

DE GRUYTER
MOUTON

Anne Boyle David

DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF PASHTO AND ITS DIALECTS

MOUTON-CASL GRAMMAR SERIES

DE
GRUYTER

A decorative border at the bottom of the cover features a complex geometric pattern in shades of red, magenta, and blue. The pattern consists of interlocking squares and lines, creating a traditional, possibly ethnic, design.

Anne Boyle David

Descriptive Grammar of Pashto and its Dialects

Mouton-CASL Grammar Series



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Volume 1

Anne Boyle David

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Edited by
Claudia M. Brugman

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To my teacher, Eric P. Hamp

Foreword

It is remarkable that, in this age of unprecedented global communication and interaction, the majority of the world's languages are as yet not adequately described. Without basic grammars and dictionaries, these languages and their communities of speakers are in a real sense inaccessible to the rest of the world. This state of affairs is antithetical to today's interconnected global mindset.

This series, undertaken as a critical part of the mission of the University of Maryland Center for Advanced Study of Language (CASL), is directed at remedying this problem. One goal of CASL's research is to provide detailed, coherent descriptions of languages that are little studied or for which descriptions are not available in English. Even where grammars for these languages do exist, in many instances they are decades out of date or limited in scope or detail.

While the criticality of linguistic descriptions is indisputable, the painstaking work of producing grammars for neglected and under-resourced languages is often insufficiently appreciated by scholars and graduate students more enamored of the latest theoretical advances and debates. Yet, without the foundation of accurate descriptions of real languages, theoretical work would have no meaning. Moreover, without professionally produced linguistic descriptions, technologically sophisticated tools such as those for automated translation and speech-to-text conversion are impossible. Such research requires time-consuming labor, meticulous description, and rigorous analysis.

It is hoped that this series will contribute, however modestly, to the ultimate goal of making every language of the world available to scholars, students, and language lovers of all kinds. I would like to take this opportunity to salute the linguists at CASL and around the world who subscribe to this vision as their life's work. It is truly a noble endeavor.

Richard D. Brecht
Founding Executive Director
University of Maryland Center for Advanced Study of Language

Series Editors' Preface

This series arose out of research conducted on several under-described languages at the University of Maryland Center for Advanced Study of Language. In commencing our work, we were surprised at how many of the world's major languages lack accessible descriptive resources such as reference grammars and bilingual dictionaries. Among the ongoing projects at the Center is the development of such resources for various under-described languages. This series of grammars presents some of the linguistic description we have undertaken to fill such gaps.

The languages covered by the series represent a broad range of language families and typological phenomena. They are spoken in areas of international significance, some in regions associated with political, social, or environmental instability. Providing resources for these languages is therefore of particular importance.

However, these circumstances often make it difficult to conduct intensive, in-country fieldwork. In cases where such fieldwork was impractical, the authors of that grammar have relied on close working relationships with native speakers, and, where possible, corpora of naturalistic speech and text. The conditions for data-gathering—and hence our approach to it—vary with the particular situation.

We found the descriptive state of each language in the series to be different from that of the others: in some cases, much work had been done, but had never been collected into a single overview; in other cases, virtually no materials in English existed. Similarly, the availability of source material in the target language varies widely: in some cases, literacy and media are very sparse, while for other communities plentiful written texts exist. The authors have worked with the available resources to provide descriptions as comprehensive as these materials, the native speaker consultants, and their own corpora allow.

One of our goals is for these grammars to reach a broad audience. For that reason the authors have worked to make the volumes accessible by providing extensive exemplification and theoretically neutral descriptions oriented to language learners as well as to linguists. All grammars in the series, furthermore, include the native orthography, accompanied where relevant by Romanization. While they are not intended as pedagogical grammars, we realize that in many cases they will supply that role as well.

Each of the grammars is presented as a springboard to further research, which for every language continues to be warranted. We hope that our empirical work will provide a base for theoretical, comparative, computational, and pedagogical developments in the future. We look forward to the publication of many such works.

Claudia M. Brugman
Thomas J. Connors
Anne Boyle David
Amalia E. Gnanadesikan

Preface

Pashto is a challenging language to study and describe, for several reasons. Its location in areas of rugged terrain, at the heart of a historical crossroad for traders, invaders, and migrating peoples, has led to alternating cycles of isolation and upheaval in the various Pashto-speaking regions. Furthermore, Pashto, a member of the Iranian language group itself, has undergone longterm influence from the many neighboring Indo-Aryan languages. Centuries of political turmoil, demographic shifts, and complex contact situations have contributed to significant dialectal variation. In addition, the current political situation makes in-country fieldwork highly problematic.

This grammar builds on the considerable previous work of many scholars, among them J.G. Lorimer, Georg Morgenstierne, Herbert Penzl, D.N. MacKenzie, D.A. Shafeev, Manfred Lorenz, Wilma Heston, Daniel Septfonds, Habibullah Tegey and Barbara Robson, Taylor Roberts, Farooq Babrakzai, Naseer Hoonar Pashtoon and Zeeya A. Pashtoon, and David Pate.¹ Without their diligent scholarship we would not have been able to begin this task. Among the features our grammar adds to the corpus of Pashto research are some new analyses of previously described data and coverage of all the regional dialects in a single volume, along with a detailed exposition of the dialectal situation, data presented in both native orthography and transcription, and finally, a formal grammar which can be used to feed a morphological parser, available online for download to purchasers of this volume.

The data for this grammar come from a wide range of printed resources, complemented by naturalistic corpora and work with native speaker consultants. We provide extensive examples and full paradigms, complete with full interlinearization of the example sentences: a native script line, a phonemic transcription, a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss line, and a free translation. Although native orthography is frequently omitted from descriptive grammars, it is particularly useful not only to the language expert but also to the language learner.

In our description we have attempted to be theory-neutral without being simplistic. Any abstract description of a language is necessarily informed by theory at some level. We aim to be theoretically informed in as broad a way as possible, such that the descriptions and explications contained within this grammar will be of use not only to descriptive linguists, but also to those from a variety of theoretic backgrounds. However, our primary loyalty is to the language being described and not to a particular theoretic approach to Language.

A descriptive grammar is never really finished. Two areas in particular that we wish we could devote more time to are syntax and prosody, although the description

¹ We have been made aware of a substantial literature on Pashto written in Russian (Lutz Rzehak, p.c.), including Lebedev 1996, Lebedev 2003, and Grjunberg 1987; we have unfortunately been able to consult Grjunberg only briefly and Lebedev not at all.

of Pashto syntax provided here is more detailed than previous overviews available in English and benefits from analyses of individual phenomena made by other scholars. There remains much work to be done on Pashto, and we view this volume as a springboard for scholars to continue working on this fascinating language in all its varieties.

Many people have helped in the creation of this book. The authors would like to thank all our colleagues at the University of Maryland Center for the Advanced Study of Language for their support—in particular, CASL’s Executive Director, Amy Weinberg, and our founding Executive Director, Richard Brecht—as well as Pashto language experts in the United States Government. Our colleague and patron David Cox, who is much missed since his retirement, also deserves special mention for his assistance in promoting the idea of this series and for his constant, infectious enthusiasm for the enterprise of language description. Individuals who have had a part in producing this manuscript or advising our research include Nikki Adams, Farooq Babrakzai, Evelyn Browne, Katherine Burk, James Caron, Thomas Connors, Amalia Gnanadesikan, Wilma Heston, Mohammed Shahab Khan, Craig Kopriv, Nathanael Lynn, Michael Marlo, Zeeya Pashtoon, Tristan Purvis, Shawna Rafalko, Paul Rodrigues, and Tamara Wehmeir. We also thank the generous native speakers of Pashto who worked with us patiently, and without whom this volume would not exist.

And finally, I would like to thank my co-authors for devoting themselves so diligently to this sometimes frustrating, always stimulating project, for being willing to disagree with me when I was wrong, and for never losing their senses of humor. I especially thank Claudia Brugman for her conscientious editing of this entire book and Sarah Goodman for her tireless work finding and making sense of naturally occurring example sentences. All of these people have worked with scrupulous care to ensure that as few mistakes and misstatements crept into this book as possible; those that remain fall to me alone.

Anne Boyle David

Contents

Foreword — vii

Series Editors' Preface — ix

Preface — xi

1 About this Grammar — 1

1.1 Scope of this book — 1

1.2 Orthography — 1

1.3 Tables and examples — 2

1.4 Abbreviations and symbols — 4

2 The Pashto Language — 7

2.1 Background — 7

2.2 Population of speakers — 7

2.2.1 History and classification — 8

2.2.2 Dialectal variation — 8

3 Phonology and Orthography — 9

3.1 Phonetics and phonology — 9

3.1.1 Consonants — 9

3.1.1.1 Inventory — 9

3.1.1.2 “Elegant” consonants — 9

3.1.2 Vowels — 10

3.1.2.1 Inventory — 10

3.1.2.2 Vowel transcription — 11

3.1.2.3 “Elegant” vowels — 13

3.1.2.4 Middle dialect vowels — 13

3.1.3 Stress — 15

3.2 Orthography — 15

3.2.1 The script — 15

3.2.1.1 Letters unique to Pashto — 16

3.2.1.2 Tables of letters and numerals — 18

3.2.1.3 Representation of vowels — 25

3.2.1.3.1 Word-initial vowels — 25

3.2.1.3.2 Word-internal vowels — 26

3.2.1.3.3	Word-final vowels —	28
3.2.2	Rationale for transcription system —	28
3.2.3	Orthographic variation —	29
4	Pashto Dialects —	31
4.1	Introduction —	31
4.2	Characterizing Pashto dialects —	31
4.2.1	Dialect marking in this work —	34
4.2.1.1	Dialect marking in tables —	34
4.2.1.2	Dialect marking in interlinear examples —	34
4.3	The four dialects of General Pashto —	35
4.3.1	International differences —	36
4.4	The Middle dialects —	37
4.4.1	Middle dialect vowels —	37
4.4.2	Middle dialect consonants —	39
4.5	Other approaches —	40
4.5.1	Two dialects —	40
4.5.2	Three dialects —	42
5	Nouns —	45
5.1	Inflection —	45
5.1.1	Gender —	45
5.1.2	Number —	46
5.1.3	Case —	47
5.1.3.1	Direct case —	48
5.1.3.2	Oblique case —	48
5.1.3.3	Ablative case —	48
5.1.3.4	Vocative case —	49
5.1.3.5	Split ergativity —	50
5.1.4	Animacy —	50
5.2	Inflectional affixation —	51
5.2.1	Introduction —	51
5.2.2	Stem allomorphy and other morphophonemic alternations —	52
5.2.3	Class I —	52
5.2.3.1	Overview —	52
5.2.3.2	Class I masculine nouns —	55
5.2.3.2.1	Masculine animate nouns in General Pashto —	55
5.2.3.2.2	Masculine animate nouns in Waziri —	61
5.2.3.2.3	Masculine inanimate nouns in General Pashto and Waziri —	62
5.2.3.3	Class I feminine nouns in General Pashto and Waziri —	67
5.2.3.3.1	General Pashto Class I feminine animate nouns —	67
5.2.3.3.2	General Pashto Class I feminine inanimate nouns —	69

5.2.3.3.3	Waziri Class I feminine nouns —	71
5.2.4	Class II —	73
5.2.4.1	Overview —	73
5.2.4.2	General Pashto Class IIa —	75
5.2.4.3	General Pashto Class IIb —	79
5.2.5	Class III —	80
5.2.5.1	Overview —	80
5.2.5.1.1	Subclassification of Class III in General Pashto —	80
5.2.5.2	Class IIIa —	84
5.2.5.2.1	Masculine Class IIIa nouns —	84
5.2.5.2.2	Feminine Class IIIa nouns —	85
5.2.5.3	Class IIIb —	87
5.2.5.3.1	Masculine Class IIIb nouns —	87
5.2.5.3.2	Feminine Class IIIb nouns —	88
5.2.5.4	Class III in Waziri —	89
5.2.6	Irregular nouns and irregular patterns in General Pashto —	92
5.2.6.1	Kinship terms —	93
5.2.6.2	Arabic borrowings —	95
5.3	Inflection and agreement of conjoined nouns —	97
5.4	Derivational morphology and loanwords —	98
5.4.1	Derivational morphology of nouns —	98
5.4.1.1	Nouns derived with suffixes —	98
5.4.1.2	Compounds —	101
5.4.2	Reduplication of nouns —	101
5.4.3	Loanwords —	102
6	Adjectives and Other Noun Modifiers —	103
6.1	Introduction —	103
6.2	Inflectional classes in General Pashto and Waziri —	103
6.2.1	Inflectional classes of General Pashto adjectives —	103
6.2.1.1	General Pashto Class I —	104
6.2.1.1.1	Case-marking suffixes —	104
6.2.1.1.2	Stem allomorphy —	104
6.2.1.1.3	Class I forms with stem allomorphy —	105
6.2.1.1.4	Class I forms without stem allomorphy —	107
6.2.1.1.5	Animacy in Class I adjectives —	108
6.2.1.2	General Pashto Class II —	109
6.2.1.2.1	Case-marking suffixes —	109
6.2.1.2.2	Stem allomorphy —	110
6.2.1.2.3	Class II forms with stem allomorphy —	111
6.2.1.2.4	Class II forms without stem allomorphy —	115
6.2.1.3	General Pashto Class III —	116

- 6.2.1.3.1 Class IIIa — 116
- 6.2.1.3.2 Class IIIb — 118
- 6.2.1.4 General Pashto Class IV (non-declining adjectives) — 119
- 6.2.2 Inflectional classes of Waziri adjectives — 121
 - 6.2.2.1 Waziri Class I — 121
 - 6.2.2.2 Waziri Class II — 122
 - 6.2.2.3 Waziri Class III — 122
- 6.3 Determiners and definiteness — 124
 - 6.3.1 Demonstrative determiners — 124
 - 6.3.2 The indefinite determiner *يو* /yaw/ 'one' — 130
- 6.4 Non-numerical noun quantifiers — 130
 - 6.4.1 The quantifier *ټول* /tɔl-/ 'all' — 130
 - 6.4.2 The quantifier *هر* /har/, /ar/ 'every' — 131
 - 6.4.3 The quantifier *هيڅ* /hets/ 'none' — 132
- 6.5 Number names — 132
 - 6.5.1 Cardinal numbers in Pashto — 133
 - 6.5.1.1 Morphology — 133
 - 6.5.1.2 Inventory — 137
 - 6.5.2 Ordinal numbers in General Pashto and Waziri — 144
 - 6.5.3 Reduplication of number names — 146
- 6.6 Interrogative adjectives — 147
- 6.7 Inflection of conjoined adjectives — 149
- 6.8 Derivation of adjectives — 150
 - 6.8.1 Derivational suffixes — 150
 - 6.8.1.1 Some Class I derivational suffixes — 150
 - 6.8.1.2 Some Class IIIa derivational suffixes — 152
 - 6.8.1.3 Some Class IV (non-declining) derivational suffixes — 152
 - 6.8.2 Negators — 152
 - 6.8.3 Compound adjectives — 153
 - 6.8.4 Reduplication of adjectives — 153
- 6.9 Usage — 154
 - 6.9.1 Attributive and predicative adjectives — 154
 - 6.9.2 Zero-derivation of nouns from adjectives — 155
 - 6.9.3 Comparatives and superlatives — 156
 - 6.9.4 Adjectives as adverbs — 156
- 7 **Pronouns** — 157
 - 7.1 Overview — 157
 - 7.2 Strong personal pronouns — 157
 - 7.2.1 Forms in General Pashto and Middle dialects — 157
 - 7.2.2 Usage — 161
 - 7.2.3 Strong possessive pronouns — 163

- 7.3 Weak personal pronouns — 164
- 7.3.1 Forms — 164
- 7.3.2 Usage — 166
- 7.3.2.1 Occurrence restrictions — 166
- 7.3.2.2 Possessive constructions — 168
- 7.4 Deictoids: را /rā/, در /dər/, and وړ /wər/ — 169
- 7.4.1 Oblique pronominal clitics — 170
- 7.4.2 Directional verbal clitics — 171
- 7.4.3 Deictic prefixes — 172
- 7.5 Demonstratives — 172
- 7.6 Interrogative pronouns — 176
- 7.7 Indefinite pronouns — 179
- 7.8 Relative pronouns — 181
- 7.9 Expressions of coreference — 181
- 7.10 Reciprocal pronouns — 184
- 7.11 Other pro-forms — 184

- 8 Verbs — 185**
- 8.1 Overview — 185
- 8.1.1 Properties of verbs — 185
- 8.1.2 Classifying verbs — 186
- 8.2 Verb components — 187
- 8.2.1 Structure of the verb — 187
- 8.2.2 Personal suffixes — 191
- 8.2.3 The infinitive — 194
- 8.2.4 Simplex and complex verbs — 196
- 8.2.4.1 Overview — 196
- 8.2.4.2 *a*-initial verbs — 196
- 8.2.4.3 Prefixed verbs — 198
- 8.2.4.4 Denominal verb constructions — 200
- 8.2.5 Conjugation classes — 203
- 8.2.5.1 Overview of conjugation classes — 203
- 8.2.5.2 First conjugation class in General Pashto — 204
- 8.2.5.3 First conjugation class in Middle dialects — 207
- 8.2.5.4 Second conjugation — 209
- 8.2.5.5 Third conjugation — 210
- 8.2.5.5.1 Forming the aorist in third conjugation verbs — 210
- 8.2.5.5.2 A special case of third conjugation verbs: infinitive/past participle + کېدل /kedāl/ — 212
- 8.2.6 Stem classes and the four bases — 212
- 8.2.6.1 The four verb bases — 214
- 8.2.6.2 Weak verbs (one stem) — 215

- 8.2.6.3 Strong verbs (more than one stem) — 217
- 8.2.6.3.1 Strong verbs with two stems — 218
- 8.2.6.3.2 Strong verbs with three or four stems — 219
- 8.2.6.3.3 List of strong verbs — 224
- 8.2.7 The causative morpheme — 227
- 8.2.8 The auxiliary *to be* and the verbalizers كبدل /kedâl/ and كول /kawâl/ — 228
- 8.2.8.1 Forms of *to be* — 229
- 8.2.8.2 Forms of كبدل /kedâl/ ‘to become’ — 234
- 8.2.8.3 Forms of كول /kawâl/ ‘to make; to do’ — 239
- 8.2.9 Participles — 246
- 8.2.9.1 Present participle — 246
- 8.2.9.2 Past participle — 247
- 8.2.9.3 Irregularities among past participles — 249
- 8.3 Simple verb constructions — 249
- 8.3.1 Present continuous — 249
- 8.3.2 Present aorist — 252
- 8.3.3 Past continuous — 254
- 8.3.4 Past aorist — 256
- 8.3.5 Continuous imperative — 258
- 8.3.6 Aorist imperative — 260
- 8.3.7 Continuous optative — 261
- 8.3.8 Aorist optative — 263
- 8.4 Compound verb constructions — 265
- 8.4.1 Perfect constructions — 265
- 8.4.1.1 Present perfect — 265
- 8.4.1.2 Past perfect — 267
- 8.4.2 Potential constructions — 267
- 8.4.2.1 Present potential — 268
- 8.4.2.2 Past potential — 268
- 8.5 Verb usage — 269
- 8.5.1 Uses of the verb *to be* — 269
- 8.5.1.1 *to be* as a copula — 269
- 8.5.1.2 *to be* as an auxiliary verb — 270
- 8.5.2 Simple verb constructions — 270
- 8.5.2.1 Present continuous — 270
- 8.5.2.1.1 Negation of present tense verbs — 272
- 8.5.2.1.2 Present continuous for expressing future events — 273
- 8.5.2.2 Present aorist — 274
- 8.5.2.2.1 Expressing the future with present aorist plus به /bə/ — 275
- 8.5.2.2.2 Other uses of the present aorist — 275
- 8.5.2.3 Past continuous — 279

- 8.5.2.4 Past aorist — 281
- 8.5.2.5 Imperative — 283
- 8.5.3 Compound constructions: perfect — 287
- 8.5.3.1 Present perfect — 287
- 8.5.3.2 Past perfect — 290
- 8.5.3.3 Negation of perfect tenses — 291
- 8.5.4 Compound constructions: potential — 293
- 8.5.4.1 Expressing potential present events — 293
- 8.5.4.2 Expressing potential past events — 294
- 8.5.4.3 Expressing potential future events — 295
- 8.5.4.4 Negative — 298
- 8.5.5 Infinitives — 299
- 8.5.5.1 Infinitives as nouns — 299
- 8.5.5.2 The periphrastic passive — 300
- 8.5.6 Present participles — 303

- 9 Adpositions — 305**
- 9.1 Overview — 305
- 9.2 Adpositions and case assignment — 306
- 9.2.1 Assignment of oblique case — 307
- 9.2.2 Assignment of ablative case — 308
- 9.2.3 Assignment of direct case — 309
- 9.2.4 Mixed case-marking inside objects of adpositions — 311
- 9.3 Prepositions — 312
- 9.3.1 The prepositions /də/, /de/, /ye/, /e/ ‘of’ — 312
- 9.3.1.1 The General Pashto preposition د /də/ — 312
- 9.3.1.2 Complex adpositions using د /də/ — 313
- 9.3.1.3 The Middle dialect prepositions /de/, /ye/, /e/ — 314
- 9.3.1.4 Middle dialect complex adpositions using /ye/ — 315
- 9.3.2 The General Pashto preposition له /lə/ ‘from’ — 316
- 9.3.3 The preposition بې /be/ ‘without’ — 317
- 9.3.4 The prepositions په /pə/, پر /pər/ — 317
- 9.3.4.1 The locational په /pə/, پر /pər/ ‘on’ — 318
- 9.3.4.2 The instrumental په /pə/ ‘with, by means of’ — 319
- 9.3.4.3 The temporal په /pə/, پر /pər/ ‘at, on’ — 320
- 9.3.4.4 With aspectual verbs — 322
- 9.3.5 The preposition تر /tər/ ‘up to’ — 323
- 9.3.6 The preposition لکه /leka/ ‘like’ — 324
- 9.4 Postpositions — 325
- 9.4.1 Overview — 325
- 9.4.2 The postposition ته /ta/ ‘to, for’ — 326
- 9.4.3 The postposition سره /səra/ ‘with’ — 327

- 9.4.4 The postposition *ضدی* /zidi/ ‘against’ — 327
- 9.4.5 The postposition *وړاندې* /wṛānde/ ‘before’ — 328
- 9.4.6 The postposition *غوندې* /ɣunde/ ‘like’ — 328
- 9.4.7 The postposition *باتدې* /bānde/ — 328
- 9.4.8 Some additional postpositions in Middle dialects — 329
- 9.5 Circumpositions — 329
- 9.5.1 Circumpositions with *د* /də/ — 334
- 9.5.1.1 General Pashto simple circumpositions with *د* /də/ — 334
- 9.5.1.2 Middle dialect simple circumpositions with /ye/, /e/ — 336
- 9.5.1.3 Complex circumpositions with *د* /də/ — 337
- 9.5.2 General Pashto circumpositions with *له* /lə/ — 346
- 9.5.2.1 GP simple circumpositions with *له* /lə/ — 346
- 9.5.2.2 GP complex circumpositions with *له...نه* /lə...na/ — 350
- 9.5.3 Circumpositions with *په* /pə/ — 353
- 9.5.4 Circumpositions with *تر* /tər/ — 357
- 9.5.5 A Middle dialect circumposition with *و* /wə/ — 359
- 9.6 Coalesced adpositional phrases — 360
- 9.6.1 Pro-adpositional phrases — 360
- 9.6.2 The adpositional phrase *کړه* /kara/ ‘at the home of’ — 361
- 9.7 Adposition usage — 362
- 9.7.1 *نه* /na/ vs. ablative case-marking on object — 363
- 9.7.2 *د* /də/ and strong pronoun objects — 363
- 9.7.3 *په* /pə/ and *په...باندې* /pə...bānde/ used in a causative construction — 363
- 9.7.4 Omission of pronoun objects of adpositions — 364
- 9.7.5 Postpositions with oblique pronominal clitics — 365
- 10 Other Lexical Elements — 367**
- 10.1 Particles — 367
- 10.1.1 The existential particle *شته* /šta/ — 367
- 10.1.2 Modal particles — 369
- 10.1.2.1 The modal clitic *به* /bə/ — 369
- 10.1.2.2 The modal particles *دې* /de/ and *باید* /bāyad/ — 372
- 10.1.2.3 The modal particle *ښايي* /šāyī/ ‘may; must’ — 373
- 10.1.2.4 The optative particle *کاشکې* /kāške/ — 373
- 10.1.3 Affirmation particles — 374
- 10.1.4 The emphatic clitic *خو* /xo/ — 375
- 10.1.5 Vocative particles — 375
- 10.1.6 Interjections — 376
- 10.2 Adverbs — 377
- 10.2.1 Adverbs of time — 378

- 10.2.2 Adverbs of place — 380
- 10.2.3 Adverbs of manner — 382
- 10.2.3.1 The adverb سره /səra/ — 385
- 10.2.4 Adverbs of degree — 386
- 10.2.5 Adverbs borrowed from Arabic — 387
- 10.2.6 Adverbial interrogatives — 388
- 10.2.7 Adjectives as adverbs — 391
- 10.2.8 Reduplication of adverbs — 392
- 10.3 Reduplication — 393
- 10.3.1 Full (morphological) reduplication — 393
- 10.3.2 Partial reduplication: echo words — 393

- 11 Syntax — 399**
- 11.1 Overview — 399
- 11.2 Phrasal syntax — 399
- 11.2.1 Noun phrases — 399
- 11.2.2 Adpositional phrases — 400
- 11.2.3 Verb phrases — 401
- 11.2.3.1 Light verb constructions — 401
- 11.2.3.2 Elements in the verbal group — 403
- 11.2.3.2.1 The verbal group in General Pashto — 403
- 11.2.3.2.2 The verbal group in Middle dialects — 405
- 11.2.3.2.3 Negative placement in the aorist verb phrase — 406
- 11.3 Main clause sentence types — 410
- 11.3.1 Declaratives — 411
- 11.3.1.1 Order of elements in declaratives — 411
- 11.3.1.2 Order of elements in ditransitive main clauses — 413
- 11.3.1.3 Locative alternation — 413
- 11.3.1.4 Adpositional phrases with oblique pronominal clitics — 414
- 11.3.1.5 Passive clauses — 414
- 11.3.2 Interrogatives — 417
- 11.3.2.1 Yes-or-no questions with the particle آيا /āyā/ — 417
- 11.3.2.2 Information questions with interrogative pronouns — 418
- 11.3.2.3 Affirmation questions with the particle كه نه /kə na/ — 419
- 11.3.3 Imperatives — 419
- 11.3.3.1 The imperative verb form — 419
- 11.3.3.2 The negative imperative particle مه /mā/ — 420
- 11.3.4 Generic and existential sentences with شته /šta/ — 421
- 11.3.5 Other principles of word order in main clauses — 421
- 11.3.5.1 Weak pronouns — 421
- 11.3.5.2 Particles — 424
- 11.3.5.3 Adpositional phrases in main clauses — 424

11.3.5.4	Interpretation of adpositional phrases headed by د /də/	424
11.4	Some subordinate clause types	425
11.4.1	Relative clauses	425
11.4.2	Noun complement clauses	428
11.4.3	Verb complement clauses	429
11.4.3.1	Reported speech	432
11.4.4	Subordinate clauses as modifiers	434
11.4.4.1	Subordinate clauses with time reference	434
11.4.4.2	Conditional and counterfactual clauses with ك /kə/ 'if'	435
11.4.4.3	Subordinate clauses with خك /dʒəkə/ 'because'	436
11.4.4.4	Subordinate clauses expressing result	438
11.4.4.5	Subordinate clauses expressing reason	439
11.4.4.6	Subordinate clauses expressing purpose	439
11.4.4.7	Subordinate clauses of concession	440
11.5	Periphrastic causatives	440
11.6	Conjunction	442
11.6.1	Coordinating conjunctions	443
11.6.1.1	او /aw/ 'and'	443
11.6.1.2	يا /yā/ 'or'	444
11.6.1.3	خو /xo/ 'but'	445
11.6.1.4	بيا (او) /byā/ 'then'	446
11.6.2	Correlative conjunctions	446
11.7	Principles of case-marking and agreement	448
11.7.1	Tense-based case-marking and split ergativity	448
11.7.2	Agreement of conjoined items	450
11.7.3	Concordant adverbs	450
11.7.4	Case-marking patterns of verbs of sensation or preference	450
11.7.4.1	Four denominal verbs of sensation	450
11.7.4.2	Denominal خو بنېر- /xwaxeg-/ 'like, enjoy'	451
11.7.4.3	Three more expressions of preference	452
11.7.5	An unergative or middle voice construction	453
A	Structure of this Grammar	455
A.1	Overview	455
A.2	Audience	456
A.3	More on uses of this grammar	457
A.3.1	The grammar as a basis for computational tools	457
A.3.1.1	Building a parser and generator	458
A.3.2	The grammar as a description	460
A.4	Spell correction	461
A.5	Grammar adaptation	462
A.5.1	Manual grammar building	462
A.5.2	Automated grammar adaptation	463

- A.6 Formatting the grammar for viewing — 464
- B Sources of Pashto Data — 467**
- B.1 Sources of interlinear examples taken from the web — 467
- B.2 List of web pages mined for language data — 474
- Bibliography — 477**
- Index — 487**

List of Figures

- 4.1 Pashto dialects — 32
- 4.2 Waziri metaphony — 39

List of Tables

- 1.1 Class I, stem alternation: سپک /spək/ ‘light’ — 3
- 1.2 Present continuous of کول /kawəl/ ‘to make, to do’ — 4
- 3.1 Pashto consonants — 9
- 3.2 “Elegant,” or formal, consonants — 10
- 3.3 Pashto vowels — 10
- 3.4 Pashto diphthongs — 11
- 3.5 Comparison among vowel transcription systems — 12
- 3.6 Comparison among M vowel transcription systems — 14
- 3.7 Pashto retroflex letters with paṇḍak — 16
- 3.8 Pashto letters with dot below and dot above — 17
- 3.9 Pashto affricate letters based on ح — 17
- 3.10 Pashto letters based on ى — 17
- 3.11 Pashto alphabet — 19
- 3.12 Positional variants of letters — 22

- 3.13 Pashto (Eastern Arabic) numerals — 24
- 3.14 Short vowel diacritics — 25
- 3.15 Word-initial vowels — 26
- 3.16 Pashto initial digraphs — 26
- 3.17 Word-internal vowels — 27
- 3.18 Word-final vowels — 28
- 4.1 Phonological variation among major Pashto dialects — 33
- 4.2 Correspondence between /i/ and /e/ in closed-class words — 33
- 4.3 Four dialects of General Pashto — 35
- 4.4 Tribal and geographical associations by dialect — 36
- 4.5 Waziri metaphony — 38
- 4.6 Middle dialect consonantal deviation from GP — 40
- 4.7 Alternative dialect codes — 40
- 4.8 Names for components of a two-dialect analysis of Pashto — 42
- 4.9 Eastern and Peshawar dialects compared — 43
- 4.10 Three-dialect approach — 44
- 4.11 Pronunciation of ژ — 44
- 5.1 GP Class I Masc. noun suffixes — 53
- 5.2 Middle dialect Class I Masc. noun suffixes — 53
- 5.3 GP Class I Fem. noun suffixes — 54
- 5.4 Middle dialect Class I Fem. noun suffixes — 54
- 5.5 GP Class I Masc. animate—morphophonemic alternations — 56
- 5.6 GP Class I Masc. animate: وپښته /wextá/ ‘hair’ — 56
- 5.7 GP Class I Masc. animate: بنده /bandá/ ‘slave’ — 57
- 5.8 GP Class I Masc. animate: ډاکو /ḍākú/ ‘bandit’ — 57
- 5.9 GP Class I Masc. animate: بازو /bāzú/ ‘arm’ — 58
- 5.10 GP Class I Masc. animate: میرزا /mirzā/ ‘clerk’ — 58
- 5.11 GP Class I Masc. animate: ماما /māmā/ ‘maternal uncle’ — 59
- 5.12 GP Class I Masc. animate: درزي /darzī/ ‘tailor’ — 59
- 5.13 GP Class I Masc. animate: پلندر /plandár/ ‘stepfather’ — 60
- 5.14 GP Class I Masc. animate: پیل /pil/ ‘elephant’ — 60
- 5.15 Waziri Class I Masc. animate: /šāgárd/ ‘student [male]’ — 61
- 5.16 Waziri Class I Masc. animate: /mirzā/ ‘clerk’ — 61
- 5.17 Waziri Class I Masc. animate: /kazí/ ‘judge’ — 62
- 5.18 Class I Masc. inanimate—stem allomorphy — 63
- 5.19 GP Class I Masc. inanimate: غر /yar/ ‘mountain’ — 63
- 5.20 GP Class I Masc. inanimate: دفتر /daftár/ ‘office’ — 64
- 5.21 GP Class I Masc. inanimate: غور /ɣwəg/ ‘ear’ — 65
- 5.22 GP Class I Masc. inanimate: پسه /psə/ ‘sheep’ — 65
- 5.23 Waziri Class I Masc. inanimate: /tayár/ ‘rug’ — 65

