CHAPTER THIRTEEN

PASHTO

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

Pashto is a principal language in Afghanistan and Pakistan. It is spoken natively by over half the population of Afghanistan, an estimated 7.5 million, and an estimated 14 million (ca. 90 percent of the population) in the Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan. It is also spoken natively in Baluchistan, the province of Pakistan which lies directly south of central Afghanistan, and by a community of over two million native Pashto speakers in Karachi. There are also about 50,000 native Pashto speakers in Iran.

The name of the Pashto language is Romanized in several ways, such as Pashto and Pakhto which reflect dialectal differences. In the following the transcription is based on the pronunciation of the Central dialect, and most examples are from the authors' *Pashto Reference Grammar* of 1996.

Pashto is the national and an official language of Afghanistan, while in Pakistan, Pashto has no official status (for Pashto identity in Pakistan, see Rahman 1995). There Pathans, who receive an education, do so in Urdu or English, or both. In fact, it is in Pakistan where, as a result of the British presence in the North west Frontier Province, there are more Pashto publishing houses, and more Pashto books are published in Peshawar than in Afghanistan.

The earliest known example of written Pashto is a multilingual book of religious verses. The text, in Pashto and Arabic, dates from the end of the sixteenth century and was written by the Afghan anti-Mughal mystic and poet Bāyazid Ansāri of Waziristan (ca. 1525-ca. 1573), known as Pir Roshan and founder of the Roshaniya movement. While making religious writing available to people in their own language, the Pashto in that pioneering work is a stilted, unnatural kind of rhymed prose that reflects the style of Arabic found in the Koran.

The earliest Pashto literature was written by the Khattak clan the foremost writer of which was the pre-eminent poet Khoshal Khan Khattak (1613–1689), whose adaptation of the Persian alphabet laid the foundations for the modern Pashto writing system. The Khattaks spoke the Kandahar dialect of Pashto and the spelling system still reflects the Kandahar dialect more than it does the Central or Eastern dialects.

Since Pashto is not standardized, there is no universal agreement among Pashto speakers as to what constitutes "correct" Pashto, either oral or written. One of the results of this lack of standardization is that individual Pashtun writers vary widely, both in spelling and punctuation, not only from one writer to another, but often with the same writer, and within the same document. Pashtuns in Pakistan frequently adapt the conventions of written Urdu in writing Pashto, including spelling conventions. Finally, many

Pashto texts are written by writers who have only a few years of formal schooling, and most probably not in Pashto, and their writing may reflect both lack of extensive education, and the lack of language standardization.

1.2 Writing systems

The following table lists the letters of the Pashto alphabet in their standard order (underdot = Pashto retroflex phonemes.—A = letters found mostly in Arabic loanwords; P = letters found in Persian and Pashto.—W = Western Pashto dialects; C = Central Pashto dialects; E = Eastern Pashto dialects).

TABLE 13.1 PASHTO ALPHABET

Position in Letter Group

End	Middle	Begin	ALONE		Name	Pronunciation
ا			ا		'alef	ʾ
ا			آ			â
ب	ب	ب	ب		be	b
پ	پ	پ	پ	P	pe	p
ت	ت	ت	ت		te	t
ټ	ټ	ټ	ټ		ṭe	ṭ Pashto
ث	ث	ث	ث	A	se	s
ج	ج	ج	ج		jim	j
چ	چ	چ	چ	P	che	ch
ح	ح	ح	ح	A	ḥe	ḥ
خ	خ	خ	خ		khe	kh
څ			څ		tse	ts
ځ			ځ		dze	dz
د			د		dāl	d
ډ			ډ		ḍāl	ḍ Pashto
ذ			ذ	A	zāl	z
ر			ر		re	r
ړ			ړ		ṛe	ṛ Pashto
ز			ز		ze	z
ژ			ژ	P	zhe	W zh, C z, E j
ږ			ږ		ẓhe, ge	W ẓh, C g, E g Pashto
س	س	س	س		sin	s
ش	ش	ش	ش		šin	sh
			ښ		ṣhin, xin	W ṣh, C x, E kh Pashto
ص	ص	ص	ص	A	sād	s
ض	ض	ض	ض	A	zād	z
ط	ط	ط	ط	A	tā	t
ظ	ظ	ظ	ظ	A	zā	z
ع	ع	ع	ع	A	ʿayn	ʿ
غ	غ	غ	غ		ghayn	gh
ف	ف	ف	ف		fe	f
ق	ق	ق	ق	A	qāf	q
ک	ک	ک	ک		kāf	k
گ	گ	گ	گ	P	gāf	g
ل	ل	ل	ل		lām	l
م	م	م	م		mim	m

				nun	n
ـنْ	ـنـ	ـنـ	ن	nun	n̥ Pashto
ـو			و	wāw	w, u, o
ـه	ـهـ	ـهـ	ه	he	h; a in final position
ـى	ـيـ	ـيـ	ى	ye	y, i
ـى	ـئـ	ـئـ	ئ		e
			ى		əy in final position, masculine
			ى		əy in final position, feminine

2 PHONOLOGY

2.1 Inventory

2.1.1 Vowels

The Central dialect of Pashto has nine vowels, of which *î* and *û* are confined to borrowings, indicated by parentheses.

TABLE 13.2: VOWELS

	Front Mid (unrounded)		Back (rounded)
High	*i (î)*		*(û) u*
Mid	*e*	*ə*	*o*
Low		*a*	*â*

Semivowels. There are not phonemic diphthongs. Phonemically, the postvocalic semivowels *w* and *y* are consonants.

2.1.1.1 Conditioned variation

The vowel *a* tends to alternate with *ə* in unstressed position. In all dialects, but particularly the Central dialect, *e* and *o* frequently become *i* and *u*, respectively, if a following vowel is *i* or *u*: *keg̱əm* 'I do' as opposed to *keg̱i* or *kig̱i* 'he does'. *a* changes to *â* when the following final syllable ends in *ə*: *tarə̱m* 'I tie' as opposed to *târə̱* 'he ties'.

2.1.1.2 Distribution

Initial occurrence of *î, e, o,* and *û* is confined to borrowings, e.g. *eyjansey̱* 'agency'.

2.1.2 Consonants

2.1.2.1 Inventory

There are 32 consonants in the Central dialect.

TABLE 13.3: CONSONANTS

	Labial	Dental	Retr.	Palatal		Velar	Back Velar	Glottal	Phar.
Vl Stops	*p*	*t*	*ṭ*			*k*	*q*	*ʾ*	
Vd Stops	*b*	*d*	*ḍ*			*g*			
Vl Fricatives	*f*	*s*		*sh*	*x*	*kh*		*h*	*H*
Vd Fricatives		*z*		*zh*		*gh*			*γ*
Nasals	*m*	*ṅ*	*ṇ*						
Vl Affricates		*ts*		*ch*					
Vd Affricates		*dz*		*j* [dzh]					
Trill		*r*	*ṛ*						
Lateral		*l*							
Semivowels	*w*			*y*					

Examples

> *p*: voiceless bilabial stop, *parda̱* 'curtain', *chap* 'left', *khapa̱* 'unhappy';
> *b*: voiced bilabial stop, *bəl* 'other', *tart̲ib* 'order', *bâbâ̱* 'grandfather';
>
> *t*: voiceless dental stop, *tashakûr* 'thank', *tut* 'mulberry', *atə* 'eight';
> *d*: voiced dental stop, *da* 'this', *tod* 'warm', *judâ̱* 'separate';
>
> *ṭ*: voiceless retroflex stop, *ṭol* 'all', *tsəṭ* 'nape', *moṭar* 'car';
> *ḍ*: voiced retroflex stop, *ḍer* 'very', *ḍanḍ* 'valley', *ḍoḍəy* 'bread';
>
> *k*: voiceless velar stop, *kâr* 'work', *bâri̱k* 'sensitive', *akâ̱* 'uncle';
> *g*: voiced velar stop, *gwəl* 'flower', *jəg* 'tall', *bâzingar̲* 'dancer';
>
> *q*: voiced aspirated uvular stop, *qâr* 'anger', *sandûq̲* 'trunk', *daqiqa̱* 'minute';
> *ʾ*: glottal stop, *majmuʿə* 'collection';
>
> *m*: voiced bilabial nasal, *mor* 'mother', *salâ̱m* 'hello', *mâmâ̱* 'maternal uncle';
> *n*: voiced dental nasal, *nə* 'not', *tâwâ̱n* 'burden', *karwanda̱* 'field';
> *ṇ*: voiced retroflex nasal, *luṇe* 'daughters', *ataṇ̲* 'dance';
>
> *f*: voiceless labio-dental fricative, *fârsi̲* 'Farsi', *talafûz̲* 'pronunciation';
> *s*: voiceless dental fricative, *sur* 'red', *lâs* 'hand', *asâ̱n* 'easy';
> *z*: voiced dental fricative, *zoy* 'son', *andâ̱z* 'style', *avâza̱* 'rumor';
>
> *sh*: voiceless palatal fricative, *shpag* 'six', *shâ* 'back', *ashnâ̱* 'familiar';
> *x*: voiceless palatal/front velar fricative, *xa* 'good', *partugâ̱x* 'drawstring', *paxto̱* 'Pashto';
>
> *kh*: voiceless velar fricative, *khwdâ̱y* 'God', *târi̱kh* 'date', *wakht* 'time';
> *gh*: voiced velar fricative, *ghâx* 'tooth', *rogh* 'healthy', *agha* 'that';
> *h*: voiceless glottal fricative, *həm* 'also', *nəhə* 'nine'.
>
> *H*: voiceless pharyngeal fricative, *Hama̱l* 'March–April', *Habi̱b* 'dear';
> *γ*: voiced pharyngeal fricative, *γaqəl* 'wisdom', *tâbay* 'subject', *be-yama̱la* 'without study' (Arabic *ʿaql, tābiʿ, ʿamal*, respectively);

ts: voiceless dental affricate, *tso* 'how many', *hets* 'no', *nâtsegi* 'they dance';
dz: voiced dental affricate, *dzân* 'self', *termandz* 'between' *xədza* 'woman';

ch: voiceless palatal affricate, *chera* 'where', *mrəch* 'pepper', *achawi* 'they throw';
j: voiced palatal affricate, *jor* 'good', *khârij* 'outside', *tâjək* 'Tajik';

l: voiced dental lateral, *lâs* 'hand', *khpəl* 'his own', *dəlta* 'here';
r: voiced dental tap or trill, *rogh* 'healthy', *tashakûr* 'thank', *chera* 'where';
ṛ: voiced retroflex flap, *ṛund* 'blind', *zoṛ* 'old', *stəṛay* 'tired';

w: voiced bilabial semi-vowel, *wâza* 'open', *yaw* 'one', *wəwâya* 'say';
y: voiced palatal semi-vowel, *yaw* 'one', *khwdây* 'God', *aryâyi* 'Aryan'.

Of these, *f*, *q*, *H*, *γ* occur in borrowings. In the informal speech of educated Pashtuns, and in the formal and informal speech of uneducated Pashtuns, (1) *f* is pronounced as *p*; (2) *q* is pronounced as *k* (although Pashtuns growing up in areas where there is extensive interaction with Dari speakers will often have *q* exclusively in the relevant words), and (3) *H* and *γ* (reflecting Arabic *ḥ* and *ʿ*(ʿ *ayn*) are dropped altogether.

The consonantal system as a whole is characterized by: (1) dental vs. palatal affricates: *ts*, *dz* and *ch j* [dzh]; (2) retroflex dental-alveolars: *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ṛ*, *ṇ* (but not *l*); (3) palatal vs. palatal/front velar vs. velar voiceless fricatives: *sh*, *x*, *kh* (see section 6.1 Sub-groupings of dialects).

2.1.2.2 Distribution

h and *ṇ*. In native Pashto words, *h* is found only in syllable-initial position; *ṇ* only in syllable-final position.

2.1.3 Clusters and syllable structure

Pashto is unique among Iranian languages in the extent of permitted clustering. Binary initial clusters include stops with same-voice fricatives and continuants in first or second position (including *xk* and *khp*), and continuants with continuants, with relatively few exceptions; *n* does not occur in second position. Triple initial clusters are rare, and only include: *skw*, *skhw*, *shkhw*, *khkw*, *khwd*, *khwl*, and *ndr*. The most common final clusters in native Pashto words include: *sk*, *st*, *xt*, *kht*, *ndr*, *nd*, *ṛkh*, and *rg*.

2.2 Stress

Pashto is the only Iranian language to have phonemic stress:

ṭânga	'pear tree'	*ghuṭa*	'knot'	*aspa*	'mare'
ṭângá	'cart'	*ghuṭá*	'dive!'	*aspá*	'spotted fever'
jora	'well (f)'	*gora*	'look'	*kenastə*	'he sat'
joṛá	'pair'	*gorá*	'fair-skinned'	*kenastə́*	'he's sitting'.

While stress is not predictable, as a general rule, stress is on the last syllable when ending in a consonant, and on the penultimate syllable if the last syllable ends in a vowel *randzúr* 'sick' (m) vs. *randzúra* 'sick' (f). This rule-of-thumb, however, is contradicted

by the very name of the language, *paxto*. The sole cases of predictable stress are the prohibitive prefix *mə*, the negative prefixe *nə*, and the perfective prefix *wə*, all of which retain stress even in combination:

daredəm	'I was standing'	*nədaredəm*	'I wasn't standing'
wədaredəm	'I stood'	*wənədaredəm*	'I didn't stand'.

See also Bečka (1969), and Morgenstierne (1973) for a comparative-historical study.

3 MORPHOLOGY

3.1 Nominal morphology

Nouns, adjectives, and pronouns in Pashto distinguish masculine and feminine gender (m, f), singular and plural number (s, p); and direct and oblique case (D, O). Within each gender, there are distinct inflectional classes.

The inflections of the adjectival and nominal classes correspond to each other, one of the distinctive differences being the absence of the nominal animate and inanimate plural markers *-ân* vs. *-un* in adjectives.

A major distinction between pronouns and nouns, in addition to their morphology, is functional: pronouns as direct objects in present tenses appear in the oblique case, as opposed to the direct case of nouns.

A specific feature of number-gender assignment is the fact that the abstract categories of (1) infinitives (verbal nouns) and (2) subject, object, and complement clauses, are grammatically marked as masculine plurals.

3.1.1 Nouns

3.1.1.1 Gender

The most basic division of nouns is gender. In addition to natural gender, each noun is either masculine or feminine gender, which determines agreement within the noun phrase and within the sentence. Overt gender distinction is marked by:
(1) the feminine ending *-a*:

parastâr	'nurse' (m)	*parastâr-a*	'nurse' (f)
shâgərd	'student' (m)	*shâgərd-a*	'student' (f)
shpun	'shepherd' (m)	*shpan-a*	'shepherdess, shepherd's wife'.

