tajikistan, in which they were both educated at university in Dushanbe. Had he chosen Tajik he would have been making a humorous gesture, referencing their shared foreign educational experience, a marked choice. Had he chosen Dari, it would have been even more marked. Although within the population at large Dari is a high value prestige language, for a Pashai speaker from Darrai Nur, Pashto is the primary, first choice prestige language. As discussed before, Pashai speakers are deeply influenced by Pashto language and culture and most likely he was more socially aligned with Pashtuns than any other group. He chose Pashto, in which both men were educated since primary school and spoke as their second language, to publicly mask what would have been perceived as his low social status and backwardness, especially on so cosmopolitan a location as Chicken Street. In Jalalabad, the provincial capital of Nangrahar province where the district of Darrai Nur is situated, the local population is aware of Pashai speakers, their language and status. Therefore, they would have more likely spoken in Pashai.

In Kabul, few if any of the people standing around would have been able to identify the language, much less an ethnic group it might represent.²¹ In all likelihood the negative

20. Estimates of Pashtun population range between 45 - 55% of total population. Interestingly, more Pashto speakers also speak Dari than Dari speakers speak Pashto.

21. Outside Nangrahar, Kapisa, Laghman and Kunar the Pashai speakers are unknown.

association with their particular origin would not have been made. The interlocutor chose to display his (educated) status through the pretension of speaking Pashto. The choice of Pashto signifies for the interlocutor his complicity in Pashtunization, upward mobility, attempted assimilation, and perhaps even a shift in language loyalty.²² For the interlocutor, his set of beliefs about his language and status in a public setting created the conditions for him to choose Pashto. His model of multilingualism was diglossia.

SS, in telling and retelling this story always pointed to what he believed was the absurdity of a fellow Pashai-speaker addressing him in anything but Pashai, in any context or any location. He recognized and accepted the stereotype about Pashai speakers, which was demonstrated by his proudly carrying the *taxallos* ‘title’ of ‘*šārē*, the derogatory term used by local Pashto speakers to refer to Pashai speakers discussed above.²³ To demonstrate his stand, SS’s response to his interlocutor required the strongest force of irony he could imagine. In this case he chose Russian. For SS, answering in Russian was as patently absurd as speaking Pashto. SS chose Russian, a marked language in this context, to emphasize two points.

Relative to Pashai, Russian does not count as a highly valued language. Russian is an international language used in a previous regime and time for foreign education and interaction with the Soviet forces. Russian and Pashai were never in complementary distribution, and speakers do not choose one over another in different social contexts. SS sidestepped the language and cultural prestige issue by bringing Russian into the conversation. By doing so he was denying the interlocutor the chance to advance himself socially. He changed the issue from one of diglossia to one of bilingualism. In addition, SS was calling his interlocutor’s socially aspirational bluff and forcing him to acknowledge his ‘true’ origins.

22. Whether the forces that drive Pashai speakers toward Pashto are attempts to appear more *šahri* ‘urban’, cosmopolitan’ and less *atrafi* ‘backward’ ‘vernacular’ is an interesting distinction beyond the scope of this dissertation.

23. Many Afghans do not use surnames but carry their father’s name as a surname in administrative documents. Many have a *taxallos*, often described as a pen name, either self-chosen or bestowed by others that describes their condition or aspiration. SS’s *taxallos* was bestowed on him as a student by his fellow Afghans in the USSR.

Another dynamic was at play here as well: a subtle political statement. Both SS and his interlocutor were beneficiaries of Soviet educational aid. Both later experienced how it backfired in subsequent regimes. Knowing Russian and having experienced what they considered ‘the outside world’ (USSR), allowed them to feel as SS said ‘like modern men in a backward society’; however, this later made them vulnerable and put their families at risk.

SS rejected his friend’s choice to mask their ‘lowly’ origins, while demonstrating his education and sophistication by speaking Russian. Had he chosen to respond in Dari or Tajik his point would not have been as strongly delivered. For SS who was aware of the status of Pashai relative to other languages his response was a rejection of that standard. He always addressed Pashai speakers in Pashai, even bilingual speakers of mixed parentage whether in a home or in a government ministry. With non-Pashai speakers he would speak any one of the multiple languages with which he had facility, to accommodate the linguistic – not societal – communication needs of his interlocutor.

Drawing on data from Rubin (1962, 1968), Fishman shows that in Paraguay, speakers of Guarani and Spanish exhibit social solidarity in their persistent use of Guarani “for matters of intimacy and primary group solidarity” (Fishman 1971:77). For Schiffman and Spooner another function of diglossic situations and the use of low-valued languages “may be an expression of social solidarity and may not be offered to speakers whose social position is superior or distant” (2012:26). SS’s choice of speaking Pashai in this public context is clearly to express his social solidarity, reserved for members of his linguistic (and regional) in-group. His interlocutor may have felt that the use of low-value language implied (to the public audience around them) that they were not educated and not in control of the high-valued language.

Each speaker, driven by a different set of socio-linguistic motivators, had a different opinion regarding the socially appropriate language to use in that public setting. Both speakers were equally aware of the low status of their native language. Each chose a different way to address that. Neither one spoke initially in Pashai.

Social upheaval, war and displacement can affect the compartmentalization of language roles; one reserved for hearth and home may find its way into wider use under duress. This is at the root of the code choice conflict between SS and his interlocutor.

2.11.1 Pashai in Urban Context

When Pashai speakers come to their provincial or even district centers they speak Pashto or Dari with non-Pashai speakers. To some extent most men are able to communicate in these languages. There is a high degree of fluidity between the districts and their provincial capitals, depending on both geographic distance and quality of roads. For those who live within easy travel of their centers there is more commerce and administrative interaction. Speaking the dominant language enables access to these services and opportunities. Economic and social mobility require the acquisition of locally dominant, prestige languages. As we have seen, for Pashai speakers from Darrai Nur, Pashto clearly is the high-valued prestige language.

An urban Pashai household I had the opportunity to observe HH's household, one that typifies the fluid fluctuation between urban and rural. HH is the youngest child of her father's fourth wife. Her father was a wealthy political leader in Darrai Nur and chose a Pashtun girl from Khewa for his fourth wife. HH was very proud to be the daughter of a Pashtun mother. She was raised both in Darrai Nur (rural) and Jalalabad (urban), speaking both Pashto and Pashai from an early age. HH married a Pashai-speaking man in Darrai Nur and has lived in rural and urban settings. The account of the births of her children reads like a travelogue; N born in Kabul, NS and IS in Jalalabad, SG back in Kabul, NG in Darrai Nur, HL in Lahore (while they were refugees), NB in Jalalabad and so on. She told me she was a proud Pashtun and therefore talks to her children in Pashto, while her husband speaks to them in Pashai. In this way her children have simultaneously acquired two languages.

Multilingualism is a way of life in Afghanistan and the region. This bilingual mother has raised children who now know four languages. The children grew up as refugees in Pakistan, having fled the Taliban. During this time, they acquired Urdu; subsequently, they moved back to Kabul and learned Dari. Code-switching among the children is pervasive, mixing Dari, Pashto and Pashai together. Her children said they spoke Pashai mostly with their father's relatives and did not visit Darrai Nur very often. Unlike the women who preserve the Pashai language through their bounded lives described in Chapter 1, in this household the father was the Pashai language holdout. With affection for mother and mother-language more prominent, there is less chance of maintaining Pashai in this type of household, unless the children either marry Pashai-dominant spouses, or move back to Darrai Nur.

2.11.2 Pashai in a Rural Context

A Country Wedding The following description of a visit to a village wedding explores women's language capabilities and the dynamics of multilingualism.

All day long women were arriving for SSD's wedding. A wedding in Darrai Nur is a multi-day social occasion, and this was just the beginning... The large internal courtyard of the *xālā* 'sun-baked mud brick compound' was filling with visitors who slid their *chadris* off their heads and handed them to young girls and women of the host family.²⁴ I could not imagine how they would sort out the chadris at the end of the wedding, all of them being the same sky-blue and pleated acetate fabric. Girls – cousins and sisters of the bride – scrambled to provide glasses of green tea and hard candy to the visitors. Large colorful plastic woven mats, *šatranjī*, were being moved and re-positioned for women to sit on. The guests deftly slipped out of their shoes as they stepped onto the mats and greeted one another as they settled in, seated in groups around the edges of the mats. I was seated with a group of women when NAW arrived; she headed directly for me and sat down to exchange greetings.

NAW and I had been acquainted for many years, having first met in the Pashai refugee community in Lahore. NAW always spoke very quickly but it did not matter – I could not understand her anyway, as she only spoke Pashto. As the second wife of a Pashai-speaking man from the village she was

24. A *chadri* is a full body and face covering garment also known as *burqa*.

outnumbered. In fact she was not a local Pashtun but from Pakistan and had met her husband in Lahore. Her husband, ARR, already had a Pashai wife, ARW, and 6 children. Now they would all be living together. ARR spoke Pashto with NAW and Pashai with ARW. He spoke to all of his children in Pashai. NAW spoke only Pashto to her children and very little to ARW. She had not learned Pashai.

While her circumstance in joining the community was not typical, she was not the first Pashto speaker to marry a Pashai speaker. She was, though, typical in not learning Pashai. As a speaker of the dominant and more prestigious language she expressed that she was doing her children a service by raising them in a Pashto environment, also, perhaps, as a means of resisting the perceived shame of hypogamy.

There were very few women who could converse with NAW at that wedding. SSD, the bride, joined us and greeted NAW in Pashto. Apparently she had picked up a little Pashto as a child living in Jalalabad. Children – boys and pre-pubescent girls – run errands for their mothers who, observing purdah, rarely leave their compound. The children get to know the shops and shopkeepers, where to get cigarettes and salt, the price of onions and eggs. They interact with other children in the street and make friends outside their family, including Pashto speakers in the neighborhood. SSD, through the misfortune of multiple family migrations and displacements, learned Urdu in Lahore, Dari in Kabul, and Pashto in Jalalabad although she never had the opportunity to attend school. She is multilingual but not diglossic. She may recognize language status and prestige but does not participate in the dynamics of their hierarchies. She translated NAW's words and story into Dari for me as we nodded to each other in friendship.

As Fishman says, “each generation begins anew on a monolingual or restricted repertoire base of hearth and home and must be rendered bilingual or provided with a fuller repertoire by the formal institutions of education, religion, government, or the work sphere” (1971:79). When we look at these points of access we see that Pashai speaking women cannot play a role in any of them. They have been excluded from formal education (for the most part), public practice of religion – they do not attend mosque, they do not participate in government, and do not join in the public work setting. By contrast we find widespread bilingualism in males, but functional monolingualism in women. SSD's multilingualism a non-typical example of multilingualism in a Pashai woman. Recent patterns of displacement and migration may increase the number of young women with at least minimal multi-lingual skills, even for

those still denied access to education.

2.11.3 A Visit to the Doctor

On many occasions I accompanied women on trips to medical clinics and doctors' offices. When a woman is ill and needs medical attention one of two things may happen. In many instances her husband goes to the doctor for her, describes her symptoms and returns with medicine from the doctor. He may do this several times a day if necessary. This way if the patient is too ill to travel she can still receive medical attention. It also serves to protect a man's honor by reducing the need to let the doctor see his wife and actually examine her. Alternatively, he may take his wife to see the doctor at the clinic or in Jalalabad. Often the wife is examined through the full body-covering burqa. The doctor questions the husband about the wife's symptoms. The husband translates for her, even if she understand what is being asked. Even if she does understand the doctor, she will not answer directly; instead, she speaks to her husband in Pashai, and he serves as the mediator. The doctor may check her pulse and if necessary she can lift her burqa to have her throat examined. What the woman is displaying, even if she understands Pashto, is monolingualism as a form of social boundary. By not speaking the same language as – or to – the doctor she is observing purdah through avoidance, hence protecting her husband and the family honor. This is a powerful indication of the power of language use in maintaining and displaying social and gender hierarchies and norms.

2.12 Summary

In this chapter I provided a description of the context in which Pashai is spoken. A review of the history of language policies and ethno-linguistic politics in Afghanistan showed how Pashai has been positioned as an 'ethno-linguistic' minority. The multiple meanings vested in the notion of identity and its intersection with language culture and social status demonstrate

the complexity and fluidity of these situational designations. This is evident across gender and geographical boundaries. Clearly, self-designation for Pashai speakers takes many forms under different conditions. The origin myth, meaningful to multiple tribes in Darrai Nur, was told from differing perspectives to legitimate each tellers claim, in ways that might be seen as mutually exclusive in other contexts. Individuals and communities continue to wrestle with this aspect of their identity, further complicated by outsider notions that have served to ‘elevate’ and ‘degrade’ conceptions about Pashai speakers. In the final section of this chapter I presented several vignettes suggesting multiple models of multilingualism among Pashai speakers.

Chapter 3

Phonology

3.1 Introduction

This first phonological description of Pashai is based on data gathered from multiple individual speakers. It provides information on variation among speakers who differ by gender, multilingualism and age. I have chosen to convey as much of my observations as possible rather than limit the presentation to a specific register, in the face of imperfect data and collection conditions. I employed Praat for the acoustic analysis of vowels. The chapter is organized as follows. The inventory of consonant phonemes are presented in section 3.2 with the phonemic contrasts explored in section 3.3. The vowel phonemes are presented in section 3.4. The data are presented in tables showing phonemes with contrasting pairs and in multiple positions. In section 3.5 the minimal word is defined, syllable templates are described, sonority profile and syllable weight, stress and tone are explored. Section 3.6 looks at the type of allowable sequences of sounds found in Pashai; section 3.7 looks at phonological and morphophonological processes. In section 3.8 I compare features of Pashai phonology to its closest genetically related languages, and those in close contact. Section 3.9 is a description of loanword phonology. Section 3.10 provides conclusions.

3.2 Consonants

Table 3.1 presents the phonemic inventory of Pashai consonants. I have chosen to use parentheses to signal sounds that have questionable phonemic status, such as (ʃ) and (h), which are discussed in section 3.3.4. Where the IPA symbols differ from the practical transcription used throughout this dissertation, they are shown in parentheses.

Table 3.1: Consonant Phonemes of Pashai

	Labial	Labio-velar	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b		t(t̪) d(d̪)		ʈ(ɖ) ɖ(ɖ̪)		k g	
Nasal	m		n		ɳ(ɳ̪)		ŋ	
Trill				r				
Flap				r(r)	ɽ(ɽ̪)			
Fricative				s z	(ʃ(ʃ̪))	ʃ(f) ʒ(ʒ̪)	x ɣ	(h)
Affricate						č(tʃ) ǰ(dʒ̪)		
Lateral Fricative				ɬ				
Approximant		ʋ				y(j)		
Lateral Approximant			l					

The segments [f] and [q] that are included by Morgenstierne (1973) and Strand (2011) are excluded here. These are not found in native words and are used more typically by speakers who are multilingual with Dari rather than monolinguals. Those who are not multilingual with Dari, such as women and children, do not use [f] in loanwords. They replace [f] with [p], a process described in section 3.9. Similarly, [q] is not part of the Pashai phonemic system but pronounced sometimes by bilingual speakers in loanwords. [q] in loanwords is regularly mapped onto [x] in Pashai.¹ Women and children regularly use [x] for [q] in loan

1. [q] is mapped onto [x] in the Amla dialect; in other dialects [q] is mapped onto [k]. In Pashto [q] is mapped onto [k].

words. The multilingual narrator of the text presented in Appendix B alternates repeatedly between [qaum] and [xaum] ‘tribe’ in his narration.

3.3 Phonemic Contrast

In this section the consonant phonemes of Pashai are established through the contrasts of minimal pairs and near minimal pairs or analogous environments. Phonemes are shown in word-initial, intervocalic, and word-final positions, with the targeted segment in **bold**. I have selected native Pashai words in preference to borrowed words in every possible environment, but for some it was not possible. The description is grouped according to place of articulation.

3.3.1 Plosives

There are four basic positions for the articulation of plosives, shown in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Plosives				
	Labial	Dental	Retroflex	Velar
Voiced	b	d (d̪)	ɖ (d̠)	g
Voiceless	p	t (t̪)	ʈ (t̠)	k

Voicing contrast is illustrated in Tables 3.3 - 3.5. The data show that while voicing is contrastive in initial and intervocalic position, it is not contrastive in word-final position.

Labials The segments [p] and [b] are bilabial stops. They are articulated without aspiration in any position. In word-final position they are not released. Table 3.3 shows the phonemes /p/ and /b/ in contrasting positions with minimal and near minimal pairs.

Table 3.3: Labial Voicing Contrast						
	initial	gloss	interV	gloss	final	gloss
[p]	p āk	clean	to p āk	gun	tu p	ball
	p an	path	sa p ar	journey	zei p	woman
	p ō	ashes			č p	quiet
	p ē	meat				
[b]	b akār	good	sa b ar	patience		
	b an	lock, tie	da b ar	thigh		
	b ō	QNT				
	b e	too				

3.3.2 Waveforms

Figures 3.2 - 3.6 give waveforms for the [p] and [b] contrast. These waveforms show the voicing contrast in word-initial and intervocalic position, and neutralization in word-final position. The figures show that [p] is unreleased in final position.

Figures 3.1 and 3.2 show voicing contrast between [p] and [b] in word-initial position.

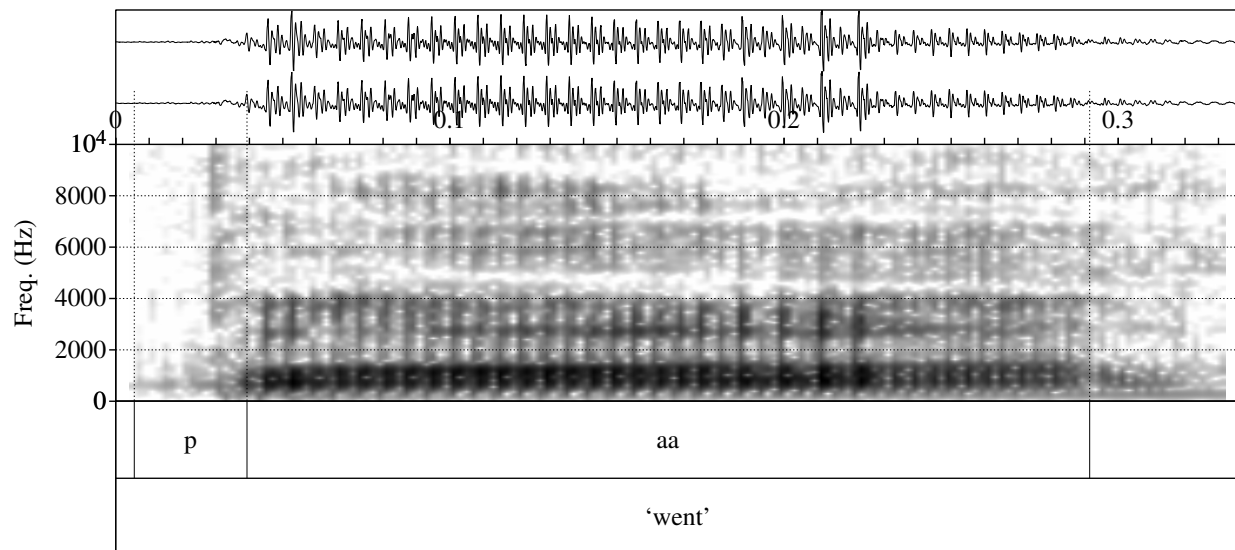


Figure 3.1: Word-Initial [p]

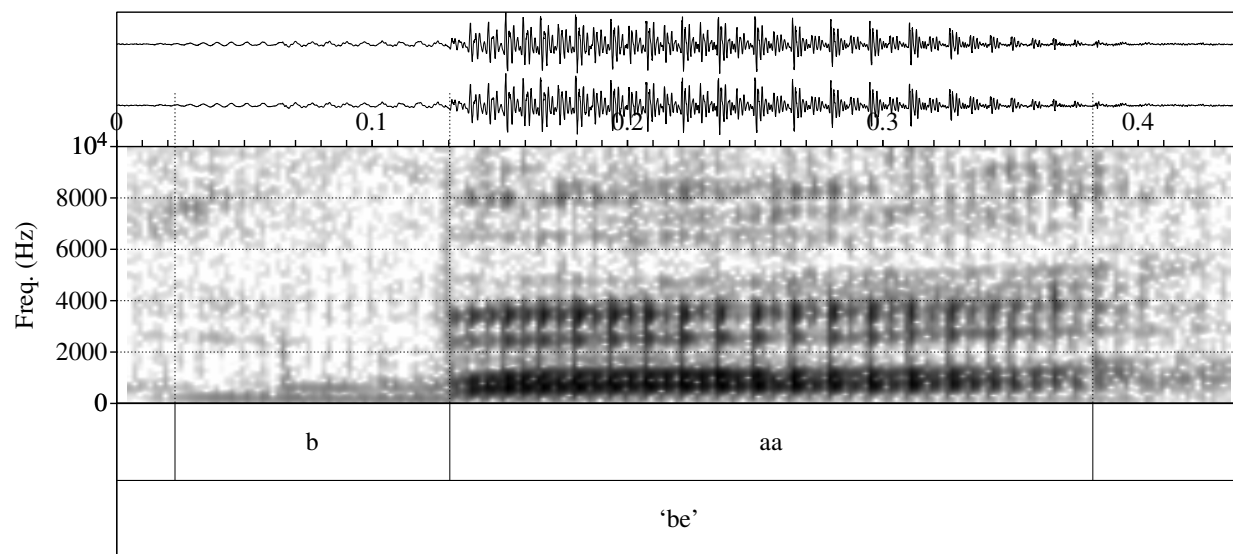


Figure 3.2: Word-Initial [b]

Figures 3.3 and 3.4 show the segments [p] and [b] contrast in intervocalic position.

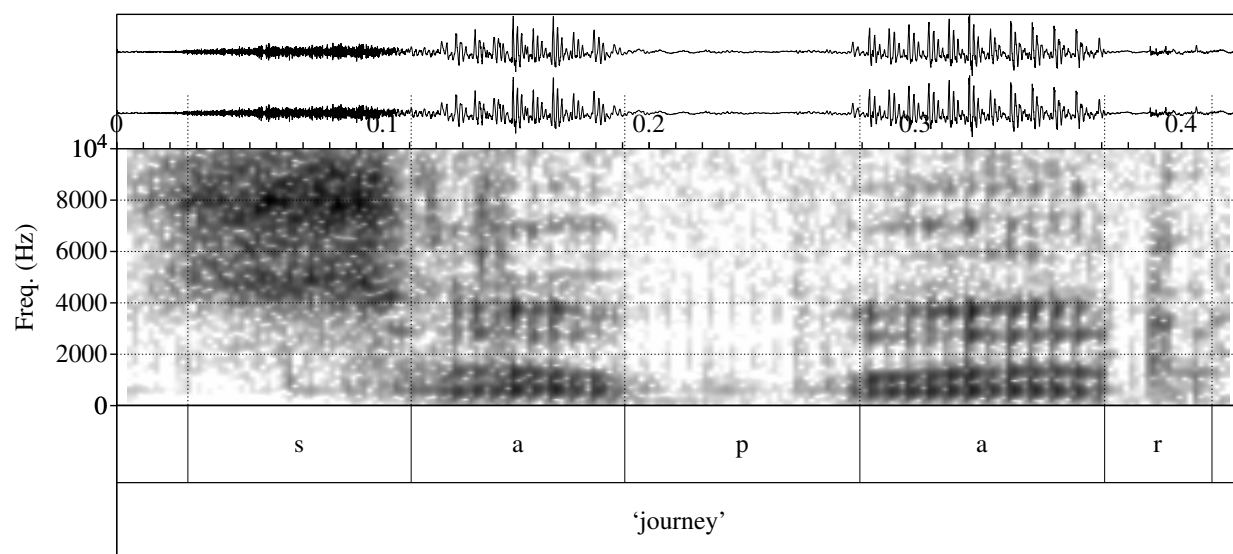


Figure 3.3: Intervocalic [p]

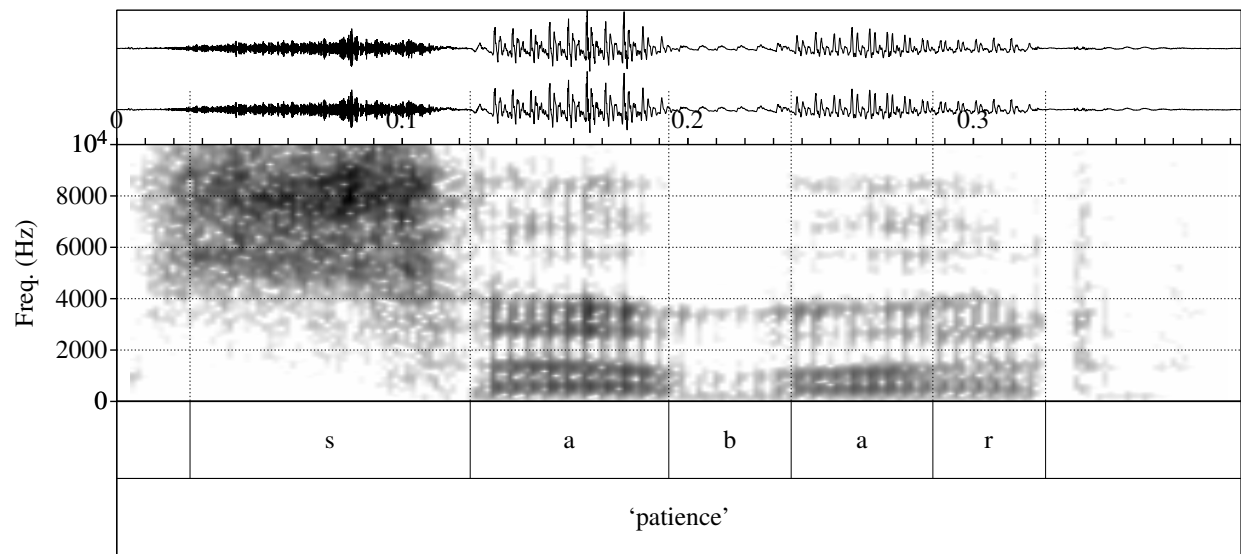


Figure 3.4: Intervocalic [b]

Figures 3.5 and 3.6 show that in word-final position there is no voicing and the contrast is neutralized. [sēp] is underlyingly /sēb/ with the final segment voiced; in [zeip] the [p] is underlyingly voiceless.

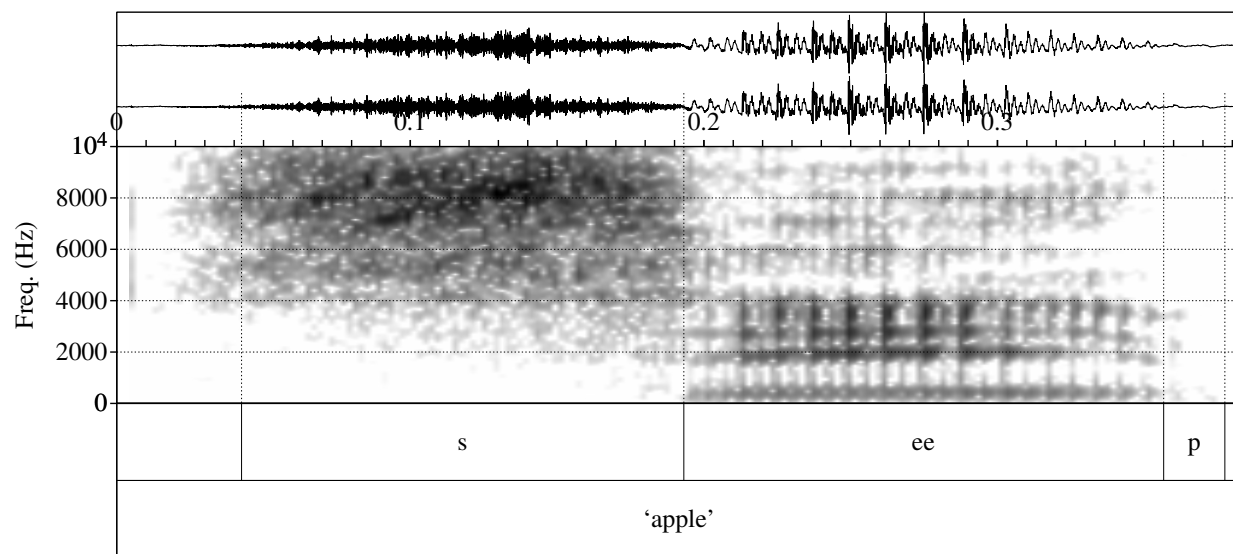


Figure 3.5: Word-Final [p]

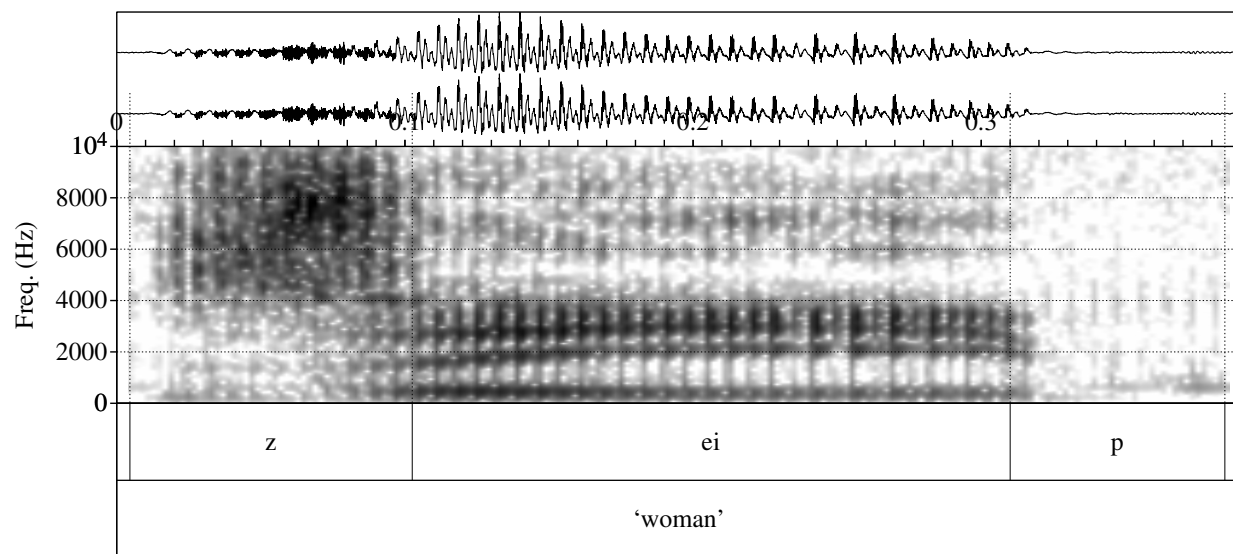


Figure 3.6: Word-Final [p]

Dentals The segments [t] and [d] are articulated as dental stops without aspiration. They are not released word-finally. The place of articulation is apico-dental, the tip of the tongue at the back of the teeth. Table 3.4 presents the phonemes /t/ and /d/ in contrasting positions.

Table 3.4: Dental Voicing Contrast

	initial	gloss	interV	gloss	final	gloss
[t](ṭ)	t o	you.SG	sotān	pants	sa t	seven
	t ēk	bitter	ketāp	book	sā t	watch
	t ārā	star	tātā	father	boru t	mustache
	t an	body				
[d](ḍ)	ḍ o	two	sodurā	beautiful		
	ḍ ēk	cooking pot	šedāl	cold		
	ḍ ār	mountain	dādā	father		
	ḍ ān	tooth				

Retroflex The phonemes /ṭ/ and /ḍ/ only contrast in initial position. /ḍ/ does not occur in medial position, and in word-final position the voicing contrast is neutralized. The segments [ṭ] and [ḍ] are pronounced with the tip of the tongue curled back behind the alveolar ridge and released as plosives. They are pronounced without aspiration. [ṭ] is unreleased in word-final position. Table 3.5 shows the phonemic voicing contrast for retroflex plosives. In general there are fewer word-initial retroflex consonants than other consonants and no minimal pairs were found.

Table 3.5: Dental Retroflex Voicing Contrast

	initial	gloss	interV	gloss	final	gloss
ṭ	ṭ uṭā	fabric	ṭ uṭā	fabric	lo ṭ	note
	ṭ eper	turnip	kō ṭ a	room	kā ṭ	bed
	ṭ eḡenā	turban	xatek	throat	ka ṭ	cut
			bako ṭ a	fat		
ḍ	ḍ auā	mud stove				
	ḍ anṭā	spider				
	ḍ oyonek	lamb				

Voiced - Voiceless Dental - Retroflex Plosive Contrast The contrasts between voiced and voiceless retroflex and dental plosives are shown in Table 3.6. No ideal minimal pairs were found.

Table 3.6: Dental - Retroflex Contrast						
	initial	gloss	interV	gloss	final	gloss
[t] (ṭ)	tātā	father	tātā	father	sāt	watch
	tan	body				
[ṭ] (t)	ṭuṭā	fabric	ṭuṭā	fabric	kāṭ	cot
	ṭonā	bull				
[d] (ḍ)	dādā	father	dādā	father		
	dān	tooth				
[ḍ] (ḍ)	ḍan	pond				

/ḍ/ and /ṛ/ Complementarity The phonemes /ḍ/ and /ṛ/ appear in complementary distribution. Both [ḍ] and [ṛ] are articulated similarly, with the tip of the tongue curled back behind the alveolar ridge and released in the production of the flap in intervocalic position, although [ḍ] is a plosive with complete obstruction of the air stream in the articulation and [ṛ] is a liquid with continuous movement of the air stream. [ḍ] is found in word initial-position and in sequences with nasals. [ṛ] is not found in word-initial position and does not occur in sequences with nasals. Masica (1991:91) discusses this alternation in other Indo-Aryan languages of the region.²

The complementary distribution of /ṛ/ and /ḍ/ is shown in in Table 3.7. In intervocalic environments and word-final position [ṛ] occurs. In word-initial position [ḍ] occurs.

2. Support for this distribution may be found in the Pashai pronunciation [guṛi] ‘doll’ for Dari [gudi], Pashto [guḍi]. Additionally, the town of Bodeali in Darrai Nur is said, according to ethno-theory, to have come from *bore ale* meaning ‘bury here’. Furthermore, Pashto [gaḍvat], Dari [gadwat] ‘mixed up’ is pronounced [gaṛvat] in Pashai.

Table 3.7: Complementary Distribution [ɾ] and [ɖ]

	initial	gloss	interV	gloss	final	gloss
ɾ			dāɾi	beard	busturɾ	lips
			gōɾā	horse	kokurɾ	rooster
			guɾi	doll		
ɖ	ɖuli	palanquin				
	ɖan	pond				
	ɖamatā	rope				

In preconsonantal position we find [ɖ] in sequences with [ŋ], shown in Table 3.8. [ɾ] is not found in sequences with nasals.

Table 3.8: Post-Nasal Position [ɖ]

sequence	stem	gloss
ŋɖ	oŋɖarek	cat
	peŋɖor	calf of leg

Velars The velar plosive phonemes /k/ and /g/ are shown in Table 3.9. Contrast is seen in word-initial and word-medial positions. The velar plosives are pronounced with the back of the tongue against the velum in the articulation of the stop. Word-final [k] is pronounced with a release.

Table 3.9: Velar Voicing Contrast

	initial	gloss	interV	gloss	final	gloss
[k]	ka	to	bakār	good	varek	water
	ki	who	kākā	uncle	čēk	bark of tree
	ke	COMP				
	korik	hens				
[g]	gā	cow	šāger	student		
	gi	butter	lega	tall		
	ge	song				
	gorik	to take				

The contrast between intervocalic /k/ and /g/ is neutralized for some speakers. It was

difficult to isolate native words with phonemic /g/ in intervocalic position. Intervocalic voicing, particularly in the environment of the central vowels [a] and [ā], often renders intervocalic [k] as partially or fully voiced. For example, /bakār/ ‘good’ is pronounced [baḵār]; /pakārek/ ‘shawl’ is pronounced [paḵārek]. The partial voicing of intervocalic [k] is particularly noticeable in the pronunciation of the Present-Future Specific verb form by different speakers. In this verb form the inflectional marker *-k-* is pronounced [k] by some speakers and [ḵ] by others. Rapid speech increases the likelihood of partial or full voicing. When speakers were pronouncing words carefully for me intervocalic voicing of [k] was absent. This partial neutralization in intervocalic position is captured in Pashai texts. Employing Perso-Arabic orthography Pashai texts inconsistently alternate between using the letter representing [k] (‘kaf’) and the letter representing [g] (‘gaf’) for instances of intervocalic [k].³ Further complicating the details of [k] and [g] is the complementizer *ke*, which is pronounced by some as [ge], and sometimes spelled as ‘ge’.

The word /pakārek/ ‘shawl’ is represented in text sometimes as [paḡārek], sometimes as [paḵārek]. Likewise, the verb /pineken/ ‘s/he knew it.M’ is seen represented as [pineḵen] as well as [pinegen] in texts.

3.3.3 Affricates

My assumption of the category of affricates is based on the constraint against consonant clusters in general in Pashai. Unlike other Dardic languages with affricates in dental, retroflex and palatal positions of articulation, Pashai has only palatal affricates, shown in Table 3.10.

3. Pashai orthography is still under development by several different organizations and not standardized. Lack of standardization and inconsistent transcription have provided instructive and telling aspects of Pashai phonology. In addition to the alternation in spelling between intervocalic [k] and [g], morphophonemic vowel shortening is sometimes indicated in the orthography by the presence or absence of the letter representing a long vowel.

Table 3.10: Affricates

Palatal	
Voiced	ǰ (dʒ)
Voiceless	č (tʃ)

Table 3.11 shows the voicing contrast in the affricate phonemes /č/ and /ǰ/.

Table 3.11: Affricates Voicing Contrast

	initial	gloss	interV	gloss	final	gloss
[č] (tʃ)	čam	deck, porch	mečik	fly.PL	māč	fish
	čōr	thief	očum	scorpion	łoč	flea
	čop	quiet			bēč	seed
	čāl	hair				
[ǰ] (dʒ)	ǰam	all	boǰik	to wake up		
	ǰop	language	baǰa	o'clock		
	ǰur	healthy				
	ǰāl	film on milk				

Voiceless [č] occurs in initial, intervocalic and word-final position. The voiced fricative [ǰ] occurs in word-initial and intervocalic position. As with the other consonants discussed, in word-final position the distinction between voiced and voiceless is neutralized.

3.3.4 Fricatives

Pashai has dental, palatal, and velar fricatives, voiced and voiceless. The fricatives are shown in Table 3.12.

Table 3.12: Fricatives

	Dental	Palatal	Retroflex	Velar
Voiced	z	ž (ʒ)		ɣ
Voiceless	s	š (ʃ)	(ʂ (ʃ̌))	x

Dental Fricatives The dental fricative phonemes /s/ and /z/ exhibit voicing contrast, shown in Table 3.13. Most [z]-initial words are not Pashai in origin, rather Dari or Pashto.

These non-native sources are shown in parentheses next to the example word. All these source words are found in Dari although the path into Pashai is not known. It was not possible to find minimal pairs.

Table 3.13: Dental Fricative Voicing Contrast

	Word-initial	gloss	interV	gloss	word-final	gloss
[s]	sāiŋ	ground	pēsa	money	ās	be.AN.M.PRS.3
	sor	sun	āsek	ashes	davās	day
	sēb	apple	ase	PROX.DEM	mis	DEM.GEN
	sunček	sewing needle				
	sāl	year				
[z]	zōr (zur)	force	azik	to laugh		
	zolom (zolom)	oppression	nazik	near		
	zendā (zenda)	alive	darvāzā	door		
	zeip	woman				

Palatal Fricatives The voicing opposition of the phonemes /š/ and /ž/ are shown in Table 3.14.

Table 3.14: Palatal Fricatives Voicing Contrast

	initial	gloss	interV	gloss	final	gloss
[š] (f)	šēr	head	paši	wall	āš	blood
	šā	greens	šešor	knife	paraš	rug
	šori	steps	gušiŋ	house		
[ž] (3)	žu	flea				
	žuḷak	mosquito				
	žuek	partridge				

[ž] is found in very limited environments among the Amla speakers of Pashai. The examples shown of word-initial [ž] all occur before the vowel [u].

For some speakers there is a [ž] ~ [y] alternation. For example, I have observed some speakers alternately pronounce [yan] ~ [žan] ‘mill’, [yeŋaŋ] ~ [žeŋaŋ] ‘later’, and [ye] ~ [že] ‘come.IMP’. Morgenstierene (1956) lists numerous words he culled from multiple sources and dialects of Pashai with initial [ž] that are pronounced [y] in Darrai Nur. However, the

speakers I interviewed for this description did produce the examples with [ž] in Table 3.14. suggesting that for those speakers the [z] > [ž] before [u].

The palatal and dental fricative phonemes /š/ and /s/ are distinctive in all environments, shown in Table 3.15.

Table 3.15: Palatal Fricative and Dental Fricative Contrast						
	initial	gloss	interV	gloss	final	gloss
[s]	sor	sun	pēsa	money	ās	be.AN.M.PRS.3
	sāl	year				
[š] (ʃ)	šor	salty	pašā	mosquito	āš	blood
	šāl	unharvested rice				

Retroflex Fricative Pashai is losing the retroflex fricative /ʂ/ (ʂ). Among older speakers (age 50+) it was detected in the initial segment in the words presented in Table 3.16. The retroflex fricative was pronounced as a postaleveolar sibilant with the tongue in subapical position.

Table 3.16: Retroflex /ʂ/ (ʂ) Retained Words

word	gloss
ʂe	six
ʂoɽ	sixteen
ʂer	milk

Younger speakers did not distinguish between [s] and [š] in pronunciation. Furthermore, limited spectrographic analysis of a younger speaker did not yield an appreciable difference between the two sounds. Morgenstierne (1956) gives 42 entries for ʂ. His notes indicate that for many of these words the pronunciation was [š] in the Darrai Nur speaker. Morgenstierne (1973) states that in his Darrai Nur speaker there was a distinction between [s], [š] and [ʂ]. Morgenstierne notes that Buddruss (1959) found no such distinction in a Khewa speaker. With respect to regional languages, Southwestern Pashto has both [s] and voiced [z], but

Northeastern Pashto, the dialect spoken in the geographic location of Pashai speakers does not. Dari has neither [ɕ] nor [ʒ].

Velar Fricatives Table 3.17 shows the contrasts between /x/ and /ɣ/ in word-initial and intervocalic positions. The loanwords from Dari are used for the purpose of establishing contrasts. The source words are shown in parentheses. [x] and [ɣ] are pronounced with the back of the tongue toward the velum.

Table 3.17: Velar Fricatives Voicing Contrast

	Word-initial	gloss	interV	gloss	word-final	gloss
[x]	xār (xār)	thorn	axa	yes	vax (vaxt)	time
	xām (xām)	unripe	dexān (deqān)	farmer	sax (saxt)	difficult
	xaora	crow			maṭēx	frog
	xon	like				
[ɣ]	ɣār (ɣār)	hole	aɣa	Agha (name)		
	ɣam (ɣam)	sorrow	jaɣa	place		
	ɣopik	to dive				
	ɣapkānā	waterfall				

Glottal Fricative [h] The glottal fricative [h] is not included as part of the phonemic inventory of the Pashai spoken in Amla. There is no [h] in word-initial, intervocalic or final position. The Pashai spoken in Khewa does have phonemic /h/. This is one of the differences found between these closely situated dialects included in Morgenstierne’s Southeastern Pashai designation. Table 3.18 shows this difference.

Table 3.18: Glottal Fricative [h]

Amla	Khewa	gloss
ā-	hā-	be
im	him	snow
āst	hast	hand
ār	hār	heart

Among Amla speakers [h] is pronounced by speakers who are bilingual with Dari. Bilin-

gual speakers know [h] is present in the Dari source, such as *ābohavā* ‘weather’. Monolinguals pronounce this word [aboavā] without the [h].

3.3.5 Nasals

Pashai nasals are found in four positions of articulation, shown in Table 3.19.

Table 3.19: Nasals			
Bilabial	Dental	Retroflex	Velar
m	n	ɳ (ɳ)	ŋ

The nasals /m/ and /n/ are found in all word positions; /ɳ/ and /ŋ/ do not occur in word-initial position. [ɳ] is pronounced with the tongue in subapical position in word-final position. Intervocally it is articulated as a nasal retroflex flap. The contrast between the nasals is shown in Table 3.20.

Table 3.20: Nasal Contrast						
	Word-initial	gloss	interV	gloss	word-final	gloss
[m]	me	DEM	amā	our	mam	1SG
	māč	fish	somanik	eyebrows	nām	name
[n]	ne	NEG	nuni	butter	non	today
	nās	nose	lena	under-LOC	lon	raised field border
[ɳ] (ɳ)			aṇā	egg	gaṇ	big
			monik	to break	lōṇ	salt
			leṇā	bald	čapaṇ	slingshot
[ŋ]			aṇār	fire	sāiṇ	ground
			šoṇotek	dog	šoṛiṇ	dog
			aṇurek	finger	gušiṇ	house

3.3.6 Laterals

In the lateral series there are two distinct phonemes /l/ and /ɭ/ which occur in all word positions. Contrasting pairs are shown in Table 3.21. [ɭ] is articulated as a voiceless lateral

fricative. The tongue position is laminal in the alveolar region, as frication is produced. [l] is articulated as a lateral liquid with the apex of the tongue in dental position.

Table 3.21: Lateral Contrast

	Word-initial	gloss	interV	gloss	word-final	gloss
[l]	lām	home	poli	popcorn	pol	bridge
	loṇ	salt				
	lembu	lemon				
	loš	light				
	lik	to die				
[ɭ]	ɭām	work			puɭ	son
	ɭon	roof	žuɭak	mosquito	lāuɭ	nephew
	ɭembu	wasp				
	ɭoč	flea				
	ɭek	woman				

The phoneme /l/ is widely occurring in Pashai; /ɭ/ is less frequent. A variety of vowels follow /ɭ/ but the data suggests that only back rounded vowels precede it. Table 3.22 shows examples of words for which the pronunciation between /l/ ~ /ɭ/ varies between speakers. Speakers indicated that the sound should be pronounced [ɭ] but acknowledged that they did not pronounce it that way.

Table 3.22: [l] ~ [ɭ]

l ~ ɭ	gloss
lon ~ ɭon	roof
la ~ ɭa	location
pul ~ puɭ	son

For many speakers /ɭ/ in word-final position in the word /puɭ/ ‘son’ is pronounced [l], as in [pul]. Word-internally, such as when a possessive suffix is added, the /ɭ/ is intervocalic and is always pronounced, as in [poɭem] ‘my son’. Word-initial /ɭ/ in /ɭa/ ‘location’ is often pronounced as [l] when prefixed with one of the deictic prefixes such as [o-la] ‘DIST-location’.

3.3.7 Rhotic Liquids

The phonemes /r/ and /ɾ/ contrast. [r] is articulated as an alveolar trill or tap in word-initial and final position, and as a flap in intervocalic position. [ɾ] is pronounced as a retroflex flap in intervocalic position, articulated with the tip of the tongue curled back in post-alveolar position. In word-final position it is pronounced as a retroflex rhotic liquid with the tongue curled back. It does not occur in word-initial position.

Table 3.23: Rhotic Contrast

	initial	gloss	intervocalic	gloss	final	gloss
[r]	rumi	tomato	korek	hen	kār	ever
	ramā	flock	šēra	on	šār	town
[ɾ](ɽ)			karek	tree	kār	ear
			šori	steps	šār	move.IMP
			gōrā	horse	gor	sugar waste

The phoneme /r/ occurs in all vocalic environments. /ɾ/ follows /a/, /ā/, /ō/ , /u/ and /o/. I have no examples of /i/, /e/ or /ē/ before /ɾ/.

3.3.8 Approximants

The Pashai approximants include labio-velar /v/ and palatal /y/. /v/ represents a sound that allophonically alternates between a labio-velar approximant [v], before front vowels /i/ and /e/, and a bilabial approximant, similar to [w], before back vowels /u/, /o/, and central /a/. [w] is articulated with lips pursed and the back of the tongue raised toward the back palate. Table 3.24 shows [v] and [w] approximants in all word positions. In stem-final position [w] behaves as the consonantal counterpart to the vowel [u].

Table 3.24: Approximant /v/

	initial	gloss	interV	gloss	final	gloss
[v]	v ēl	night	vevi	poured		
	v es	20				
	v er	cry				
[w]	w ax	time	da w a	stove	a w	bread
	w ār	stone	da w ās	day	ǰer w	corn bread
	w urumbu	walnut				

The approximant /y/ is the consonantal counterpart to the vowel [i]. In word-initial and word-final position it behaves as a consonant. In intervocalic position it may be ambisyllabic.

Table 3.25: Approximant /y/

	initial	gloss	interV	gloss	final	gloss
/y/ [j]	y ul	fur	ǰa y a	place	ma y	month
	y ax	ice			a y	mother
	y ān	mill			čā y	tea
	y o	DEM				
	y e	come.IMP				

Summary In this section I have established the phonemic inventory of consonants in Pashai. For many of the phonemes I have shown voicing contrasts in word-initial, intervocalic and word-final position. The obstruents were shown to have voicing neutralization in word-final position. Waveforms for [p] and [b] were used to illustrate the voicing contrast in these segments, as an illustration for the same contrast in other obstruents.

3.4 Vowels

This section presents the Pashai vowel phonemes along with a phonetic description. Pashai has an eight vowel system with length and quality distinctions. There are three sets of long/short vowel pairs and two vowels with no length distinction. Vowel length is represented with a macron.

The vowel phonemes of Pashai are shown in Figure 3.7, a plot of formant frequencies for first and second formants (F1 and F2) measured at the midpoint of the vowel.

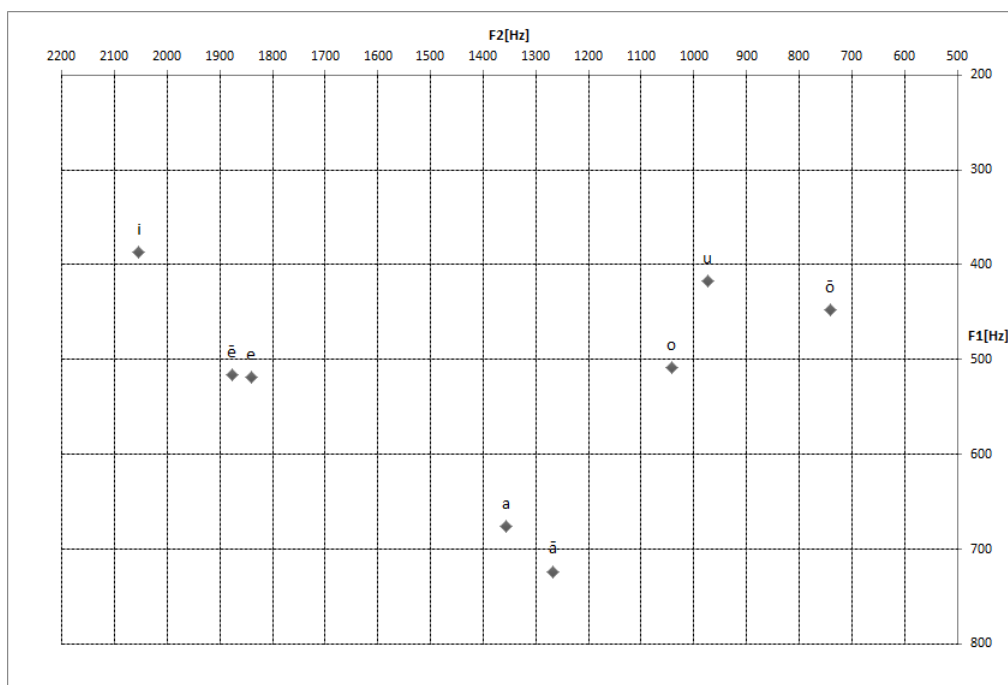


Figure 3.7: Pashai Vowel Phonemes

The vowel measurements were taken from AN, a male speaker age 30, educated in Pakistan and Afghanistan. He is multilingual in Pashto, Dari, Urdu and English. The sample segments were taken from monosyllabic and polysyllabic words, in stressed and unstressed positions, in closed and open syllables in initial, medial and final positions. The number of samples for each vowel is shown in Table 3.26.

Table 3.26: Vowel Sample Size

vowel	# of samples
a	156
\bar{a}	98
e	108
\bar{e}	23
i	78
o	46
\bar{o}	11
u	37

Figure 3.8 shows the overlap of the pronunciation of vowels by ellipses drawn around the range of pronunciation for these segments. The color coding is as follows: Saturated color signifies long vowels, less saturated color signifies short vowels in these pairs. Although the places where the long and short vowels overlap produces a deeper color this has no significance and does not represent another vowel contrast. It is an artifact of the overlapping of the colors.

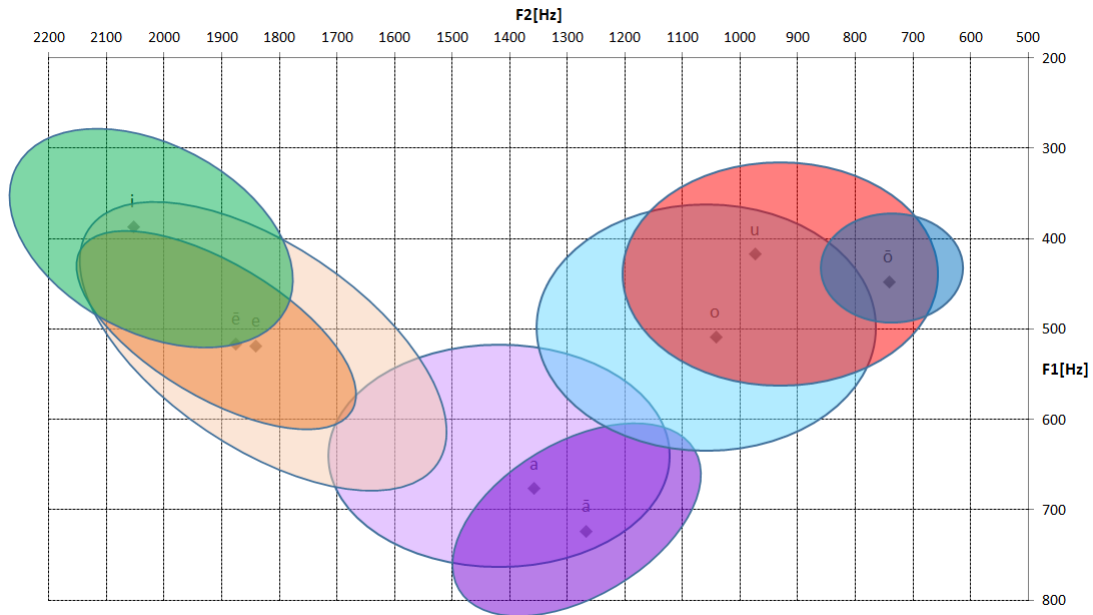


Figure 3.8: Vowel Pronunciation Overlap Ellipse Chart

Back vowels /u/, / \bar{o} / and /o/ are rounded. / \bar{a} / and /a/ are not rounded. The high vowels

/u/ and /i/ do not exhibit phonemic length distinction. Since there is no phonemic length distinction they are represented without a macron. The mid vowels /e/, /ē/, are very close in quality, chiefly distinguished by length. One can see that /e/ overlaps with /a/. This was evident in the speaker recorded and all speakers interviewed. It was often articulated as [ɛ]. I have chosen to represent the short vowel as /e/ because of the symmetry of the system. The long vowel /ē/ tends toward the diphthong /ei/. Front vowels /i/ and /e/ are unrounded.

The low central vowels /a/ and /ā/ are not as close. /a/ tends toward [ə] in certain environments, such as unstressed word-internal position, and monosyllabic words; it is articulated closer to [æ] in other environments, such as word-initial position. /a/ overlaps with /e/ for most speakers I observed. I have chosen to represent the short vowel as /a/ for symmetry.

The mid vowels /o/, /ō/ are distinguished by length and quality. Among various speakers /ō/ and /u/ were difficult to distinguish.

Figure 3.9 shows the length ratio between long and short vowels.

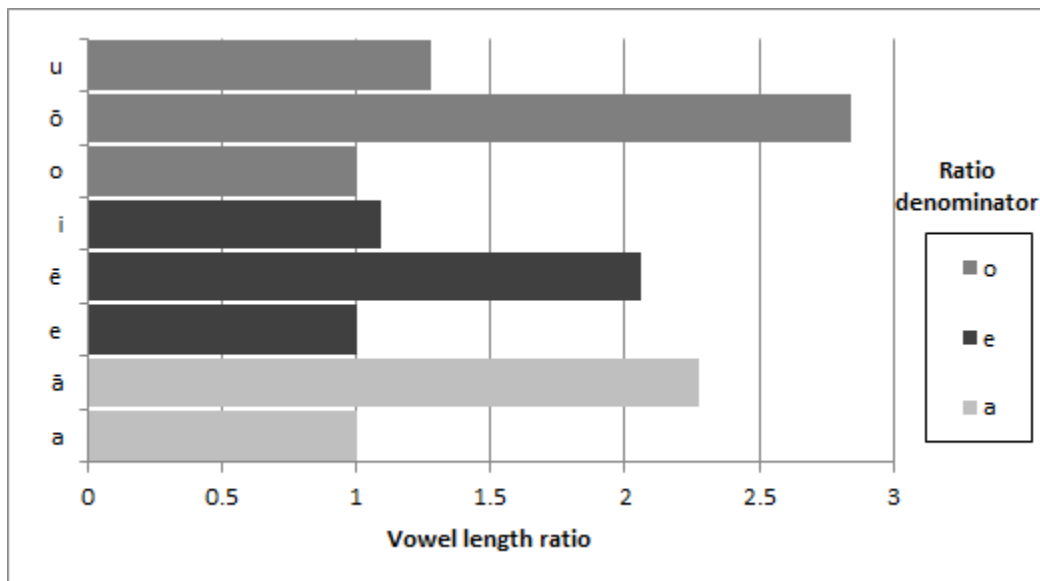


Figure 3.9: Vowel Duration Ratios

Table 3.27 shows the numeric duration of the vowel quantity. The calculated average length of every vowel is given in milliseconds.

Table 3.27: Vowel Duration Breakdown

	a	ā(a)	e	ē(e)	i(e)	o	ō(o)	u(o)
Numeric [mSec]	77.89	177.08	87.75	181.03	95.59	74.37	211.12	94.96

3.4.1 Vowel Phonemes

In this section the phonemic contrast between vowels is established through minimal and near minimal pairs.

3.4.1.1 /a/ and /ā/

The phonemic distinctness of /a/ and /ā/ is established by the minimal pairs shown in Table 3.28.

Table 3.28: Minimal Pairs /a/ /ā/

V	example	gloss	V	example	gloss
/a/	šal	disabled arm	/ā /	šāl	unharvested rice
	as	be.AN.F.PRS.3		ās	be.AN.M.PRS.3
	lam	slow		lām	home, village
	ka	to		gā	cow
	paŋj	five		pāŋj	husband
	jan	snake		jān	soul
	sotan	Sotan village		sotān	pants
	aṛā	half		āṛ	heart
	kaṭ	cut		kāṭ	cot

/a/ is often pronounced as [ə] in monosyllabic closed syllable words, such as /mam/ [məm] ‘I, me’, /bas/ [bəʂ] ‘enough’. In the measured speaker, as well as other observed speakers, /a/ had a more front quality, pronounced as [æ] or [ɛ] in word-initial position, such as /a-me/ [æme] ~ [ɛme] ‘PROX-DEM.PL’ and /as/ [æs] ‘be.AN.F.PRS.3’.

3.4.1.2 Waveforms

The waveforms in Figures 3.10 and 3.11 show the length contrast for /a/ and /ā/ in a word-final syllable.

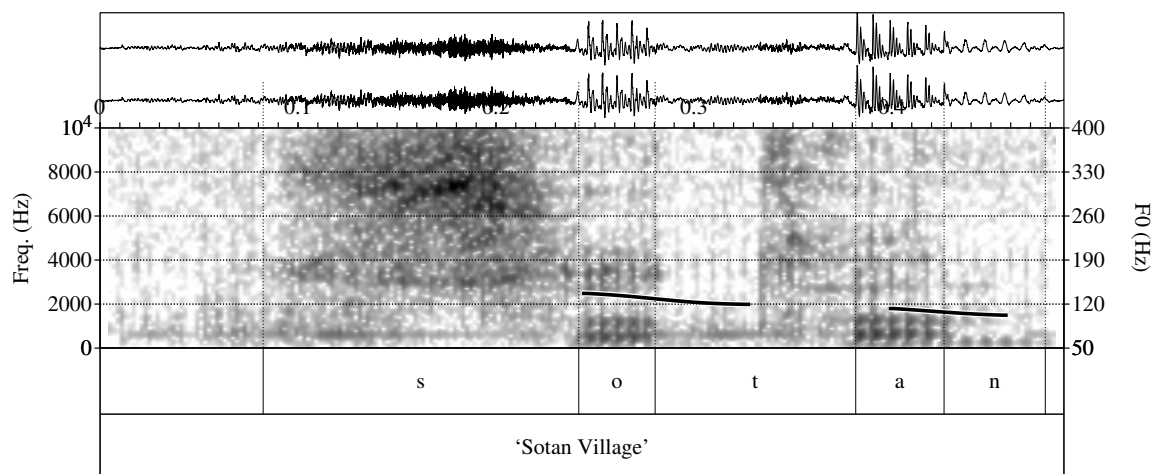


Figure 3.10: /a/

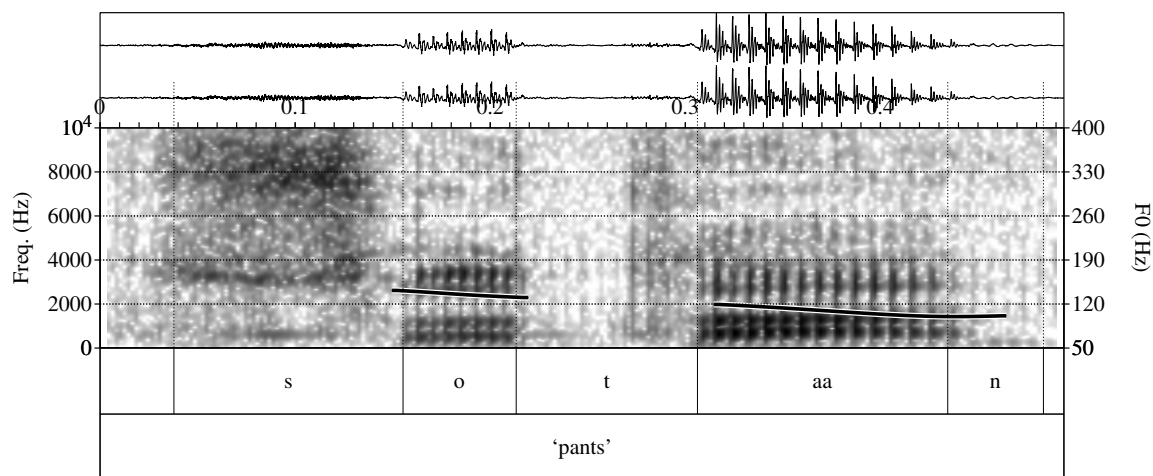


Figure 3.11: /ā/

3.4.1.3 /e/ and /ē/

The phonemic distinction is harder to establish between the mid vowels /e/ and /ē/. Speaking about Indo-Aryan phonemes in general, Masica (1991:115) notes “a suspicious restriction of occurrence of the “short” vowel to certain environments, such as closed syllables, unstressed syllables, and certain form classes (e.g. pronouns).” This seems to apply to Pashai. Section 3.4.2 shows the lack of /ē/ in non-peripheral environments. Possessive suffixes for Class II nouns distinguish -e ‘PS3SG’ from -ē ‘PS2SG’.

Nevertheless there are a few minimal pairs, shown in Table 3.29. The first example *pela* is a postposition. In the second contrasting example *kēla* is a loan word from Pashto, perhaps originally from an Indo-Aryan language, e.g. Urdu or Hindi.

Table 3.29: Minimal Pairs /e/ /ē/

V	example	gloss	V	example	gloss
/e/	<i>pela</i>	with	/ ē/	<i>pēlā</i>	yellow
	<i>kelā</i>	boy		<i>kēla</i>	banana
	<i>b-eč</i>	be-F		<i>bēč</i>	seed
	<i>emā</i>	you.PL		<i>ēmā</i>	your.PL
	<i>be</i>	too		<i>pē</i>	meat

There is a wide overlap in pronunciation between /i/ and /ē/ complicating the understanding of these phonemes.

3.4.1.4 /o/ and /ō/

The mid vowels /o/ and /ō/ are established by the contrasting pairs shown in Table 3.30. Like the front mid-vowels /e/ and /ē/, /o/ and /ō/ are neutralized in non-peripheral environments.

Variation among speakers complicates the assignment of /u/ and /ō/ in numerous words.

Table 3.30: Minimal Pairs /o/ /ō/

V	example	gloss	V	example	gloss
/o/	ose	PROX.DEM	/ō/	ōse	DIST.DEM
	koṭa	knee		kōṭa	room
	do	two		dō	yesterday
	goṛ	raw sugar		gōṛā	horse

3.4.1.5 /i/ and /u/

The vowels /i/ and /u/ do not show phonemic length opposition. Examples of these vowels are shown in Table 3.31.

Table 3.31: Vowels /i/ and /u/

vowel	example	gloss
/i/	čilā	clothes
	bonjīl	earthquake
	nandī	river
	šir	milk
	alīna	green
	tutī	parrot
/u/	dum	smoke
	čuču	breast
	puṭ	son
	rumi	tomato
	pus	skin
	kuč	belly

3.4.1.6 /u/

The high back rounded vowel /u/ which has a relative duration falling between /o/ and /ō/ is difficult to distinguish from the /o/ and /ō/ through minimal pairs. There are no examples of three-way opposition between /o/, /ō/, and /u/. The data presented in Table 3.32, are minimal and flawed. *gōm* and *dum* are not minimal pairs, *dum* is discussed in section 3.5.5 as one of the small number of ‘tone’ words. *dōr* and *dur* are problematic as a pair since *dur*

is a Persian loanword.

Table 3.32: Minimal Pairs /u/ /ō/

V	example	gloss	V	example	gloss
/ō/	gōm	wheat	/u/	dum	smoke
	dōr	face		dur	far

Furthermore, the contrast between /u/ and /ō/ is neutralized in the vowel shortening process discussed in section 3.7.3.

3.4.1.7 /i/

The high front vowel /i/ is distinguished from /e/ and /ē/ in the examples shown in Table 3.33. This Table contrasts /e/, /i/, /ē/ in the demonstrative. As with /u/ and /ō/, the contrast between /ē/ and /i/ is neutralized by vowel shortening, discussed in section 3.7.3.

Table 3.33: Minimal Contrasts /e/ /i/ /ē/

V	stem	gloss	V	stem	gloss	V	stem	gloss
/e/	te	DEM.PL.DIR	/i/	tī	DEM.SG.OBL	/ē/	tē	DEM.PL.OBL

3.4.1.8 Diphthongs

The Pashai diphthongs are shown with examples in Table 3.34. The vowel /u/ corresponds to the consonant /v/, the vowel /i/ corresponds to the consonant /y/. In word-final position the second segment in the diphthong behaves as a consonant.

Table 3.34: Diphthongs

diphthong	example	gloss
[ao]	aoti	hungry
	kao	how many
	mao	maternal aunt
[āi]	māi	moon
	sāiŋ	ground
	golāiŋ	bull
[ai]	bai	good
	ai	mother
	aiŋč	eye
[oi]	koik	what
[ou]	derou	husband's brother

3.4.2 Vowel Distribution

Most vowels can occur in different positions within a word, such as word-initial, word-internal, word-final as well as first and final syllable. Tables 3.35 - 3.40 show these distributional facts of Pashai vowels. Vowels are shown in syllable-initial, internal and final environments as well as in word-initial and word-final position. In initial position vowels are pronounced with a glottal stop [ʔ]; not pronounced in final position.

3.4.2.1 Back Vowels /u/, /o/, /ō/

Table 3.35 shows the occurrence back rounded vowels /u/, /o/, /ō/ in word-initial, internal, and final-syllable positions.

Table 3.35: Syllable Distribution /u/, /o/, /ō/

V	initial	gloss	internal	gloss	final	gloss
/u/	gušŋ	house	sodurā	beautiful	očum	scorpion
	nuni	butter	aŋurek	finger	koŋur	rooster
/o/	šoŋŋ	dog	balokul	children	akoŋ	down
	golāiŋ	ox	vačolek	calf		
/ō/	gōŋā	horse				
	kōŋa	room				

Table 3.36 shows word-initial and word-final occurrences of these vowels.

Table 3.36: Initial and Final Position /u/, /o/, /ō/

V	initial	gloss	final	gloss
/u/	utakārek	dove	ašt <u>u</u>	18
	unčarek	wellspring	ču <u>č</u> u	breast
	unĵik	to wash	ġemb <u>u</u>	wasp
/o/	oṇḍarek	cat	do	2
	oṭ	up	yo	DEM.DIR
	obārā	high	čo	where
/ō/	ōse	DIST.DEM	gō	lizard
	ōdai	from	bō	QNT

The distributional facts point to a gap for /ō/ in word-internal and final-syllable position, in words with more than one syllable. This may be an artifact of data collection, particularly in final syllable position. Single syllable words with /ō/ such as *dōr* ‘mouth’ and *gōm* ‘wheat’, are present.

3.4.2.2 Front Vowels /i/, /e/, /ē/

Table 3.37 shows /i/, /e/, /ē/ in different syllable and word positions.