- 5.24 Waziri Class I Masc. inanimate: /daftár/ ‘office’ — 66
- 5.25 Waziri Class I Masc. inanimate: /pəsá/ ‘sheep’ — 66
- 5.26 Waziri Class I Masc. inanimate: /ɣar/ ‘mountain’ — 66
- 5.27 GP Class I Fem. animate—stem allomorphy — 67
- 5.28 GP Class I Fem. animate: خواهنی /xwāxē/ ‘mother-in-law’ — 68
- 5.29 GP Class I Fem. animate/inanimate: بیزو /bizó/ ‘monkey’ — 68
- 5.30 GP Class I Fem. animate/inanimate: بر بېننا /brexnā/ ‘lightning’ — 69
- 5.31 GP Class I Fem. inanimate—stem allomorphy — 69
- 5.32 Class I Fem. inanimate: اسپه /áspa/ ‘mare’ — 70
- 5.33 Class I Fem. inanimate: میاشت /miāšt/ ‘mouth’ — 70
- 5.34 Class I Fem. inanimate: رڼا /raṅā/ ‘light’ — 71
- 5.35 Waziri Class I Fem., consonant-final: /wradz/ ‘day’ — 72
- 5.36 Waziri Class I Fem., unstressed-vowel-final: /jǝrga/ ‘council’ — 72
- 5.37 Waziri Class I Fem., stressed-vowel-final: /žandā/ ‘flag’ — 72
- 5.38 GP Class IIa noun suffixes — 74
- 5.39 GP Class IIb noun suffixes — 74
- 5.40 GP Class IIa—stem allomorphy — 75
- 5.41 GP Class IIa inanimate: پالېز /pālez/ ‘kitchen garden’ — 76
- 5.42 GP Class IIa inanimate: پښتون /pəxtún/ ‘Pashtun’ — 76
- 5.43 GP Class IIa inanimate: تنور /tanúr/ ‘oven’ — 77
- 5.44 GP Class IIa animate/inanimate: غل /ɣal/ ‘thief’ — 78
- 5.45 GP Class IIa animate: مېلمه /melmá/ ‘guest’ — 78
- 5.46 GP Class IIb—stem allomorphy — 79
- 5.47 GP Class IIb: دښمن /duxmán/ ‘enemy’ — 80
- 5.48 GP Class IIIa Masc. noun suffixes — 81
- 5.49 GP Class IIIa Fem. noun suffixes — 82
- 5.50 GP Class IIIb Masc. noun suffixes — 83
- 5.51 GP Class IIIb Fem. noun suffixes — 83
- 5.52 GP Class IIIa Masc. animate: سپی /spáy/ ‘dog [male]’ — 84
- 5.53 GP Class IIIa Masc. inanimate: گډای /gaḡáy/ ‘feast’ — 85
- 5.54 GP Class IIIa Fem. animate: سپی /spáy/ ‘dog [female]’ — 86
- 5.55 GP Class IIIa Fem. animate: کورنی /koranáy/ ‘family’ — 86
- 5.56 GP Class IIIa Fem. inanimate: خالاکي /čālāki/ ‘trickiness’ — 87
- 5.57 GP Class IIIb Masc.: ملگری /malgǝray/ ‘friend [male]’ — 88
- 5.58 GP Class IIIb Fem.: ملگری /malgǝre/ ‘friend [female]’ — 89
- 5.59 Middle dialect Class IIIa Masc. noun suffixes — 90
- 5.60 Middle dialect Class IIIb Masc. noun suffixes — 90
- 5.61 Middle dialect Class III Fem. noun suffixes: /-áy/ — 90
- 5.62 Middle dialect Class III Fem. noun suffixes: /-o/ — 91
- 5.63 Middle dialect Class III Fem. noun suffixes: /-yé/ — 91
- 5.64 Waziri Class IIIa Masc. animate: /xusáy/ ‘calf’ — 91

- 5.65 Waziri Class III Masc. inanimate: /patáy/ ‘star’ — 91
- 5.66 Waziri Class III Fem.: /šaray/ ‘woolen jacket’ — 91
- 5.67 Waziri Class IIIa Fem. inanimate: /xamto/ ‘cloth’ — 92
- 5.68 Waziri Class IIIa Fem. inanimate: /gutyé/ ‘ring’ — 92
- 5.69 Irregular Fem. kinship noun: مور /mor/ ‘mother’ — 93
- 5.70 Irregular Masc. kinship noun: وراره /wrārô/ ‘brother's son’ — 94
- 5.71 Irregular Masc. kinship noun: زوی /zoy/ ‘son’ — 94
- 5.72 Irregular Fem. kinship noun: لور /lur/ ‘daughter’ — 95
- 5.73 Masc. Arabic loanword: مجاهد /mujāhíd/ ‘fighter’ — 96
- 5.74 Masc. Arabic loanword: موضوع /mawzô/ ‘topic’ — 96
- 5.75 Derived noun suffixes — 98
-
- 6.1 GP Class I adjective suffixes — 104
- 6.2 GP Class I, stem alternation: سپیک /spək/ ‘light’ — 106
- 6.3 GP Class I, وِ /wâr/ alternation: زرهور /zɾawâr/ ‘brave’ — 106
- 6.4 GP Class I, جن /jân/ alternation: غمجن /ɣamjân/ ‘sad’ — 107
- 6.5 GP Class I, consonant-final adjective, no alternation: پلوند /palwând/ ‘fat’ — 108
- 6.6 GP Class II adjective suffixes — 109
- 6.7 GP Class II, -â-final adjective: تیره /terô/ ‘sharp’ — 111
- 6.8 GP Class II, back vowel lowering: پوخ /pox/ ‘cooked, ripe’ — 112
- 6.9 GP Class II, back vowel lowering: روند /rund/ ‘blind’ — 112
- 6.10 GP Class II, back vowel breaking: تود /tod/ ‘hot’; stem = /tawd/ — 113
- 6.11 GP Class II, back vowel breaking: خور /xoɾ/ ‘sweet’; stem = /xwag/ or /xwaz/ — 114
- 6.12 GP Class II, Syncope II: سور /sur/ ‘red’ — 114
- 6.13 GP Class II, Syncope II and epenthesis: تريخ /trix/ ‘bitter’ — 115
- 6.14 GP Class II, consonant-final adjective, no stem allomorphy: اوم /um/ ‘raw, green’ — 116
- 6.15 GP Class IIIa adjective suffixes — 117
- 6.16 GP Class IIIa: زلمی /zalmáy/ ‘young’ — 117
- 6.17 GP Class IIIb adjective suffixes — 118
- 6.18 GP Class IIIb: سوی /sôway/ ‘burnt’ — 119
- 6.19 GP Class IV: نبایسنه /xāyistâ/ ‘pretty’ — 120
- 6.20 GP Class IV: یوازي /yawāzi/ ‘alone’ — 120
- 6.21 GP Class IV: هوسا /hosâ/ ‘comfortable’ — 121
- 6.22 Waziri Class I adjective suffixes — 122
- 6.23 Waziri Class II adjective suffixes — 122
- 6.24 Waziri Class III adjective suffixes — 123
- 6.25 Waziri Class III adjective with Fem. suffix /-ay/: /léwanay/ ‘mad’ — 123
- 6.26 Waziri Class III adjective with Fem. suffix /-yé/: /meranay/ ‘matrilineally related’ — 123

- 6.27 Proximal demonstrative دا /dā/ — 124
- 6.28 Proximal demonstrative دغه /dāya/ — 126
- 6.29 Medial demonstratives — 128
- 6.30 Distal demonstratives — 129
- 6.31 GP يو /yaw/ ‘one’ — 133
- 6.32 Waziri /yaw/ ‘one’ — 134
- 6.33 GP دوه /dwa/ ‘two’ — 134
- 6.34 Waziri /dwa/ ‘two’ — 134
- 6.35 GP درې /dre/ ‘three’ — 135
- 6.36 GP خلور /tsalor/ ‘four’ — 135
- 6.37 Waziri plural forms of declinable number names — 137
- 6.38 GP numerals and number names — 138
- 6.39 Waziri number names that differ from GP forms — 144
- 6.40 GP Class I: لسم /lasám/ ‘tenth’ — 145
- 6.41 Waziri irregular ordinal number names — 146
- 6.42 GP interrogative adjectives — 147
- 6.43 Waziri interrogative adjectives — 147
-
- 7.1 GP strong pronouns, 1st and 2nd person — 158
- 7.2 Middle dialect strong pronouns, 1st and 2nd person — 158
- 7.3 GP strong pronouns, 3rd person — 158
- 7.4 Middle dialect strong pronouns, 3rd person — 159
- 7.5 Distal 3rd person pronoun هغه /hayá/ — 159
- 7.6 Possessive pronouns — 164
- 7.7 GP weak pronouns — 165
- 7.8 Middle dialect weak pronouns — 165
- 7.9 Distribution pattern for weak pronouns — 166
- 7.10 Oblique pronominal clitics — 171
- 7.11 GP proximal demonstrative دا /dā/ — 173
- 7.12 Middle dialect proximal demonstrative دا /dā/ — 173
- 7.13 GP proximal demonstrative دغه /dayá/ — 174
- 7.14 Waziri proximal demonstrative /daya/ — 174
- 7.15 Dzadrani proximal demonstrative /daya/ — 174
- 7.16 GP medial demonstrative هغه /hay-á/ — 175
- 7.17 Waziri medial demonstrative /ayə/ — 175
- 7.18 Dzadrani medial demonstrative /ayə/ — 175
- 7.19 GP distal demonstrative هوغه /huy-á/ — 176
- 7.20 GP human interrogative pronoun خوك /tsok/ — 177
- 7.21 Middle dialect human interrogative pronoun /tsok/ — 177
-
- 8.1 Structure of weak (one stem) verbs — 188
- 8.2 Structure of strong (more than one stem) verbs — 189

- 8.3 Stem shapes — **190**
- 8.4 GP verbs: personal suffixes — **192**
- 8.5 Waziri verbs: personal suffixes — **193**
- 8.6 Dzadrani verbs: personal suffixes — **193**
- 8.7 Infinitives — **195**
- 8.8 Deictic verb prefixes — **198**
- 8.9 Non-productive verb prefixes — **199**
- 8.10 Examples of prefixed verbs — **200**
- 8.11 Behavior of denominal verbs — **202**
- 8.12 Examples of denominal verbs — **203**
- 8.13 GP first conjugation verbs: present tense stems and aorist bases — **205**
- 8.14 GP *a*-initial verbs (first conjugation): aorist bases — **206**
- 8.15 Waziri verbs: forms corresponding to GP *a*-initial verbs — **208**
- 8.16 Dzadrani verbs: forms corresponding to GP *a*-initial verbs — **208**
- 8.17 Second conjugation verbs: aorist bases (present tense) — **209**
- 8.18 Contracted third conjugation verbs: aorist stems (present tense) — **211**
- 8.19 Verbs and their stems: strong and weak — **213**
- 8.20 Weak verb bases: first conjugation (transitive) — **216**
- 8.21 Weak verb bases: first conjugation (intransitive) — **216**
- 8.22 Weak verb bases: second conjugation — **217**
- 8.23 Strong verb bases: first conjugation (two stems) — **218**
- 8.24 Strong suppletive verb, first conjugation (two stems) — **219**
- 8.25 Strong verb bases: second conjugation (two stems) — **219**
- 8.26 Strong verb bases: كول /kawál/ ‘to do’ — **220**
- 8.27 Strong verb bases: وړل /wřəl/ ‘to carry’ — **221**
- 8.28 Strong verb bases: بېول /biwâl/ ‘to lead away’ — **221**
- 8.29 Strong verb bases: ايښودل /ixodâl/ ‘to put’ — **221**
- 8.30 Strong verb bases: کېدل /kedâl/ ‘to become’ — **222**
- 8.31 Strong verb bases: تلل /tlâl/ ‘to go’ — **222**
- 8.32 Strong verb bases: راتلل /râtlâl/ ‘to come’ — **222**
- 8.33 Waziri strong verb bases: /kawâl/ ‘to do’ — **223**
- 8.34 Dzadrani strong verb bases: /kawâl/ ‘to do’ — **223**
- 8.35 Waziri strong verb bases: /kedâl/ ‘to become’ — **223**
- 8.36 Dzadrani strong verb bases: /kedâl/ ‘to become’ — **224**
- 8.37 Strong verbs — **224**
- 8.38 Causative verbs — **228**
- 8.39 GP present continuous of *to be* — **230**
- 8.40 Waziri present continuous of *to be* — **230**
- 8.41 Dzadrani present continuous of *to be* — **231**
- 8.42 GP present aorist of *to be* (= present continuous except in 3rd person) — **231**

- 8.43 Waziri present aorist of *to be* (= present continuous except in 3rd person) — 231
- 8.44 Dzadrani present aorist of *to be* — 232
- 8.45 GP past of *to be* — 232
- 8.46 Waziri past of *to be* — 233
- 8.47 Dzadrani past of *to be* — 233
- 8.48 Imperative of *to be* — 233
- 8.49 GP present continuous of كېدل /kedál/ ‘to become’ — 234
- 8.50 Waziri present continuous of /kedál/ ‘to become’ — 234
- 8.51 Dzadrani present continuous of /kedál/ ‘to become’ — 235
- 8.52 GP present aorist of كېدل /kedál/ ‘to become’ — 235
- 8.53 Waziri present aorist of /kedál/ ‘to become’ — 235
- 8.54 Dzadrani present aorist of /kedál/ ‘to become’ — 236
- 8.55 GP past continuous of كېدل /kedál/ ‘to become’ — 237
- 8.56 Waziri past continuous of /kedál/ ‘to become’ — 237
- 8.57 Dzadrani past continuous of /kedál/ ‘to become’ — 238
- 8.58 GP past aorist of كېدل /kedál/ ‘to become’ — 238
- 8.59 Dzadrani past aorist of /kedál/ ‘to become’ — 239
- 8.60 GP present continuous of كول /kawál/ ‘to make; to do’ — 239
- 8.61 Waziri present continuous of /kawál/ ‘to make; to do’ — 240
- 8.62 Dzadrani present continuous of /kawál/ ‘to make; to do’ — 240
- 8.63 GP present aorist of كول /kawál/ ‘to make; to do’ — 241
- 8.64 Waziri present aorist of /kawál/ ‘to make; to do’ — 241
- 8.65 Dzadrani present aorist of /kawál/ ‘to make; to do’ — 242
- 8.66 GP past continuous of كول /kawál/ ‘to make; to do’ — 242
- 8.67 Waziri past continuous of /kawál/ ‘to make; to do’ — 243
- 8.68 Dzadrani past continuous of /kawál/ ‘to make; to do’ — 243
- 8.69 GP past aorist of كول /kawál/ ‘to make; to do’ — 244
- 8.70 Waziri past aorist of /kawál/ ‘to make; to do’ — 245
- 8.71 Dzadrani past aorist of /kawál/ ‘to make; to do’ — 245
- 8.72 Present participles — 246
- 8.73 Present participle: declension — 247
- 8.74 Past participles — 248
- 8.75 Past participle: declension — 248
- 8.76 Past participles built on aorist bases — 249
- 8.77 Present continuous, first conjugation (intransitive) — 250
- 8.78 Present continuous, first conjugation (transitive) — 250
- 8.79 Present continuous, second conjugation — 251
- 8.80 Present continuous, third conjugation — 251
- 8.81 Present aorist, first conjugation (intransitive) — 252
- 8.82 Present aorist, first conjugation (transitive) — 252
- 8.83 Present aorist, second conjugation — 253

- 8.84 Present aorist, third conjugation — 253
- 8.85 Past continuous, first conjugation (intransitive) — 254
- 8.86 Past continuous, first conjugation (transitive) — 255
- 8.87 Past continuous, second conjugation — 255
- 8.88 Past continuous, third conjugation — 256
- 8.89 Past aorist, first conjugation (intransitive) — 256
- 8.90 Past aorist, first conjugation (transitive) — 257
- 8.91 Past aorist, second conjugation — 257
- 8.92 Past aorist, third conjugation — 258
- 8.93 Continuous imperative, first conjugation — 259
- 8.94 Continuous imperative, first conjugation (negative) — 259
- 8.95 Continuous imperative, second conjugation — 259
- 8.96 Continuous imperative, second conjugation (negative) — 259
- 8.97 Continuous imperative, third conjugation — 260
- 8.98 Continuous imperative, third conjugation, negative — 260
- 8.99 Aorist imperative, first conjugation — 260
- 8.100 Aorist imperative, second conjugation — 261
- 8.101 Aorist imperative, third conjugation — 261
- 8.102 Continuous optative forms — 262
- 8.103 Aorist optative forms — 264
- 8.104 Present perfect, first and second conjugations — 265
- 8.105 Present perfect, third conjugation — 266
- 8.106 Past perfect — 267
- 8.107 Present potential — 268
- 8.108 Past potential — 268
- 9.1 Some GP simple circumpositions — 331
- 9.2 Some Middle Dialect circumpositions in contrast with GP — 333
- 10.1 Some adverbs of time — 379
- 10.2 Some adverbs of place — 381
- 10.3 Some adverbs of manner — 384
- 10.4 Some adverbs of degree — 386
- 10.5 Arabic adverbs in Pashto — 388
- 10.6 Some other interrogative words — 389
- 10.7 Some doublets and their base stems — 397
- 11.1 Element ordering in negative future constructions — 407
- 11.2 Negative placement — 409
- 11.3 GP additional interrogative adverbs — 418
- 11.4 Case-marking pattern for nouns — 449
- 11.5 Case-marking pattern for human interrogative pronouns — 449
- 11.6 Case-marking pattern for strong pronouns — 449

1 About this Grammar

1.1 Scope of this book

This grammar covers the four standard dialects and the Middle dialects—including Waziri—of modern Pashto, with greatest emphasis on morphology. Morphological and some lexical features specific to the Middle dialects are given their own sections, corresponding to their counterparts in **General Pashto** (the set of dialects that exist in contrast to the Middle dialects, as described in Chapter 4). Where Middle dialects (abbreviated as “M”) and General Pashto (“GP”) are not known to differ—for example, in their syntax—only one description is given. If no Middle-specific form of a particular feature is described, we presume that it conforms to General Pashto. Chapter 4 contains a more complete description of the differences among Pashto dialects.

In order to describe the wide range of Pashto dialects with precision, we consulted a variety of sources, including previously published grammars, publicly available data on the internet, and consultations with native speakers. Pashto, as a living language spoken in a politically volatile region, is constantly evolving, and our data collection strategy enabled us to include examples from a wide swath of dialectal situations.

Native speakers from several dialect areas were consulted on issues ranging from basic pronunciation to the appropriate use of complex syntactic constructions. After providing detailed personal language background information, each speaker was recorded pronouncing single word examples from prescribed lists. Over the course of several sessions, the speaking tasks increased in complexity. Speakers were asked to provide complete paradigms and examples of usage. We were able to consult speakers about phenomena that were insufficiently or inconsistently described in the literature, asking for grammatical judgments about specific examples and more open-ended commentary on general issues.

1.2 Orthography

Except for the fact that written Pashto always uses the Perso-Arabic script, Pashto writing varies significantly according to a number of factors such as region, influence of other languages, and so on, and many words may have multiple widely-accepted spellings. Additionally, apparent word boundaries can vary as well. For instance, some writers orthographically treat forms we assert to be free forms as if they are bound forms (e.g. by joining a preposition with the word it governs), or, conversely, treat forms we believe to be bound forms as if they are free (e.g. by separating an aorist prefix from its stem).

We present all authentic written examples as we found them, with their original spellings and word boundaries; however, we represent words as consistently as possible from one transcription and morpheme-by-morpheme gloss to the next, which may

result in examples in which a single word in the Pashto script is represented as multiple words in the gloss, or in which multiple words in the Pashto script are represented as a single word in the gloss. Where the authentic text represents variance from what we believe to be standard conventions of spelling or word boundaries, a standardized version of the Pashto script is presented in an accompanying footnote.

Authentic spoken examples are represented in the dialect of the speaker and this dialect information is indicated in subscript, when known. A complete table of the transcription schema used in this book is given in Table 3.11.

Where we have cited examples from other scholarly works, we have retained as much information as the original example provides. (If such an example does not contain script, we have not added it, unless we were certain of their transcription system.) In some instances, we have adapted the Romanization system or the morpheme glossing used by the author in order to elucidate the point at hand.

1.3 Tables and examples

Table titles are marked, where relevant, with information about the dialect(s) concerned. Where there is no dialect information in the table title, the contents of that table are presumed to hold for all dialects (General Pashto and Middle dialects).

To more easily represent widespread syncretism in Pashto grammatical forms, the tables in this grammar use an empty cell to represent a form which is identical to the form above it (or, if there is no form above it, or if the form above it is separated with a horizontal line, identical to the form to its left). Forms whose existence is uncertain are represented with a question mark; this is more likely in Middle dialects than in General Pashto. The complete absence of a form is denoted by a dash in the cell. Where different dialect forms exist, these are shown vertically, with the initial of the dialect name in subscript after the form. Where no alternate forms are given, the form in the table should be taken as applying to all dialects.

Table 1.1 and Table 1.2 are examples showing these table layouts.

In Table 1.1,

- The masculine singular oblique form is the same as the masculine singular direct;
- The masculine singular vocative form is the same as the masculine singular ablative;
- The masculine plural ablative and vocative, the feminine singular ablative and vocative, and the feminine plural ablative and vocative forms are the same as the masculine plural oblique, the feminine singular oblique, and the feminine plural oblique, respectively; and
- The masculine plural direct form is the same as the masculine singular direct.

In Table 1.2,

- The third person feminine singular form is the same as the third person masculine singular form, and
- Both the third person plural forms are the same as the third person singular form.

Some of these forms are spelled the same but pronounced differently from one dialect to the next, while other forms have different spellings as well as different pronunciations.

ə~o~e	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	سپک spak _E spək _w		سپکه spāk-a _E spāk-a _w	سپکې spāk-e _E سپکي spāk-i _w
Oblique		سپکو spāk-o _E	سپکې spāk-e _E	سپکو spāk-o _E
Ablative	سپکه spāk-a _E spāk-a _w	spāk-o _w spók-o _w	سپکي spāk-i _w	spāk-o _w spók-o _w
Vocative				

Table 1.1: Class I, stem alternation: سپک /spək/ ‘light’

Examples of Pashto words appear occasionally in text, with the Pashto script followed by the transcription in phonemic slashes and the gloss in single quotation marks: سپک /spək/ ‘light’.

Examples of phrases and complete sentences appear in numbered four-line interlinear examples, with the Pashto script in the first line, the transcription in the second, the morpheme-by-morpheme gloss in the third, and the translation of the sentence in the last line. 1.1 is a sample of an interlinear example.

- (1.1) ښوونځی جوړونه، انسان جوړونه ده!
xuwəndz-ay joɾawəna-∅ insān-∅ joɾawəna-∅
 school-M.DIR building-F.DIR people-M.DIR building-F.DIR
da
 be.CONT.PRS.3SG.F
 ‘Building schools means growing our youth!’

کول kawál 'to make, to do'		Singular	Plural
1st		کوم kawám	کوو kawú
2nd		کوي kawé	کوي kawáy
3rd	M	کوي kawí	
	F		

Table 1.2: Present continuous of کول /kawál/ 'to make, to do'

When an interlinear example is used to illustrate a particular word or morphological concept, the term appears in bold type. The transcription and morpheme gloss are always bolded in such instances, and the free translation may be bolded if the English words clearly correspond to the Pashto. For ease of reading, the Pashto script is never bolded.

1.4 Abbreviations and symbols

Where possible, morpheme glosses in this grammar follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules,¹ a set of formatting conventions widely adopted in the linguistics community.

Commonly used abbreviations in this grammar include the following:

- *: non-existent or unacceptable form
- ~: variation in forms (within or across dialects)
- []: non-overt element
- ∅: zero morpheme
- 1: first person pronominal clitic
- 1DVC: first person directional verbal clitic
- 2: second person pronominal clitic
- 2DVC: second person directional verbal clitic
- 3: third person pronominal clitic

¹ <http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>

3DVC: third person directional verbal clitic
 ABL: ablative
 ADJ: adjective
 ADJZ: adjectivizer
 ANIM: animate
 AOR: aorist
 C: consonant
 COMIT: comitative
 COMP: complementizer
 CONT: continuous
 DIR: direct
 DZA: Dzadrani (dialect)
 E: Eastern (dialects)
 ECHO: echo word
 EMPH: emphatic
 EXT: existential particle
 F: feminine
 GP: General Pashto
 INF: infinitive
 IMP: imperative
 INSTR: instrumental
 LVC: light verb construction
 M: (as diacritic) Middle (dialect)
 M: (in glosses) masculine
 N: noun
 NE: Northeastern (dialect)
 NEC: modal of necessity or obligation
 NEG: negative particle
 NMLZ: nominalizer
 NW: Northwestern (dialect)
 OBL: oblique
 OPT : optative
 PL: plural
 PNG: person-number-gender
 POSS: possessive
 PRS: non-past
 PTCP: participle
 PST: past
 Q: question particle
 SE: Southeastern (dialect)
 SG: singular
 STR: strong

SW: Southwestern (dialect)

V: vowel

VOC: vocative

W: Western (dialects)

WAZ: Waziri (dialect)

WAZ-L: Waziri (dialect); example comes from Lorimer

WK: weak

WOULD: modal of irrealis or habitual events

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2 The Pashto Language

2.1 Background

Pashto is considered to be the second-most important Iranian language, after Persian, given its widespread use in Afghanistan and Pakistan, its official status in Afghanistan, and its long literary tradition dating back to or before the 16th century (MacKenzie 1992; Skjærvø 1989). This section provides an overview of the Pashto language, including demographic information, linguistic classification, dialectal variation, and available linguistic resources.

2.2 Population of speakers

Pashto is an Indo-Iranian language of the East Iranian branch, spoken primarily in Afghanistan and Pakistan. In Afghanistan it is predominantly spoken in the eastern (Nangarhar, Laghman, Kunar), central (Kabul, Logar, Wardak), southeastern (Ghazni, Khost, Paktiya, Paktika), southwestern (Kandahar, Helmand, Uruzgan, Zabul), and western (Herat, Farah) regions. In Pakistan it is primarily spoken in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (formerly North-West Frontier Province); the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (including Waziristan); and in northeastern Balochistan, including the city of Quetta. Communities of Pashto-speaking migrant laborers from Afghanistan and Pakistan are reportedly found in Iran and the United Arab Emirates, and small populations of Pashto speakers have been documented in Tajikistan (Lewis, 2009).

Babrakzai (1999) notes that most estimates of the number of Pashto speakers in available linguistic studies and encyclopedic descriptions are quite rough. Until recently, figures have tended to be outdated or otherwise underestimated, ranging from 13 million (a figure widely quoted from Penzl 1955; see e.g. Lockwood 1972; Lorenz 1982; MacKenzie 1987; MacKenzie 1992) to above 20 million (Inozemtsev 2001; Tegey & Robson 1996). Austin (2008) sets the range at 30–50 million speakers; this appears to be a fairly sound figure when compared to the estimate of 41.3 million speakers that can be derived from the World Factbook's population projections and ethnic percentage figures: 42% of Afghanistan's 33.6 million inhabitants and 15.42% of Pakistan's total population of 176 million (Directorate of Intelligence 2009a; Directorate of Intelligence 2009b).¹ At the upper end of this range, Ethnologue tentatively reports 49.5

¹ Though itself dominated by neighboring languages such as Dari and Urdu in some spheres, Pashto is a relatively dominant language, so it is reasonable to expect that Pashtun ethnicity corresponds roughly with Pashto language acquisition. Furthermore, although there may be some attrition through marriage, immersion in non-Pashto speaking urban settings, etc., the numbers are probably more than offset by speakers of other languages who adopt Pashto as a second language.

million speakers of Pashto in all countries (Lewis, 2009). On the lower end, a posthumously updated version of MacKenzie's description in *The World's Major Languages* places the number at about 25 million (MacKenzie 2009, cf. MacKenzie 1987).

2.2.1 History and classification

Pashto belongs to the East Iranian branch of the Indo-Iranian language family, meaning it is closely related to other Iranian languages such as the Pamir languages (also in the East Iranian branch) and Persian, Kurdish, and Balochi (in the West Iranian branch). It is somewhat less closely related to the neighboring Nuristani languages and to Indo-Aryan languages such as Urdu, Punjabi, and Sindhi; and more distantly related to other Indo-European languages. Beyond the classification of Pashto as an East Iranian language, there are competing views and descriptions regarding the exact subclassification of Pashto and the degree of affinity between Pashto and certain related languages, especiallyOrmuri and Parachi.

2.2.2 Dialectal variation

Pashto can be divided into numerous dialects, or varieties, as described in more detail in Chapter 4. Dialectal differences in Pashto are primarily phonological in nature. The Southwest (Kandahar) dialect makes use of retroflex fricatives /ʂ/ and /ʐ/ and of the dental affricates /ts/ and /tʃ/. In other dialects, the retroflex fricatives, and sometimes also the dental affricates, are replaced with other phonemes. For example, Southwest /ʂ/ is elsewhere pronounced as /š/, /ç/, or /x/, depending on dialect. One result of this dialectal variation is the use of both *Pakhto* and *Pashto* as Romanized spellings of the language's name. Another result is the assignment of several alternative values to the pronunciation of the relevant Pashto letters, shown in Table 3.11 in Section 3.2.1.2. Dialectal variation in morphology has also been documented, especially for the dialects classified as Middle (M) in Section 4.4, which differ more from other dialects of Pashto than the other dialects do among themselves (Hallberg 1992, Lorimer 1902).

Attrition is more likely in Pakistan, where Pashto is a less dominant language, in which case the World Factbook's estimated 8% Pashto language use would be a more conservative indicator than the 15.42% ethnic population.

Corey Miller and Anne Boyle David

3 Phonology and Orthography

3.1 Phonetics and phonology

3.1.1 Consonants

3.1.1.1 Inventory

Pashto has consonants at seven possible places of articulation, as shown in Table 3.1. Consonants not used by all speakers are parenthesized. The representation of these segments in the written language is discussed in Section 3.2.

	Labial	Dental	Palato- alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	p b	t d		ʈ ɖ		k g	
Affricates		(ts ɖʒ)	č j				
Fricatives	(f)	s z	š (ž)	(ʂ ʐ)	(ç ʝ)	x ɣ	h
Nasals	m	n		ɳ			
Lateral		l					
Approximants	w	r	y	ɹ			

Table 3.1: Pashto consonants

3.1.1.2 “Elegant” consonants

Depending on how closely speakers wish to approximate Arabic sounds not otherwise present in Pashto, they may use what are sometimes called “elegant” consonants. That is, when speaking in what they regard as a formal situation, many educated speakers will approximate the Arabic pronunciations of those consonants; these are listed in Table 3.2.

Penzl (1955) did not seem to think that the voiced pharyngeal fricative was ever pronounced in Pashto; however, Tegey & Robson (1996) reported 41 years later that it does occur in some speakers’ formal speech. It is possible that this discrepancy is due

Arabic consonant	Educated, formal Pashto	Uneducated or informal Pashto
ء <i>glottal stop</i>	ʔ	(not pronounced)
ع <i>voiced pharyngeal fricative</i>	ʕ or ʔ	(not pronounced)
ح <i>voiceless pharyngeal fricative</i>	ħ	h (or not pronounced)
ق <i>voiceless uvular stop</i>	q	k

Table 3.2: “Elegant,” or formal, consonants

to an ongoing linguistic change under Arabic influence or to a difference between the dialects being reported on. Elfenbein (1997: 742) notes that /h/ is often dropped and is only retained in some dialects as an “elegance”.

3.1.2 Vowels

3.1.2.1 Inventory

Most dialects of Pashto have seven vowels and seven diphthongs (Heston, 1992), as shown in Table 3.3 and Table 3.4.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	ə	o
Low	a		ā

Table 3.3: Pashto vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High			uy
Mid		əy	oy
Low	ay āy aw āw		

Table 3.4: Pashto diphthongs

3.1.2.2 Vowel transcription

For the sake of comparison with other sources, we provide the corresponding transcriptions of the vowel sounds in Table 3.5. Note that Tegey and Robson's distinction between both /i/ and /ɪ/ (row 1) and /u/ and /ʊ/ (row 2) may correlate with the presence or absence of **ي** and **و** respectively in the spelling of the word (see Section 3.1.2.3). Penzl, who describes the Kandahari dialect, makes a distinction between /ey/ for **ع** and /ei/ for **ع**, and does not include /oy/ in his inventory.