(2) the feminine ending *-əy* in opposition to masculine *-ay*:

sp-ay	'dog'	*sp-əy*	'bitch'
wur-ay	'lamb' (m)	*wur-əy*	'lamb' (f)
kâbul-ay	'man from Kabul'	*kâbul-əy*	'woman from Kabul'.

In general, nouns ending in a consonant, *-ay* and *-u* are masculine, and nouns in unstressed *-a*, *-əy*, and *-o* are feminine, while nouns ending in other vowels may be either gender.

3.1.1.2 Inflectional classes

The grammatical study of Pashto has not progressed to the point where there is widespread agreement on such basic topics as the number of noun classes. Writers differ in their analyses, and use different criteria for choosing the number and characteristics of classes.

The classification suggested here is largely based on the forms of plural endings. There are three classes of masculine nouns, including two sub-classes, and three classes of feminine nouns. In addition, there are irregular masculine and feminine nouns.

Masculine nouns

(1) M_{1a} and M_{1b} nouns end in a consonant; of these,

    (a) M_{1a} nouns are mostly animate, with animate plural marker *-ā̠n*, while

    (b) M_{1b} nouns are mostly inanimate, with plural marker *-un-*;

(2) M_{2a} and M_{2b} nouns end in unstressed or stressed *-ay*, respectively;

(3) M_3 nouns end in a stressed vowel, and are usually animate.

Feminine nouns

(1) F_1 nouns end in a vowel, usually *-a*;

(2) F_2 nouns mostly end in *-əy*;

(3) F_3 nouns end in *-a* or *-â*, sometimes in *-o* or *-i*.

Morphologically, the three masculine and three feminine classes are correlated, M_1 with F_1, M_2 with F_2, and M_3 with F_3.

There are two basic patterns of case marking. In most the direct singular is identical with the oblique singular, Ds = Os, but in two, F_1 and M_2, the oblique singular is identical with the direct plural, Os = Dp. In this analysis, these alternate patterns determine the paired masculine and feminine classes, as follows:

M_1	Ds = Os
F_1	**Os = Dp**
M_2	**Os = Dp**
F_2	Ds = Os
M_3	Ds = Os
F_3	Ds = Os

These patterns are shown in the following table and examples.

TABLE 13.4: NOMINAL ENDINGS

M = final consonant -C, F -*a*

	Ds		Os		Dp	Op	
M₁ₐ	-*C*	=	-*C*		-*ân*	-*ân-o*	mostly animate
M₁ᵦ	-*C*	=	-*C*		-*un-a*	-*un-o*	mostly inanimate
F1	-*a*		-*e*	=	-*e*	-*o*	unstressed ending

M -*ay*, F -*əy*

	Ds		Os		Dp	Op	
M₂ₐ	-*ay*		-*i*	=	-*i*	-*o*	stressed ending
M₂ᵦ	-*ay*		-*i*	=	-*il-y-ân*	-*ol*	
						-*y-ân-ol*	
						-*əy-o*	
F₂	-*əy*	=	-*əy*	=	-*əy*	-*əy-ol*	stressed ending
						-*əyol*	
					-*y-ân-el*	-*y-ân-ol*	
					-*əy-g-ân-e*	-*əyg-ân-o*	

M. *â i u ə*, F. *â i o ə a*

	Ds		Os	Dp	Op
M₃	-*â*	=	-*â*	-*âg-ân*	-*âg-ân-o*
F₃	-*â*	=	-*â*	-*âw-el*	-*âw-ol*
				-*âg-ân-e*	-*âg-ân-o*

TABLE 13.5: EXAMPLES OF DECLENSIONS

		Ds		Os	Dp	Op
M₁ₐ	'student'	*shâgərd*	=	*shâgərd*	*shâgərd-ân*	*shâgərd-ân-o*
M₁ᵦ	'house'	*kor*	=	*kor*	*kor-un-a*	*kor-un-o*
F₁	'woman'	*xədz-a*		*xədz-e*	= *xədz-e*	*xədz-o*

		Ds		Os		Dp	Op
M₂ₐ	'friend'	*məlgər-ay*		*məlgər-i*	=	*məlgər-i*	*məlgər-o*
M₂ᵦ	'man'	*sar-ay*		*sar-i*	~	*sar-il*	*sar-ol*
						sar-y-ân	*sar-y-ân-o*
							sar-əy-o
F₂	'family'	*koran-əy*	=	*koran-əy*	~	*koran-əyl*	*koran-əy-ol*
						koran-əy-g-ân-el	*koran-əy-g-ân-ol*
						koran-y-ân-e	*koran-y-ân-o*

		Ds		Os	Dp	Op
M₃	'uncle'	*mâmâ*	=	*mâmâ*	*mâmâ-g-ân*	*mâmâ-g-ân-o*
F₃	'salary'	*tankhâ*	=	*tankhâ*	*tankhâ-w-el*	*tankhâ-w-ol*
					tankhâ-g-ân-e	*tankhâ-g-ân-o*

3.1.1.2a Irregular nouns and ablaut

Pashto has a considerable number of irregular nouns, each of which is clearly masculine or feminine, but beyond that, so varied in their oblique and plural forms that they cannot readily be grouped into any of the more regular noun classes described above.

A distinctive feature of these inflections is various types of ablaut, frequently corre-
lated with final stress. They are mostly found with masculines, and mostly follow the
pattern of Os = Dp of M₂. Feminine forms are derived from the weakest stem. Some
examples are:

	Ds	Os	=	Dp	Op
CuloC > CâlaC					
'Pashtun'	paxt-un	paxt-ân-ə		paxt-ân-ə	paxt-an-o
'rider' (m)	swor	swâr-ə		swâr-ə	swâr-o
CaliluC > CC					
'mountain' (m)	ghar	ghr-əl-una		ghr-əl-una	ghr-o

Irregular nouns include some of the most common kinship terms, such as the
following:

	Ds	=	Os	Dp	Op	
'mother'	mor		mor	maynd-e	maynd-o	.
'sister'	khor		khor	khwaynd-e	khwaynd-o	
'aunt'	tror		tror	traynd-e	traynd-o	
'daughter-in-law'	ngor		ngor	ngaynd-e	ngaynd-o	
'daughter'	lur		lur	lun-e	lun-o	
'son'	zoy		zoy	zâmən	zâmən-o	
'brother's son'	wrârə		wrârə	wrer-un-a	wrer-olwrer-un-o	
'husband's brother'	lewar		lewar	lewr-un-a	lewr-un-o	

In addition, masculine stems in -C, mostly inanimate, take "numerative" -a after
cardinal numbers larger than one or other quantifiers (e.g. the terms for '100' and '1000',
see section 3.1.6.1 below).

3.1.1.2b Dialectal variation

Irregular nouns vary widely from dialect to dialect, from speaker to speaker, and even
within the same speaker at different times. For the most part, this variation arises when
irregular nouns become regularized, e.g. *as* 'horse', which is M₁ᵦ in the Central dialect,
and as such violates the "rule" that animate nouns are M₁ₐ. In the Western dialect,
however, the word occurs with both M₁ₐ and M₁ᵦ endings. Other examples are M₁ₐ nouns
denoting inanimates, like *nuk* 'finger-, toenail' and *shay* 'thing', which frequently occur
with M₁ᵦ endings.

3.1.1.2c Singular-only and plural-only nouns

Pashto *mass nouns* occur either only in singular or only in the plural. These nouns tend
to denote such things as grain, food, liquid, or other elements that are not practically
countable. Examples of singular-only mass nouns are: *chalaw* '(cooked) rice', *kabâb*
'kebob', *palaw* 'pilaf', *xurwa* 'soup'; examples of plural-only mass nouns are: *wṛə* 'flour',
wobə 'water', *khwârə* 'food', *sharâb* 'wine', and *dâl* 'lentils'.

The plural-only nouns have no overt plural endings, but are determined by their plural
oblique ending -*o*, and by their co-occurrence with plural adjectives and verbs, as the
following sentences illustrate:

wob[-ə]   khwag[-e]   d[-i]
water[-Dpf] sweet[-Dpf] be.PR[-3p]
'the water is sweet';

> *de kâbəl   de sin   de   wob[-o]   kwand   nə   sta*
> of Kabul of river of   water[-OBLp] taste   NEG   be.EXIST
> 'water from the Kabul River is not drinkable, 'lit. 'there is no taste to . . .'

3.1.1.2d Inflection of infinitives and of nominal clauses

The infinitive (verbal noun), as well as subject, object, and complement clauses belong to this masculine plural-only class:

> *wayəl[-o]   ta ye mə   gor-a*
> saying-INF[-OBLpm] to his PROH look.PR.IMP-2s
> 'don't look at his saying', i.e. 'what he says'.

3.1.1.3 Use of cases

(1)   The oblique case of nouns is used for:

   (a)   the subject with past transitive verbs (past agent, see 3.2.6.2 Transitivity);
   (b)   the object of adpositions;
   (c)   in vocatives.

(2)   The direct case is used in all other functions, including:

   (a)   the subject with present verbs;
   (b)   the subject with past intransitive verbs;
   (c)   the direct object with present transitive verbs;
   (d)   the direct object with past transitive verbs.

   Usage of the two cases is illustrated in the sentences below with the irregular noun *paxtun* (AG = agent; PAT = patient; D = direct; O = oblique; PR = present, PT = past; IPFV = imperfective; PFV = perfective).

3.1.1.3a Direct case, subject in present and intransitive past tense

> *[paxt-un]   pə kâbəl ke wos-eg-il   wos-ed[-ə]*
> [Pashtun]-Dsm in Kabul in live.PR.IPFV-3s/ live.PT.IPFV-3s
> '[the Pashtun] lives/lived in Kabul';

> *[paxt-ân-ə]   pə kâbəl ke wos-eg-il   wos-ed[-ə]*
> [Pashtuns]-Dpm in Kabul in live.PR.IPFV-3p/live.PT.IPFV-3pm
> '[the Pashtuns] live/lived in Kabul.'

3.1.1.3b Direct case, direct object in all tenses

> *ahmad [paxtun]   win-i*
> Ahmad [Pashtun]-Dsm see.PR.IPFV-3s
> 'Ahmad is seeing [the Pashtun]';

> *ahmad [paxt-ân-ə]   lidəl*
> Ahmad [Pashtuns]-Dpm see.PT.PFV-3pm
> 'Ahmad saw [the Pashtuns]'.

3.1.1.3c Oblique case, subject in transitive past tenses

> *[paxt-ân-ə]   topak râ-wor*
> [Pashtun]-OBLsm rifle   here-bring.PT.PFV-3s
> '[the Pashtun] brought the rifle';

[paxt-an-o̱]   *topak r ̂a-wo̱r*
[Pashtuns]-Opm rifle   here-bring.PT.PFV.3s
'[the Pashtuns] brought the rifle'.

3.1.1.3d Oblique case, object of adpositions

[de paxt-ân-ə̱]   *zâmən pə kâbə̱l ke wo̱s-i*
[of Pashtun]-Osm sons   in Kabul in live.PR.IPFV-3p
'[the Pashtun's] sons live in Kabul';

[de paxt-an-•]   *zâmən pə kâbə̱l ke wo̱s-i*
[of Pashtuns]-Osm sons   in Kabul in live.PR.IPFV-3p
'[the Pashtuns'] sons live in Kabul'.

3.1.1.3e Oblique case, vocatives

ey nik-ə̱! 'O grandfather!', *ey xə̱dz-o!* 'O women!'.

Masculine nouns ending in consonants, including *-y*, form the vocative by adding the suffix *-a* to the direct singular form:

alə̱k-a! 'boy!', *malgə̱r-y-a!* 'friend!' (D *malgə̱r-ay*).

3.1.2 Adjectives

3.1.2.1 Classes

As in the nominal inflection, there are three classes of adjectives in this analysis, two of which have variants, as well as a number of irregular adjectives.

(1) Adj_{1a} (final syllable unstressed) and Adj_{1b} (final syllable stressed) form parallel M_1 and F_1 nouns, masculine Adj_{1b} forms adding *-ə̱* in the Os/Dp.

(2) $Adj_{2a,b}$ (unstressed, stressed) forms parallel M_2 and F_2 nouns. The Adj_{2a} class includes the present and perfect participles (described in section 3.2.3).

(3) Adj_3 forms are invariable, but may have an optional plural oblique *-o*.

TABLE 13.6: ADJECTIVAL CLASSES

	Ds	Os	=	Dp	Op	
Adj_{1a} (m)	*tit*	*tit*		*tit*	*ti̱to*	'scattered'
Adj_{1a} (f)	*ti̱ta*	*ti̱te*		*ti̱te*	*ti̱to*	
Adj_{1b} (m)	*zig*	*zigə̱*		*zigə̱*	*zigo̱*	'rough'
Adj_{1b} (f)	*zigạ*	*zigə̱*		*zigə̱*	*zigo̱*	
Adj_{2a} (m)	*təgay*	*tə̱gi*		*tə̱gi*	*tə̱go*	'thirsty'
Adj_{2a} (f)	*tə̱ge*	*tə̱ge*		*tə̱ge*	*tə̱go*	
Adj_{2b} (m)	*nara̱y*	*nari̱l*		*nari̱l*	*naro̱l*	'thin'
		narə̱y		*narə̱y*	*narə̱yo*	
Adj_{2b} (f)	*narə̱y*	*narə̱y*		*narə̱y*	*narə̱yo*	
Adj_3 (m/f)	*xâysta̱*	*xâysta̱*		*xâysta̱*	*xâysta̱l* *xâysta̱wo*	'pretty'

3.1.2.2 Irregular adjectives

As is the case with nouns, there are irregular adjectives, in which the feminine form is derived from the weakest ablaut stem forms; the patterns are *oluC ~ âlaC* and *CaliluC ~ CC-*.

TABLE 13.7: IRREGULAR ADJECTIVES

	Ds	Os	=	Dp	Op	
Adj (m)	*pokh*	*pâkhə*		*pâkhə*	*pakho*	'ripe, cooked'
Adj, (f)	*pakha*	*pakhe*		*pakhe*	*pakho*	
Adj. (m)	*sor*	*sâre*		*sârə*	*saro*	'cold'
Adj, (f)	*sara*	*sare*		*sare*	*saro*	
Adj. (m)	*shin*	*shnə*		*shnə*	*shno*	'green'
Adj. (f)	*shna*	*shne*		*shne*	*shno*	

3.1.2.3 Comparison

Pashto does not have comparative or superlative suffixes.
   (1) Comparative
   Simple comparsion is expressed by the ambipositions *lə . . . na* 'from':

> *asad [lə   amân na]   jəg da*
> Asad [from Aman from] tall be.PR.3s
> 'Asad is taller than Aman';

> *de amân plâr   de asad [lə   plâr   na]   ləg bâgh-un-a   lar-i*
> of Aman father of Asad [from father from] few orchards-Op have.PR.IPFV-3s
> Aman's father has fewer orchards than Asad's father'.