Table 3.37: Syllable Distribution /i/, /e/, /ē/

V	initial	gloss	internal	gloss	final	gloss
/i/	šičik	to stick	ošīṇvāli	waist band	karik	to do
	čilā	clothes	aṇḍivāl	friend	keṭālīk	girls
/e/	tenā	your	unĵeui	washed	keṭālek	girl
	meni	my	zomesān	winter	varek	water
/ē/	pēlek	cup			boṛēn	old
	pēlā	yellow			šelēk	white

Table 3.38 shows word initial and word final distribution of front vowels.

Table 3.38: Initial and Final Position /i/, /e/, /ē/

V	initial	gloss	final	gloss
/i/	im	snow	mi	DEM.SG.DIR
	i	one	abli	cloud
/e/	emā	your.PL	kante	why
	enaŋ	later	be	too
/ē/	ērik	to want	gē	song
	ēma	you.PL	pē	meat

The data indicates that /ē/ does not appear in word-internal syllables.

3.4.2.3 Central Vowels /a/, /ā/

Table 3.39 shows the distribution of central vowels /a/ and /ā/ in initial, internal and final syllable positions.

Table 3.39: Syllable Distribution /a/, /ā/

V	initial	gloss	internal	gloss	final	gloss
/a/	bakār	good	oŋḍarek	cat	paman	dirty
	paŋju	15	somanik	eyebrows	čapaŋ	slingshot
	lapā	cheese	gorauāl	wedding	łajār	fever
/ā/	bālokul	children	obārā	high	aŋār	fire
	bāro	flood	kalauāŋtek	cheek	čāl	hair
	pārek	goat	keṭālek	girl	karār	wolf

Table 3.40 shows the central vowels in word-initial and word-final position.

Table 3.40: Initial and Final Position /a/, /ā/

V	initial	gloss	final	gloss
/a/	ašpār	rice	ka	to
	ami	PROX.DEM	xapa	sad
	aŋi	bone	ama	we
/ā/	ār	heart	gā	cow
	āš	blood	dādā	father

3.5 Syllable Structure

This section is a description of the basic phonological units in Pashai. Pashai allows open and closed syllables, mono and multi-syllabic words. In this section I describe the types of allowable syllables and how words are built from them. This discussion takes into account the sonority profile and onset and coda restrictions. The canonical Pashai syllable is (C)V. There are no onset consonant clusters. Syllable and word-final clusters are highly restricted. Vowel-initial syllables are pronounced with an initial glottal stop.

3.5.1 Minimal Word

The minimal phonological word in Pashai consists of a bimoraic syllable. The minimal word can be an open or closed syllable, or a diphthong, shown in Table 3.41.

Table 3.41: Minimal Word		
Syllable type	example	gloss
VV	ai	mother
VC	as	be.AN.F.PRS.3
$\bar{V}C$	$\bar{a}s$	be.AN.M.PRS.3
$C\bar{V}$	$g\bar{o}$	crocodile
CVC	sor	sun

Exceptions to this constraint come from so-called nonlexical vocabulary, those not belonging to major lexical categories (McCarthy and Prince, 1990). These are found in clitics, particles, and demonstratives, shown in Table 3.42.

Table 3.42: Minimal Word Exceptions

stem	gloss
a	I
be	too
se	DEM.SG.DIR

Another interesting exception is found in kinship terms *le* ‘brother’ and *se* ‘sister’ which

are inalienably possessed, always appearing with a possessive pronominal suffix. When they are suffixed their stem vowel changes, i.e. *lai-am* ‘brother-PS1SG’ and *sai-am* ‘sister-PS1SG’.⁴ Similarly the word *oe* ‘daughter’, consisting of two short vowels does not occur without a possessive suffix.

3.5.2 Syllable Templates

An inventory of syllable templates is shown in Table 3.43. The position of the syllable in the word is highlighted in bold. For some words multiple syllables are highlighted. The syllable boundary is indicated by a period, with consonants parsing syllable onset.

4. Speakers pronounced these words in isolation in numerous ways, such as [lee], [lai], [see], [sei], [sai] presumably trying to accommodate them to meet minimal word weight.

Table 3.43: Syllable Templates

syllable type	stem	gloss
V	o .se	DIST.DEM
	a .li.nā	green
	e .mā	your.PL
	o.e	daughter
VC	aš .pār	rice
	me. in .kan	they call us
V̄	ō .ḷa	REM.location
	ē .ma	you.PL
	ā .ča	fetch.IMP
V̄C	ās	be.AN.M.PRS.3
CV	da .vās	day
	šo.ŋo .tek	dog
	on. ḍa .rek	cat
	ka .rek	leaf
CṼ	šā .mek	black
	av. tī	hungry
	a.li. nā	green
CVC	šā.mek	black
	ke.ṭā. lek	girl
	kaṭ	cut
	nan .dī	river
	doš.man	enemy
	kan .ǰa.ṛā	goat
	kār	ear
CṼC	še. lēk	white
	bo. rēn	old
CVCC	va. rēnč	ant

The only allowable word-final consonant cluster is nasal+affricate, [nč].

Most uninflected nouns as free stems range from one to four syllables, shown in Table 3.44.

Table 3.44: Syllables per Word

no. syllables	word	gloss
1	ʎek	woman
1	vəl	night
1	ainč	eye
2	pa.man	dirty
2	lam.pa	broom
2	paš.ken	behind
3	na.pa.ʎek	navel
3	gor.a.vāl	wedding
3	bā.lo.kul	children
4	ka.la.vaṇ.ʎek	cheek
4	o.tā.kā.ʎek	dove
4	ka.ra.van.da	field

Suffixes such as inflections for case, possessive suffixes and postpositions increase the word length, with eight syllables in (3.1a), and seven syllables in (3.1b).

- (3.1) a. o.ta.ka.re.kes.tam.an.te
otakar-ek-est-am=ante
dove-F-GEN-1SG=for
‘for my doves’
- b. ka.ra.van.dan.sam.po.ṛa
karavanda-ans-am=poṛa
field-GEN.PL-1SG=in.front
‘in front of our fields’

Verbs are built from bound roots and inflectional affixes. The syllable canon of roots is a single syllable. Transitivizing and causative affixes are added to the root to create bound stems for inflection. A negative prefix can be added as well. Either stems or roots are inflected for gender, person, number, and aspect.

Verb root templates are shown in Table 3.45.

Table 3.45: Verb Root Templates

template	root	gloss
C-	g-	go
	t-	be
	b-	be
CV-	pa	go
	pi	drink
	nē	emerge
CVC	pač-	cook
	tar-	look at
	pol-	arrive
CVCC	tost-	stand
	manj̃-	dress
V	ā-	be
	e-	eat
	i-	come
VC	an-	beat
	ēr-	want
VCC	obj̃-	birth
	orč-	sleep
	unj̃-	wash

The verb root *obj̃-* ‘birth’ violates the sonority profile of consonant sequences. The consonant clusters that occur in coda position of the verb roots are always divided over syllables in inflected verbs.

A verb can have as few as one syllable, and in my corpus as many as six syllables. The number of syllables is governed by the affixes.

Table 3.46: Syllables per Verb

no. syllables	verb	gloss
1	pa	go!
1	geč	she went
1	lik	he died
2	pa.ɣa	s/he is going
2	a.nim	s/he will beat me
3	pa.ča.ɣa	it is ripening
3	tā.rim.ko	You are looking at me
3	me.in.kan	they call us
4	pa.ča.la.ɣa	s/he is cooking
4	a.nu.ka.mu	I am beating you.pl
5	man.ǰa.le.ve.čan	I got her to dress
5	a.ne.a.če.mē	I had beaten you
6	na.a.ne.a.če.mē	I had not beaten you

3.5.3 Syllable Weight

The two-way length distinction in Pashai vowels means that syllables can be mono- or bi-moraic. There is no evidence that consonants are weight bearing, and no evidence that weight plays a role in the language.

3.5.4 Stress

Stress as a prosodic characteristic of words is not phonemic in Pashai. An elusive category, Pashai stress is not reflected in intensity or pitch increase. Native speakers' intuitions have been conflicting; speakers have had a hard time identifying where they think stress falls.

My analysis is too preliminary to make conclusive remarks on word stress, particularly for long multisyllabic words and those with multiple suffixes and clitics.

There is some suggestive evidence in vowel-length alternation that final position is associated with stress. The morphophonemic shortening of long vowels when not in word-final position suggests that stress may be associated with word-final position. Table 3.47 shows the duration for the vowel length alternation between stems in isolation and suffixed. The

duration is given in milliseconds. The targeted vowels are bolded.

Table 3.47: Vowel Length Alternation Measurements

stem	gloss	isolation	suffixed	gloss	medial
pānǰ	husband	191.75	pānǰ-em	husband-PS1SG	99.
bēc	seed	196.21	bēc-em	seed-PS1SG	96.12

Long and short vowels are not neutralized in word-final position. Table 3.48 shows the duration measurement in milliseconds of word-final vowels in contrast. The contrasting segments are bolded. The waveforms for these examples are given in Figures 3.12 and 3.13 below.

Table 3.48: Word-Final Length /a/ and /ā/

stem	gloss	duration
ama	we/us	55.58
amā	our	146.94

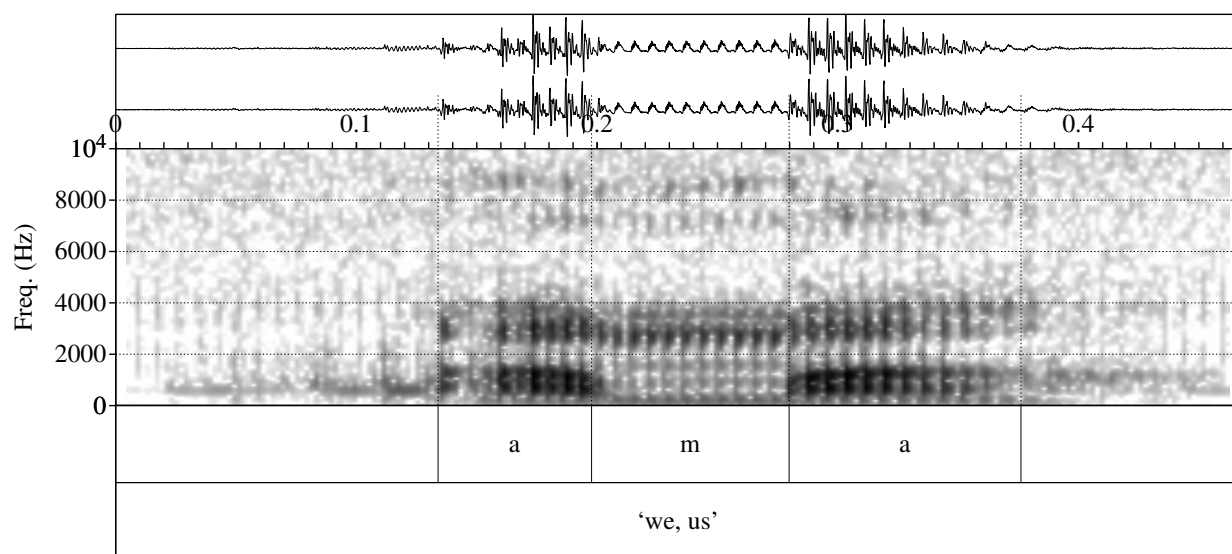


Figure 3.12: Word-Final /a/

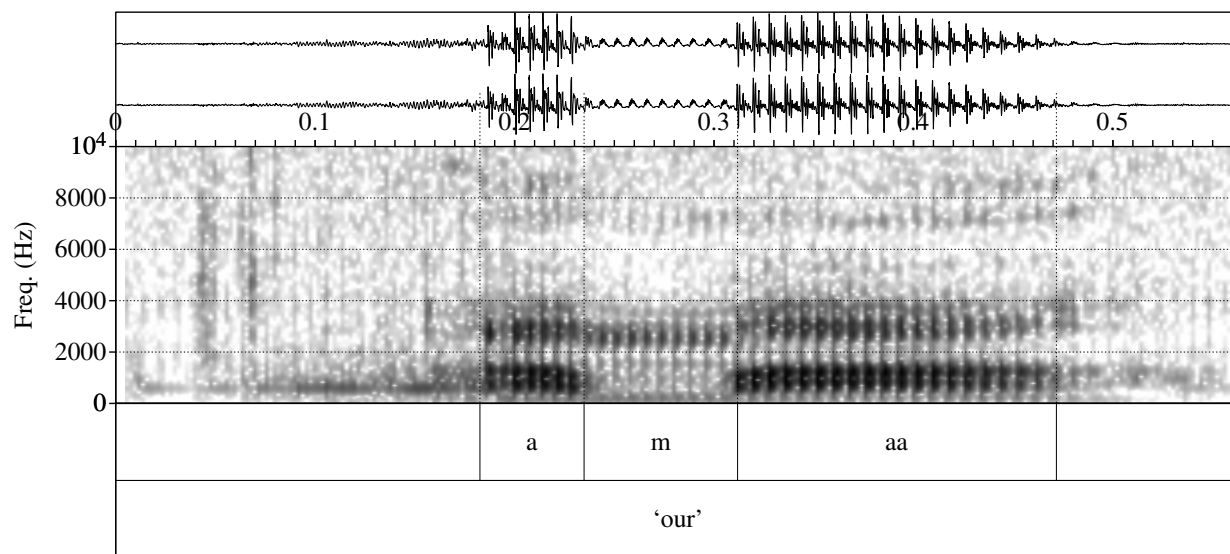


Figure 3.13: Word-Final /ā/

The waveforms show that although word-final /a/ is longer than in initial position, it is not neutralized with /ā/.

Morgenstierne does not tell us much about stress. He suggests that vowels are lengthened in stressed syllables, although he does not provide a guide to where stressed syllables are found. He says, “Characteristic of Pashai is the lengthening of stressed short vowels, especially in monosyllabics” furthermore adding, “Before a suffix the short vowel is retained” (1973:27). In the analysis presented in section 3.7.3 below I describe two processes that affect vowel length in Pashai; one is compensatory vowel-lengthening, another is vowel-shortening. Morgenstierne’s suggestion of vowel-lengthening for monosyllabic stressed words would make it difficult to account for the occurrence of short vowels in monosyllabic stressed words. My analysis predicts the shortening of long vowels in suffixed stems.

3.5.5 Tone

Morgenstierne noticed that speakers of the Southeastern dialect of Pashai spoken in the Darrai Nur valley had a rising pitch contour across the length of the vowel in a small number of monosyllabic words. He describes this as “an overlong vowel with low, rising tone recorded in words with original aspiration or h-” (Morgenstierne, 1973:252). Morgenstierne’s data was collected in 1924 and 1929. I too noticed that a set of words were pronounced differently by older speakers (age 50+), than by younger ones. Since Dardic languages in Northwest Pakistan are known to have some tonal features, it is not surprising that Pashai would have some tonal features, although the phenomenon is quite limited in the language.⁵

The words in Table 3.49 are those that both Morgenstierne and I identified. There were other words in his list that I was not able to replicate.

Table 3.49: Stems with Rising Pitch

stem	gloss
dūm	smoke
dār	mountain
āst	hand
bās	steam
īm	snow
kāt	cot

Additional words I perceived with a rising tone are shown in Table 3.50. Morgenstierne identified *gá:as* ‘grass’, My speakers pronounce it as [gāns].

5. Baart (2003) argues that the occurrence of tone languages in South Asia is more widespread than is generally known. He identifies 18 of the 30 languages spoken in Northern Pakistan as tone languages with 49 million of the 90 million speakers in the area speaking a tone language. He claims “probably a majority of the languages of northern Pakistan are tone languages, and most of these are Indo-Aryan” (2003:12). He demonstrates that Dardic languages in particular have tones ranging from two contrastive tones in Shina and Khowar to five in Kalam Kohistani.

Table 3.50: Additional Tone Words

stem	gloss
āṛ	heart
āś	blood
gāns	grass

Morgenstierne notes that “words without any original aspiration have a simple, long vowel, with high tone, slightly falling towards the end” (1973:252). His examples are shown in Table 3.51.

Table 3.51: High Tone

stem	gloss
gōm	wheat
dār	kindling
čār	four
dānd	tooth
pā	foot
šēr	head

Pashai rising tone only occurs in bimoraic monosyllabic words. These words historically had aspiration preceding the long vowel. In words with a rising pitch contour, listed in Table 3.49, the depressive effect of breathiness would cause the pitch to rise following the aspirated segment. With the loss of aspiration a low (L) tone was introduced into the first mora of the vowel segment. The majority of bimoraic monosyllabic words do not exhibit a rising pitch contour.

Stems with rising pitch in isolation do not exhibit rising pitch when suffixed. Just like other stems with long vowels in isolation, the long vowel undergoes shortening when no longer in word-final position.

Tone and Aspiration Masica (1991) discusses contrastive tone in New Indo-Aryan languages. He notes that tone is associated with nouns and that loss of voiced aspirates and

rise of tones overlap, but are not always coinciding. Baart (2004) found in Kalam Kohistani that most monosyllables with an initial aspirated voiceless consonant or initial [h] had an L-initial melody (i.e. L or LH melody). He found that monosyllables with an initial unaspirated voiceless consonant, almost always bear an H-initial melody. The association of aspiration with L tone or LH melody may be a transitional phenomenon in Pashai. There are no longer any aspirated consonants in Pashai. Morgenstierne was the last investigator to have heard some aspiration in Pashai, but he reported that he did not hear it consistently. Earlier descriptions of Pashai dialects included some notation about aspiration.⁶ The limited occurrence of LH tone seems to be a residual phenomenon, and lost in younger speakers.

Only one contrastive pair was identified with this limited phenomenon in Pashai. According to Morgenstierne, the word /dār/ with no original aspiration, has a high flat tone, meaning ‘kindling’; with original aspiration and a rising tone it means ‘mountain’. Both contrast with /dar/ ‘door’, with a short vowel. An analysis of wave forms in the recorded speaker did not support a pitch contrast between these two words. However, in recorded tokens of these words a difference in the length of the vowel was observed, as shown in Table 3.52.

Table 3.52: Vowel Length Distinction in dār ‘mountain’/‘kindling’

token	gloss	duration	F2	F1
dār	mountain	310.58	1208.77	720.91
dār	mountain	276.11	1210.08	702.21
dār	mountain	289.95	1210.08	719.92
dār	kindling	194.83	1310.31	699.41
dār	kindling	188	1261.79	689.55

Morgenstierne described the vowel in words with rising pitch as ‘overlong’. One of the older speakers interviewed described it the same way, as “one and one half long”. The

6. Morgenstierne (1973) suggests the absence of reporting of aspiration in some dialects may be the result of inexact notation or that that dialect borrowed an Indo-Aryan word through Pashto or Persian. His notation of aspiration was most pronounced in the Northeastern dialect. He notes that Buddruss found no aspiration in Khewa dialect.

perception of a ‘tone’ difference might be due to the fact that the vowel is longer and thus has more time for pitch to be realized. Few conclusions can be drawn at this time about the possible phenomenon of tone in Pashai without acoustic sampling of older and younger speakers.

3.6 Sequence Constraints

This section examines allowable and unallowable sequences of consonants. Pashai has a limited number of cluster types in native words; loanwords increase the types of sequences. In this section I describe the distributional facts of consonant and vowel sequences.

3.6.1 Consonant Sequences

There are no word-initial consonant clusters in Pashai. There are some allowable sequences of consonants that occur at syllable junctures word-internally. In word-final position only one type of consonant cluster occurs, nasal + affricate, as in /panʃ/ ‘five’, /varənʃ/, ‘ant’, /ainč/ ‘eye’. The sonority profile of word-internal sequences is falling, meaning that the first segment is higher in sonority than the second segment. Word-final clusters and simplified final clusters all obey this constraint.⁷

The types of consonant sequences that occur at syllable junctures are divided according to the first member of the sequences which are either nasals, liquids, or fricatives. Tables 3.53 - 3.56 show examples of each sequence type.

In the sequences shown in Table 3.53 the first consonant in the sequence is the syllable coda; the second consonant is the syllable onset. The checkmark in parentheses symbol (✓) is used for liquid sequences that occur only in loanwords.

7. The only violation in a native word was found in the verb root /obj-/ ‘give birth, be born’, where the first consonant in the sequences [b] is lower sonority than the second consonant [j]. /ob-/ may be a prefix since /je-/ means ‘lay down or place’.

Table 3.53: Distribution of Consonant Sequences

	Nasals		Liquids		Fricatives	
	nC	mC	lC	rC	sC	šC
Stops						
p		✓	(✓)	(✓)		✓
b		✓	(✓)			
t	✓			✓	✓	✓
d	✓		(✓)	(✓)		
ṭ	✓			(✓)		
ḍ	✓					
k					✓	✓
g						
Nasals						
m			(✓)	(✓)		
n					✓	✓
ṇ						
ŋ						
Affricates						
č	✓			✓		
ǰ	✓					
Fricatives						
s	✓					
š	✓					
z						
ž						
ʃ						
Liquids						
r						
ṛ						
l						
Approximants						
y						
v						

3.6.2 Nasal Sequences

Nasal sequences shown in Table 3.54, are homorganic.

Table 3.54: Nasal Sequences

sequence type	sequence	example	gloss
Nasal+Stop	nt	menten	with
		kante	why
	n̥t̚	čelān̥t̚ek	chick
		ɖaɳ̥t̚a	spider
	nd	andar	dark
		munda	neck
	n̥ɖ	pen̥ɖor	calf of leg
		on̥ɖarek	cat
	mb	ambala	running
		vurumbu	walnut
Nasal + Affricate	nč	kunč̣i	elbow
		onč̣ārek	spring
	nǰ	unǰ-ik	to wash
Nasal+Sibilant	ns	bonǰil	earthquake
		gāns	grass
		anšāri	apricot
		bānša	dragonfly

3.6.3 Liquid Sequences

Liquids /l/ and /r/ occur as the first element of word-internal sequences. These are shown in Table 3.55. Most of these examples are loanwords; many are compounds.

Table 3.55: Liquid Sequences

sequence type	sequence	example	gloss
Liquid+Nasal	rm	gar mi	heat
	lm	pil m orox	turkey
Liquid+Stop	r̥t̚	bar̥t̚ek	sheep
	rd	zar d ek	carrot
	lb	čel b arek	lightning
	lp	čel p āy	centipede
	ld	māl d ār	wealthy
Liquid+Affricate	rč	or č ik	to sleep

3.6.4 Fricative Clusters

Table 3.56: Sibilant Sequences

sequence type	sequence	example	gloss
Sibilant+Stop	st	āstē	hand.PS2SG
		tostik	to stand
	sk	kaskarek	lizard
	št	aštu	18
		ješti	thumb
	šk	pašken	behind
	šp	ašpār	rice

3.6.5 Vowel Clusters

Pashai has multiple types of vowel clusters. Vowel clusters are articulated with no glottal stop or glide between the vowels. The distributional facts of vowel clusters are presented in Table 3.57.

Table 3.57: Vowel Cluster Distribution

	iV	eV	ēV	aV	āV	uV	oV	ōV
i		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	
e		✓				✓	✓	
ē								
a	✓	✓					✓	
ā		✓						
u		✓						
o								
ō								

Vowel clusters occur within mono-morphemic words as well as multi-morphemic words. Table 3.58 provides examples of the vowel clusters. The waveform for /zeip/ ‘woman’ given in Figure 3.6 above shows the appearance of hiatus between vowels in the vowel cluster.

Table 3.58: Vowel Clusters

cluster	example	gloss
iā	paṛ i-ā -k-am	read-PFS-3SG-be-PST.M-1SG
ie	pi-em	drink-1SG
ei	pač-al- e-i -k-am	cook-TRZ-3SG-PFS-1SG
ee	ve-en	pour-3PL
ea	b- ea -č-am	be-RMPF-F-1SG
eā	še ā l	jackal
eu	leu ṛ e	okra
āe	ā-es	be-PRS.1PL
āē	ā-ē	be-PRS.2SG
ue	ṭ ue	13
ui	ṭemb u-i	wasp-PS3SG
oe	oe	daughter
oa	doa	prayer
ai	paš ai	Pashai

The vowel sequence [āi] tends to form a diphthong. The copula ā-i-k ‘be-PST-M’ is pronounced [āyk].

3.7 Phonological Processes

3.7.1 Cluster Simplification

Coda constraints limit the types of syllable and word-final segments. In Pashai this is highly restricted. All word-final consonants are devoiced, and clusters are simplified in a number of ways. Native words undergo a process of cluster simplification that involves consonant reduction and vowel lengthening. Loanwords either undergo simplification or epenthesis.

Word-final consonant clusters (except for /nč/) are a disallowed sequence in Pashai. For stems with original coda consonant clusters there is an alternation between how they are pronounced in isolation and when suffixed. The first column in Table 3.59 shows the original stem. In isolation these stems are pronounced without the second consonant of the cluster, and the vowel is long. These are shown in the second column in Table 3.59. When these stems

are suffixed with vowel-initial suffixes the second consonant in the cluster is pronounced and the vowel is short. This pronunciation is shown in the fifth column of Table 3.59. There is no vowel alteration seen in [vest] ‘20’.

Table 3.59: Cluster Reduction and Vowel Length Alternation

stem	isolation	gloss	+suffix	suffixed	gloss
dand	[dān]	tooth	dand-em	[dandem]	tooth-PS1SG
ɬond	[ɬōn]	roof	ɬond-ai	[ɬonday]	roof-ABL
nast	[nās]	nose	nast-em	[nastem]	nose-PS1SG
ast	[ās]	hand	ast-em	[ʔastem]	hand-PS1SG
vest	[ves]	20	vest=o de	[vesto]	20+10 (30)
mask	[mās]	forehead	mask-em	[maskem]	forehead-PS1SG

3.7.2 Stem-Final Devoicing

Tables 3.2 - 3.17 above were used to describe the consonant phonemes, showing their occurrence in word-initial, intervocalic and final positions. Those tables demonstrated that in stem-final position there are no voiced consonants. My analysis assumes that there are both voiced and voiceless consonants that are neutralized in word-final position.

3.7.2.1 Stem-Final Devoicing and Vowel Length Alternation

Table 3.60 shows stem-final voiced obstruents are pronounced voiceless in isolation and pronounced with voicing in intervocalic environments. Vowel length alternation can be seen in examples that have long vowels in isolation and short vowels in suffixed stems.

Table 3.60: Voiced Stem-Final Consonants and Vowel Length Alternation

phoneme	stem	isolation	gloss	+suffix	suffixed	gloss
/b/	sēb	[sēp]	apple	sēb-ē	[sebē]	apple-OBL
/g/	dēg	[dēk]	pot	dēg-ē	[degē]	pot-OBL
/ɣ/	bāɣ	[bāx]	garden	bāɣ-a	[baɣa]	garden-LOC
/z/	mēz	[mēs]	table	mēz-ē	[mezē]	table-OBL
/nǰ/	pānǰ	[pānč]	husband	pānǰ-ē	[panǰē]	husband-PS2SG

Table 3.60 lacks entries for word-final /d/, and /j/. This is probably due to my inability to uncover examples.

3.7.2.2 Voiceless Stem-Final Consonants

Not all stem-final voiceless consonants alternate with voiced ones. Table 3.61 shows stems that are pronounced devoiced in isolation and suffixed positions. These examples show vowel-length alternation between isolated and suffixed pronunciation.

Table 3.61: Voiceless Stem-Final Consonants and Vowel Length Alternation

phoneme	stem	isolation	gloss	+suffix	suffixed	gloss
/p/	zeip	[zeip]	woman	zeip-as	[zeipas]	woman-GEN
/t/	sāt	[sāt]	watch	sāt-ē	[satē]	watch-OBL
/t̥/	kāṭ	[kāṭ]	bed	kāṭ-ē	[kaṭē]	bed-OBL
/k/	pāṛek	[pāṛek]	goat	pāṛek-ē	[paṛekē]	goat-OBL
/x/	yax	[yax]	cold	yax-em	[yaxem]	cold-PS1SG
/č/	bēc	[bēc]	seed	bēc-ē	[bečē]	seed-OBL
/nč/	ainč	[ainč]	eye	ainč-ē	[ainčem]	eye-PS2SG

Variation in this data is found among multi-lingual Pashai speakers. Some multi-lingual speakers pronounce loanwords as they would be pronounced in the source language, i.e., pronouncing [bāy] instead of [bāx] ‘garden’. Women, children and other monolinguals are more likely to devoice all word-final consonants.

3.7.3 Vowel Shortening

Table 3.62 shows that both long vowels and short vowels occur in closed syllables and word-final position.

Table 3.62: Word-Final Syllables with Long and Short Vowels

	1 syllable	gloss	2 syllable	gloss
\bar{V}	lōṇ	salt	ka.rār	wolf
	ǰān	soul	ma.tēx	frog
	gēn	back	ke.tāb	book
V	lon	field border	bos.tar	lip
	ǰan	snake	ko.rek	heel
	dar	door	ča.paṇ	slingshot

A noun stem that has a long vowel in the word-final syllable in isolation will occur with a corresponding short vowel in that position when the word appears with a suffix. No change occurs for stems with a short vowel.

All suffixes trigger vowel shortening in nouns. This applies to case endings and pronominal suffixes. Table 3.63 shows this length alternation with the addition of the oblique case suffix. Words with /u/ and /i/ shorten to [o] and [e] respectively. The stem is shown in the first column with phonetic transcription of the pronunciation in isolation in the second column. The suffixed stem is shown in the fourth column and the pronunciation in the fifth column.

Table 3.63: Vowel Shortening

stem	isolation	gloss	+suffix	suffixed	gloss
kār	$[\text{kār}]$	ear	kār-ē	$[\text{karē}]$	ear-OBL
āst	$[\text{ʔās}]$	hand	āst-ē	$[\text{ʔastē}]$	hand-OBL
čik	$[\text{čik}]$	bark	čik-i	$[\text{čekē}]$	bark-OBL
sēp	$[\text{sēp}]$	apple	sēb-ē	$[\text{sebē}]$	apple-OBL
bēc	$[\text{bēc}]$	seed	bēc-ē	$[\text{bečē}]$	seed-OBL
kuč	$[\text{kuč}]$	stomach	kuč-ē	$[\text{kočē}]$	stomach-OBL
pul	$[\text{pul}]$	son	puṭ-ē	$[\text{poṭē}]$	son-OBL
ketāb	$[\text{ketāp}]$	book	ketāb-ē	$[\text{ketebē}]$	book-OBL

The word /ketāb/ ‘book’ exhibits vowel assimilation that appears to be triggered by the suffix. Instead of shortening to [a] the vowel shortens to [e] with the oblique suffix. When suffixed with the third-person possessive suffix /-i/ it is pronounced [kitibi]. When the

possessive pronominal suffix /-am/ is added the vowel is shortened to /a/, as in [ketabam]. With a lack of any other examples quite like this, I offer this example to future researchers to explore.

In the text and examples in this dissertation the shortened vowels are represented in their underlying long form. Devoiced final obstruents are also represented in their underlying voiced form.

3.7.4 Voicing Assimilation

There is a general tendency for consonants to assimilate voicing in intervocalic and nasal environments. This is particularly true for environments where the vowel and consonant are in the same place of articulation, such as /k/ in the environment of the /a/. The /k/ becomes partially or fully voiced in the words /bakār/ ‘good’ [baḵār], /pakāṛek/ ‘shawl’ [paḵāṛek], and /bākoṭā/ ‘fat’ [bāḵoṭā]. The voicing of intervocalic inflectional marker *-k-* was discussed above in the description of velar plosives. In the pre-nasal environment voiceless consonants are voiced, such as [ʔāzmān] originally from Dari /āsmān/ ‘sky’. The example [kāḍmal] ‘bed bug’ is interesting. It is a compound composed of /kāṭ/ ‘bed’ + /mal/ ‘bug’. The prenasal voicing produces the segment [ḍ] which is generally not found in word-internal environments, except as the second consonant in nasal sequences.

3.7.5 Morphophonemic Alternations

A number of derivational and inflectional suffixes have allomorphic alternations depending on whether they are attached to consonant-final or vowel-final stems. This analysis makes no claims about whether one form is basic and the other derived or whether there is an epenthetic vowel. For each of the suffixes discussed in this section one of the allomorphs is vowel-initial, the other is consonant-initial.

3.7.5.1 Oblique Suffix

The oblique case ending has three allomorphs, $[-\bar{e}]$, $[-i]$, $[-y]$, depending on the environment. The oblique suffix is $[-\bar{e}]$, for all consonant-final stems that have any vowels except $[i]$ in the final syllable. This is shown in Table 3.64.

Table 3.64: Oblique Suffix $-\bar{e}$ Consonant-Final Stem

stem V	stem	gloss	+OBL	phonetic	gloss
\bar{e}	mēz	table	mēz- \bar{e}	[mezē]	table-OBL
e	keṭālek	girl	keṭālek- \bar{e}	[keṭālekē]	girl-OBL
o	xolop	key	xolop- \bar{e}	[xolopē]	key-OBL
ā	kāṭ	bed	kāṭ- \bar{e}	[kaṭē]	bed-OBL
u	kuč	belly	kuč- \bar{e}	[kočē]	belly-OBL
ō	dōr	mouth	dor- \bar{e}	[dorē]	mouth-OBL

The oblique singular suffix is $[-\bar{e}]$ when it is attached to words ending in $[o, u, \bar{e}]$, shown in Table 3.65.

Table 3.65: Oblique Suffix $-\bar{e}$ Vowel-Final Stem

stem V	stem	gloss	+OBL	phonetic	gloss
\bar{e}	gē	song	gē- \bar{e}	[gēē]	song-OBL
o	baso	Baso(name)	baso- \bar{e}	[basoē]	Baso-OBL
ō	gō	crocodile	gō- \bar{e}	[gōē]	crocodile-OBL
u	čuču	breast	čuču- \bar{e}	[čučuē]	breast-OBL

$gē-\bar{e}$ ‘song-OBL’, is also pronounced [gēyē].

The oblique suffix is $[-i]$ following consonant-final stems that have the vowel $[i]$ in the final syllable, shown in Table 3.66.

Table 3.66: Oblique Suffix $-i$ Consonant-Final Stem

stem	gloss	+OBL	phonetic	gloss
gušiṇ	house	gušiṇ-i	[gušiṇi]	house-OBL
šořiṇ	dog	šořiṇ-i	[šořiṇi]	dog-OBL
bonjil	earthquake	bonjil-i	[bonjili]	earthquake-OBL
nasib	Nasib (name)	nasib-i	[nasibi]	Nasib-OBL

The oblique suffix is $[-y]$ when attached to vowel-final stems ending in $[i, a, \bar{a}]$. These are shown in Table 3.67.

Table 3.67: Oblique Suffix -y Vowel-Final Stem

stem	gloss	+OBL	phonetic	gloss
māda	woman	māda-y	[māday]	woman-OBL
kelā	boy	kelā-y	[kelāy]	boy-OBL
gōṛā	horse	gōṛā-y	[gōṛāy]	horse-OBL
ādemi	man	ādemi-y	[ʔādemiy]	man-OBL
gōṛi	mare	gōṛi-y	[gōṛiy]	mare-OBL

3.7.5.2 Genitive Suffix

The genitive case suffix has two allomorphs, $[-st]$ and $[-ast]$. When attached to a vowel-final stem the genitive is pronounced as $[s]$, shown in Table 3.68. When attached to a consonant-final stem the genitive is pronounced as $[as]$, shown in Table 3.69.

Table 3.68: Genitive Suffix Consonant-Final Stem

stem	gloss	+GEN	phonetic	gloss
keṭālek	girl	keṭālek-ast	[keṭālekas]	girl's
xalam	pen	xalam-ast	[xalamas]	pen's
šoṛiṇ	dog	šoṛiṇ-ast	[šoṛiṇas]	dog's

Table 3.69: Genitive Suffix Vowel-Final Stem

stem	gloss	+GEN	phonetic	gloss
māda	woman	māda-st	[mādas]	woman's
ādemi	man	ādemi-st	[ʔādemis]	man's
kelā	boy-M	kelā-st	[kelās]	boy's

The final consonant $[t]$ of the genitive $[st]$ cluster is dropped in accordance with Pashai's word-final phonotactics. When a possessive suffix is attached to the genitive, the $[t]$ is pronounced, as shown in Table 3.70.

Table 3.70: Genitive + Possessive Suffix

stem	gloss	+GEN+PS1SG	phonetic	gloss
pāṛek	goat	pāṛek-ast-am	[pāṛekastam]	my goat's
sēb	apple	sēb-ast-am	[sēbastam]	my apple's
māda	woman	māda-st-am	[mādastam]	my woman's

3.7.5.3 Transitive Suffix

The transitivizing suffix is added to verb roots changing intransitive roots into transitive stems. Added to consonant-final stems the transitivizing suffix is -[al], shown in Table 3.71.

Table 3.71: Transitivizing Suffix Consonant-Final Stem

root	gloss	+TRZ	phonetic	gloss
pač-	ripen	pač-al-	[pačal]	cook
muč-	flee	muč-al-	[mučal]	chase away, steal
jut-	burn	jut-al-	[jutal]	light on fire

Added to vowel-final roots the transitivizing suffix is -[l], shown in Table 3.72.

Table 3.72: Transitivizing Suffix Vowel-Final Stem

root	gloss	+TRZ	phonetic	gloss
ni-	sit	ni-l-	[nil]	seat

3.7.5.4 Causative Suffix

The causative suffix can be added directly to verb roots or to stems affixed with the transitivizing suffix described above. The causative suffix has the form -[ave] when added to consonant-final stems, shown in Table 3.73.

Table 3.73: Causative Suffix Consonant-Final Stem

stem	gloss	+CS	phonetic	gloss
ǰop-	make	ǰop-ave-	[ǰopave]	cause to make
manǰ-al-	wear	manǰ-al-ave-	[manǰalave]	cause to wear
pač-al-	cook	pač-al-ave-	[pačalave]	cause to cook

The causative suffix has the form $[-ve]$ when added to vowel-final stems, shown in Table 3.74.

Table 3.74: Causative Suffix Vowel-Final Stem

stem	gloss	+CS	phonetic	gloss
ka-	do	ka-ve	[kave]	cause to do
ǰa-	put	ǰa-ve	[ǰave]	cause to put

3.7.5.5 Stative Participle

The stative participle is formed by attaching the stative participle suffix to a verb stem. The stative participle is adjectival with masculine singular forms ending in $[-\bar{a}]$ and default (feminine/plural) forms ending in $[-i]$. The stative participle suffix has two allomorphs depending on whether it is attached to consonant-final or vowel-final stems. Attached to a consonant-final stem, shown in Table 3.75, the suffix is $[-av\bar{a}]$ ‘masculine singular’ and $[-evi]$ ‘default’. Before the vowel $[\bar{a}]$ the $/v/$ in the stative participle suffix is pronounced $[w]$; before the vowel $[i]$ the $/v/$ in the stative participle suffix is pronounced $[v]$. This alternation is discussed in section 3.3.8.

Table 3.75: Stative Participle Consonant-Final Stems

stem	gloss	+STV.PCP	phonetic	gloss
tap-	heat	tap-eui	[tapeui]	heated.FP
dam-	serve	dam-eui	[dameui]	served.FP
šār-	move	šār-auā	[šārawā]	moving.M
šār-	move	šār-eui	[šāreui]	moving.FP
tost-	stand	tost-auā	[tostawā]	standing.M
tost-	stand	tost-eui	[tostevi]	standing.FP
unǰ-	wash	unǰ-auā	[ʔunǰawā]	washed.M
unǰ-	wash	unǰ-eui	[ʔunǰevi]	washed.FP

The initial vowel of the suffix $[-awā]$ is pronounced [o] when it follows a stem that ends in a bilabial, such as [b] and [m], shown in Table 3.76.

Table 3.76: Stative Participle Suffix Vowel Following [m], [p]

stem	gloss	+STV.PCP	phonetic	gloss
tap-	heat	tap-auā	[tapowā]	heated.M
dam-	serve	dam-auā	[damowā]	served.M

The stative participle suffix is $[-wā]$ ‘masculine singular’, and $[-vi]$ ‘default’ when attached to vowel-final stems, shown in Table 3.77.

Table 3.77: Stative Participle Vowel-Final Stems

stem	gloss	+STV.PCP	phonetic	gloss
ǰe-	put	ǰe-uā	[ǰewā]	placed.M
ǰe-	put	ǰe-vi	[ǰevi]	placed.FP
ka-	do	ka-uā	[kawā]	done.M
ka-	do	ka-vi	[kavi]	done.FP
e-	eat	e-uā	[ʔewā]	eaten.M
e-	eat	e-vi	[ʔevi]	eaten.FP

3.7.5.6 Imperfective Participle

The imperfective participle is formed by attaching the imperfective participle suffix to a verb stem. Like the stative participle, the imperfective participle is adjectival, with the masculine

singular form ending in $[-\bar{a}]$, and the default (feminine/plural) form ending in $[-i]$. Added to consonant-final verb stems the form of the suffix is $[-ak\bar{a}\bar{l}\bar{a}]$ ‘masculine singular’, and $[-ak\bar{a}li]$ ‘default’. Table 3.78 shows the imperfective participle suffix added to consonant-final stems.

Table 3.78: Imperfective Participle Consonant-Final Stem

stem	gloss	+IPV.PCP	phonetic	gloss
manĵ-	wear	manĵ-akāl-i	[manĵakāli]	wearing-FP
moṇ-	break	moṇ-akāl-ā	[moṇakālā]	breaking-M
unĵ-	wash	unĵ-akāl-ā	[unĵakālā]	washing-M

Added to vowel-final stems the imperfective participle suffix is $[-k\bar{a}\bar{l}\bar{a}]$ ‘masculine singular’, and $[-k\bar{a}li]$ ‘default’. Table 3.79 shows the imperfective participle suffix added to vowel-final stems.

Table 3.79: Imperfective Participle Vowel-Final Stem

stem	gloss	+IPV.PCP	phonetic	gloss
e-	eat	e-kāl-ā	[ekālā]	eating-M
pe-	drink	pe-kāl-ā	[pekālā]	drinking-M
je-	put	je-kāl-i	[jekāl-i]	putting-FP

3.7.5.7 Reciprocal Participle

The reciprocal participle forms adjectives and nouns that describe mutual and reciprocal events and activities. It is formed by adding a suffix to a verb stem. For consonant-final verb stems the form of the suffix is $[-ač\bar{a}l]$, shown in Table 3.80.

Table 3.80: Reciprocal Participle Consonant-Final Stem

stem	gloss	+REC.PCP	phonetic	gloss
pin-	know	pin-ačāl	[pinačāl]	knowing each other
mār-	kill	mār-ačāl	[māračāl]	killing each other
tār-	look at	tār-ačāl	[tāračāl]	looking at each other

For vowel-final stems the suffix $[-č\bar{a}l]$ is added to verb stems, shown in Table 3.81.

Table 3.81: Reciprocal Participle Vowel-Final Stem

stem	gloss	+REC.PCP	phonetic	gloss
de-	give	de-čāl	[dečāl]	mutual giving
i-	come	i-čāl	[ičāl]	mutual coming
pa-	go	pa-čāl	[pačāl]	mutual going

3.7.6 Vowel Copying

The negative prefix (NEG) consists of the nasal [n]+ a vowel, /n+V/. This prefix is attached to verbs in a negative statement or question. Vowel copying is responsible for the variation in the vowel of the prefix. The vowel of the prefix is identical to the initial vowel of the verb stem. Table 3.82 shows this process with consonant-initial stems.

Table 3.82: Negative Prefix Consonant-Initial Stem

stem	gloss	+NEG	phonetic	gloss
pa-	go	nV-pa-	[napa]	NEG-go
pin-	know	nV-pin-	[nipin]	NEG-know
mul-	know	nV-mul-	[numul]	NEG-understand
nē-	emerge	nV-nē-	[nenē]	NEG-sit
gor-	take	nV-gor-	[nogor]	NEG-take

Table 3.83 shows vowel-initial stems with the NEG prefix. There is variation in pronunciation; sometimes speakers merge the two vowels, sometimes they are pronounced in sequence.

Table 3.83: Negative Prefix Vowel-Initial Stem

stem	gloss	+NEG	phonetic	gloss
unǰ-	wash	nV-unǰ-	[nuunǰ]	NEG-wash
i-	come	nV-i-	[nii]	NEG-come
e-	eat	nV-e	[nee]	NEG-eat

3.7.7 Adjacent Vowels

Vowels occurring in adjacent position undergo assimilative or dissimilative processes. Some examples and processes are provided here.

3.7.7.1 Identical Vowels

Identical vowels merge across morpheme boundaries, such as with clitics, case endings and in verbal morphology. This is illustrated most clearly with long /ā/ and short /a/. When like vowels occur in adjacent position, they merge, or reduce.

Table 3.84: Identical Vowels Across Morpheme Boundaries

morpheme	gloss	morpheme	gloss	+morpheme	phonetic
māda	woman	=ante	for	māda=ante	[mādante]
bara	sheep	=ante	for	bara=ante	[barante]
gē	song	-ē	OBL	[gē]	

This process was observed across word boundaries as well, shown in example 3.2.

(3.2) a. [nāmem menāsap]

nām-em men-ā āsap
 name-PS1SG 1SG.OBL-M Asap
 ‘My name is Asap’

b. [yoṭē bik]

yo oṭ-ē b-i-k
 DEM up-OBL be-PXPF-M
 ‘He arose’

3.7.7.2 Glide Insertion

When vowels are not identical the glide [y] is inserted between them, shown in Table 3.85.

Table 3.85: Glide [y] Insertion

stem	gloss	morpheme	gloss	+morpheme	phonetic
gā	cow	=ante	for	gā=ante	[gayante]
kučā	street	-a	LOC	kučā-a	[kučāya]
čā	well	-a	LOC	čā-a	[čāya]
gē	song	-am	PS1SG	gē-am	[gēyam]
gō	crocodile	-am	PS1SG	gō-am	[gōyam]

The lack of glide insertion in the examples in Table 3.86 is surprising. As shown in Table 3.85, some of these same words get glide insertion before [a]-initial possessive suffix. This difference may be due to a difference in the type of suffix, e.g., a clitic as opposed to inflection. It may be due to an underlying feature of the suffix; possessive suffix *-/am/* may have an underlying glide.

Table 3.86: No Glide Insertion

stem	gloss	morpheme	gloss	+morpheme	phonetic
šeru	mother-in-law	=ante	for	šeru=ante	[šeruante]
gē	song	=ante	for	gē=ante	[gēante]
gō	crocodile	=ante	for	gō=ante	[gōante]

3.8 Areal Features

The consonants of Pashai are similar to those found in the adjacent contact languages Dari and Pashto while sharing some features with other Dardic languages. Similar to Pashto, Pashai lacks /f/, /q/, /h/ as native phonemes. Unlike Pashto and Dari, there is a strong restriction in Pashai against most types of consonant clusters.

Like other Indo-Aryan languages Pashai has retroflex consonants. Unlike other Dardic and Indo-Aryan languages, Pashai has a small inventory of affricates and no affricate retroflex

contrasts. Additionally, Pashai has no aspirated consonants and no aspiration contrast.⁸ The lateral fricative /ɬ/ is not found in any of the adjacent languages, neither is it found in all dialects of Pashai. /ɬ/ is found in Dir Kohistani and Gowarabati, described in Bashir (2003).⁹

The vowel system of Pashai is quite similar to the Dari (Kabuli) eight vowel system with pairs of long and short vowels (Miller, 2013). Length opposition is present with some of the vowels in the inventory of Northeastern Pashto (Elfenbein, 1997). Length opposition is also present in the regional Dardic languages.

3.9 Loanword Phonology

Pashai is infused with loanwords from Dari, Persian, Pashto, Urdu, and English. Many Pashai speakers are multilingual with some if not all of these languages. As a result there is a great deal of cross-linguistic mixing of lexical items and phonological processes. For example, some speakers use Arabic phonemes to pronounce religious terms or even words they know are of Arabic origin. The word ‘Koran’ pronounced [qorʔan] by such a speaker would be pronounced [xorān] by another, less educated one. A complicating aspect of my data collection is the fact that I conducted many interviews through the intermediary language of Dari. I suspect that speakers alternated their pronunciation of words in Pashai with Dari pronunciation as they code switched. I observed some speakers hyper-correcting when speaking to me, such as replacing the sound [p] with [f] since [f] in loanwords is normally replaced with [p]. For example a child speaking to me used [fanč] for /panj/ ‘five’. Therefore, addressing the question of how loanwords are nativized requires knowledge of the sociolinguistic context of the speaker. Some of these issues were addressed in Chapter 2. Increased status associated with education complicates these factors, encouraging educated speakers to maintain the phonetics of the source language not found in Pashai. The result is a mix

8. Morgenstierne includes some aspirated consonants in his vocabulary, including *jh-*, *kh-* *ph-* *th-* *dh-*, *ḍh* and *čh-*. These were mostly found in the Northeastern dialect. He did not record initial aspiration in Southeastern Pashai.

9. Historically /ɬ/ comes from /tr/, which is retained in other dialects of Pashai.

of phonologies, in the sense of Masica’s ‘coexistent phonological subsystems’ (1991:91).

The text presented in Appendix B illustrates the nativization and use of loanwords by a non-literate young male speaker, who is multilingual with Dari, Pashto, and Urdu. He alternates between using the Dari phoneme [f] and native [p] and the Persian/Arabic phoneme [q] and native [x].

A more conservative sample is found in the nativization of loanwords in women’s language. As has been mentioned, women, children and the elderly form a category of speakers for whom there is less ‘foreign’ influence in their spoken language. This description of loanword phonology is based on the language of those more conservative speakers. Beyond the scope of this dissertation, the socio-phonetics of speakers representing different registers is an area for interesting additional research.

The nativizing processes discussed here are substitution, and cluster simplification through consonant deletion or vowel insertion.

3.9.1 Nativization

The nativization processes discussed in this section are the replacement of non-native consonants [q], [f], and [h]. The sounds [f] and [q] are not native to Pashai, but are found in its close contact language Dari. Non-native [f] and [q] are mapped onto Pashai /p/ and /x/ respectively. Table 3.87 shows the mapping of [f] onto /p/ in word-initial, word-internal, and word-final position.

Table 3.87: Nativization f > p

origin	initial	gloss	origin	internal	gloss	origin	final	gloss
fil	pil	elephant	daftar	dap t ar	office	senf	senep p	class
feker	p eker	thought	afta	a p ta	week	taf	ta p	heat
farš	p araš	rug	sāfi	sā p i	Safi tribe	qolf	xolop p	lock
			xafa	xa p a	sad	zaif	za i p	weak
						taklif	tak l ip	burden

Table 3.88 shows the substitution of /x/ for [q] in loanwords. Since the source language, Dari lacks [q] in intervocalic position this is not included in the table. My examples are all word-initial.

Table 3.88: Nativization q > x		
origin	stem	gloss
qaum	xaum	clan
qalam	xalam	pen
qāla	xāla	fortified living compound
qolf	xolop	lock

The process that maps [qolf] onto [xolop] involves cluster simplification and epenthesis, discussed below.

3.9.2 Cluster Simplification

Pashai's strong restriction against consonant clusters in onset or coda position was described in section 3.7.1. Clusters in foreign words that violate that constraint are resolved in one of two ways in Pashai, either by the insertion of an epenthetic vowel between the initial or final consonants, described in section 3.9.2.1 or by consonant reduction, described in section 3.9.2.2.

3.9.2.1 Epenthesis

Two types of vowel insertion are used to nativize loanwords in Pashai. Epenthetic vowels are used to break up word-final consonant cluster. Prothetic vowels are used to break-up word-initial clusters.

Word-Final Consonant Cluster The epenthetic vowel used to simplify a word-final consonant cluster is underspecified; its shape is determined by the environment. Table 3.89 shows loanwords nativized through vowel-insertion in word-final consonant clusters.

Table 3.89: Epenthesis				
cluster type	cluster	loanword	gloss	origin
rhotic+nasal	rm	naram	soft	narm
		šaram	shame	šarm
rhotic+stop	rn	xaran	century	qarn
	rk	čerek	dirty	čerk
	rg	marek	death	marg
rhotic+fricative	rz	xaras	debt	qarz
		paraš	rug	farš
rhotic+affricate	rč	moreč	pepper	morč
liquid+stop	lq	xalek	people	xalq
liquid+fricative	lf	xolop	lock	qolf
nasal+fricative	nf	senep	class	senf
stop+rhotic	kr	peker	thought	fekr
		xabar	grave	qabr
stop+fricative	ks	akas	picture	aks
		bakas	box	baks

The epenthetic vowels appears to be the same as the original vowel in the word. This is not true in every case. Vowels that should be [a] are raised to [e] before palatals and velars, such as with [moreč] ‘pepper’ and [xalek] ‘people’. This may be due to a process in Pashai where /a/ raises to /e/ before /k/. Many nouns end in *-/ek/*, a common feminine singular ending, while there are no words that end in [ak]. Loanwords that end in [ek] are easily assimilated to other nouns ending in *-/ek/*. For example, */xalek/* ‘people’ takes the feminine vowel-alternation plural so prevalent in Pashai, */xalik/* ‘peoples’. Table 3.90 shows examples of loanwords with original word-final [ak] that are pronounced [ek] in Pashai.

Table 3.90: Vowel Raising		
origin	Pashai	gloss
sarak	[sarek]	street
palak	[palek]	spinach
namak	[namek]	salt
zardak	[zardek]	carrot

I noticed some instances where these words lost the epenthetic vowel when the consonant

cluster was resyllabified with the addition of a suffix. For example, /senep/ ‘class’ is pronounced [senpa] ‘class.LOC’ with the addition of the locative case suffix -a; /peker/ ‘thought’ is pronounced [pekram] ‘my thought’ with the addition of the possessive suffix -am. The same is true for native words such as /vareg/ ‘water’ pronounced [varga] ‘water.LOC’ with the addition of the locative case suffix, and /oreč/ ‘sleep’ pronounced [orčay] ‘sleep.ABL’ with the addition of the ablative case suffix -ai.

The precise trajectory and immediate source of these loanwords is not easy to determine since many of these words are used across these languages. Many of the words are loans into the source language from Arabic, which is the case for most of the examples in Table 3.89. The words in this list are all used in Dari , and many in Pashto.

Word-Initial Consonant Cluster Loanwords with initial consonant clusters are resolved by prothesis, inserting a vowel in front of fricative-stop clusters. In Pashai the prothetic vowel is [e]. This process is shown in Table 3.93.

Table 3.91: Prothesis		
loanword	gloss	source language
eskeleṭ	skeleton	English
eskul	school	English
ezmare	lion	Pashto
eṣṭāṭ	start	English

3.9.2.2 Consonant Deletion

Consonant clusters in loanwords are also simplified by consonant deletion. Consonant deletion applies to word-final and word-internal clusters.

Word-Final Deletion Loanwords with word-final obstruent + stop consonant clusters undergo consonant deletion, shown in Table 3.92.

Table 3.92: Word-Final Consonant Deletion

loanword	gloss	origin
das	hand	dast
sax	hard	saxt
vax	time	vaqt

3.9.2.3 Word-Internal Simplification

For words with unallowable sequences word-internally, one of the strategies is to delete the second consonant. Examples with [zd] sequences in loan words are simplified through deletion of the stop, as shown in Table 3.93.

Table 3.93: Word-Internal Cluster Simplification

loanword	gloss	origin
muzur	laborer	muzdur
nazik	near	nazdik

The name of the country ‘Afghanistan’ is pronounced by Pashai speakers with simplification of the internal /st/ cluster, [auyānesan]. The simplification of /st/ cluster is found in native phonology as well, as described in section 3.7.1.

Word-Internal Cluster Changes Loanwords are nativized by changing the foreign internal cluster to a native cluster. Older speakers, over 70 years old, used to use the word [martab] to refer to *maktab*, ‘school’. They replaced the unfamiliar [kt] cluster with a native /rt/ cluster. Nowadays everyone pronounces the word [maktab]. Similarly, older speakers would refer to /ɖakɕar/ ‘doctor’ as [ɖaɳɕar], replacing [kt] with a native /ɳɕ/ cluster. Most people now say [ɖakɕar], although I have heard women say [ɖaɳɕar].

/b/ Insertion Dari words such as /amluk/ ‘persimmon’ and /amrut/ ‘guava’ are nativized in Pashai by inserting [b] following the nasal and adding an epenthetic vowel. Thus yielding [ambuluk] and [amburut], respectively. Although there is no offending internal cluster in

loans /lemu/ lemon or /komak/ ‘help’, they are nativized by adding a [b], as in [lembu] and [kombak].

The expression *bombārek* ‘congratulations’ is likely derived through a process of metathesis, [b] insertion and vowel raising. /mubārak/ ‘blessings’ > /bumārak/ > /bumbārek/.¹⁰ According to Pashai folk etymology the expression *bombārek* is composed of *bō* ‘many’ + *mubārek* ‘many congratulations’.

Nasal Insertion Some loan words have a nasal inserted in the nativization process in Pashai. Some examples are given in Table 3.94.

Table 3.94: Nasal Insertion			
stem	gloss	origin	source
manĵles	assembly	majĵles	Persian, Arabic
mangas	fly	magas	Persian
kunza	pitcher	kuza	Persian

English Alveolar Stops > Retroflex Stops Words such as [moṭar] ‘motor’ and [ḍakṭar] ‘doctor’ that originate in English are borrowed into Pashai with retroflex stops replacing English alveolar ones. These words probably find their way into Pashai through Urdu or Pashto, languages with the dental – retroflex stop distinction. This is a well-attested phenomenon in many languages of the Indian subcontinent. Arsenault (2006) points out that the phonological feature [apical] that distinguishes retroflex, dental, and alveolar stops, is phonologically salient for Telegu speakers, while other features associated with dentals are underspecified. Telegu speakers relate the acoustic cues associated with apicality to English alveolars, thus mapping retroflex segments to English alveolars.

Further investigation of Pashai could examine whether there is language-internal evidence for the status of apicality.

10. Elena Bashir suggested this explanation for the almost identical word *bumbaraki* found in Khowar and for *bumbarak* with stressed /a/ in the final syllable for Kalasha, ‘congratulations’ p. c.

Additional Changes Pashai speakers replace [n] with [l] in loanwords such as [lambar] for ‘number’, [lot] for ‘note’, and [maṇṭa] for ‘malta’ (orange).

3.10 Conclusions

In this chapter I have presented the consonant and vowel phonemes of Pashai. I have shown the distribution of these segments in all word positions demonstrating the absence of voiced consonants in word-final position. I have discussed the syllable templates and types for Pashai, showing minimal and maximal words. The issues of residual tone and the lack of phonemic stress were raised. I have provided a description of allowable clusters in word-internal configurations and have shown the way Pashai resolves unacceptable clusters in native and nativized words. Processes of vowel insertion, vowel shortening, vowel lengthening and assimilation were shown to operate in Pashai. I have provided a description of the nativization process for loanwords in the context of speakers of several registers and languages.

Chapter 4

Nominal Morphology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines derivational and inflectional processes of word formation in the nominal system of Pashai. Noun formation, including compounding and derivational processes are examined in section 4.2. Inflectional processes include case morphology, possessive suffixes, and gender and number inflection, are described in 4.3. Section 4.4 looks at adjectives and adverbs. Gender and number marking for adjectives and the use of quantifiers are examined. In section 4.5 I discuss pronouns and demonstratives used pronominally, bound forms of pronominals, and the reflexive form. Section 4.6 is a description of the morpho-semantics of deictic terms. Section 4.7 provides a conclusion.

4.2 Word Formation

4.2.1 Introduction

Pashai nouns are created through a limited number of morphological processes, namely compounding, derivation, and participle formation. Compounding and derivation are discussed in this chapter. Participle formation, creating adjectival and adverbial forms which can be

further substantivized, is discussed in Chapter 5.

4.2.2 Compounding

Pashai compound nouns are formed by joining two lexical items which can be nouns, adjectives or verb forms. Table 4.1 shows some compounds and their sources. Compounding is not a productive or innovative process in Pashai. The overall number of compounds of this sort encountered was limited.

Table 4.1: Compounds		
type	source	gloss
N+N	bēn + meček	honeybee
	‘honey’ ‘fly’	
	raŋ + vėl	henna night (pre-wedding ritual)
	‘color’ ‘night’	
N+N	āi + tātā	parents
	‘mother’ ‘father’	
N+Adj	āṇā + šelēk	egg white
	‘egg’ ‘white’	
N+V	soṛ + aleč	sunrise
	‘sun’ ‘ascended’	
N+V	soṛ + niŋ	sunset
	‘sun’ ‘descend’	

4.2.3 Derivation

In this section I discuss mostly productive processes, and the most prevalent suffixes of nominal derivation. The suffixes *-vālā* and *-vāl* create nouns and names; the suffix *-ek* forms feminine and diminutive, and the suffixes *-oṛiki* and *-oṛokā* are used for diminution.

4.2.3.1 *-vālā*

The suffix *-vālā*, ubiquitous in South Asia, is found in Pashai as well. It can be added to nouns, postpositions, and modifiers to create adjectives that are subsequently used as nouns

having the qualities, or an association with the word to which it is affixed. For example, the term *gušij-vālā* (‘house’ + *vālā*) means ‘household’ or ‘family’. Examples of Noun+*-vālā* are shown in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Noun+ <i>vālā</i>			
stem	gloss	+ <i>vālā</i>	gloss
tānek	self	tānek- <i>vālā</i>	family
nāṭ	dance	nāṭ- <i>vālā</i>	dancing man
šēr	poem	šēr- <i>vālā</i>	poem-reciting, writing man

Adjective + *vālā* When *-vālā* is affixed to an adjective it results in a noun or adjective meaning ‘having the quality of X’, shown in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Adjective + <i>vālā</i>			
stem	gloss	+ <i>vālā</i>	gloss
boṛēn	old	boṛēn- <i>vālā</i>	old man
lega	tall	lega- <i>vālā</i>	tall man
ambala	running	ambala- <i>vālā</i>	running man
šāmek	black	šāmek- <i>vālā</i>	dark-skinned man
ravan	fast	ravan- <i>vālā</i>	quick-witted man
čālek	clever	čālek- <i>vālā</i>	clever man

Postposition + *vālā* Postpositions originating in grammaticized locative case-marked nouns can take *-vālā*, shown in Table 4.4. These forms function as adverbs, as illustrated with examples in (4.1).

Table 4.4: Postposition + <i>vālā</i>			
stem	gloss	+ <i>vālā</i>	gloss
kuč-a	belly-LOC	kuča- <i>vālā</i>	interior
kan-a	outside-LOC	kana- <i>vālā</i>	exterior
len-a	below-LOC	lena- <i>vālā</i>	underneath
oṭ-ē	above-OBL	oṭē- <i>vālā</i>	above
akoṛ-a	down-LOC	akoṛa- <i>vālā</i>	below

- (4.1) a. kuč-a-vālā vazir
belly-LOC-vālā minister
‘Minister of the Interior’
- b. kan-a-vālā vazir
outside-LOC-vālā minister
‘Foreign Minister’
- c. len-a-vālā amsaya
below-LOC-vālā neighbor
‘downstairs neighbor’

Attaching *-vālā* to a postpositional phrase, as in example (4.2), while not ungrammatical, was not as natural a construction to the speaker.

- (4.2) mez-ē šēr-a-vālā ketāb āč-a
table.F-OBL head.M-OBL-vālā book.M bring-IMP
‘?? Bring me the book on the table’ E

However (4.3), in which *vālā* is suffixed to a noun phrase, is fine.

- (4.3) šāmek vasket-vālā kel-ā
black vest-vālā boy-M
‘boy with the black vest’ E

Location + *vālā* Another type of association is a locational relation, where a noun is affixed with *vālā*, as shown in Table 4.5. In the table a noun is affixed with *vālā*; the nature of the association is made clear by the context as seen in the examples in (4.4).

Table 4.5: Location + *vālā*

stem	gloss	+ vālā	gloss
mēz	table	mēz-vālā	on the table
kāṭ	cot	kāṭ-vālā	on the cot
sārek	street	sārek-vālā	in the street
āmla	Amla	āmla-vālā	to Amla
ašpāz-xāna	kitchen	ašpāz-xāna-vālā	in the kitchen

- (4.4) a. mēz-vālā ketāb
table.F-vālā book.M
‘book on the table’
- b. ašpāz-xāna-vālā mēz
cook-house-vālā table.F
‘table in the kitchen’
- c. āmla-vālā teksī
Amla-vālā taxi
‘taxi going to Amla’

Example (4.4c) is a good example of another common use of the suffix *-vālā*, that of professional association. The term *āmla-vālā* is used specifically for drivers taking fares to Amla. It is used the same way for other city locations.

Professional + *vālā* This relational meaning has come to denote a professional quality, as in the examples in Table 4.6:

Table 4.6: *+vālā* Professional Quality

stem	gloss	+ <i>vālā</i>	gloss
čāi	tea	čāi-vālā	tea bearer
kampuṭar	computer	kampuṭar-vālā	techie
moṭor	car	moṭor-vālā	driver
golāiṇ	bull	golāiṇ-vālā	cowherd

Gender is marked by the final vowel of the suffix. Final *-ā* marks masculine singular; final *-i* marks feminine/plural, the default marker. For example, *kampuṭar-vāli* is a female techie, *golāiṇ-vāli* is a female cowherd. Gender-marking suffixes are described in section 4.3.10.

4.2.3.2 *-vāl*

Pashai uses the suffix *-vāl* for titles and surnames. This suffix, which originates in Pashto, is attached to nouns meaning ‘in association with’.

When added to a toponym the suffix *-vāl* creates a toponymic surname. Individuals either chose to use these as surnames or may be known to others by these titles. For example, the village name Amla + *-vāl* becomes *āmlavāl*, chosen as a surname by some and used as a general designation by others. The suffix *-vāl* attached to a common noun creates a surname or title with the quality of that noun. For example, *gōṛ-ā* ‘horse-M’ + *-vāl* indicates someone who owns a lot of horses. This is different from the *-vālā* suffix which when attached to *gōṛ-ā* ‘horse-M’ means ‘horse-herd’.

Similarly, *āmlavāl* ‘surname for someone from Amla’ is different from *āmla-vālā*, which is used to refer to taxi drivers running the route between Amla and Jalalabad. I did not encounter adjectives used with the suffix *-vāl*.

4.2.4 Diminutive Formation

The association of feminine endings with diminution is well attested in languages of the region. In this section I describe the use of *-ek* and related suffixes to derive diminutive forms of nouns, some of which already end in *-ek*. A detailed description of gender-marked nouns is provided in section 4.3.10.

A diminutive noun is derived by adding the suffix *-oriki* (feminine) or *-orokā* (masculine) to a noun stem as illustrated in Table 4.7. As the examples in Table 4.7 show, the diminutive suffix can be applied to animate and inanimate nouns.

Table 4.7: Diminutive Suffix Consonant-Final Stem

stem	gloss	diminutive	gloss
parān-ek	shirt-F	parānekoṛiki	female child shirt
bostoṛ	lips	bostoṛoṛiki	little lips
sai	sister	sayeriki	little sister
keṭāl-ek	girl-F	keṭālekoṛiki	little girl
kalavānt-ik	cheek-PL	kalavāntikoṛiki	little cheeks
peṛ-ek	palm-F	peṛekoṛiki	little palm
ḷjob	tongue	ḷjoroṛiki	little tongue
čiltek	baby clothes	čiltekoṛiki	little female clothes
čiltek	baby clothes	čiltekoṛokā	little male clothes
buṭ	shoe	buṭoṛiki	little shoe

The diminutive of *sai* ‘sister’ has [e] instead of [o] as the suffix-initial vowel. When added to a vowel-final stem the suffix-initial vowel is dropped, shown in Table 4.8

Table 4.8: Diminutive Suffix Vowel-Final Stem

stem	gloss	diminutive	gloss
pakā	scarf/shawl	pakāṛiki	little female scarf
pakā	scarf/shawl	pakāṛokā	little male scarf
le	brother	leṛokā	little brother
pačoṛ-ā	foot-M	pačoṛokā	little boy’s foot
pačoṛ-ā	foot-M	pačoṛiki	little girl’s foot

The diminutive suffix is not completely productive, for example, it cannot be added to *ādemi* ‘man’ **ādemi-ṛokā* ‘little man’, or *undāṛ-ek* ‘cat-F’ **undāṛ-ek-oṛiki*.

With the masculine and feminine versions of *pakā* ‘shawl’ and *parānek* ‘shirt/dress’ the gender assignment shifts from an animate human to something associated with it. In some

instances the masculine marked ending refers to a larger version, while the feminine marked ending refers to a smaller version, such as with *pakaṛ-ā* ‘shawl for a man’ and *pakaṛ-ek* ‘shawl for a female’.

The diminutive suffix *-ek* is also used for children and baby-related words. The word *čilā* ‘clothing’ is used as a plural mass noun. The word *čiltek* refers to ‘children’s clothing’. The word can be further diminutivized with the addition of the endings *-ṛiki* (feminine) / *-ṛokā* (masculine) as in *čiltek-oṛiki* ‘little girl clothes’, *čiltek-oṛokā*, ‘little boy clothes’.

Other diminutives are formed with variations of this suffix. For example *kāṭ* ‘bed’ *kaṭolek* ‘child’s bed’; *vār* ‘rock’ *vaṛonṭek* ‘pebble’.

4.3 Inflectional Morphology

4.3.1 Introduction

The Pashai noun is made up of a noun stem and optionally, gender, number, case, and possessive suffixes (PS). A noun can occur as an uninflected stem+gender suffix (4.5a), stem+plural suffix (4.5b), with a case ending (4.5c), with a possessive suffix (4.5d), and with both a case ending and pronominal suffix (4.5e). Case endings always precede pronominal suffixes.