This grammar	Example	IPA	Penzl	Tegey and Robson
i	امتحان imtihān ‘test’	i	i	i, ɪ
u	اردو urdu ‘army’	u	u	u, ʊ
e	یہ ye ‘you are’	e	ee	e
ə	زہ zə ‘I’	ə	e	ə
o	اور or, wor ‘fire’	o	oo	o
a	لس las ‘ten’	a	a	a
ā	کال kāl ‘year’	ɑ	aa	ā
uy	دوی duy ‘they’	uj	uy	uy
əy	لکی lakəy ‘tail’	əj	ey, ei	əy
oy	زوی zoy ‘son’	oj	uy	oy
ay	سپی saṣay ‘man’	aj	ay	ay
āy	ڈھائی dẖāy ‘place’	ɑj	aay	āy
aw	یو yaw ‘one’	aw	aw	aw
āw	واورہ wāwra ‘snow’	ɑw	aaw	āw

Table 3.5: Comparison among vowel transcription systems

3.1.2.3 “Elegant” vowels

Persian or Arabic loanwords that contain an etymologically long /i/ or /ū/ (spelled with *ی* *mārufa ye* and *و* *wāw*, respectively) are sometimes pronounced with long vowels by educated speakers, or speakers of the Northeastern dialect (Section 4.3). Like some consonants in Arabic loanwords, these may be called “elegant” vowels. Due to variation in pronunciation, the short vowels /i/ and /u/ are now sometimes represented in Pashto writing with *ی* and *و*, despite the usual convention of not representing short vowels in Arabic scripts.

3.1.2.4 Middle dialect vowels

The vowel inventory for the Middle dialects described in Chapter 4 differs slightly from that described in Section 3.1.2.1 and Section 3.1.2.2. One issue is the phenomenon described as “Waziri Metaphony” in Section 4.4. In Table 3.6, we compare three treatments of the M vowel system, by Septfonds (1994), Lorimer (1902), and Hallberg (1992). While the objects of study in each of those works are slightly different, they all fall under the M rubric as described in Chapter 4. In order to compare these treatments to each other, we provide example words representing each class of sounds. For these, we have provided Pashto script reflecting the General Pashto pronunciation; however, to our knowledge, there exists no systematic representation of M pronunciation using Pashto script.

There does not seem to be a reliable contrast in M between /o/ and /u/. Lorimer and Hallberg distinguish between /a/ and /ā/, whereas Septfonds does not. Septfonds distinguishes between /əy/ and /ay/, whereas Lorimer does not. As can be seen in Table 3.6, Lorimer makes some additional distinctions compared to the others. For example, Lorimer uses *è* as a variant of his *é* before /r/. Lorimer’s use of *ü* (presumably IPA /y/) as a variant of /i/, and *ö* (presumably IPA /ø/) as a variant of /e/ may reveal that there existed “midway” points between the GP vowels and their metaphony targets (see Section 4.4). We have provided two examples of the /e/ vowel: one that shares an /e/ with other dialects of Pashto, and another that represents the metaphony target corresponding with GP /o/. Lorimer also employs a sequence of two symbols, *aṅ*, to indicate /ā/.

This grammar	Example	IPA	Septfonds	Lorimer	Hallberg
i	لور lir ‘daughter’	i	i	i, ī, ü	i
e	ډېر ډېر ‘many’, مور mer ‘mother’	e	e	é, è, ö	e
ə	زه zə ‘I’	ə	ə	e, ê, u	ʌ
o	پلار plor ‘father’	o	o	o	o
a	سر sar ‘head’	a	a	a	ʌ
ā	مياشت myāšt ‘month’	ɑ	a	ā	ɑ
ā	وتپم wətapā ‘I close’	ā		aŋ	
əy	لمسى lmasəy ‘granddaughter’	əj	əy	ai	
ay	سړى saṛay ‘man’	aj	ay	ai	ai, li
aw	پلو palaw ‘side’	aw	aw	au	

Table 3.6: Comparison among M vowel transcription systems

3.1.3 Stress

Word stress in Pashto is assigned lexically. In our transcription of Pashto, we indicate stressed syllables by putting an acute accent mark over the vowel portion: سړی /saṛáy/ ‘man’, ژبه /žǎba/ ‘tongue’. Some words differ only by the placement of stress, as with the pronouns هغه /hayǎ/ ‘he/she/it’ vs. هغه /háyǎ/ ‘that’, or continuous versus aorist forms among second and third conjugation verbs (Section 8.2.5.4 and Section 8.2.5.5). In this grammar we generally only indicate stress in paradigms and on particular lexical items in example sentences where its placement sheds light on meaning, or when relevant to the discussion.

3.2 Orthography

The languages of the world vary along a scale of the ease with which one may deduce pronunciation from orthography, or the spelling from the pronunciation. This is known as *orthographic depth* (Sproat, 2000: 6). On a spectrum of depth, Spanish may be considered fairly shallow, or easy to pronounce, and Chinese would be considered especially deep. Pashto would fall somewhere near English on such a scale, though the difficulties of deducing pronunciation from spelling (and vice versa) are somewhat different, as will be described below.¹

3.2.1 The script

Pashto is written primarily in the Perso-Arabic script, which includes modifications made for Persian, as well as additions specific to Pashto. Like those scripts, and unlike, for example, the Devanagari script in which Hindi is written, the Pashto script is in theory an *abjad* (Daniels & Bright, 1996), in which the letters represent only the consonants of the language. However, like the Arabic and Persian scripts, the Pashto alphabet deviates from the strict definition of an abjad in that some letters can also be used to indicate vowel sounds. For example, the letter **ا** *alif*, which is used to write both long /ā/ and an initial glottal stop in Arabic, is also used in Pashto to represent the vowel /ā/. The letter **و** *wāw*, which writes both /w/ and /ū/ in Arabic, can be used to represent /w/, /u/, or /o/ in Pashto; and **ي** *ye*, which writes both /y/ and /ī/ in Arabic, can be used in Pashto for /y/, /i/, and even (with modification to the letter), /e/ and several other sounds, which can be seen in Table 3.10.

As with other Arabic-based writing systems, the Pashto script is written from right to left, but numerals are written left to right. The script is cursive, and letters may have

¹ More on issues that arise from a deep orthography, in particular variations in spelling, can be found at Appendix A, Section A.4.

up to four allographs: the independent form, which is unconnected to other letters; the initial form, connected only on the left; the medial form, connected on both sides; and the final form, connected only on the right. (In most word processors, Unicode rendering automatically displays the proper positional form.) Some letters do not connect to the letter to their left; in these cases the initial and independent forms are the same, as are the medial and final forms. (See the tables of letters in Section 3.2.1.2.)

3.2.1.1 Letters unique to Pashto

Due to its particular consonant and vowel inventory, Pashto has innovated several letters not present in either Arabic or Persian. To represent the retroflexes /ɖ ɳ ʀ ʈ/, Pashto employs a diacritic known as a پنداک /panḏak/ or غړونډی /ɣaɾwandaɣ/ ‘ring’ on the letters used for the dentals, as shown in Table 3.7.

Letter	Sound
ډ	ɖ
ڳ	ɳ
ړ	ʀ
ټ	ʈ

Table 3.7: Pashto retroflex letters with panḏak

Pashto has innovated two letters employing a dot above and below ر and س. These letters represent retroflex sounds in the Kandahar (Southwest) dialect, but other sounds elsewhere, as displayed in Table 3.8. Further pronunciations of these letters, particularly in the Northwest dialects, are discussed in Chapter 4.

The two letters in Table 3.9 are based on ح and represent the affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ in some dialects, but in others they have been simplified to the fricatives /s/ and /z/, as discussed in Chapter 4.

Finally, Pashto employs a set of five letters based on ی, which have a range of phonetic and morphological values, as expressed in Table 3.10. Note that in much text encountered on the internet and elsewhere, ی or ي may be used in place of the other forms, without affecting the expected pronunciation.

Letter	Sound
ږ	ʒ Kandahar (Southwest), ǯ Quetta (Southeast), g Peshawar (Northeast)
ښ	ʂ Kandahar (Southwest), ʂ̌ Quetta (Southeast), x Eastern

Table 3.8: Pashto letters with dot below and dot above

Letter	Sound
څ	ts (Southwest, Southeast), s (Northwest, Northeast)
ځ	ɟ (Southwest, Southeast), z (Northwest, Northeast)

Table 3.9: Pashto affricate letters based on ح

Letter	Sound	Function/comments
ی	ay	word-finally
	ā	word-finally in some words derived from Arabic, such as حتی hatā ‘even’. This is known as <i>alif maqsura</i> .
ې	i, y	
ې	e	
ی	əy	word-finally in feminine nouns and adjectives
ئ	əy	word-finally in verbal forms
	not pronounced or ?	word-medially in some Perso-Arabic borrowings such as مسئله masala ‘problem’

Table 3.10: Pashto letters based on ی

3.2.1.2 Tables of letters and numerals

The full list of Pashto letters is given in Table 3.11. Sources differ on some of the names for Pashto letters, or give more than one. These differences are due in part to regional variation in how the letters are pronounced and in part to variation in how the Pashto has been Romanized. To aid in letter identification, we have listed a variety of possible Romanized names. Where practical, we have indicated the most common pronunciations of the letters; where there is further variation we refer to the relevant sections. The pronunciations listed in parentheses are the formal pronunciations described in Section 3.1.1.2. Note that some of the symbols listed here (e.g. \bar{a} *alif mad* and \acute{e} *he-hamza*) are not considered separate letters from their counterparts without diacritics (e.g. a *alif* and e *he*); we list them separately here for ease of reference. Letter names that end in a vowel or diphthong are grammatically feminine, while letter names that end in a consonant are grammatically masculine.

Following are some remarks on particular letters. \bar{a} *alef tanwin* appears word-finally in adverbs derived from Arabic, e.g. تقريباً /taqriban/ ‘approximately’. The letter w *wāw* is also transcribed as /v/ in some sources, such as Shafeev (1964). The letter \bar{u} *wāw-hamza* appears word-medially in Perso-Arabic borrowings such as سؤال /swāl, suwāl/ ‘question’. When appearing word-finally, the letter e *he* may represent a vowel such as /a/ or /ə/. The letter y *ye* is also commonly used when referring to the letter *ye* in general, as in a section of a dictionary. It thus can be used to encompass y *mārufa ye*. In this usage, it would be called simply *ye*. The name *mārufa ye* for the letter y means ‘known ye’, reflecting the fact that its sound, /i/, was known in Arabic. The name *majhula ye* for the letter y means ‘unknown ye’, reflecting the fact that its sound, /e/, was unknown in Arabic. The names for the letter y include the words for ‘feminine’ (*ṣaḍḍina tānis, muanasa*) and ‘heavy’ (*saqila*). The names for the letter \bar{c} include *kərwāla* and *feli*, meaning ‘verbal’, *tazkir* meaning ‘masculine’, and *saqila* meaning ‘heavy’.

Some of the letters are used chiefly in Arabic loanwords, or in loanwords based on Arabic. The h *halwa he*, for example, appears in Arabic loanwords which are spelled with this letter in Arabic, and in borrowings from Persian in which one of the morphemes is Arabic: *پرحرارت* /purharārat/ ‘ardent, emotional’, which is composed of a Persian prefix *پر* /pur/ ‘full’ and an Arabic root *حرارت* /harārat/ ‘heat’. The other /h/ sound, e *he*, is used in native Pashto words, as well as in Arabic and Persian loanwords which are spelled with this letter. Representing /s/, the letters s *se* and $sād$ *sād* are found in the Arabic/Persian component of the vocabulary, while sin *sin* is found in the native component as well. Representing /t/, the letter $tā$ *tā* is found in the Arabic/Persian component of the vocabulary, while te *te* is also found in the native component. Finally, representing /z/, the letters $zāl$ *zāl*, $zād$ *zād*, and $zā$ *zā* are found in the Arabic/Persian component of the vocabulary, while ze *ze* is found in the native component as well.

Table 3.11: Pashto alphabet

Unicode	Pashto script	Name	IPA	Penzl	Tegey and Robson	This grammar
U+0627	ا	alif	see Section 3.2.1.3			
U+0622	آ	alif mad	ɑ	aa	ā	ā
U+0627 U+064B	أ	alif tanwin	an	an	an	an
U+0628	ب	be	b	b	b	b
U+067E	پ	pe	p	p	p	p
U+062A	ت	te	t̪	t	t	t
U+067C	ټ	ṭe	t̪	tt	ṭ	ṭ
U+062B	ث	se	s	s	s	s
U+062C	ج	jim	dʒ	dʒh	j	j
U+0686	چ	če/čim	tʃ	tsh	ch	č
U+0681	غ	dʒe/dʒim/ze	dʒ/z	dʒ	dʒ	dʒ/z
U+0685	څ		ts/s	ts	ts	ts/s
		tse/tsim/se				
U+062D	ح	he/halwa he	Ø/h/(ħ)	Ø/h/(h)	Ø/h/(ħ)	Ø/h/(ħ)
U+062E	خ	xe	x	kh	kh	x
U+062F	د	dāl	d̪	d	d	d
U+0689	ډ	dāl	d̪	dd	d̪	d̪
U+0630	ذ	zāl	z	z̪	z	z
U+0631	ر	re	r	r	r	r
U+0693	ړ	ṛe	ɽ	rr	ṛ	ṛ
U+0632	ز	ze	z	z	z	z
U+0698	ژ	že	ʒ/dʒ/z	zh	zh/j/z	ž/j/z
U+0696	ږ	že/ge	ʒ/ʒ̪/ǰ/g	zz	g	ʒ/ž̪/ǰ/g
U+0633	س	sin	s	s	s	s
U+0634	ش	šin	ʃ	sh	sh	š

Table 3.11: (continued)

Unicode	Pashto script	Name	IPA	Penzl	Tegey and Robson	This grammar
U+069A	ښ	šin/xin	ʃ/x	ss	x	ʃ/x
U+0635	ص	sād/swād/ sxwāt/swā	s	ṣ	s	s
U+0636	ض	zād/zwād/ zxwāt/zwā	z	ẓ	z	z
U+0637	ط	tā/twe/ txwe/ toy/twā	ṭ	ṭ	t	t
U+0638	ظ	zā/zwe/ zṡwe/ zoy/zwā	z	ẓ̄	z	z
U+0639	ع	ʔayn/ayn	(ʔ)/(ʕ)	ʔ	ʔ	see Section 3.2.1.3 and Section 3.1.1.2
U+063A	غ	yayn	ɣ	gh	gh	ɣ
U+0641	ف	fe	f	f	f	f
U+0642	ق	qāf/qaf	k/(q)	q	q	k/(q)
U+06A9	ک	kāf/kaf	k	k	k	k
U+06AB	گ	gāf	g	g	g	g
U+0644	ل	lām	l	l	l	l
U+0645	م	mim	m	m	m	m
U+0646	ن	nun	n	n	n	n
U+06BC	ڼ	ṅun	ŋ	nn	ṅ	ṅ
U+0648	و	wāw	w/o/u	w	w/u/o	w/u/o
U+0624	ؤ	wāw- hamza	∅/w			∅/w
U+0647	ه	he/hā	h	h	h	h

Table 3.11: (continued)

Unicode	Pashto script	Name	IPA	Penzl	Tegey and Robson	This grammar
U+06C0	ۀ	he(/hā)- hamza/ zwarakai	ə	e	ə	ə (see Section 3.2.3)
U+06CC	ی	ye/yā/ mulayana ye (/yā)/prata ye (/yā)	aj	ay	ay	ay (see Table 3.10)
U+064A	ي	saxtə ye (/yā) /klaka ye (/yā) /mārufa ye(/yā)	i/y	i/y	i/y	i/y (see Section 3.2.1.3)
U+06D0	ې	pasta ye (/yā) /majhula ye (/yā)	e	ee	e	e
U+06CD	ی	şəđzina ye (/yā) /saqila/ de tānis saqila ye (/yā) /mua- nasa saqila ye (/yā)	əj	ei	əy	əy
U+0626	ئ	kərwāla ye (/yā) /ye (/yā)- hamza/ feli ye (/yā) /de tazkir saqila ye (/yā/)	əj	ey	əy	əy

Positional variants for each letter are shown in Table 3.12. In keeping with the directionality of the script, the initial-position form is on the right. In addition to the positional variants of individual letters, the script includes an obligatory digraph, لآ, used for the sequence of *lām + alif*.

The Eastern Arabic numerals, which are used in Pashto, are given in Table 3.13. Numeral forms of compound numbers are given along with the word-form number names in Table 6.38.

Table 3.12: Positional variants of letters

Independent form	Final position	Medial position	Initial position
ا	ا	ا	ا
ب	ب	ب	ب
پ	پ	پ	پ
ت	ت	ت	ت
ټ	ټ	ټ	ټ
ث	ث	ث	ث
ج	ج	ج	ج
چ	چ	چ	چ
خ	خ	خ	خ
څ	څ	څ	څ
ح	ح	ح	ح
ځ	ځ	ځ	ځ
د	د	د	د
ډ	ډ	ډ	ډ
ذ	ذ	ذ	ذ
ر	ر	ر	ر
ړ	ړ	ړ	ړ

Table 3.12: (continued)

Independent form	Final position	Medial position	Initial position
ز	ز	ز	ز
ژ	ژ	ژ	ژ
ز	ز	ز	ز
س	س	س	س
ش	ش	ش	ش
ب	ب	ب	ب
ص	ص	ص	ص
ض	ض	ض	ض
ط	ط	ط	ط
ظ	ظ	ظ	ظ
ع	ع	ع	ع
غ	غ	غ	غ
ف	ف	ف	ف
ق	ق	ق	ق
ک	ک	ک	ک
گ	گ	گ	گ
ل	ل	ل	ل
م	م	م	م
ن	ن	ن	ن
و	و	و	و
ه	ه	ه or ه	ه
ی	ی		

Table 3.12: (continued)

Independent form	Final position	Medial position	Initial position
ي	ي	ي	ي
ې	ې	ې	ې ²
ى	ى		
ئ	ئ		

Arabic numeral	Pashto (Eastern Arabic) numeral	Unicode
0	۰	U+06f0, U+0660
1	۱	U+06f1, U+0661
2	۲	U+06f2, U+0662
3	۳	U+06f3, U+0663
4	۴ or ٤	U+06f4 or U+0664
5	٥ or ۵	U+06f5 or U+0665
6	٦ or ۶	U+06f6 or U+0666
7	۷	U+06f7, U+0667
8	۸	U+06f8, U+0668
9	۹	U+06f9, U+0669

Table 3.13: Pashto (Eastern Arabic) numerals

² This letter does not occur word initially, but may take initial form after a nonjoining letter.

3.2.1.3 Representation of vowels

The Arabic script, upon which the Pashto alphabet is based, writes long vowels but does not typically indicate short vowels. Most varieties of Pashto, as discussed in Section 3.1.2, distinguish only one long vowel, /ā/. Words with etymologically long vowels are *written* with their original long vowels, but (except for /ā/) usually pronounced with vowels that are not distinctively long. For this reason, the vowel pairs /u/ and /o/, and /i/ and /e/, are now often represented in Pashto writing with و *wāw* and forms of ی *ye* respectively.

In many cases, however, the short vowels are not written. Such vowels can potentially be indicated with diacritics placed above or below the consonant letters, but these are not used in ordinary writing. The short vowel diacritics, as shown in Table 3.14 with examples from Shafeev (1964), may occasionally be encountered in native dictionaries or in learning materials. The same symbols are used in Arabic in such contexts as well as in the Koran and some religious texts.

Symbol	Sound	Example	Pashto name	Arabic name
◌َ	a	بَد bad ‘bad’	زېر <i>zabar</i> , زور <i>zwar</i>	فتحة <i>fatha</i>
◌ِ	i	مِس mis ‘copper’	زېر <i>zer</i>	كسرة <i>kasra</i>
◌ُ	u, o	پُل pul ‘bridge’	پېښن <i>peṣ, pex</i> پېش <i>peš</i>	ضممة <i>zamma</i>

Table 3.14: Short vowel diacritics

3.2.1.3.1 Word-initial vowels

Words that begin with a vowel sound must begin with either *alif*, *alif mad*, or *ayn*. *Alif mad* mostly occurs word-initially, and its sound is /ā/. When *alif* or *ayn* begin a word, they may take on various vowel sounds, as indicated in Table 3.15.

Word-initially, digraphs may be employed to indicate vowels. The following statements are general guidelines; it is often possible to find exceptions. When an initial *alif* is followed by *mārufa ye*, the combination is pronounced /i/ or sometimes /ay/. (Word initially, *mārufa ye* is pronounced /y/.) When an initial *alif* is followed by *majhula ye*, the combination is pronounced /e/. When an initial *alif* is followed by *wāw*, the combination is usually pronounced either /o/ or /u/, but sometimes it

Sound	ا <i>alif</i> example	ع <i>ayn</i> example
a	ابر <i>abr</i> ‘cloud’	عدس <i>adas</i> ‘lentil’
e	استونيا <i>estoniyā</i> ‘Estonia’ (uncommon)	علاوه <i>elāwa</i> ‘addition’ (uncommon)
i	اداره <i>idāra</i> ‘management’	علاج <i>ilāj</i> ‘cure’
o	اتوريته <i>otorite</i> ‘authority’ (uncommon)	
u	اردو <i>urdu</i> ‘army’	عضوي <i>uzwi</i> ‘organic’

Table 3.15: Word-initial vowels

is pronounced /aw/. (Word initially و *wāw* is pronounced /w/.) Table 3.16 summarizes the most common pronunciation of these initial digraphs.

Initial digraph	Sound	Example
او	u, o	اوبه <i>obə, ubə</i> ‘water’
اي	i	ايران <i>irān</i> ‘Iran’
اې	e	ايغ <i>ey</i> ‘sticking out’

Table 3.16: Pashto initial digraphs

3.2.1.3.2 Word-internal vowels

Vowels within words may be spelled with ا *alif*, و *wāw*, ي *mārufa ye*, ې *majhula ye*, or ع *ayn*, as shown in Table 3.17, or they may (with the exception of /ā/) be unwritten, as is characteristic of abjads. Word-internal ا *alif* is generally pronounced /ā/; word-internal ې *majhula ye* is pronounced /e/; and word-internal ع *ayn* generally lengthens a preceding /a/ to /ā/. Word-internal و *wāw* and ي *mārufa ye* can each represent either a consonant, a vowel, or a diphthong.

Letter	Sound	Example
ا <i>alif</i>	ā	خال <i>xāl</i> ‘birthmark’
و <i>wāw</i>	o	چوڭى <i>çoḡay</i> ‘bread’
	u	موز <i>muḡ</i> ‘we’ ^{sw}
	w	موافق <i>muwāfiq</i> ‘favorable’
	aw	پوڭ <i>pawḡ</i> ‘army’
ي <i>māruḡa ye</i> (ي in its internal form)	i	هيتخ <i>hits</i> ‘nothing’
	y	پياز <i>piyāz</i> ‘onion’
	ay	پيسې <i>payse</i> ‘money’
ې <i>majhula ye</i> (ې in its internal form)	e	تېل <i>tel</i> ‘oil’
ع <i>ayn</i>	lengthens preceding a to ā	معلوم <i>mālum</i> , معروف <i>māruḡ</i> ‘known’

Table 3.17: Word-internal vowels

3.2.1.3.3 Word-final vowels

If a Pashto word ends in a vowel sound, it will be written with a final *alif*, *wāw*, *he*, or *ye*. See Table 3.10 and Table 3.11 for the pronunciation of forms of *ye*, and Table 3.18 for other final vowels. If a written Pashto word ends in any other letter, the spoken word will end in the consonant with which it is written, except in the case of *ayn*, in which case the final sound is that of the previous letter.

Letter	Sound	Example
ا <i>alif</i>	ā	هوا <i>hawā</i> ‘air’
ه <i>he</i>	a	ژبه <i>žəba</i> ‘tongue’
	ə	ته <i>tə</i> ‘you’
و <i>wāw</i>	u	غټو <i>ɣaʈu</i> ‘fat [oblique plural]’
	o	زانگو <i>zāngo</i> ‘cradle’

Table 3.18: Word-final vowels

Note that a final *he* may also indicate a final /h/, as in the word *کوه* /*kuh*/ ‘mountain’, although this is rare.

3.2.2 Rationale for transcription system

Pashto text may be rendered into Roman letters through transcription or transliteration. Transliteration is one-for-one mapping of a language’s characters (or character combinations) into corresponding Roman characters (or combinations); its goal is to accurately represent the spelling of the language. Transcription maps phones; its goal is to accurately represent how the language is pronounced.

Because the Pashto script possesses several distinct letters for each of several segments, no simple transliteration can preserve Pashto orthography solely through the letters of the Roman alphabet. Several extra diacritics or other non-alphabetic characters would be necessary. A strict transliteration would also leave out the vowels that are unwritten in Pashto, leaving the pronunciation unclear. Accordingly, we have chosen to use a broad phonemic transcription, rather than a transliteration. Pashto examples are transcribed in this version of traditional Pashto transcription, slightly modified to adhere more closely to the IPA. In this grammar, all non-M dialects of Pashto are

written in both the Pashto script and our transcription. Examples in Waziri and other M dialects may not include Pashto script, since these dialects do not have independent orthographic representation.

3.2.3 Orthographic variation

The Pashto letter گى /g/ *gāf* is sometimes represented as گى (U+06AF), as it is in Persian and Urdu.

In Urdu, there are two letters whose forms appear differently word-finally from standard Persian and Afghan Pashto, and may be encountered in Pashto emanating from Pakistan. The Pashto letter ى *ye* in word-final position may appear as ے (U+06D2) for /ay/ or /e/, and the letter ه *he* in word-final position may appear as ه (U+06C1). Note that these variants may occur in handwriting from various regions.

Some authors use هٔ *he-hamza* (U+06C0, referred to in the Unicode documents as “Heh with yeh above”) instead of the more usual Heh (U+0647) in final position to indicate /ə/ as opposed to /a/, for example to distinguish the masculine direct singular demonstrative هغه /haɣa/ ‘that’ from the masculine oblique singular هغه /haɣə/. Although in this grammar we do make the /ə/-/a/ distinction in our transcription, we use ه *he* for both in the Pashto text.

Corey Miller

4 Pashto Dialects

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we describe a set of five dialects of Pashto in order to establish certain generalizations as a matter of convenience, noting that we have not exhausted the description of dialect differences for this language. We also compare our proposal with other approaches that have come up with smaller numbers of dialects.

Note that Pashto dialects are connected to both geographical facts and tribal identity. According to Elfenbein (1997: 739), “geographical classification alone does not—cannot—take enough account of tribal distinctions...classification by tribe alone fails to take into enough account the essential geographical facts.”

4.2 Characterizing Pashto dialects

The approach we take in this work assumes five dialects: Southwest (SW), Southeast (SE), Northwest (NW), Northeast (NE) and Middle (M). Waziri (WAZ) and Dzadrani (DZA) are two subdivisions of Middle Pashto for which we have the most information; others are discussed below. The general locations of these dialect areas are illustrated in Figure 4.1. We explain the details of these dialects, as well as the marking of dialect forms in this text, in the following sections. Here we seek to provide a convenient partition of the data that recognizes salient and reliable distinctions that correlate with geography. So, for any given dialect, there may well be many subdialects, whose details we are not yet in a position to describe. In this way, we may refer to Middle or M dialects, rather than the Middle or M dialect, since there may be several speech varieties sharing the general characteristics of Middle Pashto.

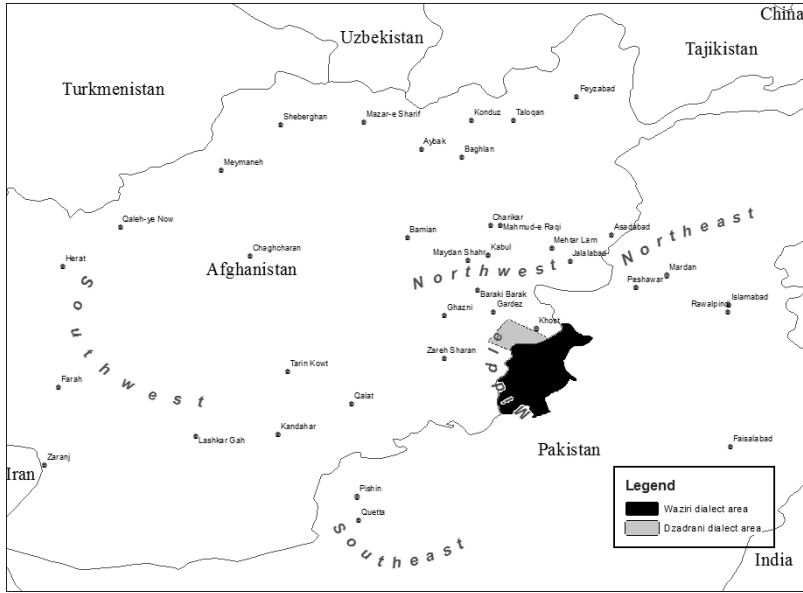


Figure 4.1: Pashto dialects

Table 4.1 summarizes the major differences among the five dialects. Note that these represent characteristic pronunciations rather than the only possible pronunciations for these words in these regions. For specific pronunciations of individual words in many cities, see Hallberg (1992), from which many of these forms were gathered.

Dialectal variation in morphology has also been documented, as in variable use of two different stems *کړل* /kɾəl/ and *کول* /kawəl/ for the verb *do* (Septfonds, 1989). We also see dialectal variation in suffixes; for example, in the second person plural suffixes for verbs: *است* /-āst/ in certain present tense forms and all past tense forms in Southwest and *ئې* /-əy/ elsewhere (see Table 8.4).

As an example of variation in the realization of vowels, according to Elfenbein (1997: 747), there is a tendency for final unstressed /e/ to be realized as /i/ in Southwest. We have observed the following examples of this phenomenon in closed-class items, which are often accompanied by the distinct spellings shown in Table 4.2. Note that this process tends not to occur where it would eradicate distinctions; for example, the second person singular verbal suffix /e/ contrasts in Southwest with the third person singular /i/.

Pashto word	SW	SE	NW	NE	M
پښتو 'Pashto'	pašto	pašto	paçto	paxto	pašto
شپږ 'six'	špaž	špəž	špəg	špag	špež
څوک 'who'	tsok	tsok	sok	sok	tsek, tsok
پنځه 'five'	pɪnɕə	pɪnɕə	pinzə	pinzə	pinzə
لاس 'hand'	lās	lās	lās	lās	los
لور 'daughter'	lur	lur	lur	lur	lir

Table 4.1: Phonological variation among major Pashto dialects

SW	NW, NE
پوري porɪ 'to'	پورې pore 'to'
باندي bāndi 'on'	باندي bānde 'on'
کي ki 'in'	کې ke 'in'
لاندي lāndi 'under'	لاندي lānde 'under'
مي mi 'I, me'	مې me 'I, me'
دي di 'you'	دې de 'you'
تاسي tāsi 'you'	تاسې tāse 'you'

Table 4.2: Correspondence between /i/ and /e/ in closed-class words

Another area where variation in vowels has been noted is in the realization of /i/ and /u/. Elfenbein (1997: 750–751) notes that in the Northeast, /i/ and /i/ are separate phonemes, as are /u/ and /ū/. MacKenzie (1987: 551) observes that this distinction has been lost in most dialects, and in this grammar we represent only /i/ and /u/.

With regard to lexis, we have observed numerous differences across Pashto dialects. For example, غماشه /ɣomāšə/ ‘mosquito’^{sw} exists alongside میاشه /miāšə/ ‘mosquito’^{nw}. Hallberg (1992) provides examples of many basic words that differ by region, and Pashtoon (2009) indicates when particular words are Eastern or Western (see Section 4.5.1 on the use of these terms).

4.2.1 Dialect marking in this work

Where possible, we aim to associate Pashto forms with one of the five dialects—SW, SE, NW, NE, M—as described in Table 4.1. In some cases, we refer to the four dialects SW, SE, NW and NE as *General Pashto* (GP), in contrast to M. Some discussions of Middle dialects use the more specific notation, such as WAZ (for Waziri) and DZA (for Dzadrani) when differences within Middle dialects can be or need to be specified (see Section 4.4 for additional dialect abbreviations within M). Note that in some cases, readers will encounter the notation *E* or *W*, standing for Eastern and Western. In such cases, we have not been able to ascertain a more specific dialect attribution. *Eastern* generally refers to both Northwest and Northeast, while *Western* refers to Southwest and Southeast.

4.2.1.1 Dialect marking in tables

In those sections covering General Pashto, our tables of morphological forms are restricted to the four non-M dialects SW, SE, NW, and NE. In such tables, or with example forms mentioned in the text, when no dialect is mentioned, that means that to the best of our knowledge the form is acceptable in all four dialects. When we know that a form is only acceptable or natural for a subset of those dialects, the dialects associated with that form are specified. In those sections covering the Middle dialects, if a form is known to be acceptable in only DZA or WAZ, it is so labeled. When no dialect is mentioned, that means either that the form is acceptable in both WAZ and DZA, or we do not have sufficient information to attribute it to one or the other.

4.2.1.2 Dialect marking in interlinear examples

In this book, interlinear examples include Pashto script (except for some M-dialect examples), phonetic transcription, morpheme glosses, and English translations. These are generally attested examples, and when possible, we indicate the dialect of the speaker who provided the example. This does not necessarily mean that the example is only acceptable or natural for that dialect. In the sections covering General Pashto,

when interlinear examples are derived from written textual material, such as may be found on the internet, we have generally chosen to transcribe them as they might be spoken in the Northeastern dialect.