   (2) Superlatives
   Superlatives are expressed in three ways:
   (a) with *lə . . . na* 'from', in which the object of the ambiposition is all-inclusive:

> *khoshâl pə sinf ke [lə   ṭol-o alək-ân-o na]   jəg da*
> Khoshal in class in [from all   boys-Op from] tall be.PR.3s
> 'Khoshal is taller than all the boys in the class'.

   (b) A second way to express superlatives is with the adverb *ḍer* 'very', in which case the sentence is ambiguous:

> *khoshâl pə sinf ke [ḍer jəg] alək da*
> Khoshal in class in [very tall] boy be.PR.3s
> 'Khoshal is the tallest boy in the class', lit. 'a very tall boy in the class'.

   (c) The third way is with *ḍer* 'very', but with the subject moved out of position to just before the verb, disambiguating the sentence:

> *pə sinf ke [ḍer jəg] alək khoshâl da*
> in class in [very tall] boy Khoshal be.PR.3s
> 'Khoshal is the tallest boy in the class'.

3.1.3 Pronouns and deixis

3.1.3.1 Personal pronouns

Pashto has enclitic, proclitic and independent personal pronouns.

3.1.3.1a Enclitic pronouns

TABLE 13.8: CLITIC PRONOUNS

Enclitic	1 pers.	2 pers.	3 pers.
Sing.	me	de	ye
Plur.	molam	molam	ye
Proclitic			
Sg./pl.	râ	dər	wər

The enclitic pronouns function as subjects/agents in past transitive sentences, and in possessive constructions, as do the nominal oblique cases; but different from those, they also function as direct objects in present tense sentences.

The proclitic pronouns are phonologically identical with the directional prefixes that form the first syllables of prefixed verbs described in section 3.2.2.3. This identity and the correlation between persons and directions suggests that at some earlier stage of the language the two functions were identical as well.

(1) Direct object in the present tense, and as subject/agent in the past tenses of transitive verbs:

mach-aw-i   [me]
kiss.PR.IPFV-3s [me]
'he is kissing me';

mach-aw-əl-əm [ye]
kiss.PT.IPFV-1s [he-AG]
'he was kissing me'.

(2) Possessor:

kitâb [me], kitâb [ye]
book [my], book [his]
'my book', 'his book'.

(3) Proclitic with adpositions:

Asad as   [râ ta] akhl-i
Asad horse [me to] buy.PR.IPFV-3s
'Asad is buying a horse for me';

dâ [dər pore] khând-i
she [you at]   laugh.PR.IPFV-3s
'she's laughing at you';

amân nə   [wər sara] dz-i
Aman not [him with] go.PR.IPFV-3s
'Aman isn't going with him';

laylâ [wər ta] wə-wel-e
Layla [them to] PFV.tell.PT.PFV-3sf
'Layla told them'.

3.1.3.1b Independent pronouns

TABLE 13.9: INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

Singular	1s	2s	3sm	3sf	3sm	3sf
Subject	zə	tə	day	dâ	agh_a_	agh_a_
Object/Prepos.	mâ	tâ	day	dâ	agh_a_	agh_a_
Possessive	di mâ̱l	di tấl	di də̱	di də̱		
	zmâ*.	stâ*				
Plural	1p	2p	3pm	3pf	3pm	3pf
Subj./Obj./Prep.	mung	tâ̱se	duy	duy	agh_uy_	agh_uy_
Possessive	zmung	stâ̱se				

* Non-Central dialects

The independent pronouns are used for emphasis:

[zə] ahmaq nə̱ y-əm; [da̱y] ahmaq da
[I] stupid NEG be.PR-1s [he] stupid be.PR.3sm
'I'm not stupid; *he* is'.

 Their oblique cases function both as direct objects in the present tenses and as subjects in transitive past tenses, and occur with adpositions. In the Central dialect, the possessive forms 1s *di mâ̱* and 2s *di tâ̱* are used; in other dialects, the forms *zmâ* and *stâ* are preferred, while the 1p and 2p forms are *zmung* and *stâ̱se* in all dialects.
 The 3rd person pronouns distinguish near and far deixis.

3.1.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns in Pashto function as both as independent pronouns and as attributive adjectives. As pronouns, they have initial stress, as adjectives final stress. There is a three-way contrast, here called near, middle, and far.

TABLE 13.10: DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

Masc./fem.	Dsmf	Osmf	Dp (= sg.)	Op (= sg.)
Near	dâ	de	dâ	de
Masculine	Dsm	Osm	Dpm (= sg.)	Opm
Near	da̱gh-a	də̱gh-ə	da̱gh-a	də̱gh-o
Mid	a̱gh-a	a̱gh-ə	a̱gh-a	a̱gh-o
Far	u̱gh-a	u̱gh-ə	u̱gh-a	u̱gh-o
Feminine	Dsf (= m)	[Opf =	Dpf]	Opf (= m)
Near	da̱gh-a	də̱gh-e	da̱gh-e	də̱gh-o
Mid	a̱gh-a	a̱gh-e	a̱gh-e	a̱gh-o
Far	u̱gh-a	u̱gh-e	u̱gh-e	u̱gh-o

Focus and identity is marked by the prefix *ham-* 'same' with bisyllabic demonstratives, e.g. *ha̱m-dagha* 'this very one'.

3.1.3.3 Reflexive and possessive pronouns

Reference to self is expressed by the adjective *khpəl* (regular Adj₁ inflection) as well as the noun *dzân* (regular M₂ noun inflection):

> *ahmad [khpəl] kitâb râ-woṛ*
> Ahmad [own]   book here-bring.PT.PFV.3s
> 'Ahmad brought his (own) book';

> *ahmad [ye] kitâb râ-woṛ*
> Ahmad [his] book here-bring.PT.PFV.3s
> 'Ahmad brought his (someone else's);

> *kitâb [dzân] ta akhl-əm*
> book [self]   for buy.PR.IPFV-1s
> 'I'm buying the book for myself'.

3.1.3.4 Indefinite and interrogative pronouns and related adverbials

Some basic indefinite pronouns, which also serve as interrogatives, are:

Pronominal

tsok, obl. *châ*	'someone; who'
tsə	'something; what' (no inflection)
tsəwəm	'which (number)'
tso	'several; how many/much' (plural only)
tsumra	'that/how much'
kum	'(a) certain' (Adj₁ₐ)

Adverbial

kəla	'when'	*tsə wakht*	'when'
chera, cherta	'where'	*tsə ranga*	'how'
də kəm-a	'where from'	*wali*	'why'

Other inflected pronominal adjectives include: *har* 'each', *ṭol* 'all', *bəl* 'other, else', *nor* 'others', *dzinil-o*.

These pronouns may be combined: *yaw, yaw tsok, yaw tso, yaw-tsə* 'somebody, some (people), something'; *har yaw* 'each one', *har-tsok* 'each one'; *bəl-tsok* 'somebody else'. The negative pronoun is *hets* 'any' with negated verb, e.g. *hetsok* 'nobody'; also *hechera* 'nowhere (to)', etc.

3.1.4 Adpositions

Pashto adpositions include prepositions, postpositions, and ambipositions which consist of pre- and post-nominal elements. Nominal objects of adpositions are in the oblique case, except in some literary or formal usages.

3.1.4.1 Prepositions and postposition

There are only two prepositions, which are of high frequency, and only one common postposition that we know of:

- *de* 'of' forms possessive phrases with nouns or strong pronouns: *de asad plâr* 'Asad's father';
- *pə* has a large range of meanings, the most common of which are 'with/by means of': *pə chârə* 'with/by means of a knife', and 'at' in time expressions: *pə yawa baja* 'at one o'clock';
- *ta* 'to' typically expresses the indirect object or direction, or dative: *bâzâr ta* 'to the market', *asad ta* 'to/for Asad'.

3.1.4.2 Ambipositions

Most adpositions have two elements, bracketing the nominal object. The first element of these is either *pə*, *lə*, or *tər*. The second element is likely to be one of the following particles: *ke*, *bânde*, *pəse*, *na*, *tsəkha*, *sara*, *lânde*, *pore*. Some of the commonest ambipositions are the following:

pə . . . ke 'in, at':	*pə kâbəl ke*	'in Kabul';
pə . . . bânde 'on/to':	*pə plə bânde*	'on the bridge';
pə . . . pəse 'after':	*pə dərs pəse*	'after class';
lə . . . na 'from':	*lə laylâ na*	'from Layla';
lə . . . tsəkha 'from':	*lə logar tsəkha*	'from Logar';
lə . . . lânde 'under':	*lə plə lânde*	'under the ridge';
lə . . . sara 'with':	*lə asad sara*	'with Asad';
tər . . . lânde 'under':	*tər mez lânde*	'under the table';
tər . . . -a pore 'up to':	*tər sahâr-a pore*	'until morning'.

Either element of an ambiposition, most often the first, may be deleted: *lə asad na > asad na* 'from Asad', *lə asad sara > asad sara* 'with Asad'.

The first element of an ambiposition is mutually exclusive with the enclitic pronouns (described in 3.1.3.1a): *wər sara* 'with him', *dər na* 'from you', and *wər bânde* 'on it'.

In the ambiposition *lə . . . na* 'from', *-n* is frequently elided after consonants as in *lə asad na > lə asad-a* 'from Asad' in the example above.

The alternation just cited, with *na > -a*—which we have analyzed as an optional phonological process—is considered by other scholars to be a second oblique case in other analyses, notably that in Penzl (1955; in general, see also Heston 1987).

3.1.5 Adverbs

See section 3.1.1.3 Use of cases.

3.1.6 Numerals

3.1.6.1 Cardinal numbers

Pashto numbers are all indeclinable adjectives of the Adj₃ class, with optional plural

oblique -*o*. The exception is 'one', which distinguishes gender and case according to class Adj₁ᵦ, thus *yaw* (m), *yaw-a* (f).

In the mostly irregular numbers from 11 to 99 the unit precedes the decade: *dre atyâ* '3–80' = 83. Hundreds above 100, and thousands above 1000, follow the unit in their distinct oblique plural forms in -*a*: *(yaw) səl* '100', *shpəg səw-a* '600', *(yaw) zər* '1000', *dre zər-a* '3000'. Larger compound numbers have the connective *aw* 'and': *dre zər-a aw shpəg sew-a aw dre atyâ* '3683'.

Nouns after numbers larger than one require the plural.

TABLE 13.11: BASIC CARDINAL NUMBERS

1–9	11–19	10–90	100+	
*yaw**	*yawo-las*	*las*	*səl*	'100'
dwa	*do-las*	*shəl*	*zər*	'1000'
dre	*dyar-las*	*ders*		
tsalor	*tswar-las*	*tsalwext*		
pindzə	*pindzə-las*	*pəndzos*		
shpag	*shpâr-as*	*shpetə*		
wə	*wə-las*	*awyâ*		
atə	*atə-las*	*atyâ*		
nəhə	*nun-as*	*nawi*		

* m.*yaw*, f. *yaw-a*, Adj₁ᵦ.

TABLE 13.12: DECADES + SINGLE DIGITS

21–29	31–69	71–99
yawist	*yaw-ders*	*yaw-awyâ*
dw-a-wist	*d-u-ders*	*dw-a-awyâ*
dər-wist	*dr-i-ders*	*dr-e-awyâ*
tsaler-ist	*tsalor-ders*	*tsalor-awyâ*
pindzə-wist	*pindzə-ders*	*pindzə-awyâ*
shpəg-wist	*shpəg-ders*	*shpəg-awyâ*
wə-wist	*wə-ders*	*wə-awyâ*
atə-wist	*atə-ders*	*atə-awyâ*
nəhə-wist	*nəhə-ders*	*nəhə-awyâ*

3.1.6.2 Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers are formed from the cardinal numbers by adding the suffix. -*əm* (m), -*əma* (f). The resulting adjectival inflection has the pattern Adj₁ᵦ [Os = Dp], e.g.:

	'fourth' (cardinal ends in consonant)		'seventh' (cardinal ends in vowel)	
	masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.
Ds	*tsalor-əm*	*tsalor-əm-a*	*w-əm*	*w-əm-a*
Os	*tsalor-əm*	*tsalor-əm-e*	*w-əm*	*w-əm-e*
Dp	*tsalor-əm*	*tsalor-əm-e*	*w-əm*	*w-əm-e*
Op	*tsalor-əm-o*	*tsalor-əm-o*	*w-əm-o*	*w-əm-o*

3.2 Verb morphology

The verb system of Pashto is based on two stems: present/past, and two aspects: perfective/imperfective, and distinguishes gender and number in the third person. Mood is distinguished by inflection and particles. All verbs are anchored on the following four verb formations:

PR		PT	
Imperfective	Perfective	Imperfective	Perfective.

The imperfective/perfective distinction appears to relate mostly to whether the action denoted by a verb has been completed or is incomplete. In some analyses, various occurrences of the perfective have been associated with subjunctive functions. These semantic distinctions are not consistent, however, and it seems most prudent—at least until further inquiry is completed—to consider the perfective a grammatical form only.

3.2.1 Person marking and 'be, become'

3.2.1.1 Basic forms

Functionally, endings agree in number person, number, and gender with either subjects or objects depending on the tense and particular construction. The forms of the verb 'be, become' exemplify the inflection of regular verbs. (Note that elements in parentheses indicate that the element -ǝl is optional.)

TABLE 13.13: PERSON MARKING AND 'BE, BECOME'

	Endings		'be' (imperfective)		'become, be' (perfective)	
	PR	PT	PR	PT	PR	PT
1s	-ǝm	-(ǝl)-ǝm	y-ǝm	w-ǝm	s-ǝm	sw(-ǝl)-ǝm
2s	-e	-(ǝl)-e	y-e	w-e	s-e	sw(-ǝl)-e
Imper.	-a				s-a	
3sm	-i	-ǝ	d-a/d-ay	w-ǝ	s-i	sw-ǝ
3sf	-i	-(ǝl)-a	d-a	w-a	s-i	sw(-ǝl)-a
1p	-u	-(ǝl)-u	y-u	w-u	s-u	sw(-ǝl)-u
2p	-ǝy	-(ǝl)-ǝy	y-âstǝy	w-ǝy	s-ǝy	sw(-ǝl)-ǝy
Imper.	-ǝy				s-ey	
3pm	-i	-ǝl(-ǝ)	d-i	w-ǝ	s-i	sw-ǝl(-ǝ)
3pf	-i	-(ǝl)-el-ǝl	d-i	w-e	s-i	sw(-ǝl)-e

3.2.1.2 Third person existential and modal forms

In the 3rd person the copula has three additional forms which are undifferentiated as to person, number, and gender: *sta*, *wi*, and *way*; they are negated with *nǝ*.