- (4.5) a. keṭāl-ek
 ‘girl-F’
 b. keṭāl-ik
 ‘girl-PL’
 c. keṭāl-ek-as(t)
 girl-F-GEN
 ‘girl’s’
 d. keṭāl-ek-am

- girl-F-PS1SG
 ‘my girl’
 e. keṭāl-ek-ast-am
 girl-F-GEN-PS1SG
 ‘my girl’s’

4.3.2 Case Morphology

This section looks at the morphology of the five cases in Pashai, shown in Table (4.10) below. Pashai displays a split ergative case marking system. According to this pattern, part of the agreement system is ergative and part of the system is nominative. According to the ergative pattern subjects of intransitive verbs and objects of transitive verbs receive the same case assignment; transitive subjects receive another case assignment. In accordance with the nominative pattern transitive and intransitive subjects receive the same case; specified objects receive another. For many of the regional languages as well as other Indo-Aryan languages, the split in the case marking system is tense-aspect driven. For Pashai this split is between perfective and non perfective aspect.

The basic case opposition is between the direct case, which has no morphology, and the oblique case, which has several allomorphs. The direct (zero) case is used for all subjects and generic objects in non-perfective forms. In the perfective forms direct case is used for intransitive subjects and for objects. The oblique case marks objects in non-perfective forms and transitive subjects in perfective forms. The restricted terminology of direct/oblique suits the split ergative case marking pattern of Pashai better than the term ‘nominative’. Ergativity in Pashai is discussed more in section 7.2.2.

The opposition between direct and oblique case is shown in Table 4.9. Specified and unspecified objects are differentially marked. Generic objects are never marked; specified objects are marked with the oblique case in non-perfective tenses. The abbreviation OBJ SP stands for ‘specified object’, OBJ GEN stands for ‘generic object’.

Table 4.9: Direct – Oblique Case Opposition

form	SBJ TR	SBJ INTR	OBJ SP	OBJ GEN
PRF	OBL	DIR	DIR	DIR
non-PRF	DIR	DIR	OBL	DIR

The morphophonological processes determining the form of the case suffixes are discussed with each case. Pashai has only one declension class; feminine and masculine nouns do not have different case endings. A vocative case *-a* is used for calling/ addressing animate entities, most often for names or kinship relations, as in *ai* ‘mother’ *ai-a* ‘mother!’ The Pashai cases are given in Table (4.10) with the noun *gušiŋ* ‘house’. While the oblique case has separate forms for both singular and plural, the locative, genitive, and ablative do not.

Table 4.10: Pashai Case Suffixes

Case	SG	PL	stem+case	gloss
direct (DIR)	-∅	-∅	gušiŋ	house.DIR
oblique(OBL)	-i/-ē/-y	-a	gušiŋ-i gušiŋ-a	house-OBL house-OBL.PL
locative(LOC)	-a	-a	gušiŋ-a	house-LOC
genitive(GEN)	-(a)s(t)		gušiŋ-(a)s(t)	house-GEN
ablative (ABL)	-ai	-ai	gušiŋ-ai	house-ABL

Morgenstierne (1973) identified the same cases, as well as an illative case which was not confirmed in my data.

4.3.2.1 Direct Case (DIR)

The direct case has zero morphology. Its function is described below.

The examples illustrate various uses of the direct case, such as in the subject of an intransitive verb in any tense as in (4.6); the subject of a non-perfective transitive verb in (4.7); a generic object of a non-perfective verb in (4.8) and the object of a transitive verb in the perfective aspect (4.9). Details of Pashai tense, aspect and agreement are discussed in

Chapter 6.¹

(4.6) Subject of an intransitive verb

- a. pari urč-ev-i as
Pari.F.DIR sleep-STV.PCP-FP be.AN.F.PRS.3
'Pari is asleep' S
- b. pari pin-a
Pari.F.DIR understand-3S
'Pari understands' S (PFS)²
- c. pari g-e-č
Pari.F.DIR leave-PXPF-FP
'Pari left' S
- d. a-lo ketāb men-ā š-i
PROX-location.DIR book.M.DIR 1SG.OBL-M be.INAN.PRS-3
'This book is mine' S

(4.7) Subject of non-perfective transitive verb

a. Past Imperfect

baso ašpār pač-al-aḡ-a ā-e-č
Baso.F.DIR rice.M cook-TRZ-PFS-3S be-PST-FP
'Baso was cooking rice' S

b. Present-Future Specific

pari telefon-ē moḡ-i
Pari.F.DIR telephone-OBL break-3O
'Pari is going to break the telephone' E (PFS)

c. Present-Future Non-Specific

nasib mam an-ad-im
Nasib.M.DIR 1SG beat-3S-1O

1. The following conventions are used to gloss subject and object-indexing pronominal suffixes in verb forms: Person is glossed with the numbers 1, 2, 3. Singular is not glossed; plural is glossed with P. Masculine is glossed with M, feminine with F. Object-indexing suffixes are glossed O; subject-indexing suffixes are glossed S. Third-person object-indexing suffixes in the Present-Future Non-Specific and the Present-Future Specific are the same for singular and plural, they are glossed 3O.

2. The form of verbs lacking tense markers are shown in parentheses on the translation line.

‘Nasib will beat me’ E (PFNS)

(4.8) Generic/non-specific object of non-perfective verb

a. Present-Future Specific

pari ketāb paṛ-a
Pari.F.DIR book.M.DIR read-3S

‘Pari is reading a book’ E (PFS)

b. Present-Future Non-Specific

mam ar davās lām-a au ē-am
I every day home-LOC bread.M.DIR eat-1S

‘I eat at home every day’ S (PFNS)

c. Past Imperfect

baso ašpār pač-al-aṣ-a ā-e-č
Baso.F.DIR rice.M.DIR cook-TRZ-PFS-3S be-PST-FP

‘Baso was cooking rice’ S

(4.9) Patient in perfective tense:

a. Indefinite inanimate

nasib-i pelek moṇ-e-č-an
Nasib.M-OBL cup.F.DIR break-PXPF-FP-3F.O

‘Nasib broke a cup’ E (intentionally or unintentionally)

b. Definite inanimate

nasib-i a-lo ketāb paṛ-ea-k-en
Nasib.M-OBL PROX-location book.M.DIR read-RMPF-M-3M.O

‘Nasib read this book’ E

c. Indefinite animate

nasib-i šorij an-e-k-en
Nasib.M-OBL dog.M.DIR beat-PXPF-M-3M.O

‘Nasib beat a dog’ E

d. Definite animate

nasib-i a-lo šorɨŋ an-e-k-en
Nasib.M-OBL PROX-location dog.M.DIR beat-PXPF-M-3M.O
‘Nasib beat this here dog’ E

4.3.2.2 Oblique Case (OBL)

The oblique case has two forms, singular and plural. The singular oblique case has three allomorphs *-i*, *-y*, and *-ē*. These allomorphs and the environments of their occurrence are shown in Tables 4.11-4.14.

The oblique singular suffix is *-i* following words that have the vowel [i] in the final syllable. This is shown in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11: Oblique Singular Suffix -i			
stem	gloss	stem+OBL	gloss
gušɨŋ	house	gušɨŋ-i	house-OBL
šorɨŋ	dog	šorɨŋ-i	dog-OBL
bonʃil	earthquake	bonʃil-i	earthquake-OBL
nasib	Nasib (name)	nasib-i	Nasib-OBL

The oblique singular suffix is *-y* when attached to vowel-final stems ending in [i],[a], or [ā]. These are shown in Table 4.12.

Table 4.12: Oblique Singular Suffix -y			
stem	gloss	stem+OBL	gloss
māda	woman	māda-y	woman-OBL
kel-ā	boy-M	kel-ā-y	boy-M-OBL
gōr-ā	horse-M	gōr-ā-y	horse-M-OBL
ādemi	man	ādemi-y	man-OBL
gōr-i	horse-F	gōr-i-y	horse-F-OBL

The oblique singular suffix is *-ē* when it is attached to words ending in [o, u, ē] , shown in Table 4.13.

Table 4.13: Oblique Singular Suffix -ē Vowel-Final Stem

stem	gloss	stem+OBL	gloss
gē	song	gē-ē	song-OBL
baso	Baso(name)	baso-ē	Baso-OBL
gō	crocodile	gō-ē	crocodile-OBL
čuču	breast	čuču-ē	breast-OBL

The oblique singular suffix is also -ē when the vowels [a, ā, e, u,] appear in the final syllable, shown in Table 4.14.

Table 4.14: Oblique Singular Suffix -ē Consonant-Final Stem

stem	gloss	stem+OBL	gloss
čapaṇ	slingshot	čapaṇ-ē	slingshot-OBL
ašpār	rice	ašpār-ē	rice-OBL
pakol	hat	pakol-ē	hat-OBL
ṭōč	flea	ṭōč-ē	flea-OBL
kuč	belly	kuč-ē	belly-OBL
matēx	frog	matēx-ē	frog-OBL
mālem	teacher	mālem-ē	teacher-OBL

The oblique singular ending is represented in the transcription by the three different allomorphs, depending on the environment.

Oblique Plural Suffix The oblique plural suffix -a occurs with nouns that lack plural morphology, as in ‘teacher’ in example (4.10).

- (4.10) mālem-a bālokul an-e-č-in
 teacher-OBL.PL children.PL beat-PXPF-FP-3P.O
 ‘The teachers beat the children’ E

It occurs with plural nouns, such as ‘children’ in example (4.11).

- (4.11) mālem bālokul-a an-i
 teacher children-OBL.PL beat-3O
 ‘The teacher is beating the children’ E (PFS)

Nouns with plural morphology, such as the plural ending *-ik* of feminine nouns ending in *-ek*, do not co-occur with the plural oblique ending, as illustrated in the ungrammatical form in (4.12).

- (4.12) *keṭāl-ik-a ašpār pač-al-e-k-en
 girl-PL-OBL.PL rice.M cook-TRZ-PXPF-M-3M.O
 ‘The girls cooked rice’ E

The plural suffix *-ān*, a Persian loan, can optionally co-occur with the oblique plural suffix *-a*, doubly marking the subject ‘teachers’:

- (4.13) ĵam mālem-(ān)-a darvāzā moṇ-e-k-en
 all teacher-(PL)-OBL.PL door.M break-PXPF-M-3M.O
 ‘All the teachers broke the door’ E

The plural suffixes *-ik* and *-ān* behave differently because *-ik* is a native morpheme, while *-ān* is an optional borrowed morpheme. The use of *-ān* may not be perceived as redundant to the Pashai speaker, whereas the use of *-ik* would be.

4.3.2.3 Oblique Case Function

The oblique case is used for subjects of transitive verbs in perfective tenses (4.14), for objects of certain postpositions in all tenses (4.15), and for specified direct objects in the non-perfective tenses (4.16) .

- (4.14) Subject of perfective transitive verbs
- a. nasib-i xāt lik-e-č-an
 nasib.M-OBL letter.F write-PXPF-FP-3F.O
 ‘Nasib wrote a letter’ S
- b. mālem-a bālokul an-eč-in
 teacher-OBL.PL children.PL beat-PXPF-FP-3P.O
 ‘The teachers beat the children’ E

- (4.15) Object of postposition

- a. *nasib-i čapaŋ-ē=de čaŋčoŋ-ek an-eč-an*
 Nasib.M-OBL slingshot-OBL=from bird-F beat-PXPF-FP-3F.O
 ‘Nasib hit the bird with a slingshot’ S
- b. *sai-ast-am ketāb-e mēz-ē=šēr-a š-i*
 sister-GEN-PS1SG book.M-PS3 table.F-OBL=head-LOC be.INAN.PRS-3
 ‘My sister’s book is on the table’ E

(4.16) Specified direct object in non-perfective forms

- a. *a-mi ketāb-ē gor-i-k-am*
 PROX-DEM.SG.DIR book.M-OBL take-3O-PFS-1S
 ‘I am taking this book’ S
- b. *mālem bālokul-a an-i*
 teacher children-OBL.PL beat-3O
 ‘The teacher is beating the students’ E (PFS)

Oblique case also marks animate indirect objects in a limited number of verbs in non-perfective tenses. In the examples below the BENEFACTIVE is marked with oblique; the direct object is not marked. This is illustrated with the verb *de-* ‘give’ and *laŋ-* ‘show’.³

(4.17) Oblique marking of animate indirect objects

- a. *mam gā-y gāns de-i-k-am*
 I cow.F-OBL grass.M give-3O-PFS-1S
 ‘I am feeding the cow grass’ S
- b. *se mašum-ē au enaŋ de-ad-i*
 DEM.SG.DIR child-OBL bread.M later give-3S-3O
 ‘S/he will feed the child later’ S (PFNS)
- c. *mam ketāb-ast-am nasib-i laŋ-ev-am-i*
 1SG book.M-GEN-PS1S Nasib.M-OBL visible-CS-1S-3O
 ‘I will show Nasib my book’ S (PFNS)

The Oblique case is used, regardless of tense, in the following local relations (4.18) and stationary locations (4.19).

3. The agreement of certain verbs with animate indirect objects or BENEFACTIVES is discussed further in Chapter 7.

(4.18) Local relations

- a. kābol-ē kodan pa-y-ē
Kabul-OBL when go-PFS-2S
‘When are you going to Kabul?’ S
- b. ye ke pa-aman bāzar-ē
come.IMP COMP go-1.PL.INCL market-OBL
‘Come let’s go to the market’ S (PFNS)

In the following example two nominals are marked in the oblique case. The first one, *goravāl-ē* ‘at the wedding’, marks a stationary location; the second noun marked by the oblique, *meman-a* ‘guests’, is an object. Both oblique marked nouns are highlighted in bold.

(4.19) Stationary location

- ti ādemi gaṇ dēg ašpār pač-al-e-k-en ke **goravāl-ē**
DEM.SG.OBL man big pot.M rice.M cook-TRZ-PXPF-M-3M.O COMP **wedding-OBL**
jam **memān-a** dam-al-ad-i
all **guests-OBL.PL** be.satisfied-TRZ-3S-3O
‘This man cooked a big pot of rice in order to satisfy all the guests at the wedding’
S (PFNS)

4.3.2.4 Locative Case (LOC)

The locative case is marked by the suffix *-a*. I was unable to determine if there is allomorphy with vowel-final stems because I could not elicit any examples from my informant. Its function is to specify a stationary location as in example (4.20) or a time reference, illustrated in the examples in (4.21).

(4.20) Stationary Location

- a. lām-a
home /village-LOC
‘at home’ S
- b. men-ā senep-a
1SG.OBL-M class.M-LOC
‘in my class’ S

(4.21) Time Reference

- a. a-la sāl-a
 PROX-location.LOC year-LOC
 ‘in this year’ S
- b. vėl-a
 night-LOC
 ‘at night’ S

Some postpositions are formed from body part nouns and the locative case, shown in Table 4.15.

Table 4.15: Locative Postpositions

stem	gloss	postposition	gloss
šēr	head	šēr-a	on (top of)
kuč	belly	kuč-a	inside

Numerous other postpositions are formed with the locative case. Postpositions and the cases they take are discussed further in section 4.3.3.

4.3.2.5 Genitive Case (GEN)

The genitive suffix $-(a)s(t)$ is used to mark the dependent noun in a possessive construction. The head noun is marked with a possessive suffix (PS), illustrated in example (4.22).

The realization of the genitive suffix is subject to morpho-phonological processes. There are two morphological forms of the genitive depending on whether it is attached to a vowel-final stem, or a consonant-final stem.

The form of the genitive suffix when attached to vowel-final stems is $-st$. The second consonant in the cluster, $[t]$, is not pronounced in isolation, in accordance with Pashai coda phonotactics that restrict word-final consonant clusters. This is shown in Table 4.16.

Table 4.16: Genitive Singular Suffix Vowel-Final Stem

stem	gloss	stem+GEN	phonetic	gloss
pari	Pari(name)	pari-st	[paris]	Paris-GEN
māda	woman	māda-st	[mādas]	woman-GEN
baso	Baso(name)	baso-st	[basos]	Baso-GEN
ɬembu	wasp	ɬembu-st	[ɬembus]	wasp-GEN

When the genitive suffix is attached to a consonant-final stem it has the form *-ast*, shown in Table 4.17.

Table 4.17: Genitive Singular Suffix Consonant-Final Stem

stem	gloss	stem+GEN	phonetic	gloss
nasib	Nasib(name)	nasib-ast	[nasibas]	nasib-GEN
xalam	pen	xalam-ast	[xalamas]	xalam-GEN
šoriŋ	dog	šoriŋ-ast	[šoriŋas]	dog-GEN
moɬor	car	moɬor-ast	[moɬoras]	car-GEN

When the genitive suffix is followed by a possessive suffix the [t] in the cluster is pronounced, since it is no longer in coda position and the consonant sequence is divided over two syllables. This is shown in Table 4.18.

Table 4.18: Genitive Singular Suffix + Possessive Suffix

stem	gloss	stem+GEN+PS	phonetic	gloss
xalam	pen	xalam-ast-am	[xalamastam]	xalam-GEN-PS1SG
šoriŋ	dog	šoriŋ-ast-am	[šoriŋastam]	dog-GEN-PS1SG
moɬor	car	moɬor-ast-am	[moɬorastam]	car-GEN-PS1SG

(4.22) Possession

- a. nasib-as xalam-e
 nasib.M-GEN pen-PS3
 ‘Nasib’s pen’ E
- b. yo salim-as sai-e as
 DEM.DIR Salim.M-GEN sister-PS3 be.AN.F.PRS.3
 ‘This is Salim’s sister’ E

The expression of possession is the same for animate and inanimate possessors, shown in example (4.23). The genitive case attaches to the possessor, the possessive suffix attaches to the possessed.

- (4.23) a. gušiŋ-as darvāzā-e
 house.M-GEN door.M-PS3SG
 ‘the door of the house’ E
- b. šoriŋ-as lem-e
 dog.M-GEN tail.M-PS3SG
 ‘the dog’s tail’ S

4.3.2.6 Ablative Case (ABL)

The ablative case marker *-ai* is suffixed to nouns to indicate a SOURCE, either physical as in (4.24a) and (4.24b), or more abstract, as in (4.24c).

(4.24) Ablative case

- a. ai-ast-a māšum-e vareg-ai kan-ek-en
 mother-GEN-PS3 child.M-PS3 water.M-ABL pull-PXPF-M-3M.O
 ‘(Someone) pulled the mother’s child out of the water’ S
- b. ti ādemi-y o-ti māda āst-ai čilā
 DEM.SG.OBL man-OBL DIST-DEM.SG.OBL woman hand-ABL clothes.PL
 gor-e-č-in
 take-PXPF-FP-3P.O
 ‘This man took clothes from that woman’s hands’ S
- c. yo ki āst-ai l-ea-č
 DEM.DIR someone hand-ABL die-RMPF-F
 ‘She died at someone’s hands’ T

The word *kuč* ‘belly’ is used abstractly as ‘internal’. With case endings it serves as a postposition. As was shown in section 4.3.2.4 with the locative case ending *-a*, *kuč-a* means ‘inside’, with ablative case ending *-ai*, *kuč-ai* means ‘from inside’ or ‘out of’.

- (4.25) ĵoyrat šir-ai kuč-ai ĵop-aŋ-a
 yogurt milk.M-ABL belly-ABL make-PFS-3S

‘S/he is making yogurt from milk’ S

The following example employs the oblique case rather than the ablative since there is no sense of ‘drawing out from a source’.

- (4.26) a-lo tekā kābol-i ač-ek-en
 PROX-location.DIR fabric.M Kabul-OBL take-PXPF-M-3M.O
 ‘He bought this fabric in Kabul’ S

This might suggest the oblique case is the default case for most oblique arguments. Support for this is found in data below, where either the oblique or ablative case may occur.

- (4.27) {unčārek-ai/ unčārek-ē} vareg āč-ek-en
 spring-ABL spring-OBL water.M take-PXPFM-3M.O
 ‘They took water from the spring’ S

- (4.28) a. mam oreč-ē ur-e-č-am
 1SG(F) sleep-OBL rise-PXPF-FP-1S
 ‘I rose from sleep’ S

 b. mam oreč-ai ur-e-č-am
 1SG(F) sleep-ABL rise-PXPF-F-1S
 ‘I rose from sleep’ S

There may be a subtle difference in meaning between these last two sentences. The oblique marked form in example (4.28a) might occur if the person was still (half) asleep when he got up, staggering around until he got his first cup of tea. Perhaps example (4.28b), employing the ablative case, would be used if the speaker were more (fully) awake when she rose. The subtle difference in the use of the oblique and ablative in these types of sentences deserves further investigation.

4.3.3 Postpositions

Pashai postpositions originate from a number of sources. Some come from body parts, as was shown in section 4.3.2.4. Some come from verb stem sources, such as =*ka* ‘to’ from

kar-ik ‘to do’, =*de* ‘from’ from *de-ik* ‘to give’. Others have less transparent origins. Many are marked with a case ending.

Postpositions follow case inflection and possessive suffixes. Prosodically they are uttered with their host. Evidence for the clitic behavior of postpositions comes from a number of sources. They attach to constituents larger than stems, as seen in example (4.29a), where the postposition attaches to a conjoined clause, not to each conjunct as in the ungrammatical example (4.29b).

- (4.29) a. *ya kābol-ē ya jalālabad-ē=ka pa-y-am*
 or Kabul-OBL or Jalalabad-OBL=to go-PFS-1S
 ‘I am going either to Kabul or Jalalabad’ E
- b. **ya kābol-ē=ka ya jalālabad-ē=ka pa-y-am*
 or Kabul-OBL or Jalalabad-OBL=to go-PFS-1S
 ‘I am going either to Kabul or Jalalabad’ E

Example (4.30) shows that the postposition is attached to the possessive phrase *xarbuza-st bēč-ast-a* ‘melon seeds’.

- (4.30) *xarbuza-st bēč-ast-a=xāteri bazār-ē=ka g-e-č-am*
 melon-GEN seed-GEN-PS3=for market-OBL=to go-PXPF-FP-1S
 ‘I went to the market for melon seeds’ S

I have classified the postpositions according to their endings. Table 4.19 shows basic postpositions, those that are not formed with case endings. It gives an approximate meaning and the case that the postposition complement takes. When the object of a postposition is generic or non-specific it does not take a case ending. In Tables 4.19 - 4.23 the word ‘postposition’ is abbreviated as ‘postP’; the postposition complement case is listed in the final column as ‘case’.

Table 4.19: Pashai Postpositions

postP	gloss	case
=ka	direction to	OBL
=de	(direction)from, at, in	OBL
=te	from	OBL
=ante	dative	OBL
=menten ⁴	with	OBL
=xāteri	for	OBL

Tables 4.20-4.21 show complex postpositions that take case endings. The origin for known terms are given in the first column. Many of these stems are used as independent words. Postpositions taking locative case refer to stationary locations, shown in Table 4.20.

Table 4.20: Locative Postpositions

origin	gloss	postP	gloss	case
kuč	belly	=kuč-a	inside	OBL
kan	out	=kan-a	outside	OBL
šēr	head	=šer-a	on top	OBL
len	below	=len-a	under	OBL
		=poṛ-a	in front	OBL
pašken	back	=pašken-a	in back	OBL
		=od-a	near to	OBL
		=pel-a	next to	OBL
ākoṛ	down	=akoṛ-a	below	OBL

Postpositions taking ablative case refer to dynamic locations. These are shown in Table 4.21.

4. Morgenstierne (1973:263) lists *menten* as *milṭin* and *milten*.

Table 4.21: Ablative Postpositions

postP	gloss	case
kuč-ai	from inside	OBL
kan-ai	from outside	OBL
šēr-ai	from on top	OBL
len-ai	from under	OBL
poṛ-ai	from in front	OBL
pašken-ai	from behind	OBL
od-ai	from near	OBL

Some postpositions take possessive suffixes. These are shown in Table 4.22.

Table 4.22: Postpositions Taking Possessive Suffixes

postP	gloss	PS	gloss
pašken	back	pašken-am	behind me
poṛ	front	poṛ-ai	in front of you
len	under	len-e	under it

The postpositions =*ante* ‘for’ and =*xāteri* ‘for’ do not take pronominal suffixes. They attach to oblique bound forms of pronouns for first and second-person and demonstratives for third-person, shown in Table 4.23.

Table 4.23: Oblique Pronouns Taking Postpositions

pronoun	gloss	postP	form	gloss
men-	1SG.OBL	=ante	men=ante	for me
		=xāteri	men=xāteri	for me
ten-	2SG.OBL	=ante	ten=ante	for you
		=xāteri	ten=xāteri	for you
ti	DEM.SG.OBL	=ante	ti=ante	for him/her/it
		=xāteri	ti=xāteri	for him/her/it

The postposition *de* is used for the comparative construction. Rather than a morphological comparative or superlative, Pashai employs a periphrastic expression. The order of elements in the comparative construction is, Standard of comparison or source, Postposition,

Subject Noun, (QNT) Adjective, Verb. The relative order of the standard of comparison and the subject noun is somewhat flexible. Either one can appear in first position, as shown in the examples in (4.3.3) illustrating this construction. The quantifier *bō* is optional.

- (4.31) a. pari=de baso bō sos-ev-i as
 pari.F=from Baso.F QNT dry.up-STV.PCP-FP be.AN.F.PRS.3
 ‘Baso is thinner than Pari’ E
- b. ten-ā lai-ai men-i sai-am=de gaṇ ās
 2SG.OBL-M brother-PS2SG 1SG.OBL-FP sister-PS1SG=from big be.AN.M.PRS.3
 ‘Your brother is bigger than my sister’ E

Superlatives are expressed with the construction *bi dārek-ē de*, which translates roughly as ‘without limit’, ‘infinite’.⁵

- (4.32) bi-darek-ē=de zālem ā-i-k
 infinite-OBL=from oppressive be-PST-M
 ‘He was the most oppressive’ T

4.3.4 Definiteness

Aside from the use of the oblique case for marking specific or definite objects in non-perfective tenses there is no inflection for definiteness, indefiniteness or specificity of a noun. The features of +/- definiteness and +/- specificity associated with various tenses and aspects are discussed in Chapter 6. Some features of specificity are explored in section 4.6 of this chapter, a description of deictic terms. There is a general tendency for sentence-initial position to correlate with definiteness.

5. The source of this term is likely in the classical Persian adjective/ adverb *bī-darīy* (Indo-P. *bī-dirēy*) ‘unstinting, ungrudging, generous, liberal, plentiful; pitiless, ruthless; undeniable, (self)-evident, acknowledged,’ The basic idea is ‘not withheld,’ < *dirēy* ‘denial, withholding, sparing’. I owe this insight to John Perry, p.c.

4.3.5 Possessive Suffixes

Pronominal suffixes are found in the nominal and verbal system of Pashai. In the verbal system pronominal suffixes index core arguments of the verb. In the nominal system the pronominal suffixes mark possession. While there is some overlap of morphological form for nominal and verbal pronominal suffixes they are not identical and are treated separately. The following section describes the morphological form and use of the possessive suffixes in the nominal system. The pronominal suffixes indexing arguments in the verbal system are treated in Chapter 6.

Possessive suffixes are affixed to the possessed noun and index the possessor in a possessive construction. Direct case and oblique case possessive suffixes differ in form and are treated separately here.

4.3.5.1 Direct Case Possessive Suffixes

I have identified five sets of possessive suffixes assigned to different classes of nouns. These are presented in Table 4.24. The syntactic behavior of these suffixes are the same but their forms differ for different classes of nouns.

Table 4.24: Possessive Suffixes					
noun class	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG/PL
I	-am	-an	-e	-o	-i
II	-em	-en	-ē	-ō	-e
III	-am	-an	-ai	-ō	-e
IV	-m	-n	-ē	-ō	-ea
V	-m	-n	-i	-ō	-ei

I point out some phonological generalizations of each class of noun but these features are not predictive of class membership. Morphophonemic generalizations that are predictive for certain classes are discussed where applicable.

4.3.5.2 Possessive Suffixes Class I Nouns

Class I nouns can have /ā, a, e, i, o, u/ in the final syllable. There are some vowel-final stems in this class. All stems ending in feminine *-ek* belong to this class.

Table 4.25 shows the possessive suffixes that attach to class I consonant-final stems.

stem	gloss	-am 1SG	-an 1PL	-e 2SG	-o 2PL	-i 3SG/PL
pakol	hat	pakol-am	pakol-an	pakol-e	pakol-o	pakol-i
očum	scorpion	očum-am	očum-an	očum-e	očum-o	očum-i
bālokul	children	bālokul-am	bālokul-an	bālokul-e	bālokul-o	bālokul-i
goravāl	wedding	goravāl-am	goravāl-an	goravāl-e	goravāl-o	goravāl-i
mālem	teacher	mālem-am	mālem-an	mālem-e	mālem-o	mālem-i
ketāb	book	ketāb-am	ketāb-an	ketāb-e	ketāb-o	ketāb-i
dokān	store	dokān-am	dokān-an	dokān-e	dokān-o	dokān-i
šoriṇ	dog	šoriṇ-am	šoriṇ-an	šoriṇ-e	šoriṇ-o	šoriṇ-i
ašpār	rice	ašpār-am	ašpār-an	ašpār-e	ašpār-o	ašpār-i
zeip	woman	zeip-am	zeip-an	zeip-e	zeip-o	zeip-i
kokur	rooster	kokur-am	kokur-an	kokur-e	kokur-o	kokur-i
ambax	co-wife	ambax-am	ambax-an	ambax-e	ambax-o	ambax-i
gušiṇ	house	gušiṇ-am	gušiṇ-an	gušiṇ-e	gušiṇ-o	gušiṇ-i

All stems ending in feminine *-ek* are class I nouns, shown in Table 4.26.

stem	gloss	-am 1SG	-an 1PL	-e 2SG	-o 2PL	-i 3SG/PL
keṭāl-ek	girl-F	keṭāl-ek-am	keṭāl-ek-an	keṭāl-ek-e	keṭāl-ek-o	keṭāl-ek-i
šoṇoṭ-ek	dog-F	šoṇoṭ-ek-am	šoṇoṭ-ek-an	šoṇoṭ-ek-e	šoṇoṭ-ek-o	šoṇoṭ-ek-i
napaṭ-ek	navel-F	napaṭ-ek-am	napaṭ-ek-an	napaṭ-ek-e	napaṭ-ek-o	napaṭ-ek-i

Class I vowel-final and glide-final noun stems are shown in Table 4.27. The behavior of vowel-final stems is not identical to the consonant-final stems. The stem /pašu/ ‘rib’ does not have the initial vowel of the first-person plural suffix. Examples with word-final [u] do not have a separate second-person plural suffix. This may be due to phonetic similarity of the segments [o] and [u], or my lack of ability to perceive a difference. With stem-final glides

the segment [v] is articulated as [w] preceding the possessive suffixes *-am* and *-e*. Preceding the suffix *-i* it is pronounced [v]. This property of the phoneme /v/ is discussed in Chapter 3. The form of /derov/ ‘brother-in-law’ shows a change in the stem vowel preceding the /v/, with the second-person singular suffix [dereve] and third-person suffix [derevi]. The coloring of the vowel preceding consonantal [v] is discussed in Chapter 3.

Table 4.27: Possessive Suffixes Class I Nouns Vowel-Final Stem

stem	gloss	-am 1SG	-an 1PL	-e 2SG	-o 2PL	-i 3SG/PL
pašu	rib	pašu-am	pašu-n	pašu-e	pašu	pašu-i
łombu	wasp	łombu-am	łombu-an	łombu-e	łombu	łombu-i
derov	brother-in-law	derov-am	derov-an	derev-e	derov-u	derev-i
av	bread	av-am	av-an	av-e	av-o	av-i
baol-	uncle	baol-am	baol-an	baol-e	baol-o	baol-i

The stem-final [l] in /baol/ ‘uncle’ is not pronounced in isolation. In isolation it is pronounced [bao].

4.3.5.3 Possessive Suffixes Class II Nouns

Class II nouns have long vowels /ō/, /ā/, and /ē/ in the final segment. However, *kuč* ‘belly’ is also in this class, as are some vowel-final stems. Table 4.28 shows the possessive suffixes that attach to class II consonant-final stems.

Table 4.28: Possessive Suffixes Class II Nouns Consonant-Final Stem

stem	gloss	-em 1SG	-en 1PL	-ō 2PL	-ē 2SG	-e 3SG/PL
dānd	tooth	dānd-em	dānd-en	dānd-ē	dānd-ō	dānd-e
ṭōnd	roof	ṭōnd-em	ṭōnd-en	ṭōnd-ē	ṭōnd-ō	ṭōnd-e
lām	home	lām-em	lām-en	lām-ē	lām-ō	lām-e
āst	hand	āst-em	āst-en	āst-ē	āst-ō	āst-e
kuč	belly	kuč-em	kuč-en	kuč-ē	kuč-ō	kuč-e
gēn	back	gēn-em	ēn-en	gēn-ē	gēn-ō	gēn-e
gōm	wheat	gōm-em	gōm-en	gōm-ē	gōm-ō	gōm-e
bēč	seed	bēč-em	bēč-en	bēč-ē	bēč-ō	bēč-e
ček	bark	ček-em	ček-en	ček-ē	ček-ō	ček-e
dōr	face	dōr-em	dōr-en	dōr-ē	dōr-ō	dōr-e
mēz	table	mēz-em	mēz-en	mēz-ē	mēz-ō	mēz-e
ǰob	tongue	ǰob-em	ǰob-en	ǰob-ē	ǰob-ō	ǰob-e
nām	name	nām-em	nām-en	nām-ē	nām-ō	nām-e
kāṛ	ear	kāṛ-em	kāṛ-en	kāṛ-ē	kāṛ-ō	kāṛ-e
šēr	head	šēr-em	šēr-en	šēr-ē	šēr-ō	šēr-e
kāṭ	cot	kāṭ-em	kāṭ-en	kāṭ-ē	kāṭ-ō	kāṭ-e
ainč	eye	ainč-em	ainč-en	ainč-ē	ainč-ō	ainč-e

Some vowel-final stems are found in Class II, shown in Table 4.29. The stems for *pā* and *pē* in Table 4.29 show glide insertion before the possessive suffix. For *dāṛ-i* ‘beard’ the root serves for the basis of the possessive suffixes, the final [i] is dropped before the suffix.

Table 4.29: Possessive Suffixes Class II Nouns Vowel-Final Stem

stem	gloss	-em 1SG	-en 1PL	-ē 2SG	-ō 2PL	-e 3SG/PL
pā	foot	pā-yem	pā-yen	pā-yē	pā-yō	pā-e
pē	meat	pē-em	pē-yen	pē-yē	pē-yō	pē-e
dāṛ-i	beard-FP	dāṛ-em	dāṛ-en	dāṛ-ē	dāṛ-ō	dāṛ-e

4.3.5.4 Possessive Suffixes Class III Nouns

Class III nouns have /ō/, /ē/ in the final segment. The word *mēz* ‘table’ is in both class II and class III. Table 4.30 shows possessive suffixes for class III consonant-final stems. Stems ending in the diphthong [ai] are given in Table 4.30 since the [i] in the diphthong behaves as a consonant in the stem-final environment.

Table 4.30: Possessive Suffixes Class III Nouns Consonant-Final Stem

stem	gloss	-am 1SG	-ēn 1PL	-ai 2SG	-ō 2PL	-e 3SG/PL
sēb	apple	sēb-am	sēb-ēn	sēb-ai	sēb-ō	sēb-e
mēz	table	mēz-am	mēz-ēn	mēz-ai	mēz-ō	mēz-e
ǰob	tongue	ǰob-am	ǰob-ēn	ǰob-ai	ǰob-ō	ǰob-e
ṭēk	woman	ṭek-am	ṭek-ēn	ṭek-ai	ṭek-ō	ṭek-e
top	ball	top-am	top-ēn	top-ai	top-ō	top-e
ai	mother	ai-am	ai-ēn	ai-ai	ai-ō	ai-e
lai	brother	lai-am	lai-ēn	lai-ai	lai-ō	lai-e
sai	sister	sai-am	sai-ēn	sai-ai	sai-ō	sai-e

Class III vowel-final stems are shown in Table 4.31. These involved glide insertion for stem-final /ō, ā, ē/, but not consistently. The word *gē* ‘song’ was pronounced both with and without the glide insertion.

Table 4.31: Possessive Suffixes Class III Nouns Vowel-Final Stem

stem	gloss	-am 1SG	-ēn 1PL	-ai 2SG	-ō 2PL	-e 3SG/PL
gō	crocodile	gō-yam	gō-yēn	gō-yai	gō-yō	gō-e
gē	song	gē-yam	gē-ēn	gē-yai	gē-ō	gē-ye
gā	cow	gā-yam	gā-yēn	gā-yai	gā-yō	gā-ye

4.3.5.5 Possessive Suffixes Class IV Nouns

Class IV nouns end in /i/ and /u/. The first-person suffix merges with the stem and there is no vowel associated with the suffix. Stem-final /i/ merges with second-person suffix. Stem-final /i/ is pronounced [e] with the third-person suffix. I have included the phonetic representation in the final column. The second-person and third-person suffixes replace the final vowel. Stems ending in the gender/number default suffix *-i* (feminine/plural) are class IV nouns. These same set of suffixes attach to the stative participle ending in suffix *-v-i* and the imperfective participle ending in *-kāl-i* used substantively. The stative participle is shown with *šār-ev-i* ‘driven, moved’; the imperfective participle is shown with *lek-akāl-i* ‘writing, writer’.

Table 4.32: Possessive Suffixes Class IV Nouns

stem	gloss	-m 1SG	-n 1PL	-ē 2SG	-ō 2PL	-ea 3SG/PL	phonetic
poli	popcorn	poli-m	poli-n	pol-ē	pol-ō	poli-a	[polea]
gōṛ-i	horse-F	gōṛ-i-m	gōṛ-i-n	gōṛ-ē	gōṛ-ō	gōṛ-i-a	[gōrea]
āдеми	man	āдеми-m	āдеми-n	āдем-ē	āдем-ō	āдеми-a	[ādemea]
lek-akāl-i	writer	lek-akāl-i-m	lek-akāl-i-n	lek-akāl-ē	lek-akāl-ō	lek-akāl-i-a	[lekakālea]
šār-ev-i	driven	šār-ev-i-m	šār-ev-i-n	šār-ev-ē	šār-ev-ō	šār-ev-i-a	[šāreuea]
čapu	kiss	čapu-m	čapu-n	čapu-ē	čapu	čapu-a	
čuču	breast	čuču-m	čuču-n	čuču-ē	čuču	čuču-a	

The stems ending in [u] do not get an additional [ō] second-person plural suffix.

4.3.5.6 Possessive Suffixes Class V Nouns

Class V noun stems end in the masculine singular suffix *-ā*. Similar to the affixation of class IV noun suffixes to feminine/plural ending participles, this set of suffixes attach to the stative participle ending in the masculine singular suffix *-v-ā* and the masculine singular imperfective participle ending in *-kāl-ā* used substantively. The stative participle is shown with *šār-av-ā* ‘driven, moved’; the imperfective participle is shown with *lek-akāl-ā* ‘writing, writer’.

Table 4.33: Possessive Suffixes Class V Nouns

stem	gloss	-m 1SG	-n 1PL	-i 2SG	-ō 2PL	-ei 3SG/PL
gōṛ-ā	horse	gōṛ-ā-m	gōṛ-ā-n	gōṛ-ā-i	gōṛ-ō	gōṛ-ei
čilā	clothes	čilā-m	čilā-n	čilā-i	čil-ō	čil-ei
pelā	plate	pelā-m	pelā-n	pelā-i	pel-ō	pel-ei
koṭā	knee	koṭā-m	koṭā-n	koṭā-i	koṭ-ō	koṭ-ei
šār-av-ā	driven	šār-av-ā-m	šār-av-ā-n	šār-av-ā-i	šār-av-ō	šār-ev-ei
lek-akāl-ā	writer	lek-akāl-ā-m	lek-akāl-ā-n	lek-akāl-ā-i	lek-akāl-ō	lek-akāl-ei

It may be that some of these classes can be collapsed or that there are more patterns undiscovered. No easy generalizations can be made based on the phonological form of the stems. There may be historical factors that determine these forms. Some forms are morpho-phonemically determined, such as feminine *-ek* ending words in class I, masculine singular

-ā in class V, and feminine/plural -i in class IV. The analysis presented here shows that the phonological environment alone does not determine the classes. Minimal pairs such as those shown in Table 4.34 show that the shape of the stem is not enough to determine the suffix.

Table 4.34: Possessive Suffix Classes Minimal Pairs

stem	class	stem	class
gē	III	pē	II
dāṛi	II	gōṛi	IV

The stem *dāṛ* ‘beard’ is a free morpheme in Panjabi. According to Elena Bashir, the stem *dāṛ* is used for a large beard, while *dāṛ-i* is used for any beard. The difference between the two stems *dāṛ-i* ‘beard’(class II) and *gōṛ-i* ‘mare’(class IV) may be that *gōṛ* is a bound morpheme and *dāṛ* is not. Furthermore, some stems belong to more than one class. For example, *mēz* ‘table’ and *ḵob* ‘tongue’ belong to Class II and Class III.

In a similar approach to this complex data, Morgenstierne (1973:86) suggested that there are two noun classes (I and II) with historically different vowels that determine the shape of the possessive pronominal suffixes. Class I has ancient /e/ while Class II has ancient /ā/. These are summarized in Table 4.35.

Table 4.35: Morgenstierne Possessive Suffixes

Class	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG/PL
I	-iem	-in	-i	-u	-e
II	-am	-an	ai	-u	a

Morgenstierne’s examples were drawn from a Northeastern dialect of Pashai, so it is not surprising that my data differs in detail.

4.3.6 Direct Case Possessive Suffix Function

Direct case possessive suffixes are attached to the possessed (head) noun in a possessive phrase. In a third-person possessive construction, the possessor (dependent) noun takes the

genitive suffix. There is no difference for animate or inanimate possession, as seen in the examples in (4.33).

- (4.33) a. *nasib-as ai-e*
 Nasib-GEN mother-PS3
 ‘Nasib’s mother’ S
- b. *gušij-as ʔond-e*
 house-GEN roof-PS3
 ‘roof of the house’ S

For possessive phrases where the head noun is plural the genitive case ending is not used. Rather, the two morphemes, *-ān* ‘plural’ + *-a* ‘oblique plural’ attach to the possessor, the pronominal suffix attaches to the possessed noun.

- (4.34) a. *mālem-ān-a ketāb-i*
 teacher-PL-OBL.PL book-PS3
 ‘teachers’ book/books’ E
- b. *askar-ān-a buṭ-e*
 soldier-PL-OBL.PL boot-PS3
 ‘soldiers’ boots’ S
- c. *mēz-ān-a pā-ye*
 table-PL-OBL.PL leg-PS3
 ‘legs of tables’ E
- d. *keṭāl-ek-ān-a parān-ik-i*
 girl-F-PL-OBL.PL dress-PL-PS3
 ‘girls’ dresses’ S

In example (4.35) ‘teachers’ is the head of the possessive phrase.

- (4.35) *ǰam mālem-ān-a darvāzā-i moṇ-e-k-en*
 all teacher-PL-OBL.PL door.M-PS3 break-PXPF-M-3M.O
 ‘All the teachers’ doors got broken’ E

Example (4.36), almost identical to (4.35), lacks the possessive suffix on ‘door’ and is not a possessive construction. Rather, in (4.36) ‘teachers’ are the agent of breaking, rather than the possessors of any door.

- (4.36) ĵam mālem-(ān)-a darvāzā moṇ-e-k-en
all teacher-(PL)-OBL.PL door.M break-PXPF-M-3M.O
‘All the teachers broke the door’ E

In a first or second-person possessive construction the possessive adjective is used. The possessive adjective agrees with the possessed noun, shown in the examples in (4.37).

- (4.37) a. men-ā lai-am
1SG.OBL-M brother-PS1SG
‘my brother’
b. ten-i sai-ai
2SG.OBL-FP sister-PS2SG
‘your sister’

4.3.7 Oblique/Genitive Possessive Suffixes

For possessed nouns in the oblique function the pronominal suffixes attach to the genitive case ending, *-(a)s(t)*. These pronominal suffixes are used with both oblique and genitive cases. Unlike the direct case possessive suffixes that vary according to noun class the suffixes in the oblique function are uniform.

Table 4.36: Possessive Suffixes Oblique/Genitive

person	suffix	person	suffix
1SG	-(a)st-am	1PL	-(a)st-an
2SG	-(a)st-ē	2PL	-(a)st-o
3SG	-(a)st-a	3PL	-(a)st-a

In the examples in (4.38) the head of the possessive phrase is in the oblique function. In (4.38a) and (4.38b) the head of the possessive is the subject of a perfective verb, marked by the oblique case. In (4.38c) the head of the possessive phrase is the direct object of a non-perfective verb, also marked by the oblique.

- (4.38) a. kākā-st-am ke-me mār-e-k-en
uncle-GEN.PS1SG who-DEM(M)-DIR kill-PXPF-M-3M.O

‘My uncle killed someone’ S

- b. ai-ast-a mašum-e vareg-ai kan-e-k-en
mother-GEN-PS3 child.M-PS3 water-ABL pull-PXPF-M-3M.O

‘His/her mother took her child out of the water’ S

- c. šoriŋ-ast-o ma-an-a
dog-GEN-PS2PL PROH-hit-IMP.SG

‘Don’t beat your dogs’ E

In the plural genitive construction the plural suffix *-ān* attaches to a stem preceding the genitive ending, in a plural genitive noun. In example (4.39) the plural suffix *-ān* merges with the final vowel of the stem and the [t] in the genitive suffix is not pronounced. It is pronounced [ansa]. One might expect the [t] to be pronounced since it does not violate phonotactics in syllable onset position, as in čī.lā.nas.tam. However, generally, [st] clusters, even across syllables, are simplified, e.g., in the pronunciation of ‘Afghanistan’ as [auḡānesān]. The plural possessed oblique words in the examples in (4.39) are pronounced [čīlānsam] and [čučunsa].

- (4.39) a. čīlā-ān-s-am kodan unĵ-am-i
clothes.PL-PL-GEN-PS1SG when wash-1S-3O
‘When shall I wash my clothes?’ S

- b. miy paṛek-as čuču-ān-s-a pi-i
DEM.SG.OBL goat-GEN teat-PL-GEN-PS3 drink-3O
‘He drank from the goat’s teats’ T

4.3.8 Inherent Possession

Possessibility is quasi inherent for body parts, kinship terms, and other terms closely associated with personal possession. These terms are conceived by the speakers as ‘inalienable’, although they are not bound morphemes. I was able to elicit these terms without possessive

suffixes although it was not easy and not natural for the speakers.⁶ However, all the terms are still independently occurring morphemes. It is not clear that all body parts fall into the category of inherent possession. While many native speakers did use the possessive suffix for ‘hand, eye, nose, ear, foot, blood, hair, and heart’ for example, the word for ‘liver’ was not accompanied by a pronominal suffix.⁷ Additionally, terms for *nām* ‘name’, *yād* ‘memory’, *peker* ‘thought’ do take possessive suffixes and do appear to be inherently possessed.

An interesting piece of corroborating data from an early sample of Pashai is found in the appendix in Burnes (1973).⁸ His appendix of the ‘Kaffir language’ includes ‘specimens of pushye dialect’ reproduced in Table 4.37 below. Most of the body parts and close kinship terms end in a vowel+nasal [VN], which is the first-person possessive suffix, transcribed by Burnes variously as *im*, *am*, *eem*, *oom*, *un*. In Table 4.37 I have retained Burnes’ spelling but segmented the stems from the possessive suffix. In his transcription these were not separated.

6. When asking native speakers to name body parts by pointing at my hand, nose or eye, they always used the second-person possessive suffix. When pointing to their own, they used first-person. When I explained that I just wanted to the word for the body part there was confusion. Even after my assistant explained what I was seeking the native speaker could continue briefly without the possessive suffix before slipping back to using it.

7. The word for ‘liver’ is *ǰegar*. One might think that the difference has to do with native or non-native terms since the word for ‘liver’ is *ǰegar*, a non-Pashai term. However *yād*, *nām*, and *peker* are also not really native Pashai words; all are from either Persian, Pashto, or Indo-Aryan, and take possessive suffixes.

8. Alexander Burnes’ narrative describes his colonial explorations and exploits in Afghanistan in the early-19th century.

Table 4.37: Burnes Specimen

English	Pushye
foot	pay-am
waist	gain-um
breast	sim-oom
belly	kooch-un
wife	ishterk-oom
son	pootr-am
thigh	dawar-am
knee	kar-eem
fingers	angor-um
ear	kai-am
lip	oosht-am
mouth	gilan-am
beard	dar-im
hand	hust-am

It is not known whether Burnes collected these specimens himself or copied them from another source. The data suggests that the transcriber did not identify the [-VN] ending as either a possessive suffix or separable from the word collected. In any case this data supports the conclusion that these terms do not naturally occur in isolation.

4.3.9 Possessive Suffixes for Kinship Terms

Pashai has a set of possessive suffixes, used exclusively for kinship terms, that indicate both the number of the noun being possessed (head,) and the person and number of the possessor (dependent). The encoding of person and number of the possessor, and number of the possessed in the possessive suffix applies only to first and second-person possessors. The number of the third-person possessor is not encoded in the possessive suffix. It encodes only the number of the possessed. A template for this construction is provided in Table 4.38.

Table 4.38: Kinship Possessive Construction

dependent (possessor)	head (possessed)	
	SG	PL
1SG	✓	✓
1PL	✓	✓
2SG	✓	✓
2PL	✓	✓
3SG/PL	✓	✓

Table 4.39 shows the kinship possessive suffixes with the noun *lai* ‘brother’.

Table 4.39: Kinship Possessive Suffixes

possessor	possessed	suffix	example	gloss
1SG	SG	-am	lai-am	my brother
1SG	PL	-im	lai-im	my brothers
1PL	SG	-an	lai-an	our brother
1PL	PL	-in	lai-in	our brothers
2SG	SG	-ai	lai-ai	your brother
2SG	PL	-i	lai-i	your brothers
2PL	SG	-o	lai-o	your.PL brother
2PL	PL	-u	lai-u	your.PL brothers
3SG/PL	SG	-e	lai-e	his/her/their brother
3SG/PL	PL	-ē	lai-ē	his/her/their brothers

The kinship possessive construction does not differ structurally from other possessive constructions. All possessive constructions, as discussed in section 4.3.2.5, show double marking, both head and dependent are marked. What is different with the kinship construction is that the number of both the possessed and the possessor are encoded. In the non-kinship possessive construction the possessive suffix indexes the person and number of the possessor. The number of the possessed noun is not encoded. Table 4.40 shows a template for this construction.

Table 4.40: Possessive Construction

dependent (possessor)	head (possessed)
	SG/ PL
1SG	✓
1PL	✓
2SG	✓
2PL	✓
3SG/PL	✓

The kinship possessive construction is also found in the Nuristani languages Kati, Waigali and Ashkun, and in the western Dardic languages of Kalasha, Dameli and Gawar-Bati (Di Carlo, 2009). Di Carlo argues for a geographically well-defined area of diffusion of particular features based on data from these languages. He proposes that pronominal suffixes can be used as a diagnostic for the areal comparison of New Indo-Aryan languages. For this group of languages, which Di Carlo labels HK, there is a default possessive construction, used for all kinds of possessive relationships, and a non-default construction, restricted to kinship terms. The default possessive construction is N-OBL N, where the head (possessed N) of the possessive construction is unmarked and the dependent (possessor N) is marked with the oblique case ending. In the non-default construction the head N takes a possessive suffix, the dependent N takes the oblique case marker. The possessive suffixes indicate the person of the possessor. Unlike Pashai, the number of the possessor is not expressed by the suffixes. A template for this construction is shown in Table 4.41.

Table 4.41: Kinship Possessive Construction HK

dependent (possessor)	head (possessed)
	SG PL
1	✓ ✓
2	✓ ✓
3	✓ ✓

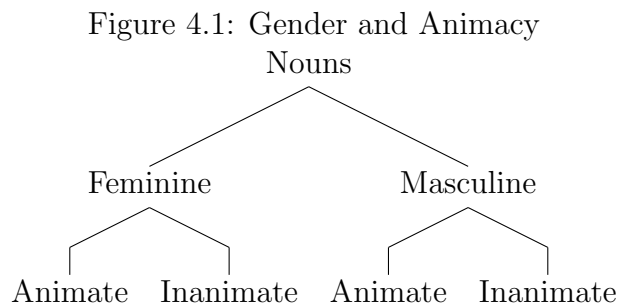
Di Carlo contrasts the occurrence of possessive suffixes in the HK group of languages to the lack of possessive suffixes in other close Dardic languages, such as Khowar, Shina, Palula and Kohistani languages. He suggests that the existence of possessive suffixes in the HK group of languages may be related to the existence of possessive suffixes in languages located southwest and southeast of them, which includes Pashai.

The situation in Pashai differs from what Di Carlo shows for this geographical grouping for two reasons. 1. The possessive strategy used by Pashai is the same for all classes of nouns. Whether kinship or non-kinship, both the head noun and dependent noun are marked, and possessive suffixes are used. In Di Carlo's description the possessive suffixes are only used in the non-default, kinship possessive construction. 2. In Pashai, the person *and* number of the possessor are indexed by the possessive suffix. In the HK group of languages, only the person, not the number, is indexed by the possessive suffix.

4.3.10 Nominal Gender

Pashai has masculine and feminine gender classes into which all nouns fall. Within those two classes the nouns can be further divided into animate and inanimate. This classification is depicted in Figure 4.1. Gender is the primary distinction since it is relevant to adjectival agreement as well as agreement in past and perfective tenses. Animacy is secondary as its relevance is limited to the verb *ā-* 'be' which has separate animate and inanimate forms only

in the present tense third-person singular and plural.⁹



Grammatical gender is expressed in both the nominal and verbal systems. In the nominal system, grammatical gender is morphologically predictable for certain words, morphologically unpredictable for some words, and inherent for other words. Certain adjectives, including possessive pronouns, display agreement with the nouns they modify through morphological gender marking; other adjectives show no agreement. In this section I describe gender marking for nouns and adjectives. I examine gender marking in the verbal system and for verbal adjectives in Chapter 5.

4.3.10.1 Nominal Grammatical Gender

All nouns are grammatically either masculine or feminine but not all nouns are marked as such. The description in this section is divided between the nouns whose gender is predictable through word endings and those whose gender is not. First the morphologically marked forms are described, followed by the unmarked forms, and then those that are inherently gendered by their meaning.

Morphological endings mark gender and number in Pashai nouns. Masculine singular is marked with the suffix *-ā*. Feminine singular is marked with the suffix *-ek*. The suffix *-i* is the default gender/number marker, glossed as FP. Words ending in the suffix *-i* are either

9. The verb ‘to be’ also has separate forms for masculine and feminine in the present tense third-person singular, a distinction not made in the other non-past tenses.

feminine or plural, not masculine singular.¹⁰ Table 4.42 shows stems marked with default *-i* and masculine singular *-ā*.

Table 4.42: Gender Marked by Word-Final Vowels

default -i	gloss	M.SG -ā	gloss
kunč-i	elbow	lamp-ā	broom
dār-i	beard	damaṭ-ā	rope
anṭ-i	bone	āṇ-ā	egg
nand-i	river	mond-ā	neck
kambara-i	clay water jug	lap-ā	cheese

4.3.10.2 Gender Pairs

There are a few examples of animal gender pairs ending in *-i* ‘default’ and *-ā* ‘masculine singular’, such as *gōṛ-i* ‘mare’, *gōṛ-ā* ‘horse’; *kenṭ-i* ‘female buffalo’, *kenṭ-ā* ‘male buffalo’. Morgenstierne (1973:255) gives *keṭala:/ keṭali:* for ‘boy/girl’. I did not confirm that in Amla dialect. I found the terms *kel-ā* ‘boy’, *keṭāl-ek* ‘girl’. The *-ā* masculine / *-ek* feminine alternation is consistent with the pattern described in section 4.3.10.4 below.

4.3.10.3 Word-Final *-ek*

A large number of noun stems end in the feminine *-ek*.¹¹ They are shown in Table 4.43. These consist of bound stems to which the *-ek* suffix is attached.

10. Notable exceptions to this pattern are in some inherently gendered nouns such as *ādemi* ‘man’ which ends in *i*. This ending is not the default *-i*, but the Perso-Arabic suffix *-i* deriving adjectives from nouns. These adjectives are invariant when they enter Indo-Aryan languages. *māda* ‘woman’ ends in *a*, but it is not the masculine *-ā*, rather a Persian-origin word meaning ‘female’ and used for the female of animals not humans. I owe many of the insights on the synchronic, diachronic, and typological features of the regional languages to Elena Bashir, p. c.

11. From the OIA (Sanskrit) diminutive ending in *-aka-*.

Table 4.43: Feminine Nouns Ending in *-ek*

stem -ek	gloss	stem -ek	gloss
aḡor-ek	finger	žu-ek	partridge
per-ek	palm	kor-ek	hen
parān-ek	shirt	nāpaṭ-ek	navel
meč-ek	fly	xaṭ-ek	throat
soman-ek	eyebrow	kalauānṭ-ek	cheek
čamčat-ek	spoon	sopeāl-ek	spinach
nor-ek	finger nail	tokor-ek	basket

4.3.10.4 Gendered Pairs Feminine *-ek* Masculine *-ā*

Many nouns have masculine and feminine forms, particularly in the terms for animals. Examples in Table 4.44 illustrate some of these pairs. These are bound stems to which either feminine *-ek* or masculine *-ā* suffixes are attached.

Table 4.44: Gendered Pairs in *-ek* / *-ā*

stem -ek	stem -ā	gloss
vačol-ek	vačol-ā	calf
pakaṭ-ek	pakaṭ-ā	shawl
beṇḡol-ek	beṇḡol-ā	fox
bat-ek	bat-ā	duck
onḡar-ek	onḡar-ā	cat

This pattern is prevalent for animate nouns. The words *pakaṭ-ek* and *pakaṭ-ā* are feminine and masculine forms of the word for ‘shawl’, respectively. The masculine form refers to a shawl worn by a man; the feminine form refers to a shawl worn by a woman. The object, by association, has become gendered. The masculine form refers to a larger shawl, the feminine form for a smaller shawl. It is implicitly the case for animal terms that the masculine suffixed stem refers to a larger version than the feminine suffixed one.

4.3.10.5 Nouns With No Overt Marking

The rest of the nouns ending in consonants have no overt morphological gender indicators.¹² Examples in Table 4.45 show no overt gender marking.

Table 4.45: Unpredictable Gender			
feminine	gloss	masculine	gloss
dōr	mouth	čāl	hair
bostar	lip	nāst	nose
ǰop	tongue	mask	forehead
divāl	wall	dānd	tooth
mez	table	ketāb	book

There is some lack of consistency within the Darrai Nur valley, particularly with respect to borrowed words. Speakers in Khewa say *tēp* ‘tape’ is feminine, while speakers in Amla say it is masculine.

4.3.10.6 Inherent Gender

Gender is predictable when it is inherent, particularly in + animate and + human categories such as with proper names and kinship terms. For example the feminine terms *zeip* ‘wife’, *sai* ‘sister’, *oe* ‘daughter’, *šēru* ‘mother-in-law’ and the masculine terms *pānǰ* ‘husband’, *lai* ‘brother’, *puł* ‘son’, *šēr* ‘father-in-law’ do not conform to the morphological patterns discussed. A full chart of kinship terms is provided in Appendix F. Inherent gender occurs in non-human animates, such as with terms for animals. Those with gendered morphology, such as feminine ending *-ek*, default *-i*, or masculine singular *-ā* have already been discussed. Animal terms with inherent gender are shown in Table 4.46. *-ek* ending feminine terms for ‘dog’ and ‘hen’ are included in this list since their stems are not to the masculine forms.

12. For such words, gender appears synchronically arbitrary but in many cases is historically inherited (either genetically or from a language from which a word is borrowed).

Table 4.46: Animal Terms with Inherent Gender

term	gender	gloss	term	gender	gloss
golāiŋ	M	bull	gā	F	cow
šoɾiŋ	M	dog	šoŋoɬ-ek	F	dog-F
ɬoŋ-ā	M	young male steer-M	varaɾ	F	heifer
kukuɾ	M	rooster	kur-ek	F	hen-F
matēx	M	frog			
vaɾēŋj	M	ant			
ɬoč	M	flea			
gō	M	crocodile			
jūn	M	owl			
jān	M	snake			
iŋč	M	bear			

The examples show that except for the few specialized terms for domesticated animals the unmarked gender is masculine.

4.3.11 Number Inflection

The unmarked noun in Pashai although formally singular also serves as a generic plural. Number marking in the nominal system is limited morphologically. There is no regular plural morphology that applies across all nouns. Masculine nouns have no regular plural marker, whereas a limited class of feminine nouns, (those ending in *-ek*) exhibit a regular vowel alternation between singular and plural.

Numerals precede the noun they modify. They do not display gender or number agreement and are invariant with respect to animacy. This is shown in the examples in 4.40.

- (4.40) a. iy ketāb
 one book.M
 ‘one book’
- b. bō ketāb
 many book.M
 ‘many books’
- c. ɬe kel-ā
 three boy-M

‘three boys’

4.3.11.1 Plural Suffixes *-kul* and *-ān*

Two suffixes, one native and one borrowed, are used to mark plural nouns in Pashai, but neither is fully productive. The native plural suffix *-kul* is not productive. It is found in kinship terms, such as *bal-okul* ‘children’¹³, *navi-kul* ‘grandsons’ (singular *navi* ‘grandson’), and *tātā-kul* ‘ancestors’ (singular *tātā* ‘father’).

The Dari plural animate suffix *-ān* is used for animate nouns, most often for terms borrowed from Dari or Pashto, shown in Table 4.47.

Table 4.47: Plural Animate Suffix *-ān*

stem	gloss	stem-ān	gloss
memān	guest	meman-ān	guest-PL
mašum	child	mašum-ān	child-PL
nokar	servant	nokar-ān	servant-PL
mālem	teacher	mālem-ān	teacher-PL

While the plural suffix *-ān* has limited use to express plurals in direct case, it is used with the oblique case to form oblique plurals. The plural suffix is optionally included with the plural oblique ending, as in example (4.41).

- (4.41) ĵam mālem-(ān)a darvāzā moṇ-e-k-en
all teacher-(PL).OBL door.M break-PXPF-M-3M.O
‘All the teachers broke the door’ E

It is also used with the oblique plural ending for plural possessives, discussed in section 4.3.6.

- (4.42) askar-ān-a buṭ-e
soldier-PL-OBL.PL boot-PS3
‘soldiers’ boots’ S

13. *bal* ‘child’ from an Indo-Aryan source is no longer an independent morpheme in Pashai.

The plural suffix *-ān* is used with the genitive case *-st* for plural genitive in its oblique function, shown in the examples in (4.43).

- (4.43) a. čilā-ān-s-am kodan unĵ-am-i
 clothes.PL-PL-GEN-PS1SG when wash-1S-3O
 ‘When shall I wash my clothes?’ S
- b. miy paṛek-as čuču-ān-s-a pi-i
 DEM.SG.OBL goat-GEN teat-PL-GEN-PS3 drink-3O
 ‘He drank from the goat’s teats’ T

4.3.11.2 Plural Suffix *-ik*

For feminine nouns that end in *-ek* there is a regular vowel alternation between the singular ending in *-ek* and the plural ending in *-ik*. Table 4.48 illustrates this pattern.

Table 4.48: Singular *-ek* /Plural *-ik*

stem-ek	gloss	stem-ik	gloss
keṭal-ek	girl-F	keṭal-ik	girl-PL
aṇuṛ-ek	finger-F	aṇuṛ-ik	finger-PL
daryaṇ-ek	window-F	daryaṇ-ik	window-PL
kalavānt-ek	cheek-F	kalavānt-ik	cheek-PL

Feminine nouns ending in *-ek* agree in number with numerals and quantifiers:

- (4.44) a. iy keṭal-ek
 one girl-F
 ‘one girl’
- b. ɬe keṭal-ik
 three girl-PL
 ‘three girls’

The pattern of *ek* \sim *ik* is so well established that I have observed speakers apply the rule to non-native words as well. For example the word *xalq* ‘people’ borrowed from Dari /Pashto is pronounced [xalek] due to phonological processes discussed in Chapter 3. The plural of *xalek* has become *xalik*.

4.3.11.3 Plural Case

The oblique case marker, which has singular and plural forms, also marks nouns for number. In the examples in (4.45a)-(4.45b) the word *mālem* ‘teacher’ remains the same, but the number is indicated by the case ending.

- (4.45) a. mālem-ē bālokul an-e-č-in
 teacher-OBL.SG children.PL beat-PXPF-FP-3P.O
 ‘The teacher beat the children’ E
- b. mālem-a šāger an-e-k-en
 teacher-OBL.PL student.M.SG beat-PXPF-M-3M.O
 ‘The teachers beat the student’ E

Plural concepts are otherwise expressed through verbal agreement, numerals, possessive suffixes, and quantifiers.

4.4 Adjectives and Adverbs

Nominal modifiers such as adjectives and verbal and sentential modifiers such as adverbs are not always distinguished by morphology. This section provides some brief remarks on these categories of modifiers. In section 4.4.1.1 I examine adjectival gender and number marking.

4.4.1 Adjectives

Adjectives preceded the nouns they modify and agree in number and gender in some instances. Since adjectives can be marked or unmarked for gender and number, there are cases where both the noun and adjective are marked, where neither are marked or where one or the other is marked. In example (4.46) both adjective and noun are marked for gender and number.

- (4.46) sos-au-ā gōṛ-ā
 dry-STV.PCP-M horse-M
 ‘thin horse’ S

In example (4.47) neither adjective nor noun is marked.

- (4.47) paman vasket
dirty vest
'dirty vest' E

In example (4.48) only the noun is marked for gender and number.

- (4.48) čālek keṭāl-ek
clever girl-F
'clever girl' E

In example (4.49) the adjective is marked for gender and number but the noun is not.

- (4.49) dam-ov-ā mašum
full-STV.PCP-M child.M
'satisfied child' S

The order of elements in the noun phrase is quantifier (QNT) adjective (ADJ) shown in example (4.50).

- (4.50) bō gaṇ ketāb
QNT big book.M
'very big book' S

4.4.1.1 Adjectival Gender Marking

Adjectives, like nouns, are either gender-marked with the endings *-ā* 'masculine singular' / *-i* 'feminine/plural', or not marked for gender.¹⁴ The suffix *-ā* is a specific marker for masculine singular; the suffix *-i*, is the default suffix, marking stems that are not masculine singular.¹⁵ Adjectives that carry overt marking are illustrated in Table 4.49:

14. Participial adjectives and other adjectives derived from verbs are treated in Chapter 5.

15. The pattern that marks masculine singular with one form and feminine/plural with another form is found in the perfective aspect of the verbal system as well where *-k-* indexes a masculine singular argument and *-č-* indexes the default, feminine or plural argument.

Table 4.49: Adjectival Gender Marking

Default	M.SG	gloss
ādur-i	ādur-ā	ugly
sodur-i	sodur-ā	pretty
onar-i	onar-ā	tall
obār-i	obār-ā	high
čanṭ-i	čanṭ-ā	small

A large number of adjectives have no overt gender marking; a few are provided in Table 4.50:

Table 4.50: Gender Neutral Adjectives

adjective	gloss	adjective	gloss
boṛēn	old	paman	dirty
bakār	good	nakār	bad
lam	slow	akoṛ	low

4.4.1.2 Adjectival Number Inflection

Number is indicated only in adjectives that conform to the ‘masculine singular’ $-ā$ / ‘default’ $-i$ /marking pattern. Examples in (4.51) show the distribution of this pattern.

- (4.51) a. adur-ā kel-ā
ugly-M boy-M
‘ugly boy’ E
- b. čanṭ-i bālo-kul
small-FP child-PL
‘small children’ S
- c. adur-i bat-ek
ugly-FP duck-F
‘ugly duck’ E
- d. adur-i bat-ik
ugly-FP duck-PL
‘ugly ducks’ E

4.4.2 Adverbs

Adverbs do not have a distinctive morphology in Pashai. They have no inflection and are often not differentiated from adjectives. In general adverbs precede the verbs they modify, but sentential adverbs may occur at the beginning or the end of a clause. Adverbial phrases are examined in Chapter 7. The same modifiers function as adverbs when preceding a verb, and as adjectives when preceding a noun. These are shown in example (4.52).

- (4.52) a. *sodur-i* *gē* *me-a*
 beautiful-FP song.F say-3S
 ‘S/he is singing a beautiful song’ (PFS)
- b. *gē* *sodur-i* *me-a*
 song.F beautiful-FP say-3S
 ‘She is singing a song beautifully’ (PFS)

Reduplication is more common when a word is being used as a manner adverb than as an adjective. It does not intensify the meaning, which is accomplished with the quantifier *bō*. Nonetheless some adverbs appear as reduplicated pairs rather than as singles. For example the adverb *lam* ‘slowly’ always appears reduplicated. The adverb *ravan* ‘quickly’ does not. These are contrasted in example (4.53).¹⁶

- (4.53) a. *lam lam yād-a* *ka-y-am*
 slowly slowly memory-LOC do-PFS-1S
 ‘I am learning slowly’ S (PFS)
- b. *ravan yād-a* *ka-y-am*
 quickly memory-LOC do-PFS-1S
 ‘I am learning quickly’ S (PFS)

The quantifier *bō* is used to intensify the adverb, as in example (4.54).