4.3 The four dialects of General Pashto

MacKenzie (1959) provided an influential four-dialect analysis using the cardinal points: Southwest, Southeast, Northwest, and Northeast. It is useful to note that Southwest and Northwest appear to be in Afghanistan, while Southeast and Northeast appear to be in Pakistan. He calls Southwest *Kandahar*, and Northeast *Yusufzai*, using the name for the tribe centered in Pakistan’s Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (formerly Northwest Frontier) province. MacKenzie calls the Northwest dialect *Central Ghilzai*, after the name of a tribe mainly found in the vicinity of Ghazni and Zabol provinces (Frye 2010, Hanifi 2001). “Central” Ghilzai may refer to the members of the tribe in those provinces, rather than to those living in the northern provinces of Faryab and Badakhshan. The remaining dialect in MacKenzie’s model is Southeast, which he associates with Quetta, Pakistan. The Southeast dialect is characterized by a loss of retroflexion in *ښ* and *ږ* with respect to the Southwest dialect, resulting in the pronunciations /š/ and /ž/, respectively. Thus they are pronounced identically to the way the letters *ش* and *ژ* are pronounced in the Southeast dialect. Note that Kieffer (1974) associates this characteristic with Ghazni in Afghanistan. Table 4.3, based on MacKenzie and its reprise by Skjærvø (1989), as well as Elfenbein (1997), lays out the principal phonological characteristics of the four dialects comprising this approach. Henderson (1983) similarly presents a

Letter	Southwest (SW)	Southeast (SE)	Northwest (NW)	Northeast (NE)
ښ	ʂ	š	ç	x
ږ	ʒ	ž	ǰ	g
څ	ts	ts	s	s
ځ	ɖ	ɖ	z	z
ژ	ž	ž	ž	j

Table 4.3: Four dialects of General Pashto

four-dialect approach, referring to the *Kandahar*, *Quetta*, *Peshawar*, and *Northeast* di-

alects. Henderson's Northeast is akin to MacKenzie's Northwest. Henderson's Northeast has /g/ for ځ, with /j/ restricted to Wardak province, a feature mentioned in Penzl. It is also compatible with the Eastern dialect described in Penzl (1955) and with the Central dialect described in Tegey & Robson (1996). Therefore, we may expect to see both /j/ and /g/ for ځ in dialects labeled Northwest in our dialect schema.

Note that we have seen some variation in the description of the sounds corresponding to the letter ځ. As noted in Table 4.3, Tegey & Robson (1996) have associated /z/ with the Northwest dialect, while Elfenbein (1997: 744) describes some /z/ along with /j/ in the Northeast dialect. With respect to vowels and diphthongs, Skjærvø (1989: 386) notes that in Northeast, the diphthong /ay/ is monophthongized to /ɛ:/, while the diphthong /əy/ is pronounced /ay/. Elfenbein (1997: 744) provides a substantial amount of information on the quality of vowels and diphthongs across several dialects. Table 4.4 presents the tribal and geographical associations for each of these four dialects according to Elfenbein (1997).

Dialect	Geography	Tribe
SW	Kandahar, Farah, Herat	South Ghilzai
SE	southern NWFP (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa), Baluchistan (includes Quetta)	Sherani, Bannu, Waziri, Kakari, Achakzai, Tarin, Wanetsi
NW	east and northeast Afghanistan, Jalalabad (?)	central Ghilzai, some Afridi
NE	Peshawar, part of Nangarhar province (Afghanistan), northern parts of NWFP (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa)	Shinwari, Yusufzai, Mohmand, northeast Ghilzay, Hazara, Bangash, Orakzay, some Afridi

Table 4.4: Tribal and geographical associations by dialect

4.3.1 International differences

In her grammar, Heston (1992) sometimes distinguishes between Afghan and Pakistani Pashto from the perspective of orthography. For example, in Afghanistan the Pashto word for *son* is spelled زوی, while in Pakistan it can be spelled زوے, even though the two variants are pronounced similarly. In the area of word choice, in addition to the more distinctive Pashto convention for expressing thanks, مننه /mənənə/ 'gratitude'

(literally *compliance, submission*), Afghan Pashto speakers tend to use *تشکر* /*tašakúr*/, the Dari/Tajiki word for *thanks*, whereas Pakistani Pashto speakers are more inclined to use *شکریه* /*šukríya*/, the Urdu word; the Dari/Tajiki and Urdu words share the same Arabic root. In general, the dialects of Afghanistan exhibit more loanwords and cognates from neighboring Persian/Dari and Turkic, while the dialects of Pakistan exhibit more loanwords from Urdu.

4.4 The Middle dialects

Apart from the four dialects discussed in Section 4.3, there is another dialect group which Kieffer (1974) refers to as *intermediary* or *central*, also using the Pashto term *منځنی* /*mandžanəy*/ ‘middle’. We refer to this collection of “middle” dialects as M. These dialects are primarily noted for differences in the pronunciation of vowels with respect to the GP dialects. In this section, we describe the main vocalic and consonantal characteristics of M; succeeding chapters will describe its morphological and syntactic features. We distinguish two main variants of M, based on available descriptions. One of these descriptions is Lorimer (1902), which describes Waziri (WAZ), a dialect spoken in North and South Waziristan in Pakistan’s Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), and the Bannu District in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (formerly North-West Frontier Province, or NWFP). The other is Septfonds (1994), which describes Džad-rani (which we abbreviate DZA), spoken in the southwestern part of Khost Province (Paktiya at the time of Septfonds’ writing) in Afghanistan. Hallberg (1992) discusses a “Central Group” of dialects that correspond to M. He provides fieldwork data for Wana (WAN) in South Waziristan, Miran Shah (MIR) in North Waziristan, and three sites in adjoining areas of the NWFP: Lakki Marwat (LAK), Bannu (BAN) and Karak (KAR).

4.4.1 Middle dialect vowels

The Middle dialects are characterized by a phenomenon known as Waziri metaphony. This phenomenon involves certain deviations from the vowel qualities attested in the other dialects as described in Table 4.5.

The term *metaphony* for this phenomenon has been used at least since Kieffer (1974). In this case, it seems to be a bit of a misnomer, given that metaphony, or umlaut, is generally taken to be the modification of one vowel due to the influence of a neighboring vowel (perhaps with intervening consonants). Given the absence of neighboring vowels in the monosyllabic examples in Table 4.5, a more apt term might be “vowel shift,” along the lines of processes described by Labov (1994) and others. However, we use the term *metaphony* here in order to maintain a link with previous studies.

There are two phonetic processes that are involved in Waziri metaphony: raising and fronting. In the case of GP /*ā*/, it raises to /*o*/, while in the cases of GP /*o*/ and

Correspondence	GP (NE, NW, SE, SW)	Waziri metaphony (M)
ā ~ o	پلار plār ‘father’	plor
o ~ e	مور mor ‘mother’	mer
u ~ i	لور lur ‘daughter’	lir

Table 4.5: Waziri metaphony

/u/, they front to /e/ and /i/, respectively. Three important observations with regard to metaphony should be made: there may be words where it does not occur; it may be optional (subject to sociolinguistic variation); and some speakers or locales may use intermediate vowel realizations between segments identified as GP and the metaphony targets described in Table 4.5. Lorimer (1902) provides good examples of all of these observations. He employs the symbol /ā/ in some words, such as میاشت /myāšt/ ‘month’. Indeed, for this word, Septfonds (1994) uses /a/ and Hallberg (1992) uses /ɑ/, so none of these sources indicates that metaphony has occurred in this word. For some words, Lorimer (1902) provides two pronunciations, indicating that metaphony may be optional in particular words, such as /mioni, miāni/ ‘long purse’.

As noted in Section 3.1.2.4, Lorimer occasionally employs the symbols ü and ö, which we believe correspond to IPA /y/ and /ø/ (see Figure 4.2), in words that in General Pashto would contain /u/ and /o/, respectively. Examples include مور /mer, mør/ ‘mother’ and شپون /špyn/ ‘shepherd’. As mentioned in Table 4.5, /i/ is the metaphony target of GP /u/, while /y/ appears to represent an intermediate point between /u/ and /i/. Along the same lines, /e/ is the metaphony target of GP /o/, while /ø/ appears to represent an intermediate point between /o/ and /e/. Kieffer (1974) also describes several intermediate points between the metaphony targets that have been observed in different locations in the Middle dialect area.

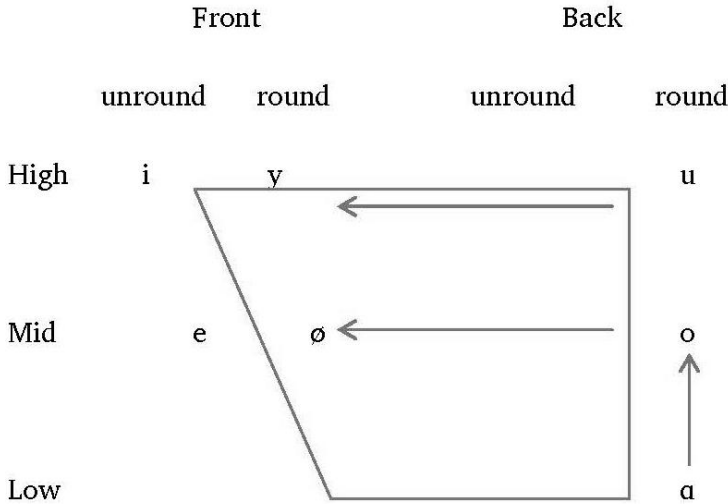


Figure 4.2: Waziri metaphony

4.4.2 Middle dialect consonants

While the two Middle subdialects Waziri and Dzadrani share certain characteristics with each other that are not seen in the other Pashto dialects, they pattern differently with respect to the consonantal distinctions that distinguish the other dialects. For example, Lorimer does not provide Pashto script, but we can infer from his vocabulary that words spelled with ښ are pronounced with /š/ in the Waziri dialect, while words spelled with چ are pronounced with /ž/. So this pattern aligns with the Southeast dialect. In contrast, in Dzadrani, ښ is pronounced as a palatal /ç/, while چ is pronounced as a palatal /j/, a pattern that aligns with the Northwest dialect. Kieffer (1974: 25) mentions that other possibilities exist for Middle dialects, including /x/ for ښ and /g/ for چ , thus aligning those dialects with the Northeast dialect.

Table 4.6, based on data from Septfonds (1994) and Lorimer (1902), illustrates some other consonantal features of the Middle dialects. In some cases, Pashtoon (2009) has identified the “standard” or GP terms as Eastern and the “M” terms as Western, indicating that these phenomena may not be exclusive to the Middle dialect area. Where relevant, we have provided these indications in the table.

Phenomenon	GP	M
b ~ w	بېگا begā ‘last night’	wega, wegā
n ~ l	نمر nmar ‘sun’ (Eastern)	lmar (Western)
epenthetic n after m	مده moda, mudda ‘time’	minda
palatalization	لار lār ‘road’	lyar, lyār

Table 4.6: Middle dialect consonantal deviation from GP

4.5 Other approaches

One will encounter other less granular models of Pashto dialectology and it is useful to be familiar with their terminology and how they are associated with the approach described here. For example the ISO 639–3 standard (Lewis, 2009) recognizes the following codes: *pbt* (Southern), *pbu* (Northern), and *pst* (Central), and Kieffer (1974) uses the letters A, B, C and D. These codes are compared to our approach in Table 4.7.

This book	Kieffer	ISO 639–3
NE, NW	A	pbu (Northern)
M	B	pst (Central)
SW, SE	C, D	pbt (Southern)

Table 4.7: Alternative dialect codes

4.5.1 Two dialects

Earlier approaches recognized only two dialects. For example, Darmesteter (1888) describes two dialects, north and south, based on the pronunciation of the letters **ب** and

ج. In the north, these are pronounced /x/ and /g/, respectively, while in the south, following his account, they are pronounced /š/ and /ž/. For the southern dialect, Darmesteter does not note the distinction between the southeastern palatal and southwestern retroflex pronunciations of پښ and ج, as subsequent researchers do (see Table 4.3). Note that the name of the language itself reflects one of these distinctive alternations: in the north it is پښتو /paxto/ ‘Pashto’, while in the south it is پښتو /pašto/ ‘Pashto’. Geiger (1895) also identifies two dialects that he calls *northern* and *southern*. He associates the northern dialect with the tribes of Kabul, Peshawar, and Swat, and the southern with the tribes of the west and south. He notes the same contrasts as Darmesteter, but also adds that for the letter ج, where southern has /ž/, northern has /j/, and the Ghilzai tribe has /z/.

Grierson (1921: 7) refers to a northeastern and a southwestern dialect, again distinguishing on the basis of the pronunciation of the letters پښ and ج. He notes that the most important nonstandard forms are the varieties of the northeastern dialect spoken by the Ghilzais and the Afridis, and the variety of the southwestern dialect spoken by the Waziris. In fact, Waziri is distinct enough from Northeastern and Southwestern that he provides a standard word list for three varieties of Pashto: Northeastern (Peshawar), Waziri (Waziristan), and Southwestern (Pishin and Kandahar). Grierson provides a colored map with the two dialects—northeastern and southwestern—distinguished, and a rather detailed description of their boundary:

... we may take the southern limit of the great Ghilzai tribe as the line in Afghanistan proper, although the two dialects probably overlap to a certain extent... Ghilzais speak the northeastern dialect, while the southwestern one is spoken by all Afghans south of this line and westwards towards Herat. It is said to run from a stone bridge (Pul-e-Sang) at Asia Hazara, 12 miles south of Kalat-i Ghilzai to just north of Maruf, and thence north of the Lowana country to the Kundil-Kundar confluence, and then along the Kundar to the boundary line running in a northeasterly direction up to near Peshawar, so as to give the Waziris and Khataks to Pashto. In and around the city of Ghazni the people speak Persian, but the Afghan dialect of the neighborhood is the Northeastern Pakhto.

Among more contemporary scholars, Shafeev (1964) refers to an eastern dialect centered in Peshawar, and a western dialect centered in Kandahar. This is the same terminology employed by Raverty (1859: viii). Most adherents of the two-dialect approach focus primarily on differences in the pronunciation of the letters پښ and ج. Table 4.8 summarizes some of the different names used for these two dialects, including C and A, as explained above.

Interestingly, implicit proponents of a two-dialect approach as “hard” and “soft” differ on their characterization of Ghilzai. For example, Caroe (1958: xvi) says the Ghilzai speak a soft dialect, like the Durranis, while Anderson (1975: 576) says they speak a hard dialect.

The presence of distinct phonemes corresponding to distinct letters in the Southwestern dialect leads to two questions: which is the most prestigious dialect, and which is the most conservative? Penzl (1955: 9–10) cites a few sources implying that Kanda-

ژ, ږ, ښ	ځ, ږ, ښ
Southern	Northern
Western	Eastern
Southwestern	Northeastern
Pashto	Pakhto
soft	hard
C	A

Table 4.8: Names for components of a two-dialect analysis of Pashto

hari (Southwestern) is the most prestigious, and then goes on to call it “the cradle of the Pashto alphabet” due to the correspondence between letters and phonemes, particularly ښ and ږ with the retroflex /ʒ/ and /ʒʰ/ (which are in fact only represented by those letters), in contrast to Northeastern where the pronunciations of those letters, /x/ and /g/, are shared with the letters ځ and ګ, respectively. However, MacKenzie (1959: 233) cites Morgenstierne’s hypothesis (Morgenstierne, 1932) that at the time of the creation of the current alphabet in the 16th century, Northeastern dialects pronounced ښ and ږ with the retroflex /ʒ/ and /ʒʰ/ as well, and that the Northeastern tribes were probably the creators of Pashto literature.

4.5.2 Three dialects

There are two principal ways in which the Pashto-speaking regions have been divided into three main dialects. One of these treats the three dialects as a continuum, with a central dialect serving as intermediate between eastern and western. The other maintains the distinction between eastern and western and introduces a third category, the Middle dialects, which are distinctive in ways beyond the treatment of individual consonants.

Penzl (1955: 8) distinguishes the following “main types which approach regional standards:” Peshawar, Eastern, and Kandahar. The difference between such an approach and the two-dialect approach discussed in Section 4.5.1 is that the Eastern dialects of the two-dialect approach have been further subdivided along the Pakistan/

Afghanistan border into Peshawar and Eastern (Afghanistan), corresponding to our NE and NW, respectively. Kandahar corresponds to our SW dialect, and Peshawar to our NE. These are shown in Table 4.9. In some ways, the Eastern dialect can be seen

Letter	Kandahar (SW)	Eastern (NW)	Peshawar (NE)
ښ	ʂ	ç	x
ږ	ʒ	g	g
څ	ts	ts	s
ځ	ɖ	z	z

Table 4.9: Eastern and Peshawar dialects compared

as an intermediate step in a continuum from Kandahar to Peshawar. For example, the preservation of /ts/ in the Eastern dialect is akin to Kandahar Pashto, and the Eastern pronunciation of ښ as a palatal can be seen as an intermediate step between the retroflex /ʂ/ of Kandahar and the velar /x/ of Peshawar. Penzl notes a few additional variants within the Eastern dialect. For example, in Wardak, ږ is pronounced as a palatal /j/, the voiced counterpart to /ç/. In Logar, څ is /s/ as in Peshawar, and ش in the verb *to be* is /s/, as it is in Kandahar, rather than /š/: شَم /šəm, səm/ ‘I am, I can’ (see also Section 8.2.8.1).

Tegey & Robson (1996) also posit a three-dialect system. Like Penzl, they refer to a Kandahar or Western dialect. However, they divide the other two slightly differently from Penzl. They refer to a Kabul or Central dialect and a Nangarhar or Eastern dialect. Based on the features associated with these, we can see that Penzl’s Peshawar dialect is similar to Tegey and Robson’s Eastern dialect, while Penzl’s Eastern dialect is similar to Tegey and Robson’s Central dialect. So where Penzl subdivides the two-dialect approach’s Eastern dialect along the Afghanistan/Pakistan border (a roughly north-south line), Tegey and Robson subdivide it along an east-west line within Afghanistan.

Tegey and Robson ascribe their Central dialect to the provinces of Kabul, Logar, Ghazni, and Parwan. They note that their Eastern dialect includes both the north-eastern sections of Afghanistan and the Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan (now called Khyber Pakhtunkhwa). Table 4.10 summarizes the three-dialect nomenclature of Penzl and Tegey and Robson.

Tegey & Robson (1996) also note a three-way dialect distinction for ښ, which we elaborate in Table 4.11, using our dialect labels:

This book	Penzl	Tegey and Robson
SW	Kandahar	Kandahar, Western
NE	Peshawar	Eastern, Nangarhar
NW	Eastern	Central

Table 4.10: Three-dialect approach

SW	NE	NW
ž	j	z

Table 4.11: Pronunciation of ž

5 Nouns

5.1 Inflection

Pashto nouns are inflected to show gender (masculine and feminine), number (singular and plural), and case (direct, oblique, ablative, and vocative). Agreement is found on determiners and modifying adjectives, which agree in gender, number, and case, while pronouns and verbal agreement markers reflect gender and number. Scholars usually try to categorize Pashto nouns into inflectional classes; however, grammatical descriptions are in disagreement over the extent to which the organization of a class system should be based on the noun’s plural formation, its phonological shape (especially the stem-final sound), or its case-marking patterns. Following a review of the basic inflectional categories in the first three sections of this chapter, we present a system of inflectional classes for nouns that largely coincides with that presented for adjectives in Chapter 6. Our system differs from previous treatments in that we base it solely on the suffixes each noun takes and treat stem allomorphy separately (see Section 5.2.2).

5.1.1 Gender

Pashto nouns are categorized grammatically as either masculine or feminine. Broadly speaking, the gender of a noun may often be distinguished by the ending of the noun in its citation form, the direct singular word-form. (Regarding case forms, see Section 5.1.3 and also Chapter 8.) For example:

Typical masculine noun endings (direct singular)	Typical feminine noun endings (direct singular)
any consonant	ه a or ə
ی ay (stressed or unstressed)	ی əy
	ې e

There are, however, many exceptions to this pattern—some predictable by other criteria, others unpredictable. For animate nouns, grammatical gender is usually determined by biological sex, regardless of the noun’s ending. So nouns like مور /mor/ ‘mother’ and لور /lur/ ‘daughter’ are grammatically feminine, even though they end in consonants.

Predicting grammatical gender based on sex primarily works for nouns that denote humans or animals whose sex is culturally important and readily apparent; for example,

سړی /səɾáy/ ‘man’ vs. ښځه /ʒédza/ ‘woman’
 شاگرد /šāgərd/ ‘student (male)’ vs. شاگردو /šāgərdə/ ‘student (female)’
 غواي /ɣwāyí/ ‘bull’ vs. غوا /ɣwā/ ‘cow’

Many small animals and insects, on the other hand, are associated with an invariable grammatical gender assigned more or less arbitrarily (see Rishtin 1994, cited in Khan 2006). So, for example, the word for ‘spider’ in Pashto is often feminine: غښه /ɣəṇá/ (pl. غښې /ɣəṇé/), and the word for ‘fish’ is always masculine: كب /kəb/ (pl. كبان /kəbān/).

Nouns like پيشو /pišó/ ‘cat (female)’ and بيزو /bizó/ ‘monkey’ are grammatically feminine by default, and there is no strong cultural motivation to distinguish between male and female counterparts. In rare circumstances, however, such words may be inflected with a distinct opposite gender form, as in پيشی /pišay/ ‘cat (male)’; or the agreement patterns elsewhere in the utterance may reflect masculine as opposed to feminine gender, as in غټ بيزو /ɣaṭ bizó/ ‘big monkey (male)’, where بيزو /bizó/ does not change, but the shape of the adjective indicates that the noun has masculine reference.

Additional semantic clues may be helpful for a noun whose grammatical gender cannot be predicted by the sex of its denotational class or by its final sound. For example, although nouns ending in /i/ can be either masculine or feminine, as a general rule, masculine nouns ending in /i/ denote professions (e.g. قاضي /qāzī/ ‘judge’), whereas /i/-final nouns denoting abstract concepts and inanimate objects are typically feminine (e.g. دښمني /duxmaní/ ‘enmity’).

5.1.2 Number

Pashto has several ways to form regular plurals, as may be seen in the tables in Section 5.2.3 and onwards. As with gender, number is often reflected in agreement on modifying adjectives, in coreferential pronouns, and in agreement markers on verbs.

Plural formation is one of the ways to distinguish feminine from masculine nouns. For example, although nouns like مور /mor/ ‘mother’ and لور /lur/ ‘daughter’ look masculine because they end with consonants, their plurals, مېندې /máynde/ ‘mothers’ and لونیې /lúne/ ‘daughters’, show the ې /-e/ suffix that is typical of many feminine plurals, rather than the ان /-ān/ or ونه /-úna/ suffixes that are characteristic of consonant-final masculine nouns.

Certain mass nouns or collective nouns like اوبه /obá/ ‘water’ and ږدن /ɣdən/ ‘millet’ govern plural agreement in verbs. Similarly, consonant-final masculine nouns that denote types of fruit or trees generally do not take any special plural suffixes, al-

though the plural suffix *ان* /-ān/ may be added in some cases, as illustrated in 5.1 and 5.2. Note that the verb is plural in both sentences, whether or not the noun has a plural suffix.

(5.1) ډېر توت مې وخورل .

ḍer-∅ *tut-∅* *me* *wá-xur-əl*
 many-PL.M.DIR mulberry-**PL.M.DIR** 1SG.WK AOR-eat.PST-PST.3PL.M

‘I ate many mulberries.’

(5.2) ډېر توتان مې وخورل .

ḍer-∅ *tut-ān* *me* *wá-xur-əl*
 many-PL.M.DIR mulberry-**PL.M.DIR** 1SG.WK AOR-eat.PST-PST.3PL.M

‘I ate many mulberries.’

(5.3) ما اوبه وشكلې .

mā *ob-ə* *wá-tsək-əl-e*
 1SG.STR.OBL water-PL.F.DIR AOR-drink-PST-**PST.3PL.F**

‘I drank water.’^(NW)

(5.4) ما ډېرې اوبه وشكلې .

mā *ḍer-e* *ob-ə* *wá-čək-əl-e*
 1SG.STR.OBL much-PL.F.DIR water-PL.F.DIR AOR-drink-PST-**PST.3PL.F**

‘I drank a lot of water.’^(NW)

(5.5) ما ږدن وخورل .

mā *gdən-∅* *wá-xor-əl*
 1SG.STR.OBL millet-PL.M.DIR AOR-eat.PST-**PST.3PL.M**

‘I ate millet.’^(NW)

5.1.3 Case

Case is marked in Pashto by suffixes and, in some instances, by stem vowel ablaut. Pashto nouns take one of four morphosyntactic cases: direct, oblique, ablative, or vocative. These are described individually in the following subsections. In most instances,

case assignment criteria are identical across dialects, but the case assigned by adpositions may differ in the Middle dialects, as outlined in Section 9.2. Available data extends only for Waziri, and only to the direct and oblique cases, so we do not include examples for ablative and vocative for the Waziri dialect.

Nouns that exist in both General Pashto and Waziri usually belong to analogous inflectional classes, though the inflectional suffixes for each class differ between General Pashto varieties and Waziri. Accordingly, we present separate class information for Waziri corresponding to each class paradigm for General Pashto.

Marking of case is not always visible or consistent in all domains in Pashto; however, the combination of inflectional patterns with certain nouns, plural forms of nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and verbal agreement markers justifies the identification of the four classes named above.

5.1.3.1 Direct case

The direct case form is used for noun phrases that fulfill nominative, accusative, or absolutive functions, in present-tense and past-tense sentences, respectively. In the present tense, grammatical function is indicated by word order, with subjects preceding objects.

5.1.3.2 Oblique case

In past-tense sentences, subject noun phrases appear in the oblique case form, in accordance with split ergativity; see Section 5.1.3.5. See also Chapter 7, on exceptions involving first and second person pronouns, and Chapter 8.

The oblique case is used for objects of most adpositions, including the postpositions *ته* /tə/ ‘to’ and *سره* /sərə/ ‘[comitative] with’; the prepositions *د* /də/ ‘of’ and *په* /pə/ ‘at’, plus any circumposition consisting of a postposition and one of these two prepositions; and finally, the circumposition *نه . . . له* /lə ... na/ ‘from’ (see Chapter 9).

5.1.3.3 Ablative case

The ablative case (sometimes also called Oblique II or Prepositional) is used when the noun is an object of the prepositions *په* /pə/ ‘with’ in the instrumental usage, *له* /lə/ ‘from’ or *تر* /tər/ ‘from, originating from’, or any circumposition or complex adposition that contains one of these prepositions, except for the circumposition *نه . . . له* /lə ... na/ ‘from’, which assigns oblique case to its object.

For masculine nouns, the ablative form is almost always identical to the vocative form. For feminine nouns, it is usually identical to both the oblique and vocative forms. Note that because of this overlapping of forms and because ablative forms are relatively

infrequent, some grammatical descriptions—Tegey and Robson’s, for example—do not recognize the ablative as a separate case in Pashto.

According to Lorenz (1982) and Heston (1992), the ablative case can also be used for consonant-final masculine nouns when they are modified by a cardinal number greater than one, or by some other quantifier: *خومره میله* /*somra mīla*/ ‘how many miles?’^{NE}, *دوه هلکه* /*dwa halâka*/ ‘two boys’, *لس کاله* /*las kâla*/ ‘ten years’; however, an informant of ours did not have this, giving, for example, *خلور اوبنان* /*salur uxân*/ ‘four camels’^{NW}, not **خلور اوبنه* /*salur uxa*/.

5.1.3.4 Vocative case

For masculine nouns, the vocative singular suffix in all noun classes is *ه* /*a*/ or /*ə*/, except for those ending in *و* /*u*/, *ي* /*i*/, or *ا* /*ā*/ in the direct case form: in those nouns, the vocative singular form is identical to the direct singular form. With some exceptions (mainly kinship terms), the vocative singular form of feminine nouns is identical to the oblique and ablative singular forms. The vocative plural form is always identical to the other non-direct plural forms.

(5.6) *سرپه، ودرپره!*

sar-aya wâ-dar-eg-a
 man-M.VOC AOR-stop-PRS-IMP.SG
 ‘Man, stop!’^(NW)

(5.7) *د زلمي کتاب*

də zalm-i kitāb-∅
 of Zalmay-M.OBL book-M.DIR
 ‘Zalmay’s book’^(NW)

(5.8) *پلوشې، ودرپره!*

palwaš-e wâ-dar-eg-a
 Palwasha-F.VOC AOR-stop-PRS-IMP.SG
 ‘Palwasha, stop!’^(NW)

(5.9) *د پلوشې کتاب*

də palwaš-e kitāb-∅
 of Palwasha-F.OBL book-M.DIR
 ‘Palwasha’s book’^(NW)

(5.10) خورې، ودرېره!

xor-e wā-dar-eg-a
 sister-F.VOC AOR-stop-PRS-IMP.SG
 ‘Sister, stop!’^(NW)

(5.11) د خور کتاب

də xor-Ø kitāb-Ø
 of sister-F.OBL book-M.DIR
 ‘sister's book’^(NW)

5.1.3.5 Split ergativity

Pashto exhibits nominative-accusative alignment in the non-past tenses and ergative-absolutive in the past tenses. Sentences 5.12 and 5.13 illustrate this split; 5.12 shows direct case-marking of and verbal agreement with the nominative argument, while 5.13 shows oblique case-marking of the subject and verbal agreement with the direct object.

(5.12) زه ډېر خونډور توتان خورم.

za ɖer-Ø xwandawər-Ø tut-ān
1SG.STR.DIR many-PL.M.DIR tasty-PL.M.DIR mulberry-PL.M.DIR
Ø-xor-ām
 CONT-eat.PRS-**1SG**
 ‘I am eating a lot of tasty mulberries.’^(NW)

(5.13) ما ډېر خونډه ور توتان وخورل.

mā ɖer-Ø xwandawər-Ø tut-ān
 1SG.STR.OBL many-PL.M.DIR tasty-PL.M.DIR **mulberry-PL.M.DIR**
wā-xor-əl
 AOR-eat.PST-**PST.3PL.M**
 ‘I ate a lot of tasty **mulberries**.’^(NW)

5.1.4 Animacy

Another category involved in noun inflection is animacy. Most humans and some animals are represented by animate nouns, and most other things are not. This distinction mostly affects which plural suffixes a noun takes; for example, consonant-final masculine nouns (Class I) that denote living beings typically take the plural suffix ګان

/-gān/, whereas those that denote inanimate objects are more likely to take *ونه* /-úna/. However, actual animacy of the denotational class is not a sure predictor of grammatical animacy in Pashto; for example, *پلار* /plār/ ‘father’ and *تره* /trá/ ‘paternal uncle’ are both inflected as inanimates. This grammar, therefore, treats animacy as a grammatical, rather than semantic, category. This approach is in contrast to most other descriptions of Pashto.

Although the above-mentioned plural suffix *گان* /-gān/ occurs only in Class I, the sequence *ان* /ān/ (with or without additional sounds such as initial /g/ as above) appears to be strongly associated with living (especially human) denotata: several nouns denoting living beings in other inflectional classes have variant plural forms containing the sequence *ان* /ān/ in their suffix.

5.2 Inflectional affixation

5.2.1 Introduction

The properties listed in the previous section are marked in the inflected forms of nouns by a single suffix, which may be zero. This section describes the forms of affixes by class. Our information on the Middle dialects is of variable reliability: the Waziri forms, which come from Lorimer, were confirmed through elicitation; however, the Dzadrani forms have been extracted from Septfonds and have not been confirmed.

Due to considerable gaps and overlap among inflectional patterns, there is no obvious solution nor clear consensus for classifying Pashto nouns and adjectives. Some resources focus on the endings of nouns, others on the plural forms, still others on apparent connections between male and female counterparts and parallels between noun and adjective inflection.

The classification of Pashto inflectional classes presented in this grammar focuses on the last two items in that it aims to build a unified inflectional class system for nouns and adjectives and to provide a clearer understanding of the association between formally related masculine and feminine classes. The basis for these class groups is more apparent for adjectives, whose plural forms show greater uniformity (see Chapter 6).

A striking feature of Pashto morphology is the fluidity of noun class membership. In many instances, the same word can be inflected with different suffixes and hence grouped by grammatical descriptions under different noun classes, depending on the speaker and the dialect. Whether a noun takes animate or inanimate markers can also vary with the dialect, and, as mentioned in Section 5.1.4, may not reflect the actual biological status of the noun’s denotatum.

5.2.2 Stem allomorphy and other morphophonemic alternations

Many Pashto nouns undergo morphophonemic alternations when they inflect. These alternations include stem allomorphy, as well as patterns involving both the stem and suffix. They are predictable in some cases from the last sound of the stem, or from other information about the form or meaning of the noun; however, their occurrence can be erratic in other cases, as can be seen in Table 5.5. We depart from most other descriptions in that we do not consider stem allomorphy when classifying Pashto nouns, but instead describe stem allomorphy and other morphophonemic patterns for each class in the following sections.