(1) *sta* is the existential verb: 'there is/are'; negated *nǝ-sta*.
(2) *wi* (also referred to as subjunctive) is conjectural, used when an assumption or given fact is being discussed, in contrast to *da* and *di* which are used when reporting an

observation. The contrast between them is clear, for example, in the following sentences referring to a public picnic table:

khalək dəlta nâst [d-i]   'people are   sitting here' (we can see them);
khalək dəlta nâst [w-i]   'people (may) sit   here' (we can use this table).

(3)   *way* (also referred to as conjectural and optative) is used in irreal clauses (*wāy* in non-Central dialects).

Note that the present and past forms of the copula, including *wi* and *way*, are also used to form periphrastic forms of the verb.

3.2.2 Stem formation and tense/aspect

Verbs may be classified according to the way in which their forms are constructed. There are three main classes of verbs: (1) simple verbs; (2) derivative verbs; and (3) prefixed stress-shifting verbs.

3.2.2.1 Simple verbs

Simple verbs form their perfective stems by adding the prefix *wə-* to the imperfective present and past stems.

This class includes: (1) regular verbs where the past stem is derived from the unexpanded present stem by the regular past morpheme *-əl*; (2) a great number of irregular verbs where the morphological interrelationship between the two stems is opaque; (3) verbs where there is stem suppletion.

In the following examples the forms are in the 1s; forms in parentheses indicate optional omission of the element.

TABLE 13.14: REGULAR SIMPLE VERBS

	PR.IPFV	PT.IPFV	PR.PFV	PT.PFV
'drink'	*tsk-əm*	*tsk-əl-əm*	*wə-tsk-əm*	*wətsk-əl-əm*
'throw'	*shind-əm*	*shind-əl-əm*	*wə-shind-əm*	*wə-shind-(əl)-əm*
'have'	*lâr-əm*	*lar-əl-əm*	*wə-lar-ə-m*	*wə-lar-əl-əm*
'write'	*lik-əm*	*lik-əl-əm*	*wə-lik-əm*	*wə-lik-əl-əm*
'dance'	*gaḍ-eg-əm*	*gaḍ-ed-əm*	*wə-gaḍ-egəm*	*wə-gaḍ-ed-əm*
'tie'	*taṛ-eg-əm*	*taṛ-ed-əm*	*wə-taṛ-eg-əm*	*wə-taṛ-ed-əm*

TABLE 13.15: IRREGULAR SIMPLE AND SUPPLETIVE VERBS

	PR.IPFV	PT.IPFV		PR.IPFV	PT-IPFV
'take, buy'	*akhl-*	*akhist(-əl)-*	'read'	*lwan-*	*lwist(-əl)-*
'wear'	*aghund-*	*aghust(-əl)-*	'show'	*xəy-*	*xod(-əl)-*
'kill'	*wazn-*	*waz(-əl)-*	'see'	*gor-*	*kat(-əl)-*

3.2.2.2 Derivative verbs

Derivative verbs are transparently based on adjectives or nouns, and constitute the largest and only open class of verbs. They occur with auxiliaries.

Intransitive and transitive

(1a) the transitive PR *(k)eg-*, PT *(k)ed(əl)-* related to the full verb meaning 'be done, become', and

(1b) the transitive formants PR *(k)aw-*, PT *(k)aw(əl)-* which when used as a full verb means 'do'.

(2a) If the noun or adjective ends in a vowel, the auxiliary is a separate word, and has forms as listed below, but

(2b) when the noun or adjective ends with a consonant, the *k-* of the auxiliary is dropped, and the rest of the auxiliary is added to the noun or adjective to form a single word.

Note that the imperfective forms of these verbs are indistinguishable from the imperfective forms of many of the simple verbs.

Imperfective and perfective aspects

(1) Both (a) *(k)eg-*, *(k)ed(əl)* and (b) *(k)aw-*, *(k)awəl-* represent the imperfective forms of these verbs.

(2) The corresponding perfective forms are expressed by (a) intransitive *PR s-*, PT *sw(əl)-* 'become, occur' and by (b) transitive *PR k-*, PT *kṛ(əl)-*.

The pattern of these distinctions is shown in the following, again with examples in first person singular:

TABLE 13.16: DERIVATIVE VERBS: INTRANSITIVE-TRANSITIVE

	PR.IPFV	PT.IPFV	PR.PFV	PT.PFV
Basic auxiliary verb				
'be done, become'	*keg-əm*	*ked(əl)-əm*	*s-əm*	*sw(-əl)-əm*
'do, make'	*kaw-əm*	*kaw-əl-əm*	*wə-k(r)-əm*	*wə-kṛ-(əl)-əm*
Derivative verbs				
	PR.IPFV	PT.IPFV	PR.PFV	PT.PFV
'be injured'				
zobl-eg-	*zobl-eg-əm*	*zobl-ed(-əl)-əm*	*zobəl s-əm*	*zobəl sw(-əl)-əm*
'injure'				
zobl-aw-	*zobl-aw-əm*	*zobl-aw-əl-əm*	*zobəl k-əm*	*zobəl kṛ(-əl)-əm*
'become pretty'				
xâysta k-eg-	*x. k-eg-əm*	*x. k-ed(-əl)-əm*	*x. s-əm*	*x. sw(-əl)-əm*
'beautify'				
xâysta k-aw-	*x. k-aw-əm*	*x. k-aw-əl-əm*	*x. k-əm*	*x. kṛ(-əl)-əm*

3.2.2.3 Prefixed stress-shifting verbs

Prefixed verbs are stress-shifting verbs where aspect is determined by the position of the stress. In the perfective forms, stress is on the nominal component or the prefix, or the first syllable of the verb, while in the imperfective forms it is on the last or penultimate syllable.

The prefixes include forms phonologically identical to the proclitic forms of the pronouns, and carry rough approximations of the meanings of the proclitics (see Proclitic pronouns under 3.1.3.1a):

râ 'here' (ich-deictic)
dər 'in your direction' (du-deictic)
wər 'there' (er-deictic)

Other prefixes include directional *ke* 'down', *pre* 'away', and *nəna* 'inside' (the meanings are approximate and inconsistent), plus a number of syllables for which the meaning is not immediately apparent.

This class of verbs is very small and highly irregular, involving both morphological change and shifts in stress, in addition to idiosyncratic third person forms in the past. The complexity of these verbs is demonstrated in the following list:

TABLE 13.17: PREFIXED VERBS: *râ-*, *dar-*, *war-*

	PR.IPFV	PT.IPFV	PR.PFV	PT.PFV
'go'	*dz-əm*	*tl(-əl)-əm*	*lâr s-əm*	*lâr(-əl)-əm*
'come here'	*râ-dz-əm*	*râ-tl(-əl)-əm*	*râ-s-əm*	*râ-ghl(-əl)-əm*
'go to you'	*dar-dz-əm*	*dar-tl(-əl)-əm*	*dar-s-əm*	*dar-ghl(-əl)-əm*
'go there'	*war-dz-əm*	*war-tl(-əl)-əm*	*war-s-əm*	*war-ghl(-əl)-əm*
'give here'	*râ-kaw-əm*	*râ-kaw(-əl)-əm*	*râ-kṛ-əm*	*râ-kṛ(-əl)-əm*
'give to you'	*dar-kaw-əm*	*dar-kaw-əl-əm*	*dar-kṛ-əm*	*dar-kṛ(-əl)-əm*
'give to him'	*war-k-aw-əm*	*war-kaw-əl-əm*	*war-kṛ-əm*	*war-kṛ(-əl)-əm*
'take, carry'	*wṛ-əm*	*wṛ-əl-əm*	*wes-əm*	*we-wṛ-əm*
'transport here'	*râ- wṛ-əm*	*râ-wṛ-əl-əm*	*râ-wṛ-əm*	*râ-wṛ-əl-əm*
'bring here'	*râ-wast-əm*	*râ-wast-əl-əm*	*râ-wast-əm*	*râ-wast-əl-əm*
'take there'	*war-wṛ-əm*	*war-wṛ-əl-əm*	*war-wṛ-əm*	*war-wṛ-əl-əm*

TABLE 13.18: PREFIXED VERBS: *ke-*, *pre-*, *nəna-*; NOUN + VERB

	PR.IPFV	PT.IPFV	PR.PFV	PT.PFV
'sit down'	*ke-n-əm*	*ke-nâst(-əl)-əm*	*ke-n-əm*	*ke-nâst(-əl)-əm*
'plant'	*ke-naw-əm*	*ke-naw-əl-əm*	*ke-naw-əm*	*ke-naw-əl-əm*
'squeeze'	*ke-kâg-əm*	*ke-xkod(əl)-əm*	*ke-kâg-əm*	*ke-xkod(əl)-əm*
'put'	*gd-əm*	*ke-xod(-əl)-əm*	*ke-gd-əm*	*ke-xod(-əl)-əm*
'allow'	*pre-gd-əm*	*pre-xod(-əl)-əm*	*pre-gd-əm*	*pre-xod(-əl)-əm*
'lie down'	*pre-wəz-əm*	*pre-wat(-əl)-əm*	*pre-wəz-əm*	*pre-wat-(əl)-əm*
'arrive, enter'	*nəna-wəz-əm*	*nəna-wat(-əl)-əm*	*nəna-wz-əm*	*nəna-wat(-əl)-əm*
'cut'	*pre-kaw-əm*	*pre-kaw-əl-əm*	*pre-kṛ-əm*	*pre-kṛ(-əl)-əm*
'wash'	*pre-mindz-əm*	*pre-mindz-əl-əm/pre-wələm*	*pre-mindz-əm*	*pre-mindz-əl-əm/ pre-wol-əm*
khatā 'error' 'deceive'	*khatā bâs-əm*	*khatā yest(-əl)-əm*	*khatā bâs-əm*	*khatā yest(-əl)-əm*
'err'	*khatā wəz-əm*	*khatā wat(-əl)-əm*	*khatā wəz-əm*	*khatā wat(-əl)-əm*

TABLE 13.19: VERBS WITH FUSED PREFIXES

	PR.IPFV	PT.IPFV	PR.PFV	PT.PFV
'lose'	*bâyl-əm*	*bâylod(-əl)-əm*	*bâyl-əm*	*bâylod(-əl)-əm*
'take'	*byây-əm*	*bow(-əl)-əm*	*boz-əm*	*botl(-əl)-əm*
'get up'	*pâts-eg-əm*	*pâts-ed(-əl)-əm*	*pâts-eg-əm*	*pâts-ed(-əl)-əm*
'open'	*prâ-niz-əm*	*prâ-nəst(-əl)-əm*	*prâ-niz-əm*	*prâ-nəst(-əl)-əm*

3.2.3 Nominal forms

3.2.3.1 Present participle

Present participles are adjectives in *-ay* of the Adj$_{2a}$ class, which are derived from present stems by the formant *-unk*, e.g. *ḍârəw-* 'threaten' > *ḍârəw-unk-ay* 'threatening'. These participles are artificial constructs, created by the Pashto Academy in the 1940s/1950s. They never caught on, and there are only a handful of words, certainly not a productive class, that made it into common usage, e.g. *xow-unk-ay* 'teacher'.

3.2.3.2 Perfect participle

Perfect participles are formed by affixing *-ay* to the imperfective or perfective past stems of the verbs. They are of the Adj$_{1b}$ class, as shown with the example of the verb *dar-eg-/ dar-ed-əl* 'stand, stop':

	masculine	feminine
Ds	*dar-ed-əl-ay*	*dar-ed-əl-e*
Os	*dar-ed-əl-i*	*dar-ed-əl-e*
Dp	*dar-ed-əl-i*	*dar-ed-əl-e*
Op	*dar-ed-əl-o*	*dar-ed-əl-o*

They function in a number of verb constructions: (a) the "perfect" tenses; (b) abililtative statements; (c) the passive construction; and (d) conditional sentences.

3.2.3.3 Conditional participle

In the central dialect described here, the conditional participle is formally identical to the perfect participle: *dar-ed-əl-ay*. It is marked for number and gender only when used with the past conditional form of the copula, *way*:

> . . . *ke-nâst-əl-e ba way*
> '. . . I would have sat-**sf** down' (female speaker).

3.2.3.4 Infinitive

Infinitives consist of the past imperfective stem + *-əl*. They belong to the masculine plural-only class, Dp *-Ø*, Op *-o*:

[bow-əl]	*ḍer*	*grân*	*fil*	*day*
[taking]	very	difficult	verb	is

'*bowəl* is a very difficult verb';

de laylâ	*[kat-əl]*	*saṛay*	*wazhn-i*
of Layla	looking	man	kill.PR.IPFV-3p

'Layla's gaze kills a man'.

3.2.4 Aspectual-modal particles and negation

3.2.4.1 Future, necessity, and obligation

There are three aspectual-modal particles, in addition to perfective *wə*:

(1) definite future is marked by *ba*; except for the infinitive, this particle co-occurs with each of the imperfective-perfective pairs;
(2) necessity is marked by *de*;
(3) obligation is marked by *bāyād*.

3.2.4.2 Negation

The prohibitive prefix is *mə̱*, and the general negative particle *nə̱*. Both always occur immediately before the inflected verb form, and attract primary stress. Thus with simple, derivative, and prefixed stress-shifting verbs these two particles are inserted after: (1) the perfective *wə̱*; (2) the prefix; and (3) the nominal component, respectively. (4) In the periphrastic perfect tenses (see 3.2.7.3), where the inflected component is the copular auxiliary at the end of the verb form, insertion entails reordering, by which the negated auxiliary component is shifted to the head of the construction.

(1) Simple verb, after perfective *wə̱*

    zə ba   lik   wə̱   [nə̱] leg-ə̱m
    I   FUT letter PFV NEG send.PR.PFV-1s
    'I won't send the letter'.

(2) Prefixed stress-shifting verb, after prefix

    zə ba   ke   [nə̱] n-ə̱m
    I   FUT pref NEG sit.PR.PFV-1s
    'I won't sit down' (*ke-n-/kenâst-*).

(3) Derivative verb, after nominal component

    zə ba   chalaw pokh   [nə̱] kṛ-ə̱m
    I   FUT rice-sm cooked-sm NEG do.PR.PFV-1s
    'I won't cook the rice'.