- (4.54) *bō ravan yād-a* *ka-y-am*
 QNT quickly memory-PS3 do-PFS-1S
 ‘I am learning very quickly’ S

16. The verb ‘do’ in example (4.53) is conjugated without the object-indexing suffix because ‘do’ is functioning as a light verb. See Chapter 7 for more discussion of the light verb construction.

The typical occurrence of the reduplicated *lam lam* ‘slowly’ and absence of reduplication on other adverbs suggests that this reduplicated form is lexicalized. The lack of more reduplicated examples in my data leaves indeterminate the extent and productivity of the process of reduplication in Pashai. An inquiry into native and borrowed adverbs and the reduplication of other parts of speech would yield an enriched understanding of this phenomenon.

4.4.2.1 Intensification

Morgenstierne (1973) says that repetition is used for emphasis or in a distributive sense, e.g., for events in a sequence, one after another. Morgenstierne shows repetition occurring with adjectives, adverbs, verbs and nouns. Example (4.55) from Morgenstierne, shows repetition with nouns, used distributively. Morgenstierne’s examples are adapted to my transcription system. The source page is provided following the translation, which is Morgenstierne’s.

- (4.55) ti amsaya amsaya ayāt k-a-k-e
 DEM.SG.OBL neighbor neighbor talk do-PXPF-M-3M.O
 ‘She told the tale to every neighbor’ (1973:142)

In example (4.56), from a popular song, the adjective is reduplicated, for intensification or to accommodate the poetic rhythm.

- (4.56) šunek šunek bostor-e
 red red lips-PS2SG
 ‘Your red red lips’

The examples in (4.57), from Morgenstierne, show the adjective reduplicated for intensification.

- (4.57) a. ālā ālā manĵana
 fine fine clothing
 ‘very fine clothing’ (1973:77)
- b. hairān beg-e-č hairān
 astonished be-PXPF-FP astonished
 ‘She became very astonished’ (1973:77)

In example (4.58) the adverbial imperfective participle is reduplicated.

- (4.58) ver-eka ver-eka g-e-č
 cry-APV.PCP cry-APV.PCP go-PXPF-FP
 ‘She left, crying’

Example (4.59) from Morgenstierne shows a verb reduplicated.

- (4.59) ger-i-k ger-i-k
 wander-PXPF-M wander-PXPF-M
 ‘He went about and about’ (1973:142)

4.4.2.2 Interrogative Adverbs

Interrogative adverbs are listed in Table 4.51. The syntax of interrogative formation is examined in Chapter 7.

Table 4.51: Interrogative Adverbs

adverb	gloss
čo	where
koat	how
kodan	when
kante	why

4.4.2.3 Temporal Adverbs

Temporal adverbs are shown in Table 4.52.

Table 4.52: Temporal Adverbs

adverb	gloss
non davās	today
sabā	tomorrow
dō	yesterday
parek	day after tomorrow
notari	day before yesterday
enaṇ	later
amiša	always
ar davās	every day
dō vėl	last night
ar vėl	every night

The locative case *-a* is attached to temporal adverbs such as *davās* ‘day’ *davās-a* ‘daily’ and *vėl* ‘night’ *vėl-a* ‘nightly’.

4.4.3 Quantifiers

Quantifiers precede the nouns or verbs they quantify. The quantifier *bō* is used for ‘plenty’, in both positive and negative quantities; *kam* ‘little, less’ from Dari is used for paucity. These quantifiers are used to quantify adjectives and adverbs. Pashai uses *ziyat*, ‘much, many’ also a Dari quantifier. The quantifier *bō* is used predicatively as in example (4.60).

- (4.60) gurbuz oy-e bō ā-en mis
 gurbuz offspring-PS3 QNT be.AN-3P DEM.GEN
 ‘Gurbuz had many offspring’ T

Quantifiers precede the entities they quantify attributively as in example (4.61).

- (4.61) a. men-a senep-a bō keṭāl-ik ā-en
 1SG-M class.M-LOC QNT girl-PL be.AN-3P
 ‘There are many girls in my class’ S
- b. ziyat xalek a-xon be me-en
 many people PROX-like too say-3P.S
 ‘Many people say this too’ T (PFNS)

4.5 Pronouns

Pashai has a number of different pronominal forms used for personal referents. Personal pronouns and demonstrative adjectives are used pronominally. These are described in section 4.5.1 Pashai also has bound forms of pronouns used for first and second-person as possessive adjectives and with some postpositions, described in section 4.5.2. The reflexive form is described in section 4.5.4.

Personal pronouns are used for first and second-person. For third-person referents demonstratives are used. Demonstratives do not distinguish between animate and inanimate referents. Pronouns and demonstratives show different case assignment patterns.

4.5.1 Personal Pronouns

Pashai first and second-person independent pronouns, shown in Table 4.53, do not differentiate for gender or for case. Pronouns in general are optional in Pashai.

Table 4.53: Personal Pronouns

person	number	pronoun	person	number	pronoun
1	SG	a, mam	1	PL	ama
2	SG	to	2	PL	ēma

4.5.2 Bound Pronouns

Bound pronominal forms for first and second-person are inflected and used for possessive adjectives. These forms also take the postpositions =*ante* ‘dative’ and =*xāteri* ‘benefactive’, as was shown in section 4.3.3.

4.5.2.1 Possessive Adjectives

Possessive pronominal adjectives (first and second-person singular) share the gender marking patterns of adjectives and nouns discussed above. Like other adjectives they agree in gender and number with the nouns they modify, i.e., they agree in gender and number with the nouns they possess. Suffix *-ā* marks the possessed noun as ‘masculine singular’. The suffix *-i* is the default. It is used for possessed nouns that are either feminine or plural. First and second-person plural possessive forms are pronouns, not adjectives, and do not agree with the possessed. The first and second-person possessive forms are shown in Table 4.54.

Table 4.54: Possessive Pronominal Forms				
person	FP	M	person	pronoun
1SG	men-i	men-ā	1PL	amā
2SG	ten-i	ten-ā	2PL	emā

The examples in (4.62) show the use of possessive adjectives and pronouns.

- (4.62)
- a. men-ā āst-em
my-M hand.M-PS1SG
‘my hand’ S
 - b. ten-i ĵob-ē
your-FP tongue.F-PS2SG
‘your.SG tongue’ S
 - c. ten-i balokul-ē
your-FP children-PS2SG
‘your.SG children’ S
 - d. amā bābā-s-ān
our grandfather-GEN-PS1PL
‘of our grandfathers’ T
 - e. pāmil-i emā
family-PS2SG your.PL
‘your.PL family’ T

4.5.3 Demonstratives

Demonstratives distinguish case, number, and proximity. Table 4.55 shows the oblique and direct case forms of the demonstrative *ti/se*. Since the demonstrative *ti/se* is unmarked for nearness it is glossed here as ‘this/that’. I briefly introduce demonstratives used pronominally here to show how they contrast with personal pronouns. Demonstratives are described in detail in section 4.6.

Table 4.55: Demonstrative *se/ ti*

case	SG	gloss	PL	gloss
DIR	se	this/that	te	these/those
OBL	ti	this/that	tē	these/those

The use of personal pronouns and demonstratives is illustrated for intransitive verbs in the examples in (4.63).

- (4.63) a. {a, mam} g-e-k-am
 {1SG, 1SG} go-PXPF-M-1S
 ‘I went’ S
- b. se g-i-k
 DEM.SG.DIR go-PXPF-M
 ‘He went’ S
- c. nasib g-i-k
 nasib.M.DIR go-PXPF-M
 ‘Nasib went’ E

Examples in (4.64) show the use of demonstratives and personal pronouns with transitive verbs.

- (4.64) a. {a, mam} se lai-e-k-am
 {1SG, 1SG} DEM.SG.DIR see-PXPF-M-1S
 ‘I saw him’ S
- b. ti {a, mam} lai-e-k-im
 DEM.SG.OBL {1SG, 1SG} see-PXPF-M-1O

‘He saw me(M)’ S

- c. nasib-i {a, mam} lai-e-k-im
nasib.M-OBL {1SG, 1SG} see-PXPF-M-1O
‘Nasib saw me(M)’ E

As these examples show both *a* and *mam* can be used for oblique and direct case functions. The demonstratives, on the other hand, differentiate for case; *se* is used for direct case singular, and *ti* is used for oblique case singular.

The first-person singular pronoun presents an interesting example of language variation and change. The alignment of *a/mam* may have changed since Morgenstierne’s description and may be in a transitional state at present. Morgenstierne (1973:266) lists *a* and *mam* as nominative and *mam* as oblique. However, the examples in (4.63) - (4.64) demonstrate no such distinction.¹⁷

4.5.3.1 Possessive Demonstratives

The possessive forms of third-person demonstratives are shown in Table 4.56. There are two forms of these demonstratives, discussed in detail in section 4.6. The demonstrative *mi* (*mis*, *mēna*) is marked for nearness, the other demonstrative *ti* (*tis*, *tēna*) is not marked for nearness.

17. In Khewa, in close proximity to Amla and situated at the lower entrance to the Darrai Nur valley, *a* and *mam* are distinguished between nominative and oblique respectively, as Morgenstierne reports. For example:

- (4.1) a. {a, *mam} baiay ha-em
 {1SG, 1SG} well be-1S
 ‘I am well’ S
 b. to {*a, mam} laš-e-k-im
 you {1SG, 1SG} see-PXPF-M-1O
 ‘You saw me’ E

The first-person pronoun *a* is used by these speakers for nominative function and *mam* is used for oblique function.

Table 4.56: Possessive Demonstratives

person	+near(mi)	gloss	unmarked (ti)	gloss
3SG	mis	hers/his/its	tis	hers/his/its
3PL	mēna	theirs/of these	tēna	theirs/of these,those

Possessive demonstrative adjectives do not agree in gender or number with the possessed nouns. Examples are shown in (4.65c).

- (4.65) a. tis lai-e
 DEM.SG.GEN brother-PS3
 ‘His/her brother’ S
- b. mis bāl-okul-e
 DEM.SG.GEN children-PS3
 ‘His/her (+near) children’ S
- c. tēna gušij-e
 DEM.PL.GEN house-PS3
 ‘Their house’ S

4.5.4 Reflexive Form

tānek is a reflexive possessive form. It is constructed from the word *tān* ‘body’ + nominalizing suffix *-ek*.¹⁸ *tānek* is adjectival in its possessive function and precedes the noun it modifies. It does not take a pronominal possessive suffix in this function. The possessive adjectival function is shown in the examples in (4.66).¹⁹

- (4.66) a. mam tānek lām-em ĵop-ei-k-am
 1SG RFL home.M-PS1SG build-DSPF-M-1S
 ‘I built my own house’ E

18. Morgenstierne (1956:175) shows *tānuk* and *tānek* for different dialects. Both *-uk* and *-ek* are nominalizing suffixes. Turner (1966) 5656 gives *tanū* ‘body, person, self’.

19. In the example provided below, from a spontaneous utterance, the categorial status of *tānek* is unclear.

- (4.1) tānek=šēr-a eke ĵāy-a ma b-e-č-e
 self=head-LOC one place-LOC PROH be-PXPF-FP-2PS
 ‘May you never gather together in one place.’ T

- b. *tānek lai-e mār-e-k-en*
 RFL brother-PS3 kill-PXPF-M-3M.O
 ‘He killed his own brother’ E
- c. *tānek āst-im unĵ-e-č-am*
 RFL hand-PS1PL wash-PXPF-FP-1S
 ‘I washed my hands’ S

This is not the only way to indicate possession. All the sentences in example (4.67) are possible ways of expressing possession. In all these sentences the genitive possessive suffix is attached to the possessed noun, indicating the subject is the possessor. Sentence (4.67a) shows neither reflexive pronoun nor possessive adjective. In sentence (4.67b) the optional possessive adjective occurs. In sentence (4.67c) the reflexive pronoun occurs. Sentence (4.67d) with both the reflexive and the demonstrative is ungrammatical.

- (4.67) a. *baso ketāb-ast-a paṛ-i*
 Baso.F book.M-GEN-PS3 read-3S
 ‘Baso is reading her (own) book’ E (PFS)
- b. *baso tis ketāb-ast-a paṛ-i*
 Baso.F DEM.GEN book.M-GEN-PS3 read-3S
 ‘Baso is reading her book’ E (PFS)
- c. *baso tānek ketāb-ast-a paṛ-i*
 Baso.F RFL book.M-GEN-PS3 read-3S
 ‘Baso is reading her (own) book’ E (PFS)
- d. * *baso tānek tis ketāb-ast-a paṛ-i*
 baso.F RFL DEM.GEN book.M-PS3 read-3S
 ‘Baso is reading her own book’ E (PFS)

When the subject and object are the same *tānek jān* is used, as in example (4.5.4). *tānek jān* is lexicalized as having the pronominal function of ‘oneself’.

- (4.68) a. *tānek jān-e unĵ-e-k-en*
 RFL body-PS3 wash-PXPF-M-3M.O
 ‘He washed himself’ (his own body) S
- b. *mam tānek jān-em an-e-k-am*
 I RFL body-PS1SG beat-PXPF-M-1S

‘I hit myself’ (my own body) E

The reflexive pronoun, used adverbially, takes the oblique ending, as in the examples in (4.69).

- (4.69) a. mam *tānek-ē* ketāb lek-au-ā š-i
1SG RFL-OBL book.M write-STV.PCP-M be.INAN.PRS-3
‘I wrote the book by myself’ E
- b. aṇār *tānek-ē* šič-i-k
fire.M RFL-OBL ignite-PXPF-M
‘The fire ignited by itself’ S

In example (4.70) both the adverbial and possessive use of *tānek* occur. The first instance, in *tānek lām-em* ‘my house’ is possessive. The second instance, in *tānek-ē* ‘by self’, is adverbial.

- (4.70) *tānek* lām-em *tānek-ē* ḵop-e-k-ē
RFL home.M-PS1SG RFL-OBL build-PXPF-M-2S
‘You built my home by yourself’ E

4.6 Deixis

For the purpose of this section I adopt the definition of deictic elements as those words for which a context reference to the speaker is required in order to be understood. In Pashai the deictic center is the speaker. In this section I describe the demonstratives with deictic function, and the specialized prefixes that convey degrees of perceptual access such as proximity, visibility, prior knowledge, and spatial / non-spatial location.

When the speaker is drawing attention close or closer to the deictic center, either through physical proximity (‘I say this when the thing is within reach’), temporal proximity, visibility, topic of discourse, or known, they employ deictic demonstratives. The closest referents relative to the conversation are often prefixed with *a-*; referents beyond reach but not too far are prefixed with *o-*. For referents further away the prefix is *ō-*. Terms with these prefixes are accompanied by a paralinguistic gesture, either an open hand pointing, or a head nod,

or both.

I have identified Pashai as having a four-term demonstrative system distinguishing proximal, distal, remote and neutral. Morgenstierne discusses pronouns and demonstratives, hinting at some of the deictic functions, remarking that *elo* “denotes something near, but not necessarily visible e.g. *elo a:dam* ‘the man (present) whom one is talking about.’” (Morgenstierne, 1973:270). He does not distinguish between regular demonstratives and those used in an ostensive construction, such as those that are accompanied by a paralinguistic deictic gesture, e.g., pointing.

The Pashai deictic terms under discussion here are constructed from prefixes that indicate distance from the deictic center **proximal** (*a-*), **distal** (*o-*) and **remote** (*ō-*). These prefixes, in combination with demonstratives and case markers, reference objects in time, space and discourse. Table 4.57 shows the morpheme *lo* / *ʎo* ‘location’ combined with the three prefixes to indicate location relative to the speaker, *a-la* ‘right here’, *o-la* ‘there’, and *ō-la* ‘way over there’. In addition to location in space these terms are used for location in time.²⁰

Table 4.57: Location *lo* (*ʎo*)

case	term	PROX	DIST	REM
DIR	ʎo	a-lo	o-lo	ō-lo
OBL	ʎe	a-le	o-le	ō-le
LOC	ʎa	a-la	o-la	ō-la

Pashai has two sets of demonstratives, one that is marked for proximity to the speaker and one that is not marked. I have roughly translated them in the examples as ‘this’ and ‘that’ respectively. However since they can be used as determiners and pronouns the translation is very loose here. In order to distinguish these demonstratives from the prefixes that attach to them I have assigned the feature NEAR. The demonstrative *mi* is +NEAR; the demonstrative *se/ti*, is not marked for nearness, indicated as \emptyset NEAR in the Tables. The demonstratives are

20. Speakers varied in their pronunciation of this morpheme. Most recognized it as [ʎ] in initial position but pronounced it as [l] when prefixed.

presented in Tables 4.58 and 4.59.²¹

Table 4.58: Demonstrative *mi* + NEAR

case	SG	gloss	PL	gloss
DIR	mi	this	me	these
OBL	miy	this	mē	these
GEN	mis	of this	mēna	of these

The demonstrative *mi* ‘this’, often used for introducing (new) information into discourse, combines only with the proximal prefix, as in *a-mi*, for proximal and visible referents; it does not combine with other prefixes. In other words, the basic meaning of the demonstrative can be ‘augmented’ (or intensified) with the proximal prefix to indicate more nearness, but the basic meaning cannot be altered, by affixing the distal or remote prefixes, to indicate reduced nearness.

Table 4.59: Demonstrative *se/ti* ∅ NEAR

case	SG	gloss	PL	gloss
DIR	se	this/that	te	these/those
OBL	ti	this/that	tē	these/those
GEN	tis	of this/that	tēna	of these/those

The demonstrative *se/ti* ‘this/that’ can be prefixed with all the deictic prefixes. The basic meaning does not encode ‘distance’ so much as ‘lack of proximity’. Therefore the demonstrative can have its meaning modified by the addition of deictic prefixes.

The term *yo* (*ye* OBL) is an anaphoric term for old information or shared knowledge. It does not combine with the deictic prefixes. Table 4.60 shows the demonstratives *mi* and *se/ti* with deictic prefixes.

21. The oblique forms of the demonstratives, presumably marked with the oblique case ending *-y*, are treated here and throughout the dissertation as fused forms. Thus *mi-i* is transcribed as *miy*, *me-y* as *mē*, *te-y* as *tē*.

Table 4.60: Demonstratives with Deictic Prefixes

no.	case	+NEAR	PROX	øNEAR	PROX	DIST	REM
SG	DIR	mi	a-mi	se	a-se	o-se	ō-se
	OBL	miy	a-miy	ti	a-ti	o-ti	ō-ti
	GEN	mis	a-mis	tis		o-tis	
PL	DIR	me	a-me	te	a-te	o-te	ō-te
	OBL	mē	a-mē	tē	a-tē	o-tē	ō-ti
	GEN	mēna		tēna	a-tēna		

Deictic demonstratives occur frequently in Pashai discourse. Pashai lacks both definite and indefinite articles and in most naturally occurring speech samples nouns are introduced by the demonstratives discussed in this section. The same forms are used for humans, non-humans, animates, and inanimates. Some of the forms distinguish case and number; others are invariant, as will be shown in the description. All of the terms discussed can be used as both demonstrative determiners to modify nouns, and as pronouns.

It appears that more terms combine with *a-* than with *o-* or *ō-*. I may have failed to observe or elicit some of the combinations that could logically be used. It is clear that the deictic system of Pashai is skewed toward proximity to the speaker. In the remainder of this section I describe some of the features and functions of these terms. The deictic terms are highlighted in **bold**.

4.6.1 Spatial Location

The location morpheme *lo* (*ʔo*) locates an object physically. The prefix *a-* always indicates a visible referent. The prefix *o-* is generally visible too, at least in the line of sight. The prefix *ō-* is often used for non-visible locations. The terms can be used adjectivally, as in example (4.71a) or pronominally, as in examples (4.71b) - (4.71c).

- (4.71) a. **a-lo** ketāb ten-ā š-i
PROX-location.DIR book.M 2SG.OBL-M be.INAN.PRS-3
‘This book is yours’ S

- b. **a-lo** ten-ā ketāb š-i
 PROX-location.DIR 2SG.OBL-M book.M be.INAN.PRS-3
 ‘This is your book’ S
- c. **ō-lo** ten-ā dokān š-i
 REM-location.DIR 2SG.OBL-M store.M be.INAN.PRS-3
 ‘That is your store’ E

a-lo is used as a locatively-specified demonstrative pronoun. It indicates a visible and proximate referent.

- (4.72) **a-lo** ke as
 PROX-location.DIR who be.AN.M.PRS.3
 ‘Who is this guy here?’ S (The referent is close and visible)

The terms are often used by the speaker, who is the deictic center, to indicate a location relative to him or herself. The speaker, in examples (4.73a) - (4.74) uses the Present-Future Non-Specific form of the verb, a softer and more polite form than the imperative.

- (4.73) a. **a-le** ni-ē
 PROX-location.OBL sit-2S
 ‘Sit here’ S (PFNS)
 (close and visible, within arm’s reach, indicated with a hand gesture)
- b. **o-le** ni-ē
 DIST-location.OBL sit-2S
 ‘Sit there’ S (PFNS)(close, but not too close, visible but beyond arms reach,
 indicated with a hand gesture)

Contrasting two locations The prefixes are used to contrast deictic terms:

- (4.74) **a-le** ni-ē **o-le** ni-ni-ē
 PROX-location.OBL sit-2S DIST-location.OBL NEG-sit-2S
 ‘Sit here, don’t sit there’ S (PFNS)

While the prefixes remain the same the demonstrative can differ. In the following example *a-lo* is contrasted with *o-se*.

- (4.75) **a-lo** lām bakār šī **o-se** lām bakār
PROX-location.DIR house good be.INAN.PRS-3 DIST-DEM.DIR house good
ni-ši
NEG-be.INAN.PRS-3
‘This (here) house is good that (one) house is not good’ S

Body parts are contrasted with only the proximal term:

- (4.76) **a-lo** aṇuṛ-ek-am lau-a **a-lo** aṇuṛ-ek-am
PROX-location.DIR finger-F-PS1SG.F hurt-3S PROX-location.DIR finger-F-PS1SG
na
NEG
‘This finger hurts (of mine), this finger does not’ E (PFS)

4.6.2 Temporal Location

Temporal location is expressed with proximal deictic terms used adjectivally:

- (4.77) **a-la** sāl-a mam kābol-ē pa-y-am
PROX-location.LOC year-LOC I Kabul-OBL go-PFS-1S
‘This year I am going to Kabul’ S

In this instance the use of *a-la* emphasizes the proximity and temporal certainty of the statement, meaning ‘I am going to Kabul this very year’.²² Alternatively, the speaker can use the proximal prefix with the +NEAR demonstrative *mi*, as in:

- (4.78) **a-miy** sāl-a mam kābol-ē pa-y-am
PROX-DEM.SG.OBL year-LOC I Kabul-OBL go-PFS-1S
‘This year I am going to Kabul’ S

But it lacks the force of example (4.77) with *a-la*. The remote temporal is expressed simply by location, rather than the remote deictic prefix, as shown in example (4.79).

- (4.79) **la**(*ō-la) sāl-a kuč-a obj-au-ā ā-em
location.LOC year-LOC belly-LOC born-STV.PCP-M be.PRS-1S
‘I am (was) born in that year’ S

22. The Present-Future Specific tense is used in examples (4.77) and (4.78), emphasizing the actuality of the event in the speakers mind.

4.6.3 Location and Movement

Direction and movement to and from a location are expressed with the prefixed deictic terms, shown in examples (4.80a) - (4.80c).

- (4.80) a. **o-le** pa-te-č
 DIST-location.OBL go-DSPF-FP
 ‘She has gone over there’ S (in line of sight, location unknown, accompanied by hand gesture)
- b. **o-le=ka** pa-te-č
 DIST-location.OBL=to go-DSPF-FP
 ‘She has gone there’ S (location known, distal, if not seen)
- c. **o-le=te** i-i-k-am
 DIST-location.OBL=from come-PXPF-M-1S
 ‘I came from there’ S (location known and not far, not necessarily seen, accompanied by hand gesture)

The use of postpositions with the deictic terms adds specificity to the utterance. In other words, the speaker knows the location in examples (4.80b) and (4.80c). Example (4.80a) without a postposition, lacks specificity, rendering the location unknown.

Word order does not affect the meaning. The deictic term occupies the position of adverbs in Pashai, either in preverbal position as in (4.81a) or in post verbal position, as in (4.81b).

- (4.81) a. **ō-le=ka** pa-y-am
 REM-location.OBL=to go-PFS-1S
 ‘I am going there’ S (not necessarily seen, known to speaker but not necessarily known to listener, somewhere over there, usually within line of sight, accompanied by hand gesture)
- b. a pa-y-am **o-le=ka**
 I go-PFS-1S DIST-location.OBL=to
 ‘I am going there’ S (within line of sight)

a-lo cannot be used when movement of the referent is involved, as it would be with the verb ‘take’. Therefore (4.82a) is unacceptable. The example in (4.82b), using the demonstrative

is acceptable.

- (4.82) a. ***a-le** ketāb-ē gor-a
 PROX-location.OBL book-OBL take-IMP.SG
 ‘Take this book’ S
- b. **a-miy** ketāb-ē gor-a
 PROX-DEM-SG.OBL book-OBL take-IMP.SG
 ‘Take this book’ S

4.6.4 Demonstratives *se/ti* and *me*

The demonstrative *se* (DIR) / *ti*(OBL) is not marked for nearness, therefore it can combine with all the deictic prefixes to situate the referent visually and spatially. The prefixes *a-* and *o-* mark the referent as visible, as in the examples in (4.83). *ō-* marks the referent as remote; it may or may not be visible.

- (4.83) a. **a-se** ke ās
 PROX-DEM.SG.DIR who be.AN.M.PRS.3
 ‘Who is this?’ S (visible, proximal, not known)
- b. **o-se** ke ās
 DIST-DEM.SG.DIR who be.AN.M.PRS.3
 ‘Who is that?’ S (visible, distal, not known)

Without the prefix, the referent is not visible, as in example (4.84).

- (4.84) **se** ke ās
 DEM.SG.DIR who be.AN.M.PRS.3
 ‘Who is that?’ S (referring to someone not visible, as on the other end of a phone conversation)

Often the remote deictic term refers to a known referent which is neither proximate nor visible, as in example (4.85).

- (4.85) **ō-se** dokān
 REM-DEM.SG.DIR store
 ‘that store’ S (known to discussants but not visible)

Sometimes the presence of a prefix (*a-* ‘proximal’ and *o-* ‘distal’) signals not only that the speaker is drawing the listener’s attention to the visibility and proximity of the referent but that their proximity and visibility is relevant to the discourse, such as in example (4.86b). A demonstrative used without the prefixes indicates the referent is not visible, and their location is less relevant to the discourse, as in example (4.86a).

- (4.86) a. **te** xalek ke ā-en
 DEM.PL.DIR people who be.AN-3P
 ‘Who are those people?’ S (distant but not specifying how far they are from speaker, their distance is not relevant to the discourse)
- b. **o-te** xalek ke ā-en
 DIST-DEM.PL.DIR people who be.AN-3P
 ‘Who are those people?’ S (distant, visible, their distance is relevant to the discourse)

The demonstrative *me* is marked for nearness and combines only with the proximal prefix *a-*. Without the prefix *me* is used for a referent new to the conversation (abstract proximity) but not necessarily physically close, as in example (4.87a). The proximal prefix *a-* adds the feature of visibility to the meaning in example (4.87b).

- (4.87) a. **me** xalek ke ā-en
 DEM.PL.DIR people who be.AN-3P
 ‘Who are these people?’ S (not visible)
- b. **a-me** xalek ke ā-en
 PROX-DEM.PL.DIR people who be.AN-3P
 ‘Who are these people?’ S (close and visible)

The demonstrative *yo* (*ye* OBL) is used for old information, and to bring focus to a known referent. For example, *yo* is used when the referent is known to everyone. In the following set of examples, *yo* is used because it is referring to something everyone heard.

- (4.88) **yo** āvāz koi āvāz š-i
 DEM sound what sound be.INAN.PRS-3
 ‘What is that sound?’ S (if everyone heard it)

If the speaker is not sure who else heard that sound he will use the demonstrative pronouns with or without the distal prefix *o-*.

- (4.89) (**o-**)**se** āvāz koi āvāz š-i
 (DIST-)DEM.SG.DIR sound what sound be.INAN.PRS-3
 ‘What is that sound?’ S (said of a sound, like a bird, outside; asking if anyone else heard it)

In example (4.90) *le* ‘location.OBL’ is neutral for visibility although often used for a known location; *ye* indicates a known and proximal location:

- (4.90) **le**=ka pa-y-am goravāl-i o **ye**=ka pačabal i-am
 location.OBL=to go-PFS-1S wedding-OBL and DEM.OBL=to after come-1S
 ‘I am going there for the wedding and will come back here after’ S (PFNS)

There are postpositions attached to *le* and *ye*, adding an element of specificity, that the speaker knows where he is going. Both *ye* and *a-me* are used for proximal location in the discourse.

- (4.91) a. **ye** masala kuč-a
 DEM.OBL situation belly-LOC
 ‘in this situation’ S
- b. **a-miy** masala kuč-a
 PROX-DEM.SG.OBL situation belly-LOC
 ‘in this situation’ S

4.6.5 Summary

This preliminary investigation of deictic terms and prefixes in Pashai offers the following observations:

Pashai deictic prefixes encode the features of visibility and proximity. Combined with demonstratives they reference objects in time, space and discourse. I have shown why the demonstrative *mi*, marked for nearness, combines only with *a-*(PROX) and why the demonstrative *se/ti*, not marked for nearness, combines with all the prefixes. Furthermore, I have

illustrated how the postpositions add specificity when attached to the deictic terms. Table 4.61 summarizes these findings. The symbol ‘+’ signifies ‘marked for the feature’, ‘-’ signifies ‘negatively marked for the feature’, \emptyset signifies ‘unmarked for the feature’.

Table 4.61: Pashai Deictic Prefixes

prefix	visibility	proximity
a-	+	+
o-	+	-
\bar{o} -	\emptyset	-

One might expect that the remote prefix - \bar{o} encodes the feature -visible, but the variation in speakers’ intuition regarding these examples did not preclude visibility. Therefore I have marked it as unmarked for visibility.

4.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I have presented a description of various morphological and morpho-phonological processes operating in the nominal system in Pashai. I have described the word formation processes including compounding and suffixation. Some productive derivational processes for noun and adjective forming suffixes and diminutive formation were described. In inflectional morphology I have examined the case system, possessive suffixes, and gender and number inflection. This chapter includes a description of postpositions, adjectives, adverbs and quantifiers. I have also examined personal pronouns, demonstratives, bound pronominal forms, and the reflexive form. Finally, I have provided a preliminary description of the deictic terms and prefixes in Pashai.

Chapter 5

Verbal Morphology

5.1 Introduction

The Pashai verbal system has a well-developed inflectional and derivational morphology. The inflectional morphology encodes person, number, gender, tense and aspect. Valency-changing derivational suffixes for transitivizing (TRZ) and causative (CS) formation are added to verbal roots. Except for the negative prefix (NEG), the morphology is suffixal.

Pashai has a number of non-finite verb forms, the infinitive and participles, some of which inflect for gender and number. This chapter is organized as follows:

In section 5.1.1 I provide a verbal template for the morphological components of the finite verb, including verb roots, derivational affixes, aspect markers, and pronominal suffixes. In order to orient the reader I have included a tree showing the tense-aspect opposition basic to the Pashai indicative verb system in section 5.1.2. In section 5.2 I discuss the shape of the basic verb root and the stems formed with additional affixes that serve as the basis for verbal inflection. Section 5.3 is an overview of the pronominal suffixes for all the tense-aspect forms. In sections 5.4 and 5.5 I describe the non-perfective and perfective paradigms, respectively. Section 5.6 takes up the morpho-syntactic process of transitivization and causative formation. Section 5.7 looks at the processes of participle construction. In

section 5.8 I present conclusions for the chapter.

Both tense and aspect are categorial distinctions in Pashai. In Chapter 6 I show that aspect is the basic opposition, with tense as a secondary factor. Gender-number indexing crosscuts the tense-aspect distinction. The morphological description in this chapter follows the aspectual distinction; the non-perfective tenses are described first followed by the perfective tenses.

The morphology of the verb tenses is illustrated throughout this chapter with a series of tables that show all possible configurations of subject and object arguments. Following the tables for each tense is a discussion of the patterns that emerge.

5.1.1 Verbal Template

The verbal template is shown in the schema in (5.1). The abbreviations used in the template and Table 5.1, are provided in Table 5.2.

$$(5.1) \quad \text{NEG-}[\text{root-(TRZ-CS)}]_{\text{stem-S-O-AM-}}[\text{K/k/}\check{\text{c}}\text{-S-O}]$$

The verb stem is composed of the verbal root + optional transitive and causative affixes.

In the Present-Future Non-Specific form subject and object suffixes follow the stem. There are no tense markers.

In the Present-Future Specific form the object marker immediately follows the stem. The morpheme, represented abstractly as K (*-k-* in transitive, *-y-*, *-ȳ-* in intransitive), forms a complex with the subject suffix, signifying specificity (SP).

In the perfective forms an aspect marker (AM) follows the stem. Following the aspect marker is the gender/number marker *-k/č-*. *-k/č-* forms a complex with the absolutive argument. In the transitive it attaches to the object suffix, except when the object is

outranked by the subject.¹ In the intransitive gender/number markers attach to the subject suffix. The gender/number affix indexes the absolute argument.

It is possible that the morphemes K and *-k/č-* have come from the same source, although they have different functions now. One possible scenario is as follows. The split ergative pattern found in many Indo-Aryan languages evolved from the reinterpretation of a past participle which preserved the gender distinction. The gender distinction (*-k/č-*) was lost in the non-perfective forms but the K was retained and reinterpreted as a specificity marker. The masculine *-k-* became the unmarked form in the non-perfective Present-Future Specific. This reconstruction on the development of K and *-k/č-* is highly speculative, and requires further analysis.

Table 5.1 shows the position of affixes for the Pashai verb, following the stem. The different tense-aspect forms are listed in column 1 with a checkmark indicating the those positions selected by that verb form.

Table 5.1: Verbal Inflection Position										
form	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	NEG	root	TRZ	CS	S	O	AM	K,k/č	S	O
PFNS-INTR	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓					
PFNS-TR	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
PFS-INTR	✓	✓	✓	✓				✓	✓	
PFS-TR	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	
PRF-INTR	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	
PRF-TR	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

The following abbreviations are used the verbal template in (5.1) and the verbal inflection positions in Table 5.1.

1. The ranking hierarchy responsible for the assignment of pronominal suffixes is discussed in section 5.5.2.

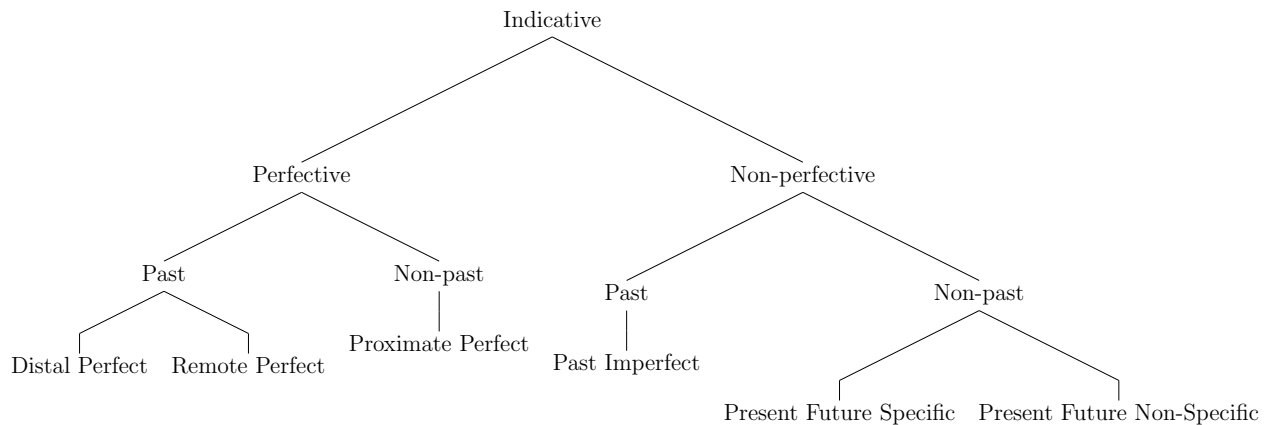
Table 5.2: Verbal Inflection Abbreviations

abbreviation	meaning
AM	aspect marker
CS	causative suffix
INTR	intransitive
K	specificity marker (tense-aspect)
k/č	gender/number marker of absolutive argument
NEG	Negative prefix
O	object-indexing pronominal suffix
PFNS	Present-Future Non-Specific
PFS	Present-Future Specific
PRF	perfective forms
S	Subject-indexing pronominal suffix
TR	transitive
TRZ	transitivizing suffix

5.1.2 Verbal System

The Pashai verbal system has both indicative and non-indicative moods. In Figure 5.1 the tense/ aspectual distinction in the indicative mood is illustrated. These are the forms that are described in this chapter.

Figure 5.1: Pashai Indicative Verb Forms



5.2 Verb Stem

In discussing Pashai verb forms I distinguish between roots and stems in the following manner: The roots are bound morphemes, the basic meaning unit of the verb. Verb stems are the basic morphological unit to which derivational and inflectional suffixes are affixed. Roots can be extended with transitivizing and causative affixes, forming stems to which inflectional affixes are added. When roots are inflected directly, I refer to them in this dissertation as stems.

Most Pashai basic verb roots are monosyllabic and consonant-final. An infinitive is formed by adding the stressed suffix *-ik* to the stem. Consonant-final verb roots are presented in Table 5.3; vowel-final verb roots are presented in Table 5.4.

Table 5.3: Verb Roots Consonant-Final

root	gloss	root	gloss
unǰ-	wash	dār-	have
muč-	flee	mār-	kill
an-	hit	pol-	arrive
paṛ-	read	pin-	know

Some of the most common verb roots are vowel-final, shown in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4: Verb Roots Vowel-Final

root	gloss	root	gloss
pi-	drink	pa-	go
ka-	do	de-	give
ve-	pour	me-	say
ne-	sit	ni-	emerge

Some verb roots consist of a single vowel or consonant.

Table 5.5: Verb Roots Vowel-Final / Consonant-Final

vowel root	gloss	consonant root	gloss
ā-	be	b-	be
e-	eat	t-	be
i-	come	g-	go

5.3 Pronominal Suffixes

Pronominal suffixes indexing the core subject and object arguments in different tense-aspect forms are shown in Table 5.6. The Present-Future Non-Specific (PFNS) and the Present-Future Specific (PFS) forms show nominative accusative case agreement patterns. The Perfective forms (PRF) show ergative agreement.

Table 5.6: Pronominal Suffixes

	PFNS(nom/acc)			PFS(nom/acc)			PRF(erg)		
	S TR	S INTR	O	S TR	S INTR	O	S TR	S INTR	O
1SG	-am-	-am	-im	-am-	-am	-im-	-am	-am	-im
1PL	-es-	-es	-in	-as-	-as	-in-	-an	-es	-es
2SG	-ē-	-ē	-ē	-ē	-ē	-ē-	-ē	-ē	-ē
2PL	-ad-	-e(da)	-u	-u-	-e	-u-	-o	-e	-o/-e
3SG	-ad-	-et	-i/-a	∅	-a	-i-	∅	∅	-en/-an
3PL	-and-	-en	-i/a	-an	-an	-i-	∅	-nč	-in

Table 5.6 shows that first-person singular pronominal suffixes display nominative/accusative alignment in all tense-aspect forms. The first-person plural suffixes are essentially the same for Present-Future Non-Specific and Present-Future Specific. They show a nominative/accusative alignment. The Perfective shows the ergative alignment with the first-person plural suffixes.

The Present-Future Specific and Present-Future Non-Specific share some of the same affixes. The third-person plural suffixes for the Present-Future Non-Specific and the Present-Future Specific may actually be the same underlying form. Consonant clusters are simplified

in word-final position yielding *-an* for the Present-Future Specific. The Present-Future Non-Specific suffix *-and-* does not appear in word-final position and the cluster is not simplified. Third-person object suffix *-i* is the same in the Present-Future Specific and Present-Future Non-Specific except in the Present-Future Non-Specific when the subject is second-person.

5.4 Non-Perfective Tenses

There are three non-perfective forms in Pashai. The Present-Future Non-Specific and the Present-Future Specific are non-past; these forms are underspecified for tense as there is no tense morphology in the non-past forms. The Past Imperfect is a compound construction with the auxiliary verb in the past tense. The non-perfective forms all display nominative-accusative agreement patterns.

5.4.1 Present-Future Non-Specific

The Present-Future Non-Specific is morphologically the simplest of all the verbal paradigms. It consists of the verb stem + pronominal suffixes. The Present-Future Non-Specific is used for generic actions, habitual activities, actions that may or may not take place at an unspecified time, in numerous types of conditional clauses, and complements of verbs expressing unrealized states and actions. A detailed description of the use of this form is provided in Chapter 6.

The Present-Future Non-Specific pronominal suffixes are detailed in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7: Present-Future Non-Specific Pronominal Suffixes

	TR SBJ	INTR SBJ	OBJ
1SG	-am	-am	-im (-am)
1PL.INCL	-aman	-aman	-
1PL.EXCL	-es	-es	-in (-an)
2SG	-ē	-ē	-ē
2PL	-ad-	-e /-eda	-o
3SG	-ad-	-et	-i (-a)
3PL	-and-	-en	-i (-a)

Pashai distinguishes inclusive and exclusive subject-indexing for first-person plural. This distinction is not made for object suffixes. These suffixes are discussed below. The second-person plural intransitive subject suffix has two variants in *-e* and *-eda*. Parenthesis are used in Table 5.7 for the object suffixes used with second-person subjects. These configurations are addressed in the section 5.4.1.2.

5.4.1.1 Present-Future Non-Specific Intransitive

In Table 5.8 the intransitive paradigm is illustrated with the verb stem *pa-* ‘go’. The morphological form is verb stem + subject-indexing pronominal suffix.

Table 5.8: Present-Future Non-Specific Intransitive

person	suffix	example	gloss	person	suffix	example	gloss
1SG	-am	pa-am	I go	1PL.INCL	-aman	pa-aman	we go
				1PL.EXCL	-es	pa-es	we go
2SG	-ē	pa-ē	you go	2PL	-eda	pa-eda	you.PL go
3SG	-et	pa-et	he/she goes	3PL	-an	pa-an	they go

With vowel-final roots, such as *pa-* ‘go’ the vowels of stem and suffix merge in rapid speech. Typically one hears [pam] instead of /pa-am/; /pa-an/ > [pan], /pa-eda/ > [peda], and/ pa-et/ > [pet]. Many speakers do not pronounce the final [t] in the third-person singular. My examples reflect the way they were pronounced; therefore the reader will find

variation in the third-person singular.

The paradigm descriptions show, where applicable, that the first-person plural has both an inclusive (INCL) and an exclusive (EXCL) suffix. The inclusive suffix is used when the speaker and all the listeners are included; the exclusive suffix is used when the listeners are not included in the speaker's statement. The use of *-aman* INCL is more restricted than *-es* EXCL suffix. The suffix *-aman* INCL is only used for subjects, not objects. The first-person plural inclusive/exclusive distinction is a rarity in South Asian languages. Dravidian languages have this distinction, but few Indo-Aryan languages do. In the immediate region, only the Nuristani language Vāsi-vari has this feature.²

5.4.1.2 Present-Future Non-Specific Transitive

In Tables 5.9 – 5.11 both subject and object arguments are indexed on the verb. In order to illustrate the different suffixes clearly the subject suffixes are highlighted with **bold**, the object suffixes are highlighted with *italics*. The verb *an-* 'beat' is used throughout the tables. Suffixes are glossed with person (1,2,3), number (no marking for singular, P for plural), S for subject, and O for object. Third-person object suffixes have no number distinction in this form; the suffixes are glossed as 3O.

2. This point was brought to my attention by Elena Bashir, p.c. by way of Richard Strand, p.c.

Table 5.9: Present-Future Non-Specific First-Person Subject

<i>Object</i>	Subject	
	1SG	1PL
2SG	an- am - \bar{e} beat-1S-2O ‘I beat you’	an- es - \bar{e} beat-1P.S-2O ‘We beat you’
2PL	an- am - u beat-1S-2P.O ‘I beat you.PL’	an- es - u beat-1P.S-2P.O ‘We beat you.PL’
3SG/PL	an- am - i beat-1S-3O ‘I beat him/her/them’	an- es - i beat-1P.S-3O ‘We beat him/her/them’

Table 5.10: Present-Future Non-Specific Second-Person Subject

<i>Object</i>	Subject	
	2SG	2PL
1SG	an- \bar{e} - am beat-2S-1O ‘You beat me’	an- ad - am beat-2P.S-1O ‘You.PL beat me’
1PL	an- \bar{e} - an beat-2S-1P.O ‘You beat us’	an- ad - an beat-2P.S-1P.O ‘You.PL beat us’
3SG/PL	an- \bar{e} - a beat-2S-3O ‘You beat him/her/them’	an- ad - a beat-2P.S-3O ‘You.PL beat him/her/them’

Table 5.11: Present-Future Non-Specific Third-Person Subject

<i>Object</i>	Subject 3SG	3PL
1SG	an- ad - <i>im</i> beat-3S-1O 'S/he beats me'	an- and - <i>im</i> beat-3P.S-1O 'They beat me'
1PL	an- ad - <i>in</i> beat-3S-1P.O 'S/he beat us'	an- and - <i>in</i> beat-3P.S-1P.O 'They beat us'
2SG	an- ad - <i>ē</i> beat-3S-2O 'S/he beats you'	an- and - <i>ē</i> beat-3P.S-2O 'They beat you'
2PL	an- ad - <i>u</i> beat-3S-2P.O 'S/he beats you.PL'	an- and - <i>u</i> beat-3P.S-2P.O 'They beat you.PL'
3SG/3PL	an- ad - <i>i</i> beat-3S-3O 'S/he beats him/her/them'	an- and - <i>i</i> beat-3P.S-3O 'They beat him/her/them'

In the Present-Future Non-Specific form, subject suffixes precede object suffixes throughout the paradigm. Unlike other tenses, the Present-Future Non-Specific form has pronominal suffixes indexing all persons.

The second-person subject paradigm stands out for a number of reasons. When the subject is second-person the object-indexing suffixes in this paradigm are different than in first-person subject and third-person subject paradigms. When the subject is second-person, singular or plural, the first-person object is indexed with subject suffixes *-am* (SG), and *-an* (PL). The object-indexing suffixes *-im* (SG) and *-in* (PL) are only used with third-person subjects in the Present-Future Non-Specific, although these same object suffixes are used for first-person objects in the Present-Future Specific and the perfective forms. Furthermore, the third-person object-indexing suffix is *-a* with second-person subject. When other persons are subjects, such as first-person and third-person, the object-indexing suffix is *-i*. This pattern is given in Table 5.12.

Table 5.12: Object Suffixes for Second-Person Subjects

	second-person subject	first, third-person subject
1SG	-am	-im
1PL	-an	-in
3SG/PL	-a	-i

Pragmatically, the use of the inclusive plural subject suffix *-aman* is quite restricted. Since it is used to refer to the speaker and hearer it cannot be used to refer to anyone else in the speech domain. It is used in the Present-Future Non-Specific only when no object suffix is attached to the verb, as in example (5.2).

- (5.2) ama an-aman
 we beat-1PL.INCL
 ‘we will beat (someone)’ E

5.4.2 Present-Future Specific

The Present-Future Specific form is used for future, present, present continuous and present/future statements with specific intentions, definite outcomes or an activity or state that is actually happening at the moment. A detailed discussion of the use of this form is found in Chapter 6. Table 5.13 shows the subject and object suffixes for transitive and intransitive forms of the Present-Future Specific paradigm.

Table 5.13: Present-Future Specific Pronominal Suffixes

	TR SBJ	INTR SBJ	OBJ
1SG	-am	-am	-im
1PL.INCL	-aman	-aman	
1PL.EXCL	-as	-as	-in
2SG	-ē	-ē	-ē-
2PL	-u	-e	-u-
3SG	-∅	-a	-i
3PL	-an	-an	-i

The Present-Future Specific transitive verb has the following morphological components:

Verb stem, Object suffix, -K- + Subject suffix. Gender is not indicated in the non-past forms. The specificity marker, abstractly referred to as -K-, always attaches to the subject suffixes.³ In the transitive and intransitive paradigm the specificity marker -K- has different morphological forms. In the transitive paradigm the specificity marker is *-k-*; in the intransitive paradigm it is *-y-*. In the third-person singular intransitive form the specificity marker is *-y-*. An explanation for the different forms of the specificity marker in Amla dialect and other dialects follows.

In the Amla dialect investigated in this dissertation *-k-* is absent from the intransitive verb paradigm. The sounds [k] and [g] are not always phonemically distinctive, as was shown in Chapter 3. Often [k] is voiced (or partially voiced) intervocalically; other dialects retain *-g-* as the specificity marker in the intransitive form. The *-g-* of this paradigm became spirantized, like other instances of intervocalic [g] described in Chapter 4, resulting in the velar fricative [ɣ]. The *-y-* is retained as the specificity marker in the third-person singular paradigm. The [ɣ] may have become interpreted as a glide, or having been dropped the resulting hiatus was interpreted as a glide, resulting in the intransitive specificity marker *-y-* seen in Amla today.

The Amla dialect is similar in many respects to the geographically close Khewa dialect Morgenstierne describes.⁴ Morgenstierne notes that in the present tense (my Present-Future Specific) the velar *-k-* is absent from Khewa dialect.

Other dialects slightly north of Amla up the Darrai Nur valley retained the velar in the intransitive although the third singular has the spirantized [ɣ].⁵

The function of the specificity marker is explored in Chapter 6. The specificity marker is associated only with this tense form and is glossed as PFS in the examples in this dissertation.

3. Morgenstierne (1973) does not expand on the history of this affix; he simply states that it is one of the features of the paradigm.

4. In other respects discussed at points in this dissertation, the micro regional dialects are quite dissimilar and so I have not put them in the same group. Morgenstierne refers to this region as Shewa.

5. The verb *pa-* ‘go’ in Qalishahi dialect: 1SG *pa-k-om*, 2SG *pa-k-ē*, 3SG *pa-ɣ-a*, 1PL *pa-k-as*, 2PL *pa-k-o*, 3PL *pa-k-an*.

There are no third-person singular subject suffixes for transitive verbs in the Present-Future Specific. Therefore, no specificity marker appears in that paradigm.

5.4.2.1 Present-Future Specific Intransitive

The paradigm for Present-Future Specific intransitive is shown in Table 5.14 with the verb *pa-* ‘go’.

Table 5.14: Present-Future Specific Intransitive

person	suffix	example	gloss	person	suffix	example	gloss
1SG	-am	pa-y-am	I am going	1PL.INCL	-aman	pa-y-aman	we are going
				1PL.EXCL	-as	pa-y-as	we are going
2SG	-ē	pa-y-ē	you are going	2PL ⁶	-e	pa-y-e	you.PL are going
3SG	-a	pa-y-a	he/she is going	3PL	-an	pa-y-an	they are going

The occurrence of the specificity marker -y- is optional in the third-person singular form. Examples are shown both with and without -y- , depending on how they were provided by the speakers in spontaneous utterances.

5.4.2.2 Present-Future Specific Transitive

The Present-Future Specific paradigm is shown in Tables 5.15- 5.17.

6. Some speakers in this region use the 2PL suffix *-eda* for example *pa-y-eda* ‘you.PL go’

Table 5.15: Present-Future Specific First-Person Subject

<i>Object</i>	Subject	
	1SG	1PL
2SG	an- <i>ē</i> -k- am - <i>ē</i> beat-2O-PFS-1S-2O ‘I am beating you’	an- <i>ē</i> -k- as - <i>ē</i> beat-2O-PFS-1P.S-2O ‘We are beating you’
2PL	an- <i>u</i> -k- am - <i>u</i> beat-2P.O-PFS-1S-2P.O ‘I am beating you.PL’	an- <i>u</i> -k- as - <i>u</i> beat-2P.O-PFS-1PL-2P.O ‘We are beating you.PL’
3SG/PL	an- <i>i</i> -k- am beat-3O-PFS-1S ‘I am beating him/her/them’	an- <i>i</i> -k- as beat-3O-PFS-1P.S ‘We.EXCL are beating him/her/them’
3SG/PL		an- <i>i</i> -k- aman beat-3O-PFS-1PL.INCL We.INCL are beating him/her/them

The first-person plural inclusive subject suffix *-aman* only occurs with the third-person objects. Notice that second-person object suffixes appear twice on the forms with first-person subjects, both preceding and following the subject-indexing suffix. The duplicate object suffix is copied onto the end of the morpheme string. This pattern also appears with second-person subject affixes in the Perfective paradigm.

Table 5.16: Present-Future Specific Second-Person Subject

<i>Object</i>	Subject	
	2SG	2PL
1SG	an- <i>im</i> -k- ē beat-1O-PFS-2S ‘You are beating me’	an- <i>im</i> -k- u beat-1O-PFS-2P.S ‘You.PL are beating me’
1PL	an- <i>in</i> -k- ē beat-1P.O-PFS-2S ‘You are beating us’	an- <i>in</i> -k- u beat-1P.O-PFS-2P.S ‘You.PL are beating us’
3	an- <i>i</i> -k- ē beat-3O-PFS-2S ‘You are beating him/her/them’	an- <i>i</i> -k- u beat-3O-PFS-2P.S ‘You.PL are beating him/her/them’

In the third-person subject paradigm shown in Table 5.17, there is no third-person singu-

lar pronominal suffix and -K- is absent as well. When the third-person plural subject-indexing suffix (-*an*) occurs, the -K- is present. There is no morphological distinction between third-person singular and plural objects.

Table 5.17: Present-Future Specific Third-Person Subject

<i>Object</i>	Subject 3SG	3PL
1SG	an- <i>im</i> beat-1O 'S/he is beating me'	an- <i>im</i> -k- an beat-1O-PFS-3P.S 'They are beating me'
1PL	an- <i>in</i> beat-1P.O 'S/he is beating us'	an- <i>in</i> -k- an beat-1P.O-PFS-3P.S 'They are beating us'
2SG	an- <i>ē</i> beat-2O 'S/he is beating you'	an- <i>ē</i> -k- an - <i>ē</i> beat-2P.O-3P.S-PFS-2P.O 'They are beating you'
2PL	an- <i>u</i> beat-2P.O 'S/he is beating you.PL	an- <i>u</i> -k- an - <i>u</i> beat-2P.O-3P.S-PFS-2P.O They are beating you.PL
3SG/PL	an- <i>i</i> beat-3O S/he is beating her/him/them	an- <i>i</i> -k- an beat-3O-PFS-3P.S They are beating her/him/them

A number of patterns emerge. The paradigms show that object-indexing suffixes attach to the verb stem before subject-indexing suffixes. Another notable pattern is that second-person object suffixes are repeated before and after first-person and third-person subject suffixes.

The data also show that the specificity marker -*k*- is always associated with subject-indexing suffixes. Where the subject suffix is zero, as in the third-person singular, -*k*- does not appear.

The third-person singular suffix -*a* that appears on intransitive verbs is also used for transitive verbs with generic objects. Hence the difference between example (5.3a) with a generic object, and (5.3b) with a specified object.

- (5.3) a. nasib ketāb paṛ-aṭ-a
 nasib book read-PFS-3S
 ‘Nasib is reading (books)’ E
- b. nasib ketāb-ast-a paṛ-i
 nasib book-GEN-GEN-3SG read-3O
 ‘Nasib is reading his book’ E (PFS)

The lack of an object marker and appearance of the intransitive subject marker on verbs with generic objects has the effect of blurring the transitive/intransitive distinction.

5.4.3 Past Imperfect

The Past Imperfect (PST.IPRF) is used to express past actions or events that are continuous, habitual, iterative, progressive, interrupted, intended but unrealized actions, and counterfactual conditionals.

5.4.3.1 Past Imperfect Intransitive

The Past Imperfect intransitive is constructed from a Present-Future Specific third-person singular verb and the past tense of the copula *ā-* ‘be’. The past tense paradigm for the copula *ā-* is provided in Table 5.18. A detailed description of the copula and auxiliary verbs is provided in Chapter 6.

Table 5.18: *ā-* ‘be’ Past

person	singular	gloss	person	plural	gloss
1 F	<i>ā-č-am</i>	I.F was	1 INCL	<i>ā-č-aman</i>	we.INCL were
1 M	<i>ā-k-am</i>	I.M was	1 EXCL	<i>ā-č-es</i>	we.EXCL were
2 F	<i>ā-č-ē</i>	you.F were	2 PL	<i>ā-č-e</i>	you.PL were
2 M	<i>ā-k-ē</i>	you.M were			
3 F	<i>ā-e-č</i>	she/it was	3 PL	<i>ā-e-nč</i>	they were
3 M	<i>ā-i-k</i>	he/ it was			

The morpheme *-k/č-* indexes the gender/number of the subject. The morpheme *-k-* signifies masculine singular, the morpheme *-č-* is the default, (feminine/plural) which I gloss

as FP. Gender/number markers *-k/č-* occur in final position in the third-person singular forms. First and second-person pronominal suffixes follow the gender/number markers. The third-person plural ending is different. The *-č* default marker is the final segment, following *-n-*. Since the specificity marker *-y-* appears optionally, it is shown in the Table in parentheses. The Past Imperfect intransitive is shown in Table 5.19.

Table 5.19: Past Imperfect Intransitive

person	verb	copula	gloss
1SG.F	pa-(y)a	ā-č-am	I.F was going
1SG.M	pa-(y)a	ā-k-am	I.M was going
2SG.F	pa-(y)a	ā-č-ē	you.F were going
2SG.M	pa-(y)a	ā-k-ē	you.M were going
3SG.F	pa-(y)a	ā-e-č	she was going
3SG.M	pa-(y)a	ā-i-k	he was going
1INCL	pa-(y)a	ā-č-aman	we.INCL were going
1EXCL	pa-(y)a	ā-č-es	we.EXCL were going
2PL	pa-(y)a	ā-č-e	you.PL were going
3PL	pa-(y)a	ā-e-nč	they were going

Examples of the Past Imperfect are given in (5.4) and (5.5).

- (5.4) xošāl b-aŷ-a ā-i-k
happy become-PFS-3SG be-PST-M
‘He was becoming happy.’ S

- (5.5) ama kābol-ē pa-y-a ā-č-aman
we kabul-OBL go-PFS-3S be-FP-1PL.INCL
‘We were going to Kabul’ or ‘We used to go to Kabul’ S

5.4.3.2 Past Imperfect Transitive

In the Past Imperfect transitive the object is indexed on the Present-Future Specific verb with pronominal suffixes; the subject is indexed with the morpheme *-k/č-* and pronominal suffixes attached to the copula.

When the object is generic and unspecified, the pronominal suffix on the Present-Future Specific stem is the intransitive subject singular-*a*, as in examples (5.6a) and (5.6b).

I have co-indexed the subject and verb with subscript ‘s’ and object with subscript ‘o’ for clarity in these examples.

- (5.6) a. $\text{pari}_s \text{ } \check{\text{c}}\text{il}\bar{\text{a}} \text{ } \text{un}\check{\text{j}}\text{-a}\check{\text{y}}\text{-a} \text{ } \bar{\text{a}}\text{-e-}\check{\text{c}}_s$
 Pari.F clothes.PL wash-PFS-3S be-PST-FP
 ‘Pari was washing clothes’ S
- b. $\text{nasib}_s \text{ } \text{ket}\bar{\text{a}}\text{b} \text{ } \text{pa}\check{\text{r}}\text{-a} \text{ } \bar{\text{a}}\text{-i-}k_s$
 Nasib.M book.M read-3S be-PST-M
 ‘Nasib was reading a book’ S

When the third-person object is definite or specific, it is indexed with the object suffix *-i* as in example (5.7).

- (5.7) $\text{mam}_s \text{ } \text{kit}\bar{\text{a}}\text{b}\text{-ast-am}_o \text{ } \text{pa}\check{\text{r}}\text{-i}_o \text{ } \bar{\text{a}}\text{-}\check{\text{c}}\text{-am}_s$
 I(F) book.M-GEN-PS1SG read-3O be-FP-1S
 ‘I was reading my book’ E

The object, whatever person it is, is indexed with a pronominal suffix on the Present-Future Specific verb.

- (5.8) $\text{nasib}_s \text{ } \text{mam}_o \text{ } \text{pin-im}_o \text{ } \bar{\text{a}}\text{-i-}k_s$
 Nasib.M me know-1O be-PST-M
 ‘Nasib used to know me’ S

The negative prefix (NEG) is attached to the Present-Future Specific verb, not the auxiliary, as in example (5.9b).

(5.9) Affirmative

- a. $\text{nasib} \text{ } \text{ket}\bar{\text{a}}\text{b} \text{ } \text{pa}\check{\text{r}}\text{-a} \text{ } \bar{\text{a}}\text{-i-k}$
 Nasib.M book.M read-3S be-PST-M
 ‘Nasib was reading a book’ E

Negative

- b. $\text{nasib} \text{ } \text{ket}\bar{\text{a}}\text{b} \text{ } \text{na-pa}\check{\text{r}}\text{-a} \text{ } \bar{\text{a}}\text{-i-k}$
 Nasib.M book.M NEG-read-3S be-PST-M
 ‘Nasib was not reading a book’ E

Summary The use of intransitive subject suffixes for transitive verbs with generic objects in the Present-Future Specific and Past Imperfect suggests that these transitive verbs with generic objects are a light verb-like construction, where the verb carries less semantic load. The light verb construction is discussed in Chapter 7.

The construction of the Past Imperfect is a combined form of the Present-Future Specific with the copula *ā-* ‘be’ in the past tense. Though the forms are not fused the negative prefix attaches to the Present-Future Specific verb, not the copula.

5.5 Perfective Tenses

The Pashai perfective tenses are Proximate Perfect (PXPf), Distal Perfect (DSPf), and Remote Perfect (RMPf). The perfective tenses conform to the ergative pattern which is evident in both case marking of core arguments as well as person and gender/number indexing on the verb. For this reason I describe transitive and intransitives separately. The Perfective pronominal suffixes are summarized in Table 5.20. Inclusive and exclusive first-person plural subject suffixes are differentiated, the distinction is neutralized for object.

Table 5.20: Perfective Pronominal Suffixes

		TR SBJ	INTR SBJ	OBJ
1	SG	-am	-am	-im
1	PL.INCL	-aman	-aman	
1	PL.EXCL	-an	-es	-as
2	SG	-ē	-ē	-ē
2	PL	-o	-e	-e/-o
3	SG.M	-∅	-∅	-en
3	SG.F	-∅	-∅	-an
3	PL	-∅	-nč	-in

The Perfective verb form consists of the Verb stem - Aspect marker *-k/č-* Pronominal suffixes. The morpheme *-k/č-* indexes the absolutive argument, namely the intransitive subject and the transitive object. *-k-* signifies the masculine singular argument; *-č-* signifies

the default, either feminine or plural. Pronominal suffixes index subjects in the intransitive and objects in the transitive. Subject suffixes also appear on the verb in the transitive perfective forms, determined by a ranking hierarchy. When the transitive subject is ranked hierarchically higher than the object it is indexed with a pronominal suffix. In other words, first-person outranks second and third-person, second-person outranks third-person. These are pointed out in the paradigms where they occur.

5.5.0.3 Aspect Markers

The aspect markers are presented in Table 5.21.

Table 5.21: Perfective Aspect Markers		
aspect	transitive	intransitive
Proximate Perfect	-e-	-e-
Distal Perfect	-ei-	-iti-
Remote Perfect	-ea-	-ea-

Proximate Perfect The Proximate Perfect aspect marker is the vowel *-e-*. Before the masculine singular marker *-k-* in the intransitive paradigm the vowel tends to raise to [i]. It is pronounced [e] before the default marker *-č-*. In vowel-final stems there is a tendency for coalescence or merger of the stem vowel with the aspect marker. Table 5.22 shows these forms of the Proximate Perfect aspect marker.

Table 5.22: Proximate Perfect Marker Vowel-Final Stem				
stem	gloss	masculine	feminine	plural
li-	die	l-i-k	l-e-č	l-e-nč
i-	come	i-k	e-č	e-n-č

In consonant-final stems the aspect marker is *-e-*, shown in Table 5.23

Table 5.23: Proximate Perfect Marker Consonant-Final Stem

stem	gloss	masculine	feminine	plural
pol-	arrive	pol-i-k	pol-e-č	pol-e-nč
b-	become	b-ik	b-e-č	b-e-nč

Distal Perfect In the Distal Perfect form the aspect marker is different for transitive and intransitive. The form of the Distal Perfect intransitive aspect marker differs according to gender and whether the root is consonant or vowel-final. Table 5.24 shows the form of the Distal Perfect aspect marker with consonant-final stems.

Table 5.24: Distal Perfect Intransitive Marker Consonant-Final Stem

stem	gloss	masculine	feminine	plural
pol-	arrive	pol-iti-k	pol-ete-č	pol-ete-nč
b-	become	b-iti-k	b-ete-č	b-ete-nč

When the stem is vowel-final the aspect marker either merges with the final vowel of the stem, or does not appear, shown in Table 5.25.

Table 5.25: Distal Perfect Intransitive Marker Vowel-Final Stem

stem	gloss	masculine	feminine	plural
nē-	emerge	nē-ti-k	nē-te-č	nē-te-nč
ni-	sit	ni-ti-k	ne-te-č	ne-te-nč
pa-	go	pa-ti-k	pa-te-č	pa-te-nč

The merging of vowels between stems and aspect markers requires further analysis to determine whether the aspect marker is vowel or consonant-initial. It is tentatively treated here as vowel-initial. The source of the intransitive aspect marker is explored in Chapter 6.

The transitive Distal Perfect marker *-ei* tends to diphthongize. Following vowel-final stems it merges with the vowel of the stem, shown in Table 5.26.

Table 5.26: Distal Perfect Transitive Marker Vowel-Final Stem

stem	gloss	verb form	gloss
ka-	do	k-ei-k-en	do-DSPF-M-3M.O
pi-	drink	p-ei-k-en	drink-DSPF-M-3M.O
e-	eat	ei-k-en	eat-DSPF-M-3M.O

Remote Perfect The Remote Perfect marker *-ea-* merges with stem-final vowel, shown in Table 5.27

Table 5.27: Remote Perfect Marker Vowel-Final Stem

root	gloss	example	gloss
ka-	do	k-ea-k-en	do-RMPF-M-3M.O
pi-	drink	p-ea-k-en	drink-RMPF-M-3M.O
e-	eat	ea-k-en	eat-RMPF-M-3M.O

5.5.1 Perfective Intransitive

The paradigm in Table 5.28 is given with the verb stem *g-* ‘go’ in the Proximate Perfect.

Table 5.28: Proximate Perfect Intransitive

person	stem	aspect	gender	suffix	gloss
1SG	g-	-e-	-č-	-am	I.F went
1SG	g-	-i-	-k-	-am	I.M went
2SG	g-	-e-	-č-	-ē	you.F went
2SG	g-	-e-	-k-	-ē	you.M went
3SG	g-	-e-	-č	∅	she went
3SG	g-	-i-	-k	∅	he went
1INCL	g-	-e-	-č-	aman	we.INCL went
1EXCL	g-	-e-	-č-	es	we.EXCL went
2PL	g-	-e-	-č-	e	you.PL went
3PL	g-	-e-	-nč	∅	they went

Examples of the intransitive Proximate Perfect are provided in (5.10a) – (5.10c). In the intransitive perfective construction the subject is unmarked.

- (5.10) a. ten-ā šorij-ē l-i-k
 2SG.OBL-M dog.M-PS2SG die-PXPF-M
 ‘Your dog died’ E
- b. māda čan-e-č
 woman fall-PXPF-FP
 ‘The woman fell’ S
- c. bālokul kāt-ē=šēr-a ni-e-nč
 children.PL cot-OBL=head-LOC sit-PXPF-PL
 ‘The children sat on the cot’ S

5.5.2 Perfective Transitive

Transitive perfective verbs have ergative agreement and case assignment. The subject is in the oblique case, the object is unmarked. In transitive perfective verbs the gender-number markers index the object. Subject and object pronominal suffixes differ; a discussion of their order and occurrence follows the Tables in 5.29 through 5.31. Since the distribution of the subject and object suffixes and gender/number indexing of objects is the same for all the perfective tenses, I present the paradigms with the Proximate Perfect verb form only, illustrated with the verb *an-* ‘beat’. Table 5.29 shows the configuration of argument-indexing suffixes for verbs with first-person subjects. Subject suffixes are highlighted in **bold**; object suffixes and gender/number indexing are highlighted in *italics*.