5.2.3 Class I

5.2.3.1 Overview

Class I includes the majority of nouns in both General Pashto and Waziri. Nouns of this class can be masculine or feminine, animate or inanimate. Most of them end in a consonant. In some instances, which suffix a Class I noun takes is determined by whether the stem ends in a vowel or a consonant. These differences are specified in Table 5.1 and Table 5.3, which give a broad overview of the inflectional suffixes that distinguish this class.

		Plural	
		Animate	Inanimate
Direct	-∅	گڻان -gān	ڄونہ -úna
	Oblique	گڻانو -gāno	ڄونو -úno ^E و -ó ^W
Ablative	-∅ (vowel-stems) ه -a (consonant-stems)		
Vocative			

Table 5.1: GP Class I Masc. noun suffixes

		Plural	
		Animate	Inanimate
Direct	-∅	-ún ^{WAZ}	-ina
	-ā ^{WAZ}	-yún ^{WAZ}	
	-ǎ ^{DZA}	-ón ^{DZA}	
	-í ^{DZA}	-yón ^{DZA}	
Oblique	-í ^{DZA}	-úne ^{WAZ}	-ine ^{WAZ}
		-yúne ^{WAZ}	-a ^{WAZ}
		-óne ^{DZA}	-ǎ ^{DZA}
		-yóne ^{DZA}	

Table 5.2: Middle dialect Class I Masc. noun suffixes

	Singular		Plural	
	Animate	Inanimate	Animate	Inanimate
Direct	-∅		گانی -gāne	وی -we _w (after /ā/ or /ó/) ی -e (elsewhere)
Oblique	-∅	-∅ (after ā or ó) ی -e (elsewhere)	گانی -gāno	وی -wo _w (after ā or ó) ی -o (elsewhere)
Ablative				
Vocative				

Table 5.3: GP Class I Fem. noun suffixes

	Singular	Plural
Direct	-a _{WAZ}	-e
	-e _{WAZ}	-we _{DZA}
	-∅ _{WAZ}	
	-o _{DZA}	
Oblique		

Table 5.4: Middle dialect Class I Fem. noun suffixes

5.2.3.2 Class I masculine nouns

Most masculine nouns in this class end in a consonant, although there are also many ending in *o* /â/ or /â/, *u* /ú/, *l* /â/, or *i* /í/, and a few in *yi* /é/, *yi* /yí/, or *yi* /yé/, the latter derived from feminine nouns in *l* /â/ or *o* /ó/; for example:

- *غواي* /ɣwāyí/ ‘bull’ < *غوا* /ɣwā/ ‘cow’
- *پیشی* /pišé/ ‘cat [male]’, a rare variant form < *پیشو* /pišó/ ‘cat [female]’.

However, the derivation of masculine nouns from feminine ones is much rarer than the reverse process, described in Section 5.2.3.3.

The plural of Class I masculine animate nouns is formed with the suffix *گان* (و) /-gân(o)/, as shown in Table 5.6 through Table 5.14, whereas *ونه* /-úna/ and *ونو* /-úno/ are used for inanimate masculine nouns, as can be seen in Table 5.19 through Table 5.22.

5.2.3.2.1 Masculine animate nouns in General Pashto

Most nouns in this sub-group denote living beings.

- **GP plural suffix** *گان* /-gân/

The plural suffix for animate Class I masculine nouns is *گان* /-gân/. However, suffix-initial *گ* /g/ frequently undergoes lenition, either becoming a glide or deleting, the latter when the second part of a consonant cluster. In some cases the stem undergoes changes as well. These morphophonemic alternations apply to all nouns whose citation form ends in *yi* /i/ or in a consonant, and to some of those ending in *h* /â/, *h* /â/, *l* /â/, or *u* /ú/. Certain nouns—for example, those ending in *u* /u/—are extremely fluid in the application of this /g/-deletion: for many, either possible form is allowed (e.g. *ډاکو* /ḍākú/ ‘bandit’+ *گان* /-gân/ > *ډاکوگان* /ḍākugân/ or *ډاکوان* /ḍākwân/ ‘bandits’), but for others only one or the other occurs. Table 5.5 outlines these rules for Class I masculine animate nouns.

- **Sample paradigms**

Table 5.6 through Table 5.14 give paradigms for each type of Class I masculine animate noun, indicating stem allomorphy, if any, in the top left cell of each table.

The subset of Class I nouns ending in /í/, shown in Table 5.12, is mostly composed of words that denote professional titles or similar designations of a characteristic activity of the denoted class (e.g. *ډولچي* /ḍolčí/ ‘drummer’, *خارجي* /xārejí/ ‘foreigner’, *بنگي* /bangí/ ‘hash-smoker’).

Note from the variant forms shown in Table 5.13 for the plural of this item that *پلندر* /plandár/ ‘stepfather’ can also be inflected as a Class IIb noun (Section 5.2.4).

Final stem sound(s)	Suffix/Stem change	Forms affected	Example
C	Cg → C∅	all plurals	پیل سگان ← پیلان pil-gān → pilān <i>elephants</i>
ه ə or ا	1. ه ə or ا → ∅/ [-stress] 2. Cg → C∅	some plurals	وېښته سگان ← وېښتان wextə-gān → wextān <i>hairs</i>
و u	ug → w	some plurals	ډاکو سگان ← ډاکوان ḍāku-gān → ḍākwān <i>bandits</i>
ا ā	g → y/ā_ā	some plurals	میرزاگان ← میرزایان mirzā-gān → mirzāyān <i>clerks</i>
ي i	ig → y	all plurals	درزي سگان ← درزيان darzī-gān → darzīyān <i>tailors</i>

Table 5.5: GP Class I Masc. animate—morphophonemic alternations

ه ə or ا ~ ∅	Singular	Plural
Direct	وېښته wexté	وېښتان wext-ān
Oblique		وېښتانو wext-āno
Ablative		
Vocative		

Table 5.6: GP Class I Masc. animate: وېښته /wexté/ 'hair'

no stem change	Singular	Plural
Direct	بنده bandá	بندهگان banda-gân
Oblique		بندهگانو banda-gâno
Ablative		
Vocative		

Table 5.7: GP Class I Masc. animate: بنده /bandá/ ‘slave’

و u ~ w	Singular	Plural
Direct	ڇاڪو ḍākú	ڇاڪوان ḍākw-ān ڇاڪوگان ḍāku-gân
Oblique		ڇاڪوانو ḍākw-āno ڇاڪوگانو ḍāku-gâno
Ablative		
Vocative		

Table 5.8: GP Class I Masc. animate: ڇاڪو /ḍākú/ ‘bandit’

no stem change	Singular	Plural
Direct	بازو bāzú	بازوگان bāzu-gān
Oblique		بازوگانو bāzu-gāno
Ablative		
Vocative		

Table 5.9: GP Class I Masc. animate: بازو /bāzú/ ‘arm’

no stem change	Singular	Plural
Direct	میرزا mirzā	میرزایان mirzā-yān
Oblique		میرزایانو mirzā-yāno
Ablative		
Vocative		

Table 5.10: GP Class I Masc. animate: میرزا /mirzā/ ‘clerk’

no stem change	Singular	Plural
Direct	ماما māmā	ماماگان māmā-gān
Oblique		ماماگانو māmā-gāno
Ablative		
Vocative		

Table 5.11: GP Class I Masc. animate: ماما /māmā/ ‘maternal uncle’

ی i ~ y	Singular	Plural
Direct	درزي darzī	درزيان darzy-ān
Oblique		درزيانو darzy-āno
Ablative		
Vocative		

Table 5.12: GP Class I Masc. animate: درزي /darzī/ ‘tailor’

a ~ ə	Singular	Plural
Direct	پلندر plandár	پلندران plandər-ān پلندر plandôr
Oblique	پلندر plandôr	پلندرانو plandar-āno پلندرو plandôr-o
Ablative	پلندره plandár-a	
Vocative		

Table 5.13: GP Class I Masc. animate: پلندر /plandár/ ‘stepfather’

no stem change	Singular	Plural
Direct	پیل pil	پیلان pil-ān
Oblique		پیلانو pil-āno
Ablative	پيله píl-a	
Vocative		

Table 5.14: GP Class I Masc. animate: پیل /pil/ ‘elephant’

5.2.3.2.2 Masculine animate nouns in Waziri

Most nouns in this sub-group denote living beings.

- **Waziri plural suffix /-ún/, /-yún/**

The direct plural suffix for animate Class I masculine nouns is /-ún/ for nouns that end in a consonant or /-yún/ for those that end in a vowel. The corresponding oblique plural suffixes are /-úne/ and /-yúne/, respectively.

- **Sample paradigms**

Table 5.15 through Table 5.16 give paradigms for each type of Class I masculine animate noun in Waziri.

no stem change	Singular	Plural
Direct	šāgórd	šāgərd-ún
Oblique		šāgərd-úne

Table 5.15: Waziri Class I Masc. animate: /šāgórd/ ‘student [male]’

no stem change	Singular	Plural
Direct	mirzā	mirzā-yún
Oblique		mirzā-yúne

Table 5.16: Waziri Class I Masc. animate: /mirzā/ ‘clerk’

As in General Pashto, the subset of Class I nouns ending in /i/, shown in Table 5.17, is mostly composed of words that express professional titles or similar designations of a characteristic activity of the referent (e.g. /kazi/ ‘judge’, /xoreji/ ‘foreigner’, /bangi/ ‘hash-smoker’). These nouns exhibit a stem allomorphy between the final /i/ of the uninflected form and /y/ in the inflected form.

i ~ y	Singular	Plural
Direct	kazi	kazy-ún
Oblique		kazy-úne

Table 5.17: Waziri Class I Masc. animate: /kazi/ ‘judge’

5.2.3.2.3 Masculine inanimate nouns in General Pashto and Waziri

As stated above, this subset of Class I comprises a greater number of nouns with inanimate denotation, although it does also include a few nouns that denote living beings. For example, included within this group are kinship terms تره /trâ/ ‘paternal uncle’, نیکه /nikâ/ ‘grandfather’, مېړه /meṛê/ ‘husband’, and وراړه /wrârê/ ‘brother’s son’ and (distinctive to Waziri) /plúr/ ‘father’.

Class membership for Pashto nouns varies widely across dialects. For instance, in General Pashto, /nikâ/ ‘grandfather’ can alternatively be inflected like a Class I animate noun with no stem allomorphy; i.e., with the plural suffix /-ân/, giving plural forms نیکهگان /nikêgân/, نیکهگانو /nikêgâno/. In Waziri, this form can similarly be inflected as a Class I animate noun; i.e., with the plural suffix /-ún/, giving the plural form /nikún/. In General Pashto, the word مېړه /meṛê/ ‘husband’ can be inflected by some speakers with a stem change, similarly to the pattern in Table 5.19, where the stem vowel ه /a/ is dropped, giving plurals مېړونه /meṛúna/, مېړونو /meṛúno/. In Waziri, the word /nik/ ‘fingernail’ can be inflected like either a Class I animate noun with a plural form of /nikún/ or as a Class I inanimate noun, yielding a plural form of /nikína/.

- **Stem allomorphy**

Like animate masculine nouns of Class I, inanimate masculine nouns can also undergo stem allomorphy before suffixes are added, as shown in Table 5.18.

- **Sample paradigms for GP Class I masculine inanimate nouns**

Table 5.19 through Table 5.22 give paradigms for each type of Class I masculine inanimate noun, indicating stem allomorphy, if any, in the top left cell of each table. The first three tables give the patterns for consonant-final nouns, and the last one illustrates vowel-final nouns.

The majority of nouns represented by Table 5.19 are monosyllabic (as in ور /war/ ‘door’); however, multisyllabic nouns are included as well (as in ټغر /ṭayâr/ ‘rug’).

Final stem sound(s)	Stem change	Forms affected	Comment	Example
VC	a → ∅	all plurals	mostly monosyllabic words	غرونه ← غرونه ɣar-úna → ɣrúna <i>mountains</i>
	a → ə	oblique singular; all plurals		دفترونه ← دفترونه daftar-úna → daftə́rúna <i>office</i>
o á or a	V → ∅	all plurals		پسه ← پسونه چونه psə-úna → psúna <i>sheep</i>

Table 5.18: Class I Masc. inanimate—stem allomorphy

a ~ ∅	Singular	Plural
Direct	غر ɣar	غرونه ɣr-úna
Oblique		غرونو ɣr-úno
Ablative	غره ɣār-a ɣr-ə	
Vocative		

Table 5.19: GP Class I Masc. inanimate: غر /ɣar/ ‘mountain’

Some of the nouns in this set can also be inflected as Class II nouns (Section 5.2.4). For example, the oblique form of *غر* /ɣar/ ‘mountain’ (Table 5.19) can also be heard as *غره* /ɣr-ə/. Likewise, *دفتر* /daftár/ ‘office’ (Table 5.20) has variant forms that would put it in Class IIb.

a ~ ə	Singular	Plural
Direct	دفتر daftár	دفترونه daftər-úna دفتر daftár
Oblique	دفتر daftár	دفترونو daftər-úno دفترو daftər-o
Ablative	دفتره daftár-a	
Vocative		

Table 5.20: GP Class I Masc. inanimate: *دفتر* /daftár/ ‘office’

- **Sample paradigms for Waziri Class I masculine inanimate nouns**

Table 5.23 through Table 5.26 give paradigms for each type of Class I masculine inanimate noun, indicating stem allomorphy, if any, in the top left cell of each table. Patterns of stem allomorphy are described in Section 5.2.3.2.3. The first two tables give the patterns for consonant-final nouns, and the last two illustrate vowel-final nouns.

no stem change	Singular	Plural
Direct	غور ɣwəg	غورونه ɣwəg-úna
Oblique		غورونو ɣwəg-úno
Ablative	غوره ɣwəg-a	
Vocative		

Table 5.21: GP Class I Masc. inanimate: غور /ɣwəg/ ‘ear’

ə ~ Ø	Singular	Plural
Direct	پسه psə	پسونه ps-úna
Oblique		پسونو ps-úno
Ablative		
Vocative		

Table 5.22: GP Class I Masc. inanimate: پسه /psə/ ‘sheep’

	Singular	Plural
Direct	tayār	tayər-ína
Oblique		tayār-íne

Table 5.23: Waziri Class I Masc. inanimate: /tayār/ ‘rug’

a ~ ə	Singular	Plural
Direct	daftár	daftər-ína,
Oblique		daftər-íne

Table 5.24: Waziri Class I Masc. inanimate: /daftár/ ‘office’

ə ~ ø	Singular	Plural
Direct	pəsá	pəs-ína
Oblique		pəs-íne

Table 5.25: Waziri Class I Masc. inanimate: /pəsá/ ‘sheep’

a ~ ø	Singular	Plural
Direct	ɣar	ɣr-ína
Oblique		ɣr-íne

Table 5.26: Waziri Class I Masc. inanimate: /ɣar/ ‘mountain’

5.2.3.3 Class I feminine nouns in General Pashto and Waziri

Most Class I feminine nouns end in (unstressed) *ə* /a/ or /ə/, although some also end in /á/, /e/, /ó/, /â/, or a consonant. Some of those ending in /a/ or /ə/ are formed by adding this sound to the direct singular form of the masculine counterpart, in which case it reflects biological sex; for example:

سوي /soy/ ‘hare [male]’ > سويه /sóya/ ‘hare [female]’

مل /mal/ ‘friend [male]’ > مله /mla/ ‘friend [female]’

شپون /špun/ ‘shepherd’ > شپنه /španá/ ‘shepherdess’

As can be seen in the second and third examples, sometimes there is a stem change as well.

5.2.3.3.1 General Pashto Class I feminine animate nouns

Animate feminine nouns of Class I have the same form for all case forms in the singular, as can be seen in the list of suffixes in Table 5.3, as well as in the paradigms in Table 5.28 through Table 5.30.

• Stem allomorphy

Table 5.27 describes the changes that take place for plural animate feminine nouns of Class I.

Final stem sound(s)	Suffix/Stem change	Forms affected	Example
e	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> g → ∅ e → y/_ā 	all plurals	خواښيانې ← خواښې گانې xwāxe-gāne → xwāxyāne ‘mothers-in-law’

Table 5.27: GP Class I Fem. animate—stem allomorphy

• Sample paradigms

Table 5.28 through Table 5.30 show examples of animate Class I feminine nouns.

Class I feminine nouns that end in /ó/ or /á/ show some variability in plural suffixes, as can be seen in Table 5.29 and Table 5.30. Penzl (1955) reports that the /w/ forms are more common in Kandahari Pashto, although not exclusive to that dialect. Note

e ~ y	Singular	Plural
Direct	خوابنې xwāxe	خوابنېانو xwāxy-āne
Oblique		خوابنېانو xwāxy-āno
Ablative		
Vocative		

Table 5.28: GP Class I Fem. animate: خوابنې /xwāxe/ ‘mother-in-law’

that in taking the *هې* /-we/ or *وو* /-wo/ suffixes, the nouns are switching categories, from animate to inanimate, and would decline exactly like the feminine inanimate noun *رڼا* /raṅā/ ‘light’ in Table 5.34.

	Singular	Plural
Direct	بیزو bizó	بیزوگانې bizo-gāne بیزووې bizo-we
Oblique		بیزوگانو bizo-gāno بیزوو bizo-wo
Ablative		
Vocative		

Table 5.29: GP Class I Fem. animate/inanimate: بیزو /bizó/ ‘monkey’

	Singular	Plural
Direct	برېښنا brexnā	برېښناگانې brexnā-gāne برېښناوې brexnā-we
Oblique		برېښناگانو brexnā-gāno برېښناوو brexnā-wo
Ablative		
Vocative		

Table 5.30: GP Class I Fem. animate/inanimate: برېښنا /brexnā/ ‘lightning’

5.2.3.3.2 General Pashto Class I feminine inanimate nouns

Inanimate feminine nouns in Class I behave similarly to animate ones in the singular when they end in ا /ā/ or و /ó/; that is, all singular forms are identical (see Table 5.3). Those that end in any other sounds have one form for the singular direct form and another for the singular oblique, ablative, and vocative forms, as in Table 5.32 and Table 5.33.

• Stem allomorphy

Table 5.31 describes stem allomorphy for inanimate feminine nouns of Class I.

Final stem sound(s)	Stem change	Forms affected	Example
ه á or ا	V → ∅	oblique singular, all plurals	اسپه چې ← اسپې áspa-e → áspe ‘mares’

Table 5.31: GP Class I Fem. inanimate—stem allomorphy

- **Sample paradigms**

Table 5.32 through Table 5.34 show examples of inanimate Class I feminine nouns.

á or a ~ Ø	Singular	Plural
Direct	اسپه áspa	اسپې ásp-e
Oblique	اسپې ásp-e	اسپو ásp-o
Ablative		
Vocative		

Table 5.32: Class I Fem. inanimate: اسپه /áspa/ ‘mare’

no stem change	Singular	Plural
Direct	مياشت miāšt	مياشتې miāšt-e
Oblique	مياشتې miāšt-e	مياشتو miāšt-o
Ablative		
Vocative		

Table 5.33: Class I Fem. inanimate: مياشت /miāšt/ ‘mouth’

	Singular	Plural
Direct	رڼا raṇā	رڼاوې raṇā-we
Oblique		رڼاوو raṇā-wo
Ablative		
Vocative		

Table 5.34: Class I Fem. inanimate: رڼا /raṇā/ ‘light’

5.2.3.3.3 Waziri Class I feminine nouns

Most Waziri Class I feminine nouns end in *o* /a/, although some also end in /â/, /e/, or a consonant. Some of those ending in /â/ or /ə/ are derived by adding this sound to the direct singular form of the masculine counterpart; for example:

/šāgôrd/ ‘student [male]’ > /šāgôrdâ/ ‘student [female]’

Regular inanimate and animate feminine nouns of Class I behave similarly. However, many animate feminine nouns, particularly those that are kinship terms, are irregular, as they are in General Pashto. These are addressed in Section 5.2.6.1. Stem allomorphy applies in Waziri as it does in General Pashto (see Table 5.31), that is, nouns ending in an unstressed vowel lose the vowel when the inflected suffix is added. If the final vowel carries stress in the uninflected form, the stress will remain with the suffix in the inflected form, as shown in Table 5.37.

• Sample paradigms

Table 5.35 through Table 5.37 show examples of Class I feminine nouns.

stem = wradz-	Singular	Plural
Direct	wradz	wradz-e
Oblique		

Table 5.35: Waziri Class I Fem., consonant-final: /wradz/ ‘day’

stem = jǎrga	Singular	Plural
Direct	jǎrga	jǎrg-e
Oblique		

Table 5.36: Waziri Class I Fem., unstressed-vowel-final: /jǎrga/ ‘council’

stem = žanḏā	Singular	Plural
Direct	žanḏā	žanḏ-é
Oblique		

Table 5.37: Waziri Class I Fem., stressed-vowel-final: /žanḏā/ ‘flag’

5.2.4 Class II

5.2.4.1 Overview

General Pashto's Class II has no feminine nouns. It consists of two declension patterns, subdivided according to these two patterns into Classes IIa and IIb. There is no animacy distinction in Class IIb, or, viewed another way, all Class IIb nouns are animate. A comparison of the animate suffixes of IIa with IIb suffixes shows that they differ in only two respects: first, in their oblique singular/direct plural suffixes (/ə/ versus -Ø), and second, in the presence or absence of stress in the vocative singular suffixes.

Nouns in Class IIa can end in either a consonant or a stressed /a/. Most of those that end in /á/ appear to be nouns derived from the suffix *بیه* /-bá/ 'master, keeper', as in *ونبیه* /uxbá/ 'camel driver', from *ونب* /ux/ 'camel'. These /-bá/ derived nouns, as well as the noun *مېلمه* /melmá/ 'guest' (Table 5.45), have alternate /-ānā/ and /-anó/ suffixes in the plural. Suffixes for this class are given in Table 5.38.

Class IIb nouns all end in consonants. Most, perhaps all, of the nouns in this class can also be declined according to other noun classes. Suffixes for this class are given in Table 5.39.

We have not identified a distinct set of Class II nouns in Waziri. Most of the masculine nouns whose General Pashto forms are Class IIa nouns behave like Class I nouns, like /pālíz/ 'kitchen garden', plural /pālíz-ína/, and /tanúr/ 'oven', plural /tanur-ína/. At least one masculine noun that belongs to Class IIb in General Pashto may be inflected in Waziri like a Class IIb noun, namely /žənawár/ 'animal', plural /žənawór/. Another noun expected to belong to the same class, /mənžəwár/ 'shrinekeeper' is inflected in Waziri as a Class I animate noun, plural /mənžəwar-ún/. Feminine nouns that belong to Class II in General Pashto typically behave like Class III nouns in Waziri, e.g. /koranáy/ 'family', plural /koran-ej/. The data are too sparse to determine whether Class II nouns simply do not exist in Waziri, or if an inflection pattern similar to that of GP Class II may be an option for some nouns.

	Singular	Plural	
		Animate	Inanimate
Direct	-∅	ه -ĥ انه -ānĥ (variant for ā-stem only)	ونه -úna
Oblique	ه -ĥ	و -ó انو -ānó (variant for ā-stem only)	ونو -úno
Ablative	ه -ĥ		
Vocative			

Table 5.38: GP Class IIa noun suffixes

	Singular	Plural	
		Animate	Inanimate
Direct	-∅	-∅	---
Oblique		و -o	
Ablative	ه -ĥ		
Vocative			

Table 5.39: GP Class IIb noun suffixes

5.2.4.2 General Pashto Class IIa

• Stem allomorphy

Patterns of stem allomorphy for Class IIa nouns are given in Table 5.40.

Final stem sound(s)	Stem change	Forms affected	Noun type	Example
و o/u + C	V → ā	oblique singular and direct plural	animates	پښتون ه ← پښتانه pəxtún-ə → pəxtānə 'Pashtuns'
	V → a	oblique, ablative, and vocative plurals		پښتون و ← پښتنو pəxtún-ó → pəxtanó 'Pashtuns'
	V → ə or no change	all plurals	inanimates	تنورونه ← تنورنه tanur-úna → tanə́úna 'ovens'
ə/a + C	V → Ø	all plurals	all monosyllables	غلونه ← غلونه ɣal-úna → ɣlúna 'thieves'
á	a → Ø	everywhere but direct singular	mostly -bá derived nouns	مېلمه ه ← مېلمه melmá-ə → melmá 'guests'

Table 5.40: GP Class IIa—stem allomorphy

• Sample paradigms

Paradigms of some typical Class IIa nouns are given in Table 5.41 through Table 5.45. Some IIa nouns with the o/u ~ ā alternation (Table 5.42) can also be declined as Class I nouns.

no stem change	Singular	Plural
Direct	پالیز pāléz	پالیزونه pālez-úna
Oblique	پالیزه pālez-ê	پالیزونو pālez-úno
Ablative	پالیزه pālez-â	
Vocative		

Table 5.41: GP Class IIa inanimate: پالیز /pāléz/ ‘kitchen garden’

o/u ~ ā/a	Singular	Plural
Direct	پښتون pəxtún	پښتانه pəxtān-ê
Oblique	پښتانه pəxtān-ê	پښتنو pəxtan-o
Ablative	پښتونه pəxtún-a	
Vocative		

Table 5.42: GP Class IIa inanimate: پښتون /pəxtún/ ‘Pashtun’

o/u ~ ə	Singular	Plural
Direct	تنور tanúr	تنورنه tanəŕ-úna تنورونه tanur-úna
Oblique	تنوره tanur-ə	تنورونو tanəŕ-úno تنورونو tanur-úno
Ablative	تنوره tanúr-a	
Vocative		

Table 5.43: GP Class IIa inanimate: تنور /tanúr/ ‘oven’

All nouns of the type illustrated in Table 5.44 have monosyllabic stems.

ə/a ~ Ø	Singular	Plural
Direct	غل yal	غله yal-ə غلوئه yal-úna
Oblique	غله yal-ə	غلو yal-o غلونو yal-úno
Ablative	غله yál-a	
Vocative		

Table 5.44: GP Class IIa animate/inanimate: غل /yal/ ‘thief’

a ~ Ø	Singular	Plural
Direct	مېلمه melmá	مېلمه melm-ə مېلمانه melm-ānā
Oblique	مېلمه melm-ə	مېلمو melm-ó مېلمانو melm-anó
Ablative	مېلمه melm-á	
Vocative		

Table 5.45: GP Class IIa animate: مېلمه /melmá/ ‘guest’

5.2.4.3 General Pashto Class IIb

This class is different from the others: it contains only a few nouns, and most, if not all, of its members belong to Class I for some speakers. Adjectives whose final syllables are گړ /-gar/, وړ /-war/, ن /-an/, or زن /-zan/ decline according to this class when used with nominal function. The words in this class all end in /aC/; the consonant is most often /n/ or /r/. Class IIb has no animate/inanimate distinction and includes the nouns in the list below. Some authors treat these nouns as irregular, but in our view there are enough to form a declension class:

- خټگر /xaṭgár/ ‘plasterer’ (also Class I masculine animate)
 بډگر /bazgár/ ‘peasant’ (also Class I masculine animate)
 سخر /sxar/ ‘stone’
 نښتر /naxtár/ ‘pine tree’
 موټر /moṭár/ ‘car’ (also Class I masculine *or* feminine inanimate)
 دردمن /dardmán/ ‘sensitive one’ (also Class I masculine animate)
 واکمن /wākmán/ ‘ruler’ (also Class I masculine animate)
 مین /mayán/ ‘lover’
 توپک /topák/ ‘gun’ (also Class I masculine inanimate)
 ښخونک /xaḏzunák/ ‘hermaphrodite’
 ملخ /mlax/ ‘locust’ (also Class I masculine animate)

The loanword موټر /moṭár/ ‘car’ was probably put into this class by some speakers on the analogy of the other Class IIb nouns that end in /ár/. It is particularly indeterminate, in that as a Class I noun, it can also be either masculine or feminine.

• Stem allomorphy

Patterns of stem allomorphy for Class IIb nouns are given in Table 5.46.

Final stem sound(s)	Stem change	Forms affected	Example
a + C	a → ə	oblique singular; all plurals	دښمن - دښمن duxmán-Ø → duxmán ‘enemies’

Table 5.46: GP Class IIb—stem allomorphy

• Sample paradigms

The paradigm of a Class IIb noun is given in Table 5.47.

a ~ ə	Singular	Plural
Direct	دښمن duxmán	دښمنو duxmôn
Oblique	دښمن duxmân	دښمنو duxmôn-o
Ablative	دښمنه duxmán-a	
Vocative		

Table 5.47: GP Class IIb: دښمن /duxmán/ ‘enemy’

5.2.5 Class III

5.2.5.1 Overview

In both General Pashto and Waziri, Class III nouns exhibit no stem allomorphy. They are distinguished by the endings of their direct singular forms: In General Pashto, for masculines, this sound is *ی* /ay/, and for feminines, it is either *ی* /əy/ or *ې* /e/. In Waziri, for masculines, this sound is /ay/, and for feminines, it is either /áy/, /i/, /o/, or /yé/. Section 5.2.5.1.1 through Section 5.2.5.3 detail the facts for Class III in General Pashto, while Section 5.2.5.4 summarizes the situation for Waziri.

5.2.5.1.1 Subclassification of Class III in General Pashto

The inflectional patterns of Class III nouns differ noticeably, depending on whether the primary stress falls on the ultimate or the penultimate syllable. Hence the class is divided into two subgroups, IIIa and IIIb, described in the following sections.

Another distinguishing feature of GP Class III nouns is that their direct singular forms take a suffix, which means that the stem is not identical to the direct singular form, unlike other Pashto nouns; and in fact, the stem can look rather odd, as with the words for both *male dog* and *female dog* (see Table 5.52 and Table 5.54).

The suffixes for GP Class III nouns are shown in Table 5.48, Table 5.49, Table 5.50, and Table 5.51.

	Singular	Plural	
		Animate	Inanimate
Direct	ي -áy	ي -í يان -iān	ي -í
Oblique	ي -í	و -ó يو -ío يانو -iāno	و -ó يو -ío
Ablative	يه -áya		
Vocative			

Table 5.48: GP Class IIIa Masc. noun suffixes

	Singular		Plural	
	Animate	Inanimate	Animate	Inanimate
Direct	سِي -āy	سِي -ī	سِي -āy سِيَانِي -iāne -yāne سِي كَانِي -əygāne	سِي -āy سِيَانِي -iāne -yāne
Oblique		سِي -āy	سِيَوِي -āyo سِيَانُو -iāno -yāno سِي كَانُو -əygāno	سِيَوِي -āyo سِيَانُو -iāno -yāno
Ablative				
Vocative				

Table 5.49: GP Class IIIa Fem. noun suffixes

	Singular	Plural
Direct	ـى -ay	ـي -i
Oblique	ـي -i	ـو -o ـيو -yo
Ablative	ـيه -ya	
Vocative	1	

Table 5.50: GP Class IIIb Masc. noun suffixes

	Singular	Plural
Direct	ـي -e	ـي -e
Oblique		ـو -o ـيو -yo
Ablative		
Vocative		

Table 5.51: GP Class IIIb Fem. noun suffixes

¹ Penzl (1955) has the ending /-e/ for the Class IIIb masculine vocative singular in Kandahari (see Table 5.57). This is the only source to suggest an alternative to the /-ya/ ending above.

5.2.5.2 Class IIIa

Nouns of Class IIIa are inflected for case-marking as noted in Table 5.48 and Table 5.49. As with other noun classes described earlier, the sequence $\text{ان} / \hat{a}n/$ is optionally used in plural formation, primarily with nouns denoting animate objects. Among Class IIIa feminine nouns, it occurs among inanimate nouns as well as animate, as seen in Table 5.56. Animate denotations in this class include ethnic or tribal denominations such as $\text{اپرىدى} / \text{apridáy/}$ ‘Afridi’.

5.2.5.2.1 Masculine Class IIIa nouns

- Sample paradigms

Paradigms of some typical masculine Class IIIa nouns are given in Table 5.52 and Table 5.53.

stem = sp-	Singular	Plural
Direct	سپى sp-áy	سپى sp-í
		سپيان sp-iân
Oblique	سپى sp-í	سپو sp-ó
		سپيو sp-íó
		سپيانو sp-iâno
Ablative	سپيه sp-áya	
Vocative		

Table 5.52: GP Class IIIa Masc. animate: $\text{سپى} / \text{spáy/}$ ‘dog [male]’

stem = stor-	Singular	Plural
Direct	گڊی gaḍ-áy	گڊی gaḍ-í
Oblique	گڊی gaḍ-í	گڊو gaḍ-ó
Ablative	گڊیہ gaḍ-áya	
Vocative		

Table 5.53: GP Class IIIa Masc. inanimate: گڊی /gaḍáy/ ‘feast’

5.2.5.2.2 Feminine Class IIIa nouns

Note the wide variance in possible plural forms for Class IIIa feminine nouns. The various plural alternatives mentioned here are not always freely interchangeable, yet there is no clear rule for which form is preferred.