(4) Periphrastic perfect forms

    tor   tsawk-əy [nə̱] da   joṛ-a   kəṛ-a
    Tor.AG chair   NEG COP build-sf became-3sf
    'Tor has not built the chair'.

3.2.5 Overview of tense, mood, and aspect

Pashto verb forms and verbal constructions involve one or the other of the binary tense distinction and of the equally binary aspectual distinction, as well as various auxiliaries and particles.

    The system has been described in various ways. The following analysis, which is based on the fundamental opposition between imperfective and perfective, shows the symmetry of the system. This system has the following subsets: (1) the imperative forms; (2) the

simple present and past forms; (3) the periphrastic perfect forms. In terms of non-indicative modality, there are two: (1) future forms in the present and present perfect; (2) conjectural subjunctive forms, also in the present and present perfect, but mostly confined to use in dependent clauses. In synopsis, this system may be shown as follows (suggested by the Editor of this volume). The verb chosen here is the regular intransitive verb *ras-ed-/ras-ed-əl-* 'arrive' with 2s ending.

TABLE 13.20: PASHTO BASIC VERB SYSTEM

	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	
IMP	*raseg-a*	*wə-raseg-a*	IMP
PR	*raseg-e*	*ba wə-raseg-e*	FUT
		wə-raseg-e	SUBJ
PT	*rased-e*	*wə-rased-e*	PT
PRPF	*rasedəl-ay ye*	*ba rasedəl-ay ye*	FUT
		rasedəl-ay wi	SUBJ
PTPF	*rasedəl-ay we*		

This table excludes two periphrastic forms which only occur with irreal function in conditional constructions (see 5.5.2 Conditional clauses).

3.2.6 Preliminary notes on inflectional pattern

3.2.6.1 Inflection of verb classes

The individual tenses and verb constructions will be discussed in sections 3.2.7–10. The example sentences given there include verb forms of the three classes of verbs: simple, derived, and prefixed stress-shifting. It is particularly the derived verbs where the inflection is distinctly more complex than that of the simple verb *raseg- /rasedəl-* shown in Table 13.20. This is because the verb forms in certain tenses are split into (a) an inflected nominal component and (b) the auxiliary. The following table provides an overview of those patterns. See also section 3.2.3.2 Perfect participle, and Tables 13.6 and section 13.7 Adjectival classes.

Note that verbs derived from ablauting adjectives retain the ablaut as well as number and gender marking, e.g.:

zə   ba chalaw [pokh]   kṛ-əm 'I will cook rice' (masc. sg. mass noun), but
tarisâ ba âshak   [pâkh-ə] kṛ-i 'Theresa will cook aushak' (masc. pl. mass noun).

TABLE 13.21: OVERVIEW OF VERB CLASSES AND INFLECTION

	'dance'	'build'	'be built'	'go'	'take'
CLASS	regular	derivative tr.	derivative intr.	suppletive	fused prefix
PR.IPFV	*gaḍ-eg*-PR	*joṛ-aw*-PR	*joṛ-eg*-PR	*dz*-PR	*byây*-PR
PR.PFV	*wə gaḍ-eg*-PR	*joṛ*-A₁ *k*-PR	*joṛ*-A₁ *s*-PR	*lâṛ s*-PR	*boz*-PR
PT.IPFV	*gaḍ-ed*-PT	*joṛ-aw-əl*-PT	*joṛ-ed-əl*-PT	*tl(-əl)*-PT	*bow(-əl)*-PT
PT.PFV	*wə gaḍ-ed*-PT	*joṛ*-A₁ *kṛ(-əl)*-PT	*joṛ*-A₁ *sw(-əl)*-PT	*lâṛ(-əl)*-PT	*botl(-əl)*-PT
PF	*gaḍ-ed-əl-ay* *y-ld-*	*joṛ*-A₁ *kəṛ(-əl)-ay* *-ld-*	*joṛ*-A₁ *sw(-əl)-ay* *y-ld*	*tl-əl-ay* *y-ld*	*botl-ay* *y-ld*
PP	*gaḍ-ed-əl-ay* *w-*	*joṛ*-A₁ *kər(-əl)-ay* *w-*	*joṛ*-A₁ *sw(-əl)-ay* *w-*	*tl-əl-ay* *w-*	*botl-ay* *w-*

PR and PT = present and past endings
s- and *sw*- = present and past endings of perfective 'be, become'
y-ld- = present imperfective of 'be'
w- = past imperfective of 'be'
A₁ = inflected as adjectival class A₁ₐ
-ay = inflected as adjectival class A₂ₐ

3.2.6.2 Transitivity and ergative construction

Transitivity is a crucial category in Pashto (Tegey 1979). It is a spit-ergative language similar to a good number of modern Iranian languages where verb forms of transitive verbs based on the past stem morphologically change the arguments from the direct-oblique pattern to the oblique-direct pattern, with a concomitant shift of person, number, and gender agreement to the patient. In the examples sentences below: AG = agent oblique case, and D = direct patient case.

3.2.6.3 Order of presentation

The sequence of constructions discussed in the following will be:

(1) basic tenses and moods (3.2.7);
(2) modal constructions (3.2.8);
(3) passive constructions (3.2.9);
(4) infinitives as subject and object (3.2.10).

Inside each section, the sequence will be present, past, and future forms. For ease of reference, the canonical forms of the verb *raseg-/rased-əl-*, all 2s, found in Table 13.20 will be given first.

The verbs in the examples sentences are mostly taken from the following list to show differences in construction from one verb class to the other.

Intransitive			Transitive	
Simple:	*gaḍeg-*	'dance'	*leg-*	'send'
Derivative:	*joṛeg-*	'get better, be built'	*joṛaw-*	'build'
Prefixing:	*dz-*	'go'	*byây-*	'take'

Note that the modal markers of future *ba*, necessity *de*, and obligation *bâyad* are clause clitics and attached to the first simple or complex component of the clause, which may result in the change of word order.

3.2.7 Basic tense constructions

3.2.7.1 Present time constructions

3.2.7.1a Imperative

raseg-al/wə-raseg-a

Note that positive commands usually require the perfective present stem, prohibitive command marked by prohibitive *mə* require the imperfective present stem.

(1) Positive ('go')

wə-gaḍ-eg-əy   *tsawk-əy joṛ-a   k-a*
PFV.dance.PR.PFV-IMP.2p   chair-sf build-sf AUX.PR.PFV-IMP.2s
'dance (everyone)!';   'build the chair!';

mâshumân dər sara boz-a
children   you with take.PR.PFV-IMP.2s
'take the children with you'.

(2) Prohibitive
   mə + present imperfective stem

maktub wos mə   leg-a   *wos mə   dz-a*
letter   now PROH send.PR.IPFV-IMP.2s now PROH go.PR.IPFV-IMP.2s
'don't send the letter now!';   'don't go now!';

kor   sarək ta nizde mə   joṛ-aw-əy
house road to close PROH build.PR.IPFV-IMP.2p
'don't build the house so close to the road';

laylâ kor   ta mə   byây-əy
Layla house to NEG take.PR.IPFV-IMP.2p
'don't take Layla home yet'.

3.2.7.1b   Imperfective present

raseg-e
The imperfective present expresses general, habitual, and ongoing action in the present, and contextually in the future.

(0) 'be'

dukân-dâr   y-əm   *wəg-ay y-e*
shop-keeper be.PR.IPFV-1s hungry be.PR.IPFV-2s
'I am a shopkeeper';   'you're hungry'.

(1a) Intransitive

> *gaḏ-eg-əm*   *pohantun̩ ta dz-u*
> dance.PR.IPFV-1s   university to go.PR.IPFV-1p
> 'I'm dancing/I dance';   'we go/are going to the university'.

(1b) Derivative class

> *tsapl-əy pə   pexawər ke   **joṛ-eg-i***
> sandal   in   Peshawarin   **be made**.PR.IPFV-3p
> 'sandals are made in Peshawar'.

(2) Transitive

> *laylâ̰ khpəl-e koran-əy ta pays-e̱   leg-i*
> Layla own   family   to money   send.PR.IPFV-3s
> 'Layla sends/is sending money to her family';

> *mâjə̱t   joṛ-aw-i*
> mosque   build.PR.IPFV-3p
> ˙they are building a mosque˙.

3.2.7.1c Perfective present

wə̱-raseg-e

The perfective present mostly functions as a subjunctive. It expresses admonition, doubt, or similar modalities in independent clauses, and potential action in dependent clauses (see also 3.2.8 Modal constructions).

> *asə̱d **che**   maktə̱b khlas̱   k-i,   maalə̱m **ba**   s-i*
> Asad **when** school   finish-3s do.PR.PFV teacher **FUT** be.PR.PFV-3s
> 'Asad will be a teacher when he finishes school';

> *de asə̱d plâr   ghwâ̱-i   tse   bâ̱gh   w-âkhl-i*
> of Asad father want.PR.IPFV-3s **CONJ** orchard PFV.buy.PR.PFV-3s
> 'Asad's father wants to buy an orchard'.

3.2.7.1d Present future

ba wə̱-raseg-e

(0) 'be'

> *tâ̰se   **ba**   zər   tə̱g-i   sə̱y   day **ba**   jə̱g   s-i*
> you.p **BUT** soon thirsty-pm be.PR.PFV-2s he **FUT** tall.sm be.PR.PFV-3s
> 'you all will be thirsty soon'   'he will be tall'.

(1) Intransitive

> *ahmə̱d **ba**   pə wâdə̱   ke wə̱-gaḏ-eg-i*
> Ahmad **FUT** at wedding at PFV.dance.PR.PFV-3s
> 'Ahmad will dance at the wedding';

> *laylâ̰ **ba**   joṛ-a   s-i*
> Layla **FUT** healthy-sf AUX.PR.PFV-3s
> 'Layla will get better';

> as*a*d *ba* melmastyâ ta lâr s-i
> Asad **FUT** party   to go.sm AUX.PR.PFV-3s
> 'Asad will go to the party'.

(2) Transitive

> as*a*d *ba* dewâl jor   k-i
> Asad **FUT** wall   build.sm AUX.PR.PFV-3s
> 'Asad will build a wall';

> tor *ba* ye boz-i
> Tor **FUT** him take.PR.PFV-3s
> 'Tor will take him'.

3.2.7.2 Past time constructions

3.2.7.2a Imperfective past

rased-e

The imperfective past has two functions:

(a) Similar to the imperfective present, the imperfective past expresses general, habitual, and ongoing action in the present and contextually future in the past (prospective past);
(b) It expresses irreal action in expressions such as wishes, and in conditional clauses (see section 5.5.2).

(0) 'be'

> stər-ay w-əm   stər-ay sw-əm
> tired   be.PT.IPFV-1s   tired   be.PT.PFV-1s
> 'I was tired';   'I became tired';

> xowunk-ay w-ə   xowunk-ay s-ə
> teacher   be.PT.IPFV-3sm teacher   be.PT.PFV-3sm
> 'he was a teacher';   'he became a teacher'.

(1a) Intransitive

> mung wâdə   ta tl-u
> we   wedding to go.PT.IPFV-1p
> 'we were going to the wedding'.

(1b) Derivative class

> tsapl-əy   pə pexawər ke **jor-ed-əl-e**
> sandals-pf in Peshawar in **be made**.PT.IPFV-3pf
> 'sandals used to be made in Peshawar'.

(2) Transitive

> laylâ   khpəl-e koran-əy ta pays-e   leg-əl
> Layla.**AG** own   family-O to money-**Dpf** send.PT.IPFV.**3pf**
> 'Layla was sending money to her family';

mâjət   ye   joŗ-aw-ə (< -əl)
mosque.**Dsm** they.**AG** build.PT.IPFV.**3sm**
'they were building a mosque';

tâse   as-una   bâzar   ta bow-əl?
you.p.**AG** horses-**Dpm** bazaar to take.PT.IPFV.**3pm**
'were you taking the horses to the market?'

3.2.7.2b Perfective past

wə-rased-e
The perfective past expresses the action or event as a completed whole. See also Syntax
for its use in 5.5.1 temporal and 5.5.2 conditional clauses.

(1) Intransitive

xədz-e   joŗ-e   sw-e   *pohantun ta lâr-u*
women-pf recover-pf AUX.PT.PFV-3pf   university to go.PT.PFV-1p
'the women recovered';   'we went to the university';

asad   wə-gaḍ-ed-ə
Asad.sm PFV.dance.PT.PFV-3sm
'Asad danced'.

(2) Transitive

laylâ .   khpəl-e koran-əy ta pays-e   wə-leg-əl-e
Layla.**AG** own   family   to money-**Dpf** PFV.send.PT.PFV-**3pf**
'Layla sent money to her family';

mâjət   ye   joŗ   kŗ
mosque.**Dsm** they.**AG** build.**sm** AUX.PT.PFV.**3sm**
'they built a mosque';

tâse   as-una   bâzar   ta botl-ə?
you.p.**AG** horses-**Dpm** bazaar to take.PT.PFV-**3pm**
'did you take the horses to the market?'.

3.2.7.3 Perfect constructions

3.2.7.3a Present perfect

rased əl-ay ye
The present perfect expresses an action the result of which continues in the present.

(1) Intransitive

de asad plâr   pakistân ta tl-əl-ay   da
of Asad father.sm Pakistan to go- PART-IPFV-3sm be.PR.IPFV.3s
'Asad's father has gone to Pakistan'.

(2) Transitive

laylâ   lik   leg-əl-ay   da
Layla.**AG** letter.**Dsm** send.PART-IPFV-**sm** be.PR.IPFV.**3s**
'Layla has sent the letter';

tor   tsawk-əy   jor̩-a   kər̩-e   da
Tor.**AG** chair-**Dsf** build-sf PART.PFV-**3sf** be.PR.IPFV.**3s**
'Tor has built a chair'.

3.2.7.3b Past perfect

rasedə̱l-ay we

The past perfect expresses a remote action, or an anterior action in the past.

(1) Intransitive

   de asa̱d plâr   pakistận ta tl-ə̱l-ay   w-ə
   of Asad father.Dsm Pakistan to go- PART.PFV-sm be.PT.IPFV-3sm
   'Asad's father had gone to Pakistan'.

(2) Transitive

   Tor   kor   jor̩   kə̱r-ay   w-ə
   Tor.**AG** house.**Dsm** build.**sm** PART.PFV-**sm** be.PT.IPFV-**3s**
   'Tor had built a house'.