Table 5.29: Proximate Perfect First-Person Subject

<i>Object</i>	Subject	
	1SG	1PL
F2SG	an-e-č- ēm -ē beat-PXPF-FP-1S-2O I beat you.F	an-e-č- ēn -ē beat-PXPF-FP-1P.S-2O We beat you.F
M2SG	an-e- <i>k</i> - ēm -ē beat-PXPF-M-1S-2O I beat you.M	an-e- <i>k</i> - ēn -ē beat-PXPF-M-1P.S-2O We beat you.M
2PL	an-e-č- am -o beat-PXPF-FP-1S-2P.O I beat you.PL	an-e-č- an -o beat-PXPF-FP-1P.S-2P.O We beat you.PL
F3SG	an-e-č- am beat-PXPF-FP-1S I beat her	an-e-č- an beat-PXPF-FP-1P.S We beat her
M3SG	an-e- <i>k</i> - am beat-PXPF-M-1S I beat him	an-e- <i>k</i> - an beat-PXPF-M-1P.S We beat him
3PL	an-e-č- am beat-PXPF-FP-1S I beat them	an-e-č- an beat-PXPF-FP-1P.S We beat them

In Table 5.29 the morpheme *-k/č-* indexes all objects. Pronominal suffixes index the first-person subject. Pronominal suffixes also index the second-person object. There are no pronominal suffixes indexing third-person objects in this paradigm. The reader will notice that for first-person subject (singular and plural) with second-person object the subject-indexing pronominal suffixes are *-ēm* and *-ēn*. While I think these have this form due to a vowel coloring effect from the second-person suffix, I wanted to make sure the form is clearly shown as it is pronounced. Table 5.30 shows the configuration of argument-indexing suffixes for second-person subject:

Table 5.30: Proximate Perfect Second-Person Subject

<i>Object</i>	Subject	
	2SG	2PL
F1SG	an-e-č- <i>im</i> beat-PXPF-FP-1O You beat me.F	an-e-č- <i>im</i> beat-PXPF-FP-1O You.PL beat me.F
M1SG	an-e- <i>k-im</i> beat-M-1O You beat me.M	an-e- <i>k-im</i> beat-M-1O You.PL beat me.M
1PL	an-e-č- <i>as</i> beat-PXPF-FP-1P.O You beat us	an-e-č- <i>as</i> beat-PXPF-FP-1P.O You.PL beat us
F3SG	an-e-č- ē beat-PXPF-FP-2S You beat her	an-e-č- o beat-PXPF-FP-2P.S You.PL beat her
M3SG	an-e- <i>k-ē</i> beat-PXPF-M-2S You beat him	an-e- <i>k-o</i> beat-PXPF-M-2P.S You.PL beat him
3PL	an-e-č- ē beat-PXPF-FP-2S You beat them	an-e-č- o beat-PXPF-FP-2P.S You.PL beat them

Table 5.30 shows that no subject suffix appears on the verb when the object is first-person, since the subject does not outrank the object. The first-person object suffixes (1SG *-im*, 1PL *-as*) are interesting. The first-person singular is identical to the object suffixes in the transitive forms, showing a nominative-accusative pattern. However the first-person plural suffix *-as* is the same as the subject suffix in the intransitive forms, an ergative pattern. When the object is third-person the subject suffix for second-person occurs, since it outranks the object.

Table 5.31 presents the third-person subject paradigm.

Table 5.31: Proximate Perfect Third-Person Subject

<i>Object</i>	Subject 3SG/PL
F1SG	an-e-č- <i>im</i> beat-PXPF-FP-1O S/he / they hit me.F
M1SG	an-e- <i>k-im</i> beat-PXPF-M-1O S/he / they hit me.M
1PL INCL	an-e-č- <i>aman</i> beat-PXPF-FP-1P.O S/he / they hit us
1PL EXCL	an-e-č- <i>as</i> beat-PXPF-FP-1P.O S/he / they hit us
F2SG	an-e-č- <i>ē</i> beat-PXPF-FP-2O S/he / they hit you.F
M2SG	an-e- <i>k-ē</i> beat-PXPF-M-2O S/he / they hit you.M
2PL	an-e-č- <i>e</i> beat-PXPF-FP-2P.O S/he /they hit you.PL
F3SG	an-e-č- <i>an</i> beat-PXPF-FP-3F.O S/he /they hit her
M3SG	an-e- <i>k-en</i> beat-PXPF-M-3M.O S/he /they hit him
3PL	an-e-č- <i>in</i> beat-PXPF-FP-3P.O S/he /they hit them

Table 5.31 shows that no third-person subjects are indexed on the verb. The morpheme *-k/č-* and pronominal suffixes only index objects.

The only forms where both subject and object-indexing pronominal suffixes co-occur are

those with first-person subjects and second-person objects, i.e. when the subject and object are of roughly equal animacy status. Facts such as this suggest that animacy hierarchy variables may be operating to determine the ordering and presence/absence of argument-indexing pronominal suffixes. Third-person is lowest on the hierarchy, there are no third-person subject-indexing pronominal suffixes. Furthermore the forms for ‘you hit me’ and ‘he/she/they hit me’, are identical. In both instances there is no subject-indexing pronominal suffix. Pashai lacks a morphological passive and such forms serve as agent-defocusing expressions.

5.5.3 Distal Perfect and Remote Perfect

The aspect markers for perfective aspect were shown in Table 5.21. Examples of these forms are provided in (5.11a) - (5.12c).

5.5.3.1 Distal Perfect

The Distal Perfect consists of the verb stem, aspect marker, *-k/č-*, pronominal suffixes. The Distal Perfect aspect marker for intransitive is *-iti-*; for transitive it is *-ei-*. Examples (5.11a) - (5.11b) show the Distal Perfect intransitive form.

- (5.11) a. šorij li-ti-k
 dog.M die-DSPF-M
 ‘The dog died’ (some time ago) S
- b. men-i sai-am gaṇ b-ete-č
 1SG.OBL-FP sister-PS1S big be-DSPF-FP
 ‘My sister got big’ (some time ago) S

Examples (5.12a) – (5.12c) illustrate the Distal Perfect transitive construction.

- (5.12) a. nasib-i pel-ek moṇ-ei-č-an
 Nasib.M-OBL cup-F break-DSPF-FP-3F.O
 ‘Nasib broke the cup’ E

- b. mam darvāzā ban k-ei-k-am
 I door.M lock do-DSPF-M-1S
 ‘I locked the door.’ S
- c. mālem-a an-ei-č-in
 teacher-OBL.PL beat-DSPF-FP-3P.O
 ‘The teachers were beaten’ E

5.5.3.2 Remote Perfect *-ea-*

The Remote Perfect aspect marker is *-ea-*. It is used for both intransitive and transitive verbs. Examples (5.13a) – (5.13b) show Remote Perfect intransitive forms.

- (5.13) a. šorij l-ea-k
 dog.M die-RMPF-M
 ‘The dog had died’ S
- b. aot-i b-ea-nč
 hungry-FP be-RMPF-3PL
 ‘They had been hungry’ S

Examples (5.14a) – (5.14e) show the use of the transitive RMPF.

- (5.14) a. Nasib-i šorij an-ea-k-en
 Nasib.M-OBL dog.M beat-RMPF-M-3M.O
 ‘Nasib had beaten the dog’ E
- b. mam xāt lik-ea-č-am
 I letter.F write-RMPF-FP-1S
 ‘I had written a letter’ S
- c. an-ea-k-im
 beat-RMPF-M-1O
 ‘Someone had beaten me.M’ E (i.e., ‘I.M was beaten’)
- d. an-ea-k-am
 beat-RMPF-M-1S
 ‘I had beaten him’ E
- e. an-ea-č-an-o
 beat-RMPF-FP-1P.S-2P.O
 ‘We had beaten you.PL’ E

5.5.4 Summary

An examination of pronominal suffixes across the tenses reveals a number of examples of syncretism and an interesting pattern of both nominative/accusative marking and ergative marking. This is particularly evident with first-person plural pronominal suffixes. First-person singular suffixes follow a nominative accusative pattern across all tense-aspect forms. First-person plural suffixes show a nominative/accusative pattern in the non-perfective tenses and an ergative pattern in the perfective tenses. The Present-Future Non-Specific was shown to be the least morphologically marked with no tense or aspect morphology. The morpheme *K/-k/č-* was examined in Perfective and non-Perfective forms. In both forms it is a marker that is linked to the argument with which the verb agrees. In the Present-Future Specific the morpheme *-K-* forms a complex with the subject-indexing suffix. It is a marker of specificity. In the Perfective forms the morpheme *-k/č-* was shown to index the object argument. I have speculated that these morphemes may have originated from the same source but have different current functions in the grammar. This analysis of the morpheme *-k/č-* and *K* is preliminary and deserves more attention by future researchers.

5.6 Valency-Changing Suffixes

There are two stem-extending suffixes that change valency in Pashai. The transitivizing suffix *-al-* /*-l-* turns intransitive stems into transitive ones, and the causative suffix *-ve-* /*-ave-* is used in true causative constructions.

5.6.1 Transitivizing Suffix

The stem-extending transitivizing suffix changes intransitive stems into transitive stems. The suffix has two allomorphs depending on the environment in which it appears. Following a vowel-final root the transitivizing suffix is *-l-*; following a consonant-final root it is *-al-*.

Table 5.32 shows a selection of intransitive stems and *-al-* extended transitive stems:

Table 5.32: Transitivity Suffix

IT stem	gloss	TR stem	gloss
pač-	ripen	pač-al	cook
tap-	warm	tap-al	heat
tost-	stand	tost-al	stand someone up, nominate
manĵ-	wear	manĵ-al	dress someone
vat-	tire	vat-al	tire someone
muč-	flee	muč-al	chase away, steal
buč-	wake up	buĵ-al	wake someone
ĵot-	burn	ĵot-al	light something
dam	be satisfied	dam-al	serve, satisfy others

Examples of intransitive verbs are given in (5.15a) – (5.15d).

- (5.15) a. pari vaṭ-e-ĉ
 Pari.F tire-PXPF-FP
 ‘Pari got tired (just now)’ S
- b. sēb pač-a
 fruit cook-3S
 ‘The apple is ripening’ S (PFS)
- c. Maryam muč-e-ĉ
 Maryam.F flee-PXPF-FP
 ‘Maryam ran away’ S
- d. maryam parān-ek manĵ-a
 maryam.F dress-F wear-3S
 ‘Maryam is putting on a dress’ S (PFS)

Verbs with transitivized stems are shown in examples (5.16a) – (5.16d).

- (5.16) a. nasib-i mam vaṭ-al-e-ĉ-am
 nasib.M-OBL me(F) tire-TRZ-PXPF-FP-1S
 ‘Nasib made me tired’ E
- b. nasib-i sēb pač-al-e-ĉ-in
 nasib.M-OBL apple.F cook-TRZ-PXPF-FP-3P.O
 ‘Nasib cooked the apples’ S
- c. maryam-ē šorij muč-al-e-k-en
 Maryam.F-OBL dog.M flee-TRZ-PXPF-M-3M.O

‘Maryam chased away the dog’ S

- d. *nasib-i keṭāl-ek manĵ-al-e-č-an*
nasib.M-OBL girl dress-TRZ-PXPF-FP-3F.O
‘Nasib dressed the girl’ S

5.6.2 Causative Suffix

True causatives are formed with the suffix *-(a)v(e)-*. There are two distinct patterns for marking the causee. In the direct strategy the causee is treated as a direct object. The other strategy uses the postposition *šēr-a* ‘on’. Examples in (5.17a) – (5.17c) show the causative stem added to transitivized verbs, in the direct strategy.

- (5.17) a. *maryam-ē keṭāl-ek čilā manĵ-al-ev-e-č-an*
maryam.F-OBL girl-F clothes.PL dress-TRZ-CS-PXPF-FP-3F.O
‘Maryam got the girl to get dressed’ E
- b. *maryam-ē pari av pač-al-ev-e-č-an*
maryam.F-OBL pari.F bread.M cook-TRZ-CS-PXPF-FP-3F.O
‘Maryam got Pari to bake bread’ E
- c. *maryam ēṛ-a ke pari av pač-al-ev-ed-i*
maryam want-3S COMP Pari.F bread.M cook-TRZ-CS-3S-3O
‘Maryam wants Pari to get the bread baked’ E

The ‘causee’ is treated like any other direct object in the examples above, being indexed on the verb in the perfective tense. In the following set of examples the ‘causee’ takes the postposition *šēr-a* ‘on’ and the verb indexes the object. In the examples in (5.18)-(5.19) the causee is in an adjunct-like relationship, as the object of *šēr-a* ‘on’. In example (5.18) the verb has the transitivizing suffix *-al-*.

- (5.18) *mam oe-st-am=šēr-a čai ĵop-al-e-k-am*
1SG daughter-GEN-PS1SG=head-LOC tea.M make-TRZ-PXPF-M-1S
‘I got my daughter to make tea’

In examples (5.19a) through (5.19e) the verb has the causative suffix *-ve-*.

- (5.19) a. mam oe-st-am=šēr-a čai ĵa-v-e-k-am
 1SG daughter-GEN-PS1SG=head-LOC tea.M put-CS-PXPF-M-1S
 ‘I got my daughter to put on tea’ S
- b. mam oe-st-am=šēr-a čai ĵop-au-e-k-am
 1SG daughter-GEN-PS1SG=head-LOC tea.M-OBL make-CS-PXPF-M-1S
 ‘I got my daughter to make tea’ S
- c. mam oe-st-am=šēr-a peāz-ē šunek ka-ve-i-k-am
 1SG daughter-GEN-PS1SG=head-LOC onion-OBL red do-CS-3O-PFS-1S
 ‘I will get my daughter to fry onions’ S
- d. mam poł-est-am=šēr-a moṭoṛ-ē čalān ka-ve-i-k-am
 1SG son-GEN-PS1SG=head-LOC car-OBL turn.on do-CS-3O-PFS-1S
 ‘I will get my son to turn on the car’ S
- e. mam nasib=šēr-a men-a goravāl-a naṭ ka-v-e-k-am
 1SG nasib.M=head-LOC 1SG.OBL-M wedding-LOC dance.M do-CS-PXPF-M-1S
 ‘I got Nasib to dance at my wedding’ E

5.7 Nonfinite Verb Morphology

This section is a description of non-finite verb forms: adjectival participles, adverbial participles, and verbal nouns. Some adjectival participles, such as the stative and imperfective, inflect for gender and number, some do not. In this section I describe the morphology of stative, passive, imperfective, conjunctive, and reciprocal participles as well as verbal nouns and infinitives.

5.7.1 Adjectival Participles

The stative and imperfective participles inflect for gender and number, and agree with the nouns they modify. The reciprocal participle does not. The passive participle has some adjectival qualities but not all. In this section the adjectival participles are described.

5.7.1.1 Stative Participle

The stative participle⁷ is used to express a resultant state. As an adjective it agrees in gender and number with the noun it modifies. The stative participle is constructed from the verb stem and the stative participle suffix. Following consonant-final verb stems the stative participle suffix is *-av-ā* (masculine singular), *-ev-i* (default); following vowel-final verb stems the stative participle suffix is *-v-ā* (masculine singular), *-v-i* (default).

The stative participle is used attributively and predicatively. Table 5.33 shows stative participles formed from intransitive verb stems, used attributively.

Table 5.33: Stative Participle Intransitive Stems

Stem	gloss	example	gloss
orč-	sleep	orč-ev-i šorij	sleeping dogs
tost-	stand	tost-av-ā vareg	standing water (lake)
por-	fill	por-ev-i čainek	filled teapot
dam-	be satisfied	dam-ev-i memān-ān	satisfied guest-PL
le-	die	le-v-i šoŋoŋ-ek	dead dog-F
veŋ-	pass	veŋ-ev-i sāl	last year
šār-	move /flow	šār-av-ā vareg	running water
sos-	dry / thin	sos-ev-i keŋāl-ek	thin girl-F
tap-	heat	tap-ov-ā vareg	hot water
pač-	cook	pač-ev-i sēb	ripe apple
moŋ-	break	moŋ-ev-i šiša	broken glass
čan-	fall	čan-ev-i vaŋ.M	fallen rocks

The stative participle for unambiguously intransitive verbs refers to a state resulting from a natural or spontaneous process, such as ‘standing water’(referring to a lake), or ‘ripened fruit’, ‘dried out trees’ and ‘sleeping dogs’.

Stative participles formed from verb stems that can be transitive or intransitive such as *tap-* ‘heat’, *moŋ-* ‘break’ and *pač-* ‘cook’ can convey the meaning of a result of either a spontaneous process or human agency.

The stative participle in my materials is not restricted to intransitive verbs as Morgen-

7. Morgenstierne calls this the static participle.

stierne claims. Table 5.34 shows stative participles formed from transitive verb stems; Table 5.35 shows stative participles derived from transitivized verb stems.

Table 5.34: Stative Participle Transitive Stems			
Stem	gloss	example	gloss
an-	beat	an-au-ā kel-ā	beaten boy-M
kaṭ-	cut	kaṭ-ev-i kaṭ-ik	cut down tree-PL
koṭ-	grind	koṭ-au-ā moreč	ground pepper

Stative participles based on transitive stems, as in Table 5.34, and transitivized stems, as in Table 5.35, imply some agency in creating the resultant state.

Table 5.35: Stative Participle Transitivized Stems			
Stem	gloss	example	gloss
sos-al-	dry	sos-al-ev-i meva	dried (by human agency) fruit
tap-al-	heat	tap-al-au-ā vareg	heated (by human agency) water
pač-al-	cook	pač-al-au-ā ašpār	cooked (by human agency) rice

The stative participle forms a participial past perfect and present perfect tense with the auxiliary *ā-* ‘to be’. This tense is described in Chapter 6. It does not combine with the verb *b-* ‘be’ and cannot be used for future reference.

- (5.20) * an-au-ā b-a
 beat-STV.PCP-M be-3S
 ‘He will be beaten’ E (PFS)
- (5.21) * sabai kaṭ-ev-i š-en
 tomorrow cut-STV.PCP-FP be.INAN.PRS-3P
 ‘They will have been cut tomorrow’ E

The stative participle can be negated and used attributively as in (5.22), or predicatively, as in (5.23), depending on the specific verb involved.

- (5.22) a. nu-unj-ēv-i čilā
 NEG-wash-STV.PCP-FP clothes.PL
 ‘unwashed clothes’ E

- b. ne-de-u-ā bil
 NEG-give-STV.PCP-M bill.M
 ‘unpaid bill’ S
- (5.23) a. čelanṭ-ek ne-kan-ev-i ā-en
 chick-F NEG-hatch-STV.PCP-FP be.AN-3P
 ‘The chicks are unhatched’ S
- b. čilā nu-unĵ-ev-i š-en
 clothes.PL NEG-wash-STV.PCP-FP be.INAN.PRS-3P
 ‘The clothes are unwashed’ S

The unacceptable examples in (5.24) were rejected as unnatural, ‘unsayable’ rather than ungrammatical.

- (5.24) a. ?pē ne-pač-al-av-ā š-i
 meat.M NEG-cook-TRZ-STV.PCP-M be.INAN.PRS-3
 ‘uncooked meat’ E
- b. ?nasib-as daṛ-e ne-an-ev-i š-i
 nasib.M-GEN beard.F-PS3SG NEG-beat-STV.PCP-FP be.INAN.PRS-3
 ‘Nasib’s beard is uncut’ E

The stative participle can be used substantively. The feminine and masculine forms based on the verb stem *gor-* ‘take’ are used substantively for ‘bride’ *gorevi*, and ‘groom’ *goravā*.

Stative participles are also used for participial relative clauses, where the Theme of the verb is part of the participial phrase, as seen in the examples in (5.25).

- (5.25) a. lem kaṭ-av-ā šoriṇ mas b-iti-k
 tail.M cut-STV.PCP-M dog.M mad be-DSPF-M
 ‘The dog with the cut tail went crazy’ E
- b. mix-ai avl-av-ā pakol čan-i-k
 nail-ABL hang-EV-STV.PCP-M hat.M fall-PXPF-M
 ‘The hat that was hanging on the nail fell’ E

The stative participle construction cannot be used for a participial relative clause on the subject of the verb. The imperfective participle can be used to relativize the subject of the verb.

5.7.1.2 Passive Participle

The passive participle (PP) is formed from a transitive verb stem plus the suffix *-en*. The passive participle does not inflect for number or gender. It can be used predicatively:

- (5.26) a. mam an-en b-em
 I beat-PP be-1S
 ‘I will be beaten’ E (PFNS)
- b. av e-en b-i-k
 bread.M eat-PP be-PXPF-M
 ‘The bread was eaten’ S
- c. xat lik-en b-a
 letter.F write-PP be-3S
 ‘The letter will be written’ E (PFS)

The passive participle cannot be used attributively:

- (5.27) a. *an-en kel-ā
 beat-PP boy-M
 ‘beaten boy’ E
- b. *ve-en vareg
 pour-PP water
 ‘poured water’ S

The passive participle is not marked for tense itself and used in constructions with the auxiliary *b-* ‘become’ in the past, present, and future tenses to express the completion of an event. The passive participle does not appear with the auxiliaries *t-* and *ā-*, shown in the ungrammatical examples in (5.28).

- (5.28) a. *av e-en š-i
 bread eat-PP be.INAN.PRS-3
 ‘Bread is eaten’ E
- b. *av e-en ā-i-k
 bread eat-PP be-PST-M
 ‘The bread was eaten’ E

- c. * au e-en t-a ā-i-k
 bread eat-PP be-3S be-PST-M
 ‘The bread was eaten’ E

5.7.1.3 Reciprocal Participle

Morgenstierne (1973:136), in his description of SW Pashai, describes *-čāl* as a verbal adjective suffix that is used in construction with some auxiliary verbs to denote prolonged continuous activity. He provides examples reproduced with his transcription in (5.29a) – (5.29d). The auxiliary verbs in Morgenstierne’s examples are in his Imperfect tense(IMPERF). I have separated the verb stem from the participle suffix for clarity.

Morgenstierne *-čāl* examples

- (5.29) a. pač-äi-čā:l bəgi:č
 cook-RECP.PCP be.IMPERF.3PL
 ‘They went on boiling something’
- b. tra du: han-čā:l bəgi:č
 three day beat-RECP.PCP be.IMPERF.3PL
 ‘They went on fighting for three days’
- c. šu:ŋga:m äi-čā:l bəgi:č
 dog eat-RECP.PCP be.IMPERF.3PL
 ‘The dogs went on biting’
- d. tra du ǰanga han-čā:l ha:i:č
 three day fight beat-RECP.PCP be.IMPERF.3PL
 ‘They went on fighting each other for three days’

Morgenstierne draws the reader’s attention to examples like (5.29d), noting the reciprocal force of this form. It is not hard to imagine that all the examples above meet this definition, except for the first example, *pačäičā:l* ‘boiling’. Morgenstierne points out that the auxiliary verb is always plural. My data agrees with this.

My data confirms the reciprocal nature of the form. The participle is usually in construction with the auxiliary *ā-* ‘be’ in past or present or the verb *b-* ‘become’ in imperfective and

perfective forms. There was quite a range of variability among speakers interviewed. For example, one speaker found Morgenstierne’s example *pačäiča:l* ‘boiling/cooking’ was not acceptable, another found it acceptable. One speaker rejected as unacceptable some of the words in Table 5.37 while another speaker offered specific, and culturally narrow definitions for some of the same words.⁸

The reciprocal participle suffix is *-čāl* following vowel-final stems, and *-ačāl* following consonant-final stems.

Reciprocal participles acceptable to numerous speakers are presented in Table 5.36.

Table 5.36: Reciprocal Participle

verb stem	gloss	REC.PCP	gloss
lai-	see	lai-ačāl	seeing each other, visit
pin-	know	pin-ačāl	knowing each other
mār-	kill	mār-ačāl	killing each other
e-	eat	e-čāl	fighting each other
dam-al-	be satisfied-TRZ	dam-al-ačāl	serving each other
tār-	look at	tār-ačāl	looking at each other

Participles in Table 5.37 have specialized meanings.

Table 5.37: Reciprocal Participle Lexicalized

verb stem	gloss	RECP.PCP	gloss
de-	give	de-čāl	mutual exchange of brides between families
gor-	take	niŋ gor-ačāl	reciprocal honor, fulfilling an obligation when called on to help their tribe fight another
i-	come	i-čāl=o pa-čāl	reciprocal coming and going,
pa-	go		usually of women, between households
pat-	go	pat-ačāl	reconciliation, a new political term in Afghanistan

The contexts that are being classified as reciprocal involve an element of continuity, in that it is an action continued (ongoing) by virtue of being carried out by more than one

8. The definitions are both contextual and culture-specific. The difference between the informants and their first-hand knowledge and experiences, were relevant to these judgments. The first informant grew up in the diaspora, the other did not.

person in turn. Thus the specific meaning of ‘reciprocity’ could be one specific development of the ‘ongoing, continuous’ meaning of this element. In addition, it is also possible that the narrower meaning of ‘reciprocal’ is a later development (since Morgenstierne’s time).⁹

5.7.1.4 Imperfective Participles

Pashai has two imperfective participles, one is adjectival and one is adverbial. The adjectival imperfective participle is formed by adding the suffix *-(a)kāl* to a verb stem followed by the adjectival suffixes *-i* default / *-ā* masculine singular. Morgenstierne refers to this as “forming a noun of agency” (Morgenstierne, 1973:297). This participle is used to form adjectives as in the examples in (5.30a)- (5.30c). Adjectives are freely used as substantives in Pashai.¹⁰ The adjectival imperfective participle suffix is *-akāl-* following consonant-final stems and *-kāl-* following vowel-final stems. Examples in (5.30) illustrate this form.

- (5.30) a. manj-akāl-ā
dress-IPV.PCP-M
‘wearable’
- b. moŋ-akāl-ā
break-IPV.PCP-M
‘breakable’
- c. e-kāl-ā
eat-IPV.PCP-M
‘edible’

The object of the verb can form a phrase with the participle, as in examples (5.31).

- (5.31) a. akas kan-akāl-i
photo take-IPV.PCP-FP
‘photographer.F/PL’ S

9. Elena Bashir offers a possible source for *-čāl* in the Indo-Aryan root meaning ‘move(ment)’ (*cala* Turner 4768), since the *-čāl* morpheme in Pashai verbal forms indicates continuity (durativity) of the action, p. c. The suffix *-čāl* is not listed in Morgenstierne (1956).

10. It has been suggested that *-kālī/ā* participle might be a historically earlier form having much the same functions as the more recently borrowed *-vālā*, another basically adjectival form, also freely used substantively, Elena Bashir, p. c.

- b. ketāb leken-akāl-ā
book sell-IPV.PCP-M
'book seller.M' S
- c. čilā unĵ-akāl-ā
clothes wash-IPV.PCP-M
'dry cleaner.M' T

In the examples in (5.32) the imperfective participle is used attributively. These constructions are frequently occurring and used as relative clause equivalents.

- (5.32) a. čai pi-kāl-ā kel-ā
tea drink-IPV.PCP-M boy-M
'tea-drinking boy' E
- b. endel axal-akāl-i keṭāl-ek
marble play-IPV.PCP-FP girl-F
'marble-playing girl' E
- c. pakol ĵe-kāl-ā šāger
hat put-IPV.PCP-M student
'hat-wearing student' E

The participle is used predicatively in the examples in (5.33).

- (5.33) a. šiša moṇ-akāl-ā š-i
glass.M break-IPV.PCP-M be.INAN.PRS-3
'Glass is breakable' S
- b. a-lo pē ne-e-kāl-ā š-i
PROX-location.DIR meat.M NEG-eat-IPV.PCP-M be.INAN.PRS-3
'This meat is inedible' S

The participle can take negation as the examples in (5.33b) and (5.34) show.

- (5.34) a. no-moṇ-akāl-ā šiša
NEG-break-IPV.PCP-M glass.M
'unbreakable glass' S
- b. nu-mul-akāl-i
NEG-understand-IPV.PCP-FP
'A woman who does not understand' S

5.7.2 Adverbial Participles

There are two adverbial participles in Pashai, the adverbial imperfective participle and the conjunctive participle. They do not inflect for person-number and have no tense or aspect markers.

5.7.2.1 Adverbial Imperfective Participle

The adverbial imperfective participle (APV.PCP) is formed from a verb stem and the suffix *-ka*. It is not marked for tense and occurs with past and present auxiliaries.

Examples in (5.35) show the use of the adverbial imperfective participle in construction with the verb ‘be’, yielding a sort of ‘progressive’ meaning.

- (5.35) a. par-aka ā-am
 go-APV.PCP be-1S
 ‘I am going’
- b. čilā unĵ-aka ā-e-nč
 clothes wash-APV.PCP be-PST-3P
 ‘They were washing clothes’

The adverbial imperfective participle in examples in (5.36), in construction with the verb ‘go’ result in a purpose clause meaning in examples (5.36a) and (5.36b). Example (5.36c) shows typical adverbial meaning.

- (5.36) a. gā doi-ka pa-a
 cow.F milk-APV.PCP go-3S
 ‘(She) went out to milk the cow’ S (PFS)
- b. namāz paṛ-aka pa-y-am
 prayer read-APV.PCP go-PFS-1S
 ‘I am going out to to pray’ S
- c. gor-eu-i ver-aka g-e-č
 take-STV.PCP-FP cry-EV-APV.PCP go-PXPF-FP
 ‘The bride left crying’ S

The repetition of the participle serves as an intensifier:

- (5.37) gor-eu-i ver-aka ver-aka g-e-č
 take-STV.PCP-FP cry-APV.PCP cry-APV.PCP go-PXPF-FP
 ‘The bride left crying crying’ S

Another analysis of the form of this participle suggests that it might consist of the verb stem + infinitive + locative case.¹¹ The gerundive meaning of the infinitive with the locative case would produce an adverbial form with meaning of ‘in the process of’, which fits the way this participle is used.

5.7.2.2 Conjunctive Participle (CON.PCP)

The conjunctive participle (CON.PCP), described by Morgenstierne as ‘absolute participle’, serves to join two events in close sequence. The conjunctive participle, formed from the verb stem and the suffix *-tan*, is adverbial and invariant for gender or number.¹²

The conjunctive participle construction in Pashai obeys the ‘same subject constraint’ found in most Indo-Aryan languages, whereby the subject of both the participial verb and the main verb must be the same. Case assignment is based on the inflected verb, not the participle. Therefore ‘woman’ in (5.38b) is in the direct (zero) case as the subject of the perfective intransitive ‘sleep’, even though the participial verb ‘eat’ is transitive.

- (5.38) a. namāz ka-tan g-i-k
 prayer do-CON.PCP go-PXPF-M
 ‘Having prayed he left’
- b. māda av-ē e-tan orč-e-č
 woman bread-OBL eat-CON.PCP sleep-PXPF-FP
 ‘Having eaten her bread the woman fell asleep’

In example (5.39) the subject, in agreement with the intransitive verb *geč* ‘she went’, is in the direct case.

11. I owe this insight to Elena Bashir p.c.

12. *-tan* is the form used in Amla. *-ta* is used in areas further up the Darrai Nur valley. The absolute or ‘gerund’ endings in Sanskrit were *-tvā* and *-ya*. So it is easy to see where the *-ta* variant originates. Perhaps the final *-n* in the Amla variety is an excrescent [n], which is frequently found in languages of the area.

- (5.39) maryam gušiŋ pāk ka-tan g-e-č
 maryam house.M clean do-CONJ.PCP go-PXPF-FP
 ‘Having cleaned the house Maryam left’

In example (5.40) both the conjunctive participle ‘clean’ and the finite verb ‘cook’ are transitive. The subject of the transitive verb is in the oblique; the verb ‘cook’ indexes the object ‘rice’.

- (5.40) maryam-ē gušiŋ pāk ka-tan ašpār pač-al-e-k-en
 maryam-OBL house.M clean do-CONJ.PCP rice.M cook-CS-PXPF-M-3M.O
 ‘Having cleaned the house Maryam cooked rice’

In example (5.41) the conjunctive participle ‘sit’ is intransitive while the finite verb ‘read’ is transitive. The subject of the transitive verb ‘read’ is in the oblique. The object ‘book’ is indexed on the verb.

- (5.41) maryam-ē ni-tan ketāb paṛ-e-k-en
 maryam.F-OBL sit-CONJ.PCP book.M read-PXPF-3M.O
 ‘Having sat down Maryam read a book’

In example (5.42) the conjunctive participle forms a sequence with the negative Past Imperfect.

- (5.42) aka darvāzā-y xolop ve-v-i-ē t-e-ai čōr e-ta
 if door-OBL lock.F pour-STV.PCP-FP-PS2SG be-3S-COND thief come-CONJ.PCP
 na-b-aṭ-a ā-i-k
 NEG-be-PFS-3S be-PST-M
 ‘If you had locked the door the thief would not have been able to come in’

5.7.3 Infinitive

The infinitive is formed by adding the suffix *-ik* to a verb stem. It is used as verbal noun as shown in (5.43) – (5.44) .

- (5.43) sabax paṛ-ik oreč=de bakār š-i
 lesson read-INF sleep=from good be.INAN.PRS-3
 ‘Studying is better than sleep’ S

- (5.44) kam e-ik xob š-i
 little eat-INF good be.INAN.PRS-3
 ‘Eating less is good’ S

In example (5.45) the infinitive takes the oblique case marker.

- (5.45) sāiŋ leken-ik-ē š-i magar ama=ōd-a ropai ne-š-en
 land sell-INF-OBL be.INAN.PRS-3 but us=near-LOC rupee NEG-be.INAN.PRS-3
 ‘The land is for sale but we do not have (enough) money’

5.8 Conclusions

In this chapter I have provided a description of the morphology of the verbal system and verb-derived forms. This description has included basic verb formation – the morphology of verb stems and stem extending affixes for tense, aspect, transitivization and causative formation. I have analyzed the complex pronominal suffix system for indexing core arguments on the verb, describing how the system works in each tense form. The basic opposition of aspect was introduced and served as the basis for the description of the tense forms. At the intersection of tense and aspect is the gender-number indexing system which I have examined in this chapter. Finally, I have provided an account of adjectival and adverbial participle formation in Pashai.

Chapter 6

Tense and Aspect

6.1 Introduction

The Pashai verbal system encodes the categories of tense, mood, aspect, evidentiality and specificity. This chapter explores these categories and oppositions. In section 6.2 I explain the terminology used in the description of the Pashai tense-aspect forms and provide a comparison to Morgenstierne's terminology. Section 6.3 is a brief review of the conjugational elements of Pashai verbal morphology. In section 6.4 I provide an account of the copula and auxiliary verbs. Section 6.5 is a description of the finite tense-aspect forms in Pashai. Specificity in non-perfective forms is explored in section 6.6. Evidentiality in perfective forms is examined in section 6.7. Section 6.8 provides a description of non-indicative moods. Section 6.9 is a summary of the tense-aspect and specificity and evidentiality oppositions found in the Pashai verbal system.

6.2 Terminology

Morgenstierne divides the verbal system by tense into present and past tenses. His present tenses include Aorist, Imperative, Subjunctive, Static Present Perfect and Present Indicative. Morgenstierne's past tenses include Imperfect, Simple Past, Perfect, Pluperfect, and Static

Pluperfect. The analysis reflected in this dissertation differs from Morgenstierne’s, taking mood, tense, aspect, specificity and evidentiality into account.

I show that Pashai’s basic opposition is one of aspect rather than tense, and that the tense opposition exists secondarily. The correspondence between Morgenstierne’s verb form designations and the ones presented here are shown in Table 6.1.¹

Table 6.1: Morgenstierne – Lehr Terminology Correspondence

Morgenstierne	Lehr
Aorist	Present-Future Non-Specific (PFNS)
Present Indicative	Present-Future Specific (PFS)
Simple Past	Proximate Perfect (PXPf)
Perfect	Distal Perfect (DSPf)
Pluperfect	Remote Perfect(RMPf)
Imperfect	Past Imperfect (PST.IPRf)
Static Present Perfect	Participial Present Perfect
Static Pluperfect	Participial Past Perfect

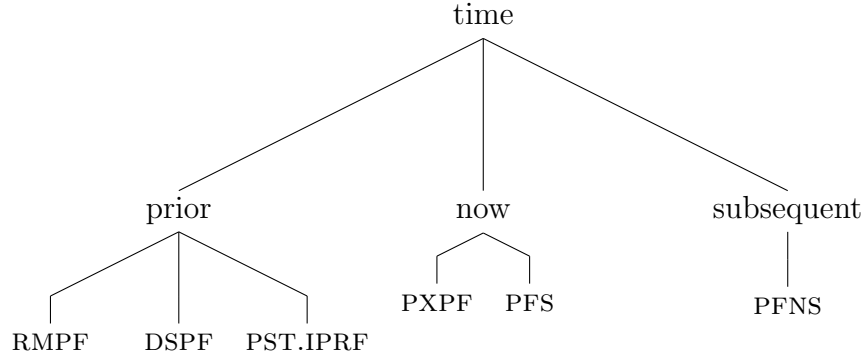
The aspectual opposition is perfective and non-perfective; the tense opposition is past and non-past. Pashai has three perfective tenses that I term Proximate Perfect, Distal Perfect and Remote Perfect. The non-perfective forms are Present-Future Specific, Present-Future Non-Specific, and Past Imperfect. Table 6.16 at the end of this chapter summarizes these oppositions.

A schematic time-line of the Pashai tense-aspect system places Proximate Perfect and Present-Future Specific at the center point designated ‘now’. The Remote Perfect occupies one end of the spectrum and the Present-Future Non-Specific occupies the other. This schema is illustrated in Figure 6.1.

The analysis of the Pashai verbal system draws heavily on Bashir’s (1988b) account for Kalasha, one of Pashai’s most closely related languages. This analysis holds the opposition of specificity as basic to the distinction between the two present-future tenses. The labeling

1. This table shows indicative mood terminology correspondences. Non-indicative terms remain the same.

Figure 6.1: Pashai Tense-Aspect Time-Line



format used in this dissertation is a modification based on Bashir (1988) for Khowar and Kalasha.

6.3 Verbal Morphology and Conjugational Elements

Pashai verbal morphology is based on a single syllable verbal root to which derivational and inflectional affixes attach.² The conjugational elements include aspect markers for Proximate Perfect, Distal Perfect and Remote Perfect aspects, as well as Past tense in the copula, pronominal suffixes indexing core arguments such as subject and or object, and gender/number markers indexing the absolutive argument in perfective forms. Gender indexing crosscuts the tense-aspect categorial distinction in that gender/number markers occur in the past tense and perfective aspect. In non-perfective forms a specificity marker occurs in the Present-Future Specific tense. The morphophonological processes responsible for the variation in form for the conjugational elements have been discussed in Chapter 5.

6.4 Copula and Auxiliary Verbs

This section is divided into four parts. Sections 6.4.1 and 6.4.2 provide an illustration of the paradigms for the copula and the auxiliary verbs, pointing out some of the individual

2. Verbal roots are overwhelmingly single syllable although there are a few two-syllable roots. Roots are extended with transitivizing and causative affixes.

features of the different forms. Section 6.4.3 is a discussion of the verb *tik*, an auxiliary verb which encodes presumption and evidentiality. The final part of this section, 6.4.4, is a description of existential and equational ‘be’.

6.4.1 The Verb \bar{a} - ‘be’

The copula \bar{a} - ‘be’ occurs in past and present tenses; the opposition for this verb is tense-based rather than aspectual. The verb \bar{a} - has only a single form in the non-past, not distinguishing between Present-Future Non-Specific and Present-Future Specific. Therefore I refer to the only non-past form of the verb \bar{a} - as present tense (PRS), shown in Table 6.2. There is also only one form in the past tense (PST), shown in Table 6.3.

The verb \bar{a} - ‘be’ has two features not found in any other part of the Pashai verbal paradigm. These features are limited to the present tense:

1. Animacy is distinguished in the third-person singular and plural paradigms with separate verb forms for animate and inanimate subjects. In the past tense there is no animacy distinction. No other verb exhibits separate animate and inanimate morphology.³
2. There are distinct forms for masculine and feminine third-person singular. This gender distinction is not found in any other parts of the non-past paradigms.

6.4.1.1 \bar{a} - ‘be’ Present Tense

The present tense paradigm for the verb \bar{a} - is shown in Table 6.2:

3. Animacy is a limited feature of the tense-aspect system. The present tense verb \bar{a} - plays a role in the participial Present Perfect construction.

Table 6.2: *ā-* ‘be’ Present

person	singular	gloss	person	plural	gloss
1	<i>ā-am</i>	I am	1 INCL	<i>ā-aman</i>	we.INCL are
			1 EXCL	<i>ā-es</i>	we.EXCL are
2	<i>ā-ē</i>	you are	2 PL	<i>ā-e</i>	you.PL are
3 F	<i>as</i>	she is	3 PL	<i>ā-en</i>	they.AN are
3 M	<i>ās</i>	he is			
3 INAN	<i>ši</i> ⁴	it is	3 INAN	<i>šen</i>	they.INAN are ⁵

The examples in (6.1a) – (6.1d) illustrate the use of animate and inanimate forms of the verb *ā-* ‘be’.

- (6.1) a. *men-ā senep-a vest-o-de balokul ā-en*
 1SG.OBL-M class.M-LOC twenty-and-ten children be.AN.PRS-3PL
 ‘There are thirty students in my class’ E
- b. *āmla=kuč-a ā-am*
amla=belly-LOC be.AN.PRS-1SG
 ‘I am in Amla’ S
- c. *yād-am ni-š-i*
 memory-PS1SG NEG-be.INAN.PRS-3
 ‘I do not remember’ S
- d. *kar-ik kaṭ-ev-i š-en*
 tree-PL cut-STV.PCP-FP be.INAN.PRS-3P
 ‘The trees have been cut down’ S

6.4.1.2 *ā-* ‘be’ Past Tense

The verb *ā-* ‘be’ has a full past tense paradigm. Animacy is not differentiated in the past tense; gender is distinguished in the singular. The past tense paradigm is given in Table 6.3 with examples provided in (6.2a)-(6.2c).

4. Pronounced by some speakers as *še*, *šet*, *šit*.

5. These inanimate forms come from a different verb. Strand (2011) traces the source to OIA. *šete* ‘lies down’ from (Turner) 12605.1. Morgenstierne (1973) says the source for this verb is Skt. *śete*.

Table 6.3: *ā*- ‘be’ Past

person	singular	gloss	person	plural	gloss
1 F	<i>ā-č-am</i>	I.F was	1 INCL	<i>ā-č-aman</i>	we.INCL were
1 M	<i>ā-k-am</i>	I.M was	1 EXCL	<i>ā-č-as</i>	we.EXCL were
2 F	<i>ā-č-ē</i>	you.F were	2 PL	<i>ā-č-e</i>	you.PL were
2 M	<i>ā-k-ē</i>	you.M were			
3 F	<i>ā-e-č</i>	she/it was	3 PL	<i>ā-e-nč</i>	they were
3 M	<i>ā-i-k</i>	he/ it was			

- (6.2) a. *kamzur ka-v-i ā-e-nč*
 weak do-STV.PCP-FP be-PST-3P
 ‘They had been weakened’ T
- b. *došmani ka-γ-a ā-i-k ar ki=pela*
 enmity do-PFS-3S be-PST-M every who=with
 ‘He was making enemies with everyone’ T
- c. *se omenuar ā-e-č*
 DEM.SG.DIR expecting be-PST-FP
 ‘She was pregnant’ T

6.4.2 The Verb *b*- ‘be(come)’

The verb *b*- ‘be, become’ has paradigms in all the Pashai tenses and aspects. These are presented in the tables below. A detailed discussion of the different tenses is taken up in section 6.5 of this chapter.

6.4.2.1 *b*- ‘be(come)’ Present-Future Non-Specific

The Present-Future Non-Specific (PFNS) paradigm is shown in Table 6.4, followed by examples illustrating this paradigm.

Table 6.4: *b-* ‘be(come)’ Present-Future Non-Specific

person	singular	gloss	person	plural	gloss
1	b-em	I shall be(come)	1 INCL	b-eman	we.INCL shall be(come)
			1 EXCL	b-es	we.EXCL shall be(come)
2	b-ē	you shall be(come)	2 PL	b-eda	you.PL shall be(come)
3	b-et	s/he /it shall be(come)	3 PL	b-en	they shall be(come)

Examples:

- (6.3) a. aka g-i-k-ē xapa b-em
 if go-PXPF-M-2SG upset be-1S
 ‘If you leave I shall become upset’ S (PFNS)
- b. ēṛ-am ke xošāl b-et
 want-1S COMP happy be-3S
 ‘I want him/her to be happy’ S (PFNS)

6.4.2.2 *b-* ‘be(come)’ Present-Future Specific

The Present-Future Specific paradigm is presented in Table 6.5 below:

Table 6.5: *b-* ‘be(come)’ Present-Future Specific

person	singular	gloss	person	plural	gloss
1	b-ey-am	I will be(come)	1 INCL	b-ey-aman	we.INCL will be(come)
			1 EXCL	b-ey-es	we.EXCL will be(come)
2	b-ey-ē	you will be(come)	2 PL	b-ey-eda	you.PL will be(come)
3	b-aṽ-a	s/he/it will be(come)	3 PL	b-ey-en	they will be(come)

Speakers use two alternative endings for the Present-Future Specific third-person singular ending, alternating between using the -ṽ- specificity marker, as in *b-aṽ-a*, or with out the specificity marker, as in *b-a* .

- (6.4) a. vaš b-aṽ-a
 rain be-PFS-3S
 ‘It is raining’ S

- b. men-ā mašum-am aot-ā b-a
 1SG.OBL-M child.M-PS1SG hungry-M be-3S
 ‘My child is hungry’ E

6.4.2.3 *b-* ‘be(come)’ Proximate Perfect

The Proximate Perfect paradigm for *b-* is presented in Table 6.6 with examples below. The aspect marker for Proximate Perfect is *-e-*. The gender/number marker *-k-* indexes the subject as masculine singular; the gender/number marker *-č-* is the default, indexing the subject as either feminine or plural.⁶

Table 6.6: *b-* ‘be(come)’ Proximate Perfect

person	singular	gloss	person	plural	gloss
1 F	b-e-č-am	I.F became	1 INCL	b-e-č-aman	we.INCL became
1 M	b-i-k-am	I.M became	1 EXCL	b-e-č-as	we.EXCL became
2 F	b-e-č-ē	you.F became	2 PL	b-e-č-e	you.PL became
2 M	b-i-k-ē	you.M became			
3 F	b-e-č	she/it.F became	3 PL	b-e-nč	they became
3 M	b-i-k	he/it.M became			

Examples:

- (6.5) a. vaš b-i-k
 rain.M be-PXPF-M
 ‘It rained’ S
- b. boṛēn b-e-č-am
 old be-PXPF-FP-1S
 ‘I(F) became old’ E

6.4.2.4 *b-* ‘be(come)’ Distal Perfect

The Distal Perfect form is constructed from the verb stem + aspect marker *-(i)ti-* + pronominal suffixes. The aspect marker is *-iti-* following consonant-final stems. Before the masculine

6. The aspect marker is pronounced [i] before [k] ‘masculine singular’ and [e] before [č] ‘default’ in the intransitive form.

singular affix *-k-* the vowels are pronounced [i]. Before the default affix *-č-* the vowels are pronounced [e].

The origin of the *-(i)ti-* affix is probably found in the verb *t-* ‘be’ discussed in section 6.4.3 below. The Distal Perfect paradigm of *b-* is presented in Table 6.7 with examples following below:

Table 6.7: *b-* ‘be(come)’ Distal Perfect

person	singular	gloss	person	plural	gloss
1 F	b-ete-č-am	I.F have become	1 INCL	b-ete-č-aman	we.INCL have become
1 M	b-iti-k-am	I.M have become	1 EXCL	b-ete-č-as	we.EXCL have become
2 F	b-ete-č-ē	you.F have become	2 PL	b-ete-č-e	you.PL have become
2 M	b-iti-k-ē	you.M have become			
3 F	b-ete-č	she/it has become	3 PL	b-ete-nč	they have become
3 M	b-iti-k	he/it has become			

- (6.6) a. vaš b-iti-k
rain.M be-DSPF-M
‘It has rained’ S
- b. gaṇ b-ete-č-ē
big be-DSPF-FP-2S
‘(You.F) have grown big’ S

6.4.2.5 *b-* ‘be(come)’ Remote Perfect

The Remote Perfect is formed from the verb stem + the aspect marker *-ea-* + pronominal suffixes. The origin of the element *-ea-* is unknown. The Remote Perfect of *b-* is presented in Table 6.8.

Table 6.8: *b-* ‘be(come)’ Remote Perfect

person	singular	gloss	person	plural	gloss
1 F	b-ea-č-am	I.F had become	1 INCL	b-ea-č-aman	we.INCL had become
1 M	b-ea-k-am	I.M had become	1 EXCL	b-ea-č-as	we.EXCL had become
2 F	b-ea-č-ē	you.F had become	2 PL	b-ea-č-o	you.PL had become
2 M	b-ea-k-ē	you.M had become	3 PL	b-ea-nč	they had become
3 F	b-ea-č	she/it had become			
3 M	b-ea-k	he/it had become			

Examples:

- (6.7) a. an-ačal b-ea-č-o
 beat-R/PCP be-RMPF-FP-2P.S
 ‘You had been beating each other,’⁷ S
- b. aot-ā b-ea-k
 hungry-M be-RMPF-M
 ‘He had been hungry’ (but was no more) S

6.4.2.6 Generic Copula

The copula *b-* is used for general meaning such as (6.8a), whereas the copula *ā-* (animate) / *š-* (inanimate) is used for non-generic existential expressions, as in example (6.8b).

- (6.8) a. sēb širin b-a
 apple sweet be-3S
 ‘Apples are sweet’ E
- b. sēb širin š-i
 apple sweet be.INAN.PRS-3
 ‘The apple is sweet’ E

6.4.2.7 *b-* ‘be able to’

Another function of the auxiliary verb *b-* is to form an abilitative construction. Combined with a nonfinite verb, such as with the conjunctive participle in example (6.9), the verb *b-*

7. The 2PL ending differs among speakers from different villages within the SE dialect region. This example (and the RMPF paradigm) was provided by a speaker from Khewa. Amla speakers have *-e* for 2PL.

conveys the meaning ‘to be able’.

- (6.9) aka darvāzā-y xolop ve-u-i-ē t-e-ai čōr e-ta
 if door-OBL lock.F pour-STV.PCP-FP-PS2SG be-3S-COND thief come-CONJ.PCP
 na-b-aŷ-a ā-i-k
 NEG-be-PFS-3S be-PST-M
 ‘If you had locked the door the thief would not have been able to come in’ E

The imperfective participle formed with *b-* conveys this same meaning, ‘to be able’, as in example (6.10).

- (6.10) a. b-ekāl-ā
 be.able-IPV.PCP-M
 ‘able, possible’ S
 b. ne-b-ekāl-ā
 NEG-be.able-IPV.PCP-M
 ‘not able, impossible’ S

Morgenstierne (1973) discusses *b-* ‘to be able’ at several points. The examples in (6.11) - (6.12) are taken from his section on the southeastern dialect. Morgenstierne’s examples are adapted to my transcription system. The source page is provided following the translation, which is Morgenstierne’s.

In the examples in (6.11) the *b-* is in construction with a verb root used as verbal noun.

- (6.11) a. ke a dō naǰōr t-em-ai, ǰām ka ne b-eā-k-em
 COMP I yesterday unwell be-1S-COND, work do NEG be-RMPF-M-1S
 ‘If I had been ill yesterday, I should not have been able to work’ (1973:295)
 b. dar-ē ne b-eg-am
 hold-OBL NEG be-PFS-1S
 ‘I cannot catch’ (1973:296)
 c. mār-ē na b-e-k-en
 kill-OBL NEG be-PXPF-M-3M.O
 ‘He could not kill him’ (1973:296)
 d. ǰām ka ne b-em
 work do NEG be-1S
 ‘I can not work’ (1973:296)

In example (6.12), *b-* is used in construction with a conjunctive participle (absolute, in Morgenstierne).

- (6.12) paida ka-ta na b-ak-om
 find do-CON.PCP NEG be-PFS-1S
 ‘I cannot find it’ (1973:297)

6.4.3 The Verb *t-* ‘be’ Presumptive

The verb *t-* (infinitive *t-ik*) encodes the notions of expectation, potential, and presumption. It is used to express the way things are expected to be and the way things have always been, but without a sense of iterativity or continuity. It is often used with *makan* ‘maybe’ and the conditional particle *-ai* (COND). Traditional stories are told with the opening ‘once upon a time’ equivalent expression using the verb *t-ik*, illustrated in example (6.13).

- (6.13) iy t-e-ai ne-t-e-ai
 one be-3S-COND NEG-be-3S-COND
 ‘There is one, there is not one (presumably)’ T (PFNS)
 ‘Once upon a time’

It appears that *t-ik* occurs only in non-perfective aspect, namely the Present-Future Non-Specific, the Present-Future Specific, the Past Imperfect, and Imperative. The restriction to non-perfective aspect may account for the lack of mirative sense, the notion of surprise or reaction to information contrary to expectation that is encoded in the perfective aspect (especially in PXP discussed in section 6.5.2.2).

Morgenstierne refers to the verb *th-* ‘be(come)’ several times in his grammar, particularly when talking about NW and SW dialects.⁸ He says it is used in forming periphrastic tenses, used with hypotheticals, and in compound tenses as an auxiliary. He gives examples of

8. Morgenstierne uses *th-* for NW and SW dialects indicating he heard aspiration in those forms. For SE dialect he uses *t(h)-* indicating he had some question about whether aspiration was present there. I address Morgenstierne’s findings on aspiration (and tone) in SE dialects in Chapter 3. My data was gathered nearly 90 years after Morgenstierne, and I did not detect aspiration in the verb *t-* among the speakers interviewed.

th- in the aorist (my Present-Future Specific), imperfect (my Past Imperfect) and simple past (my Proximate Perfect). He suggests it is used as “indefinite (habitual?) imperative’, ‘present subjunctive’, ‘dubitative or indefinite’, ‘desiderative, or hortative’ and ‘habitual present” (Morgenstierne, 1973:276). He translates *th-em* as ‘I may be’. For SE dialect he gives forms from the root *t(h)-* in Aorist and Static Perfect (his terms) and notes its use in the protasis of hypothetical sentences with the conditional particle *ai*.⁹ The paradigms which I have identified for *tik* are presented in the Tables 6.9 – 6.11 with examples following.

6.4.3.1 *t-* ‘be’ Present-Future Non-Specific

The Present-Future Non-Specific form of the verb *t-* ‘be’ is presented in Table 6.9.

Table 6.9: <i>t-</i> ‘be’ (presumptive) Present-Future Non-Specific					
person	singular	gloss	person	plural	gloss
1	t-em	I may be	1 INCL	t-eman	we INCL may be
			1 EXCL	t-es	we EXCL may be
2	t-ē	you may be	2 PL	t-e	you PL may be
3	t-e	s/he/it may be	3 PL	t-en	they may be

- (6.14) a. xapa t-ē
 upset be-2s
 ‘You must be upset’ or ‘would you get upset if...’ S
- b. xapa t-em
 upset be-1s
 ‘I would get upset’ or ‘Should I get upset...?’ S

Alternatively, as a question, example (6.14b) could mean ‘what should I get upset about?’ with the presumption that ‘you are expecting me to be upset’.

In example (6.15) the verb *ba* is in the Present-Future Specific, the verb *te* is in the Present-Future Non-Specific.

9. Morgenstierne refers to the particle *ai* in some places as ‘Subjunctive particle’ and other places as ‘Conditional particle’.

- (6.15) aot-ā b-a t-e
 hungry-M be-3S be-3S
 ‘He must be getting hungry’ S

Likewise the example in (6.15) refers to the speaker’s expectation, when the speaker knows the circumstances (perhaps the mother did not have a chance to feed the child, or they have been traveling a long time) and therefore expects that the child is getting hungry.

Example (6.16) is an expression used when firing someone from a job, for example, the word for ‘hungry’ is also used for ‘greedy’.

- (6.16) aot-ā t-e
 hungry-M be-3S
 ‘Let him go hungry’ or ‘Let him be greedy’ S

In example (6.17) *t-* occurs in a conterfactual conditional, as in example (6.13) above.

- (6.17) kāške men-ā pānj-ẽm li-v-ā ne t-e-ai
 if only 1SG.OBL-M husband-PS1SG die-STV.PCP-M NEG be-3S-COND
 ‘If only my husband were not dead’ E

6.4.3.2 *t-* ‘be’ Present-Future Specific

Table 6.10 presents the Present-Future Specific paradigm for the verb *t-*.

Table 6.10: <i>t-</i> ‘be’ (presumptive) Present-Future Specific					
person	singular	gloss	person	plural	gloss
1	t-ey-am	I may be	1 INCL	t-ey-aman	we.INCL may be
			1 EXCL	t-ey-es	we.EXCL may be
2	t-ey-ē	you may be	2 PL	t-ey-e	you.PL may be
3	t-a	s/he/it may be	3 PL	t-ey-en	they may be

Example (6.18) can be said when the speaker has not seen the girl and expects that she should be pretty, not that the speaker is stating a requirement that the girl be pretty.

- (6.18) keṭāl-ek sodur-i t-a
 girl-F pretty-FP be-3S
 ‘The girl must be pretty’ S

The Present-Future Specific form of the verb *t-* is used for the apodosis of realis conditionals, as in example (6.19).

- (6.19) ɬām ke k-e-k-am aot-i t-ey-am
 work.M COMP do-PXPF-M-1S hungry-FP be-PFS-1S
 ‘If (I.F) work I get hungry’ S

6.4.3.3 *t-* ‘be’ Past Imperfect

The Past Imperfect is constructed from the Present-Future Specific third-person singular + Past of the verb *ā-* ‘be’. The paradigm for the Past Imperfect of the verb *t-* is presented in Table 6.11.

Table 6.11: *t-* ‘be’ (presumptive) Past Imperfect

person	singular	gloss	person	plural	gloss
1 F	ta ā-č-am	I.F had become	1 INCL	ta ā-č-aman	we.INCL had become
1 M	ta ā-k-am	I.M had become	1 EXCL	ta ā-č-es	we.EXCL had become
2 F	ta ā-č-ē	you.F had become	2 PL	ta ā-č-e	you.PL had become
2 M	ta ā-k-ē	you.M had become			
3 F	ta ā-e-č	she/it had become	3 PL	ta ā-e-nč	they had become
3 M	ta ā-i-k	he/it has become			

In (6.20a) the meaning involves the boy usually being hungry and there is no sense of whether he was fed or not.

- (6.20) a. kel-ā aot-ā t-a ā-i-k
 boy-M hungry-M be-3S be-PST-M
 ‘The boy was (always) hungry’ S
- b. pa-v-i t-a ā-e-č
 go-STV.PCP-FP be-3S be-PST-FP
 ‘She must have left’ S

t- appears as the finite auxiliary in a participle construction, as in examples (6.21a) and (6.21b).

- (6.21) a. nāṭ ka-u-ā-m t-a ā-i-k
 dance.M do-STV.PCP-M-PS1SG be-3S be-PST-M
 ‘I always danced’ (it was expected of me) S
- b. keṭāl-ek sodur-i b-ev-i t-a
 girl-F pretty.FP be-STV.PCP-FP be-3S
 ‘The girl must have become pretty’ S

Example (6.22) could be said if it has been raining for two or three days.

- (6.22) ar vėl-a vaš b-au-ā t-a ā-i-k
 every night-LOC rain.M be-STV.PCP-M be-3S be-PST-M
 ‘It has been raining every night’ S

In example (6.23) a participle is formed from the verb *t-*, used in the participial Past Perfect construction, discussed further in section 6.5.2.5.

- (6.23) kābol=kuč-a im t-au-ā ā-i-k
 Kabul=belly-LOC snow.M be-STV.PCP-M be-PST-M
 ‘It had snowed in Kabul, presumably’ S

In example (6.24) *t-* is used as an imperative.

- (6.24) a. d-ē-am t-a
 give-2O-1S be-IMP
 ‘Give it to me!’ S
- b. āč-a t-a
 get-IMP be-IMP
 ‘Get it!’ S

One of the native speakers described the use of *t-ik* as ‘the way things are always done, everyone knows this’. He also said that a statement using *t-ik* implies the speaker has an expectation to be met. It can at times have a sense of ‘for the sake of argument’. This last sense of *t-ik* is seen in counterfactual conditionals in example (6.13) and the wishful thinking of (6.17); both meanings share the irrealis element. This irrealis meaning is also found in example sentence (6.28c) below.

6.4.3.4 Historical Development of the Pashai verb *t-ik* and Kalasha particle *tik*

The verb *t-ik* is similar to the Kalasha particle *tik* defined by Bashir as: “according to the current state of my knowledge and experience, I presume that/it must be/ probably is the case that [S]” (Bashir, 1988b:80). Most of the examples presented here illustrate this use. Bashir’s observations of Kalasha particle *tik* as a reflex of Sanskrit *iti* and other related languages is precisely the way informants describe its use in Pashai as well. Bashir quoting Turner says “a particle indicating the end of direct speech or added to a predicative noun in a statement” (Turner 1562). Pashai speakers equate the use of *t-ik* to a period or exclamation mark, saying “after *ta* nothing more can be said”, as in the imperative examples (6.24a)-(6.24b). Some speakers said that people who used *ta* were angry; they might have made their request two or three times and then in anger used *ta*. According to Bashir *tik* in Kalasha conveys direct experience/knowledge but is non-factive.¹⁰

A conjecture: The aspect marker for the Distal Perfect intransitive verb form has *-t-* in its construction. Morgenstierne describes this as an infix. The morphological form of the the Distal Perfect intransitive aspect marker described in section 5.5.0.3 includes a vowel preceding and following the [t], most likely to accommodate Pashai phonotactics. The salient consonant [t] of the aspect marker may be an eroded form of the verb *t-*.

Example (6.25a) in the Proximate Perfect describes a very recent event (considered ‘now’ by speakers). Example (6.25b) is in the Distal Perfect, a form that not only encodes anteriority but encodes evidentiality as well. The Distal Perfect is used for reporting events not witnessed, new information and mirativity.

- (6.25) a. *li-i-k*
 die-PXPF-M
 ‘(He) died’ (He just now died, witnessed by speaker)

10. Bashir’s revised analysis (p.c.) considers Pashai *t-ik* to have come from the OIA verb *tiṣṭati* ‘stands, remains, > is’, the meaning of which is consistent with native speakers’ reported intuitions. Bashir further suggests that a verb developing into another verb is more conceivable than a particle (*iti*) changing into a verb. Bashir offers another possibility in viewing the Pashai *t-ik* and Kalasha *tik* as a fusion of meanings from both these potential historical antecedents. The Kalasha particle *tik* appears to have been borrowed from Pashai in an invariant form.

- b. li-ti-k
 die-DSPF-M
 ‘(He) died’ (He died recently, not witnessed by speaker)

Could it be that the Distal Perfect intransitive aspect marker has its origin in the verb *t-*? If it were analyzed as originally a verb stem + *t-* this might account for the evidential nature of the Distal Perfect form.

6.4.4 Equational Construction ($x = y$)

The equational construction can be expressed using several different verbs ‘to be’. The copula verb *ā-* ‘be’ is used in the most basic sense of the word ‘is’. That is the only form that can be used to mean ‘this is actually my sister’ in the examples in (6.26) through (6.28).

Equational ‘This is my sister’(actually)

- (6.26) a-lo men-i sai-am as
 PROX-location.DIR 1SG.OBL-FP sister-PS1SG be.AN.F.PRS.3
 ‘This is my sister’ E

It is not possible to express the equational construction without the copula:

- (6.27) *a-lo men-i sai-am
 PROX-location.DIR 1SG.OBL-FP sister-PS1SG
 ‘This is my sister’ E

The other copula verbs discussed (*b-*, *t-*) are used to convey different shades of meaning, none of which means ‘actually is’.

Equational ‘This is my sister’ (in a manner of speaking)

- (6.28) a. a-lo men-i sai-am b-a
 PROX-location.DIR 1SG.OBL-FP sister-PS1SG be-3S
 ‘This is my sister’ (she is like a sister to me, I call her my sister) E (PFS)

- b. a-lo men-i sai-am b-et
 PROX-location.DIR 1SG.OBL-FP sister-PS1SG be-3S
 ‘This is my sister’ E (PFNS)
- c. a-lo men-i sai-am t-a
 PROX-location.DIR 1SG.OBL-F sister-PS1SG be-3S
 ‘This is my sister’ (she is playing the role of my sister) E (PFS)

The presumptive, potential, subjunctive-like meaning encoded in *bet* and *ta* in examples (6.28b) and (6.28c) is like the role of *ta* in the ‘if’ clause of counterfactual conditionals, used in a sense of ‘for the sake of discussion, argument’ as discussed in the section 6.4.3 above.

6.4.5 Existential Construction (\exists x)

The plain existential sentence (\exists x) is expressed either with the verb *dār-* ‘have’ or with the copula:

- (6.29) a. mam ɬe sē dār-am
 I three sister have-1S
 ‘I have three sisters’ E
- b. men-i ɬe sai-ān ā-en
 1SG.OBL-FP three sister-PL be.AN-3P
 ‘I have three sisters’ E

The existential equation can be expressed with the verbs *t-* and *b-* as well, with different shades of meaning.

- (6.30) a. men-i ɬe sai-ān b-en
 1SG.OBL-FP three sister-PL be-3P.S
 ‘I have three sisters’ (They are not my real sisters, but like sisters to me.) E
 (PFNS)
- b. men-i ɬe sai-ān t-en
 1SG.OBL-FP three sister-PL be-3P.S
 ‘I have three sisters’ (At this moment, such as in a play or movie, they are playing
 the role of my sisters.) E (PFNS)

6.4.5.1 Existential Sentence ($\exists x$ [at y])

In the existential sentence ($\exists x$ [at y]) both the verbs \bar{a} - and t - are possible (6.31a); b - is not (6.31b). The verb \bar{a} - in example (6.31a) conveys that the speaker is certain her sister is at home. The verb t - conveys the sense that ‘you may presume to find her at home, she should be there, she is always there, she is expected to be there’, but there is some sense of uncertainty. The speaker does not know if she is actually there right now.

- (6.31) a. men-i sai-am $\text{l\bar{a}m-a}$ $\{\text{as} \quad / \quad \text{t-a}\}$
1SG.OBL-FP sister-PS1SG village-LOC $\{\text{be.AN.F.PRS.3} \quad / \quad \text{be-3S}\}$
‘My sister is at home’ E (PRS/PFS)
- b. *men-i sai-am $\text{l\bar{a}m-a}$ $\{\text{b-et/b-a}\}$
1SG.OBL-FP sister-PS1SG village-LOC $\{\text{be-3S/be-3S}\}$
‘My sister is at home’ E (PFNS/PFS)

6.4.6 Summary

In this section I have identified three auxiliary verbs ‘be’, each with overlapping functions and characteristics. \bar{a} - has only past and present tense verb forms, t - has only non-perfective verb forms, and b - has all tense and aspect forms. \bar{a} - and t - occur with the stative participle, b - occurs with the past participle. b - is used as a generic copula, while only \bar{a} - is used in equational and existential statements.

These findings are summarized in Table 6.12.

Table 6.12: Copula and Auxiliary Verbs

		ā-	t-	b-
Tense	PST	✓		
	PRS	✓		
Tense-Aspect	PFNS		✓	✓
	PFS		✓	✓
	PST.IPRF		✓	✓
	PRF			
	PXPF			✓
	DSPF			✓
	RMPF			✓
	with stative participle	✓	✓	
with past participle				✓
				✓
				✓
generic copula				
non-generic copula		✓	✓	
Equational		✓		
Existential		✓		

6.5 Tense-Aspect Forms

Pashai has the following tense-aspect forms in the indicative mood, illustrated with the verb *pa-* ‘go’ in Table 6.13:

Table 6.13: Tense-Aspect Forms

tense	form	gloss
Present-Future Non-Specific (PFNS)	pa-am	I go, I will go
Present-Future Specific (PFS)	pa-y-am	I am going, I will be going
Proximate Perfect (PXPF) ¹¹	g-e-č-am	I.F went
Distal Perfect (DSPF)	pa-te-č-am	I.F went
Remote Perfect (RMPF)	p-ea-č-am	I.F went
Past Imperfect (PST.IPRF)	p-a ā-č-am	I.F was going

The stative participle in construction with an auxiliary verb is used to form Present Perfect and Past Perfect, shown in Table 6.14.

Table 6.14: Participial Perfect Tenses

tense	form	gloss
Participial Present Perfect	pa-v-i ā-am	I.F have gone
Participial Past Perfect	pa-v-i ā-č-am	I.F had gone

The basic opposition determining the split ergative agreement pattern in Pashai is aspectual. Pashai aspect divides along the perfective / non-perfective distinction. Non-perfective verbs have nominative/accusative agreement patterns and case marking. Perfective verbs follow ergative/absolutive agreement patterns and case marking. This aspectual distinction cuts across tenses. The non-past tenses include the Present-Future Non-Specific (PFNS), the Present-Future Specific (PFS) and the Proximate Perfect (PXPf). Of those three non-past tenses Present-Future Non-Specific and the Present-Future Specific have nominative/accusative agreement patterns; the Proximate Perfect has ergative/absolutive agreement patterns. The past tenses include the Distal Perfect (DSPf), Remote Perfect (RMPf), and the Past Imperfect (PST.IPRf). The Distal Perfect and Remote Perfect have ergative/absolutive agreement patterns; the Past Imperfect has nominative/accusative agreement patterns. The intersection of tense and aspect is shown in Table 6.15:

11. The stem *pa-* is replaced by the irregular perfective stem *g-* which appears only in the Proximate Perfect. In other Indo-Aryan languages, e.g. Hindi or Urdu, it appears consistently in perfective tenses. I found that at least some older speakers used *g-* in the DSPf as in *g-iti-k* ‘He has left’. It is not present in Morgenstierne’s data. The irregular form may be vanishing as Pashai regularizes. Further investigation into this topic would surely yield insights into the history of the language.

Table 6.15: Tense Aspect Intersection

	perfective	non-perfective
non-past	PXPF	PFNS PFS
past	DSPF RMPF	PST.IPRF

The description that follows looks at non-perfective forms first, followed by perfective forms.

6.5.1 Non-Perfective

The non-perfective tenses discussed here are Present-Future Non-Specific, Present-Future Specific, and Past Imperfect. The Present-Future Non-Specific and Present-Future Specific are non-past tenses. They are discussed first, followed by the Past Imperfect.