- **Sample paradigms**

Paradigms of some typical feminine Class IIIa nouns are given in Table 5.52 and Table 5.53.

stem = sp-	Singular	Plural
Direct	سپى sp-ây	سپى sp-ây سپيانى sp-iâne
Oblique		سپيو sp-âyô سپيانو sp-iâno
Ablative		
Vocative		

Table 5.54: GP Class IIIa Fem. animate: سپى /spây/ ‘dog [female]’

stem = koran-	Singular	Plural
Direct	کورنى koran-ây	کورنى koran-ây کورنيانى koran-yâne کورنى گانى koran-âygâne
Oblique		کورنيو koran-âyô کورنيانو koran-yâno کورنى گانو koran-âygâno
Ablative		
Vocative		

Table 5.55: GP Class IIIa Fem. animate: کورنى /koranây/ ‘family’

stem = čālāk-	Singular	Plural
Direct	خالاکي čālāk-í	خالاکي čālāk-óy خالاکيانې čālāk-yāne
Oblique	خالاکي čālāk-óy	خالاکيو čālāk-óyo خالاکيانو čālāk-yāno
Ablative		
Vocative		

Table 5.56: GP Class IIIa Fem. inanimate: خالاکي /čālāki/ ‘trickiness’

5.2.5.3 Class IIIb

Compared to Class IIIa nouns, there is little variation among plural Class IIIb nouns, as reflected in Table 5.50 and Table 5.51. There is also no animacy distinction among Class IIIb nouns.

5.2.5.3.1 Masculine Class IIIb nouns

- **Sample paradigms**

Table 5.57 gives a sample paradigm for a masculine Class IIIb noun.

stem = malgār-	Singular	Plural
Direct	ملگری malgār-ay	ملگری malgār-i
Oblique	ملگری malgār-i	ملگرو malgār-o ملگریو malgār-yo
Ablative	ملگریه malgār-ya	
Vocative		

Table 5.57: GP Class IIIb Masc.: ملگری /malgāray/ ‘friend [male]’

5.2.5.3.2 Feminine Class IIIb nouns

- **Sample paradigms**

Table 5.58 gives a sample paradigm for a feminine Class IIIb noun.

stem = malgār-	Singular	Plural
Direct	ملگرې malgār-e	ملگرې malgār-e
Oblique		ملگرو malgār-o ملگریو malgār-yo
Ablative		
Vocative		

Table 5.58: GP Class IIIb Fem.: ملگرې /malgāre/ ‘friend [female]’

5.2.5.4 Class III in Waziri

As in General Pashto, Waziri Class III nouns are distinguished by the endings of their direct singular forms: for masculines, this sound is /ay/, and for feminines, it is either /ây/, /i/, /o/, or /ye/. Lorimer (1902) divides masculine nouns in this class into two subgroups, depending on the form of the plural suffixes. We have found only one form of the direct plural suffix and do not have any examples of Class III nouns in the oblique plural, so we are unable to support Lorimer’s subdivision. We call Lorimer’s subgroups Class IIIa and Class IIIb, but the subdivisions do not seem to be related to stress patterns as they are in General Pashto. Feminine Class III nouns distinguish themselves by being mostly invariable. Direct singular forms ending in /i/ take the /-ây/ suffix in direct plural and oblique singular and plural, following the pattern of /-ây/-final nouns. Nouns of this class ending in /o/ or /yé/ take the same ending throughout the direct and plural cases, regardless of number.

The suffixes for Class III nouns as described by Lorimer (1902) are shown in Table 5.59 through Table 5.63.

- **Sample paradigms**

Abbreviated paradigms of some typical Class III nouns are given in Table 5.64 through Table 5.68. We include only the direct case for the masculine nouns, as these are the only forms we have been able to verify with native speakers.

	Singular	Plural
Direct	-áy	-í -ína <small>DZA</small>
Oblique	-í	-áy <small>WAZ</small> -yé <small>WAZ</small> -áy <small>DZA</small>

Table 5.59: Middle dialect Class IIIa Masc. noun suffixes

	Singular	Plural
Direct	-áy	-íon <small>WAZ</small> -í <small>DZA</small>
Oblique	-í	-ioné <small>WAZ</small> -ye <small>DZA</small>

Table 5.60: Middle dialect Class IIIb Masc. noun suffixes

	Singular	Plural
Direct	-áy <small>WAZ</small> -í	-ay <small>WAZ</small> -əy <small>DZA</small>
Oblique	-ay <small>WAZ</small> -əy <small>DZA</small>	

Table 5.61: Middle dialect Class III Fem. noun suffixes: /-áy/

	Singular	Plural
Direct	-o	
Oblique		

Table 5.62: Middle dialect Class III Fem. noun suffixes: /-o/

	Singular	Plural
Direct	-yé	
Oblique		

Table 5.63: Middle dialect Class III Fem. noun suffixes: /-yé/

stem = xus-	Singular	Plural
Direct	xus-áy	xus-í

Table 5.64: Waziri Class IIIa Masc. animate: /xusáy/ ‘calf’

stem = pat-	Singular	Plural
Direct	pat-áy	pat-í

Table 5.65: Waziri Class III Masc. inanimate: /patáy/ ‘star’

stem = šař-	Singular	Plural
Direct	šař-ay	
Oblique		

Table 5.66: Waziri Class III Fem.: /šařay/ ‘woolen jacket’

stem = xamt-	Singular	Plural
Direct	xamt-o	
Oblique		

Table 5.67: Waziri Class IIIa Fem. inanimate: /xamto/ ‘cloth’

stem = gut-	Singular	Plural
Direct	gut-yé	
Oblique		

Table 5.68: Waziri Class IIIa Fem. inanimate: /gutyé/ ‘ring’

5.2.6 Irregular nouns and irregular patterns in General Pashto

Pashto has many irregular morphological patterns among its nouns.

As mentioned in Section 5.2.1, many nouns that follow the patterns of one particular declension class can also have alternative plural forms, and the acceptability of one alternative over another is not always predictable. The class membership of certain nouns is also not fixed, with some nouns optionally following the full inflectional paradigm of more than one class.

In addition to such variation in the use of plural and oblique forms, some nouns, especially loanwords, vary in gender assignment. For example, as mentioned in Section 5.2.4.3, the noun موټر /moṭêr/ ‘automobile’ can follow three different inflectional patterns, depending on the speaker: Class I masculine inanimate, with plural form موټرونه /moṭêrúna/ ‘automobiles’ (by virtue of the consonant-final form), Class I feminine inanimate, with plural form موټرې /moṭêre/ ‘automobiles’ (presumably by association with the gender of the same noun in Urdu, from which it was borrowed), or Class IIb, with plural form موټر /moṭêr/.

Other nouns in Pashto follow entirely irregular patterns. A large number of these come from kinship terms and Arabic borrowing, presented in the following subsections.

5.2.6.1 Kinship terms

Perhaps due to their frequent use and cultural importance, many kinship terms in Pashto have irregular forms. One explanation for this phenomenon is that words used most often, especially culturally significant ones, tend to retain morphological or phonological patterns that have been lost elsewhere in the language.

While several kinship terms do fit within the regular noun class paradigms—for example, Class I nouns پلار /plâr/ ‘father’ and تره /trê/ ‘paternal uncle’— even these exhibit some oddity in that they represent a fairly exceptional set of nouns that denote humans but that take inanimate suffixes. This section describes the more irregular Pashto kinship terms.

The following feminine kinship terms have different stems in the singular and plural and follow the pattern illustrated in Table 5.69:

- مور /mor/ ‘mother’; plural stem /mâynd-/
- خور /xor/ ‘sister’; plural stem /xwâynd-/
- ترور /tror/ ‘paternal aunt’; plural stem /trâynd-/
- ننگور /ngor/ ‘daughter-in-law’; plural stem /ngâynd-/

	Singular	Plural
Direct	مور mor	مېندې mâynd-e
Oblique		مېندو mâynd-o
Ablative	مورې mór-e	
Vocative		

Table 5.69: Irregular Fem. kinship noun: مور /mor/ ‘mother’

The nouns وراره /wrârê/ ‘brother's son’, زوی /zoy/ ‘son’ and لور /lur/ ‘daughter’ are also all irregular, as shown in Table 5.70, Table 5.71, and Table 5.72.

	Singular	Plural
Direct	وراره wrārā	وربرونه wrer-úna
Oblique		وربرو wrer-ō وربرونو wrer-úno
Ablative		
Vocative		

Table 5.70: Irregular Masc. kinship noun: وراره /wrārā/ ‘brother's son’

	Singular	Plural
Direct	زوی zoy	زامن zāmān
Oblique		زامنو zāmān-o
Ablative	زویه zoy-a	
Vocative		

Table 5.71: Irregular Masc. kinship noun: زوی /zoy/ ‘son’

	Singular	Plural
Direct	لور lur	لورې lúṛ-e
Oblique		لورونو lúṛ-o
Ablative	لورې lúr-e	
Vocative		

Table 5.72: Irregular Fem. kinship noun: لور /lur/ ‘daughter’

5.2.6.2 Arabic borrowings

Another common source of irregular inflectional forms comes from Arabic borrowings (or nouns perceived by speakers as Arabic), in which the Arabic plural form is borrowed as well. Three major plural patterns are associated with such Arabic loanwords: مین /-ín/, ات /-ât/, and the Arabic broken plural, as illustrated in Table 5.73 and Table 5.74. Although the suffix ات /-ât/ is a feminine inflectional form in Arabic, the class of abstract nouns to which it applies is treated as masculine in Pashto.

In many cases, the inflectional patterns may either employ the Arabic plural forms or may be adapted to one of the regular Pashto noun classes described in Section 5.2.3 through Section 5.2.5. For example, the word دفتر /daftár/ ‘office’, whose paradigm as Class I noun appears earlier in Table 5.20 (with plural form دفترونه /daftər-úna/, دفتر /daftár/), can also occur with the Arabic broken plural form دفاتر /dafātar/ ‘offices’.

	Singular	Plural
Direct	مجاهد mujāhíd	مجاهدين mujāhid-ín
Oblique		مجاهدينو mujāhid-ín-o مجاهدو mujāhíd-o
Ablative	مجاهده mujāhíd-a	
Vocative		

Table 5.73: Masc. Arabic loanword: مجاهد /mujāhíd/ 'fighter'

	Singular	Plural
Direct	موضوع mawzó'	موضوعات mawzo'-w-āt
Oblique		موضوعاتو mawzo'-w-āt-o
Ablative		
Vocative		

Table 5.74: Masc. Arabic loanword: موضوع /mawzó'/ 'topic'

5.3 Inflection and agreement of conjoined nouns

When nouns are conjoined, if they are both of the same gender, then an adjective which modifies (or is predicated of) the conjoined nouns will be in the same gender, but in the plural.

(5.14) سنا او مدينه لېونياني دي .

sanā-∅ **aw** *madin-a* *lewan-iāne*
 Sana-F.DIR **and** Madina-F.DIR crazy-**PL.F.ANIM.DIR**
di
 be.CONT.PRS.3PL.F

‘Sana and Madina are crazy.’

However, if the conjoined nouns are of different genders, then the adjective must be repeated and inflected to agree with the gender of each noun individually.

(5.15) ما تور کتاب او توره کتابچه واخيسته .

mā **tor-∅** *kitāb-∅* **aw** *tor-a*
 1SG.STR.OBL **black-M.DIR** book-M.DIR and **black-F.DIR**
kitābča-∅ *w-āxist-a*
 notebook-F.DIR AOR-buy.PST-PST.3SG.F

‘I bought a **black** book and a **black** notebook.’

Similarly, when a verb agrees with two conjoined nouns, then if the nouns are of the same gender, the verb agrees in gender, but is plural:

(5.16) احمد او محمود گډپدل .

ahmad-∅ **aw** *mahmud-∅* *gəḍ-ed-əl*
 Ahmad-M.DIR and Mahmoud-M.DIR dance-PST-PST.**3PL.M**

‘Ahmad and Mahmoud danced.’

However, if the conjoined nouns are of different genders, then the corresponding verb is usually masculine and plural when in non-past tense, but may be declined to agree in gender and number with the last item in the list when in past tense. In example 5.15 and 5.17, the verb is conjugated to agree in gender with the last of the objects mentioned.

(5.17) ډيوې او آباسين خندل .

diw-e **aw** *ābāsin-∅* *∅-xand-əl*
 Diwe-**F.OBL** and Abaseen-**M.OBL** CONT-laugh-PST.**3PL.M**

‘Diwe and Abaseen were laughing.’

5.4 Derivational morphology and loanwords

5.4.1 Derivational morphology of nouns

This section discusses some derivational affixes in Pashto and a few of the nouns derived from them. Pashto has both more productive and less productive derivational affixes.

5.4.1.1 Nouns derived with suffixes

The examples in this section do not necessarily contain nouns of note. They instead highlight the relationship between derivational affixes and their stems, which may be verbs, adjectives, or other nouns.

Table 5.75: Derived noun suffixes

Affix	Meaning	Applies to	Stem	Derived form
ښځای -džāy	place of	nouns, including verbal nouns and adjectives	ښوون (ه) xowun(a) 'teaching'	ښوونځای xowundžāy 'school'
			عبادت ibādat 'worship'	عبادتځای ibādatdžāy 'place of worship, mosque, church, temple'
متوب -tob	state of being	nouns and adjectives	ماشوم māšum 'child'	ماشومتوب māšumtob 'childhood'
			خوندي xwandī 'safe'	خوندیتوب xwanditob 'safety'
تون -tun	place of	nouns and adjectives	پوه poh 'expert'	پوختون poxantun 'university'
			ورکي worəkay 'small'	ورکتون worəktun 'kindergarten'
			ورکي worəki 'boy'	
تیا -tiyā	abstract noun	native Pashto adjectives	پراخ prāx 'vast'	پراختیا prāxytā 'development'

Table 5.75: (continued)

Affix	Meaning	Applies to	Stem	Derived form
			نیمگری nimgəray 'insufficient'	نیمگری نیا nimgəritiyā 'insufficiency'
نبت -əxt	state of being	adjectives, including verbal adjectives	کم kam 'less'	کم نبت kaməxt 'lack'
			جوړه joṛa 'built'	جوړ نبت joṛəxt 'construction'
			اورېدل oredəl 'to fall'	اور نبت orəxt 'precipitation'
مند -mand	experiencer /possessor	Dari nouns	شرم šrəm 'shame'	شرمنده šrəmandə 'ashamed person'
			هنر honar 'art'	هنر مند honarmand 'artist'
کار -kār	agent	nouns	تجربه tajraba 'experience'	تجربه کار tajrabakār 'expert'
			ادا adā 'performance'	ادا کار adākār 'actor'
گی -gi	-ness, abstract noun	Dari adjectives	آسوده awsoda 'peaceful'	آسوده گی awsoda gi 'peace'
			گنده ganda 'rotten'	گنده گی gandagi 'trash'
گر -gar	agent	nouns	ژرنده žranda 'mill'	ژرنده گر žrandagar 'miller'
			خټه xaṭa 'mud'	خټه گر xaṭgar 'mason'
وال -wāl	owner or occupant	nouns	هټی haṭi 'shop'	هټی وال haṭiwāl 'shopkeeper'
			هيواد haywād 'country'	هيواد وال haywādwāl 'citizen'

Table 5.75: (continued)

Affix	Meaning	Applies to	Stem	Derived form
حوالي -wālay	scope, volume	nouns and adjectives	ڊير ɖer ‘big’	ڊيروالي ɖerwālay ‘increase’
			ڪم kam ‘short, small’	ڪموالي kamwālay ‘reduction’
يه -ya	abstract noun	Arabic nouns	نظر nazar ‘perspective’	نظريه nazarya ‘opinion’
			عمل amal ‘action’	عمليه amalya ‘implementation’
يت -iyat	abstract or plural noun	nouns and adjectives	مامور māmur ‘official’	ماموريت māmuriyat ‘duty’
			مصون masun ‘safe’	مصونيت masuniyat ‘security’
ي -i	abstract noun	nouns	مشر mašər ‘leader’	مشري mašri ‘leadership’
			دڻمن duxman ‘enemy’	دڻمني duxmani ‘animosity’
			خپلواڪ xpəlwāk ‘independent’	خپلواڪي xpəlwāki ‘independence’
			گران grān ‘expensive’	گراني grāni ‘inflation’
نه -na	state of being	verbs	لارڻوول lārxowəl ‘to direct’	لارڻوونه lārxowəna ‘direction’
			ڪتل katəl ‘to look’	ڪتنه katəna ‘sight’
ونڪي -unkay	agent	verbs	ڻوول xowəl ‘to teach’	ڻوونڪي xowunkay ‘teacher’
			چلول ɕəlawəl ‘to manage’	چاوونڪي ɕəlawunkay ‘manager, driver’

Table 5.75: (continued)

Affix	Meaning	Applies to	Stem	Derived form
			کمدل kamedəl 'to lessen'	کمدونکی kamedunkay 'decline' (n.)

5.4.1.2 Compounds

Many of Pashto's noun compounds originate from loanwords, mostly from Persian. Some examples of compound nouns built from Pashto words are:

- ورلړونى /orlaṛunay/ 'poker' (ور /or/ 'fire' + لړل /laṛəl/ 'to stir')
- سپینږیری /spinžiray/ 'old man' (سپین /spin/ 'white' + ږیره /žira/ 'beard')
- لمرخاته /lmarxātə/ 'east' (لمر /lmar/ 'sun' + خاته /xātə/ 'rising')

More examples of compounds can be found in Section 6.8.3.

5.4.2 Reduplication of nouns

Pashto nouns denoting events can undergo reduplication to express duration or intensity of the event. These reduplicated nominals denote an event in either a causative (5.18; 5.19) or a circumstantial (5.20) relationship to that denoted by the finite verb.

(5.18) په وهلو وهلو مړ شو.

pə wəh-əl-o wəh-əl-o məṛ-Ø
INSTR beat-INF-PL.M.OBL beat-INF-PL.M.OBL dead-M.DIR
šu-Ø
become.AOR.PST-PST.3SG.M

'He was beaten to death.'^(NW)

(5.19) په لیکلو لیکلو وخت را نه تېر شو.

pə lik-əl-o lik-əl-o waxt-Ø rā na
INSTR write-INF-PL.M.OBL write-INF-PL.M.OBL time-M.DIR 1 from
tér-Ø šu-Ø
passed-M.DIR become.AOR.PST-PST.3SG.M

'I was so busy writing that I lost track of time.'^(NW)

(5.20) اسد په خندا خندا راته وويله چه سينما ته مه ځه .

asad-∅ pə xandā-∅ xandā-∅ rā-ta
 Asad-M.DIR INSTR laugh-F.OBL laugh-F.OBL 1-to
wā-way-əl-ə čə sinimā-∅ ta mā
 AOR-tell.PST-PST-3PL.M COMP cinema-F.OBL to NEG
ǰ-a
 go.CONT.PRS-IMP.SG

‘Asad laughed and said to me, ‘Don’t go to the movies.’

Nouns not derived from or related to verbs can also be repeated to indicate plurality or variety:

(5.21) زموږ په مکتب کې رنگ رنگ خلک دي .

zmuž pə maktab-∅ ki rang-∅ rang-∅
 1PL.STR.POSS in... school-M.OBL ...in color-M.DIR color-M.DIR
xalək-∅ di
 people-PL.M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.PL.M

‘In our school there are all kinds of people [our school is very diverse].’ ^(SW)

5.4.3 Loanwords

In addition to the irregular inflectional forms described in Section 5.2.6.2, Pashto has many words originating in Arabic, Persian, or Urdu, and others from Russian or English, which are borrowed directly into Pashto and treated as if they were native Pashto words in terms of inflection. For example:

- *سماوار /samāvār/* ‘samovar’ (Russian); pl. *سماوارونه /samāvāruna/*
- *اینجنیر /injinir/* ‘engineer’ (English); pl. *اینجنیران /injinirān/*
- *میرزا /mirzā/* ‘clerk’ (Persian); pl. *میرزایان /mirzāyān/*

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6 Adjectives and Other Noun Modifiers

6.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the morphology of Pashto lexical noun modifiers—that is, adjectives, determiners, number terms, and interrogative adjectives—covering both case-marking and derivation. (For phrasal modifiers of nouns such as relative clauses, see Chapter 11.) It ends with a section on usage—attribution and predication, the use of adjectives as nouns, comparison, and the adverbial use of adjectives—including a discussion of the typologically unusual feature of adverbial concord with nouns.

Pashto adjectives precede the nouns they modify and are generally inflected to agree with those nouns in gender, case, and number, although some adjectives and other noun modifiers are never inflected. A few Class I adjectives take animate suffixes when modifying animate nouns (see Section 6.2.1.1.5). Demonstrative determiners can represent two or three degrees of proximity, depending on the dialect: proximal/distal or proximal/medial/distal.

Our analysis has four inflectional classes of adjectives and largely corresponds with that presented for nouns in Chapter 5. Previous descriptions of inflectional classes (for both nouns and adjectives) have usually included stem allomorphy among their diagnostic features; we consider it separately and classify nouns and adjectives based solely on their inflectional suffixes.

6.2 Inflectional classes in General Pashto and Waziri

As with nouns (Section 5.2), the inflectional patterns of Pashto adjectives have received widely varying descriptive treatment. Other authors group the adjectives in four to seven categories, depending on the features considered to be diagnostic. We group the adjectives into four classes, based on the ending of the masculine direct singular form and the alternation between the masculine direct singular and the masculine oblique singular (which usually resembles the masculine direct plural form). Pashto adjective paradigms generally have fewer forms than noun paradigms. The ablative case (sometimes called oblique II or prepositional) seldom has a unique form: when it differs from the oblique form, it is usually identical with the vocative form.

6.2.1 Inflectional classes of General Pashto adjectives

Classes I and II include all adjectives that end in consonants in their citation form (masculine direct singular); Class II also includes those that end in ـل /- â /. All such adjectives are stressed on the final syllable in this citation form. Classes III and IV comprise

adjectives ending in stressed and unstressed vowels other than /ə/, which includes diphthongs.

6.2.1.1 General Pashto Class I

6.2.1.1.1 Case-marking suffixes

Class I adjectives are consonant-final in their citation form, as in *تښ* /təš/ ‘empty’ or *نېغ* /ney/ ‘straight, direct’, and keep the stress on the final syllable of the stem. They are declined using the suffixes in Table 6.1.

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	-∅		ه -a	ې -e _E ې -i _W
Oblique		و -o	ې -e _E ې -i _W	و -o
Ablative	ه -a			
Vocative				

Table 6.1: GP Class I adjective suffixes

This is the most populous adjective class. Adjectives in Classes II-IV are frequently regularized toward Class I by many speakers. This regularization is a major source of dialectal variation.

6.2.1.1.2 Stem allomorphy

In the Western dialects, Class I adjectives with certain stem shapes will undergo one of two processes of vowel mutation:

1. Vowel Harmony

ə → o/_Co

Class I adjectives with the stressed stem vowel /ə/ (W), such as پلن /plən/ ‘broad’ or دنگ /dəng/ ‘tall’, undergo regressive harmony in the feminine direct plural and in both oblique plural forms—when the suffix vowel is /o/—as shown in Table 6.2.

2. Centralization

á → ə/_C#

Class I adjectives for which the last syllable in the masculine direct singular form is وړ /-wár/, گړ /-gár/, جن /-jân/, or من /-mán/, as well as ordinal numbers ending in م /-ám/, undergo a different vowel alternation: the vowel /á/ of the final syllable centralizes to /ə/ in feminine non-direct singulars and in all plural forms, irrespective of gender, as shown in Table 6.3 and Table 6.4. (To compare this stem allomorphy to that of Class IIb nouns, see Section 5.2.4.3.)

In other dialects these vowels do not mutate. Penzl (1955: 69.4) reports that some Kandahari speakers have the /ə/ vowel in all case forms, so those speakers’ dialect lacks the alternation.

6.2.1.1.3 Class I forms with stem allomorphy

The paradigm for the adjective سپک /spək/ ‘light’ in Table 6.2 shows the Western dialect’s Vowel Harmony rule. Table 6.3 and Table 6.4 show paradigms for the adjectives زړهور /zɾawár/ ‘brave’ and غمجن /ɣamjân/ ‘sad’, illustrating the centralization rule for the Western dialect.

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	سپک spāk ^E spæk ^W		سپکه spāk-a ^E spāk-a ^W	سپکي spāk-e ^E سپکي spāk-i ^W
Oblique		سپکو spāk-o ^E spāk-o ^W	سپکي spāk-e ^E سپکي spāk-i ^W	سپکو spāk-o ^E spāk-o ^W
Ablative	سپکه spāk-a ^E spāk-a ^W	spāk-o ^W spōk-o ^W	سپکي spāk-i ^W	spāk-o ^W spōk-o ^W
Vocative				

Table 6.2: GP Class I, stem alternation: سپک /spæk/ ‘light’

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	زړه‌ور zṛawār	زړه‌ور zṛawār ^E zṛawār ^W	زړه‌وره zṛawār-a	زړه‌وري zṛawār-e ^E زړه‌وري zṛawār-i ^W
Oblique		زړه‌ورو zṛawār-o ^E zṛawār-o ^W	زړه‌وري zṛawār-e ^E زړه‌وري zṛawār-i ^W	زړه‌ورو zṛawār-o ^E zṛawār-o ^W
Ablative	زړه‌وره zṛawār-a			
Vocative				

Table 6.3: GP Class I, وړ /wār/ alternation: زړه‌ور /zṛawār/ ‘brave’

a~ə	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	غمجن ɣamjān	غمجن ɣamjān ^E ɣamjān ^w	غمجنه ɣamjān-a	غمجنې ɣamjān-e ^E غمجنې ɣamjān-i ^w
Oblique		غمجنو ɣamjān-o ^E ɣamjān-o ^w	غمجنې ɣamjān-e ^E غمجنې ɣamjān-i ^w	غمجنو ɣamjān-o ^E ɣamjān-o ^w
Ablative	غمجنه ɣamjān-a			
Vocative				

Table 6.4: GP Class I, جن /jān/ alternation: غمجن /ɣamjān/ ‘sad’

6.2.1.1.4 Class I forms without stem allomorphy

The paradigm for Class I adjectives lacking stem allomorphy is shown in Table 6.5.

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	پلوانڊ palwāṅḍ		پلوانڊي palwāṅḍ-e	پلوانڊي palwāṅḍ-i w
Oblique		پلوانڊو palwāṅḍ-o	پلوانڊي palwāṅḍ-e	پلوانڊو palwāṅḍ-o پلوانڊي palwāṅḍ-i w
Ablative	پلوانڊه palwāṅḍ-a			
Vocative				

Table 6.5: GP Class I, consonant-final adjective, no alternation: پلوانڊ /palwāṅḍ/ ‘fat’

6.2.1.1.5 Animacy in Class I adjectives

When modifying animate nouns, some Class I adjectives may take the animate plural suffixes of Class I nouns, subject to the changes described in Section 5.2.3.2.1 for stems ending in a consonant (which all adjectives have); that is:

$g \rightarrow \emptyset/C_$

Therefore the animate plural suffix on adjectives is realized as لان /-ān/ (masc.dir.), انڊي /-āne/ (fem.dir.), or انو /-āno/ (obl.), as in examples 6.1 and 6.2.

(6.1) مشران وروڙه

māṣr-ān *oruṅa*
 elder-PL.M.DIR brothers.M.DIR
 ‘older brothers’

(6.2) پښتنو مشرانو کشرانو ملګرو!

paxtan-o *məšr-āno* *kəšr-āno* *malgər-o*
 Pashtoon-PL.M.VOC elder-PL.M.VOC younger-PL.M.VOC friend-PL.M.VOC

‘Pashtoon friends, both young and old!’¹

See Section 6.9.2, Adjectives as Nouns, for further discussion of animate suffixes on adjectives.

6.2.1.2 General Pashto Class II

Class II adjectives can end in either a consonant or a stressed schwa (ټ /-ə́/). Except for the masculine singular ablative and vocative suffixes, the suffixes of Class II are inherently stressed. These stressed suffixes are the chief difference between Class I and Class II, although there are a few differences in suffix shape as well. Whether a consonant-final adjective belongs to Class I (stem-stressed) or Class II (suffix-stressed) is a property of the lexeme and is not predictable.

6.2.1.2.1 Case-marking suffixes

The Class II suffixes are shown in Table 6.6.

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	-∅	ټ -ə́	ټ -ə́	ټ -ə́
Oblique	ټ -ə́	و -ó	ټ -ə́	و -ó
Ablative	ټ -			
Vocative				

Table 6.6: GP Class II adjective suffixes

1 Standardized version of 6.2: پښتنو مشرانو کشرانو ملګرو!

6.2.1.2.2 Stem allomorphy

Some GP Class II adjectives undergo stem allomorphy processes upon inflection, all of them stress-conditioned. The first, Syncope I, affects the final vowels of /ə̃/-final Class II adjectives; the rest affect the stem vowels of consonant-final Class II adjectives (which either lower or delete when unstressed). Lowering affects only back vowels, but not all of them. It is not possible to predict which rule, Back Vowel Lowering or Syncope II, applies to a given consonant-final adjective. The rules are:

1. Syncope I

- $V_2 \rightarrow \emptyset / \hat{V}_1_$
- $\hat{V}_1 \rightarrow \emptyset / _ \hat{V}_2$

If suffixation results in two adjacent vowels and only one is stressed, the unstressed vowel deletes. If both are stressed, the first vowel deletes. This rule applies to vowel-final adjectives, as seen in Table 6.7.

2. Back Vowel Lowering

$$V_{\text{-stress}} [+back] \rightarrow V_{\text{[-high]}} / \#C_$$

In most Class II consonant-final adjectives with non-initial back vowels, /o/, /u/ lowers to /a/ when unstressed. This rule is illustrated in Table 6.8 and Table 6.9.

3. Monophthongization

- $a_{\text{[+stress]}} w \rightarrow V_{\text{[-high]}} [+back],$
- $wa_{\text{[+stress]}} \rightarrow V_{\text{[-high]}} [+back],$

In adjectives with /aw/ or /wa/ in the stem, those sequences simplify to /a/ when stressed. An example of each can be seen in Table 6.10 and Table 6.11. Following application of this rule, any remaining /a/ is lengthened when the following syllable contains /ə̃/, according to rule 4.

4. Lengthening

$$a \rightarrow \bar{a} / _ (C) \hat{C} \hat{a}$$

Short /a/ lengthens to long /ā/ when the syllable following it contains /ə̃/. This rule affects those adjectives that undergo Back Vowel Lowering, as in Table 6.8 and Table 6.9, as well as those that undergo Monophthongization, as in Table 6.10 and Table 6.11. Note that rules (2)–(4) must be ordered as stated above in order to account for the resulting allomorphy.

5. Syncope II

$$V_{[-stress]} \rightarrow \emptyset$$

In a few consonant-final adjectives the stem vowel is deleted when not stressed, as shown in Table 6.12.

6. Epenthesis

$$\emptyset \rightarrow a/C_CC$$

If syncope results in a triple consonant cluster, an /a/ is inserted after the first consonant, as in Table 6.13.

Note that ordering matters with these rules. Rule 2 feeds Rule 4, while Rule 3 bleeds it.

6.2.1.2.3 Class II forms with stem allomorphy

Vowel-final adjectives that end in stressed ه /-â/ in their citation form include سپیره /sperâ/ ‘light grey, dusty’; see also Table 6.7 for تیره /terâ/ ‘sharp’. These can be reliably identified from this citation form as belonging to Class II; no other class has adjectives ending in /-â/. The final stem-vowel of these adjectives undergoes one or other of the morphophonemic rules of Syncope I in Section 6.2.1.2.2.

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	تیره terâ	تیره ter-â	تیره ter-â	تیره ter-é
Oblique		تیره ter-ó	تیره ter-é	تیره ter-ó
Ablative				
Vocative				

Table 6.7: GP Class II, -â-final adjective: تیره /terâ/ ‘sharp’

In most consonant-final adjectives where the stem vowel is a back vowel, و /o/, /u/, it will undergo vowel lowering in unstressed position, followed by lengthening

o~ā~a	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	پوخ pox	پاخه pāx-ā	پخه pax-ā	پخې pax-é
Oblique	پاخه pāx-ā	پخو pax-ō	پخې pax-é	پخو pax-ō
Ablative	پوخه pōx-a			
Vocative				

Table 6.8: GP Class II, back vowel lowering: پوخ /pox/ ‘cooked, ripe’

u~ā~a	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	ړوند ṛund	ړانده ṛānd-ā	ړنده ṛand-ā	ړندې ṛand-é
Oblique	ړانده ṛānd-ā	ړندو ṛand-ō	ړندې ṛand-é	ړندو ṛand-ō
Ablative	ړونده ṛúnd-a			
Vocative				

Table 6.9: GP Class II, back vowel lowering: ړوند /ṛund/ ‘blind’

when the next syllable contains /ə/ (as shown in Table 6.8 and Table 6.9 for the adjectives پوخ /pox/ ‘cooked, ripe’ andړوند /rund/ ‘blind’, respectively).