3.2.7.3c Future perfect

ba rasedə̱l-ay ye 'will have gone'

(1) Intransitive

   de asa̱d plâr   ba   pakistận ta tl-ə̱l-ay   w-ə
   of Asad father.**Dsm** **FUT** Pakistan to go.PART.PFV-**3sm** be.PT.IPFV-**3sm**
   'Asad's father will have gone to Pakistan'.

(2) Transitive

   tor   ba   tsawk-əy   jor̩-a   kə̱r-e   w-a
   Tor.**AG** **FUT** chair.**Dsf** build-**sf** PART.PFV-**sf** be.PT.IPFV-**3sf**
   'Tor will have built a chair'.

3.2.7.3d Conjectural perfect

rasedə̱l-ay wi

Similar to the perfective present as a subjunctive, the perfect subjunctive expresses conjecture and assumption, but of a completed action or event. While occurring mostly in dependent clauses, it may be used in main clauses as well, as in this example:

   khalək də̱lta nâst   [w-i]
   people here   seated be.SUBJ
   'people sit here', lit. 'people may sit/be sitting here' (we can use this table).

Compare the use of *wi* in the following (see section 7 Sample Text):

   aw sar   ye pə   larg-o̱ wər-wə-pox-ə,
   and head its with wood there.PFV.cover.PT.PFV.3s
      che lə   bâd   aw bârân-a pək-e pə amận [wi]
      that from wind and rain   blow in safety be.SUBJ

'and he covered it over with wood planking, so that he could live there protected from the wind and rain'.

For the use of the present and past conditional forms, see section 5.5.2 Conditional clauses.

3.2.8 Modal constructions

3.2.8.1 Ability 'can'

3.2.8.1a Present ability

ras-ed-əl-ay + *s-*, all tenses and moods.
Note that the auxiliary is identical with the perfective forms of 'be, become'.

(1) Intransitive

    asad   xə   gaḍedəl-ay   s-i
    Asad well dance-PART-IPFV be.AUX.PR.PFV-3s
    'Asad can dance very well';

    pohantun ta tləl-ay   s-əy
    university to go-PART-IPFV be.AUX.PR.PFV-2p
    'you can go to the university'.

(2) Transitive

    kor   alta joṛ-awəl-ay   s-e
    house there build-PART-IPFV be.AUX.PR.PFV-2s
    'you can build a house there';

    kor   ta me bowəl-ay   s-e?
    home to me take-PART-IPFV be.AUX.PR.PFV-2s
    'can you take me home?'

3.2.8.1b Past ability

(1) Intransitive

    mung nən sahâr   pə bâgh   ke-har-chera tləl-ay   sw-u
    we   today morning in orchard in any-where go.PART.IPFV be.AUX.PT.PFV-1p
    'we could go anywhere in the orchard this morning'.

(2) Transitive

    laylâ   lik   wə-legəl-ay   s-ə
    Layla.**AG** letter.**Dsm** PFV.send.PART.PFV be.AUX.PT.PFV-**3sm**
    'Layla could send the letter'.

3.2.8.1c Future ability

(1) Intransitive

    *asad **ba**   xə   wə-gaḍedəl-ay   s-i*
    Asad **FUT** well PFV.dance-PART.PFV be.AUX.PR.PFV-3s
    'Asad will be able to dance very well'.

(2) Transitive

> *laylâ ba lik sabâ ta wə-legəl-ay s-i*
> Layla FUT letter tomorrow to PFV.send-PART.PFV be.AUX.PR.PFV-3s
> 'Layla will be able to send the letter tomorrow';

> *alta ba kor joṛ kəṛ-ay s-e*
> there FUT house build PART.PFV be.AUX.PR.PFV-2s
> 'you will be able to build a house there';

> *kor ta ba me botl-ay s-e?*
> house to FUT me take.PART.PFV be.AUX.PR.PFV-2s
> 'will you be able to take me home?'

3.2.8.2 Necessity and assumption, 'must'

de + perfective present stem, and related modal words or expressions.

The particle *de* expresses both strong and weak necessity as well as assumption, and accordingly governs the potential verb form, i.e. the perfective present. In addition, adjectives and nouns with similar semantic connotations are used.

(1) *de*

(1a) Intransitive

> *day de wə-gaḍ-eg-i*
> he must dance.PFV.PR.PFV-3s
> 'he must dance';

> *laylâ de kor ta lâṛ-a s-i*
> Layla must house to go-sf be.AUX.PR.PFV-3s
> 'Layla must go home'.

(1b) Transitive

> *duy de kor sarək tanizde joṛ k-i*
> they must house.sm road toclose build.sm do.AUX.PR.PFV-3p
> 'they must build the house close to the road';

> *asad me de kor ta boz-i*
> Asad me must house to take.PR.PFV-3s
> 'Asad must take me home'.

(2) *zarur* 'necessary' + 'be'

> *pə paxt-an-o ke dâ zarur nə da che melma wə-bal-ə*
> in Pashtuns in this necessary NEG is CONJ guest PFV.invite.INF
> *s-i*
> be.PR.PFV-3p
> 'among Pashtuns it is not necessary that a guest be invited'.

3.2.8.3 Obligation, 'should'

Obligation is expressed by *bâyad* + perfective present.

(1) Intransitive

> *mung həm bâyad wə-gəḍ-eg-u*
> we   also **should** PFV.dance.PR.PFV-1p
> 'we should dance too';

> *laylâ bâyad kor   ta lâṛ-a s-i*
> Layla **should** house to go-sf be.AUX.PR.PFV-3s
> 'Layla should go home'.

(2) Transitive

> *duy bâyad nəw-ay kor   joṛ   k-i*
> they **should** new   house,sm build.sm do.AUX.PR.PFV-3p
> 'they should build a new house';

> *mashum-ân bâyad tsok   mel-e ta boz-i*
> children   **should** someone picnic to take.PR.PFV-3s
> 'someone should take the children to the picnic'.

3.2.9 Passive constructions

Infinitive + *keg-/ked-əl-* in all tenses and moods

   This construction is formed with the infinitive plus the tenses and moods of the auxiliary *keg-/ked-əl-*, which is derived from the verb 'make, do'. See also the passive-like examples of the derivative class under 3.2.7.1b and 3.2.7.2a.

(1) Present

> *day waz-əl   k-eg-i*
> he   kill.INF   become.AUX.PR.IPFV-3s
> 'he is getting killed';

> *as   məlgər-i ta bax-əl   k-eg-i*
> horse friend   to give.INF become.AUX.PR.IPFV-3s
> 'one's horse is given only to friends';

> *saṛ-ay pə bad-a wradz ke pezand-əl k-eg-i*
> man   on bad   day   on know.INF become.AUX.PR.IPFV-3s
> 'a true man makes himself known in difficult times'(proverb),
> lit. 'a true man becomes known . . .'

(2) Past

> *pə pexawər ke njun-e   təxt-aw-əl k-ed-e*
> in Peshwar in girls-3pf kidnap.INF become.AUX.PT.IPFV-3p
> 'girls used to be kidnapped in Peshawar'.

3.2.10 Infinitives as subject and object

Infinitives may function as nominalized short clauses. As indicated under 3.1.1.1 Gender, they count as masculine in gender, and as plural in number.

(1) Subject

> *bowəl ḍer grân fil day*
> take.INF very difficult verb be.PR.**3pm**
> '*bowəl* is a very difficult verb';

> *de laylâ katəl saṛ-ay wazhn-i*
> of Layla look.INF man kill.PR.IPFV-**3pm**
> 'Layla's *gaze* kills a man';

> *tlə̣l me stəṛ-ay kaw-i*
> go.INF me tired-D3sm do.PR.IPFV-**3pm**
> '*traveling* makes me tired'.

(2) Object

> *wayə̣l-o ta ye mə gor-a, kawə̣l-o ta ye gor-a*
> talk.INF-**Opm** to his PROH look-IMP2s do.INF-**Opm** to his look-IMP.2s
> 'don't look at his *words*, look at his *actions*'.

4 SYNTAX AND USE OF FORMS

4.1 Noun phrase structure

The regular sequence of the constituent parts in the noun phrase is left-branching:

(1) Adjectives precede the noun, ADJ – N: *spin moṭar* 'white car'.

(2) In the extended noun phrase, demonstratives, quantifiers, and adjectives, precede the noun, in that order, and adverbs precede the adjective; the normal sequence is thus:

DEM – QUANT – (ADV – ADJ) – N.

(3) Adpositions precede and/or follow the noun phrase.

4.1.1 Agreement

Adjectives and demonstrative pronouns in a noun phrase, and predicate adjectives, agree with the nouns they modify in gender, number, and case. If the noun phrase consists of both masculine and feminine genders, the adjective is masculine.

4.1.2 Dependent noun phrases

(1) Dependent possessive noun phrases, marked by the preposition *de*, precede the head noun phrase, NP$_2$ – NP$_1$: *de asad kitâb-un-a* 'Asad's books'.

(2) Demonstratives and adjectives remain with their noun phrase:

[de asad   (agha loy kitâb-un-a)]
of Asad those big books
'those big books of Asad', lit. 'Asad's those big books'.

(3) Similarly, prepositions similarly remain within their noun phrase:

[de asad   de plâr   (lə   tsalor-o ḍer-o xâystạ   luṇ-o   sara)]
of Asad of father with four   very pretty daughters with)]
'with Asad's father's four very pretty daughters'.

4.1.3 Topicalization

The unmarked order may be violated when the speaker wishes to focus on one or the other of the modifiers, in which case the emphasized element tends to be in first position. For example, in the following extended noun phrase, with multiple embeddings, the locative phrase *[pə kəli ke]* 'in the village' precedes the first possessive phrase *[de tor]* 'of Tor', and is also far removed from its referent *kor* 'house' at the end:

[(pə kəli   ke) de tor de tarikh   de xowụnk-i de məshər wror
in   village in of Tor of history of teacher of older   brother
xâysta   (kor)]
beautiful [house]
'Tor's history teacher's older brother's beautiful house in the village.'

4.2 Clause structure and word order

4.2.1 Basic word order

The basic word order in independent, coordinate, and dependent clauses is SUBJECT–OBJECT–VERB (S-O-V):

S   O   V
Asad   lik   leg-i   'Asad is sending the letter'
tə   tsə kâr k-aw-e? 'what work do you do?'

Adverbs and adverbial phrases of time are usually clause initial, followed by locational and directional phrases, which may be close to the verb depending on the semantics of the latter. However, if in a prepositional phrase the object is a proclitic pronoun, the phrase immediately precedes the verb, as shown in the following examples:

(parụn)   me   (lə   məlgạr-o sara) pə rasturân   ke kabâb
yesterday I.AG with friends   with in restaurant in kabob-sm
wə-khwṛ-ə
PFV.eat.PT.PFV-3sm
'I ate kebob at the restaurant with my friends yesterday'.

Proclitic

(parụn)   me   pə rasturân   ke kabâb   (wər sara) wə-khwṛ-ə
yesterday I.AG in restaurant in kabob-sm them with PFV.eat.PT.PFV-3sm
'I ate kebob at the restaurant [with them] yesterday'.

4.2.2 Split-ergativity and agreement

Whenever person is marked by personal endings, enclitic pronouns must drop.

With intransitive verbs, the personal endings agree with the subject in person, number, and gender in both present and past tense, and agree also with the gender of subjects in past tenses.

With transitive verbs, the pattern differs from the intransitive in past tenses, where the personal endings agree with the object in person, number, and also in gender with 3rd person objects.

(1) Nominal subject and object

Present:			Past:		
saṛ-ay	*man̩-a*	*khwr-i*	*saṛ-i*	*man̩-a*	*khwaṛ-əl-a*
man-Dsm	apple-Dsf	eat.PR.IPFV-3s	man-OAGsm	apple-**Dsf**	eat.PT.IPFV -**3sf**
'the man is eating the apple';			'the man was eating the apple';		

xədz-a	*ṭikr-ay*	*akhl-i*	*xədz-e*	*ṭikr-ay*	*akhist-ə*
woman-Dfs	scarf-sm	buy.	woman-OAGsf	scarf-**Dsm**	buy.
		PR.IPFV-3s			PT.IPFV-**3sm**
'the woman is buying the scarf';			'the woman was buying the scarf'.		

(2) Nominal subject, enclitic object

Present:		Past:	
zmar-ay	*ye râ-wal-i*	*zmar-i*	*râ-wast-əl-a*
Zmaray-Dsm	3s bring.PR.IPFV-3s	Zmaray-OAG-sm	bring.PT-IPFV-**3sf**
'Zmaray is bringing her';		'Zmaray was bringing her'.	

(3) Ending and enclitic as subject and object, post-verbal

Present:		Past:	
khartsaw-u	*ye*	*khartsawəl-a*	*mo*
sell.PR.IPFV-1p	3s	sell. PT.IPFV -**3sf**	we.AG
'we're selling it';		'we were selling it'.	

(4) Derivative verbs

In past tenses of derivative verbs whose first element is an adjective, the adjective agrees with the object of the verb if there is one, and with the subject if there is no object, in number and gender.

In the tenses formed with the perfect participle, the participle agrees in gender and number with the object of the sentence if there is one, and with the subject otherwise.

If the noun phrase consists of both masculine and feminine genders, the verb is masculine.

4.3 Rules of clitization

Besides the ergative construction, the rules for the position of the enclitic pronouns and of particles, and their order, are probably the most interesting aspect of Pashto grammar (Tegey 1975a, 1975b, 1976, 1978).

Enclitic pronouns in any syntactic function are always attached after the first stressed part in the noun phrase: *(plâr) me* 'my father'.

4.3.1 Sentence

The same rule holds for the sentence, where the first element may be one of a number of grammatical elements, ranging from short or extended noun phrases, to particles, to successive verbal prefixes in the absence of other elements, and to a single verb form, as is shown in the following examples:

after the subject:	*khoshal khân me plâr da*	'Khoshal Khan is my father';
after a perfective marker:	*wə me pezând-ə*	'I recognized him';
after a negative particle:	*nə me pezan-i*	'he doesn't know me';
after verb:	*râ-leg-ə me*	'I was sending it here'.

By this rule, the pronoun may be considerably separated from the referent noun:
(a) after an adverb:

(wrusta lə   plâr   na)   me râ-gh-ay
after   from father from **my** arrive.PT.PFV-3sm
'he arrived after **my** father'.

(b) after a direct object:

(de plâr   bâgh)   me akhl-i
of   father orchard **my** buy.PR.IPFV-3sm
'he is buying **my** father's orchard'.

4.3.2 Order of particles

The rule of enclitic attachment to the first part of the sentence also applies to various particles. These include *kho* 'but, well, then, at least, maybe', the future marker *ba*, and the necessitative *de* 'must, should'.