There is no gender distinction or gender agreement marked on the verb in the non-past tenses. Person/number suffixes are attached to the verb stem that index subject in intransitive verbs, and both subject and object in transitive constructions. The sets of person/number agreement affixes differ between these two tenses, as does the order of their affixation on the verb. The morphology of these forms is discussed in Chapter 5.

6.5.1.1 Present-Future Non-Specific

The Present-Future Non-Specific is formed from a verb stem + pronominal suffixes indexing the person and number of the core arguments. Subject-indexing suffixes precede object-indexing ones. The subject of the verb is in DIR case (-ø). The object of the verb may be marked with the oblique case if it is specified (6.32a); it may be marked with the genitive in the oblique function if it is possessed (6.32b), or unmarked if unspecified (6.32c).

- (6.32) a. mē čilā-y kozan unĵ-am-i
 DEM.PL.OBL clothes.PL-OBL when wash-1S-3O

‘When shall I wash these clothes?’ E

- b. čilā-st-am kozan unĵ-am-i
clothes.PL-GEN-PS1SG when wash-1S-3O

‘When shall I wash my clothes?’ E

- c. čilā kozan unĵ-am
clothes.PL when wash-1S

‘When shall I wash clothes?’ E

The unspecified, generic object in (6.32c) is not indexed on the verb, therefore only the subject suffix occurs. In examples (6.32a) and (6.32b) the object suffix is attached to the verb.

The Present-Future Non-Specific is used for statements that are common knowledge, general truths and opinions as in examples in (6.33). It is used for habitual present and future activities, as in examples (6.34) – (6.36). The apodosis of realis conditionals, in examples (6.37a) – (6.37b) and the apodosis of irrealis conditionals in example (6.38), complements of the verbs ‘want’, ‘force’ and others, as in examples (6.39a) – (6.39b), and reason clauses, as in example (6.40), all employ the Present-Future Non-Specific. Note that in many of these examples the object is generic and therefore not indexed on the verb.

Non-specific statements about present and future events

- (6.33) a. auyān-ān čai bō pi-en
Afghan-PL tea much drink-3P.S

‘Afghans drink a lot of tea’ S

- b. darenur-a royān bō ve-en
Darrai Nur-LOC cooking.oil much pour-3P.S

‘They pour (use) a lot of cooking oil in Darrai Nur’ S

- c. mam ketāb paṛ-am ar vėl-a
I book read-1S every night-LOC

‘I read books every night’ E

Habitual present Example (6.34), a description of the daily bread baking activity, illustrates the use of the Present-Future Non-Specific for a habitual procedure:

- (6.34) vareg ve-am peṛā ĵop-am av lik ka-am
 water.M pour-1S dough-ball.M make-1S bread.M flat do-1S
 ‘I pour water, I make dough-balls, I flatten the bread’ S

Likewise, the nightly hair brushing ritual is described with the Present-Future Non-Specific in example (6.35).

- (6.35) ar vėl-a čāl-ast-am košek ka-am
 every night-LOC hair-GEN-PS1SG comb do-1S
 ‘Every night I comb my hair’ S

Future

- (6.36) a. to av e-ē
 you bread.M eat-2S
 ‘Will you eat?’
 b. kor āč-am
 what fetch-1S
 ‘What shall I bring?’

Realis conditionals

- (6.37) a. aka bō sax ɫām k-e-k-ē bō ziyāt pēsa d-am-ē
 if very hard work.M do-PXPF-M-2S very much money give-1S-2O
 ‘If you work harder I will give you more money’ E
 b. abat oreč-am vėl-a ger no-oreč-am
 now sleep-1S night-LOC again NEG-sleep-1S
 ‘If I sleep now I won’t sleep again tonight’ S

Irrealis conditional

- (6.38) aka sax ɫām ka-a ā-k-am puldar b-em
 if hard work.M do-3S be-M-1S rich be-1S
 ‘If I had worked hard I would be rich’

Complement clauses

- (6.39) a. ēṛ-am ke kābol-i pa-am
want-1S COMP Kabul-OBL go-1S
'I want to go to Kabul'¹² S/E
- b. mālem-ē šager-e maǰbur k-e-k-en ke dars paṛ-et
teacher-OBL student.M-PS3SG force do-PXPF-M-3M.O COMP lesson read-3S
'The teacher forced his student to study' E

Reason clause

- (6.40) ti ādemi gaṇ dēg ašpār pač-al-e-k-en ke goravāl-ē
DEM.SG.OBL man big pot rice.M cook-TRZ-PXPF-M-3M.O COMP wedding-OBL
ǰam memān-a dam-al-ad-i
all guests-OBL.PL be.satisfied-TRZ-3S-3O
'The man cooked a big pot of rice in order to satisfy all the guests at the wedding'
S

The Present-Future Non-Specific tense is often used for statements about which the speaker is not certain, or has no specific event in mind. For example, when a speaker says (6.41) there is no certainty about the outcome of the event. The speaker is saying 'it could rain' but he is not committed to the outcome.

- (6.41) vaš b-et
rain be-3S
'It could/may/might rain' S

6.5.1.2 Present-Future Specific PFS

The Present-Future Specific tense is formed from a verb stem + object suffix + K + subject suffix. K is used abstractly to refer to the three allomorphs of the specificity marker, discussed in Chapter 5. In the Present-Future Specific intransitive paradigm the subject suffix is

12. This sentence, with the *ke* clause, seems a recent, Persian-influenced type. Originally this sentence came from an older speaker who said the sentence without the *ke* using a serial verb construction. When I verified this sentence with a younger, more educated speaker he corrected it to the *ke* construction.

attached to the specificity marker. For the transitive paradigm object suffixes are attached to the verb stem, followed by a complex formed from the specificity marker and the subject suffix. The exception is found in the third-person singular transitive form which lacks a subject suffix. Lacking a subject suffix no complex can be formed between the specificity marker and the subject suffix, resulting in the absence of the specificity marker in this form.

The Amla dialect differs from other dialects farther up the Darrai Nur valley in a number of ways. One way it differs is in the morphology of the Present-Future Specific. Other dialects have the Present-Future Specific affix *-k-* in both transitive and intransitive forms. In Amla dialect *-k-* occurs only in the transitive paradigm.

The specificity marker for the intransitive paradigm is *-y-* in the Amla dialect. For third-person singular intransitive verbs the velar (*-k-*) was spirantized into *-y-*. The chronology of this sound change is discussed in Chapter 5.

The subject of a Present-Future Specific verb is always unmarked. The object, when specified, takes the oblique case (6.45). When the object is specified with a possessive it is in the genitive case (6.47b); if unspecified the object is in direct case (6.47a). The Present-Future Specific tense is used for specific statements about present (6.42) and actual future events (6.43).

Present

- (6.42) se keṭāl-ek nuṇ-i perān-ek-ast-a manĵ-i
 DEM.SG.DIR girl-F new-F dress-F-GEN-PS3 wear-3O
 ‘This girl is putting on her new dress’ S

Future

- (6.43) kābol-ē kozan pa-y-ē
 Kabul-OBL when go-PFS-2S
 ‘When are you going to Kabul?’ S

Specific events with a sense of immediacy are expressed in the Present-Future Specific.

Example (6.44) was overheard as a father threatened his son about what would happen if he fell in the river we were crossing.

Immediate

- (6.44) an-ē-k-am-ē
 beat-2O-PFS-1S-2O
 ‘I am going to beat you’ S

The Present-Future Specific is used for ongoing present progressive (6.45), idioms or statements based on perceived general truths (6.46), habitual activities (6.47), and conditionals (6.48).

Present Progressive

- (6.45) yo ketāb-ē paṛ-i-k-am
 DEM book-OBL read-3O-PFS-1S
 ‘I am reading this book’ S

Idioms and statements based on perceived general truths

- (6.46) a. zemesan-a im mač-a vayend-a vāš mač-a
 winter-LOC snow rain.down-3S summer-LOC rain rain.down-3S
 ‘It snows in winter, it rains in summer’ S
- b. kambari iy davās moṇ-a
 water jug one day break-3S
 ‘One day the water jug will break’ S
- c. nandi botol=kuč-a ne-vej-a
 river.F bottle=belly-LOC NEG-fit-3S
 ‘A river does not fit into a bottle’ S
- d. čā an-akal-ā čā-ya čan-a
 well hit-IPV.PCP-M well-LOC fall-3S
 ‘The well digger falls in (his own) well’ S

Habitual activities The examples here are similar to ones offered in the discussion of the Present-Future Non-Specific. The subtle difference between these forms may be found in the speaker's attitude toward the 'actuality' of the activities.

- (6.47) a. pari ar dauās čilā unĵ-a
 Pari(F) every day clothes.PL wash-3S
 'Pari washes clothes every day' S
- b. ar vėl-a čāl-est-em košek ka-i-k-am
 every night-LOC hair-GEN-PS1SG comb do-3O-PFS-1S
 'I am combing my hair every night' S

Conditionals

- (6.48) aka im b-a zomestan-a baṛō b-a
 if snow be-3S winter-LOC flood be-3S
 'If it snows in winter there is going to be a flood' S

The Present-Future Specific differs from the Present-Future Non-Specific in the force of conviction demonstrated by the speaker as to the outcome of the event. The Present-Future Specific tense has a (greater) sense of certainty about the outcome of the event. When a speaker says (6.49) s/he is certain about the outcome, or is stating an event that is actual.

- (6.49) vāš b-aṭ-a
 rain be-PFS-3S
 'It will rain' or 'It is raining now' S

When a speaker says (6.50) using the Present-Future Non-Specific there is no certainty, or no certainty about the actuality of the event to take place.

- (6.50) vāš b-et
 rain be-3S
 'It will rain' S

6.5.1.3 Past Imperfect (PST.IPRF)

The Past Imperfect is a non-perfective form in past tense. It is composed of a Present-Future Specific verb and the past auxiliary verb. The auxiliary verb agrees with the subject in gender and number. Pronominal suffixes index the object on the Present-Future Specific verb. The negation prefix is attached to the first element in the construction, the Present-Future Specific verb, rather than the auxiliary.

This form is used for past habitual actions, past iterative actions (6.51a) – (6.51b) past progressive, past actions interrupted, or intersected by another (punctual) action, as in (6.51c), and intended but unrealized actions, as in counterfactual conditionals (6.51d). In example (6.51d) the verb *moṇ-* ‘break’ is used transitively in the first clause of the sentence, evidenced by the third-singular object suffix attached to the verb. In the second clause the verb is used intransitively evidenced by the gender/number agreement with the subject of the second clause *mēz.F* ‘table’.

- (6.51) a. *Sima ar davās lai-im ā-e-č*
 sima.F every day see-1O be-PST-FP
 ‘Sima used to see me every day’ S
- b. *mariz b-aṣ-a ā-e-č*
 sick be-PFS-3S be-PST-FP
 ‘She would always be getting sick’ S
- c. *mam ke i-e-č-am sima ašpār pač-al-aṣ-a ā-e-č*
 I COMP come-PXPF-FP-1S Sima.F rice.M cook-CS-PFS-3S be-PST-FP
 ‘When I came Sima was cooking rice’ E
- d. *Nasib mēz-ē moṇ-i ā-i-k xo no-moṇ-e-č*
 Nasib table.F-OBL break-3O be-PST-M but NEG-break.PXPF-FP
 ‘Nasib would have broken the table but it did not break’ E

6.5.2 Perfective

6.5.2.1 Introduction

The perfective forms include the Proximate Perfect, Distal Perfect, and Remote Perfect tenses. They all display the ergative/absolutive agreement pattern. The terminology used in this dissertation to describe the perfective tenses is somewhat unconventional. I arrived at this terminology based on the way Pashai speakers talked to me about their language and through my observations of their usage.

In conversations Pashai speakers often referred to the Proximate Perfect in Dari as *dasti* ‘right now’, ‘it just happened’, ‘present tense’. These descriptions were used to distinguish it from the Present-Future Specific which was referred to in Dari as *zēr-e dast* lit. ‘under the hand’ ‘happening right now’. I have chosen the term ‘proximate’ to describe the immediacy of this perfective tense.

The term Distal Perfect is used for the tense that describes past events, more recent than remote. The Distal Perfect encodes evidentiality in the form of hearsay, reported information, and surprise. It is also used as the final verb in a series of verbs in the Proximate Perfect. The term Remote Perfect is used for relatively remote past events, completed events, and relatively anterior events, whether the antecedent event is implicit or explicit.

In the Chapter 4 discussion of deictic demonstrative terms I show how prefixes for proximal, distal, and remote referents are organized in the grammar. I have adopted these same terms for the perfective tenses to highlight the symmetry between the systems involved with perceptual access (spatial and temporal distance), while reflecting the speakers’ intuitions about their language.

This terminology is not completely without precedent. Morgenstierne, in his discussion of SW, NE and NW dialects identifies a ‘proximate past’, which he describes as ‘used for recent events’. Morgenstierne distinguishes this tense from the ‘simple past’ used for ‘ordinary narration about past events’. Morgenstierne remarks that for every example he elicited in

the proximate past the simple past was offered as well; that with such limited data he could not tell more about the subtle difference between the tenses. In his vocabulary and texts volumes he labels some form as remote past. Strand uses the terms ‘near perfect’ and ‘remote perfect’ to refer to certain forms in his on-line Degano Lexicon.¹³

6.5.2.2 Proximate Perfect PXPf

The Proximate Perfect tense is constructed from a verb stem + aspect marker *-e-* + gender/number markers + pronominal suffixes.

The ergative agreement pattern is shown by the gender/number marker *-k-* indexing the masculine object, not the feminine subject in the transitive example in (6.52a); the transitive subject is in the oblique case. The intransitive verb agrees with the subject in (6.52b).

The Proximate Perfect is used for recent events or events that just happened, as in the immediate past (6.52a) – (6.52b).

- (6.52) a. *pari-y ašpār pač-al-e-k-en*
 pari.F-OBL rice.M cook-CS-PXPf-M-3M.O
 ‘Pari cooked rice’ (just now) S
- b. *šoriŋ avat l-i-k*
 dog.M now die-PXPf-M
 ‘The dog just died’ S

In addition to describing events that have just taken place this tense is used for immediate future in blessings and curses (6.53) – (6.54).¹⁴ Example (6.53) is the standard greeting an adult says to a child.

- (6.53) *gaŋ b-e-č-ē*
 big be-PXPf-FP-2S
 ‘May you.F grow big’ S

Example (6.54) is the standard Pashai greeting said to a man.¹⁵

13. <http://nuristan.info/lngFrameL.html>

14. The use of this form for the optative mood is discussed in section 6.8.2.

15. To greet a woman one says *ma-vaŋ-e-č-ē*.

- (6.54) ma-vaṭ-e-k-ē
 PROH-tire-M-PXPF-2S
 ‘May you.M not be tired’ S

Some speakers felt that the Proximate Perfect was neutral with respect to actual versus inferential status, a few felt it was used for actual witnessed events, as opposed to the Distal Perfect and Remote Perfect which were used for unwitnessed events. The Proximate Perfect is used in the protasis of conditionals in (6.55a)- (6.55b) .

- (6.55) a. aka bō sax lām ka-e-k-ē bō ziyāt pēsa d-am-ē
 if very hard work.M do-PXPF-M-2S very much money give-1S-2O
 ‘If you work harder I will give you more money’ E
- b. aka darenur-ē g-e-č-aman ama pa-aman men-i
 if Darrai Nur-OBL go-PXPF-FP-1PL.INCL we go-1PL.INCL 1SG.OBL-FP
 ai-tātā-n-ast-am lai-i-k-ē
 mother-father-PL-GEN-PS1SG see-3O-PFS-2S
 ‘If we go to Darrai Nur you will go see my parents’ S

6.5.2.3 Distal Perfect (DSPF)

The Distal Perfect form is used to report events that happened in the recent past that are relevant to events in the present. It is often, but not exclusively, used to report unwitnessed events. The Distal Perfect tense is the only perfective tense with different morphology for transitive and intransitive verbs. Therefore transitive and intransitive are treated separately here.

Distal Perfect Intransitive In the Distal Perfect the verb stem is followed by the aspect marker *-(i)ti-* followed by a subject-indexing gender/number marker and pronominal suffix. The affix *-(i)ti-* is probably an eroded form of the verb *t-ik* discussed in section 6.4.3, and incorporated into the DSPF intransitive tense form.¹⁶ The examples in (6.56) illustrate this form.

16. The Distal Perfect marker is pronounced [iti] before the masculine singular marker *-k-*, and pronounced [ete] before the default marker *-č-*.

- (6.56) a. pol-ete-č-es
arrive-DSPF-FP-1P.S
'We have arrived' S
- b. boṛēn b-iti-k-am
old be-DSPF-M-1S
'I.M have become old' S
- c. vāš b-iti-k
rain be-DSPF-M
'It has rained' S
- d. šoṇoṭ-ek li-te-č
dog-F die-DSPF-FP
'The dog.F has died' S

The Distal Perfect is used to return attention to the present tense after a narrative in the past; it also has inferential force, used for reporting new, surprising or second hand information. The example in (6.56a) is used to report an arrival over the phone, when the hearer does not (cannot) witness the event. The example in (6.56b) is first-person and used to express mirativity, when the speaker is surprised, having just realized that he has 'gotten old'. The example in (6.56c) is used to report an event that might have been witnessed by the speaker, but not the hearer.¹⁷ The example in (6.56d) is used to report new information not personally witnessed.

Distal Perfect Transitive The Distal Perfect transitive aspect marker is *-ei-*. As with other perfective tenses, the object is indexed with gender/number markers and pronominal suffixes. The gender/number marker and the pronominal suffix form a complex in all instances where the subject is third-person. In example (6.57a), the gender/number marker and pronominal suffix index the object, 'book'. In example (6.57b) the gender/number marker and pronominal suffix index the object 'dog'.

17. While it makes more sense for this form to be used when neither speaker nor hearer witnessed the event, I observed and was told it was used this way too.

- (6.57) a. *maryam-ē ketāb gor-ei-k-en*
 Maryam.F-OBL book.M take-DSPF-M-3M.O
 ‘Maryam has taken a book’ E
- b. *nasib-i šoŋoŋ-ek moč-al-ei-č-an*
 Nasib.M-OBL dog-F flee-TRZ-DSPF-FP-3F.O
 ‘Nasib has chased the dog away’ E

When the subject is first-person it is indexed with the pronominal suffix, however the gender/number marker always indexes the object, as in example (6.58).

- (6.58) *av e-ei-k-am*
 bread.M eat-DSPF-M-1S
 ‘I have eaten bread(food)’ S

When the subject is second-person and the object is third-person the subject is indexed with a pronominal suffix but the object is indexed by gender/number markers, as seen in example (6.59).

- (6.59) *tār-ei-k-ē*
 look.at-DSPF-M-2S
 ‘You had looked at him’ S

A ranking hierarchy is responsible for determining which suffixes are indexed on the verb. This hierarchy is discussed in Chapter 5.

I found this aspect form in limited use among the speakers I interviewed, although it is possible I did not perceive the difference between the transitive Distal Perfect aspect marker *-ei-* and the Proximate Perfect marker *-e-*. I collected these examples from older speakers. Comparing the prevalence or preference between this form and the participial perfective tenses taken up below, is an area of future inquiry.

6.5.2.4 Remote Perfect RMPF

The aspect marker for the Remote Perfect *-ea-* is the same for both transitive and intransitive verbs. Intransitive verbs index the subject with gender/number markers and pronominal

suffixes. Transitive verbs index the gender/number and person of the object. Native speakers describe events in this tense as ‘it happened a long time ago’ with a sense of remoteness and completeness that is relevant to its basic meaning, and probably its inferential quality.

- (6.60) a. šorij l-ea-k
 dog.M die-RMPF-M
 ‘The dog died’ (unwitnessed or unknown dog) E
- b. pari-i ašpār pač-al-ea-k-en
 pari-OBL rice.M cook-CS-RMPF-M-3M.O
 ‘Pari cooked rice’. (unwitnessed) E
- c. aot-ā b-ea-k
 hungry-M be-RMPF-M
 ‘He was hungry’ (but he isn’t anymore) E

6.5.2.5 Participial Perfect Tenses

A Present Perfect is formed with the stative participle (STV.PCP) and present tense auxiliary, animate or inanimate. A Past Perfect is formed with the stative participle and past tense auxiliary. The ergative agreement marking pattern is exhibited with these forms. These tenses are used abundantly and may mark a shift from the inflected tenses to more periphrastic forms, following the historical development of other Indo-Aryan languages.

Participial Present Perfect Intransitive With intransitive verbs the Present Perfect describes a resultant stative meaning (6.61a), with transitive verbs it is used for events in the past with present relevance (6.61c)-(6.61e). The stative participle of a transitive verb implies agency (6.61c)-(6.61e).

- (6.61) a. maryam tost-ev-i as
 maryam.F stand-STV.PCP-FP be.AN.F.PRS.3
 ‘Maryam is standing’ S
- b. vareg tap-ov-ā š-i
 water.M heat-STV.PCP-M be.INAN.PRS-3
 ‘The water is hot’ S

- c. Nasib an-au-ā ās
 Nasib.M beat-STV.PCP-M be.AN.M.PRS.3
 ‘Nasib has been beaten’ E
- d. kar-ik kaṭ-ev-i š-en
 tree-PL cut-STV.PCP-FP be.INAN.PRS-3P
 ‘The trees have been cut down’ S
- e. kamzur ka-u-i ā-en
 weak do-STV.PCP-FP be.AN-3P
 ‘They had been weakened’¹⁸ T

Both the auxiliary verb and the participle agree with the subject in these sentences. For (6.61a), the agreement is feminine singular animate, for (6.61c) the agreement is masculine singular animate, for (6.61d) the agreement is plural inanimate, for (6.61e) the agreement is plural animate.

Participial Present Perfect Transitive For transitive sentences with expressed subjects, shown below, the participle and verb agree in gender/number and animacy with the object; the subject is indexed with a suffix on the participle. The indexing suffixes attached to the stative participle are the possessive suffixes discussed in Chapter 4.

In examples (6.62a)-(6.62b) the auxiliary verb is inanimate because of the object *ketāb*.M ‘book’ and *pelek*.F ‘cup’ respectively. The participle, agreeing with the object takes the masculine singular ending in (6.62a) and (6.63) and the default ending in (6.62b). The subject is marked by the first-person singular suffix *-m* on the participle. In example (6.63) the third-person subject is marked by the third-person suffix *-e*.

- (6.62) a. mam ketāb mēz-ē=šēr-a ĵe-u-ā-m š-i
 I book.M table.F-OBL=head-LOC place-STV.PCP-M-PS1SG be.INAN.PRS-3
 ‘I have placed the book on the table’ E

18. The verb stem *ka-*, forming the basis of the stative participle is transitive, although the gloss may suggest an intransitive concept. The stative participle form used here implies that the weakening happened as a result of someone else’s agentive action.

- b. mam pelek mēz-ē=šēr-a ĵe-u-i-m š-i
 I cup.F table.F-OBL=on-LOC place-STV.PCP-FP-PS1SG be.INAN.PRS-3
 ‘I have placed the cup on the table’ S

In example (6.63) the third-person subject is marked by the third-person suffix *-e*. The participle and the verb *ās* index the gender, number, and animacy of the object ‘boy’.

- (6.63) pari-y kel-ā kaṭ-ē=šēr-a ne-l-au-ā-e ās
 Pari.F-OBL boy-M cot-OBL=head-LOC sit-TRZ-STV.PCP-M-PS3SG be.AN.M.PRS.3
 ‘Pari has seated the boy on the cot’ E

Although the object is not overtly expressed in example (6.64), it is marked on the participle with a possessive suffix. The masculine-marked verb indicates the object must be masculine.

- (6.64) nasib-i an-au-ā-e ās
 Nasib.M-OBL beat-STV.PCP-M-PS3SG be.AN.M.PRS.3
 ‘Nasib has beaten (someone.M)’ E

Participial Past Perfect Intransitive A Past Perfect is also formed from the STV.PCP+ past tense auxiliary verbs. Like the Present Perfect construction describe in examples (6.61a)-(6.61e), the participle agrees in number and gender with the subject of intransitive verbs, as in (6.65a) and (6.65b).

- (6.65) a. kābol-ē pa-u-i ā-č-es
 Kabul-OBL go-STV.PCP-FP be-FP-1P.S
 ‘We had gone to Kabul’ (We had gone to Kabul) S
- b. šorīṇ le-u-ā ā-i-k
 dog.M die-STV.PCP-M be-PST-M
 ‘The dog had died’ (The dog was dead) S

Participial Past Perfect Transitive Both the participle and the auxiliary verb agree in number and gender with the object in transitive verbs as in example (6.66). Animacy is not distinguished in past tense. The subject is indexed on the participle with a possessive suffix:

- (6.66) Maryam-ē ašpār pač-al-au-ā-e ā-i-k
 Maryam.F-OBL rice.M cook-TRZ-STV.PCP-M-PS3 be-PST-M

‘Maryam had cooked the rice’ S

The participial perfect tenses present some as yet unresolved questions. The participial Past Perfect is used for events in the past, more remote or anterior to current events. Some speakers reported that it had the force of witnessed events, for others it was used for non-witnessed or neutral. Some speakers articulated that the participial Past Perfect was used for witnessed events, or known referents as opposed to the Remote Perfect which is used for neutral or unwitnessed events. The difference perceived and articulated by some speakers may be connected with the difference between past tense and perfective aspect, or perhaps this is connected to the focus on the result of an action (and implied agency) associated with the participle.

6.6 Specificity

In section 6.5 the opposition between perfective and non-perfective aspect was examined as the basis for Pashai’s split ergative agreement pattern. The following section examines the feature of specificity, which is limited to non-perfective forms. I use specificity here as a feature that encodes a speaker’s, but not the hearer’s, presupposition or knowledge about an event/action; this can include the speaker’s knowledge or certainty about the actuality of the event/action that has not yet occurred. Although specificity is associated with non-perfective aspect, the Present-Future Specific tense is used in response to actual events. This occurs when a proverb in the Present-Future Specific is uttered after an event takes place. The Present-Future Specific is also part of the Past Imperfect construction, which is used to refer to actual events in the past.

In section 6.5.1 above I showed that both the Present-Future Specific and the Present-Future Non-Specific can be used to refer to future or present events. The Present-Future Non-Specific is used frequently for generic and habitual activities as in example (6.67a). When a speaker uses this form she is communicating a sense of tentativeness or uncertainty

about the outcome. This subjunctive use, discussed in section 6.8.3, is one of the functions of the Present-Future Non-Specific form. By contrast, when a father threatens his son with *an-ē-k-am-ē* ‘I am going to beat you’ (example 6.44) he is letting him know the certainty of the consequence and that he has a specific outcome in mind. The Present-Future Non-Specific is contrasted with Present-Future Specific in example (6.67a) and (6.67b) respectively, where the speaker is asking about an actual, specific event/activity.

- (6.67) a. *dokān-ē kozan ban k-ē-i*
store-OBL when lock do-2S-3O
‘When do you close the store’ (in general) S (PFNS)
- b. *dokan-ē kozan ban ka-i-k-ē*
store-OBL when lock do-3O-2S
‘When are you closing the store’ (tonight, at what time specifically) S (PFS)

Similarly, the pair of sentences in (6.68a) and (6.68b) contrast the speaker’s knowledge about the actual outcome of events. The verb in the first clause of these examples is in the Present-Future Specific. The verb in the second clause differs. Sentence (6.68a), with the verb in the Present-Future Non-Specific, is uttered with uncertainty about the outcome, and a lack of specificity about the timing. Sentence (6.68b) is uttered with certainty about the outcome and the speaker has no doubt he will actually see Nasib.

- (6.68) a. *mam pa-y-am auyānasan nasib-i lai-am-i*
I go-PFS-1S Afghanistan Nasib-OBL see-1S-3O
‘I am going to Afghanistan and may see Nasib’ S
- b. *mam pa-y-am auyānasan nasib-i lai-i-k-am*
I go-PFS-1S Afghanistan Nasib-OBL see-3O-PFS-1S
‘I am going to Afghanistan and will see Nasib’ S

Example (6.69) shows the speaker equivocating. He uses the adverb *makan* ‘maybe’ emphasizing the speaker’s lack of conviction. The verb in both clauses is in the Present-Future Non-Specific.

- (6.69) *makan mam auyānasan-ē=ka pa-am nasib-i lai-am-i*
maybe I Afghanistan-OBL=to go-1S nasib-OBL see-1S-3O

‘Maybe I will go to Afghanistan and see Nasib’ S

The adverb *hatmi* ‘certainly’ can be inserted in either sentence in the position before the verb. The insertion of *hatmi* does not preclude the use of the Present-Future Non-Specific form. With *hatmi* the speaker using the Present-Future Non-Specific is still uncertain about the outcome (6.70).

- (6.70) mam pa-y-am auyānasan nasib-i hatmi lai-am-i
I go-PFS-1S Afghanistan Nasib-OBL certainly see-1S-3O
‘I am going to Afghanistan and I have to see Nasib’ (but not sure when, or if it will actually occur) S

General truths are expressed with the Present-Future Non-Specific, as in example (6.33a). The speaker, by making this statement does not claim that all Afghans always drink a lot of tea, nor does he refer to a specific actual event of tea drinking.

- (6.71) auyan-ān čai bō pi-en
Afghan-PL tea much drink-3P.S
‘Afghans drink a lot of tea’ S

By contrast, many idioms and proverbs are stated in the Present-Future Specific, as in example (6.72).

- (6.72) a. kambari iy dauās moṇ-a
clay water jug one day break-3S
One day the waterjug is going to break’ S
b. nandi boṭol=kuč-a ne-vej-a
river botol=belly-LOC NEG-fit-3S
‘A river does not fit into a bottle’ S

These Present-Future Specific expressions are not stated as general truths, but rather uttered as proverbs, after the fact. Their utterance is prompted by an actual specific event.

Examples (6.73) and (6.74) seem to be nearly identical. Example (6.73) is in the Present-Future Non-Specific, whereas example (6.74) is in the Present-Future Specific. Example (6.73) is uttered as a general truth, like example (6.71), a generic statement.

- (6.73) ar vėl-a čāl-ast-am košek ka-am
 every night-LOC hair-GEN-PS1SG comb do-1S
 ‘Every night I comb my hair’ S (PFNS)

Example (6.74), in the Present-Future Specific, could be uttered by a speaker explaining why they can not engage in another, alternative activity at the same time. The speaker knows they will be engaged in an actual, specific activity.

- (6.74) ar vėl-a čāl-ast-em košek ka-i-k-am
 every night-LOC hair-GEN-PS1SG comb do-3O-PFS-1S
 ‘I am combing my hair every night’ S

The following set of examples illustrate the contrast between the Present-Future Non-Specific and the Present-Future Specific using the verb *b-* ‘to be(come)’. When a speaker utters (6.75a) she is certain that it will rain, if not when. When a speaker utters (6.75b), using the Present-Future Non-Specific, their statement encodes a lack of conviction about whether it will rain or not.

- (6.75) a. vāš b-a
 rain be-3S
 ‘It will rain’ S (PFS)
- b. vāš b-et
 rain be-3S
 ‘It may rain’ S (PFNS)

Some of the speakers I interviewed articulated a difference in meaning associated with the Present-Future Specific third-person endings, with and without the specificity marker *-y-*. For those speakers there was a difference in meaning between (6.75a) and (6.76).

- (6.76) vāš b-a-y-a
 rain be-PFS-3S
 ‘It will be raining’ or ‘It is raining now’ S

In this instance the *-y-* marker in particular is associated with continuity. These same speakers articulated a difference in the Past Imperfect construction. The Past Imperfect

employs the Present-Future Specific and finite auxiliary verbs. Since the Past Imperfect is used for specific, actual events that have already taken place, it follows that the Present Future Specific, rather than the Present-Future Non-Specific, is part of this construction.

With a specified direct object the object suffix is *-i* as in (6.77a), with a generic object the intransitive subject suffix *-a* is used, as in (6.77b). The Past Imperfect can refer to a past continuous or habitual activity, as reflected in the translation.

- (6.77) a. Nasib ketāb-ast-a paṛ-i ā-i-k
 Nasib book.M-GEN-PS3SG read-3O be-PST-M
 ‘Nasib was reading his book’ ‘Nasib used to read his book’ S
- b. Nasib ketāb paṛ-a ā-i-k
 Nasib book.M read-3S be-PST-M
 ‘Nasib was reading books’ ‘Nasib used to read books’ S
- c. Nasib ketāb paṛ-ay-a ā-i-k
 Nasib book.M read-PFS-3S be-PST-M
 ‘Nasib was reading books’ ‘Nasib used to read books’ S

Some of the native speakers interviewed expressed that there was a difference in meaning between (6.77b) and (6.77c) such that there was more certainty in the assertion in (6.77b) and less in (6.77c). Some expressed the difference in terms of a lack of visual witnessing with the *-y-* marker. There may be a measure of specificity associated with the different suffixes when used in the Past Imperfect construction.¹⁹ The data is still quite tentative and requires further investigation.

6.7 Evidentiality

The encoding of evidentiality is limited to the perfective aspect. A clear picture of evidentiality encoded in the Distal Perfect tense emerges in comparison to the use of the Proximate Perfect and other perfective tenses. A speaker who says (6.78a) using the Proximate Perfect

19. the *-aya* ending seems similar in function to the Persian verbal prefix *mi* ‘continuous’.

tense is stating a fact that both the speaker and the listener witnessed. When a speaker utters (6.78b) using the Distal Perfect she is reporting an event that was not directly witnessed by either speech act participant. He is also talking about an event that is completed.

- (6.78) a. vāš b-i-k
rain be-PXPF-M
‘It rained’, speaker and listener witnessed event S
- b. vāš b-iti-k
rain be-DSPF-M
‘It rained’ one speaker reporting to another S

A directly witnessed event is usually reported with the Proximate Perfect, as speakers said, “this just happened, right now, before my eyes”. When reporting new information for the hearer or speaker the speaker uses the Distal Perfect. A speaker uses the Distal Perfect when reporting over the phone something that the listener on the other end does not witness:

- (6.79) pol-ete-č-es
arrive-DSPF-FP-1PL.EXCL
‘We have arrived’ S

The Distal Perfect is also used when the speaker has received new information or is surprised by the event, such as when observing a child after a long absence and says:

- (6.80) gaṇ b-iti-k-ē
big be-DSPF-M-2S
‘My, how you’ve grown’ S

Mirativity is also present in the first-person usage as when observing with surprise, a speaker utters about himself:

- (6.81) boṛēn b-iti-k-am
old be-DSPF-M-1S
‘I have become old’ S

In a narration a speaker often uses a series of verbs in the Proximate Perfect when telling a story, even one that was not witnessed. He will use the Distal Perfect to bring closure to the

series of events reported, often with falling intonation. The following example is a segment of narration from the Gurbuz story presented in Appendix B. Following a series of verbs in which the oppressor killed a woman (Proximate Perfect), vanquished the people (participial past perfect) and weakened the villagers (participial past perfect), the narrator repeats that he beat a woman (Proximate Perfect) before finishing the sequence with two Distal Perfect forms.

- (6.82) ke māda an-e-č-an mis vere-a āš-e
 COMP woman beat-PXPF-FP-3F.O DEM.SG.GEN body-LOC blood-PS3SG
 baĵa-y šir am b-iti-k a-lo nē-ti-k
 in place of-OBL milk.M something be-DSPF-M PROX-location.DIR emerge-DSPF-M
 ‘When he beat the woman something happened, instead of her blood milk came out
 of her body.’ T

The narrator repeats the Distal Perfect form, *nē-ti-k* ‘it emerged’ shifting the focus of the narration by closing off that event.

- (6.83) ke nē-ti-k a-le lek-sahana=kuč-a miy
 COMP emerge-DSPF-M PROX-location.OBL death-time=belly-LOC DEM.SG.OBL
 māda-y doa be ka-u-ā-e š-i
 woman-OBL prayer.M too do-STV.PCP-M-PS3 be.INAN.PRS-3
 ‘When it emerged at the very moment of her death this woman made a prayer’ T

The final verb in the sequence is in the participial Present Perfect tense. The different choice in tenses is used to communicate completion; the Distal Perfect focuses on the resultant state of the event, and completion of action. The Proximate Perfect does not encode that meaning in Pashai. Likewise, the sentence pairs (6.78a) and (6.78b) at the beginning of this section also encode completion. In using the Proximate Perfect (6.78a) the speaker does not say whether the rain is finished or continued. In (6.78b) the Distal Perfect form encodes the completion of the event, ‘it has finished raining’.

6.7.0.6 Summary of Tense-Aspect Forms

Table 6.16 summarizes the categories of tense, aspect, evidentiality and specificity for the verbal forms described in this section.

Table 6.16: Tense-Aspect Features

form	tense +/- past	aspect +/- perfective	specificity +/- specific	evidential +/- witnessed	agreement Acc/Erg
PFNS	–	–	–	∅	Nom/Acc
PFS	–	–	+	∅	Nom/Acc
PXPF	–	+	∅	?	Erg/Abs
DSPF	+	+	∅	–	Erg/Abs
RMPF	+	+	∅	–	Erg/Abs
PST.IPRF	+	–	+	?	Nom/Acc

∅ is used to indicate a feature that is not applicable to the form.

6.8 Non-Indicative Mood

The non-indicative meanings discussed here are the imperative, optative and subjunctive. Pashai employs a distinctive form of the verb for expressing the imperative. It employs the Present-Future Non-Specific for subjunctive, and the Proximate Perfect for optative.

6.8.1 Imperative

The second-person imperative function consists of a verb stem + the vowel *-a* (singular), *-e* (plural), for example:

- (6.84) a. muč-e
flee-IMP.2PL
‘Get out of here’ (said to a group of children to shoo them away) S
- b. lām-ē=ka pa-a
home-OBL=to go-IMP.2SG
‘Go home’ S

- c. *kār-ē* *ǰai-a*
 ear-PS2SG put-IMP.2SG
 ‘Listen!’ S
- d. *āč-a* *t-a*
 get-IMP.2SG be-IMP.2SG
 ‘Get it!’ S

Instruction or suggestion, less forceful than the imperative, can also be indicated with the second-person Present-Future Non-Specific form. It might be considered as a more polite or gentle command, accompanied by an open handed gesture, such as in *ni-ē* ‘sit’ and *tost-ē* ‘stand’. This ‘softened’ imperative creates the effect of indirect speech. The contrast between the imperative and the indicative is exemplified in example (6.85) where both forms are highlighted in bold.

- (6.85) *aka mam m-e-k-am* *ambala nē-ē* *bō tēz ambala nē-a*
 if I say-PXPF-M-1S running emerge-2S very fast running emerge-IMP.SG
 ‘If I say to run, run very fast’ E

Similarly, the first verb in (6.86) is in the Present-Future Non-Specific, followed by *t-a* in the imperative. Recall the discussion in section 6.4.3 where speakers described this use of *t-a* as ‘an exclamation mark’.

- (6.86) *d-ē-im* *t-a*
 give-2S-1O be-IMP.SG
 ‘Give it to me!’ S

Hortative meaning (‘let’s’) is expressed by the first-person plural inclusive suffix *-aman* attached to the verb stem. The meaning is less imperative and more optative.

- (6.87) *šār-aman*
 move-1PL.INCL
 ‘Let’s get moving, let’s go’

A non-indicative negative prefix, ‘prohibitive’ (PROH), is found in /mV/- rather than the indicative negative prefix /nV/-. Unlike the vowel in the indicative negative prefix, the vowel in the prohibitive prefix does not copy the first vowel of the verb.

- (6.88) ma-pa-a
 PROH-go-IMP.SG
 ‘Don’t go!’ S

6.8.2 Optative

The optative meaning expresses wishes and hopes. It is formed with the Proximate Perfect form of the verb.

Standard responses to compliments or as part of the leave taking exchange are expressed with the Proximate Perfect, with an optative sense. The examples in (6.89) are expressions used as replies to compliments.²⁰

- (6.89) a. zend-ā t-e-k-ē
 alive-M be-PXPF-M-2S
 ‘May you(M) live’ S
- b. zend-i t-e-č-ē
 alive-FP be-PXPF-FP-2S
 ‘May you(F) live’ S

The non-indicative prohibitive prefix is used in an optative function in the standard greeting ‘may you not be tired’, in the examples in (6.90).

- (6.90) a. ma-vaṭ-e-k-ē
 PROH-tire-PXPF-M-2S
 ‘May you not be tired’ (said to a male) S
- b. ma-vaṭ-e-č-ē
 PROH-tire-PXPF-FP-2S
 ‘May you not be tired’ (said to a female) S

The optative meaning in the Proximate Perfect form is also used for curses. A common playful curse is found in the examples in (6.91).

- (6.91) a. xude-y mār-e-k-ē
 God-OBL kill-PXPF-M-2S

20. This is the only expression of *t-* in a perfective form that I observed.

‘May God kill you’ (said to a man) S

- b. xude-y mār-e-č-ē
God-OBL kill-PXPF-FP-2S
‘May God kill you’ (said to a woman) S

The optative is used by the narrator in describing the curse placed by the murdered woman in the Gurbuz narrative in Appendix B.

- (6.92) dar-po-dar b-e-č-e
door-to-door be-PXPF-FP-2P.S
‘May you.PL wander forever’ T

In example (6.93), the conditional sentence is a warning with the ‘if’ clause in the Present-Future Non-Specific and the ‘then’ clause in the Proximate Perfect.

- (6.93) aka av ne-e-ē sos-ev-i b-e-č-ē
if bread NEG-eat-2S dry-STV.PCP-FP become-PXPF-FP-2S
‘If you don’t eat you will become thin’ S

6.8.3 Subjunctive

The expression of subjunctive meaning, such as uncertainty about an action, or tentativeness on the part of the speaker, or for unrealized states or actions, is conveyed with the Present-Future Non-Specific form, discussed in section 6.5.1.1. This form is found in complement clauses introduced with the complementizer *ke* with verbs such as fear, forget, need, hope, want and other unrealized states and actions, shown in the examples in (6.94), and discussed further in Chapter 7.

- (6.94) a. men-ā yād-em nē-i-k ke sēb pač-al-am
1SG.OBL-M memory.M-PS3SG emerge-PXPF-M COMP apple cook-TRZ-1S
‘I forgot to cook the apples’ S
- b. mam zarurat dār-am ke bālokul-am maktab par-ik=ante pa-en
I need have-1S COMP children-PS1SG school study-INF=for go-3P.S
‘I need my children to go to school’ E

- c. mam omēd dār-am ke lai-am gorauāl=ante i-et
 I hope have-1S COMP brother-PS3SG wedding=for come-3S
 ‘I hope my brother will come for the wedding’ E
- d. nasib ēṛ-a ke tānek kākā-st-a oe-st-a=pela
 Nasib want-3S COMP self uncle-GEN-PS3SG daughter-GEN-PS3SG=with
 gorauāl ka-et
 wedding do-3S
 ‘Nasib wants to marry his own uncle’s daughter’ E
- e. nasib bai-aṅ-a ke ḷōnd-ai na-čan-et
 Nasib fear-PFS-3S COMP roof-ABL NEG-fall-3S
 ‘Nasib is afraid lest he fall off the roof’ E

In example (6.94e) the negative prefix occurs as part of the ‘fear’ construction, as it does in other Indo-Aryan languages.

6.9 Conclusions

In this chapter I have explored the encoding of tense, mood, aspect, specificity and evidentiality in the Pashai verbal system. My analysis has shown that aspect is the primary opposition and that tense is a secondary category in the verbal system. I have demonstrated that the aspectual opposition is perfective / non-perfective while the tense opposition is past / non-past and that the split ergative marking pattern in Pashai is aspectually driven. The tense-aspect opposition explored in this chapter associates specificity with non-perfective aspect and evidentiality with perfective aspect. My analysis has required the definition of new terms for the forms described. Furthermore, I have shown the differences among the auxiliary verbs discussing existential and equation ‘to be’. In the discussion of the auxiliary *t-ik* I have examined the features of presumption and inference. I have suggested that the Distal Perfect intransitive aspect marker is probably an eroded form of the verb *t-ik*. Finally, a preliminary description of non-indicative mood was provided.

Chapter 7

Syntax

7.1 Introduction

This chapter examines a number of syntactic constructions in Pashai. In section 7.2 I present some basic observations about word order and case marking. Section 7.3 looks at two verbal constructions that are found in many of the languages of the region. These are the serial verb construction, and light verb constructions. In section 7.4 I examine affirmative and negative sentences. I discuss scope of negation, the negative prefix (NEG), and how it is used with indefinite pronouns. Section 7.5 is a discussion of Pashai's in-situ question formation strategy and a description of wh-question words. In section 7.6 I take up phrasal and clausal coordination providing a description of coordinating conjunctions. Section 7.7 considers the many different kinds of subordinate clauses embedded under *ke* COMP, such as adverbial, conditional, and relative clauses. This section also includes a description of complement clauses in the form of sentential and infinitival complements. Section 7.8 presents conclusions.

7.2 Word Order

The canonical word order of a basic Pashai sentence is SOV. The first position in the sentence is held by the subject, whether it is in the oblique case following the ergative agreement

pattern, as in (7.1a), or in the direct case following the nominative agreement pattern, as in (7.1b).

- (7.1) a. *maryam-ē bālokul unĵ-e-č-in*
 Maryam.F-OBL children.PL wash-PXPF-FP-3P.O
 ‘Maryam washed the children’ E
- b. *maryam bālokul-a unĵ-i*
 Maryam.F[DIR] children.PL-OBL.PL wash-3O
 ‘Maryam is washing the children’ E (PFS)

When an indirect object is present in a sentence it usually occurs between the subject and direct object, as illustrated in (7.2a) and (7.2b).

- (7.2) a. *se mašum-ē av enaṇ de-ad-i*
 DEM.SG.DIR child-OBL food.M later give-3S-3O
 ‘S/he will feed the child later’ S (PFNS)
- b. *nasib-i men=ante pel-ek gor-e-č-an*
 Nasib.M-OBL 1SG.OBL=for cup-F take-PXPF-FP-3F.O
 ‘Nasib got a cup for me’ E

As these two examples show, with the verb *de-* ‘give’ the indirect object (*mašum-ē* ‘child’) is marked by the oblique. In example (7.2b) with the verb *gor-* ‘take’ the adjunct, or indirect object, (*men=ante* ‘for me’) takes a postposition.

Whether the gender/number of the direct object is indexed on the verb, as in example (7.3b), or the indirect object is indexed, as with the verb *de-* ‘give’ in example (7.3a) the order of arguments remain the same.

- (7.3) a. *mam gā gāns de-e-č-am*
 I cow.F grass.M give-PXPF-FP-1S
 ‘I gave the cow grass’ S
- b. *mam gā=ante gāns āč-e-k-am*
 I cow.F=for grass.M bring-PXPF-M-1S
 ‘I brought grass for the cow’ S

Notice, in example (7.4a), that when the direct object is a possessed NP and marked with a possessive suffix indexing the possessor, it precedes the indirect object. Animacy does not seem to be a factor, as evidenced by example (7.4b) where the direct object ‘shawl’ is inanimate.

- (7.4) a. maryam-ē oe-e nasib de-e-k-en
 maryam.F-OBL daughter-PS3 nasib.M give-PXPF-M-3M.O
 ‘ Maryam gave her daughter to Nasib’
- b. maryam-ē pakar-ek-e nasib de-e-k-en
 maryam.F-OBL shawl.F-PS3 nasib.M give-PXPF-M-3M.O
 ‘ Maryam gave her shawl-F to Nasib’

Semantically, the first position in the sentence is a position of topicality, and specificity, which allows for flexibility in the order of elements, as in examples (7.5) and (7.6). In these examples the subject *miy* ‘DEM.SG.OBL’ follows the object *māda* ‘woman’.

- (7.5) miy kel-ē=te māda miy an-e-č-an
 DEM.SG.OBL village-OBL=from woman DEM.SG.OBL beat-PXPF-FP-3F.O
 ‘He beat a woman from this village.’ T
- (7.6) yo ke došmani ka-γ-a ā-i-k=o enaγ ti=de ape iy
 DEM.DIR COMP enmity do-PFS-3S be-PST-M=and later DEM.SG.OBL=in after one
 māda miy mār-e-č-an
 woman DEM.SG.OBL kill-PXPF-FP-3F.O
 ‘He was making enemies and then he killed a woman’ T

7.2.1 Word Order – Not Strictly SOV

Pashai is not strictly SOV. Adverbial phrases, locative phrases, and postpositional phrases can follow the verb. Adverbs of time and manner can follow the verb, as in (7.7). The reduplicated adverb does not necessarily convey emphasis; this is the normal expression for the adverb ‘slowly’. *lam* used as a single term means ‘quiet’.

- (7.7) a. se e-γ-a lam lam
 DEM.SG.DIR go-PFS-3S slow slow
 ‘S/he is going very slowly’ S

- b. nasib koik ka-γ-a non
 nasib.M what do-PFS-3S today
 ‘What is Nasib doing today?’ S
- c. maryam-ē gušij-e pāk k-ea-k-en vėl
 maryam.F-OBL house.M-PS3 clean do-RMPF-M-3M.O night
 ‘Maryam had cleaned house last night’ E

Locative phrases can follow the verb, illustrated in example (7.8).

- (7.8) a. tap-i-k-am tandur-a
 heat-3O-PFS-1S oven-LOC
 ‘I bake it in the oven’ S
- b. ke-me be na-ā-en lām-a
 who-DEM too NEG-be.AN-3P home-LOC
 ‘No one is at home either’ S
- c. ambari jop-ev-i ā-e-č goravi=kuč-ē
 palanquin.F build-STV.PCP-FP be-PST-FP bride.F=belly-OBL
 ni-l-ei-č-an kanu ne-e-č-an bodeali
 sit-TRZ-DSPF-FP-3F.O away move-PXPFF-3F.O Bodeali
 ‘The palanquin had been built, the bride was seated inside, they took her away
 to Bodeali’ S
- d. šēri-m āsir b-i-k bandari pākesan
 father-in-law-PS1SG capture be-PXPFF-M prisoner Pakistan
 ‘My father.in.law was captured, as a prisoner in Pakistan’ S

Postpositional phrases too can follow the verb, illustrated in (7.9).

- (7.9) a. došmani ka-γ-a ā-i-k ar ki=pela
 enmity do-PFS-3SG be-PST-M every who=with
 ‘He was making enemies with everyone’ T
- b. nasib-as puł-e ā-am amla=te
 nasib.M-GEN son-PS2SG be-1S Amla=from
 ‘I am Nasib’s son from Amla’ T
- c. yo māda-y yo kel-ā obj-e-k-en ła=de
 DEM woman-OBL DEM boy-M birth-PXPFF-M-3M.O location=in
 ‘The woman gave birth to the boy, right there’ T

- d. tē xalek-a tost-al-ei-k-en malik-i=ante
 DEM.PL.OBL people-OBL.PL stand-TRZ-DSPF-M-3M.O malik-OBL=for
 ‘Those people nominated him to be a Malik’ S

In (7.10) the possessive demonstrative follows the verb.

- (7.10) zālem a-xon-ē=de ke oy-e bō ā-en mis
 oppressive PROX-like-OBL=in COMP offspring-PS3 QNT be.AN-3P DEM.SG.GEN
 ‘He is oppressive because of this, that he has a lot of sons’ T

In this spontaneously uttered example there is no copula in the main clause, illustrating that the copula is not always required in existential expressions, depending on the discourse context.

In the examples in (7.7) – (7.10), which are mostly spontaneous utterances, the post-verbal adverb, locative phrase or postpositional phrase are uttered as an afterthought.

7.2.2 Ergativity and Word Order

The Pashai pattern of split ergative agreement and case marking has been discussed at various points in this dissertation. The oblique case marker is used to mark subjects of transitive verbs in perfective tenses; intransitive subjects and objects are unmarked. In non-perfective tenses the subject of transitive and intransitive verbs is unmarked; the oblique case marker is used for specified objects. The oblique case marker has multiple uses in all tense-aspect forms including marking objects of postpositions and for some locations.

The ergative marking of subjects is sensitive to position in the sentence and distance from the verb. The marking of a subject is governed by the closest finite verb in the sentence. In example (7.11) the subject of the perfective transitive verb ‘give birth’ is not marked by the oblique. Rather, it is in the direct (zero) case, governed by the intransitive verb ‘be’ in the relative clause, its closest finite verb.

- (7.11) baraṭ-ek ke savari ā-e-č non ḍoyon-ek obj-e-č-an
 sheep-F COMP pregnant.F be-PST-FP today lamb-F birth-PXPF-FP-3F.O
 ‘The sheep that was pregnant gave birth to a lamb today’ S

Similarly, in example (7.12) the transitive subject of the relative clause *mālem-ē* ‘teacher’ takes the oblique case, although it is the intransitive subject of the main clause.

- (7.12) mālem-ē ke balokul an-e-č-in xār ā-i-k
 teacher-obl COMP children beat-PXPF-FP-3P.O angry be-PST-M
 ‘The teacher who beat the children was angry’

Examples such as these suggest that the relative marker *ke* does not introduce a strong clause boundary. If the *ke* were removed the remaining structure would be verb serialization. The function of *ke* here may not be a complementizer, rather as a pause, emphasis or hesitation form.

Case marking is not triggered by non-finite verbs. the conjunctive participle, in example (7.13), does not trigger ergative marking on the subject, even though the verb is transitive. The subject agrees with the finite verb, which is intransitive.

- (7.13) maryam gušij pāk ka-tan g-e-č
 maryam.F[DIR] house.M clean do-CON.PCP go-PXPF-FP
 ‘Having cleaned the house Maryam left’

In example (7.14) the finite verb is transitive and the subject takes the oblique case.

- (7.14) maryam-ē gušij pāk ka-tan ašpār pač-al-e-k-en
 maryam.F-OBL house.M clean do-CON.PCP rice.M cook-TRZ-PXPF-M-3M.O
 ‘Having cleaned the house Maryam cooked rice’

In (7.15) the participle is intransitive but the finite verb is transitive, triggering ergative marking on the subject.

- (7.15) maryam-ē ne-tan ketāb paṛ-e-k-en
 maryam.F-OBL sit-CON.PCP book.M read-PXPF-M-3M.O
 ‘Having sat down Maryam read a book’

7.3 Verbal Constructions

The morphology and tense-aspect system of Pashai verbs were explored in chapter 5 and 6, respectively. Two types of verbal constructions, verb serialization and light verbs, have

appeared in examples throughout the dissertation. These constructions deserve mention here as they are not treated separately elsewhere in the dissertation.

7.3.1 Verb Serialization

The occurrence of two (or more) verbs in the identical tense and aspect form is a construction type found in some languages of the region. It is found in Dravidian languages and in Wakhi, an Iranian language. In a serial verb construction neither verb is subordinate to the other. I found this construction more in spontaneous utterances than in elicited data. In examples (7.16) – (7.19) the serialized verbs are highlighted in bold.

- (7.16) ke māda an-e-č-an mis uṛe-a aš-e bajā-ē
 COMP woman beat-PXPF-FP-3F.O DEM.GEN body-LOC blood-PS3SG place-OBL
 šir am **b-iti-k** a-lo **nē-ti-k**
 milk something be-DSPF-M PROX-location.DIR emerge-DSPF-M
 ‘When he beat the woman something happened, it was milk instead of blood that came out of her body’ T

- (7.17) abat **orč-em** vėl-a ger **no-orč-em**
 now sleep-1S night-LOC again NEG-sleep-1S
 ‘If I sleep now I won’t sleep again tonight’ S

- (7.18) makan mam auṛānasan-ē=ka **pa-am** nasib-i **lai-am-i**
 maybe I Afghanistan-OBL=to go-1S nasib-OBL see-1S-3O
 ‘Maybe I will go to Afghanistan and see Nasib’ S

Example (7.19) is also an example of verb serialization. The copula *ā-* only has past and present tense forms, thus this example is the functional equivalent of the examples in (7.16) through (7.18).

- (7.19) mālem xār **ā-i-k** keṭāl-ek **an-e-č-an**
 teacher.M angry be-PST-M girl-F hit-PXPF-FP-3F.O
 ‘The teacher was angry (and) hit the girl’ E

I have observed that younger (under age 40), and more educated speakers use serial verb construction less frequently than older speakers do. This would be an interesting topic for

further investigation, requiring the transcription and analysis of more oral texts.

7.3.2 Light Verb Construction

As with many of the languages in the region, Pashai makes use of the light verb, traditionally known as conjunct verbs in South Asian linguistics. This type of conjunct verb is increasingly becoming the way new verbs are added to most South Asian languages. The verbs in light verb construction are also used as full lexical verbs in other constructions. Tables 7.1 - 7.3 show examples of light verbs.

The pre-verbal noun is treated as an argument to the extent that the verb indexes it in the perfective tense. It can also be seen as incorporated, because the verb takes intransitive inflection in the non-perfective tenses. The verb *kar-* ‘do’ is used as a light verb in the examples in (7.20) – (7.22). In the examples in (7.20) ‘dance’ does not take case inflection; it is treated as a generic object. The verb is inflected with the intransitive 3S ending *-a*.¹

In the examples in (7.20) the verb is in the Past Imperfect; the auxiliary verb agrees with the subject in gender and number. In (7.20a) the verb agrees with ‘mother’; in (7.20b) the verb agrees with ‘father’.

- (7.20) a. *men-i ai-am ar kote goravāl-a nāṭ ka-a*
 1SG.OBL-FP mother.F-PS1SG every which wedding.M-LOC dance.M do-3S
ā-e-č
 be-PST-FP
 ‘My mother used to dance at every wedding’ S
- b. *men-ā dādā-am ar kote goravāl-a nāṭ ka-a*
 1SG.OBL-M mother.F-PS1SG every which wedding.M-LOC dance.M do-3SG
ā-i-k
 be-PST-M

1. The verb *kar-* ‘do’ is not always a light verb. In the example below ‘do’ is not conjugated as an intransitive verb, it is treated as a transitive verb, indexing subject and object.

- (7.1) *koik ka-i-k-aman*
 what do-3O-PFS-1PL.INCL
 ‘What are we going to do?’

'My father used to dance at every wedding' E

In the perfective tenses, shown in the examples in (7.21) the light verb is treated as a transitive verb. The gender and number of *nāt* ‘dance’ is indexed on the verb, as are all objects in perfective tenses. In example (7.21a) the subject is feminine ; in (7.21b) the subject is masculine. In both examples the verb indexes *nāt*, ‘dance’, which is masculine.

- (7.21) a. ai-st-am ten-ā goravāl-a nāṭ k-ea-k-en
 mother-GEN-PS1SG 2SG.OBL-M wedding.M-LOC dance.M do-RMPF-M-3M.O
 ‘My mother danced at your wedding’ E
- b. dādā-st-am ten-ā goravāl-a nāṭ k-ea-k-en
 father-GEN-PS1SG 2SG.OBL-M wedding.M-LOC dance.M do-RMPF-M-3M.O
 ‘My mother danced at your wedding’ E

The verb ‘to sneeze’ is composed of *čej*.F ‘sneeze’ and *an*-‘beat, hit’. The verb is treated as transitive indexing ‘sneeze’ in the examples in (7.22).

- (7.22) a. nasib-i čej an-e-č-an
Nasib.M-OBL sneeze.F hit-PXPF-FP-3F.O
'Nasib sneezed' E
- b. Maryam-ē čej an-e-č-an
Maryam.F-OBL sneeze.F hit-PXPF-FP-3F.O
'Maryam sneezed' E

Table 7.1: Light Verb *kar-* ‘do’ with Nouns

noun	gloss	gloss
naṭ	dance	to dance
zindigi	live	to live
im	snow/ice	to freeze
peker	thought	to think
ayāt	speech	to speak

Table 7.2: Light Verb *kar-* ‘do’ with Adjectives

Adj.	gloss	gloss
šunek	red	to fry
dur	far	to throw away
ban	tied	to lock
lega	long	to stretch
pāk	clean	to clean

Table 7.3: Light Verb *an-* ‘hit’

noun	gloss	gloss
čēy	shout	to yell
gap	talk	to talk
xadam	step	to walk
čeŋ	sneeze	to sneeze

A detailed discussion would yield important insights into Pashai argument structure and incorporation for future research. Whether the prevalence of this construction increasing in regional languages is influencing an increase in usage and loss of primary verbs is also an exciting avenue for further research.

7.4 Negation

7.4.1 Introduction

This section examines a few aspects of negation in Pashai. I describe the negative prefix which is composed of /nV/-, and the negative particle *ne*. The negative prefix attaches directly to the verb in the clause it negates. Vowel copying is responsible for the vowel of the prefix matching the first vowel of the verb stem. The negative particle *ne* does not attach to the noun it negates and does not exhibit vowel copying.

7.4.2 Verbal Negation

Pashai has no special negative verb, there is no negative question word, and there are no native words for negative indefinite pronouns. The pattern of Pashai negation is symmetrical with that of affirmative constructions. The discussion of negation in this section is focused on ‘standard negation’, the strategy of negation for declarative sentences. In places where non-standard strategies apply, the asymmetries are highlighted. In this section I look at indefinite pronouns and negation, the negative prefix and participial adjectives, and the prohibitive negative morpheme *ma* which is used in the negative imperative and optative, but not subjunctive functions.

7.4.2.1 Standard Negation – Declarative Sentences

In verbal negation the negative prefix /nV/- is affixed to the verb. Vowel copying is responsible for the variation in the vowel of the prefix, as described in Chapter 3. The examples in (7.23a) – (7.28b), repeated from Chapter 3, are provided in an array of tenses, aspects, and moods illustrating that these factors do not change negation. The (a) examples are affirmative; the (b) examples are negative.

(7.23) Present-Future Non-Specific

- a. non ĵalālābād-ē pa-es
today Jalalabad-OBL go-1PL.EXCL
‘Today we will go to Jalalabad’ S
- b. non ĵalālābād-ē na-pa-es
today Jalalabad-OBL NEG-go-1PL.EXCL
‘Today we will not go to Jalalabad’ S

(7.24) Proximate Perfect

- a. miy kel-ā-ē sai-e an-e-č-an
DEM.SG.OBL boy-M-OBL sister-PS3SG hit-PXPF-FP-3F.O
‘This boy hit his sister’ E

- b. miy kel-ā-ē sai-e na-an-e-č-an
 DEM.SG.OBL boy-M-OBL sister-PS3SG NEG-hit-PXPF-FP-3F.O
 ‘The boy did not hit his sister’ E

(7.25) **Distal Perfect**

- a. kanḵarā li-ti-k
 goat.M die-DSPF-M
 ‘The goat died’ (some time ago) E
- b. kanḵarā ni-li-ti-k
 goat.M NEG-die-DSPF-M
 ‘The goat did not die’ E

(7.26) **Present-Future Specific**

- a. mul-i-k-am
 understand-3O-PFS-1S
 ‘I understand it’ S
- b. nu-mul-i-k-am
 NEG-understand-3O-PFS-1S
 ‘I don’t understand it’ S

(7.27) **Present-Future Non-Specific**

- a. a-le ni-ē
 PROX-location.OBL sit-S
 ‘Sit here’ S
- b. a-le ni-ni-ē
 PROX-location.OBL NEG-sit-S
 ‘Don’t sit here’ S

(7.28) **Remote Perfect**

- a. gor-ea-k-am
 take-RMPF-M-1S
 ‘(I) had taken (it)’ S
- b. no-gor-ea-k-am
 NEG-take-RMPF-M-1S
 ‘(I) had not taken (it)’ S

The Past Imperfect tense is formed from the third-person singular Present-Future Specific verb and the past auxiliary. The negative prefix is attached to the Present-Future Specific verb, as in (7.29b) not the auxiliary verb, as illustrated in example (7.29c). The expression *poṛ-a* ‘front-LOC’ is used in the sense of ‘before, previously’.

(7.29) **Affirmative(a) and Negative(b)**

- a. pari poṛ-a ar davās mam lai-im ā-e-č
 pari.F front-LOC every day me see-1O be-PST-FP
 ‘Pari used to see me every day’ S
- b. pari poṛ-a ar davās mam na-lai-im ā-e-č
 pari.F front-LOC every day me NEG-see-1O be-PST-FP
 ‘Pari didn’t used to see me every day’ S
- c. *pari poṛ-a ar davās mam lai-im na-ā-e-č
 pari front-LOC every day me see-1O NEG-be-PST-FP
 ‘Pari didn’t used to see me every day’

7.4.2.2 Scope

Negation has narrow scope over the clause in which it occurs. The examples in (7.30a) and (7.30b) suggest there is Neg-Raising in Pashai, although example (7.30a) is more natural than (7.30b). But the most natural way is that shown in (7.30c)

- (7.30)
- a. peker na-ka-y-am ke e-y-a
 think NEG-do-PFS-1S COMP come-PFS-3S
 ‘I don’t think he is coming.’ E
 - b. peker ka-y-am ke ne-e-y-a
 think do-PFS-1S COMP NEG-come-PFS-3S
 ‘I think he is not coming’ E
 - c. men-ā xal-ē=de se ne-e-y-a
 1SG.OBL-M thought-OBL=from DEM.SG.DIR NEG-come-PFS-3S
 ‘I think he is not coming’ (In my opinion, he is not coming) E

The modal expression *bayat* is borrowed from Dari.² In (7.31) *bayad* ‘must’ is semantically outside the scope of the negative, since s/he is ‘required NOT to do X’.

- (7.31) non bayat šār-ē na-par-et
 today must town-OBL NEG-go-3S
 ‘S/he must not go to town today’ E (PFNS)

The modal *bayat* ‘must’ is not under the scope of negation and cannot be negated, as shown in example (7.32).

- (7.32) *non na bayad šār-ē par-et
 today NEG must town-OBL go-3S
 ‘S/he does not need to come to town today’

In (7.33) *zarurat* ‘need’ is inside the scope of the negative semantically, since s/he is ‘NOT required to do X’. *zarurat* is a borrowed noun from Arabic by way of Dari/Pashto.

- (7.33) zarurat ni-š-i ke šār-ē par-et
 need NEG-be.INAN.PRS-3 COMP town-OBL go-3S
 ‘S/he need not go to town today’ E (PFNS)

7.4.2.3 Existential and Copular Clauses

Pashai uses standard negation for existential and copular clauses. The negative prefix is attached to the copula, whether animate or inanimate. Examples of existential negation are shown in (7.34).

- (7.34) a. vāreg ni-š-i
 water.M NEG-be.INAN.PRS-3
 ‘There is no water’ S
- b. zomesān-a im na-ā-i-k
 winter-LOC snow.M NEG-be-PST-M
 ‘There was no snow this winter’ S

2. In Persian *bayad* is a modal auxiliary, the impersonal third-person singular of *bāyestan* ‘to have to’.

- c. maktab-a bālokul na-ā-enč
 school-LOC children.PL NEG-be-PST-3P
 ‘There were no children in the school’ S

Copular sentences are negated the same way, as in example (7.35).

- (7.35) a. se ādemi men-ā lai-am ne-ās
 DEM.SG.DIR man.M 1SG.OBL-M brother.M NEG-be.AN.M.PRS.3
 ‘That man is not my brother’ E
- b. se māda men-i sai-am na-b-a
 DEM.SG.DIR woman.F 1SG.OBL-FP sister.F NEG-be.AN.F.PRS.3
 ‘This woman is not considered my sister’ E

7.4.3 Derived Adjectival Negation

Participial adjectives are negated with the negative prefix. Examples are shown with the imperfective participle (IPV.PCP) and the stative participle (STV.PCP).

- (7.36) a. no-moṇ-akāl-ā šiša
 NEG-break-IPV.PCP-M glass.M
 ‘unbreakable glass’ S
- b. nu-mul-akāl-i māda
 NEG-understand-IPV.PCP-FP woman
 ‘a not understanding woman’ S
- c. ne-b-ekāl-ā
 NEG-become-IPV.PCP-M
 ‘impossible’ S
- d. na-kan-ev-i āṇā
 NEG-hatch-STV.PCP-FP egg.M
 ‘unhatched eggs’ S
- e. nu-unĵ-ev-i čilā
 NEG-wash-STV.PCP-FP clothes.PL
 ‘unwashed clothes’ E

7.4.4 Indefinite Pronouns and Negation

Pashai has a number of indefinite nouns and pronouns that are also used in the expression of negation. In this section I examine the interaction of the negative prefix with the indefinite pronouns *ke-me* ‘someone’, *ko-me* ‘something’, and *čo* ‘place’. These words, used in both affirmative and negative sentences, do not have polarity sensitivity. The negative prefix attached to the verb stem negates the entire predicate.

7.4.4.1 *ke-me* ‘someone’

The indefinite pronoun *ke-me* (lit. ‘who-DEM.PL’) in context can mean ‘someone’, ‘no one’ or ‘anyone’ as the examples in (7.37)–(7.38) illustrate. The sets of examples presented below can be stated as declarative sentences or as a questions with rising tone. For example, the sentence in (7.37a) as a declarative sentence means ‘Someone has come’; as a question it can mean either ‘has someone come?’ or ‘has anyone come?’

- (7.37) a. *ke-me* *i-ti-k*
 who-DEM.PL come-DSPF-M
 ‘Has someone come?’ or ‘Someone has come’ S
- b. *ke-me* *leš-e-k-am*
 who-DEM.PL see-PXPF-M-1S
 ‘I saw someone’ S

The examples in (7.38a) and (7.38b) are the standard negation of (7.37a) and (7.37b) above, respectively.

- (7.38) a. *ke-me* *ni-i-ti-k*
 who-DEM.PL NEG-come-DSPF-M
 ‘Has no one come?’ or ‘No one has come’ S
- b. *ke-me* *ne-leš-e-k-am*
 who-DEM.PL NEG-see-PXPF-M-1S
 ‘I did not see someone (anyone)’ S

Similarly, an indefinite noun *ādemi* ‘man’ shown in (7.39), combined with a negated verb has the same meaning as the indefinite pronoun, in example (7.38).