In adjectives with /aw/ or /wa/ in their stem, the vowel-glide combination simplifies to /o/ in stressed position, as expressed in Rule 4 and exemplified in Table 6.10 and Table 6.11.

o~āw~aw	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	تود tod	تاوده tāwd-ə	توده tawd-ā	تودې tawd-é
Oblique	تاوده tāwd-ə	تودو tawd-ó	تودې tawd-é	تودو tawd-ó
Ablative	توده tód-a			
Vocative				

Table 6.10: GP Class II, back vowel breaking: تود /tod/ ‘hot’; stem = /tawd/

Finally, some consonant-final adjectives unpredictably undergo rule 5, Syncope II in unstressed position, as in Table 6.12, rather than lowering. Where this results in a three-consonant cluster, epenthesis of /a/ applies, as in Table 6.13.

The patterns of stem allomorphy discussed above are lexical properties of particular adjectives; also, underlying stems vary from dialect to dialect. For example, more Eastern- than Western-dialect adjectives undergo the monophthongization in Table 6.11, indicating that their underlying stems contain /aw/ or /wa/ rather than /o/. The Eastern سور /sor/ ‘astride’ and خور /xor/ ‘scattered’ both follow this pattern, but in the Western dialects these words (spelled and pronounced سپور /spor/ and خپور /xpor/) decline according to the pattern shown in Table 6.8 for پوخ /pox/ ‘cooked, ripe’ and Table 6.9 forړوند /rund/ ‘blind’. On the other hand, کوز /koz/ ‘crooked, bent’, like خور /xoʒ/ ‘sweet’, declines in both dialects according to the example shown in Table 6.11.

Table 6.11 also reflects the East–West dialectal correspondence g~z, traditionally represented in both dialects by the letter ږ (see also Table 3.8 and Chapter 4). In both کوز /koz/ and خور /xoʒ/, the Eastern realization of the consonant as [g] is so entrenched that the words may be spelled with گى instead of the standard ږ.

o~wā~wa	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	خوږ xog ^E	خواره xwāg-ā ^E	خوره xwag-ā ^E	خوږې xwag-é ^E
	xoʒ ^W	xwāʒ-ā ^W	xwaz-ā ^W	xwaz-é ^W
Oblique	خواره xwāg-ā ^E	خوږو xwag-ō ^E	خوږې xwag-é ^E	خوږو xwag-ō ^E
	xwāʒ-é ^W	xwaz-ō ^W	xwaz-é ^W	xwaz-ō ^W
Ablative	خوره xóg-a ^E xóʒ-a ^W			
Vocative				

Table 6.11: GP Class II, back vowel breaking: خوږ /xoʒ/ ‘sweet’; stem = /xwag/ or /xwaz/

u~∅	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	سور sur	سره sr-ə	سره sr-a	سرې sr-e
Oblique	سره sr-ə	سرو sr-o	سرې sr-e	سرو sr-o
Ablative	سوره súr-a			
Vocative				

Table 6.12: GP Class II, Syncope II: سور /sur/ ‘red’

i~∅	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	تریخ trix	ترخه tarx-ĕ	ترخه tarx-á	ترخې tarx-é
Oblique	ترخه tarx-ĕ	ترخو tarx-ó	ترخې tarx-é	ترخو tarx-ó
Ablative	تریخه tríx-a			
Vocative				

Table 6.13: GP Class II, Syncope II and epenthesis: تریخ /trix/ ‘bitter’

6.2.1.2.4 Class II forms without stem allomorphy

Class II forms that do not have stem allomorphy are declined according to the pattern illustrated in Table 6.14.

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	اوم um	اومه um-ô	اومه um-â	اومې um-é
Oblique	اومه um-ô	اومو um-ô	اومې um-é	اومو um-ô
Ablative	اومه úm-a			
Vocative				

Table 6.14: GP Class II, consonant-final adjective, no stem allomorphy: اوم /um/ ‘raw, green’

6.2.1.3 General Pashto Class III

Class III adjectives in General Pashto end in what is etymologically a participial suffix, *-ay*, in their citation form, the masculine direct singular (see Section 8.2.9). This suffix may be stressed or unstressed, and the stress does not shift in inflected forms; thus these adjectives can be divided into two subclasses, according to stress position.

6.2.1.3.1 Class IIIa

Class IIIa contains adjectives in which the suffix *-ay* is stressed, such as زړغی /zəɣáy/ ‘vacillating’, کمکی /kamkáy/ ‘small, little’, and ګړندی /gəɾandáy/ ‘quick’. The suffixes for these adjectives are shown in Table 6.15, and the declension is exemplified in Table 6.16 for زلمی /zalmáy/ ‘young’.²

² The word زلمی /zalmáy/ also occurs in Pashto as a masculine first name.

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	سي -ây	سي -í	سي -ây	سي -ây
Oblique	سي -í	سو -ó ^{E,W} سيو -âyo ^E -ío ^W		سو -ó ^{E,W} سيو -âyo ^E -ío ^W
Ablative				
Vocative	سيه -âya			

Table 6.15: GP Class IIIa adjective suffixes

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	زلمي zalm-ây	زلمي zalm-í	زلمي zalm-ây	زلمي zalm-ây
Oblique	زلمي zalm-í	زلمو zalm-ó ^{E,W} زلميو zalm-âyo ^E zalm-ío ^W		زلمو zalm-ó ^{E,W} زلميو zalm-âyo ^E zalm-ío ^W
Ablative				
Vocative	زلميه zalm-âya			

Table 6.16: GP Class IIIa: زلمي /zalmây/ ‘young’

6.2.1.3.2 Class IIIb

Class IIIb contains adjectives in which the suffix *ی* /-ay/ is not stressed, such as *پیاوړی* /piyāwəṛay/ ‘courteous, well-bred, able, strong’, *ستړی* /stəṛay/ ‘tired’, or *شونی* /šúnay/ ‘possible’. The suffixes for these adjectives are shown in Table 6.17.

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	ی -ay -əy ^{SW} -e ^{NE}	ی -i	ی -e	
Oblique	ی -i	یو -y ^E و -o ^W	ی -ye ^E ی -e ^W	یو -y ^E و -o ^W
Ablative				
Vocative	یه -ya ^E ی -e ^W	و -o	ی -e	و -o

Table 6.17: GP Class IIIb adjective suffixes

The masculine vocative singular form in GP Class IIIb varies by region: Heston (1992: 1568), writing about Eastern dialects, gives it as *یه* /-ya/, while Penzl (1955: 72.3), writing about Kandahari (Western), gives it as *ی* /-e/. The latter form may be more frequent, even in the east, but both occur and both are understood.

While all Class III adjectives have this historically participial suffix, most Class IIIb adjectives are more transparently related to verbs than those in Class IIIa; for example, it is easy to see that *سوی* /səway/ ‘burnt’, presented in Table 6.18, is related to *سول* /swəl/ ‘burn’.

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	سوی sāw-ay	سوي sāw-i	سوې sāw-e	
Oblique	سوي sāw-i	سويو sāw-yo ^E سوو sāw-o ^w	سوې sāw-ye ^E سوې sāw-e ^w	سويو sāw-yo ^E سوو sāw-o ^w
Ablative				
Vocative	سويه sāw-ya ^E سوې sāw-e ^w	سوو sāw-o	سوې sāw-e	سوو sāw-o

Table 6.18: GP Class IIIb: سوی /sāway/ ‘burnt’

6.2.1.4 General Pashto Class IV (non-declining adjectives)

Class IV adjectives end in simple vowels, and may be stressed on the final vowel or earlier in the word (unless the final vowel is /ə/, in which event it is never stressed, as adjectives ending in stressed /ə/ are Class II). Many adjectives borrowed from Arabic and Persian, such as بلبلي /balbalí/ ‘glamorous, sparkling’, بوالا /buālā/ ‘obvious’, مصنوعي /masnu‘í/ ‘artificial’, and معنوي /ma‘nawí/ ‘moral, spiritual’, are members of this class.

These adjectives generally do not decline, but some speakers use the oblique plural suffixes -و /-o/, -وو /-wo/ on these adjectives as they do in the other classes. This is likely a result of regularization of the oblique -و /-o/ suffix by these speakers. Examples are shown in Table 6.19, Table 6.20, and Table 6.21.

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	نہایستہ xāyistā			
Oblique	نہایستہ xāyistā	نہایستہ xāyistā نہایستوو xāyistāwo ^{E,W} نہایستوو xāyistō ^W	نہایستہ xāyistā	نہایستہ xāyistā نہایستوو xāyistāwo ^{E,W} نہایستوو xāyistō ^W
Ablative				
Vocative				

Table 6.19: GP Class IV: نہایستہ /xāyistā/ ‘pretty’

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	یوازی yawāzi			
Oblique	یوازی yawāzi	یوازی yawāzi یوازو yawāzo ^W	یوازی yawāzi	یوازی yawāzi یوازو yawāzo ^W
Ablative				
Vocative				

Table 6.20: GP Class IV: یوازی /yawāzi/ ‘alone’

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	هوسا hosā			
Oblique	هوسا hosā	هوسا hosā هوساوو hosāwo ^{E,W} هوساو hosāo ^W	هوسا hosā	هوسا hosā هوساوو hosāwo ^{E,W} هوساو hosāo ^W
Ablative				
Vocative				

Table 6.21: GP Class IV: هوسا /hosā/ ‘comfortable’

6.2.2 Inflectional classes of Waziri adjectives

Waziri adjectives can be divided into classes based on the ending of their citation form, but these classes do not align well with their GP counterparts. This section presents Waziri adjectives in four classes based on their similarity to the GP adjective classes, but we make no claim that the classes should be viewed as analogous. Most of the information below comes from Lorimer (1902).

6.2.2.1 Waziri Class I

Class I includes the majority of Waziri adjectives. These adjectives end in a consonant, an /e/ , or an /a/ in their citation form. The inflection patterns for Class I are shown in Table 6.22.

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	-∅	-∅ -a	-a	-e
Oblique	-∅ -a	-e	-e	

Table 6.22: Waziri Class I adjective suffixes

6.2.2.2 Waziri Class II

Class II adjectives end in /i/ in the masculine direct singular. They retain this ending in all cases except the plural oblique, in which they take the suffix /-e/ for both genders.

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	-i			
Oblique		-e	-i	-e

Table 6.23: Waziri Class II adjective suffixes

6.2.2.3 Waziri Class III

Class III adjectives end in /ay/ in the masculine direct singular. Table 6.24 shows the typical suffixes for adjectives of this type. Class III feminine adjectives may also follow one of two alternative patterns. They may retain the /-ay/ suffix invariably, as shown in Table 6.25, or they may exhibit an invariable form that adds the /-yé/ suffix directly to the /-ay/ suffix, as shown in Table 6.26.

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	-ay	-i	-ye	
Oblique	-i	-ye		

Table 6.24: Waziri Class III adjective suffixes

stem = lewan-	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	lewan-ay	lewan-i	lewan-ay	
Oblique	lewan-i	lewan-ye		

Table 6.25: Waziri Class III adjective with Fem. suffix /-ay/: /léwanay/ ‘mad’

stem = meran-	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	meran-ay	meran-i	meran-ay-ye	
Oblique	meran-i	meran-ye		

Table 6.26: Waziri Class III adjective with Fem. suffix /-yé/: /meranay/ ‘matrilineally related’

6.3 Determiners and definiteness

In this section we treat only the lexical determiners; the possessive determiner phrase is discussed in Section 9.3.1. Determination of Pashto nouns is optional. Demonstrative determiners are used to convey definiteness as well as relative proximity; the use of the number term *یو* /yaw/ ‘one’, alone or in combination, may convey indefinite specificity or nonspecificity.

For the Middle dialects, it remains unclear whether demonstrative determiners decline differently than demonstrative pronouns, as they do in General Pashto, so we do not describe them separately here.

6.3.1 Demonstrative determiners

This section covers demonstratives acting as determiners; demonstrative pronouns are discussed in Section 7.5. The two inventories consist of segmentally identical items that differ in stress placement: disyllabic Pashto demonstrative determiners usually have initial stress, whereas final stress can indicate either contrastive or anaphoric function.

Some Pashto dialects differentiate three levels of proximity: proximal, medial, and distal. Demonstratives are inflected for gender, number, and case, to different degrees.

Penzl (1955: 80.5) remarks on a set of compound demonstratives which are found in both Eastern and Western dialects (the latter only in writing) in which the emphatic morpheme /ham/ is prefixed or procliticized to the demonstrative determiners. It appears that they are used either anaphorically or exophorically; his examples include /hamdāya/ ‘this [very]’ and /hamāya/ ‘that [very]’.

Two forms are used to express the proximal demonstrative, one based on *دا* /dā/, and the other based on *دغه* /dāya/. *دا* /dā/ does not inflect for gender or number but does inflect for case, as in Table 6.27.

Direct	دا dā
Oblique/Ablative	دې de

Table 6.27: Proximal demonstrative *دا* /dā/

The following examples of *دا* /dā/ as a demonstrative determiner with masculine, feminine, singular, and plural nouns illustrate the direct case form:

(6.3) دا هلك

*dā halək-Ø***this.DIR** boy-M.DIR‘**this** boy’^(SW)

(6.4) دا نجلې

*dā njəl-əy***this.DIR** girl-F.DIR‘**this** girl’^(SW)

(6.5) دا خلك

*dā xalk-Ø***these.DIR** people-PL.M.DIR‘**these** people’^(SW)

(6.6) دا نجونې

*dā njun-i***these.DIR** girl-PL.F.DIR‘**these** girls’^(SW)

The following examples of دا /dā/ as a demonstrative determiner illustrate the oblique case form, دې /de/:

(6.7) په دې کتاب کې

*pə de kitāb-Ø ki*in... **this.OBL** book-M.OBL ...in‘in **this** book’^(SW)

(6.8) په دې کتابچې کې

*pə de kitābč-e ki*in... **this.OBL** notebook-F.OBL ...in‘in **this** notebook’^(SW)

(6.9) په دې باغونو کې

*pə de bāy-uno ki*in... **these.OBL** garden-PL.M.OBL ...in‘in **these** gardens’

(6.10) پە دې كۆتۈ كى

pə de kot-o ki
 in... **these.OBL** room-PL.F.OBL ...in

‘in **these** rooms’

The other proximal demonstrative, دغە /dāya/, does not have distinct forms showing gender or number in the direct case form. In the oblique case form, there is a difference between masculine and feminine in the singular, but not in the plural, as shown in Table 6.28.

Note that the proximal demonstrative دغە /dāya/ and the medial demonstrative هغە /hāya/ in Table 6.29 have initial stress. They contrast with similar forms having final stress that serve as alternative strong pronouns, as described in Section 7.2.

	Singular		Plural
	Masculine	Feminine	
Direct	دغە dāya		
	دāyə		
	dāyə		
Oblique		دغى dāyɛ _E	دغو dāyɔ
		dāyɛ _E	dāyɔ
		دغى dāyɪ _w	dōyɔ
			توغو dūyɔ _w

Table 6.28: Proximal demonstrative دغە /dāya/

These phrases illustrate the demonstrative determiner دغە /dāya/ in its direct case forms:

(6.11) دغە قلم

dāyə kalam-Ø
this.DIR pen-M.DIR

‘this pen’_(sw)

(6.12) دغه پيالہ

*dáya piyāla-∅***this.DIR** cup-F.DIR‘**this** cup’^(sw)

(6.13) دغه قلمونه

*dáya kalam-una***these.DIR** pen-PL.M.DIR‘**these** pens’^(sw)

(6.14) دغه پيالې

*dáya piyāl-e***these.DIR** cup-PL.F.DIR‘**these** cups’^(sw)

The following phrases illustrate the demonstrative determiner دغه /*dáya*/ in its oblique case forms:

(6.15) د دغه سړي

*də dáya sar-i*of **this.OBL** man-M.OBL‘of **this** man’

(6.16) د دغې ښځې

*də dáye šəǰ-e*of **this.OBL** woman-F.OBL‘of **this** woman’

(6.17) د دغو هلکانو

*də dáyo halək-āno*of **this.OBL** boy-PL.M.ANIM.OBL‘of **these** boys’

(6.18) د دغو نجونو

*də dáyo njun-o*of **this.OBL** girl-PL.F.OBL‘of **these** girls’

The medial and distal demonstratives exhibit the same patterning as *دغه* /dáɣa/ with respect to gender, number, and case (Table 6.29). The multiple forms represent the considerable variation found in descriptions of these demonstratives in the literature. The presence or absence of /h/ in some forms may reflect the variation noted by Elfenbein 1997; see Section 3.1.1.2. The variation between /o/ and /u/, and between /a/ and /ə/, has been noted throughout this grammar, as has the /i/ ending characteristic of Western dialects.

	Singular		Plural
	Masculine	Feminine	
Direct	هغه háɣə háɣa áɣa áɣə háɣə		
Oblique		هغه háɣə áɣe ^E هغي háɣi ^w háɣi ^w	هغو háɣo áɣo háɣo هوغو húɣu ^w

Table 6.29: Medial demonstratives

The distal demonstrative has two variants, *هوغه* /húɣə/ and *هاغه* /háɣə/. Both of these inflect in a manner similar to *دغه* /dáɣa/ and *هغه* /háɣa/, as shown in Table 6.30.

	Singular		Plural
	Masculine	Feminine	
Direct	هوڭه húɣə úɣa hóɣə هاڭه hāɣə hāya		
Oblique		هوڭي húɣe úɣe هاڭي hāɣe هوڭي húɣi w	هوڭو húɣo úɣo هاڭو hāɣo

Table 6.30: Distal demonstratives

6.3.2 The indefinite determiner يو /yaw/ ‘one’

The number term يو /yaw/ ‘one’ serves as an indefinite determiner, as in the following sentences:

(6.19) نا معلومو وسلوالو په خوست کې د يو کورنۍ ټول غړي وژلي .

nāmālum-o waslawāl-o pə khost-Ø ke də yaw
unknown-PL.M.OBL armed-PL.M.OBL in... Khost-M ...in of **one**

koran-əy ʔol-Ø yəṛ-i
family-F.DIR all-PL.M.DIR member-PL.M.DIR

Ø-waž-əl-i
CONT-kill-PST-PTCP.PL.M.DIR

‘Unknown armed individuals killed all members of a family in Khost.’

(6.20) يوه کورنۍ کولای شي په بانک کې حساب پرانيزي .

yaw-a koran-əy kaw-əl-ay š-i
one-F.DIR family-F.DIR do.CONT-PST-OPT become.AOR.PRS-PRS.3[SG.F]

pə bank-Ø ke hisāb-Ø prāniz-i
in... bank-M ...in account-M.DIR AOR\open.PRS-PRS.3[SG.F]

‘A family can open up an account at the bank.’

Note that the determiner may or may not be inflected. The morphology of يو /yaw/ ‘one’ is discussed in Section 6.5.

Babrakzai (1999: 27–28) asserts that يو /yaw/ ‘one’ may compose with an indefinite quantifier to render a quantified indefinite noun phrase.

6.4 Non-numerical noun quantifiers

Noun quantifiers equivalent to English *all*, *every*, and *none* exist in Pashto, and as is the case for other languages, these quantifiers may also exist in construction with items other than nouns.

6.4.1 The quantifier ټول /ʔol-/ ‘all’

The quantifier ټول /ʔol-/ ‘all’ appears to be multifunctional as both a noun and a determiner. When functioning as a noun, it triggers verb agreement and can function as the complete object of an adposition. It appears that under those conditions, its holonym may precede it, as we see in example 6.21. Its use in our data is predominantly as a

determiner, where it precedes its noun and is the target, rather than the trigger, of agreement morphology. This can be seen in 6.22.

(6.21) په لنډ ډول ليکل شوي تر څو ټول لوستونکي ترې استفاده وکړای شي .

pə land-Ø ɖawal-Ø lik-əl šúw-ay
 INSTR short-M manner-M write-INF become.AOR.PST-PTCP.PL.M.DIR
tər tso ʈol-Ø lwustunk-i tre istafāda-Ø
 up.to some all-PL.M.DIR reader-PL.M.DIR up.to.3 **usage-F.DIR**
wá-kṛ-ay š-i
AOR-do.AOR-OPT become.AOR.PRS-PRS.3[PL.M]

‘[The articles] have been written concisely so that all readers **are able to make use** of them.’

(6.22) قاچاقي ا ټول ملکينه ا پوره تباهي ليار دو .

qāčāq-i e ʈol-Ø mulk-ina e por-a e
 smuggling-F.DIR of all-PL.M.DIR nation-PL.M.DIR of sake-M.ABL of
tabāh-i liyār-Ø do
 destruction-F.OBL path-F.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.F

‘Smuggling is a path to destruction for all nations.’ (WAZ)

6.4.2 The quantifier هر /har/, /ar/ ‘every’

As shown in 6.23, هر /har/, /ar/ ‘every’ patterns as an adjective, preceding the noun it modifies:

(6.23) دغه شوری به په هرو ۱۵ ورځو کې غونډه کوي او د ماشوم د ادبياتو د پراختیا

لارې چارې به څیړي .

dāya šurā-Ø bə pə har-o 15 wrāč-o
 this.DIR council-F.DIR WOULD in... every-PL.OBL 15 day-**PL.F.OBL**
ke ywānda-Ø kaw-ī aw də māšum-Ø də
 ...in meeting-F.DIR **do.CONT-PRS.3[SG.F]** and of child-M.OBL of
adabi-āto də prāxtiyā-Ø lār-e čāre
 literature-PL.M.OBL of development-F.OBL path-PL.F.DIR ECHO
bə Ø-tseṛ-i
WOULD CONT-investigate-PRS.3[SG.F]

‘The council will be meeting every 15 days and will be looking at ways to develop children's literature.’

It can combine with the indefinite pronouns to express the effect of *everyone* or *everything*, as shown in examples 7.56 and following.

6.4.3 The quantifier هېڅ /hets/ ‘none’

Similarly, the quantifier هېڅ /hets/ (also pronounced /hits/) can combine with the indefinite pronouns, as shown in 6.24 and further exemplified in Section 7.7:

(6.24) هېڅوک ولاړ نه شو.

hets tsok wlār-Ø ná šo-Ø
none who.DIR gone-M.DIR NEG become.AOR.PST-PST.3SG.M
 ‘No one was gone.’^(NW)

It can also quantify other nominals, as shown in 6.25:

(6.25) زه به هغه په هېڅ ډول هم یوازی پرې نه ږدم.

zā bə hayá pə hits ɖawal-Ø ham
 1SG.STR.DIR WOULD 3SG.STR.DIR INSTR **none manner-M** also
yawāze pré ná gd-əm
 alone AOR\abandon NEG abandon.PRS-1SG
 ‘I **won’t** ever leave him alone.’

Notice the concordant negative in the main clauses of both examples.

6.5 Number names

As is typical of many languages in northern South Asia, Pashto number names show great complexity and variation in formation of the number names over ten. They include both additive and subtractive forms, as well as two systems of formation, one based on 10 and one based on 20. The terms in Table 6.38 are based on original fieldwork;³ to our knowledge these data comprise the most complete picture of Pashto number names collected thus far.

³ These forms were elicited by Michael Marlo in 2010 with native speaker informants resident in the US.

6.5.1 Cardinal numbers in Pashto

6.5.1.1 Morphology

Number names all end in either stressed /ə/ or a consonant and are difficult to sort into the regular nominal and adjectival classes. Previous descriptions of number name inflection are not comprehensive and contradict each other in places. For example, some sources report that only *يو* /yaw/ ‘one’ and *دوه* /dwa/ ‘two’ encode gender and case, while our data show this to be erroneous. The tables and statements in this section are a summary of what our data reveal; they hold for both adjectival and nominal uses of number names. Table 6.31, Table 6.33, Table 6.35, and Table 6.36 show the optional inflectional suffixes for numbers one through four in General Pashto, while Table 6.32 and Table 6.34 contrast the Waziri suffixation forms with those of General Pashto.

	Masculine	Feminine
Direct	<i>يو</i> yaw	<i>يو</i> yaw
	<i>يوه</i> yawə	<i>يوه</i> yawā
Oblique		<i>يو</i> yaw
		<i>يوه</i> yawā
		<i>يوې</i> yawé
Ablative		
Vocative	--	--

Table 6.31: GP *يو* /yaw/ ‘one’

Inflectional suffixes, while common, are optional on number names, as can be seen in sentences 6.26 and 6.27, where *four* takes a feminine plural direct suffix in the first example but is uninflected in the second. Inflection tends to be more frequent with *يو* /yaw/ ‘one’ and *دوه* /dwa/ ‘two’: compare the forms for *four* and *one* in sentence 6.28, where both tokens of *four* are uninflected while *one* is inflected. (Note these are nominal, not adjectival, uses.) The number name *يو* /yaw/ ‘one’ takes singular suffixes and all other number names take plural ones.

	Masculine	Feminine
Direct	yo	yawá
Oblique	yawá	yawé

Table 6.32: Waziri /yaw/ ‘one’

	Masculine	Feminine
Direct	دوه dwa	دوه dwa
	دو du	دوې dwe
		دو du
Oblique	دوه dwa	
	دو du	
	دوو dwo	
Ablative		
Vocative	--	--

Table 6.33: GP دوه /dwa/ ‘two’

	Masculine	Feminine
Direct	dwa	dwé
Oblique	dwé	dwé

Table 6.34: Waziri /dwa/ ‘two’

	Masculine	Feminine
Direct	درې dre	
Oblique	درې dre درو dro	
Ablative		
Vocative	--	--

Table 6.35: GP درې /dre/ 'three'

	Masculine	Feminine
Direct	څلور tsalor	څلور tsalor څلورې tsalore
Oblique	څلور tsalor څلورو tsaloro	
Ablative		
Vocative	--	--

Table 6.36: GP څلور /tsalor/ 'four'

(6.26) کمپیوټر کولای شي چې لاندې څلورې بنسټيزې دندې سرته ورسوي .

kompyuṭar-Ø kaw-əl-ay š-i ĉe
 computer-M.DIR do.CONT-PST-OPT become.CONT.PRS-PRS.3[SG.M] COMP
lānde tsalor-e bansaṭiz-e dand-e sar ta
 below **four-PL.F.DIR** basic-PL.F.DIR task-PL.F.DIR head to
wá-rasaw-i
 AOR-deliver-PRS.3[SG.M]

‘A computer can perform the **four** basic tasks below.’

(6.27) ذهن څلور دندې سرته رسوي .

zahān-Ø tsalor dand-e sar ta Ø-rasaw-i
 brain-M.DIR **four** task-PL.F.DIR head to CONT-deliver-PRS.3[SG.M]

‘The brain performs **four** tasks.’

(6.28) په روان کال کي په ټوله حوزه کي نهه د پوليو پېښي ثبت سوي دي چي څلور يي په هلمند ، څلور په کندهار او يوه په فراه ولايت کي ده .

pə rawān-Ø kāl ki pə ṭul-a hawza-Ø ki nəha də
 in... current-M.OBL year ...in in... all-F.DIR area-F.DIR ...in nine of
poliyo pex-e sabt šúw-e
 Polio event-PL.F.DIR registration become.AOR.PST-PTCP.PL.F.DIR
di ĉe tsalor ye pə helmand-Ø tsalor pə
 be.CONT.PRS.3PL.F COMP **four** 3.WK in... Helmand-M **four** in...
kandahār-Ø aw yaw-a pə farāh-Ø walāyat-Ø ki
 Kandahar-M and **one-F.DIR** in... Farah-F province-M ...in
da
 be.CONT.PRS.3SG.F

‘So far this year, nine cases of polio have been recorded in the region, of which **four** were in Helmand, **four** were in Kandahar, and **one** was in Farah.’⁴

As in General Pashto, Waziri number names are difficult to categorize into regular nominal or adjectival classes. The number name /yaw/ ‘one’ is inflected for both gender and case, while /dwa/ ‘two’ is inflected only for gender. Other declinable cardinal number names are /šəl/ ‘twenty’, /səl/ ‘hundred’, and /zər/ ‘thousand’, which are declined as masculine nouns as shown in Table 6.37.

⁴ Standardized version of 6.28: په روان کال کي په ټوله حوزه کي نهه د پوليو پېښي ثبت شوي دي چي څلور يي په هلمند ، څلور په کندهار او يوه په فراه کي ده .

	šəl ‘twenty’	səl ‘hundred’	zər ‘thousand’
Direct	šəl-ina səl-gina	saw-a	zər-gina
Oblique	šəl-ine səl-gine	saw-e	zər-gine

Table 6.37: Waziri plural forms of declinable number names

6.5.1.2 Inventory

The words for *two* through *ten*, and all the tens afterward (20, 30, 40, etc.), must simply be learned. Compound number names are usually constructed as follows:

- for numbers 11–19, a form of the relevant single number name plus a form of لَس /las/ ‘ten’;
- for numbers 21–29, a form of the relevant single number plus, rather than شَل /šəl/ ‘twenty’, a different form, وِیشت /wišt/ ‘twenty’;
- for numbers 31 and above, a form of the relevant single number combined phrasally with دېرش /derš/ ‘thirty’, خلوېښت /tsalwéxt/ ‘forty’, پنځوس /pandzós/ ‘fifty’, and so on.

Between 11 and 19 and between 21 and 29, the “ones” part of the compound often undergoes some change. Between 31 and 69, alternate forms of *two* and *three* may be used (so, دوه /dwa/ ‘two’ but دو دېرش /du derš/ ‘thirty-two’ or دوه دېرش /dwa derš/ ‘thirty-two’, درې /dre/ ‘three’ but درې دېرش /dri derš/ ‘thirty-three’), but other “ones” do not change; between 71 and 99, شپږ /špag/ ‘six’ undergoes a vowel change in compounds; for example, شپږ اويا /špəg awyā/ ‘seventy-six’. The word سل /səl/ ‘hundred’ has an irregular plural سوه /séwa/ ‘hundreds’; above one hundred, number names are combined without further irregularity.

Variants on this basic system exist. Many speakers of Pashto, instead of (or as an alternative to) خلوېښت /tsalwéxt/ ‘forty’, may use دوه شلې /dwa šəle/ ‘two score’^{NE} (or دوې شلې /dwe šəli/ ‘two score’^{SE}). Above 20, multiples of 20 may have this alternate *-score* form; some speakers also have *half-score* forms for multiples of 10, such as شپږ نېمې شلې /špəg nemi šəli/ ‘six and a half score’ (130), and one or another special form for *ninety*, either اړن خلوړ نېمې شلې /en tsalor nemi šəli/ ‘four and a half score’ or لس کم سل /ləs kəm səl/ ‘ten less [than a] hundred’.

In further variations of the basic counting system, larger numbers ending in *-nine* are often given as, for example, *يو کم پنځوس* /yo kəm pānɔs/ ‘one less [than] fifty’ rather than as *نہ څلوېښت* /nə tsalwɛxt/ ‘forty-nine’. Some speakers have this subtractive form as far back as numbers that end in *-seven*, going from *شپږ دېرش* /ʃpəg dɛrʃ/ ‘thirty-six’ to *درې کم څلوېښت* /dre kəm tsalwɛxt/ ‘three less [than] forty’. Finally, some large number names can be given in terms of which large round number they exceed, as in *د پاسه سل* /naha də pāsa səl/ ‘nine above a hundred’ for 109 (or even *انه د پاسه څلور نیمې شلې* /atə də pāsa tsalor nimi šəli/ ‘eight above four and a half score’— that is, 98). Further research will be required to identify which groups of Pashto speakers use which counting systems and under what circumstances.

Table 6.38 shows the number names through 20 and some of the variation in larger number names for General Pashto. It also includes the numerals in Pashto script, previously shown in Table 3.13; notice that although Pashto words are written right to left, numbers with more than one digit are written from left to right, so ٧١ ‘71’ and ١٧ ‘17’.

Some forms of Waziri that contrast with those of General Pashto are given in Section 6.5.1.2.