The various particles and enclitics appear in the following order, with 1st person pronoun preceding the general 3rd person pronoun:

kho + ba + 1 p *me/mo + de +* 3rd *ye.*

This rigid ordering can lead to ambiguity. For example, the sentence below may be understood in two ways: *me* is either (a) possessive, or it is (b) the direct object, in which case *de* is the possessive, attached to the first stressed part of the sentence, while *me* is the object. In most cases the context or use of independent pronouns solves the problem, here with the pronominal clitics 1s *me* and 2s *de* in hierarchical sequence:

plâr   kho   me   de   leg-i
father maybe my/me you/your send.PR.IPFV-3sm
(a) 'maybe [my] father is sending [you]'; or
(b) 'maybe [your] father is sending [me]'.

4.4 Conjunctions

4.4.1 Agreement

Nouns are conjoined in Pashto most simply by means of the conjunctions *aw* 'and' or *yâ* 'or'.

(1)   When one of the conjoined elements is a pronoun, the pronoun ordinarily comes first.

(2)   When nouns conjoined with *aw* 'and' or *yâ* 'or' have the same gender, adjectives modifying both nouns agree with them in whatever the gender is, and are in the plural:

xkwəl-e   njəl-əy aw   x_ədz-a
pretty-**pf** girl-**sf** and woman-**sf**
'pretty girl and woman'.

(3)   When the nouns are of different genders, the adjective must be repeated, with endings in agreement with each noun:

zṛawər-a xədz-a   aw zṛawər   saṛ-ay
brave-**sf** woman-**sf** and brave.**sm** man-**sm**
'brave woman and man'.

(4)   Verbs in sentences with conjoined subjects, or objects are in the plural when coordinated by *aw* 'and'. When the nouns are of different genders, the verb is masculine. This is certainly the case in the Central dialect, even though there has apparently been a prescriptive tradition in the language that the verb agrees with gender of the last nominal:

am_ân   khosh_âl   aw laylâ   mel-e ta lâṛ-əl
Aman.**sm** Khoshal.**sm** and Layla.**sf** picnic to went.PT.PFV.**3pm**
'Aman, Khoshal and Layla went on the picnic'.

(5)   When nouns are connected by *yâ* 'or', the verb agrees with the noun closest to it:

am_ân   yâ laylâ   wə-gaḍ-ed-a
Aman.sm or Layla.**sf** danced.PT.PFV-**3sf**
'Aman or Layla danced'.

4.4.2 Reduplicative conjunctions

Words and phrases may be conjoined with reduplicative conjunctions, for example *yâ* . . . *yâ* 'either . . . or', *nə* . . . *nə* 'neither . . . nor' and *həm* . . . *aw həm* 'both . . . and'. In this case, the second occurrence of the verb is avoided ("gapped"):

*amân **həm** târikh poh day   aw **həm** likwal*
Aman also historian COP.3s and also writer
'Aman is both a historian and a writer';

nə *âsha* *x-a* *da,*   *nə*   *gwəla;*
not Asha good be.PR.IPFV.3s   NEG Gwela;
   duy *de*   *wə-khwr-i*   *yaw* *tər*   *bəl-a!*
   they MAY PFV.eat.PR.PFV-3p one toward other
'neither Asha nor Gwela is good; may they destroy each other!' (proverb)
other.

4.5 Questions

Yes–no questions are differentiated from statements solely by the rise of the voice at the end of the sentence.

     statement: *patang* *ḍâkṭar* *da*↓ 'Patang is a doctor';
     question: *patang* *ḍâkṭar* *da*↑ 'is Patang a doctor?'

Questions pertaining to particular parts of the sentence retain the regular word order, and the question word occurs in the position of the respective part of speech (for question words, see 3.1.3.4 Indefinite Pronouns):

     asad *kâr* *k-aw-i*   Asad work do.PR.IPFV-3s   'Asad is doing work';
     asad *tsə* *k-aw-i?*   Asad what do.PR.IPFV-3s   'what is Asad doing?'

5 COMPLEX SENTENCES

Noun clauses in Pashto are syntactically identical with corresponding independent sentences, and are usually introduced by the conjunctions *tse* or *che*. They function as subjects, direct objects, complements, or adpositional adverbial phrases.

Grammatically they are masculine plural, which reflects their status as abstract subjects and objects, which is evident from the verb forms preceding subject and object clauses. Especially longer noun clauses are often post-posed to the end of the sentence, with a demonstrative marker left in their place.

Adverbial clauses include causal, temporal, and conditional types. Combinations of tense and aspect frequently play a major role in these clauses.

5.1 Relative clauses

Relative clauses usually follow the head noun they modify and are introduced by *che* or *tse*. The definite head noun must be marked by a demonstrative.

Within the relative clause, the head noun is referred to either by the personal ending or the enclitic pronoun if subject or object, depending on the transitivity of the verb and the tense, and in prepositional phrases by the enclitic pronoun. This includes the possessive relationship:

(1) Possessor

     aǧh-a *njəl-əy* *tse*   *kamis* *ye* . . .
     that girl   that dress her . . .
     'that girl **whose** dress . . .', lit. 'that girl that her dress . . .'.

(2) Subject

agh-a *njəl-əy* **tse** *melmastyâ ta râ-gh-əl-e*   *w-a,*   *de râbyâ khor da*
that girl   **that** party   to come.PART-**3sf** was-**3sf,** of Rabya sister is
'the girl **who** came to the party is Râbyâ's sister', lit. 'had come'.

(3) Ergative patient

agh-a *njəl-əy* **tse** *pə melmâstyâ ke me*   *wə-lid-a,*   *de râbyâ khor da*
that girl   **that** at party   at I. AG PFV.see.PT.PFV-**3sf,** of Rabya sister is
'the girl **whom** (3sf -*a*) I saw at the party is Râbyâ's sister'.

(4) Adpositional

agh-a *njəl-əy* **tse** *wər sara nâst*   *w-əm, de râbyâ khor da*
that girl   **that her** with sitting was-1s, of Rabya sister is
'the girl **with whom** I was sitting is Râbyâ's sister'.

5.2 Noun clauses

5.2.1 Subject clauses

The verb of the main clause is (1) in the 3rd person masculine plural, or (2) in the masculine singular in the presence of a demonstrative. The subject clause is usually post-posed to the end of the sentence, either with or without a demonstrative marker.

(1) Without demonstrative

x-ə   *sw-əl*   *tse wakht-a râ-ghl-e*
good-**pm** be.PT.PFV.**3pm that** early   come.PT.PFV-2s
'it was good that you arrived early'.

(2) With topical demonstrative

dâ   *x-ə*   *swə*   *tse wakht-a râ-ghl-e*
that.**sm** good-**sm** be.PT.PFV.**3sm that** early   come.PT.PFV-2s
'it was good that you arrived early'.

5.2.2 Object clauses

In past tenses, the verb of the main clause is in the masculine plural, agreeing with the clause in the normal ergative construction.

(1) Present

wây-i   *tse de asad plâr x-ə*   *sar-ay da*
say.PR.IPFV-3p **that** of Asad father good-sm man-m be.PR.IPFV.3s
'they say that Asad's father is a good man'.

(2) Past ergative

mâ   kat-əl   *che asad râ-ghl-ay*
I.AG saw.PT.PFV.**3pm that** Asad here-come.PART-3sm
'I saw that Asad had arrived', lit. 'has arrived'.

5.2.2.1 Quotations as object clauses

Quotations as object clauses are mostly direct speech. The main clause verb agrees with the clause in past tenses, and the subject in present tenses.

(1) Present

laylâ âmân ta way-i che mel-e ta ba âshak wes-əm
Layla Aman to say.PR.IPFV-3s **that** picnic to FUT aushak take.PR.PFV-1s
'Layla is telling Aman that she will take aushak to the picnic', lit. 'I will take'.

(2) Past

laylâ âmân ta wə-way-əl che mel-e ta ba âshak wes-əm
Layla Aman to say.PT.PFV.3pm **that** picnic to FUT aushak take.PR.PFV-1s
'Layla told Aman that she would take aushak to the picnic', lit. 'I will take';

amân wə-way-əl tse balا myâst ba pakistân ta lar
Aman PFV-say.PT.PFV.3pm **that** next month FUT Pakistan to go.PFV
                                                                s-əm
                                                                be.PR.PFV-1s
'Amân said that he would go to Pakistan next month', lit. 'I will go'.

5.2.2.2 Infinitival direct object clauses

Many direct object noun clauses translate into other languages as infinitives. In fact, a sentence like the following can be heard in the Pashto variety spoken in Pakistan, possibly due to influence from Urdu or English.

khoshal kâr kawəl nə ghwâṛ-i
Khoshal work do.**INF** not want.PR.IPFV-3s
'Khoshal doesn't want to work'.

In the Central dialect, however, such clauses must be finite noun clauses with *tse* and a perfective verb (subjunctive):

khoshal nə ghwâṛ-i tse kâr wə-k-i
Khoshal not want.PR.IPFV-3s **that** work PFV.do.PR.PFV-3s
'Khoshal doesn't want to work', lit. 'that he work';

khoshâl ghwâṛ-i tse plâr ye as w-âkhl-i
Khoshal want.PR.PFV-3s **that** father his horse PFV.buy.PR.PFV-3s
'Khoshal wants his father to buy a horse' lit. 'that his father buy a horse';

tarisâ koshish wə-kṛ-ə
Theresa.AG attempt PFV.make.PT.PFV.3pm
  tse âshak pâkh-ə kṛ-i
  that aushak cook AUX.PR.PFV-3p
'Theresa tried to cook aushak' lit. 'that she cook', note 3p endings.

5.3 Complement clauses

Complement clauses may be pointed to by a demonstrative pronoun in the main clause.

(1) Without demonstrative

> *om̠ed day che sol̠-a ba râ-s-i*
> hope is **that** peace FUT here-come.PR.PFV-3s
> 'the hope is that peace will come'.

(2) With demonstrative

> *pə paxt-an-o̠ ke dâ zarur nə̠ da che melm-a wə̠-bal-əl*
> in Pashtuns in **this** necessary not is **that** guest invited-INF
> 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　*s-i*
> 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　be.PR.PFV-3p (PASS)
> 'among Pashtuns it is not necessary that a guest be invited'.

5.3.1 Clauses as objects of adpositions

These clauses are almost always positioned after the adposition, but occasionally at the end of the sentence, with demonstrative markers left in place.

(1) 'about', *di de̠ . . . pə bâra̠ ke*

> *mung di de̠ pə bâra̠ ke che tə kâr râ̠ sara wə-kṛ-e,*
> we **of this on subject on that** you work me with PFV.do.PR.PFV-2s,
> 　*wə̠-ghag-ed-u*
> 　PFV.talk.PT.PFV-1p
> 'we talked about your working with me', lit. 'that you work'.

(2) 'instead of . . .' *di de̠ . . . pə dzâ̠y* + PR.PFV/(subjunctive)

> ***di de̠ pə dzâ̠y che lə ahmad sara kâr wə-kṛ-e,***
> of this in place that with Ahmad with work PFV.do.PR.PFV-2s
> 　*mâ̠ sara ye wə-kṛ-a*
> 　me with it PFV.do.IMP-2s
> 'instead of doing the work with Ahmad, do it with me', lit. 'that you work'.

5.4 Adverbial clauses

5.4.1 Causal clauses

Causal relationship between clauses is overtly coordinate, with the causal clause unmarked in the Central dialects.

　The result clause is frequently unmarked as well in the Central dialect. It can also be introduced by: (a) *no* 'then, so', which is also often found in the apodosis of conditional clauses, or (b) by *dzəka* 'therefore', or (c) combined *dzəka no, no dzəka*, or (d) *dzəka che* particularly in literary, and in Western Pashto, calqued after Persian patterns.

> *day bur-a nə khwr-i, tâwâ̠n wər ta kaw-i*
> he sugar NEG eat.PT.PFV loss him to do.PR.IPFV-3
> 'he doesn't eat sugar [because] it's not good for him';

d̠e asad garmi ked-a   **no** *wob-ə̱ ye*   *wə̱-tskəl-e*
of Asad heat   become.PT.IPFV-3sm **so** water he.AG. PFV3 drink.PT.PFV-3pf
'Asad felt hot, so he drank some water';

t̠âse   *wos d̠e*   *ta tsə zyân nə̱-sh-əy*   *rasawə̱l-ay*
you-p now him to any harm NEG-can.PR.IPFV-2p, bring.IPFV.PART
    dzəka   **che** *day zmâ porawə̱r-ay day*
    because that he my debtor   be.PR.IPFV.3s
      aw mâ ta ye   *panâ râ-wə̱r-e*   *da*
      and me to he.AG asylum here-bring.PART.PFV-3pf be.PR.IPFV.3s
'none of you can harm him because he owes me and has come to me for asylum'
(Ulfat); with transitive verb *panâ wə̱r-* 'take one's shelter to'.

5.4.2 Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses are among the most common subordinate clauses in Pashto. They are
introduced by *kəla che* or *che* 'when', or by an enclitic *che.*

(1)   'when', *kəla che*

    kəla che *laylâ̱ de asad pə aksident khabær-a*   *sw-a,*
    when   Layla of Asad with accident informed-sf become.AUX.PT.PFV-sf
      samdasti   *roghtun ta lâ̱r-a*
      immediately hospital to go.PT.PFV-3sf
    'when Layla heard about Asad's accident, she immediately went to the hospital';

    laylâ   **che**   *râ-ghl-a,*   *d̠er*   *wakht wər saræ ke̱-nâst-əm*
    Layla **when** come.PT.PFV-sf, much time   her with down-sit.PT.PFV-1s
    'when Layla came I spent a lot of time with her'.

(2)   'as soon as', *tsənga che* + PR.PFV

    tsənga che   *kâ̱r ta lâ̱r*   *s-e,*
    as soon as   city to go.PFV be.AUX.PR.PFV-2s,
      wər   *sara wə̱-ghag-eg-a*
      him with PFV.talk.PR.IMP-2s
    'talk to him as soon as you go to the city!'

(3)   'until', *tər tso che* + PR.IPFV

    tər tso che *asad*   *nəw-ay mot̠ar a̱khl-i,*
    until   Asad new   car   buy.PR.IPFV-3s,
      de âmâ̱n mot̠ar gərdz-aw-ə̱l-ay s-i
      of Aman car   use.PART-3sm can.PR.PFV-3s
    'until Asad buys a new car, he can use Aman's'.

(4)   'after', *wrusta lə* + PT.PFV

    wrusta lə   **də̱**   **che** *âshak*   *mo*   *wə̱-khwar-əl,*   *wə̱-gad̠-ed-u*
    after   **from that that** aushak we.AG PFV.eat.PT.PFV-3p, PFV.dance.PT.PFV-1p
    'after we ate the aushak, we danced'.