- (7.39) *ādemi ni-i-t-ik*
 man NEG-come-DSPF-M
 ‘A man has not come’ or ‘No one has come’ S

7.4.4.2 *ko-me* ‘something’

Pashai uses the indefinite noun *ko-me* (lit. ‘what-DEM.PL’) to express an indefinite ‘thing’, as in ‘nothing’, ‘something’, ‘anything’. As the examples in (7.40a) – (7.42b) illustrate, *ko-me*, in combination with the negative prefix, works similarly to the indefinite pronoun *ke-me*, shown in (7.38). As with the indefinite pronoun, the examples with the indefinite noun *ko-me* can be understood as either declaratives or questions.

(7.40) Affirmative(a) and Negative(b)

- a. *ko-me me-k-ē*
 what-DEM.PL say-PXPF-M-2S
 ‘Did you say something?’ or ‘You said something’ S
- b. *ko-me ne-me-k-ē*
 what-DEM.PL NEG-say-PXPF-M-2S
 ‘Didn’t you say something?’ ‘Did you say anything?’ or ‘You said nothing’ S

(7.41) Affirmative(a) and Negative(b)

- a. *ko-me leš-e-k-am*
 what-DEM.PL see-PXPF-M-1S
 ‘I saw something’ S
- b. *ko-me ne-leš-e-k-am*
 what-DEM.PL NEG-see-PXPF-M-1S
 ‘I saw nothing’ or ‘I didn’t see anything’ S

(7.42) Affirmative(a) and Negative(b)

- a. *abat ko-me b-iti-k*
 now what-DEM.PL be-DSPF-M
 ‘Something has happened’ S

- b. ko-me ni-b-iti-k
 what-DEM.PL NEG-be-DSPF-M
 ‘Nothing happened’ S

7.4.4.3 *čo* ‘somewhere’

The wh-question word *čo* ‘where’ also serves as an indefinite place pronoun and works like the other indefinite pronouns described here. In construction with a negated verb it means ‘nowhere’, as in examples (7.43a) – (7.43b).

(7.43) Affirmative(a) and Negative(b)

- a. dō čo=ka g-i-k-ē
 yesterday where=to go-PXPF-M-2S
 ‘Did you go somewhere yesterday?’ S
- b. dō čo=ka ni-g-i-k-ē
 yesterday where=to NEG-go-PXPF-M-2S
 ‘Did you go nowhere yesterday?’ or ‘Didn’t you go anywhere yesterday?’ S

7.4.4.4 *kodan* ‘when’

The wh-question word *kodan* ‘when’, or ‘indefinite time’ in construction with a negated verb is used to mean ‘never’.

(7.44) Affirmative(a) and Negative(b)

- a. kodan e-γ-a
 when come-PFS-3S
 ‘When is s/he coming?’ S
- b. kodan be ne-e-γ-a
 when too NEG-come-PFS-3S
 ‘S/he is never coming’ S

(7.45) Affirmative(a) and Negative(b)

- a. kodan ten-ā yād-ē nē-u-ā š-i
 when your.M memory.M-PS2SG emerge-STV.PCP-M be.INAN.PRS-3
 ‘When will you forget?’ S

- b. kodan ten-ā yād-ē nē-u-ā ni-š-i
 when your.M memory.M-PS2SG emerge-STV.PCP-M NEG-be.INAN.PRS-3
 ‘Will you never forget?’ S

7.4.4.5 *be* ‘too’

The particle *be* means ‘too’, ‘also’, ‘even’, ‘at all’ and acts as a general intensifier. It occurs in affirmative and negative constructions. It follows the negated object in construction with the negative prefix yielding an absolute negation, such as in example (7.44b) and (7.46a) – (7.46b).

- (7.46) a. nasib-i kanjaṛā sarek šēr-a ne-lai-ei-č-in
 Nasib-OBL goat.M street head-LOC NEG-see-DSPF-FP-3P.O
 ‘Nasib has not seen the goats in the road’ S
- b. nasib-i iy kanjaṛā be ne-lai-ei-k-en
 Nasib-OBL one goat.M too NEG-see-DSPF-M-3M.O
 ‘Nasib has not seen even one goat’ S

Example (7.47a) repeated here from (7.42b), lacks the particle *be*, while (7.47b) contains *be*. The difference in meaning is in the force of the negation.

- (7.47) a. ko-me ni-b-iti-k
 what-DEMPL NEG-be-DSPF-M
 ‘Nothing happened’ S
- b. ko-me be ni-b-iti-k
 what-DEMPL too NEG-be-DSPF-M
 ‘Nothing at all happened’ S

7.4.4.6 *eyč* Dari Negative Adjective

Dari Persian *eyč* is a negative adjective that must combine with a negated verb. In Pashai *eyč* is restricted to a negative time reference ‘never’ and is used like *kodan* ‘when’ described in 7.4.4.4.

- (7.48) eyč ne-e-γ-a
 never NEG-come-PFS-3S
 ‘He is never coming’ S

eyč has been borrowed into Pashai but does not have the same generalized negative use as in Dari, as seen in the ungrammatical examples in (7.49a) – (7.49c), which would be possible in Dari.

- (7.49) a. *eyč na-ā-en lām-a
 NEG NEG-be.AN-3P home-LOC
 ‘No one is at home’
- b. *eyč ne-me-e-k-am
 NEG NEG-say-PXPF-M-11S
 ‘I said nothing’
- c. *eyč ĵaya ka ne-g-e-č
 NEG place to NEG-go-PXPF-FP
 ‘He went nowhere’

7.4.4.7 Dialectal Difference

The villages of Amla and Khewa are both within the area Morgenstierne considered South-eastern Pashai. In fact they are not far apart, perhaps 10 km. Although the focus of this dissertation is on the dialect spoken in Amla I had the chance to observe an interesting difference in these dialects with the use of the word *kevala* ‘alone, only’ in negative constructions.³ In Amla dialect *kevala* is used with an affirmative verb as in example (7.50). In Khewa dialect it is used with a negative verb in example (7.51). Both have the same affirmative meaning.

- (7.50) kevala iy keṭāl-ek meṭeṇ-ē g-e-č
 only one girl meeting-OBL go-PXPF-FP
 ‘Only one girl went to the meeting’ S

3. Morgenstierne (1956:102) lists it as *ke:wala* ‘alone’ – Skt.

- (7.51) kevala iy keṭāl-ek meṭeṇ-ē ne-g-e-č
 only one girl meeting-OBL NEG-go-PXPF-FP
 ‘Only one girl went to the meeting’ S

7.4.5 Non-Indicative Negation

7.4.5.1 Prohibitive

Pashai has a prefix *ma-* (PROH) for negative imperatives and other prohibitive expressions such as optatives, but not the subjunctive mood.⁴ *ma-* functions the same as the negative prefix, in position directly before the verb stem. It does not undergo vowel copying as the negative prefix does, suggesting the initial vowel is not underspecified.

The standard Pashai greeting ‘don’t be tired’ is a prohibitive expression.⁵ The form of the verb is Proximate Perfect, used with the prohibitive prefix *ma-* shown in example (7.52). It has an optative meaning, expressing wishes and hopes for the addressee.

- (7.52) ma-vaṭ-e-k-ē
 PROH-tired-PXPF-M-2S
 ‘May you not be tired’ S

The same verb form is used to convey a warning, as in example (7.53).

- (7.53) tānek=šēr-a eke jāy-a ma-b-e-č-e
 self=head-LOC one place-LOC PROH-be-PXPF-FP-2P.S
 ‘May you never gather together in one place.’ T

The prohibitive prefix *ma-* is used for negative imperatives, as in (7.54a).

- (7.54) a. moṭar-ē tēz ma-šār-a
 motor-OBL fast PROH-move-IMP2S
 ‘Don’t drive the car fast!’ S

4. Most Indo-Aryan languages have a *m-* negative for non-declarative uses e.g. imperatives, hortatives, and subjunctives.

5. Pashto and Persian have greetings with the same semantics. The greeting is pronounced [moṭekē], the vowel of the prefix having become rounded preceding [v]; the retroflex stop [ɖ] is partially voiced intervocally.

- b. ma-pa-a
PROH-go-IMP
'Dont' go!' S
- c. čey ma-an-a
shout PROH-hit-IMP
'Don't shout!' S

The subjunctive mood, expressed with the form of the Present Future Non-Specific, does not use *ma-*. Negation in the subjunctive mood is achieved with the indicative negative prefix.

- (7.55) makan kābol-ē=ka na-pa-am
maybe kabul-OBL=to NEG-go-1S
'Maybe I shall not go to Kabul' E

7.4.5.2 Negative Particle *ne*

The negative particle *ne* is used to contrast two propositions. The examples in (7.56) and (7.57) show the negative particle following the noun being negated.

- (7.56) a. sabā ne pārek
tomorrow not day.after.tomorrow
'Not tomorrow, the day after tomorrow' S
- b. dō ne notare
yesterday not two.days.before
'Not yesterday, the day before yesterday' S
- (7.57) a-miy maktab-ē pa-am ʔa-i=ka ne
PROX-DEM.SG.OBL school-OBL go-1S location-OBL=to not
'I go to this school, not that one' S

In example (7.58) two postpositional phrases are contrasted. The negative particle follows the postpositional phrase being negated.

- (7.58) mēz-ē šēr-a ne kāt-ē šēr-a
table-OBL head-LOC not cot-OBL head-LOC
'not on the table, on the chair' S

In example (7.59) a homophonous particle *ne* is used as a filler following a noun being topicalized. There is always a pause after the *ne* particle with a rising question tone.

- (7.59) maryam ne se g-e-č
 maryam.F not DEM.SG.DIR go-PXPF-FP
 ‘Maryam, she left’ S

7.4.5.3 Negative Conjunction and Coordination

The negative particle *ne* precedes both conjoined phrases in a negative coordination construction. The phrases are joined by *ke*, used in a disjunctive ‘or’ sense, a widespread meaning of *ke* in various South Asian languages. In example (7.60), *ke* is optional.

- (7.60) nasib-as ne (ke) mayz-i š-i ne (ke) puldār ās
 nasib.M-GEN not (or) brains-PS3 be.INAN.PRS-3 not (or) wealthy be.AN.M.PRS.3
 ‘Nasib neither has brains nor is he wealthy’ S

Pashai has a negative conjunction *kani* ‘lest’ which probably originates in *ke* +NEG, illustrated in (7.61)

- (7.61) a. moṭar-ē tēz ma-šār kani paṇča gor-ē-a
 motor-OBL fast PROH-move.IMP lest puncture get-2S-3O
 ‘Don’t drive so fast lest you get a flat tire.’ S (PFNS)
- b. niṭ-ē kani ṭōnd-ai čan-ē
 climb.down-2S lest roof-ABL fall-2S
 ‘Climb down lest you fall off the roof’ S (PFNS)

7.4.6 Summary

This section has provided a description of the standard negation strategies in Pashai for verbal and lexical negation. The negative prefix /nV/- was shown to copy the vowel of the verb stem to which it attaches. Scope of negation was discussed and shown to be narrow. The prohibitive prefix, used with imperative and optative moods was described. The negative particle *ne* was described in its use for contrasting negation, and as negative coordinator and conjunction.

7.5 Question Formation

In this section I describe wh-question words and the question formation strategies in Pashai. Pashai questions retain the same word order as declarative sentences; wh- questions do not involve movement of elements in the sentence. A rising pitch at the end of the sentence is associated with all kinds of questions.

7.5.1 Yes/No Questions

Yes / no questions differ from statements by the presence of a rising (questioning) intonation. There is no special questioning word.

(7.62) Question (a) and Affirmative Reply (b)

- a. šār=de i-te-č-ē
town=from come-DSPF-FP-2S
'Have you come from town?' S
- b. axa šār=de i-te-č-am
yes town=from come-DSPF-FP-1S
'yes, I have come from town' S

(7.63) Question (a) and Negative Reply (b)

- a. vareg tap-ov-ā š-i
water heat-STV.PCP-M be.INAN.PRS-3
'Is the water heated?' S
- b. ne vareg tap-ov-ā ni-š-i
no water.M heat-STV.PCP-M NEG-be.INAN.PRS-3
'No the water is not heated' S

(7.64) Question (a) and Affirmative Reply (b)

- a. tandor-a pač-al-e-k-ē
oven-LOC cook-TRZ-PXPF-M-2S
'Did you bake it in the oven?' S

- b. āxā tander-a pač-al-e-k-am
 yes oven-LOC cook-TRZ-PXPF-M-1S
 ‘Yes, I baked it in the oven’ S

7.5.2 Wh-Questions

In Pashai most of the wh-question words begin with *k* as in *kante* ‘why’, *ki* ‘who’, *kis* ‘whose’, *koat* ‘how’, *koik* ‘what’, *kodan* ‘when’, *koti* ‘which’, and *kao* ‘how many’. Several of the question words are constructed as a combination of *k-* with another lexical element. This is easily analyzed in *kante* ‘why’ > *k+ante* where *ante* is a postposition roughly translated as ‘for the sake of’ and used in purpose clauses. *ko*, an abbreviated question word is combined with demonstratives in *koti* ‘which’, and *kome* ‘something’. *kis* ‘whose’ is a combination of *ki* ‘who’ + the genitive suffix *-s*.

The description of wh-words in this section demonstrates how Pashai employs a wh-in-situ strategy. In the examples the question word and reply are highlighted in bold in order to illustrate the symmetry of position. The default position of the question word is pre-verbal, a focus position, indicating a request for new information. At times this puts the wh-word in sentence or clause initial position, particularly when optional pronouns are not present, as illustrated in the examples in (7.66). In example (7.65), the wh-word is in second position, following the subject.

- (7.65) nasib **čō-ē=ka** g-i-k?
 Nasib.M where-OBL=to go-PXPF-M
 ‘Where did Nasib go?’ S

In the examples in (7.66), with no overt subject the wh-word is in first position.

- (7.66) a. (se) **čō-ē=ka** g-i-k?
 (DEM.SG.DIR) where-OBL=to go-PXPF-M
 ‘Where did (he) go?’ S
- b. (se) **lām-ē=ka** g-i-k
 (DEM.SG.DIR) home-OBL=to go-PXPF-M
 ‘He went home’ S

7.5.2.1 *koat* ‘how’

The typical position of the question word *koat* ‘how’ is illustrated in examples (7.67) – (7.68).

(7.67) Question (a) and Reply (b)

- a. (to) **koat** ā-ē
(you.SG) how be-2S
‘How are you?’ S

- b. (mam) **bāi** ā-em
(I) good be-1S
‘I am fine’ S

- (7.68) **koat** ni-pin-i-k-ē
how NEG-understand-3O-PFS-2S
‘How is it you do not understand?’ S

The example pair in (7.69) illustrates that the wh-word does not undergo movement out of its base (or preverbal) position.

(7.69) Question

- a. pānj-ē **koat** ās
husband-2SG how be.AN.M.PRS.3
‘How is your husband?’ S
- b. ***koat** pānj-ē ās
how husband-2SG be.AN.M.PRS.3
‘How is your husband’

Similarly, example (7.70) shows that the wh-word can only appear in its base, preverbal(focus) position.

(7.70) Questions (a – c)

- a. simā ketāb-ast-a **koat** par-i
sima.F book.M-GEN-PS3SG how read-3O
‘How does Sima read her book?’ E
- b. ***koat** simā ketāb-st-a par-i
how sima book.M-GEN-PS3SG read-3O

‘How does Sima read her book?’

- c. * sima.F koat ketāb-st-a paṛ-i
sima how book.M-GEN-PS3SG read-3O
‘How does Sima read her book?’

Although an adverb can appear in all these positions in example (7.71), only (7.71a) is the acceptable response to the question asked in (7.70a).

(7.71) **Replies**

- a. simā ketāb-ast-a **lam lam** paṛ-i
sima.F book.M-GEN-PS3SG slow slow read-3O
‘Sima reads her book slowly’
- b. ? lam lam simā ketāb-ast-a paṛ-i
slow slow sima.F book.M-GEN-PS3SG read-3O
‘Sima reads her book slowly’
- c. ? simā lam lam ketāb-ast-a paṛ-i
sima.F slow slow book.M-GEN-PS3SG read-3O
‘Sima reads her book slowly’
- d. ? simā ketāb-ast-a paṛ-i lam lam
sima.F book.M-GEN-PS3SG read-3O slow slow
‘Sima reads her book slowly’

7.5.2.2 koik ‘what’

The wh-word *koik* ‘what’, and variants *koi* and *kok*, occur in-situ, as shown in (7.72) – (7.74).

(7.72) **Question (a) and Reply (b)**

- a. ten-ā nām-ē **koik** š-i
2SG.OBL-M name.M-PS2SG what be.INAN.PRS-3
‘What is your name?’ S
- b. men-ā nām-em **pereštā** š-i
1SG.OBL-M name.M-PS1SG fereshta.F be.INAN.PRS-3
‘My name is Fereshta.’ S

Alternate forms of *koik*, in *koi* and *kok*, are shown in (7.73) and (7.74).

(7.73) **koi** me-a
 what say-3S
 ‘What is he saying?’ S (PFS)

(7.74) **kok** ka-y-ē
 what do-PFS-2S
 ‘What are you doing?’ S

Examples in (7.75) illustrate possible positions of the adverb with respect to the wh-word. In (7.75a) the adverb is sentence-initial, and in (7.75b) it is sentence-final. Example (7.75c) shows the adverb occurring in second position. Example (7.75d) shows the adverb cannot appear in pre-verbal position, where the question word should appear.

(7.75) **Questions**

- a. non pari **koik** pač-al-aŷ-a
 today pari.F what cook-TRZ-PFS-3S
 ‘Today what is Pari cooking?’ E
- b. pari **koik** pač-al-aŷ-a non
 pari.F what cook-TRZ-PFS-3S today
 ‘What is Pari cooking today?’ E
- c. pari non **koik** pač-al-aŷ-a
 pari.F what today cook-TRZ-PFS-3S
 ‘What is Pari cooking today?’ E
- d. *pari **koik** non pač-al-aŷ-a
 pari.F what today cook-TRZ-PFS-3S
 ‘What is Pari cooking today?’

The examples in (7.76) all have the question word immediately preceding the verb, regardless of where the adverbial element is placed.

- (7.76) a. ***koik** non pari pač-al-aŷ-a
 what today pari.F cook-TRZ-PFS-3S
 ‘What is Pari cooking today?’
- b. *non **koik** pari pač-al-aŷ-a
 today what pari.F cook-TRZ-PFS-3S
 ‘What is Pari cooking today?’

7.5.2.3 *ki/ke* ‘who/whom’

The wh-word *ki/ke* ‘who/whom’ is used for all animate referents, not exclusively human, illustrated in example (7.77). While it appears that *ke* is formally nominative and *ki* is formally oblique there does not seem to be a pattern of use that distinguishes these two forms. My consultant used them interchangeably.

(7.77) Question (a) and Reply (b)

- a. *ki* *l-i-k*
Who die-PXPF-M
‘Who died?’ S
- b. *šorɪŋ* *l-i-k*
dog.M die-PXPF-M
‘The dog died’ S

The in-situ location of *ki* is either subject or object position. The default in-situ position is not strictly preverbal. In example (7.78a) *ki* is in subject position, optionally separated from the verb by the ablative marked ‘roof’.

(7.78) Question (a) and Reply (b)

- a. **ki** (*ɭond-ai*) *čan-i-k?*
who (roof-ABL) fall-PXPF-M
‘Who fell (off the roof)?’ E
- b. **poɭ-em** *ɭond-ai* *čan-i-k*
son-PS1SG roof-ABL fall-PXPF-M
‘My son fell off the roof’ E

In example (7.79) the wh-word *ki* is in object position, separated from the verb by the adverb ‘last night’. The inherent gender of the wh-word is masculine, evidenced by masculine agreement of the verb ‘bite’.

(7.79) Question (a) and Reply (b)

- a. *očum-ē* **ki** *vēl-a* *kaɭ-e-k-en*
scorpion-OBL who night-LOC bite-PXPF-M-3M.O

‘Whom did the scorpion bite last night?’ S

- b. oçum-ē **pereštā** kaṭ-e-č-an
scorpion-OBL fereshhta.F bite-PXPF-FP-3F.O
‘The scorpion bit Fereshhta’ S

In example (7.80) *ki* refers to the subject of a perfective verb, marked in the oblique case in the reply (7.81). The wh-word may occur in default preverbal position, or in pre-object position, as shown by the variants in (7.80).

- (7.80) a. puṭ-ē **ki** an-e-k-en
son-PS2SG who beat-PXPF-M-3M.O
‘Who beat your son?’ E
- b. **ki** puṭ-ē an-e-k-en
who son-PS2SG beat-PXPF-M-3M.O
‘Who beat your son?’ E

In the corresponding reply either order is possible as well, as shown in (7.81).

- (7.81) a. puṭ-em **nasib-i** an-e-k-en
son-PS1SG Nasib.M-OBL beat-PXPF-M-3M.O
‘Nasib beat my son’ E
- b. **nasib-i** puṭ-em an-e-k-en
Nasib.M-OBL son-PS1SG beat-PXPF-M-3M.O
‘Nasib beat my son’ E

In example (7.82) the postpositional wh-phrase is in the matrix clause.

- (7.82) a. nasib **ki=pela** ēṛ-a ke goravāl k-et
Nasib.M who=with want-3S COMP wedding do-3S
‘Whom does Nasib want to marry?’ E (PFNS)
- b. nasib **maryam-ē=pela** ēṛ-a ke goravāl ka-et
Nasib.M Maryam.F-OBL=with want-S COMP wedding do-3S
‘Nasib wants to marry Maryam’ E (PFNS)

ki can undergo topicalization to clause-initial position (7.83a) but cannot follow the matrix verb (7.83b).

- (7.83) a. **ki=pela** nasib ēṛ-a ke goravāl ka-et
 who=with nasib.M want-3S COMP wedding do-3S
 ‘Whom does Nasib want to marry?’ E (PFNS)
- b. *nasib ēṛ-a **ki=pela** ke goravāl ka-et
 Nasib.M want-3S who=with COMP wedding do-3S
 ‘Whom does Nasib want to marry?’ E (PFNS)

7.5.2.4 *kis* ‘whose’

The genitive suffix *-s* added to the interrogative *ki* denotes possessive ‘whose’. The question strategy is clearly in-situ, illustrated by the examples in (7.84).

(7.84) Question (a) and Reply (b)

- a. a-lo ketāb **kis** š-i
 PROX-location.DIR book.M whose be.INAN.PRS-3
 ‘This book is whose?’ S
- b. a-lo ketāb **men-ā** š-i
 PROX-location.DIR book.M 1SG.OBL-M be.INAN.PRS-3
 ‘This book is mine’ S

kis is also used attributively, in example (7.85c).

- (7.85) a. a-lo kis ketāb š-i
 PROX-location.DIR whose book.M be.INAN.PRS-3
 ‘Whose book is this?’ S
- b. kis ai-e kābol-ē g-e-č
 whose mother-PS3 Kabul-OBL go-PXPF-FP
 ‘Whose mother went to Kabul?’ E
- c. kis karavand-ei ĵut-i-k
 whose field-PS3 burn-PXPF-M
 ‘Whose field burnt?’ S

Example (7.86) shows that there is no wh-movement, since the fronted wh-word yields an ungrammatical result:

- (7.86) * kis a-lo ketāb š-i
 whose PROX-location.DIR book.M be.INAN.PRS-3
 ‘Whose book is this?’

7.5.2.5 *koti* ‘which’

The word *koti* is formed from the question word *ko* + the demonstrative *ti* in its singular oblique form. *koti* is used for both animate and inanimate referents. In addition to its function as a wh-word, *koti* serves as an indefinite quantitative adjective as in (7.87).

- (7.87) maryam-ē koti av tap-al-ei-k-en
 maryam.F-OBL wh-DEM bread.M bake-TRZ-DSPF-M-3M.O
 ‘Maryam baked some bread’ S

koti can be used pronominally, as in example (7.88a), or function adjectivally in (7.88b). The question word appears in-situ position.

- (7.88) a. **koti** ɬond-ai čan-i-k
 wh-DEM roof-ABL fall-PXPF-M
 ‘Which one fell off the roof?’ S
- b. **koti kel-ā** ɬond-ai čan-i-k
 wh-DEM boy-M roof-ABL fall-PXPF-M
 ‘Which boy fell off the roof?’ S

Example (7.89) is the appropriate answer for either question.

- (7.89) **o-se** **kel-ā** lond-ai čan-i-k
 DIST-DEM.SG.DIR boy-M roof-ABL fall-PXPF-M
 ‘That boy fell off the roof’ S

With a generic object, like ‘bread’, *koti* means ‘which kind of’, as in (7.90).

- (7.90) a. pari koti av pač-al-a-ay-a
 pari.F wh-DEM bread.M bake-TRZ-PFS-3S
 ‘Which breads is Pari baking?’ (which kind of breads) S
- b. pari koti ketāb pa-ay-a
 pari.F wh-DEM book.M read-PFS-3S
 ‘Which books does Pari read?’ (what kind of books) S

With a specified object, marked here with oblique case, the meaning of *koti* is specific.

- (7.91) pari koti ketāb-ē paṛ-i
 pari.F wh-DEM book-OBL read-3O
 ‘Which book is Pari reading?’ S (PFS)

One of the speakers interviewed offered the following set of examples with the question word *kota* (or *koti-a*) used partitively, in the sense of ‘which of a closed set or group’. In all these examples *koti* could be used as well.

- (7.92) a. kota kel-ā-y sēb gor-e-č-an
 which boy-M-OBL apple.F take-PXPF-FP-3F.O
 ‘Which of the boys took an apple?’ S
- b. kota vazipā-y=ka pa-ē
 which job.M-OBL=to go-2S
 ‘Which job will you go to?’ S
- c. kota vaxt-a boḵ-eu-i t-ē
 which time-LOC wake-STV.PCP-FP be-2S
 ‘What time might you get up?’ S (PFNS)

Not enough is known about how *kota* might be used differently than *koti*. I offer this data for the interest of future researchers.

7.5.2.6 *kante* ‘why’

The postposition *ante* ‘for (the sake of)’ combined with interrogative *k-* yields (lit. ‘what for’) ‘why’. The wh-word’s basic position is before the verb, as in (7.93a), and (7.94a), although it has flexibility depending on the scope of the question, as in (7.93b) and (7.94b). These examples show that *kante* can occur in sentence-initial position.

- (7.93) a. ašpār **kante** pač-al-ei-k-ē
 rice.M why cook-TRZ-DSPF-M-2S
 ‘Why did you cook rice?’ E
- b. **kante** ašpār pač-al-ei-k-ē
 why rice.M cook-TRZ-DSPF-M-2S
 ‘Why did you cook rice?’ E

- (7.94) a. *bēč kante anč-a ā-k-am*
 seed.M why plant-3S be-M-1S
 ‘Why was I planting seeds?’ E
- b. *kante bēč anč-a ā-k-am*
 why seed.M plant-3S be-M-1S
 ‘Why was I planting seeds?’ E

In example (7.95) the adverb occurs between the *wh*-word and the verb.

- (7.95) *bāzār-ē=ka kante (vėl-a) pa-a*
 market-OBL=to why (night-LOC) go-3S
 ‘Why is s/he going to the market (tonight)?’ S (PFS)

7.5.2.7 *kodan* ‘when’

The basic position of the *wh*-word *kodan* ‘when’ is preverbal.

- (7.96) a. *mam kodan tār-ē-k-am-ē*
 I when see-2O-PFS-1S-2O
 ‘When will I see you?’ S
- b. *to mam sabā tār-im-k-ē*
 you me tomorrow see-1O-PFS-2S
 ‘You will see me tomorrow’ E
- c. *to kodan e-ē*
 you when come-2S
 ‘When are you coming?’ S (PFNS)
- d. *sabā ne pārek-a e-em*
 tomorrow not day-after-tomorrow-LOC come-1S
 ‘I am coming the day after tomorrow, not tomorrow’ E (PFNS)

In example (7.97) the *wh*-word *kodan* in the question can appear in all potential adverb positions, sentence initial, preverbal, and before the direct object.

- (7.97) a. *kodan sima ketāb-ast-a paṛ-i*
 when Sima.F book.M-GEN-PS3SG read-3O
 ‘When does Sima read her book?’ E (PFS)

- b. *sima ketāb-a-st-a kodan par-i*
 Sima.F book.M-GEN-PS3 when read-3O
 ‘When does Sima read her book?’ E (PFS)
- c. *sima kodan ketāb-ast-a par-i*
 sima.F when book.M-GEN-PS3SG read-3O
 ‘When does Sima read her book?’ E (PFS)

7.5.2.8 *kao* ‘how many/ how much’

The wh-word *kao* is used for mass and count quantities. It is an adjective, which can be used attributively, as in (7.98a), or predicatively as in (7.99a).

(7.98) Question (a) and Reply (b)

- a. *kao bālokul ā-en*
 how many children be.AN-3P
 ‘How many children are there?’ S
- b. *pañč bālokul a-en*
 five children be.AN-3P
 ‘There are five children’ S

The position of *kao* is illustrate in the pair of examples in (7.99).

(7.99) Question (a) and Reply (b)

- a. *a-mi sēb-as xemat-i kao š-i*
 PROX-DEM.SG.DIR apple.F-GEN price-PS3 how much be.INAN.PRS-3
 ‘What is the price for this apple?’ S
- b. *a-mi sēb-as xemat-i pañj ropa š-i*
 PROX-DEM.SG.DIR apple.F-GEN price-PS3 five rupee be.INAN.PRS-3
 ‘The price of this apple is 5 rupees’ S

7.5.2.9 *čo* ‘where’

The wh-word *čo* ‘where’ occurs in preverbal position. *čo* ‘where’ also has an oblique form, *čo-ē* which is used with a postposition when a specific/definite destination is intended.

Destination

(7.100) **Questions (a-b) and Reply (c)**

- a. **čo** pa-ē
where go-2S
'Where are you going?' S (PFNS)
- b. **čo-ē=ka** pa-ē
where-OBL=to go-2S
'Whither are you going?' S (PFNS)
- c. **kābol-ē=ka** pa-am
kabul-OBL=to go-1S
'I am going to Kabul' S (PFNS)

Location When interlocutors are not face to face, such as talking in the phone, the wh-word takes the postposition =*de* 'at, from'.

(7.101) **Question (a) and Reply (b)**

- a. **čo=de** ā-ē
where=at be-2S
'Where are you?' S
- b. **amla=kuč-a** ā-em
amla=belly-LOC be-1S
'I am in Amla' S

Or, if the questioner is looking for more specificity, the oblique case is attached to the wh-word with the postposition =*de*, as in example (7.102). This example too is for non face-to-face communication.

- (7.102) **panj-ē** **čo-ē=de** **ās**
husband-PS2SG where-OBL=in be.AN.M.PRS.3
'Where is your husband?' S

When the conversants are face to face the question is posed as in example (7.103), with neither the oblique marker nor the postposition.

- (7.103) **panj-ē** **čo** **ās**
husband-PS2SG where be.AN.M.PRS.3
'Where is your husband?' S

Origin

A question regarding origin is expressed with *čo* and the postposition *te* ‘from’.

(7.104) Question (a) and Reply (b)

- a. **čo-ē**=te ā-ē
where-OBL=from be-2s
‘Where are you from? S
- b. **amla**=te ā-em
amla=from be-1s
‘I am from Amla’ S

7.5.3 Summary

This section has looked at question formation and the interrogative pronouns in Pashai. In Pashai question formation occurs in-situ. In this section I have described the use of each interrogative term.

7.6 Coordination

When a phrase forms a natural pair, e.g., *lekpanjuk* ‘husband and wife’ < *lek* ‘wife’ + *pānĵ* ‘husband’ + nominal suffix *-uk* and *aitātā* ‘parents’ < *ai* ‘mother’ + *tātā* ‘father’ the result is a compound word. This type of coordination does not include a conjunction in Pashai. Other examples of coordinated compounds can be found in *levāni sevāni* ‘brothers and sisters’, or an ‘estimating’ compound in *do le* ‘two (or) three’. In this section I describe the conjunctions that join phrases and clauses.

7.6.1 Conjunctive Coordination

Phrases are conjoined with the clitic *o* ‘and’ attached to the first conjunct. Nouns are conjoined in example (7.105).

- (7.105) maryam=o baso ēṛ-en ke nasib=pela goravāl ka-en
 Maryam.F=and Baso.F want-3P.S COMP Nasib.M=with wedding do-3P.S
 ‘Maryam and Baso want to marry Nasib.’ E (PFNS)

In example (7.106) adjectives are conjoined.

- (7.106) ašpār šor=o yor š-i
 rice.M salty=and oily be.INAN.PRS-3
 ‘The rice is salty and oily’ S

Multiple conjuncts can be joined, as in example (7.107).

- (7.107) tēna ketāb=o pel-ek=o xalam mēz-ē šēr-a š-en
 their book.M=and cup-F=and pen.F table.F-OBL head-LOC be.INAN.PRS-3P
 ‘Their book and cup and pen are on the table’ E

In example (7.108) the conjoined phrase implies that Nasib’s brothers and Alam’s brothers are the same, i.e. Nasib and Alam are brothers. The genitive case is applied to the conjoined phrase ‘Nasib and Alam’.

- (7.108) nasib=o ālam-as lai-ān-s-a men-i oe-am
 nasib=and alam-GEN brother-PL-GEN-PS3 1SG.OBL-FP daughter-PS1SG
 mār-e-č-an
 kill-PXPF-FP-3F.O
 ‘Nasib and Alam’s brothers killed my daughter’ E

In (7.109) each conjunct takes the genitive case, ‘Nasib’s brother’ and ‘Alam’s brother’. The conjoined phrases indicate they are not brothers of the same person.

- (7.109) nasib-as lai-ast-a=o ālam-as lai-ast-a
 nasib-GEN brother-GEN-PS3=and alam-GEN brother-GEN-PS3
 ‘Nasib’s brother and Alam’s brother’ E

Two or more clauses can be joined to form a coordinated sentence (7.110). The conjunction *o* is cliticized to the end of the first conjunct.

- (7.110) maryam sēb šēt-a=o dur ka-a
 maryam.F apple peel-3S=and far do-3S
 ‘Maryam is peeling an apple and throwing it away’ E (PFNS)

The conjunction *o* ‘and’ may or may not be present in the conjoined phrases.

- (7.111) mālem xār ā-i-k keṭāl-ek an-e-č-an
 teacher.M angry be-PST-M girl hit-PXPF-FP-3F.O
 ‘The teacher was angry (and) hit the girl’ E

The subjects of the two clauses need not be identical:

- (7.112) nasib bāzār-ē=ka g-i-k=o mam ašpār pač-al-e-k-am
 nasib.M bazaar-OBL=to go-PXPF-M=and I rice.M cook-TRZ-PXPF-M-1S
 ‘Nasib went to the bazaar and I cooked rice.’ E

Conjunction of the form ‘both ... and’ employs a numeral and postposition *do=ka* (lit. two-to) preceding the first conjunct and *o* ‘and’ following it, as in (7.113).

- (7.113) do=ka pari=o pereštā aot-i b-iti-nč
 two=to pari.F=and fereshta.F hungry-FP be-DSPF-3P.S
 ‘Both Pari and Fereshta got hungry’ E

7.6.2 Disjunctive Coordination

Disjunctive coordination uses the Persian disjunctive *ya* ‘or’. In example (7.114) the disjunct appears between the two conjuncts phrases.

- (7.114) nasib pari ya pereštā=pela goravāl ka-ad-i
 nasib.M pari.F or fereshta.F=with wedding do-3S-3O
 ‘Nasib will marry Pari or Fereshta’ E (PFNS)

In (7.115), a spontaneous utterance, each phrase of the disjunction is preceded with the word *ya*.

- (7.115) ya barṭ-ek ramā as ya paṛ-ek ramā
 or sheep-F flock be.AN.F.PRS.3 or goat-F flock
 ‘Either it is a flock of sheep or a flock of goats’ T

In negative disjunctive coordination the negative particle *ne* precedes both conjoined phrases. In example (7.116a), repeated from section 7.4.5.3, the disjunctive clauses are embedded under the complementizer *ke* in example (7.116a), but need not be, as in (7.116b).

- (7.116) a. *nasib-as ne ke māyzi š-i ne ke puldār*
 nasib.M-GEN not COMP brains be.INAN.PRS-3 not COMP wealthy
ās
 be.AN.M.PRS.3
 ‘Nasib has neither brains nor is he wealthy’ S
- b. *ai-am ne muṭ-i as ne obar-i*
 mother-PS1SG NEG tall-FP be.AN.F.PRS.3 NEG short-FP
 ‘My mother is neither tall nor short’ S

7.6.3 Adversative Coordination

Adversative coordination uses the Pashto particle *xo* or the Dari particle *magar* between the two conjunct clauses. The particle *xo* when unstressed has a number of evidential and mirative uses which will not be considered here. When the particle is stressed it has a topicalizing function, and an adversative meaning emerges from the fact that the following clause has a negative meaning. *magar* inherently means ‘but’. *xo* is used in adversative coordination as in example (7.117b).

- (7.117) a. *goravāl sabā š-i {xo, magar} ama na-pa-es*
 wedding tomorrow be.INAN.PRS-3 {but, but} we NEG-go-PL1.EXCL
 ‘The wedding is tomorrow but we are not going’ S
- b. *sāiŋ leken-ik-ē š-i {xo, magar} ama=ōd-a ropai*
 land sell-INF-OBL be.INAN.PRS-3 {but, but} us=near-LOC rupee
ne-š-en
 NEG-be.INAN.PRS-3
 ‘The land is for sale but we do not have (enough) money’ S

7.7 Subordination

Despite the head-final and left-branching nature of Pashai phrases, most types of complement clauses in Pashai are right-branching and head-initial. This may be an artifact of elicited data although I have made every effort to include spontaneous utterances here too. Thompson, Longacre and Hwang (2007) observed that in many languages subordinating morphemes

are borrowed from other languages. This is true for Pashai. The construction and the complementizer described here originate in Persian. The complementizer *ke*⁶ is used to introduce complement clauses, linking the head to the complement. The progression of *ke* into Pashai structures can be seen in the reduction of verb serialization in favor of *ke* embedded clauses.

The complementizer *ke* is used to introduce a variety of subordinate clauses, including sentential complements, relative clauses and adverbial relative clauses. *ke* does not indicate gender, number, or case. The verbs in both clauses are fully inflected for tense, number and gender. In the following sections, I describe three major types of subordinate clauses. In the first section I describe adverbial clauses, those that modify verbs, or, in the case of sentence adverbials, the entire sentence; in the second section I describe relative clauses, which modify nouns; in the third section I describe complement clauses functioning as NPs.

7.7.1 Adverbial Clause

Adverbial clauses express time, location and manner, purpose, reason and conditional expressions.

7.7.1.1 Temporal Adverbial Clause

The temporal adverbial clause uses *ke* as an adverb of time, as the examples in (7.118) show. Example (7.118b) shows a Persian-like usage of *ke*, which indicates an ongoing event interrupted by an unexpected occurrence.

- (7.118) a. mam ke p-ea-k-am to tānek lām-e ka-e-č-ē
 I COMP go-RMPF-M-1S you own work.F-PS2SG do-PXPF-FP-2S
 ‘When I had gone you did your work’ E
- b. mam orč-au-ā ā-i-k-am ke čōr e-i-k
 I sleep-STV.PCP-M be-PST-M-1S COMP thief.M come-PXPF-M
 ‘I was asleep when the thief came’ E

6. pronounced by some as [ge]

c. ten-ā ke še baǰā b-e-nč mam vazipā-ē=ka pa-y-am
 2SG.OBL-M COMP six o'clock be-PXPF-3P.S I job.M-OBL=to go-PFS-1S
 'When it is six o'clock for you I will be going to work' T

Example (7.119) shows that *ke* in a temporal clause can appear in sentence initial position.

(7.119) ke māda an-e-č-an mis vere-a aš-e baǰā-ē
 COMP woman beat-PXPF-FP-3F.O DEM.GEN body-LOC blood-PS3SG place-OBL
 šir am b-iti-k a-lo nē-ti-k
 milk something be-DSPF-M PROX-location.DIR emerge-DSPF-M
 'When he beat the woman something happened, it was milk instead of blood that
 came out of her body' T

The word *am* in example (7.119) may be related to *a-mi* PROX-DEM. It appears to be a cataphoric element here, referring to verb *nē-ti-k* 'it emerged'.

The adverbial clauses expressing 'until' are introduced with the Persian *ta* 'until'. Both *ta* 'until' and *ke* can appear together as in (7.120) and (7.121).

Notice that in (7.120) the negative element appears, as it does in other Indo-Aryan languages of South Asia, whereas in (7.121) the negative does not appear. The fluctuation in the appearance of the negative prefix in the 'until' clause may be a sign of Dari (or Pashto) influence.

(7.120) maryam goravāl na-ka-y-a tā ke to amrikā=te ni-i-ē
 Maryam.F wedding NEG-do-PFS-3S till COMP you America=from NEG-come-2S
 'Maryam will not get married till you come back from America' S (PFNS)

(7.121) mam entezār ka-y-am tā ke to lām-ē=ka i-ē
 I wait do-PFS-1S until COMP you home.M-OBL=to come-2S
 'I am waiting until you come home' S (PFNS)

If the sentence does not contain *tā* 'until' the meaning is shifted: Example (7.122) illustrates that without *ta* 'until' the sentence in (7.121) is interpreted as a sentential complement.

(7.122) mam entezār ka-y-am ke to lām-ē=ka e-ē
 I wait do-PFS-1S COMP you home.M-OBL=to come-2S
 'I am waiting for you to come home' S (PFNS)

Example (7.123) shows that *ke* COMP is not obligatory with *tā*.

- (7.123) matal ka-a tā xat-ē d-am-ē
 wait do-IMP until letter.F-OBL give-1S-2O
 ‘Wait till I give you the letter’ S (PFNS)

The lack of the combined expression *tā ke* in the spontaneous examples (7.122) and (7.123) suggests that combination *tā ke* is a newer, Persian-like usage.

7.7.1.2 Manner Adverbial Clauses

Manner adverbial clauses are constructed with *koe* ‘like, as’, illustrated by examples in (7.124), in which *koe* behaves as a postposition.

- (7.124) a. ai-ast-a koe ayat kad-a
 mother-gen-PS1SG like talk do-3S
 ‘S/he talks like her/his mother’ S (PFS)
- b. bālokul koe ver-ay-a
 children like cry-PFS-3S
 ‘S/he cries like a child’ E
- c. narina koe ayat kad-a o-se ke ʔēk na-dār-a
 man like speak do-3S PROX-DEM.SG.DIR COMP wife NEG-have-3S
 ‘He talks like a man who has no wife’ S (PFS)

7.7.1.3 Purpose and Reason Clauses

Purpose and reason clauses express cause and effect relationships. They are introduced by *ke*.

Purpose clauses are shown in (7.125) and (7.126).

- (7.125) nasib āšedār-a moṇ-i ke moškel ʔop-et
 Nasib.M window-OBL.PL break-O COMP difficult make-3S
 ‘Nasib breaks the windows to make trouble’ E (PFNS)

- (7.126) tē ādemi gaṇ dēg ašpār pač-al-e-k-en ke goravāl-ē
 DEM.PL.OBL man big pot rice.M cook-TRZ-PXPF-M-3M.O COMP wedding-OBL
 ĵam memān-a dam-al-and-i
 all guest-OBL.PL be.satisfied-TRZ-3P.S-3O
 ‘The men cooked a big pot of rice in order to satisfy all the guests at the wedding’ S
 (PFNS)

Typically reason clauses are introduced by *ke* COMP, as in (7.127a) - (7.127c).

- (7.127) a. zālem a-xon-ē=de ke oy-e bō ā-en mis
 oppressive PROX-like-OBL=in COMP offspring-PS3SG QNT be.AN-3P his
 ‘He is oppressive because of this, that he has a lot of sons’ T
- b. tē čōr-ān-a vėl-a čilā čōri ka-e-č-in
 DEM.PL.OBL thief-PL-OBL.PL night-LOC clothes.PL robbery do-PXPF-FP-3P.O
 ke sabā leken-and-i
 COMP morning sell-3P.S-3O
 ‘The thieves stole the clothes at night so that they could sell them in the morning’
 E (PFNS)
- c. tē bālokul-a bō=ka av e-ei-k-en ke
 DEM.PL.OBL children.PL-OBL.PL QNT=to bread eat-DSPF-M-3M.O COMP
 tamām davās aot-i ne-b-en
 whole day hungry-FP NEG-be-3P.S
 ‘The children ate a lot of food so that they would not be hungry the whole day’
 E (PFNS)

However, reason clauses can be expressed with the verb serialization mechanism, as in (7.128).

- (7.128) pari bō tan-i ā-e-č do čāinek čāi pe-e-k-en
 Pari.F very thirsty-FP be-PST-FP two teapot tea.M drink-PXPF-M-3M.O
 ‘Pari was so thirsty she drank two pots of tea’ E

Reason clauses sometimes include the postposition *xātari* ‘reason, because’ as in (7.129).

- (7.129) se kodan be lani av n-a-y-a
 DEM.SG.DIR when too lunch bread.M NEG-eat-PFS-3SG
 a-miy=xāteri ke lani av orč-ave-i
 PROX-DEM.SG.OBL=reason COMP lunch bread.M sleep-CS-3S
 ‘He never eats lunch because lunch makes him sleep.’ S (PFS)

7.7.2 Conditional Clauses

Conditional clauses are another subset of adverbial clauses. Conditional clauses can be either realis or irrealis. Realis conditionals refer to actions that are as yet unrealized, but can still happen; irrealis conditionals are generally not expected to take place, tend to be counterfactual or are known not to have taken place. In my description of conditional clauses I use Thompson, Longacre and Hwang's terminology. The 'if' clause names the condition, the 'then' clause is the main clause. Pashai employs the particle *aka* 'if' in the protasis of conditional sentences. Presumably *aka* has its source in the Persian *agar* 'if'. There is no particle that introduces the 'then' clause.

7.7.2.1 Realis Conditionals

Realis conditionals such as predictive propositions pertain to events with the potential to unfold. Speaking about a potential future, as examples (7.130) – (7.137) show, Pashai often uses a perfective tense in the 'if' clause and a non-perfective tense, either the Present-Future Non-Specific or the Present-Future Specific in the 'then' clause.⁷

Future

- (7.130) a. *aka darenur-ē g-eč-aman ama pa-aman men-i*
if Darrai Nur-OBL go-PXPF-FP-1PL.INCL we go-1PL.INCL 1SG.OBL-FP
ai-tātā-n-ast-am lai-i-k-ē
mother-father-PL-GEN-PS1SG see-3O-PFS-2S
'If we go to Darrai Nur you will go see my parents' S
- b. *aka nasib non pol-i-k ama kābol-ē=ka eke jājā*
if nasib.M today arrive-PXPF-M we Kabul-OBL=to one place
pa-y-es
go-PFS-1PL.EXCL
'If Nasib arrives (arrived) today we will go to Kabul together' S
- c. *aka vareg tap-ou-ā t-e ṭormos=kuč-a ve-a*
if water hot-STV.PCP-M be-3S thermos=belly-LOC pour-IMP

7. Many of the examples and categories used here are based on suggestions from Elena Bashir.

‘If the water is hot put it in the thermos’ S

- d. aka ayanda afta-y ne-g-e-k-ē gere lai-ačāl b-eman
if future week-OBL NEG-go-PXPF-M-2S again see-REC.PCP be-1PL.INCL
‘If you don’t leave next week we could meet again’ S

Contingent In a contingent conditional clause the conditions set forth in the ‘if’ clause predict the outcome of the ‘then’ clause.

- (7.131) a. aka bō sax ɫām ka-e-k-ē bō ziyāt paisa d-am-ē
if QNT hard work do-PXPF-M-2S QNT much money give-1S-2O
‘If you work harder I will give you more money’ E
- b. aka āmad e-i-k ten=menten lai-ačāl b-aɣ-a
if Ahmad come-PXPF-M 2SG.GEN=with see-REC.PCP be-PFS-3S
‘If Ahmad comes he will meet with you’ S
- c. aka keɫāl-ik tānek vaxt-ē=de ā-e-nč meɫeɲ be tānek vaxt-i=de
if girl-PL self time-OBL=in be-PST-3P meeting.M too self time-OBL=in
šoru b-a
start be-3S
‘If the girls come on time the meeting will started on time’ E (PFS)
- (7.132) a. aka mam me-e-k-am ambala nē-ē bō tēz ambala nē-a
if I say-PXPF-M-1S running emerge-2S QNT fast running emerge-IMP
‘If I say to run, run very fast’ E
- b. aka rās me-e-k-ē mam pin-em
if right say-PXPF-M-2S I understand-1S
‘If you say it right I will understand’ E (PFNS)

Example (7.134) as an alternative to example (7.132b) uses an imperative in the ‘if’ clause. This is a departure from perfective tense in the ‘if’ clause seen in the previous examples.

Stipulative A stipulative conditional is a type of contingent clause: the ‘if’ clause lays down a condition which must be met for the ‘then’ clause to be true. Like contingent clauses there is a causal relationship between ‘if’ and ‘then’ clauses.

- (7.133) *aka* pari-y kārṣānagi ka-e-k-en se ye senep-a
 if Pari.F-OBL homework.M do-PXPF-M-3M.O DEM.SG.DIR DEM.OBL class-LOC
 kamyāb b-aṣ-a
 successful be-PFS-3S
 ‘(Only) if Pari does (did) her homework will she pass this class’ E

- (7.134) *aka* rās me-a mam pin-em
 if right say-IMP I understand-1S
 ‘If you say it right I will understand’ S (PFNS)

In example (7.134) the occurrence of the imperative with *aka* ‘if’ is unexpected. The meaning might be better interpreted as ‘Say it right and I will understand’, with less of a conditional sense. This spontaneously uttered example shows an unexpected usage. Other examples of non-perfective tenses in the ‘if’ clause of realis conditionals are found in (7.135) and (7.136). The occurrence of Present-Future Non-Specific in both clauses indicates future time reference. The verb serialization strategy imparts a conditional meaning.

- (7.135) abat orč-em vėl-a ger no-orč-em
 now sleep-1S night-LOC again NEG-sleep-1S
 ‘If I sleep now I won’t sleep again tonight’ S (PFNS)

In example (7.136) both clauses use a non-perfective tense, the particle *aka* ‘if’ does not occur; the temporal adverbial *kodan* ‘when’ with *ke* COMP is used instead.

- (7.136) mam kodan ke davās-a orč-em vėl-a no-orč-em
 I when COMP day-LOC sleep-1S night-LOC NEG-sleep-1S
 ‘When I sleep during the day I don’t sleep at night’ E (PFNS)

Concerning the occurrence of *aka* ‘if’, it appears that *aka* occurs regularly in elicited examples, whereas in spontaneous, natural examples, *aka* is frequently not employed.

- (7.137) *aka* nasib-i maryam=pela goravāl ka-e-k-en ama bō xošāl
 if Nasib.M-OBL Maryam.F=with wedding do-PXPF-M-3M.O we QNT happy
 bi-y-as
 be-PFS-1PL.EXCL
 ‘If Nasib would marry Maryam we would be very happy’ E

Expectation Realis conditionals also express expectations about a future outcome. In example (7.138) the verb in the ‘if’ clause is in the Present-Future Non-Specific expressing possibility, with the ‘softened’ imperative associated with this tense. The ‘then’ clause is in the Present-Future Specific suggesting the speaker is certain of the outcome, or has a specific outcome in mind.

- (7.138) aka to a-miy mariz-as dāru-e ne-ke-ē se vari
 if you PROX-DEM.SG.OBL sick-GEN medicine-PS3 NEG-do-2S DEM.SG.DIR other
 dāṇṭar ode=ka pa-γ-a
 doctor.M near=to go-PFS-3SG
 ‘If you don’t treat the patient, he will go to another doctor’ E

In example (7.139) the imperative is used in the ‘if’ clause, making a stronger statement about the future outcome. The imperative prohibitive negative prefix *ma* does not occur here, which probably means the speaker is not stating an actual imperative.

- (7.139) aka to a-miy mariz-ē dāru ne-ke-a le-γ-a
 if you PROX-DEM.SG.OBL sick-OBL medicine NEG-do-IMP die-PFS-3SG
 ‘If you don’t treat this patient, he is going to die.’ E

In example (7.140) the verb in the ‘if’ clause is the presumptive *t-ik* in the Present-Future Non-Specific form. The ‘then’ clause is in the Present-Future Specific.

- (7.140) aka xat gar-ev-i-a t-e ama sabā gor-i-k-aman
 if letter.F send-STV.PCP-FP-PS3 be-3S we tomorrow get-3O-PFS-1PL.INCL
 ‘If s/he has mailed the letter we will get it by tomorrow’ E

A negative proposition or warning uses *aka* in the ‘if’ clause and the perfective tense in the ‘then’ clause, as in (7.141). This is a reversal of the usual sequence of tenses. This particular function of the Proximate Perfect is used for warnings. Here the ‘if’ clause is in the Present-Future Non-Specific. This is a general truth statement.

- (7.141) aka av ne-e-ē sos-ev-i b-e-č-ē
 if bread NEG-eat-2S dry-STV.PCP-FP become-PXPF-FP-2SG
 ‘If you don’t eat you will become thin’

7.7.2.2 Counterfactual Conditionals

Counterfactual conditionals in Pashai employ special marking not found in other conditionals. They use the participial present perfect with the auxiliary verb *t-* ‘be presumptive’ and the conditional particle *-ai* in the ‘if’ clause. The Past Imperfect tense is used in the ‘then’ clause.⁸

- (7.142) a. aka nasib oreč-au-ā ne-t-e-ai čōr ĵam tela-ē
 if Nasib.M sleep-STV.PCP-M NEG-be-3S-COND thief.M all gold-OBL
 no-gor-i ā-i-k
 NEG-take-3O be-PST-M
 ‘If Nasib had not been sleeping the thief would not have taken all the gold’ E
- b. aka rās me-v-ā t-ē-ai mam pin-i ā-k-am
 if right say-STV.PCP-M be-2S-COND I understand-3O be-M-1S
 ‘If you had said it right I would have understood it’ E
- (7.143) a. aka āmad e-v-ā t-e-ai ten=menten lai-ačāl
 if Ahmad come-STV.PCP-M be-3S-COND 2SG.OBL=with see-REC.PCP
 b-aḡ-a ā-i-k
 be-PFS-3S be-PST-M
 ‘If Ahmad had come he would have met with you’ S
- b. aka dō mār-au-ā-m t-e-ai se non
 if yesterday kill-STV.PCP-M-PS1SG be-3S-COND DEM.SG.DIR today
 ne-eḡ-a ā-i-k
 NEG-come-PFS-3S be-PST-M
 ‘If I had killed him yesterday he wouldn’t have come today’ E
- c. aka mam seiy me-vā-m t-e-ai to pin-i ā-k-ē
 if I right say-STV.PCP-M-PS1SG be-3S-COND you understand-3S be-M-2S
 ‘If I had said it right would you have understood it?’ S

Example (7.144) shows the conjunctive participle *e-ta* ‘come’ in a sequence with the Past Imperfect. The verb *b-* ‘be’ in this sentence has the meaning ‘be able to’ as it does in several neighboring languages.

8. The Past Imperfect tense is constructed from the Present-Future Specific and the auxiliary verb in the past tense.

- (7.144) aka darvāzā-y xolop ve-v-i-ē t-e-ai čōr e-ta
 if door-OBL lock.F pour-STV.PCP-FP-PS2SG be-3S-COND thief come-CONJ.PCP
 na-b-aṯ-a ā-i-k
 NEG-be-PFS-3S be-PST-M
 ‘If you had locked the door the thief would not have been able to come in’ E

Example (7.145) shows the Persian expression *kaš ke* ‘if only’ or ‘would that’ introducing a counterfactual statement of wishful thinking.

- (7.145) kaške men-ā dādā-m men=menten t-e-ai
 If.only 1SG.OBL-M father-1SG 1SG.OBL=with be-3S-COND
 ‘If only my father were with me’ E

In example (7.146) the Past Imperfect tense is used in the ‘if’ clause, while the Present-Future Non-Specific is in the ‘then’ clause. This example has an irrealis meaning (I did not work hard therefore I am not rich) but lacks the force (and special marking) of the counterfactual conditionals discussed above. The use of *t-* ‘presumptive be’ in the ‘if’ clauses makes the counterfactuals discussed above more forceful.

- (7.146) aka sax ʔām ka-a ā-k-am puldār b-em
 if hard work.M do-3S be-M-1S rich be-1S
 ‘If I had worked hard I would be rich’ S

Present Counterfactual Conditionals Counterfactual conditionals express present irrealis conditions as well by using the Present-Future Non-Specific, not the participial Present Perfect, in the ‘if’ clause. In example (7.147) the ‘then’ clause uses the Past Imperfect. In example (7.148) the ‘then’ clause uses the Present-Future Non-Specific.

- (7.147) aka māl-dār t-am-ai mam noṯ-i moṯar gor-aṯ-a ā-k-am
 if rich be-1S-COND I new-FP car.F get-PFS-3S be-M-1S
 ‘If I were rich I would buy a new car’ E

- (7.148) aka dādā-m zendā t-e-ai mam yao saxti=kuč-a
 if father-PS1SG living be-3S-COND I QNT hardship=belly-LOC
 na-t-am-ai
 NEG-be-1S-COND
 ‘If my father were alive I would not be in so much trouble’ E

7.7.3 Relative Clauses

For the purpose of this description I have adopted the definition of relative clause (RC) in Andrews (2007:206): “A relative clause (RC) is a subordinate clause which delimits the reference of an NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the RC.” Following Andrews, I refer to the head of the RC as the domain nominal which “serves the semantic function of identifying the domain of objects upon which the RC imposes a further description.”

Relative clauses modify NPs and are embedded within a larger clause construction. SOV languages, particularly strict SOV languages, tend to have prenominal relative clauses. Pashai has two types of relative clauses. Under the influence of Persian, Pashai has adopted postnominal RCs embedded under *ke* COMP. An earlier strategy of participialization places the participial modifier in prenominal position. In this section I discuss both strategies, beginning with participial phrases.

7.7.3.1 Participial Phrases

Relative clause-like constructions are often formed with the stative participle in Pashai. These constructions are left-branching and presumably an original Pashai construction. In the examples in (7.149) the modified NP is the subject of the sentence. In example (7.149a) ‘tail’, the object of the participle ‘cut’ is included in the participial phrase; in (7.149b) the locative expression ‘nail-ABL’ is included in the participial phrase. In (7.149c) ‘scorpion’, the subject of ‘bite’, is included in the participial expression. The modified NP ‘girl’ is the object of ‘bite’.

- (7.149) a. lem kaṭ-au-ā šorij mās b-iti-k
 tail.M cut-STV.PCP-M dog.M mad be-DSPF-M
 ‘The dog with the cut tail went crazy’ E
- b. mix-ai aul-au-ā pakol čan-i-k
 nail-ABL hang-STV.PCP-M hat.M fall-PXPF-M
 ‘The hat that was hanging on the nail fell’ E

- c. očum-ē kaṭ-ev-i-a keṭāl-ek šāfāxānā g-e-č
 scorpion.M-OBL bite-STV.PCP-FP-PS3SG girl-F hospital go-PXPF-FP
 ‘The scorpion bitten girl went to the hospital’ E

In example (7.149c) the stative participle *kaṭ-ev-i-a* ‘bitten’ has the third-person possessive suffix *-a* attached. This possessive suffix indexes the subject of the verb ‘bite’, which is *očum-ē* ‘scorpion-OBL’, marked by the oblique case. The participle *kaṭ-ev-i* ‘bitten’ which is marked by the default gender/number marker *-i*, agrees with the object ‘girl’.

In all these examples the relativized NP is not the subject of the participle. In example (7.149c) the subject ‘scorpion’ is part of the participial phrase, it is not the domain nominal of the relativization. The stative participle cannot be used to relativize the subject of the participle. Example (7.150) is ungrammatical.

- (7.150) * očum-ē kaṭ-ev-i-a keṭāl-ek l-i-k
 scorpion.M-OBL bite-STV.PCP-FP-PS3SG girl-F die-PXPF-M
 ‘The scorpion who bit the girl died’ E

The imperfective participle is used for relativizing the subject of the participle. Examples in (7.151) show this type.

- (7.151) a. ašpār pač-al-akāl-i māda l-e-č
 rice.M cook-TRZ-IPV.PCP-FP woman die-PXPF-FP
 ‘The woman who cooked the rice died’ E
- b. šorij an-akāl-ā ādemi l-i-k
 dog.M beat-IPV.PCP-M man die-PXPF-M
 ‘The man who beat the dog died’ E

7.7.3.2 *ke* Relative Clauses

In Pashai, finite relative clauses are formed by embedding the relative clause into the main clause. The complementizer *ke* introduces the relative clause, which follows the domain nominal. Such clauses are externally headed.

In many instances a resumptive pronoun, in the form of a demonstrative, coreferent with the domain nominal of the relative clause in the main clause, occurs outside the embedded

clause, as in examples (7.152a) and (7.152b), and others throughout this section. This construction is similar to the relative-correlative structure found in many South Asian languages. This data has been elicited to test how accessible a domain nominal is for relativizing. It does not reflect spontaneous examples, which may be more restricted.

The occurrence of a resumptive pronoun may reflect the complexity of the construction, and /or the distance between the domain noun and the rest of the main clause.

7.7.3.3 Domain Nominal Subject of RC and Main Clause

In examples (7.152) the domain nominal is the subject of both the main verb and the relative clause. The domain nominal in both examples is in the oblique case as subject of a perfective verb. The resumptive pronoun, as subject of the non-perfective verb, is in the direct case.

- (7.152) a. māda-y ke ašpār pač-al-ea-k-en se men-i
 woman-OBL COMP rice.M cook-TRZ-DSPF-M-3M.O DEM.SG.DIR 1SG.OBL-FP
 māmā-m b-a
 aunt-PS1SG be-3S
 ‘The woman who had cooked the rice (she) is my aunt’ E (PFS)
- b. men-ā lai-ast-am ke gušiŋ ĵop-e-k-en se
 1SG.OBL-M brother-GEN-PS1SG COMP house build-PXPF-M-3M.O DEM.SG.DIR
 čōr ās
 thief be.AN.M.PRS.3
 ‘My brother who built the house (he) is a thief’ E

Example (7.153) does not have a resumptive pronoun. The domain nominal is in the direct case (zero), even though the main verb is perfective.

- (7.153) baraṭ-ek ke savari ā-e-č non doyon-ek obĵ-eč-an
 sheep-F.DIR COMP pregnant.F be-PST-FP today lamb-F birth-PXPF-FP-3F.O
 ‘The sheep that was pregnant gave birth to a lamb today’ S

The center-embedded relative clause structures seen in the preceding examples do not seem to be native. A more native expression, where the relative clause is in sentence-final position, is found in example (7.154).

- (7.154) māmā-m se māda as ke ašpār
 aunt-PS1SG DEM.SG.DIR woman be.AN.F.PRS.3 COMP rice.M
 pač-al-ea-k-en
 cook-TRZ-DSPF-M-3M.O
 ‘My aunt (she) is the woman who cooked the rice’ E

7.7.3.4 Domain Nominal Subject of RC, Object of Main Clause

In the examples in (7.155) - (7.157) the domain nominal is subject of the relative clause and object of the main clause. In example (7.155) the sentence is short and there is no resumptive pronoun.

- (7.155) sēb ke pač-ev-i š-i liken-a
 apple.F COMP ripe-STV.PCP-FP be.INAN.PRS-3 sell-IMP.SG
 ‘The apple that is ripe, sell it’

In example (7.156) the domain nominal *ādemi* ‘man’ is the subject of the relative clause and the object of the main clause *tost-al-ei-k-en* ‘somebody nominated him’. This verb form conveys the sense of an English passive, and is rendered as such in the translation. The resumptive pronoun *se* is in direct case, as the object in a perfective main clause.

- (7.156) yo ādemi ke a-miy gušij=kuč-a zenđegī ka-y-a
 DEM.DIR man COMP PROX-DEM.SG.OBL house=belly-LOC live do-PFS-3S
 se malik-i=ante tost-al-ei-k-en
 DEM.SG.DIR mālīk-OBL=for stand-TRZ-DSPF-M-3M.O
 ‘The man who lives in this house was nominated for Malik’ S

- (7.157) šāger ke ĵalālābād-ē dars paṛ-a ā-i-k se
 student.M COMP Jalalabad-OBL lesson read-3S be-PST-M DEM.SG.DIR
 lai-i-k-am kābol-a
 see-3O-PFS-1S Kabul-LOC
 ‘I am seeing the student who was studying in Jalalabad, in Kabul’ E

7.7.3.5 Domain Nominal Object of RC Subject of Main Clause

In example (7.158) the domain nominal ‘my sister’ is the indirect object of the relative clause, and the subject of the main verb ‘lives’.

- (7.158) *men-i* *sai-ast-am* *šēr-a* *ke* *ketāb* *leken-e-k-ē*
 1SG.OBL-FP sister-GEN-PS1SG head-LOC COMP book.M sell-PXPF-M-2S
 se *kābol=kuč-a* *zendegi ka-a*
 DEM.SG.DIR kabul=belly-LOC live do-3S
 ‘My sister to whom you sold the book (she) lives in Kabul’ E

In the possessive phrase *men-i sai-ast-am* ‘my sister’, the combination of the possessive suffix and the genitive case marker is the form of the possessive suffix in the oblique function. The resumptive pronoun *se* is in direct case as the subject of the non-perfective main verb.

7.7.3.6 Domain Nominal Object of RC and Main Clause

In example (7.159) the domain nominal is object of both the main clause and the relative clause.

- (7.159) a. *av* *ke* *to* *pač-al-e-k-ē* *mam e-e-k-am*
 bread.M COMP you cook-TRZ-PXPF-M-2S I eat-PXPF-M-1S
 ‘I ate the bread that you baked’ E

This example, uttered without the *ke* could also mean ‘I ate the bread you baked’ or ‘You baked the bread and I ate it’. *ke* has many functions in Persian and in Pashai. It is not certain that *ke* always creates a clause boundary for an embedded syntactic structure. In spontaneous utterances *ke* occurs in unexpected positions, at a distance from the domain nominal. An understanding of how transparent *ke* may or may not be, and how it functions in Pashai is a topic for more extensive analyses of spontaneous utterances and oral texts.

7.7.3.7 Relative Adverbial Clauses

Indefinite pronouns of time or place, such as *kodan* ‘when’, and *čo* ‘where’ co-occur with *ke* COMP in relative adverbial clauses. The expressions *kodan ke* and *čo ke* should be considered as a single word.

Examples in (7.160) show both the indefinite pronoun and complementizer in the relative adverbial clause of time.

- (7.160) a. kodan ke lām-ē=ka pol-e-k-am pari au
 when COMP home-OBL=to arrive-PXPF-M-1S Pari.F bread.M
 pač-al-aṡ-a ā-e-č
 cook-TRZ-PFS-3S be-PST-FP
 ‘When I arrived home Pari was baking bread’ S
- b. šoriṡ kodan ke mās b-i-k bō xatarnāk b-a
 dog.M when COMP mad be-PXPF-M QNT dangerous be-3S
 ‘When a dog becomes mad it is very dangerous’ E (PFS)

Example (7.161) is ungrammatical because *ke* COMP is required in this relative temporal clause.

- (7.161) *šoriṡ kodan mās b-i-k bō xatarnāk b-a
 dog.M when mad be-PXPF-M QNT dangerous be-3S
 ‘When a dog becomes mad it is very dangerous’

The Dari expression *vaxte ke* is also used for ‘when’ in a relative clause of time. In example (7.162) *vaxte* is separated from *ke* by the subject of the sentence.

- (7.162) devagol=kuč-a ā-e-nč vaxte gurbuzxan ke tānek-ē ā-i-k
 Devagol=belly-LOC be-PST-3P when Gurbuzxan COMP RFL-OBL be-PST-M
 ‘They were in Devagol at the time when Gurbuz himself was there.’ T

The relative adverbial clauses of location are introduced with *čo ke* ‘where COMP’, shown in examples (7.163a) - (7.163b).

- (7.163) a. yo gušiṡ čo ke men-ā tātā-m gaṡ b-iti-k
 DEM house.M where COMP 1SG.OBL-M father.M-PS1SG big be-DSPF-M
 daranur kuč-a š-i
 Darrai Nur belly-LOC be.INAN.PRS-3
 ‘The house where my father grew up is in Darrai Nur’ S
- b. sabā pa-y-aman kābol-ē čo ke men-i sai-am
 tomorrow go-PFS-PL.1INCL Kabul-OBL where COMP 1SG.OBL-FP sister.F-PS1SG
 zendegi ka-ṡ-a
 live do-PFS-3S
 ‘Tomorrow we are going to the Kabul where my sister is living’ E

In the spontaneous utterance in (7.163a) the resumptive pronoun is not present, making it look less like a typical South Asian relative-correlative clause.

7.7.4 Complement Clauses

There are numerous types of clauses that serve as the complement to a particular verb. Some predicates are fully sentential, with finite verbs introduced by a complementizer, other predicates have nonfinite verbs such as infinitives and participles. This section is a description of the sentential complements and infinitival complements of different verbs in Pashai.

7.7.5 Sentential Complements

Some verbal predicates take full sentential complements. In full sentential complements nominals retain their argument structure and markings; verbs retain all tense, aspect, person, number, gender marking. In this construction the pattern is V *ke* [complement S], shown in (7.164) and (7.165)

Know

- (7.164) se pin-a ke nasib vāli ās
 DEM.SG.DIR know-3S COMP Nasib.M governor be.AN.M.PRS.3
 ‘S/he knows that Nasib is governor’ S

Allow In example (7.165) the complement verb is in the Present-Future Specific form.

- (7.165) dada-st-am men=ante ejāza k-ea-k-en ke
 Father-GEN.PS1SG 1SG.OBL=for permission.M do-RMPF-M-3M.O COMP
 miy=pela goravāl ka-a
 DEM.SG.OBL=with wedding do-3S
 ‘My father had given me permission to marry him/her’ E

Complements of thought and speech use a direct reported strategy. Therefore the verb of the complement clause is in the tense of the utterance or thought at the time it was uttered or thought.

Think

- (7.166) a. a peker ka-y-am ke se sost as
 I thought do-PFS-1S COMP DEM.SG.DIR lazy be.AN.F.PRS.3
 ‘I am thinking that she is lazy’ E
- b. pari peker ka-a ā-e-č ke oy-aṭek-e aot-i ā-en
 Pari think do-3S be-PST-FP COMP offspring-DIM-PS3 hungry-FP be.AN-3P
 ‘Pari was thinking that her children are hungry’ E

Say The complement of the verb *me-* ‘say’ is always indexed as masculine singular. The complement is reported as direct speech. In (7.167) the report is a factual utterance. The complement in (7.167) is introduced by *ke* COMP, which is optional.

- (7.167) dō ti me-e-k-en ke mam sabā i-am
 yesterday DEM.SG.OBL say-PXPF-M-3M.O COMP I tomorrow come-1S
 ‘Yesterday she said ‘I may come tomorrow’ S (PFNS)

In (7.168a) and (7.168b) the Present-Future Non-Specific form is used here with a subjunctive-like sense, i.e. referring to non-realized states or events. These sentences report an instruction or an order.

- (7.168) a. tis ai-ast-a ti=ante me-e-k-en ke
 DEM.SG.GEN mother-GEN.PS3 DEM.SG.OBL=for say-PXPF-M-3M.O COMP
 ašpār pač-al-ē
 rice.M cook-TRZ-2S
 ‘Her mother told her to cook rice’ E
- b. nasib-i men=ante me-e-k-en ke sēb gor-ē
 Nasib-OBL 1SG.OBL=for say-PXPF-M-3M.O COMP apple.F buy-2S
 ‘Nasib told me to buy apples’ E

The second-person form preserved in these examples is not the imperative, which would reflect direct speech. Rather it is the Present-Future Non-Specific form, which is often used as a ‘softened’ imperative, a midpoint between direct and indirect speech.

Ask In example (7.169) the complement verb is in the imperative, a clear example of direct speech. The verb is used in the sense of making a request.

- (7.169) nasib-i pari=od-ai xāheš ka-e-k-en ke ehsan-ē
 Nasib.M-OBL Pari.F=from-ABL request do-PXPF-M-3M.O COMP Ehsan-OBL
 ure-a
 wake-IMP
 ‘Nasib asked Pari to wake up Ehsan’ E

In example (7.170) the speaker is seeking information; the complement verb is an example of indirect speech, since it is third-person, not first-person.

- (7.170) mam okat ka-e-k-am ke kābol-ē kodan pa-γ-a
 I question do-PXPF-M-1S COMP Kabul-OBL when go-PFS-3S
 ‘I asked him when he is going to Kabul’ S

Complements of verbs expressing wishes, desires, fears, and other irrealis conditions are in the Present-Future Non-Specific.

Want

- (7.171) nasib ēṛ-a ke tānek kākā-st-a oe-st-a=pela goravāl
 Nasib.M want-3S COMP RFL uncle-GEN.PS3 daughter-GEN.PS3=with wedding
 k-e
 do-3S
 ‘Nasib wants to marry his own uncle’s daughter’ E

Try

- (7.172) rečel košeš ka-a ke amā laoz-ē yād-a ka-ad-i
 Rachel.F try do-3S COMP our language-OBL memory-LOC do-3S-3O
 ‘Rachel is trying to learn our language’ S

Force

- (7.173) nasib zur ka-a ke bālokul-i maktab-ē pa-en
 Nasib.M force do-3S COMP children-PS3 school-OBL go-3P.S
 ‘Nasib forces his children to go to school.’ E

Require/Force

- (7.174) mālem-ē šāger-e majbur ka-e-k-en ke dars paṛ-et
 teacher.M-OBL student-PS3SG require do-PXPF-M-3M.O COMP lesson read-3S
 ‘The teacher requires his student to study.’ E

Fear The verb in the complement of the verb ‘fear’ is prefixed with the negative. It can also be expressed without the negative prefix but that is not preferred.

- (7.175) nasib bai-aṭ-a ke ʔond-ai na-čan-et
 Nasib.M fear-PFS-3S COMP roof-ABL NEG-fall-3S
 ‘Nasib is afraid lest he fall off the roof’ E

The subject of the sentential complement need not be identical to the subject of the matrix clause:

- (7.176) nasib bai-aṭ-a ke maryam ʔond-ai čan-et
 Nasib.M fear-3S COMP maryam.F roof-ABL fall-3S
 ‘Nasib is afraid Maryam will fall off the roof’ E

Forget

- (7.177) men-ā yād-em nē-i-k ke sēb pač-al-em
 1SG.OBL-M memory-PS1SG emerge-PXPF-M COMP apple.F cook-TRZ-1S
 ‘I forgot to cook the apples’ S

Remember

- (7.178) pari-s yād-a i-e-k ke darvāzā-y ban ka-ad-i
 Pari-GEN memory-PS3 come-PXPF-M COMP door-OBL close do-3S-3O
 ‘Pari remembered to close the door’ S

Hope

- (7.179) mam omēd dār-em ke lai-am gorauāl=ante i-et
 I hope have-1S COMP brother-PS1SG wedding=for come-3S
 ‘I hope my brother will come for the wedding’ S

Need The complement of the verb ‘need’ is a purpose clause. In example (7.180) the infinitive *paṛ-ik* ‘to read’ in the complement clause takes the postposition =*ante* expressing purpose. In example (7.181) the infinitive in the complement takes the oblique for the same reason, to express a purpose clause.

- (7.180) mam zarurat dār-em ke bālokul-am maktab paṛ-ik=ante pa-en
 I need have-1S COMP children-PS1SG school read-INF=for go-3P.S
 ‘I need my children to go to school to study’ E

- (7.181) mam zarurat dār-em ke bālokul-am maktab paṛ-ik-i pa-en
 I need have-1S COMP children-PS1SG school read-INF-OBL go-PFNS-3P.S
 ‘I need my children to go to school to study’ E

7.7.6 Infinitival Complements

In Pashai infinitival complements are embedded under COMP *ke*, as in example (7.182) and (7.183). Example (7.182) has three verbs (fear, forget, and cook) and two levels of embedding. The complement of the matrix verb is a *ke* COMP clause with a verb in the Present-Future Non-Specific. The complement of ‘forget’ is the infinitive. The subject of the embedded *ke* clause is ‘rice cook’. The subject of the infinitival complement is in the genitive.

- (7.182) nasib bai-γ-a ke pari-s ašpār pač-al-ik yād-e
 Nasib.M fear-PFS-3SG COMP Pari.F-GEN rice cook-TRZ-INF memory-PS3SG
 nē-et
 emerge-3S
 ‘Nasib is afraid Pari will forget to cook the rice’ E (PFNS)

In example (7.183) there is only one level of embedding. The complement of the matrix verb is an infinitive in the genitive. The genitive marking on *gor-ik* ‘get’ allows it to function adjectivally to modify *taxati* ‘ability’.

- (7.183) mam non sēb gor-ik-as taxati na-dār-em
 I today apple.F get-INF-GEN ability NEG-have-1S
 ‘I won’t be able to get apples today’ E (PFNS)

7.8 Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined a few aspects of Pashai syntax. I began with a description of word order, showing that the canonical SOV word order of Pashai is not very strict, with pronominal demonstratives, adverbial phrases, locative phrases and postpositional phrases occurring at different positions. My review of Pashai's pattern of split ergativity examined the indexing of subject and object on the verb. This review looked at differences in word order and verbal finiteness as factors in triggering ergative agreement. This chapter has included a description of negation processes and sentence types. I have described the negative prefix and how it interacts with indefinite pronouns, as well as the negative particle. My discussion of Pashai's in-situ question formation strategy described the various interrogative pronouns. This chapter has included a description of clausal and phrasal coordination and complementation. The coordination phenomena I looked at include coordination, disjunction, and adversativity. My description has investigated different types of adverbial clauses including time, purpose, manner and conditionals. Relative clauses embedded under *ke* COMP were described. Finally I have discussed sentential and infinitival complements.

Chapter 8

Concluding Remarks

8.1 Introduction

This examination of the Pashai language has left many areas undescribed, with multiple linguistic puzzles remaining for future research. In this concluding chapter I point out some of the symmetries and systems that were uncovered in the grammatical description of Pashai while taking the opportunity to make recommendations for several areas of continued and expanded inquiry.

8.2 Language, Gender, Space and Identity

This first investigation into the role of women and domestic space in the maintenance and preservation of Pashai language has raised numerous questions about the intersection of space and gender in the language practices of this speech community. An analysis of the communicative space filled by one or another language in diverse contexts, and how the speakers privilege their language and cultural practices over the demands of economic forces, may lead to a broader understanding of drivers of language loss and change.

Attitudes about the language and notions of identity associated with language were explored in this work. My research looked at Pashai-speaking communities in multiple

settings in Afghanistan, as well as the regional and Euro-American diasporas. An expanded investigation would consider the growing role of media and globalized communication in reinforcing identity and preserving language. A rich qualitative analysis would yield a better understanding of how features such as gender, space, and multilingualism are weighted with respect to each other and the role these features play in the language practices of the Pashai-speaking community.

8.3 Phonology

In my account of the phonology of Pashai I have endeavored to include data representing several speech registers. I found differences between relatively older and younger speakers, among individuals with different levels of education and multilingualism, and between men and women. A more detailed acoustic analysis of speakers across the spectrum would offer answers to lingering questions about stress assignment, tone, vowel coalescence, and prosody. For example, comparing older and younger speakers may reveal insights about the historical loss of initial aspiration and whether it has resulted in tone, increased vowel length, or both. Vowel sequences, within stems or across morpheme boundaries were briefly addressed in this work. A more detailed analysis would uncover the environments and conditions where hiatus, coalescence, merger or glide insertion occur.

Nativization processes are not uniformly applied by speakers. Multilingual speakers at different education levels tend to preserve the phonology of loan words under certain conditions while monolinguals do not. More information on these processes is required to understand how they are applied by different speakers.

An examination of Pashai poetry and songs, rhyme and meter, could reveal information about the phonology, such as syllable weight, stress, and vowel length, in addition to insights into the morphology and syntax. Older poems and songs may hold a wealth of historical information about Pashai and its relation to other regional and related languages. With few

published materials available, the collection of such linguistically and ethnographically laden data offers older speakers with more cultural depth in the community a chance to contribute to the documentation of Pashai. Ultimately, researchers from within this speech community will enrich our knowledge of the language and speech practices.

8.4 Areal Typology and Regional Languages

The historical and synchronic relationship of Pashai to other regional and related languages is as yet unexplored. The trajectory of contact over time between Pashai speakers and speakers of other regional languages is a rich area for further research. The influence of Pashto and Dari on all aspects of Pashai grammar, including the phonology, syntax, morphology, semantics and pragmatics has yet to receive a full treatment.

8.5 Symmetries

This account of Pashai grammar uncovered several symmetries between the nominal and verbal system. These symmetries are found in the marking and indexing of gender and number; the encoding of perceptual access, and the feature of specificity.

The distinction between ‘masculine singular’ and the ‘default’ – that is, feminine or plural – is encoded in both the nominal and verbal systems. For nouns and adjectives this opposition is marked by a suffix, *-ā* for ‘masculine singular’, and *-i* for the ‘default’. In the perfective aspect the gender/number markers index the absolutive argument with *-k-* for ‘masculine singular’ and *-č-* for the ‘default’.

Another area of symmetry in the nominal and verbal systems is the encoding of degrees of perceptual access. I showed that the deictic system encodes physical and temporal proximity with three prefixes for proximal, distal and remote. The verbal system also encodes three degrees of perceptual access in the perfective aspect with the Proximate Perfect, Distal Perfect and Remote Perfect forms.

Specificity was shown to be a feature relevant to both the verbal and nominal systems. In the verbal system specificity is encoded in the non-perfective Present-Future Specific tense; in the deictic system specificity is encoded by the occurrence of postpositions with deictic terms.

I proposed a tentative historical reconstruction for the development of these similarities, linking the gender/number markers in the perfective aspect with the specificity marker in the non-perfective aspect. Although quite speculative this account draws on the symmetries in the system.

One area that continues to puzzle is why some native speakers perceived subtle differences in meaning between the occurrence or nonoccurrence of the specificity marker -γ- in the third-person paradigm. This is the only place in the paradigm where the marker appears optionally. Whether this is fully optional or encodes other features requires further research to resolve.

Pronominal suffixes exist in the verbal and nominal systems. In the nominal system possessive suffixes are assigned according to noun classes. More historical information about Pashai could furnish a better understanding of the morphophonemic forms of the possessive suffixes and shed light on their assignment. Whether these possessive forms are fully suffixes or enclitic pronouns deserves further attention.

8.6 Asymmetries

Asymmetries can be found in Differential Object Marking, only briefly addressed in the dissertation. Likewise, light verbs and conjunct verbs in the perfective and non-perfective tenses behave differently with respect to object indexing and agreement patterns. The differential treatment of objects in this construction seems to blur the line between transitive and intransitive constructions.

8.7 Language Change

Through the course of my data collection I observed extensive use of periphrastic participial tenses in preference to morphologically formed tenses. Whether this is a direction that the Pashai language is moving as a whole, and whether this construction is influenced by other regional languages demands additional research. The data is inconclusive on how evidentiality is encoded in the periphrastic tenses, remaining an interesting area of pursuit.

Pashai employs the Persian complementizer *ke* to introduce all kinds of relative and subordinate clauses. It appears to be a weak complementizer, not always creating a strong boundary for the *ke* clause. It can be used for temporal meaning, adverbial clauses, and can be lifted in and out of the construction, leaving the sentence somewhat ambiguous. It may be that speakers use *ke* as a pause, emphasis or hesitation form. Perhaps this is an early stage of its evolution into a relative clause marker. The prevalence of *ke* in the speech of younger speakers and the variation between *ke* constructions and serial verb construction suggests that this is an area of syntax in flux and deserving further investigation, requiring the transcription and analysis of more oral texts.

As with many of the languages in the region, Pashai makes use of the light verb, traditionally known as conjunct verbs in South Asian linguistics. This type of conjunct verb is increasingly becoming the way new verbs are added to most South Asian languages. Whether the prevalence of this construction, increasing in regional languages, is influencing an increase in usage and loss of primary verbs is also an exciting avenue for further research.

8.8 Orthography

An examination of the different orthographic conventions used to transcribe Pashai would yield insights applicable to aspects of morphology and phonology. Different orthographic systems have been developed by both native speakers and non-native linguists. The choices that different developers have made in the representation of segments, whether phonemic

or phonetic, provide information on vowel length alternations, vowel quality and length oppositions, intervocalic voicing and phonotactic constraints. Some developers have chosen to preserve historical spelling in some loan words, others have not. Orthographies developed by speakers from different geographic and dialect regions provide information about variation in the Pashai language. The evolving practice of how Pashai does or does not become standardized through the development and canonization of orthographic conventions is another as yet unexplored area of inquiry, unfolding in real time.

Appendix A

Supplementary Maps

The maps of Afghanistan, regional languages, eastern Afghanistan, and Darrai Nur were made by Jonathan Chipman, Dartmouth College, with data courtesy United States Geological Survey (USGS) and Afghanistan Information Management Services (AIMS). Additional information drawn from Strand (2011) and Cardona and Jain (2003). All maps are used with permission of the cartographer.



Figure A.1: Afghanistan and Global Locator Map

Map courtesy J. Chipman, GIS/ASA Lab, Dartmouth College

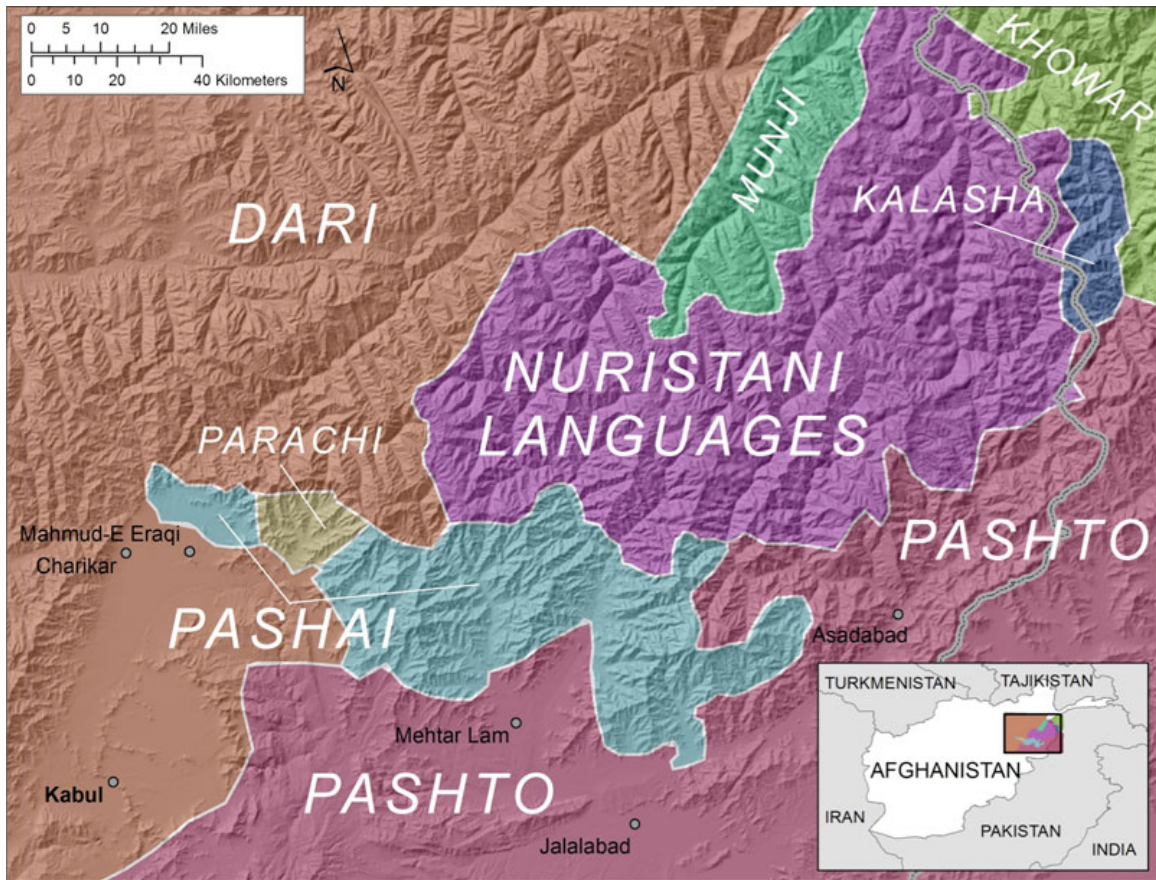


Figure A.2: Regional Languages Map

Map courtesy J. Chipman, GIS/ASA Lab, Dartmouth College

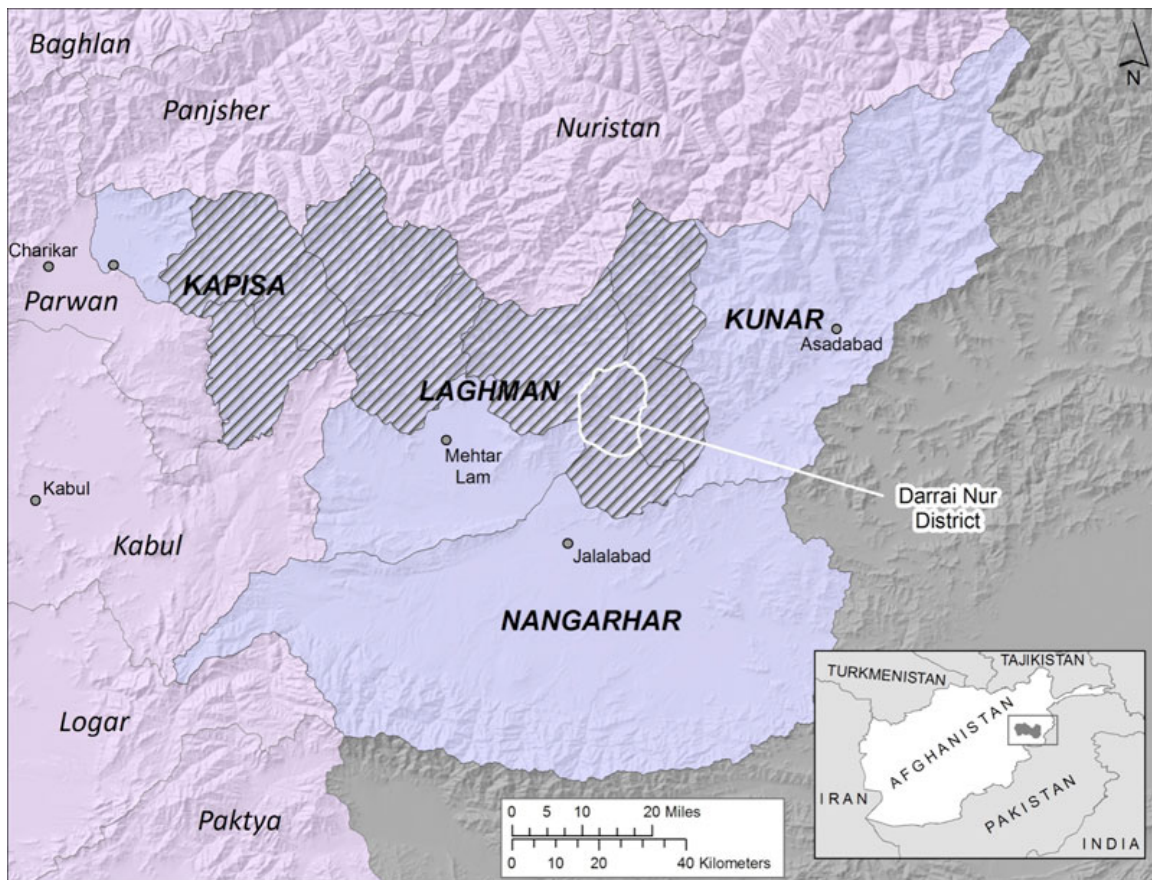


Figure A.3: Eastern Afghanistan provinces where Pashai is spoken

Map courtesy J. Chipman, GIS/ASA Lab, Dartmouth College



Figure A.4: Darrai Nur District

Map courtesy J. Chipman, GIS/ASA Lab, Dartmouth College

Appendix B

Gurbuz Origin Story

B.1 Summary of Texts

The text presented here is an origin myth, passed down through families and undisputed. In fact, the narrative consists of two origin stories which are logically incompatible. I have presented them here in the order they were recorded. The first story I had not heard before; the second story is the one I had heard repeated often.

B.1.1 Narrative Story 1

Basically they call us Gurbuz. There were three brothers. One was named Wazirxan. One was Gurbuzxan. One was Masudxan. They were the three brothers. When our ancestors were alive they lived in Devagol. They were in Devagol at the time when Gurbuz himself was there. He was very oppressive. He could be this oppressive because he had a lot of sons. He rose up and began attacking one clan after another. He made enemies with everyone. He was making enemies and then he killed a woman. Furthermore, all the people from the village were vanquished. They were all weakened. He attacked a woman from this village. When he beat the woman instead of blood milk came out of her (wounds). At the very moment of her death this woman made a prayer, she cast a spell. ‘By God you will have no

place to call home; you will wander from house to house'. 'House to house' means one clan dispersed in one direction, another clan in another. You will never gather together in one place. Your family shall never ever live in one place. When Gurbuz's offspring were born half the people would then be in Darrai Nur. They live in Amla. We are in Amla. Half the clan lives in Devagol. Half the clan lives in Ghazabad. Half the clan lives in Kunar. Half of them are right there. They are in Khost. This Gurbuz clan, they are in Kunduz. They are in all of Afghanistan. There are many of them in Afghanistan. They are all over Afghanistan. They are everywhere in Afghanistan.

B.1.2 Narrative Story 2

We come back to this Gurbuz about whom they say his name is 'grave goat'. A lot of people tell the story like this: That he was the child of an 'expecting' woman who had died. She was 'expecting' meaning pregnant. In our language they say *savari* (pregnant). For whatever reason she had died at someone's hands and was buried in the cemetery. Something had happened to her; she suffered a very cruel fate. But by the grace of God she gave birth to the boy right then and there. The boy is born and there is a shepherd with his flock in front of him. It is either a flock of sheep or a flock of goats. One of the goats comes and stands on the grave. There is a hole in the grave. The child climbs up and drinks from the goat's teat. In this way he lives there, in the grave. He continues to do this and eventually the shepherd sees the boy. He saw the boy and he takes him out and takes him away with him. The boy grows up and time passes. They gave him the name Gurbuz. A lot of people tell it this way, a lot of people tell it that way. We came to the end of this story. This was our grandfathers' story. (Our grandfathers, those who lived then, this is their story)

B.2 Introduction to the Texts

A few preliminary remarks introduce the story teller and the context in which he told the story and the conventions used in translating and transcribing the text.

B.2.1 The Narrator

The stories are told by AT, a 24 year old man who is multilingual in Pashai, Dari, Pashto and Urdu. He is non-literate and has never attended school. He offered to tell the story in Pashai following a Dari rendition of this story by SS. SS was an elder and the best story teller I had encountered. SS listened carefully as AT told the story and interrupted him once to correct a detail and a second time to remind him to “say it in our language”. In transcribing this story I endeavored to give as authentic a representation as the narrator produced. Although the practical orthography used is basically phonemic, the sentences are incomplete in places and the grammar loose.

B.2.2 Gurbuz Text

B.2.2.1 Story 1

(B.1) me asli=kuč-a me ama gurbuz me-in-k-an
DEM.PL.DIR basic=belly-LOC DEM.PL.DIR us gurbuz say-1P.O-PFS-3P.S
‘Basically they call us Gurbuz’

(B.2) ɬe levāni ā-e-nč
three brothers be-PST-3P
‘There were three brothers’

(B.3) eke-s nām-e vazirxān ā-i-k
one-GEN name-PS3 Wazirxan be-PST-M
‘One’s name was Wazirxan’

(B.4) eke-s gurbuzxān ā-i-k
one-GEN gurbuzxan be-PST-M
‘One’s was Gurbuzxan’

- (B.5) eke-s masudxān ā-i-k
 one-GEN masudxan be-PST-M
 ‘One’s was Masudxan’
- (B.6) me ɬe levāni ā-e-nč
 DEM.PL.DIR three brothers be-PST-3P
 ‘These were the three brothers’
- (B.7) masal amā tātā-kul-in ge ā-e-nč te devagol=kuč-a
 example our father-PL-PS1PL COMP be-PST-3P DEM.PL.DIR Devagol=belly-LOC
 ā-e-nč
 be-PST-3P
 ‘For example, when our ancestors lived they lived in Devagol’
- (B.8) devagol=kuč-a ā-e-nč vaxte gurbuzxān ke tānek-ē ā-i-k
 Devagol=belly-LOC be-PST-3P when Gorbuzxan COMP self-OBL be-PST-M
 bi-darek-ē=de zālem ā-i-k
 infinite-OBL=from oppressive be-PST-M
 ‘They were in Devagol at the time when Gorbuz himself was there. He was the most
 oppressive.’
- (B.9) zālem a-xon-ē=de ke oy-e bō ā-en mis
 oppressive PROX-like-OBL=from COMP offspring-PS3 QNT be.AN-3P DEM.GEN
 ‘He could be this oppressive because his offspring is numerous’
- (B.10) yo oɬ-ē b-i-k ek-ē qaum-ē an-i ā-i-k vere
 DEM.DIR up-OBL be-PXPf-M one-OBL clan-OBL hit-3OBJ.SG be-PST-M another
 xaum-ē an-i ā-i-k
 clan-OBL hit-3O be-PST-M
 ‘He rose up and was attacking one clan after another’
- (B.11) došmani ka-a ā-i-k ar ki=pela
 enmity do-3S be-PST-M every who=with
 ‘He was making enemies with everyone’
- (B.12) yo ke došmani ka-γ-a ā-i-k=o enaγ ti=de ape
 DEM.DIR COMP enmity do-PFS-3S be-PST-M=CONJ later DEM.SG.OBL=in after
 iy māda mi mār-e-č-an
 one woman DEM.SG.DIR kill-PXPf-FP-3F.O
 ‘He was making enemies and then he killed a woman’

- (B.13) vere $\check{\text{j}}$ ox kel-ē=te xalek xo xatam b-ev-i ā-e-nč
 other all village-OBL=from people xo finished be-STV.PCP-FP be-PST-3P
 ‘Furthermore, all the people from the village were vanquished.’
- (B.14) kamzur ka-v-i ā-e-nč
 weak do-STV.PCP-FP be-PST-3P
 ‘They had become weakened.’
- (B.15) mi-i kel-e=te māda miy an-e-č-an
 DEM.SG.OBL village-OBL=from woman DEM.SG.OBL beat-PXP-FP-3F.O
 ‘He beat a woman from this village.’
- (B.16) ke māda an-e-č-an mis veṛe-a aš-e baḷa-y šir
 COMP woman beat-PXP-FP-3F.O her body-LOC blood-PS3 place-OBL milk.M
 am b-iti-k a-lo nē-ti-k
 something be-DSPF-M PROX-location.DIR emerge-DSPF-M
 ‘When he beat the woman something happened, instead of her blood milk came out
 of her body.’
- (B.17) ke nē-ti-k a-le lek-sahana kuč-a miy
 COMP emerge-DSPF-M PROX-location.OBL death-time belly-LOC DEM.SG.OBL
 māda-y doa be ka-v-ā-e š-i
 woman-OBL prayer.M too do-STV.PCP-M-PS3 be.INAN.PRS-3
 ‘At the very moment of her death this woman made a prayer’
- (B.18) šāp kan-av-ā-e š-i ne?
 curse.M pull.out-STV.PCP-M-PS3 be.INAN.PRS-3 NEG
 ‘She cast a spell, didn’t she?’
- (B.19) ke xodā-ē ēma dar-po-dar ka-e-č-e
 COMP God-OBL you door-to-door do-PXP-FP-2P.S
 ‘By God you will have no place to call home. (wander door to door)’
- (B.20) dar-po-dar mana yo ke yane eke qaum eke tarap
 door-to-door meaning this COMP meaning one clan one direction
 b-e-č-e vaṛevar
 be-PXP-FP-2P.S another
 ‘house to house’ means one clan disbursed in one direction, another clan in another.’

- (B.21) tānek šēr-a eke j̃āy-a ma b-e-č-e
 self head-LOC one place-LOC PROH be-PXPF-FP-2P.S
 ‘You will never gather together in one place.’
- (B.22) yane famil-i emā eke j̃āyā-ē ma b-e-č-e kar
 meaning family-PS2SG your.PL one place-OBL PROH be-PXPF-FP-2P.S never
 b-e
 be-2P.S
 ‘Meaning your family, you shall never ever live in one place.’
- (B.23) mi qaum se gurbuz-as oy-e ke peda
 DEM.SG.DIR clan DEM.SG.DIR gurbuz-GEN offspring-PS3 COMP found
 b-e-nč aṛā xalik abat darenur ā-en
 be-PXPF-PL half people.PL now Darrai Nur be.AN-3P
 ‘When this clan of Gurbuz’s offspring were born half the people are in Darrai Nur.’
- (B.24) amla kuč-a čan-ev-i ā-en amla ama ā-es
 Amla belly-LOC reside-STV.PCP-FP be.AN-3P Amla we be-1.PL.EXCL
 ‘They reside in Amla. We are in Amla.’
- (B.25) aṛā xaum-i devagol ā-en
 half clan-PS3 Devagol be.AN-3P
 ‘Half their clan is in Devagol.’
- (B.26) aṛā qaum-i yazabat ā-en
 half clan-PS3 Ghazabad be.AN-3P
 ‘Half their clan is in Ghazabad.’
- (B.27) aṛā xaum-i konar ā-en
 half clan-PS3 Kunar be.AN-3P
 ‘Half their clan is in Kunar.’
- (B.28) aṛā xaum-i a-me ā-en a-lo
 half clan-PS3 PROX-DEM.PL.DIR be.AN-3P PROX-location.DIR
 ‘Half of their clan are right here.’
- (B.29) xos xos=kuč-a ā-en maujūt ā-en
 Khost Khost=belly-LOC be.AN-3P exist be.AN-3P
 ‘They are in Khost’

- (B.30) mi gorbuz xaum ke š-i
DEM.SG.DIR gorbuz clan COMP be.INAN.PRS-3
‘This Gorbuz clan’
- (B.31) kunduz magari āl auyānasan=kuč-a ā-en
Kunduz but all Afghanistan=belly-LOC be.AN-3P
‘Kunduz, rather they are in all of Afghanistan.’
- (B.32) auyanasan=kuč-a ziyāt ā-en jox auyānasān=kuč-a
Afghanistan=belly.LOC much be.AN-3P all Afghanistan=belly-LOC
‘There are many of them in Afghanistan. They are all over Afghanistan.’
- (B.33) jox auyanasan=kuč-a ā-en
all Afghanistan=belly-LOC be.AN-3P
‘They are everywhere in Afghanistan.’

B.2.2.2 Story 2

- (B.34) gere e-e-č-aman ke yo gorbuz ke me-en yane
again come-PXPF-FP-1.PL.INCL COMP DEM.DIR Gorbuz COMP say-3P.S meaning
a-lo taxalos-e š-i ‘gur’ ‘buz’
PROX-location.DIR title-PS3 be.INAN.PRS-3 grave goat
‘Again we came to this Gurboz about whom they say his pen name is ‘grave’ ‘goat’.’
- (B.35) ke yo kel-ā-e ke koti māda-y čo l-ea-č
COMP DEM.DIR boy-M-PS3 COMP some woman-OBL where die-RMPF-FP
‘That he was the boy of some woman who had died somewhere.’
- (B.36) se omenvār ā-e-č
DEM.SG.DIR expecting be-PST-FP
‘She was expecting’
- (B.37) omenvār ā-e-č yane savari
expecting be-PST-FP meaning pregnant
‘She was expecting meaning pregnant.’
- (B.38) amā laoz-ē=de me-en savari
our language-OBL=in say-3P.S pregnant
‘In our language they say ‘savari’ (pregnant).’

- (B.39) savari ā-e-č
pregnant be-PST-FP
‘She was pregnant.’
- (B.40) se masal xabor-a boṛ-e-č-an=o ke yo
DEM.SG.DIR example grave-LOC bury-PXPF-FP-3F.O=and COMP DEM.DIR
ki ast-ai l-ea-č
someone hand-ABL die-RMPF-FP
‘They buried her in a grave (and) she who had died by someone’s hands.’
- (B.41) yo kome b-ea-č šēr-e zolom bō ā-i-k
DEM.DIR something be-RMPF-FP head-PS3 cruel QNT be-PST-M
‘Something had happened to her, she suffered a very cruel fate.’
- (B.42) yo alla pāk-as ḥām-e yo māda-y yo kel-ā
DEM.DIR God pure-GEN deed-PS3 DEM.DIR woman-OBL DEM.DIR boy-M
obj-e-k-en ḥa=de
birth-PXPF-M-3M.O location=in
‘By the grace of God she gave birth to the boy right there.’
- (B.43) ke kel-ā obj-e-k-en=o iy čupān as=o ramā
COMP boy-M birth-PXPF-M-3M.O=and one shepherd be.AN.M.PRS.3=and flock
as poṛ-i masal
be.AN.F.PRS.3 front-PS3 example
‘When boy was born and there is a shepherd with his flock in front of him.’
- (B.44) ya bart-ek ramā as ya pāṛ-ek ramā
or sheep-F flock be.AN.F.PRS.3 or goat-F flock
‘Either a flock of sheep or a flock of goats.’
- (B.45) yo pāṛ-ek as masal e-γ-a=o yo
DEM.DIR goat-F be.AN.F.PRS.3 example come-PFS-3S=and DEM.DIR
xabor=šēr-a tost-a
grave=head-LOC stand-3S
‘There is this goat, for example, she comes and stands on the grave.’
- (B.46) yo xabor galā š-i
DEM.DIR grave hole be.INAN.PRS-3
‘There is a hole in the grave.’

- (B.47) yo mašum al-a=o miy paṛ-ek-as čuču-n-s-a
 DEM.DIR child.M ascend-3S=and DEM.SG.OBL goat-F-GEN breast-PL-GEN-PS3
 pi-i
 drink-3O
 ‘The child climbs up and drinks from the goat’s teats.’
- (B.48) minde yo zindigi ka-γ-a xabor-as=kuč-ē
 therefore DEM.DIR life do-PFS-3S grave-GEN=belly-OBL
 ‘Because of this he lives there, in the grave.’
- (B.49) ke ka-γ-a=o vaxt-ē iy čupān lai-i miy kel-ā-y
 COMP do-PFS-3S=and time-OBL one shepherd see-3O DEM.SG.OBL boy-M-OBL
 ‘He is doing (this) and eventually a shepherd sees the boy.’
- (B.50) ke kel-ā lai-e-k-en=o miy kel-ā-y kanu menten ka-a
 COMP boy-M see-PXPF-M-3M.O=and DEM.SG.OBL boy-M-OBL out with do-3S
 nē-i-k čupān nē-i-k
 emerge-PXPF-M shepherd emerge-PXPF-M
 ‘He saw the boy and he pulls him out and took him away with him.’
- (B.51) yo masal gaṇ ka-a ā-i-k (ha ha ha) mi kel-ā nām-e
 DEM.DIR example big do-3S be-PST-M (ha ha ha) DEM.SG.DIR boy-M name-PS3
 gurbuz ĵe-i-k-an
 gurbuz put-3O-PFS-3P.S
 ‘The boy grows up (time passes). They give this boy his name Gurbuz.’
- (B.52) ziyāt xalek mo-xon me-en=o ziyāt xalek to-xon me-en
 many people this-like say-3P.S=and many people that-like say-3P.S
 ‘A lot of people say it this way, a lot of people say it that way.’
- (B.53) bas a-la xesa ā-i-k
 enough PROX-location.LOC story be-PST-M
 ‘Enough of this here story (We came to the end of this story)’
- (B.54) amā bābā-s-an yane koti ke ā-i-k tēna xesa-e
 our grandfather-GEN-PS1PL meaning who COMP be-PST-M their story-PS3
 ā-i-k
 be-PST-M
 ‘This was our grandfathers’ story. (of our grandfathers, those who lived then, this
 is their story)’

B.3 Loanwords in Pashai

The languages surrounding the Pashai-speaking region have contributed a great deal of vocabulary to Pashai. Morgenstierne noted this and was concerned about the loss of Pashai; Strand observes it as well. The text recorded here has 25 percent vocabulary from neighboring languages.

Loanwords are found in all parts of speech, e.g., nouns, adjectives, conjunctions, adverbs, quantifiers and particles. Most of the words are borrowed from Pashto and Dari; some words of Arabic origin have found their way through the other languages into Pashai. The narrator is aware of this as well. At one point he uses the word *omenuvar* meaning ‘expecting’ or ‘pregnant’ a word of Dari origin used in Pashto as well. After using the word he translates it into Pashai. Throughout the narrative the narrator shows his multilingualism, switching back and forth between Pashai and Pashto/Dari words for the same things such as *mašum* ‘child’(Pashto) and *kelā* ‘boy’ (Pashai). The narrator uses many different quantifiers including *bō* ‘much, many’ (Pashai), *ziyāt* ‘much, many’ (Dari), *ar* ‘every’ (Dari), *āl* ‘all’ (English), *ǰox* ‘all, every’ (Pashai). At the end of the first story he is interrupted by the elder SS who rebukes him for using the word *ziyāt* ‘much, many’, replacing it with *ǰox* and reminding him to “say it in our language”. It is not clear whether the narrator is showing off his facility with the languages, speaking in a comfortable register, or choosing Dari words for my sake. In many instances the narrator uses the word *xalek* ‘people’ a nativized form of the original *xalq* from Arabic, Persian, Pashto. As a result of the nativization process the word conforms to the feminine singular *-ek* ending nominal pattern common in Pashai. Stems ending in *-ek* have plurals ending in *-ik*. In sentence (B.23) the narrator employs this plural suffix, interpreting the term as if it were a native word.

The details of loan phonology are discussed in Chapter 3. Here I would like to point out the ways that the narrator applies or ignores nativizing phonological processes. In the narrative he switches between Pashai and Dari phonology. I discuss these instances below.

Adaptation The word *qaum* ‘clan’ is used frequently in the narrative. The narrator switches between Dari and Pashai pronunciation of the initial consonant. In Dari it is pronounced [q] as in [qaum]; In Pashai it is nativized as [x], as in [xaum]. At the end of the first story he repeats this word multiple times, in lines (B.23) through (B.30). He pronounces the initial consonant as [x] in the first sentence, changes it to [q] in the second and then slips back to [x] in the subsequent sentences. He also alternates between [p] and [f]. Dari [f] is pronounced [p] in Pashai. The narrator uses the Pashai pronunciation for [tarap] ‘direction’, which is [taraf] in Dari. For the word [fāmil] ‘family’ he retains the [f] as in Dari.

Appendix C

Women's Wedding Song

bulbul tomānā 'Nightingale Desire'

- (C.1) ai-ai xorban-e b-em
mother-PS2SG sacrifice-PS3 be-1S

'May I be sacrificed for your mother'¹

- (C.2) goravi āč-aman
bride bring-1PL.INCL

'We will bring the bride'

- (C.3) ama gušiŋ-i nē-aman
we house-OBL carry.away-1PL.INCL

'We will take her home'

- (C.4) bulbul tomānā gušiŋ-i nē-aman
nightingale desire house-OBL carry.away-1PL.INCL

'A nightingale's desire we will take home'²

- (C.5) čār xunjek loš b-en
four corner bright be-3P.S

'Four corners will be brightened'

1. The expression 'May I be a sacrificed for X' is common among the regional languages, meaning 'I would do anything for X'.

2. The expression *bulbul tomānā* was interpreted by speakers to mean 'happiness and celebration'.

Interviews with women yielded multiple variations of the words to this wedding ritual song. Women told me it was performed lest something bad happen. I observed women perform this song over the bride or groom, twirling the edge of their shawls, which they explained was “like a nightingale circling the roof of the house”. The song is known as *bulbul tomānā* ‘nightingale desire’.³

3. The word *tomānā* comes from the Persian *tamānā* ‘desire, longing, wish’.

Appendix D

Primary Verb Roots

The list of 111 verb roots presented in Table D.1 were collected from various Pashai speakers. This list is by no means comprehensive of all the primary verbs in Pashai. However, new verbs that enter the language are usually formed from a non verbal element, such as a noun, or adjective, and a light verb or conjunct verb. The valency of each root is given in the third column; TR for transitive, IT for intransitive. Some roots serve as transitive and intransitive verbs without the addition of suffixes. The verb roots in this table lack transitivizing or causative suffixes. Table D.2 shows some common intransitive roots and their corresponding transitivized stems.

Table D.1: Primary Verb Roots

Root	Gloss	Valency
ā-	be	IT
āč-	bring	TR
āl-	climb up	IT
ālanǰ-	shake, wiggle	TR, IT
ānč-	plant	TR
ānš-	capture	TR
ār-	hear	TR
āxal-	play	TR
an-	hit, beat	TR

Table D.1: (continued)

Root	Gloss	Valency
at-	enter	IT
atel-	stir	TR
aul-	hang	IT
az-	smile, laugh	IT
b-	be, be able, become	IT
badal-	change	TR
bai-	be afraid	IT
baxč-	sneeze	TR
boǰ-	wake up	IT
boṛ-	bury	TR
ča-	be open	IT
čal-	fall down	IT
čan(d)-	drop, fall (inanimate)	IT
čar-	vomit	TR
čer-	graze	TR, IT
čet-	drop	IT
čir-	tear	TR
čoxs-	cough	TR
čup-	splash	IT
dāv-	pull, stretch	TR
dāl-	chop	TR
dār-	have, hold	IT
dam-	be satisfied	IT
de-	give	TR
doi-	milk	TR
e-	eat	TR
ēr-	want, desire, request	IT
g-	go (perfective)	IT
gan-	count	TR
gaṛ-	send, mail	TR
gas-	rot	IT
ger-	stir, drive around	TR
gir-	wander, turn	IT
gor-	take, buy	TR
guč-	poke	TR
gund-	press	TR
i-	come	IT
ǰe-	put, place, lay down	TR
ǰop-	make, build	TR
ǰut-	burn	IT
kaṭ-	chop, cut, cut off	TR

Table D.1: (continued)

Root	Gloss	Valency
kāi-	hide, cover	TR, IT
kan-	pull out, hatch, undress, take	TR
koṭ-	grind, crush, pound, hit	TR
koč-	scratch	TR
kop-	fall(weather)	IT
laṛ-	be visible, appear	IT
laš-	see	TR
lav-	hurt	IT
lai-	see	TR
lek-	write	TR
leken-	sell	TR
les-	slip, slide	IT
li-	die	IT
luṛ-	fall (animate)	IT
mār-	kill	TR
mač-	fall (weather)	IT
manĵ-	wear, dress	IT
maṛ-	rub	TR
me-	speak, tell, say	TR
moṇ-	break	TR, IT
muč-	flee	IT
mui-	in process of doing	IT
mul-	understand	IT
nant-	construct	TR
nē-	emerge, go out, carry away	TR, IT
ni-	sit	IT
niṇ-	climb down, land	IT
obj-	be born, birth	TR, IT
orč-	lie down, sleep	IT
pa-	go	IT
paṛ-	read	TR
pač-	ripen	IT
pal-	lie down	IT
pat-	walk, go	IT
pi-	drink	TR
piṛ-	squeeze	TR
pin-	understand, know	TR
pol-	arrive	IT
pur-	fill	TR, IT
puṛ-	swell	IT
puš-	sprinkle, spray	TR

Table D.1: (continued)

Root	Gloss	Valency
sev-	sew	TR
sos-	dry	TR
šar-	flow, move forward, drive	TR, IT
ši(č)-	stick, ignite fire, touch, turn on	TR, IT
šit-	peel	TR
t-	be (presumptive)	IT
tār-	look at, for	TR
tarx-	chop wood	TR
tomol-	soak	TR
tost-	stand	IT
ṭar-	attack	TR
ṭel-	push	TR
unĵ-	wash	TR
ur-	rise, wake up	IT
vai-	weave	TR
vāṇ-	toss, throw	TR
vaṛ-	extinguish, turn off	TR
vāš-	bark	TR
vaṭ-	be tired	IT
ve-	pour	TR
vej-	fit, fill	IT
ver-	cry	TR
veṭ-	cross, pass, swallow	TR, IT

Table D.2 shows common intransitive roots and corresponding stems with the transitivizing suffix.

Table D.2: Common Transitive Verb Stems

root	gloss	TRZ suffix	gloss
boj-	wake up	boj-al-	wake up
muč-	flee	muč-al-	chase away, make off with
pač-	ripen	pač-al-	cook
manj-	wear	manj-al-	dress
sos-	dry	sos-al-	dry, wipe
tost-	stand	tost-al-	stand, nominate
dam-	be satisfied	dam-al-	satisfy
tap-	be warm	tap-al-	heat
ni-	sit	ni-l-	seat
jut-	burn	jut-al-	set on fire
ĵop-	build, make	ĵop-al-	build, fix, make

Appendix E

How to Talk to Animals

Table E.1 presents sounds and expressions Pashai speakers use to call, shoo, or direct animals. Domesticated working animals have more commands.

Table E.1: How to Talk to Animals

Animal	Command	Gloss
Dog	tuva	come
	šāre, korea	go away
Goat	kæč	come
	kæče	go away
Cat	piš piš piš	come
	piše piše	go away
Ox	fats ye	turn
	kan	go to the side
	eyes	come here
Dove	biya biya, keš	come
	kēše	go away
Chicken, Turkey	tēt tēt	come
	kēše	go away
Sheep	dre dre dre	come
	driye driye	go away
Donkey	ōvæš	come (if it comes too fast, it means <i>stop</i>)
	daša, ōša	go away

Appendix F

Kinship Terms

Kinship terms used among Pashai speakers in the Amla region are presented in Table F.1.

Table F.1: Kinship Terms

Term	Translation
ḷēk	wife
pānĵ	husband
baol	mother's brother
kākā	father's brother
māmā	aunt (both sides)
šēr	father in law
šēru	mother in law
ĵamai	son in law
sonz	daughter in law
baiy	grandmother
navakuli	grandchildren
navai	grandson
nati	granddaughter, niece (sister's daughter)
šinek	brother's wife
derou	husband's brother
ĵāmai	husband's sister
lai	brother
sai	sister
ĵĵi	older sister
ai	mother
tātā/dādā	father
ambax	co-wife

Table F.1: (continued)

Term	Translation
pāiri	wife's brother
lauḥ	brother's son
lauoya	brother's daughter
navāi	sister's son
nati	sister's daughter
sayāni	wife's sister
goravai	wife of uncle
puḥ	son
oe	daughter
ḥekpanjuk	husband and wife
aitātā	parents
tātākul	ancestors

Appendix G

Pashai Counting System

The Pashai counting system is vigesimal, using base 20.

Table G.1: Cardinal Numbers 1-20

1	iy	11	yai
2	do	12	doai
3	ɬe	13	ɬue
4	čār	14	čade
5	panǰ	15	painǰu
6	še	16	şur
7	sat	17	satu
8	ašt	18	ašu
9	no	19	nov
10	de	20	vest

Table G.2: 20-40

21	vest-o iy	31 (20+11)	vest-o yai
22	vest-o do	32 (20+12)	vest-o doai
23	vest-o ɬe	33 (20+13)	vest-o ɬue
24	vest-o čār	34 (20+14)	vest-o čade
25	vest-o panǰ	35 (20+15)	vest-o painǰu
26	vest-o še	36 (20+16)	vest-o şur
27	vest-o sat	37 (20+17)	vest-o satu
28	vest-o ašt	38 (20+18)	vest-o ašu
29	vest-o no	39 (20+19)	vest-o nov
30	vest-o de	40	dovea

Table G.3: 40-1000

40	dovea
50	dovea-o de
60	ḷevea
70	ḷevea-o de
80	čarvea
90	čarvea-o de
100	pañḷvea
1000	azār

Pashai speakers find their own counting system complex and cumbersome. They exhibit a number of adaptations to this system. I have observed the following usage patterns among different speakers. Educated young men (those who have been to school thru grade 9) use the Pashai counting system to count up till 20, then use Pashto or Dari to count numbers above that. Often, the choice to use Pashto or Dari depends on whether they attended a Pashto or a Dari school. I have also observed Pashai speakers use Dari numbers in a Dari-speaking region and Pashto numbers in a Pashto-speaking region.

Each speaker I interviewed said they preferred to count in the language they used the most. I have noticed on many occasions Pashai speakers giving phone numbers to each other in Dari.

Women, who have overwhelmingly lacked access to education, count in the following way:¹ From 1-24 they count in Pashai. From 24 to 30 they count down from 30. Then they count from 30 to 34, and then count down from 40. In this way they calculate their numbers till 100. Even with higher numbers, the preferred usage is subtractive, instead of 800 they say 200 less than 1000.

1. A number of grammatical distinctions that apply to women also apply to elders who have also lacked access to education. Therefore the generalization about these grammatical practices is about isolation, lack of education, and lack of mobility, often by default a gender issue.

Table G.4: Subtractive - Additive Counting

	x<y	women count	x+y	men count
35	5< 40	pañ̃ kam dovea	20+15	vest-o pañ̃ju
36	4< 40	čār kam dovea	20+16	vest-o şur̃
37	3< 40	łe kam dovea	20+17	vest-o satu
38	2< 40	do kam dovea	20+18	vest-o aštu
39	1< 40	iy kam dovea	20+19	vest-o nov
40		dovea		dovea

Appendix H

Participants

Participants in the collection of the data for this grammar ranged in gender, age, education, social class, origin, and location of interview. Table H.3 presents the coded names of participants. I have provided gender, age range, education, additional languages spoken, village of origin, and location where data was collected. Since many of the participants were interviewed over the course of several years and because most do not record their ages precisely, the age listed is approximate.

Education Education is represented as years in school completed. The + indicates beyond high school education; ++ indicates an advanced degree. This table does not distinguish foreign vs Afghan education. Furthermore, it does not distinguish between madrasa, private and government-run schools. It should be noted that some participants had foreign education, either Pakistan, Europe or North America. In many cases participants were educated in multiple settings and systems.

Location I interviewed and observed many Pashai speakers in Darrai Nur and surroundings, such as the provincial capital of Jalalabad, the national capital of Kabul, and cities in Pakistan, such as Peshawar, Haripur, Rawalpindi, and Lahore. These are all listed as Afghanistan in the Table H.3. The Diaspora includes Europe and North American. Some

participants were interviewed through telephone, email, and skype. These are listed as E.

Table H.1: Interview Location

location	code
Afghanistan and regional diaspora	Afgh
Europe and North American	Dia
Telephone, email, Skype	E

Location This category refers to languages spoken in addition to Pashai. Languages spoken does not make any assumptions about fluency. The listing is based on interviewees self-report on languages spoken and my observations.

Table H.2: Additional Languages

language	code
Pashto	P
Dari	D
Urdu	U
Russian	R
English	E
Flemish	F
French	Fr

Table H.3: Interviewees

name	age	gender	education	+ lgs	origin	location
AT	24	M	none	PDU	Amla	Afgh
SS	55	M	12+	PDUR	Amla	Afgh, Dia, E
SR	30	M	12++	PDUE	Khewa	Dia, E
SRF	50+	M	12	PDUE	Khewa	Dia
SRM	50+	F	none	PDUE	Khewa	Dia
AN	30	M	12+	PDUAE	Amla	Dia, E
ANW	30	F	none	PE	Qalishahi	Dia
BS	35+	F	none	none	Amla	Afgh
RS	30	F	none	none	Amla	Afgh
ES	16	M	6	P	Amla	Afgh, E
SSD	16	F	none	D	Amla	Afgh
GAD	16	F	none	D	Amla	Afgh
GA	55+	M	12	PD	Amla	Afgh, E
GY	55+	M	10	PD	Amla	Afgh
SR	30	M	10	P	Bodeali	Afgh
DD	22	M	none	none	Amla	Afgh
JJ	35	M	12	PDR	Amla	Dia, E
MJM	55+	F	none	none	Amla	Dia
MJW	25	F	10	PD	Amla	Dia
HH	45	F	12	PDU	Qalishahi	Afgh, E
ZM	50	M	12	PDU	Amla	Afgh, E
BB	24	M	12+	PDUFr	Amla	Dia, E
AA	30	M	12	PDUE	Sotan	Dia, E
AAW	30	F	none	none	Majgandul	Dia
RR	30	M	12+	PDU	Qalishahi	E
SB	50+	M	12++	PDRF	Amla	Dia, E
SBW	45	F	none	PDF	Amla	Dia
SBD	20	F	12	F	Amla	Dia

References

- Allan, Nigel (2001). “Defining Place and People in Afghanistan”. In: *Post-Soviet Geography and Economics* 42.8, pp. 545–560.
- Andrews, Avery D. (2007). “Relative clauses”. In: *Language Typology and Syntactic Description. Complex Constructions*. Ed. by Timothy Shopen. Vol. 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 237–300.
- Arsenault, Paul (2006). “The Adaptation of English Alveolar Stops in Telugu and Hindi”. In: *MOT Phonology Workshop*.
- Baart, Joan L. G. (2003). “Tonal features in languages of northern Pakistan”. In: *Pakistani languages and society: problems and prospects*, pp. 132–144.
- (2004). “Contrastive Tone in Kalam Kohistani.” In: *Linguistic Discovery* 2.2.
- Barfield, Thomas (2010). “Afghanistan is not the Balkans”. In: *Ethnicity, Authority, and Power in Central Asia: New Games Great and Small*. Ed. by Robert Leroy Canfield and Gabriele Rasuly-Paleczek. New York: Routledge.
- Barth, Fredrik (1965). *Political Leadership among Swat Pathans*. London: Athlone Press.
- Bashir, Elena (1986). “Beyond split-ergativity: Subject marking in Wakhi”. In: *Papers from the Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society, Part I: The General Session*. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society, pp. 14–35.
- (1988a). “Inferentiality in Kalasha and Khowar”. In: *Papers from the Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society, Part I: The General Session*. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society, pp. 47–59.

- Bashir, Elena (1988b). “Topics in Kalasha Syntax: an areal and typological perspective”. PhD thesis. University of Michigan-Ann Arbor.
- (2003). “Dardic”. In: *The Indo-Aryan Languages*. Ed. by George Cardona and Dhanesh Jain. London: Routledge, pp. 818–894.
- (2006a). “Evidentiality in South Asian Languages”. In: *Proceedings of the LFG06 Conference, Workshop on South Asian Languages, Universität Konstanz*.
- (2006b). “Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages”. In: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*.
- Bellew, Henry Walter (1891). *An inquiry into the ethnography of Afghanistan, prepared and presented to the Ninth international congress of Orientalists (London, September, 1891)*. Woking: Oriental University Institute.
- Buddruss, Georg (1959). *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Pasai-Dialekte*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Burnes, Alexander (1973). *Cabool : being a personal narrative of a journey to, and residence in that city, in the years 1836, 7, and 8. 1842. Pref. Max Klimburg*. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt.
- Cardona, George and Dhanesh Jain, eds. (2003). *The Indo-Aryan Languages*. London: Routledge.
- Catu, Robert (1995). “Le peuple Pashai”. In: *Central Asian Survey* 14.3, pp. 449–461.
- Centlivres, Pierre and Micheline Centlivres-Demont (2000). “State, national awareness and levels of identity in Afghanistan from monarchy to Islamic state”. In: *Central Asian Survey* 19.3-4, pp. 416–425.
- Comrie, Bernard (1989). *Language universals and linguistic typology: Syntax and morphology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Crews, Robert D. and Amin Tarzi (2008). *The Taliban and the crisis of Afghanistan*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Di Carlo, Pierpaolo (2009). “Two clues of a former Hindu-Kush linguistic area?” In: *Selected Papers from the 1st International Conference on Language Documentation and Tradition*,

- Thessaloniki, 7-9 November 2008*. Ed. by C Everhand and E. Mela-Athanasopoulou. Thessaloniki: University Studio Press.
- Dixon, Robert M. W. (1997). *The Rise and Fall of Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dobrin, Lise M., Peter K. Austin, and David Nathan (2007). "Dying to be counted: the commodification of endangered languages in documentary linguistics". In: *Proceedings of the Conference on Language Documentation and Linguistic Theory*. School of Oriental and African Studies., pp. 59–68.
- Edelman, D. I. (1983). *The Dardic and Nuristani Languages*. Moscow: Nauka.
- (1999). "On the history of non-decimal systems and their elements in numerals of Aryan languages". In: *Trends in Linguistics Studies and Monographs* 118, pp. 221–242.
- Edwards, John (1992). "Sociopolitical aspects of language maintenance and loss: towards a typology of minority language situations". In: ed. by Willem Fase, Koen Jaspaert, and Sjaak Kroon. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 37–54.
- Elfenbein, Josef (1997). "Pashto Phonology". In: *Phonologies of Asia and Africa*. Ed. by Alan S. Kaye and Peter T Daniels. Vol. 2. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, pp. 733–759.
- Elphinstone, Mountstuart (1815). *An account of the Kingdom of Caubul*. Vol. 2. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown.
- Emadi, Hafizullah (2000). "Praxis of taqiyya: perseverance of Pashaye Ismaili enclave, Nangarhar, Afghanistan". In: *Central Asian Survey* 19.2, pp. 253–264.
- Evans-von Krbek, Jeffrey H.P. (1977). "The Social Structure and Organization of a Pakhto Speaking Community in Afghanistan". PhD thesis. University of Durham.
- Ferguson, Charles A. (1959). "Diglossia". In: *Word* 15.2, pp. 325–340.
- Fishman, Joshua A. (1967). "Bilingualism with and without diglossia; diglossia with and without bilingualism". In: *Journal of Social Issues* 23.2, pp. 29–38.
- (1972). *Language in sociocultural change, essays by Joshua A. Fishman*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

- Fussman, Gérard (1972). *Atlas linguistique des parlers dardes et kafirs*. Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient.
- Grenoble, Lenore A. and Lindsay J. Whaley (1998). *Endangered Languages: Language loss and community response*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grierson, George A (1919). *Linguistic Survey of India, Volume Viii, Part 2 (Specimens of the Pisacha Languages, including Kashmiri)*. Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing.
- Griffith, William (1847). *Journals of travels in Assam, Burma, Bodan, Affghanistan and the neighbouring countries*. Calcutta: Bishop's College Press.
- Groff, Cynthia (2012). "Resources for the Study of Language Policies and Languages of Afghanistan and its Neighbors". In: *Language Policy and Language Conflict in Afghanistan and Its Neighbors: The Changing Politics of Language Choice*. Ed. by Harold Schiffman. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Hill, Jane (2006). "The ethnography of language and language documentation". In: *Essentials of Language Documentation*. Ed. by Ulrike Mosel Jost Gippert Nikolaus P. Himmelmann. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 113–128.
- Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger (1983). *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jettmar, Karl (1959). "Urgent tasks of research among the Dardic peoples of eastern Afghanistan and northern Pakistan". In: *Bulletin of the International Committee on Urgent Anthropological and Ethnological Research*. Vol. 2. Vienna: International Committee on Urgent Anthropological and Ethnological Research, pp. 85–96.
- Keiser, Robert Lincoln (1971). "Social structure and social control in two Afghan mountain societies". PhD thesis. University of Rochester. Department of Anthropology.
- (1974). "Social Structure in the Southeastern Hindu-Kush: Some Implications for Pashai Ethno-History". In: *Anthropos*, pp. 445–456.

- Keiser, Robert Lincoln (1984). “Pashai”. In: *Muslim Peoples: A World Ethnographic Survey*. Ed. by Richard V. Weekes. Westport: Greenwood Press, pp. 600–604.
- Koul, Omkar N. and Ruth Laila Schmidt (1984). “Dardistan revisited: An Examination of relationship between Kashmiri and Shina”. In: *Aspects of Kashmiri Linguistics*. Ed. by Omkar N Koul and Peter Hook. New Delhi: Bahri.
- Leech, Robert (1838). “Epitome of the Grammars of the Brahuiky, the Balochky and the Panjabi languages, with Vocabularies of the Baraky, the Pashi, the Laghmani, the Cashgari, the Teerhai, and the Deer Dialects”. In: *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 7.
- Marsden, Magnus (2009). “Talking the talk: Debating debate in northern Afghanistan”. In: *Anthropology Today* 25.2, pp. 20–24.
- Masica, Colin P. (1976). *Defining a linguistic area: South Asia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- (1991). *The Indo-Aryan Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Masson, Charles (1974-1977). *Narrative of various journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan, and the Panjab, 1844*. Introd. Gavin Hambly. Vol. 1. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- McCarthy, John J. and Alan Prince (1990). “Prosodic morphology and templatic morphology”. In: *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics II, Papers from the Second Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics*. Ed. by Mushira Eid and John McCarthy. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Miller, Corey (2013). “Variation in Persian Vowel Systems”. In: *Orientalia Suecana* 61, pp. 156–169.
- Mills, Margaret A. (2009). “An Afghan Fishing Expedition: Recent Afghan Perspectives on Governance and Occupation”. [Private Publication; accessed 20-May-2014].
- Mock, John (1997). “Dards, Dardistan, and Dardic: an Ethnographic, Geographic, and Linguistic Conundrum”. In: *Manuscript*. <http://www.mockandonei1.com/dard.htm> (Accessed 10 March 2008).

- Morgenstierne, Georg (1926). *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*. Oslo: Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning.
- (1932). *Report on a linguistic mission to north-western India*. Oslo: Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning.
- (1944). *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages, Volume III, The Pashai Language, Part 2, Texts and Translations*. Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co.
- (1956). *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages, Volume III, The Pashai Language, Part 3, Vocabulary*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- (1961). “Dardic and Kafir languages”. In: *The Encyclopedia of Islam* 2.2, pp. 138.
- (1973). *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages, Volume III, The Pashai Language, Part 1, Grammar*. second edition. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Mufwene, Salikoko S. (2003). “Language endangerment: What have pride and prestige got to do with it”. In: *When languages collide: Perspectives on language conflict, language competition, and language coexistence*. Ed. by Brian D. Joseph. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, pp. 324–346.
- Nawata, Tetsuo (1985). “A Preliminary Report on the Kordar Dialect of Pashai”. In: *Orient* 28.1, pp. 158–175.
- Nawid, Senzil (2012). “Language policy in Afghanistan: Linguistic diversity and national unity”. In: *Language Policy and Language Conflict in Afghanistan and its Neighbors: The Changing Politics of Language Choice*. Ed. by Harold Schiffman. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Nichols, Johanna (1986). “Head-marking and dependent-marking grammar”. In: *Language*, pp. 56–119.
- Ovesen, Jan (1981). “The Continuity of Pashai Society”. In: *Folk. Dansk Ethnografisk Tidsskrift København* 23, pp. 221–234.
- (1982a). “A note on the relation between language and culture: the Pashai case”. In: *Acta Iranica: Monumentum Georg Morgenstierne*. Ed. by Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

- Ovesen, Jan (1982b). "Marriage and Social Groupings among the Pashai". In: *Folk. Dansk Ethnografisk Tidsskrift Kobenhavn* 24, pp. 143–156.
- (1983a). "Environment and History in Pashai World-View". In: *Folk. Dansk Ethnografisk Tidsskrift Kobenhavn* 25, pp. 167–184.
- (1983b). "The Construction of Ethnic Identities: The Nuristani and the Pashai of Eastern Afghanistan". In: *Identity: Personal and Socio-Cultural, A Symposium*. Ed. by Anita Jacobson-Widding. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, pp. 321–33.
- (1984). "On the Cultural Heritage of the Pashai". In: *Anthropos* 79.4-6, pp. 397–407.
- Owens, Jonathan (2007). "Endangered Languages of the Middle East". In: *Language Diversity Endangered*. Ed. by Matthias Brenzinger. Vol. 181. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Raverty, H. G. (1864). "On the Language of the Siah Posh Kafirs". In: *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 33.
- Roberts, Taylor (2000). "Clitics and Agreement". PhD thesis. Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Rzehak, Lutz (2008). "Remembering the Taliban". In: *The Taliban and the Crisis of Afghanistan*. Ed. by Robert D. Crews and Amin Tarzi. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, pp. 182–211.
- (2012a). "Ethnic Minorities in Search of Political Consolidation". In: *Under the Drones: Modern Lives in the Afghanistan-Pakistan Borderlands*. Ed. by Shahzad Bashir and Robert D. Crews. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- (2012b). "How to Name Universities". In: *Deutsche OrientStiftungl German Orient-Foundation-Deutsches Orient-InstitutlGerman Orient-Institute* 11, pp. 84–90.
- Schetter, Conrad (2005). *Ethnicity and the political reconstruction of Afghanistan*. Tech. rep. ZEF Working Paper Series.
- Schiffman, Harold (2012). *Language Policy and Language Conflict in Afghanistan and Its Neighbors: The Changing Politics of Language Choice*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

- Schiffman, Harold F and Brian Spooner (2012). “Afghan Languages in a Larger Context of Central and South Asia”. In: *Language Policy and Language Conflict in Afghanistan and Its Neighbors: The Changing Politics of Language Choice*. Ed. by Harold Schiffman. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Schmidt, Ruth Laila and Razwal Kohistani (2008). *A grammar of the Shina language of Indus Kohistan*. Vol. 17. Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Silverstein, Michael (1976). “Hierarchy of Features and Ergativity”. In: *Grammatical categories in Australian languages*. Ed. by Robert M. W. Dixon. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
- Strand, Richard F. (1973). “Notes on the Nuristani and Dardic Languages”. In: *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 93, pp. 297–305.
- (2011). *Languages of the Hindu-Kush*. <http://nuristan.info/lngFrameL.html>. [Online; accessed 20-May-2014].
- Tanner, H. C. (1881). “Notes on the Chugani and neighbouring Tribes of Kafiristan”. In: *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography*, pp. 278–301.
- Tapper, Richard (1988). “Ethnicity, order and meaning in the anthropology of Iran and Afghanistan”. In: *Le fait ethnique en Iran et en Afghanistan*. Ed. by Jean-Pierre Digard. Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, pp. 21–34.
- (2008). “Who are the Kuchi? Nomad self-identities in Afghanistan”. In: *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 14.1, pp. 97–116.
- Thompson, Sandra A., Robert E. Longacre, and Shin Ia I. Hwang (2007). “Adverbial Clauses”. In: *Language Typology and Syntactic Description. Complex Constructions*. Ed. by Timothy Shopen. Vol. 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 237–300.
- Turner, Ralph Lilley (1966). *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages*. London: Oxford University Press.

- Vaux, Bert and Justin Cooper (1999). *Introduction to Linguistic Field Methods*. Muenchen: Lincom Europa.
- Wutt, Karl (1981). *Pashai. Landschaft, Menschen, Architektur*. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt.
- Yagmur, Kutlay and Sjaak Kroon (2006). “Objective and subjective data on Altai and Kazakh ethnolinguistic vitality in the Russian Federation Republic of Altai”. In: *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 27.3, pp. 241–258.