5.4.3 Conditional clauses

5.4.3.1 Overview

The protasis of conditional clauses is introduced by *ka* 'if'; the apodosis may be introduced by *no* 'then, so'. Tense and aspect determine the degree of reality.

The *conditions* in the protasis are expressed by two sets of conditions:

(1) potential, either (a) as a supposition or (b) assumed to be completed before the result; They are expressed by the perfective present and the perfective past: *wə-raseg-e* and *wə-rasedəl-e*, respectively.

(2) irreal, referring either to (a) the present, or (b) the past. These two are expressed by two periphrastic perfect forms (see section 3.2.3.3 and Table 13.20). Their vocalism in the Central dialect differs slightly from that in the other dialects:

	Irreal in present	Irreal in past
Central dialects:	*rasedəlay*	*rasedəlay way*
Other dialects:	*rasedəlây*	*rasedəlây wây* (invariant)

In the *apodosis*, the results are expressed by three sets, two of them marked by the future particle *ba*:

(1) the present result of the two potential conditions is expressed by the present future *ba wə-raseg-e*;

(2) the present result of the present and past irreal conditions is expressed by the imperfective past form, *rasedəl-e*;

(3) the past result of the same two irreal conditions is expressed by the future past irreal form: *ba rasedəlay way*.

TABLE 13.22: PROTASIS AND APODOSIS IN CONDITIONAL CLAUSES

Real/potential

'if'	Protasis	Apodosis	Condition	Result
ka	*wə-raseg-e*	*ba wə-raseg-e*	Present	Present
ka	*wə-rasedəl-e*	*ba wə-raseg-e*	Completed	Present

Unreal, result in present

	Protasis	Apodosis	Condition	Result
ka	*rasedəlay*	*rasedəl-e*	Present	Present
ka	*rasedəlay way*	*rasedəl-e*	Past	Present

Unreal, result in past

	Protasis	Apodosis	Condition	Result
ka	*rasedəlay*	*ba rasedəlay way*	Present	Past
ka	*rasedəlay way*	*ba rasedəlay way*	Past	Past

5.4.3.2 Examples of conditional clauses

Note that past constructions require the ergative construction with past transitive verbs.

(1) Potential conditions, result in present

(a) supposed condition:

Present perfective   Present perfective
ka day pays-e paydâ **k-i**,   *samdasti* **ba** *ye wə-lagaw-i*
if he money-p find AUX   immediately FUT it spend.
　　　　　　　　PR.PFV-3s　　　　　　　　　　　**PFV.PR.PFV-3s**
'if he finds some money, he will spend it immediately'.

(b) assumed completed condition:

Past perfective   Present perfective
ka də   pays-e   paydâ **kṛ-e**,   *samdasti* **ba** *ye wə-lagaw-i*
if he.AG money-**pf** find AUX   immediately FUT it spend.
　　PT.PFV-3pf-ERG　　　　　　　　　　**PFV.PR.PFV-3s**
'if he finds (as soon as he finds) some money, he will spend it immediately'.

(2) Unreal conditions, result in present

(a) present condition:

ka amân aw laylâ kor   ta râ-tl-əl-ay,   *pəs-ə   mo* **akhist-ə**
if Aman and Layla house to come.   lamb-sm we.AG buy.
　　　　　　　　　　PART.IPFV　　　　　　　**PT.IPFV-3sm** (ergative)
'if Aman and Layla came to the house, we would buy a lamb'.

(b) past condition:

ka amân aw laylâ har wakht kor   ta râ-tl-əl-ay,
if Aman and Layla each time house to come.**PART.IPFV**

kili   ba   mo   war-kəṛ-e   way
key-**sf** FUT we.AG give   would
　　　　　　　　PART.IPFV-sf   AUX
'if Aman and Layla often came to the house, we would have given them a key'.

(3) Unreal condition, result in past

(a) present condition:

*ka zə nârogh-a nə   **way**,   nən   sinf ta **tl-əl-əm***
if I sick   NEG   would be today class to go.**PT.IPFV-1s**
'if I weren't sick, I would go to class today'.

(b) past condition:

ka tâ   way-əl-i   way,   *ke-nâst-əl-e ba   way*
if you.s.AG ask   would, down-sit. FUT would
　　PART.IPFV-pm-ERG　　　　　　**PART.IPFV-sf**
'if you had asked, I would have sat down' (female speaker).

Note that the 3s patient ending *-i* in this ergatively constructed conditional clause refers to the implicit object '(ask) a question'.

5.4.4 Consecutive clauses

Consecutive clauses frequently occur with anticipatory adverbs like *dumra* 'so' and *dâse* 'such', and are introduced by *che* or *tse*.

(1) *che* 'so that, in order to'

> *zə dâ   kitâb khpəl wror   ta war-k-aw-əm,   che wə   ye lwal-i*
> I   this book own   brother to give.PR.IPFV-1s   **that** PFV it   read.PR-3s
> 'I'm giving this book to my brother to read', lit. 'that he read';

> *dâ   kitâb me   khpəl wror   ta war-kr-ə   che wə   ye lwal-i*
> this   book I.AG own   brother to give.PR.PFV-sm, that PFV it   read.PFV-3s
> 'I gave this book to my brother to read'.

(2) *dumra . . . che* 'so much . . . that'

> *kəla kəla   dumra   zyât-a   wâwr-a wor-eg-i,*
> sometimes **so much** heavy snow fall.PR.IPFV-3sf,
>   *che   sarak-un-a bikhi   band-eg-i*
>   **that** streets   completely block.PR.IPFV-3p
> 'sometimes it snows so much that the streets are completely blocked'.

(3) *dâse . . . che* 'such . . . that'

> *dâ   dâse kitâb   day, che lwəst-əl   ye grân   di*
> this **such** book is.m, **that** read.INF   it difficult be.PR.IPFV.3p
> 'this book is such that it is hard to read'.

6 DIALECTOLOGY, LEXIS AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC ASPECTS

6.1 Sub-groupings of dialects

The dialects and sub-dialects of Pashto have not been classified or studied to any great extent, and most Pashtuns themselves are sensitive only to the obvious differences in pronunciation and vocabulary. There are three major dialects of Pashto:

- the Western (Kandahar) dialect;
- the Central (Kabul) dialect;
- the Eastern (Ningrahar) dialect;

(for a four-fold division see Kieffer 1974; Skjærvø 1989: 387).

Speakers of the Western dialect are found mostly in south-west Afghanistan and in Baluchistan; speakers of the Central dialect mostly in the Kabul, Logar, Ghazni and Parwan provinces; speakers of the Eastern dialect in the north-east sections of Afghanistan, and in the Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan.

The dialectal differences among these major dialect groups of Pashto are relatively minor, and the speakers of most dialects of Pashto are readily understood by almost all speakers of other dialects, as many Pashtuns have large passive vocabularies of words from other dialects. The most distinctive isoglosses are the following which reflect different diachronic development and the present phonetic realization of three central phonemes (note that Central *x* is a voiceless palatal/front velar fricative):

	Western	Central	Eastern
	zh	*z*	*j* [dzh]
retrofl.	*ẓh*	*g*	*g*
retrofl.	*ṣh*	*x*	*kh*

The variation between *ṣh ~ x ~ kh* is the source of the different Western spellings of the name of the language.

6.2 Contacts

In some respects, Pashto is perhaps the most conservative among the Iranian languages. Thus, it has retained phonemic stress, the ergative construction, and gender distinction. But Pashto has also innovated both internally, and by contact, for which the retroflex consonants due to contact with Indian languages are a prominent example.

6.3 Lexis

Within Iranian, Pashto shares great numbers of words with Dari-Persian, including shared borrowings from Arabic, not only because the genetic relationship of the two languages, but also because Pashtuns and Dari speakers have been neighbors for centuries, and more recently have been citizens of the same country, where both are official languages. By geographic contact, the Western and Central dialects (spoken in Afghanistan) are most likely to borrow vocabulary from Persian (and its Arabic component), whereas the Eastern dialect (spoken mostly in Pakistan) is more likely to borrow vocabulary from Urdu (and its English component).

7 SAMPLE TEXT

Note that the Pashto variant of this sample text by the author M. Pâsanay has *sh-/shw-* vs. the Central auxiliary *s-/sw-* 'be, become' found in the variant described in the present chapter.

de wux   pəx-a
of camel.m leg-f
The Camel's Legs

kəla-che (de ârchi pə daxta) wob-ə
time-that (of Archi on plain) water-pf
  râ-spar-e   shw-e,
  here-distribute.PART-pf be.PT.PFV-3pf
'When the Archi Plain was irrigated,'

aw de dzmək-o wesh   payl   shu
and of land-Opf distribution started become.PT.PFV.3sm
'and land distribution began,'

no   hâji sâyib   həm (ders jərib-a dzmək-a)
then Haji Sayib.AG also (thirty jarib   land-f)
  tər lâs-a   kṛ-a.
  in   hand-to do.PT.PFV-3sf
'Haji Sayib acquired thirty jaribs of land.'

kaḏa   ye wər-wastəl-a
belongings his there-take.PT.PFV-3sf
  aw (pə khpəl-a dzmək-a) ye   wâṛawəl.
  and (to own-f   land-f)   he.AG move.PT.PFV.3sm
'He moved his household and belongings onto his land.'

tsənga-che (lə   yaw-e   khwa) wakht ləg   w-ə
since   (from one-Osf side) time short be.PT-3sm
'Because on the one hand time was short,'

aw (lə   bəl-e   khwa)
and (from other-Osf side)
'and on the other hand'

(pə ârchi ke) (de khatgər-o   pata) nə   laged-a,
(on Archi on) (of masons-Opm trace) NEG find.PT.IPFV-3sf
'there were no masons available in Archi,'

no (lə   nâchâr-əy)   ye
then (from desperation-Osf) he.AG
  (de nor-o   nâqel-in-o)   pə tser
  (of other-Opm settlers-Opm) in keeping
'he, like the other settlers, in desperation'

samlâsi   dzmək-a   zhawər-a kṛ-a
immediate ground-PAT-sf deep-sf   make.PT.PFV-3sf
'immediately dug a hole in the ground'

aw sar ye (pə larg-o)   wər-wə-pox-ə
and head its (with wood-Opm) there-PFV-cover.PFV-3sm
'and covered it over with wood planking,'

che (lə   bâd aw bârân-a) pək-e   pə amân w-i.
that (from wind and rain-from) blow-Osf in safety be.SBJ-3sm
'so that he could live there protected from the wind and rain.'

hâji sâyib   kisa   kawəl-a
Haji Sayib.AG story.PAT   tell.PT.IPFV-3sf
'Haji Sayib told this story,

aw wayəl   ye,
and say.PT.IPFV.3pm he.AG
saying,'

yaw-a wradz (pə khpəl-e dəgh-e khun-e ke)
one-f day-f (in own-f   that-f room-f in)
  nâst   w-əm.
  sitting.3sm] be.PT-1s
'One day I was sitting in my room.'

yaw-nâtsâ-pa (lə   pâsa)   (khâwr-e aw luṭ-e)
suddenly   (from overhead) (dust-pf and clay-pf)
'Suddenly dust and clods of earth'

râ-toy-e   *shw-e.*
here-pour.PART.PFV-3pf   become.PT.PFV-3pf
'poured down from overhead.'

bar me   *wə-katəl*   *tsə*   *(wugd-ə shay-ân)*
up   I.AG   PFV-see.PT.PFV-pm   that (long-pm things-pm)
'I looked up to see long things'

râ-wə-dzaṛedəl   *khwadzed-ə.*
here-PFV-hangdown.3pm   move.PT.IPFV.3pm
'hanging down, moving,'

aw (də khun-e   *bâm)*   *(ye*   *lə*   *khwadzed-o*   *sara)*
and (of   room-Osf   roof)   (their   with   movement-Op with)
   wâr-khatâ
   move.PT.IPFV.3pm
'and as they moved, the roof of the room moved.'

wər-wə-wat-əm.
there-PFV-get.out-1s
   katəl   *me*   *che yaw*   *ghaṭ*   *wux*
   see.PT.PFV.3pm I.AG   that one.m   huge   camel
'I hastily got out of there, and on looking saw that a huge camel',

(zmung pə bâm)   *(de awâr-e dzmək-e)*   *pə gumân*
(our   on roof)   (of flat-Osf ground-Osf) by guess
'apparently thinking our roof was solid ground,'

râ-barâbar shəw-ay   *day*
here.to   reach.PART-3sm be.PR.3sm
   aw (de chat   *wâṛ-ə*   *larg-i)*
   and (of   ceiling small-pm wood-pm)
'had wandered onto it,'

(ye tər   *pəx-o*   *lânde)*
(his   under feet-Op under)
   mât   *shəw-i*   *di.*
   broken   become.PART-pm be.PR.3pm
'and the slats of the roof had broken under his feet.'

(tsalor wâṛ-a pəx-e   *ye)*
(four   all-pf feet-pf his)
   (tər   *bâm-a)*   *watəl-i*
   (through roof from) hang.PT-IPFV-3pf
'All four of his legs were hanging down through the roof,'

aw nor   *(de khun-e*   *pə*   *shâtir)*
and other (of house-Osf with beam)
   tam   *shəw-ay*   *day.*
   supported become.PART-sm be.PR.3sm
'but his body was supported by the roof beam.'

wux   che wos har-tsumra   dzân khwadzaw-i,
camel that now however-many-times body moved-PR.IPFV-3sm
'However the camel struggles,'

nə   (ye pəx-e) (dzmək-e   ta)   raseg-i;
not (his feet-pf) (ground-Osf to)   reach.PR.IPFV-3pf
'his feet do not reach ground;'

nə   (khpəl be-wâka   leng-i)
not   (own un-contrólled legs)
   wər-tolawəl-ay   sh-i
   there-collect.PART   can.PR-3sm
'he can neither collect his legs'

aw   nə shâtir mâteg-i.
and not beam break.PR-3sm
'nor does he break the beam.'

(yaw-tsə   shib-a)   ye pə nandâraw-əm;
(one-some moment) it at watch.PT.IPFV-1s
'I watched for a while,'

tso che (nor   de shâw-khwâ   khalək) həm
until   (other of neighborhood people) also
   khabar shw-əl
   news   become.PT·PFV.3pm
'then others in the neighborhood also got the news,'

aw   (pə der   taklif)
and (with great difficulty)
'and with great difficulty'

mo   wux khlâs   kər-ay   shu.
we.AG camel released make.PART can.PT.PFV.3sm
'we managed to free the camel'.

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