Table 6.38: GP numerals and number names

Arabic numeral	Pashto numeral	Additive and 10-based forms	Subtractive and 20-based forms
1	١	يو yaw ‘one’	
2	٢	دوه dwa ‘two’	
3	٣	درې dre ‘three’	
4	٤ or ٤	څلور tsəlór ‘four’ ^w səlór ^E	
5	٥ or ٥	پنځه pinzə ‘five’ pīnɔzə ^{sw}	
6	٦ or ٦	شپږ špəz ‘six’ ^w špəg ^E	
7	٧	اووه uwə ‘seven’	
8	٨	اته atə ‘eight’	
9	٩	نه nə ‘nine’ ^w nəhə ^E	
10	١٠	لس las ‘ten’	
11	١١	يوولس yəwəlas ‘eleven’	

Table 6.38: (continued)

Arabic numeral	Pashto numeral	Additive and 10-based forms	Subtractive and 20-based forms
12	۱۲	دولس dwólas 'twelve' ^w dólas ^E duolas ^{SW} dəwolas ^{SE}	
13	۱۳	ديارلس dyārlas 'thirteen'	
14	۱۴	څورلس tswārlas 'fourteen'	
15	۱۵	پنځلس pinzōlas 'fifteen' pinčōlas ^{SW}	
16	۱۶	شپاړس špāras 'sixteen'	
17	۱۷	اوولس owólas 'seventeen'	
18	۱۸	اتلس atōlas 'eighteen'	
19	۱۹	نونس núnas 'nineteen' ^w	
		نولس núlas ^E	
20	۲۰	شل šəl 'twenty'	'[one] score'
21	۲۱	يوويشت yā-wišť 'one [and] twenty' ^w yāwīšť ^E	
29	۲۹	نههويشت nəhə-wišť 'nine [and] twenty'	يو کم دېرش yo kəm derš 'one less [than] thirty'
		نه ويشت نوويشت nə-wišť ^{SE,NW}	يو کم دېرش yo kəm ders 'one less [than] thirty' ^{SE}
30	۳۰	دېرش derš 'thirty'	
		دېرس ders ^{SE}	
31	۳۱	يودېرش yaw-derš 'one [and] thirty'	

Table 6.38: (continued)

Arabic numeral	Pashto numeral		Additive and 10-based forms		Subtractive and 20-based forms
37	۳۷	اوه دېرش	wə-derš 'seven [and] thirty'	درې کم خلو پښت	dre kəm tsalwext 'three less [than] forty'
38	۳۸	اته دېرش	atə-derš 'eight [and] thirty'	دوه کم خلو پښت	dwa kəm tsalwext 'two less [than] forty'
39	۳۹	ننه دېرش	nəhə-derš 'nine [and] thirty'	يو کم خلو پښت	yo kəm tsalwext 'one less [than] forty'
40	۴۰	خلو پښت	tsalwext 'forty'	دوه شلي	dwa šəli 'two score'
49	۴۹	ننه خلو پښت	nəhə-tsalwext 'nine [and] forty'	يو کم پنځوش	yo kəm pandzos 'one less [than] fifty'
50	۵۰	پنځوس	pandzos 'fifty'		
60	۶۰	شپېته	špetə 'sixty'	درې شلي	dre šəli 'three score'
70	۷۰	اویا	awyā 'seventy'		
80	۸۰	اتیا	atyā 'eighty'	خلور شلي	tsalor šəli 'four score'
88	۸۸	اته اتیا	atə-atyā 'eight [and] eighty'	دوه کم خلور نیمي شلي	dwa kəm tsalor nimi šəli 'two less [than] four and a half score'
89	۸۹	ننه اتیا	nəhə-atyā 'nine [and] eighty'	يو کم خلور نیمي شلي	yo kəm tsalor nimi šəli 'one less [than] four and a half score'
				يوولس کم سل	yəwoləs kəm səl 'eleven less [than a] hundred'
90	۹۰	نوي	nəwi 'ninety'	خلور نیمي شلي	tsalor nimi šəli 'four and a half score'

Table 6.38: (continued)

Arabic numeral	Pashto numeral	Additive and 10-based forms	Subtractive and 20-based forms
			لس کم سل las kəm səl 'ten less [than a] hundred'
98	۹۸	اته نوي atə-nəwi 'eight [and] ninety'	دوه کم سل dwa kəm səl 'two less [than a] hundred'
			اته د پاسه څلور نيمې شلي atə də pāsa tsalor nimi šəli 'eight above four and a half score'
99	۹۹	نهه نوي nəhə-nəwi 'nine [and] ninety'	يو کم سل yo kəm səl 'one less [than a] hundred'
100	۱۰۰	سل səl '[a] hundred'	
101	۱۰۱	يو سلو يو yo səlu yo 'one hundred one'	
		يو د پاسه سل yo də pāsa səl 'one above a hundred'	
110	۱۱۰	يو سلو لس yo səlu las 'one hundred ten'	
		لس د پاسه سل las də pāsa səl 'ten above a hundred'	
120	۱۲۰	يو سلو شل yo səlu šəl 'one hundred twenty'	شپږ شلي špəg šəli 'six score'
121	۱۲۱	يو سلو يو ویشته yo səlu yaw-wišt 'one hundred one [and] twenty'	يو د پاسه شپږ شلي yo də pāsa špəg šəli 'one above six score'
129	۱۲۹	يو سلو نهه ويشته yo səlu nəhə-wišt 'one hundred nine [and] twenty'	يو کم يو سلو دېرش yo kəm yo səlu derš 'one less [than] thirty and a hundred'

Table 6.38: (continued)

Arabic numeral	Pashto numeral		Additive and 10-based forms		Subtractive and 20-based forms
				يو کم شپږ نيمي شلي	yo kām špæg nimi šəli ‘one less [than] six and a half score’
130	۱۳۰	يو سل دېرش	yo səl derš ‘one hundred thirty’	شپږ نيمي شلي	špæg nimi šəli ‘six and a half score’
139	۱۳۹	يو سل نهه دېرش	yo səl nəhə-derš ‘one hundred nine [and] thirty’	يو کم يو شلو خلو بنېست	yo kām yo səlu tsalwext ‘one hundred [and] one less [than] forty’
				يو کم اووه شلي	yo kām uwə šəli ‘one less [than] seven score’
199	۱۹۹	يو سل نهه نوي	yo səl nəhə-nəwi ‘one hundred nine [and] ninety’	يو کم دوه سوه	yo kām dwa səwa ‘one less [than] two hundred’
200	۲۰۰	دوه سوه	dwa səwa ‘two hundred’		
1000	۱۰۰۰	زر (يو)	(yo) zər ‘(one) thousand’		
1001	۱۰۰۱	يو زر يو	yo zər yo ‘one thousand one’		
		يو د پاسه زر	yo də pāsa zər ‘one above a thousand’		
2000	۲۰۰۰	دوه زره	dwa zəra ‘two thousand’		
10,000	۱۰۰۰۰	لس زره	las zəra ‘ten thousand’		
100,000	۱۰۰۰۰۰	سل زره	səl zəra ‘[a] hundred thousand’		

Table 6.38: (continued)

Arabic numeral	Pashto numeral	Additive and 10-based forms	Subtractive and 20-based forms
		يو لک	yo lak 'one hundred-thousand'
1,000,000	١٠٠٠٠٠٠	لس لکه	las laka 'ten hundred-thousand'
10,000,000	١٠٠٠٠٠٠٠	يو کروړ	yo krór 'one ten-million'
		سل لکه	səl laka '[a] hundred hundred-thousand'

The inventory of Waziri cardinal number names is very close to that of GP dialects described in Section 6.5.1.2. Forms that differ are listed in Table 6.39.

In Middle dialects as in General Pashto, the number /šəl/ 'twenty' can be used to count by scores, as in /dre kam owa šəla/ 'three less than seven score [137]' or /špəz bondi owa šəla/ 'six over seven score [146]'. The word /šəl/, meaning 'hundred thousand' in General Pashto, is not used to express an exact number; rather, it denotes some unspecified large number.

Number	General Pashto	Waziri
1	يو yaw 'one'	yo
7	اووه uwá 'seven'	owa
8	اته até 'eight'	wota, otan
18	اتلس atálas 'eighteen'	wotalas
19	نونس núnas 'nineteen' w	ninas
40	خلوېښت tsalwext 'forty'	tsalwešt
70	اویا awyā 'seventy'	avia

Table 6.39: Waziri number names that differ from GP forms

6.5.2 Ordinal numbers in General Pashto and Waziri

According to Tegey & Robson (1996: 83), there is no conventional way to express ordinal numbers using numerals. Ordinal number names, however, are formed by adding the suffix *سم* /-ám/ (/-ám/ in the Western dialect) to the cardinal number name, as in *څلور* /tsalór/ 'four': *څلورم* /tsalorám/ 'fourth'. (Penzl 1955: 76.2) reports in addition the allomorphs /yám/ and /hám/ f.) Unlike most cardinals, ordinals inflect for number and gender, as well as case. They decline according to the special vowel-stem alternation paradigm in Class I, as discussed in Section 6.2.1.1.2 and shown in Table 6.40 for *لسم* /lasám/ 'tenth'.

If the cardinal number name ends in a vowel, this vowel is dropped before the suffix is added—*اته* /até/ 'eight': *اتم* /atám/ 'eighth'—but the vowels on a few number names are not dropped; instead, an epenthetic glide or sometimes an /h/ is added:

دوه /dwa/ 'two': *دویم* /dwayám, dwahám/ 'second'

درې /dre/ 'three': *درېم* /dreyám, drehám/ 'third'

نه /nə/ 'nine': *نم* /nəm/ 'ninth'; *نهم* /nəhəm/ 'ninth' (but *نهه* /nəhə/ 'nine')

نهم /nəm/, *نهمم* /nəhám/ 'ninth'

اویا /awyā/ 'seventy': *اویایم* /awyāyám/ 'seventieth'

نوی /nəwi/ 'ninety': *نویم* /nəwiyám/ 'ninetieth'

The ordinal *first* is entirely irregular; it may appear as *لومړی* /wɾumbáy/, *لومړی* /lumɾáy/, or the Arabic *اول* /awāl/. Each of these declines as a regular member of Class IIIa (in the case of *لومړی* /wɾumbáy/ and *لومړی* /lumɾáy/) or Class I (in the case of *اول* /awāl/).

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	لسم lasám	لسم lasám _E lasóm _W	لسمه lasáma	لسمي lasáme _E لسمي lasómi _W
Oblique		لسمو lasámo _E lasómo _W	لسمي lasáme _E لسمي lasómi _W	لسمو lasámo _E lasómo _W
Ablative	لسمه lasáma			
Vocative				

Table 6.40: GP Class I: لسم /lasám/ ‘tenth’

Ordinal numbers in Waziri are formed as in General Pashto, with a few exceptions. As in Pashto, the Waziri ordinals for *first*, *second*, and *third* show irregular forms, as does *ninth*; these are shown in Table 6.41.

	Masculine	Feminine
first	awwal	awwala
	dwayam	dwayama
second	dweyam	dweyama
	dwawam	dwawama
third	dreyam	dreyama
ninth	nem	nemma

Table 6.41: Waziri irregular ordinal number names

6.5.3 Reduplication of number names

The full reduplication of number names denotes iteration of individuals or groups (see Babrakzai 1999: 48).

(6.29) شاگردان درې درې راغل .

šāgərd-ān dre dre rāy-əl
 student-PL.M.ANIM.DIR **three three** come.AOR.PST-PST.3PL.M
 ‘The students came in threes.’^(NW)

(6.30) زه هر وخت پنځه پنځه کلمان گرزوم .

za har waxt **pində pində** kalam-ān
 1SG.STR.DIR every time **five five** pen-PL.M.ANIM.DIR
 Ø-gərzaw-ām
 CONT-carry-1SG
 ‘I always carry five pens.’^(SW)

6.6 Interrogative adjectives

The interrogative adjectives that occur in Pashto are shown in Table 6.42. They do not inflect for case or number. Only the first two forms show gender concord, and کوم /kum/ ‘which?’ does so optionally.

Interrogative adjectives of Waziri are described in Table 6.43.

GP	Translation
کوم kum (masculine); کوم kum or کومه kumə (feminine)	‘which?’
څووم tsowəm (masculine) څوومه tsowəmə (feminine)	‘which [number]?’
څه tsə	‘what?’
څو tso	‘how many?’
څومره tsumra, tsomra	‘how much?’
tsona	

Table 6.42: GP interrogative adjectives

Waziri	Translation
kim (masculine); kim or kima (feminine)	‘which?’
tsowəm, sowəm (masculine) tsowəmə, sowəmə (feminine)	‘which [number]?’
tso, so	‘how many?’
tsura, sura	‘how much?’

Table 6.43: Waziri interrogative adjectives

Pashto has two words corresponding to English *which?*: کوم /kum/ ‘which?’ and څووم /tsowəm/, /sowəm/ ‘which [number]?’’. The answer to a کوم /kum/ ‘which?’ question would focus on some attribute (e.g., *the brown one*), while the answer to a څووم /tsowəm/, /sowəm/ ‘which [number]?’ question would include an ordinal number (e.g., *the fifth one*). The interrogative کوم /kum/ ‘which?’ is optionally invariant

with respect to gender or may take the feminine form *کومه* /kumə/ ‘which?’ (feminine), while *خووم* /tsowəm/, /sowəm/ ‘which [number]?’ has the feminine form *خوومه* /tsowəmə/, /sowəmə/ ‘which [number]?’ (feminine).

Some examples of their use are shown in sentences 6.31 through 6.35.

(6.31) *کوم سپی دې ولید؟*

kum-Ø *sp-ay* *de* *wá-lid-Ø*
which-M.DIR dog-M.DIR 2.WK AOR-see.PST-PST.3SG.M
 ‘Which dog did you see?’^(NW)

(6.32) *خووم کس دې پکار دی؟*

sowəm-Ø *kas-Ø* *de* *pākār day*
which-M.DIR [number] person-M.DIR 2.WK need be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M
 ‘Which [number] person do you need?’^(NW)

(6.33) *په څه بلا اخته شوی؟*

pə *tsə* *balā-Ø* *axtə* *šáw-i*
 INSTR **what** catastrophe-F.OBL affected become.AOR.PST-2SG
 ‘What catastrophe happened to you?’^(SW)

Pashto interrogative adjectives distinguish between count nouns and mass nouns. The former is *خو* /tso/, /so/ ‘how many?’. The latter is *خومره* /tsumra/, /sumra/ ‘how much?’.

(6.34) *خو سپی دې ولیدل؟*

so *sp-i* *de* *wá-lid-əl*
how.many dog-PL.M.DIR 2.WK AOR-see.PST-PST.3PL.M
 ‘How many dogs did you see?’^(NW)

(6.35) *خومره وریجې دې وخوړې؟*

sumra *wrij-e* *de* *wá-xwāř-e*
how.much rice-PL.F.DIR 2.WK AOR-eat.PST-PST.3PL.F
 ‘How much rice did you eat?’^(NW)

(6.37) غریبو هیوادونو ته پکار دي چې ... هغوي ته دې تعلیم، دهستوگنې
ځای، دڅښلو لپاره صحې اوبه اودصحت آسانتیاوې برابرې کړي.

yarb-o hewād-uno tā pākār day
west-PL.M.OBL country-PL.M.OBL to necessary be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M
če ... haywi tā de talim-Ø dā astogān-e
COMP ... 3PL.STR.OBL to NEC education-M.DIR of residence-F.OBL
ḍāy-Ø dā tsāk-əl-o lā pār-a sahi
place-M.DIR of drink-INF-PL.M.OBL from sake-M.ABL healthy
oba-Ø aw dā saḥāt-Ø āsāntiyā-we
water-F.DIR and of health-M.OBL facility-**PL.F.DIR**
barābār-e *kṛ-i*
prepared-PL.F.DIR do.AOR-PRS.3[PL.M]

‘Western nations need to provide them with education, a place of residence, clean drinking water, and health facilities.’⁶

6.8 Derivation of adjectives

Pashto has several derivational suffixes and two prefixes that can be used to derive adjectives from nouns or verbs. They can affix to either native or borrowed words, as seen in the examples below. Adjectives can also form compounds, usually with nouns, to derive a new adjective. Descriptions and examples of all of these derived forms follow.

6.8.1 Derivational suffixes

Adjectives formed by the addition of suffixes vary as to which declension class they belong to. The examples below are arranged by class.

6.8.1.1 Some Class I derivational suffixes

- *-man* /-man/

ستونځه /stundza/ ‘problem’ → ستونځمن /stundzman/ ‘troublesome, problematic, difficult’

واک /wāk/ ‘power’ → واکمن /wākmán/ ‘powerful’

⁶ Standardized version of 6.37: د هغوي ته دې تعلیم، دهستوگنې، د ځای، د څښلو لپاره صحې اوبه او د صحت آسانتیاوې برابرې کړي. هسټوگنې ځای، د څښلو لپاره صحې اوبه او د صحت آسانتیاوې برابرې کړي.

قدر /qádar/ ‘quantity; honor, merit’ → قدرمن /qadarmán/ ‘esteemed’

- ییز /-iz/

سوله /sóla/ ‘peace’ → سوله ییز /sólayiz/ ‘peaceful’

پوهنه /pohéna/ ‘knowledge; education’ → پوهنیز /pohéniz/ ‘academic’

- ین /-in/

This suffix applies most often to nouns denoting a material.

پشم /pašm/ ‘wool’ → پشمین /pašmín/ ‘woolen’

زر /zar/ ‘precious metal; gold’ → زرین /zarín/ ‘golden; gilded’

- م /-ám/ _ε م /-ám/ _w

This suffix forms ordinal number names from cardinals. See Section 6.5.2 for more detail.

پنځه /pinzô/ ‘five’ → پنځم /pinzôm/ ‘fifth’

- جن /-jân/

زهر /zahr/ ‘poison’ → زهرجن /zahrjân/ ‘poisonous’

غم /ɣam/ ‘sorrow’ → غمجن /ɣamjân/ ‘sad’

- دار /-dâr/

آب /âb/ ‘water’ → آبدار /âbdâr/ ‘watery’

سرمایه /sarmâyâ/ ‘capital’ → سرمایه دار /sarmâyadâr/ ‘wealthy’

- ور /-(a)war/

زور /zor/ ‘strength, force’ → زورور /zorawâr/ ‘strong’

خوند /xwand/ ‘taste’ → خوندور /xwandawâr/ ‘tasty’

خوله /xwulá/ ‘mouth; lips’ → خوله ور /xwulawâr/ ‘eloquent; sharp-tongued’

- ناک /-nāk/

خطر /xatâr/ ‘[Arabic] danger; risk’ → خطرناک /xatarnāk/ ‘dangerous’

همت /himmat/ ‘[Arabic] magnanimity; mercy’ → همتناک /himmatnāk/ ‘magnanimous; noble’

- وال /-wāl/

وسله /waslá/ ‘weapon’ → وسله وال /waslawâl/ ‘armed’

6.8.1.2 Some Class IIIa derivational suffixes

- نى /-(a)náy/

This suffix is usually affixed to words having to do with time or location.

بیره /bíra/ ‘haste; urgency’ → بیرینی /biṛínáy/ ‘urgent; emergency [ADJ]’

کال /kāl/ ‘year’ → کالنی /kālanáy/ ‘annual’

- یی /-áy/

This suffix is usually affixed to place names to describe a denizen of that place.

جاپان /jāpān/ ‘Japan’ → جاپانی /jāpānáy/ ‘Japanese’

6.8.1.3 Some Class IV (non-declining) derivational suffixes

- یی /-í/

This suffix is added to nouns—often loanwords, as in the first example below—or names of countries.

دایم /dāīm/ ‘permanence [Arabic]’ → دایمی /dāīmí/ ‘permanent’

نېشه /nešá/ ‘intoxication’ → نېشە یی /nešayí/ ‘addictive’

امریکا /amrikā/ ‘America’ → امریکای /amrikāí/ ‘American’

- والای /-wālā/

پانگه /pānga/ ‘wealth’ → پانگوالای /pāngwālā/ ‘wealthy’

6.8.2 Negators

The first of these negators are prefixes.

- بې /be-/ ‘without; -less’

This prefix, from Persian, is affixed to nouns; the resultant form is an adjective often translatable into a phrase governed by *without* or into an English adjective with the suffix *-less*. بې /be-/ is generally, but not always, written as a separate word, reflecting its origins as an adposition (see Section 9.3.3 for a description and some examples of this usage); however, the two morphemes function as a single word. Adjectives formed in this way can fall in either Class I or Class IV. With the addition of the یی /-i/ suffix, these derived adjectives can further form Class IIIa nouns (see Section 5.4.1).

آب /āb/ ‘honor’ → بې آب /beāb/ ‘shameless; dishonored’

اولاد /awlād/ ‘[Arabic] child’ → بی اولاده /beawlāda/ ‘childless’

کور /kor/ ‘house’ → بی کوره /bekóra/ ‘homeless’

شک /šak/ ‘doubt’ → بی شکه /bešaka/ ‘irrefutable’

- نا- /nā-/ ‘not; un-’

This prefix attaches to adjectives and negates them; adjectives thus derived remain in the same declension class.

روا /rawā/ ‘permitted; acceptable’ → ناروا /nārawā/ ‘not allowed; improper’

دوستانه /dostānā/ ‘friendly’ → نادوستانه /nāдостānā/ ‘unfriendly’

The postposition ضدی /zidi/ ‘against, anti-’ (see Section 9.4.4) can govern an adpositional phrase that can be used attributively or predicatively to modify nouns:

دا دواړه اسلامي ضدي پډيدي دي. (6.38)

dā dwār-a islāmi zidi padid-e

this.DIR both-PL.DIR Islamic **against** phenomenon-PL.F.DIR

di

be.CONT.PRS.3PL.F

‘These events are both **contrary to** Islam.’

6.8.3 Compound adjectives

Adjective and noun pairs can combine into a single compound adjective; the resulting form usually inflects as a Class IIIb adjective (Section 6.2.1.3.2). The order of the elements in the compound can be either noun–adjective or adjective–noun, and they may be written separately.

پلار /plār/ ‘father’ + مړ /mər/ ‘dead’ → پلارمړی /plārməray/ ‘fatherless; orphaned’

(Cf. بی پلاره /beplāra/ ‘fatherless’, which uses the negative prefix بی /be-/.)

سپين /spin/ ‘white’ + مخ /məx/ ‘face’ → سپين مخی /spinməxay/ ‘white-faced; honest; innocent’

6.8.4 Reduplication of adjectives

Full reduplication of adjectives in Pashto may quantify over events rather than (or in addition to; see Babrakzai 1999: 48) intensifying the quality denoted.

(6.39) ما خواړه خواړه ياران لرل .

mā *xwāg-ə* *xwāg-ə* *yār-ān*
 1SG.STR.OBL **sweet-PL.M.DIR** **sweet-PL.M.DIR** friend-PL.M.ANIM.DIR
Ø-lar-əl
 CONT-have-PST.3PL.M

‘I had many good friends.’^(NW)To intensify an adjective, Pashto also uses *ډېر* /*ḍer*/ ‘much’.

(6.40) ما ډېر خواړه ياران لرل .

mā ***ḍer-Ø*** *xwāg-ə* *yār-ān*
 1SG.STR.OBL **much-PL.M.DIR** sweet-PL.M.DIR friend-PL.M.ANIM.DIR
Ø-lar-əl
 CONT-have-PST.3PL.M

‘I had **very** good friends.’^(NW)

6.9 Usage

6.9.1 Attributive and predicative adjectives

Adjectives may be used attributively or predicatively. Predicative adjectives are always used in intransitive constructions, usually with a form of the verb *to be*, so they always appear in the direct case form; but they do agree in gender and number with the subject of the intransitive construction in which they appear.

(6.41) مشران وروڼه مې راغلل .

māšr-ān *wruṇa* *me* *rāyl-əl*
older-PL.M.DIR brothers.M.DIR 1SG.WK come.AOR.PST-PST.3PL.M

‘My **older** brothers arrived.’

(6.42) پوهنتون نژدې دى .

pohantun-Ø ***nəžde*** *dəy*
 university-M.DIR **near** be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M

‘The university is **nearby**.’^(W)

(6.43) غټ غويي کراچي کشه کره .

yaṭ-Ø *γway-i* *karāč-e* *kašá* *kṛ-a*
big-M.OBL bull-M.OBL cart-F.DIR pulled do.AOR-PST.3SG.F

‘The **big** bull pulled the cart.’

(6.44) غويي غټ دی .

γway-ay *yaṭ-Ø* *day*
 bull-M.DIR **big-M.DIR** be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M

‘The bull is **big**.’

(6.45) غوا غټه ده .

γwā-Ø *yaṭ-a* *da*
 cow-F.DIR **big-F.DIR** be.CONT.PRS.3SG.F

‘The cow is **big**.’

6.9.2 Zero-derivation of nouns from adjectives

Pashto adjectives may be used as if they were nouns. When this occurs the adjective may be declined normally, as if there were a noun present; or, reflecting a gradual nominalization of such an adjective by speakers, it may be declined as if it were a noun, in which event it will take the suffixes of the noun class most closely resembling the adjective class to which it originally belonged. For example, Class I adjectives used nominally may take the animate plural suffixes *ان* /-ān/ (masc.dir.), *انې* /-āne/ (fem.dir.), *انو* /-āno/ (obl./abl./voc.), when they denote animates:

(6.46) کوم غواوي دې واخيستلې؟ غټه مې واخيستله .

kum *γwā-we* *de* *w-āxist-əl-e* *yaṭ-a*
 which cow-PL.F.DIR 2.WK AOR-buy.PST-PST-PST.3PL.F **big-F.DIR**

me *w-āxist-əl-a*
 1SG.WK AOR-buy.PST-PST-PST.3SG.F

‘Which cows did you buy? I bought a **big [one]**.’

(6.47) هغه غټې کراچي کشه کره .

háya *yaṭ-e* *karāč-i* *kašá* *kṛ-a*
 this.OBL **big-F.OBL** cart-F.DIR pulled do.AOR-PST.3SG.F

‘This **big [one]** pulled the cart.’

Adjectives in the vocative case form can be used on their own, without nouns, as noted above: *ړونده!* /*rūnda*/ ‘blind [one]!’ When used in a noun phrase, vocative adjectives are uninflected, and the nouns take the vocative form: *ړوند سرپه!* /*rund sarāya*/ ‘blind man!’

6.9.3 Comparatives and superlatives

Adjectives in Pashto do not have derived comparative or superlative forms.⁷ Comparison is accomplished with the use of adpositional phrases such as *له ... نه* /*lə ... na*/, *نه ... ده* /*də ... na*/, *څخه ... ده* /*də ... tsexa*/, or *تر* /*tər*/ ‘up to, from, than’. The superlative uses the phrase *from/of all*, formed by using one of the comparative phrases and adding *ټولو* /*ṭolo*/ ‘all’ or *ټول* /*ṭol*/ ‘whole’. Both are used with the ordinary predicative form of the adjective. See Section 9.3.5 and Section 9.5.2.1 for more discussion of comparative and superlative adpositional phrases.

(6.48) له هغه نه ډېر ستړی مېلمه راغلو.

lə hayá na ḍer-Ø stər-ay melm-a
from... that.OBL ...from more-M.DIR tired-M.DIR guest-M.DIR

rāyl-o
come.AOR.PST-PST.3SG.M

‘The guest **more tired than him** arrived.’

(6.49) له ټولو نه ډېر ستړی مېلمه راغلو.

lə ṭol-o na ḍer-Ø stər-ay melm-a
from... all-PL.M.OBL ...from more-M.DIR tired-M.DIR guest-M.DIR

rāyl-o
come.AOR.PST-PST.3SG.M

‘The **most tired** guest **of all** arrived.’

6.9.4 Adjectives as adverbs

Sometimes adjectives are used verbal or sentential modifiers. When used adverbially, however, they still show concord with the absolutive argument. See Section 10.2.7 for more discussion and some examples.

⁷ There are two special comparative adjectives in Pashto, both of which are Persian borrowings. These are *بهتر* /*behtar*/ ‘better’ and *بتر* /*batar*/ ‘worse’.

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7 Pronouns

7.1 Overview

In all varieties, Pashto pronouns generally inflect for person, gender, number, and case; only the direct and oblique cases are distinguished. The cases are used slightly differently in pronouns than in nouns and adjectives: unlike nouns, pronominal direct objects take the oblique, not the direct case form.

The pronouns of the Middle dialects behave similarly to those of General Pashto, but differ somewhat in form. Tables of Middle dialect forms, where they are known, follow the corresponding GP tables. Unless otherwise indicated in the table title or next to the form itself, the forms below can be assumed to be common to both Waziri and Dzadrani.

Pashto has two sets of personal pronouns, which we term *strong* and *weak*, following Tegey & Robson (1996: 65ff.). Strong pronouns are not restricted in their occurrence, while weak pronouns may only occur in functions where they do not agree with the verb. (See Section 7.3 for more details.)

7.2 Strong personal pronouns

7.2.1 Forms in General Pashto and Middle dialects

Called simply *personal pronouns* by Penzl (1955), Shafeev (1964), and Heston (1992), strong personal pronouns¹ distinguish between direct and oblique case in the singular, but not in the plural. As in many languages, the plural second person forms are also used for formal second-person address. Only the third person singular forms distinguish gender. In the singular first and second persons, the strong personal pronouns appear in the oblique case in the direct object of present tense sentences, unlike nouns, which appear in the direct case in this position.

An additional pronoun, هغه /hayá/, can be used with distal third person reference. It is related to the medial demonstratives described in Section 7.5, but unlike them it has final stress. هغه /hayá/ does not inflect in either gender in the singular direct, and these singular forms are also the same in the masculine singular oblique. Feminine singular oblique, plural direct, and plural oblique each have their own forms.

¹ Penzl (1955) and Heston (1992) analyze personal pronouns as only occurring in the first and second persons, with the function of third person personal pronouns being filled by a subset of the demonstratives.

	1st		2nd	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	زه zə	مونڭر mung ^E munʒ ^W	ته tə	تاسې tāse ^E تاسې tāsi ^W
Oblique	ما mā	مونڭره mungə ^E munʒə ^W	تا tā	تاسو tāsu tāso

Table 7.1: GP strong pronouns, 1st and 2nd person

	1st		2nd	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	zə	miʒ miʒ(a) ^{DZA}	tə	tós(e) ^E
Oblique	mo		to	

Table 7.2: Middle dialect strong pronouns, 1st and 2nd person

	Singular		Plural
	Masculine	Feminine	
Direct	دی day	دا dā	دوی duy دیو díó
Oblique	ده də	دې de	

Table 7.3: GP strong pronouns, 3rd person

	Singular		Plural
	Masculine	Feminine	
Direct	day	do	dəy derde ^{WAZ}
Oblique	də	di de	doy ^{DZA}

Table 7.4: Middle dialect strong pronouns, 3rd person

	Singular		Plural
	Masculine	Feminine	
Direct	هغه hayə́ hayá həyə́		هغوی hayúy ayúy
Oblique	ayá ayə́	هغې hayé ayé	هغوی hayúy ayúy هغو hayó ayó

Table 7.5: Distal 3rd person pronoun هغه /hayá/

Another pronoun, *دغه* /dayá/, inflects just like *هغه* /hayá/. It appears to connote something about information status; for example, perhaps the speaker cannot remember the name of the person or thing intended, or wishes to conceal it. Forms with *دغه* /dayá/ may also serve as discourse-anaphoric elements, as in 7.1 and 7.2:

(7.1) *دغه مي ويل ...*

dayá *mi* *Ø-way-ál*
this.DIR 1SG.WK CONT-tell.PST-PST.PL.M

‘I was saying...’

In 7.1, the speaker is not really focusing on what he was going to say. In contrast, in 7.2, the speaker is communicating specifically about what he was going to say:

(7.2) *هغه مي ويل .*

hayá *mi* *Ø-way-ál*
that.DIR 1SG.WK CONT-tell.PST-PST.PL.M

‘That is what I was going to say.’

As mentioned, demonstratives and strong pronouns have many overlapping forms. For forms that are segmentally identical we have said that the strong pronouns are stressed on the last syllable, while the demonstratives are stressed on the first syllable. Penzl (1955) and Heston (1992) provide an additional perspective on this stress alternation. Forms with final stress can be said to be anaphoric. In contrast, forms with initial stress can be said to be anticipatory, emphatic, or exophoric.

Examples 7.3 and 7.4 illustrate final-stressed anaphoric pronouns:

(7.3) *پس له هغه*

pas lə hay-á
 after from **that-M.OBL**

‘after that’

(7.4) *و هغه ځای ته*

wə hay-á dzāy-Ø tə
 to... **that-M.OBL** place-M.OBL ...to

‘to that place’

In contrast, consider 7.40 and 7.41, which show initial-stress indexical usage: they introduce something new.

7.2.2 Usage

Pashto is known as a pro-drop language. Since Pashto verbs show person agreement, strong pronouns can carry redundant information, and may therefore be omitted when they agree with the verb. For example, either 7.5, with an explicit pronoun, or 7.6, without one, is correct; context will usually determine whether or not to omit the pronoun. Including the pronoun might be done when starting a conversation or otherwise introducing new information, or for emphasis, as in 7.7:

(7.5) زه امریکای یم .

zə amrikāyi yəm
1SG American be.CONT.PRS.1SG
 ‘I’m American.’

(7.6) امریکای یم .

amrikāyi yəm
 American be.CONT.PRS.1SG
 ‘I’m American.’

(7.7) زه وړی نه یم خو دی وړی دی او دا تری ده .

zə wəz-ay nā yəm xu
1SG.STR.DIR hungry-M.DIR NEG be.CONT.PRS.1SG but
day wəz-ay dəy aw
3SG.M.STR.DIR hungry-M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M and
dā təz-əy də
3SG.F.STR.DIR thirsty-F.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.F

‘I’m not hungry, but **he** is hungry and **she** is thirsty.’^(sw)

In accordance with split ergativity, the Pashto verb agrees with the subject in the present tense, and with the direct object or intransitive subject in past tense sentences; see Section 5.1.3.5 and Chapter 8.

Strong pronouns distinguish direct and oblique case forms. As with nouns, direct case forms are used for subjects in present tense sentences, as shown in 7.5, and for direct objects in past tense sentences:

(7.8) زه له خوکی جگېدم .

zə lə tsawk-əy jəg-éd-əm
1SG.STR.DIR from chair-F.OBL tall-become.CONT.PST-1SG
 ‘I was getting up from the chair.’

In past tense transitive sentences, the subject takes the oblique case form and the direct object takes the direct case form:

(7.9) . تا زه وليدم .

tā *zə* *wá-lid-əm*
2SG.STR.OBL **1SG.STR.DIR** AOR-see.PST-1SG

‘You saw **me**.’

Note that the direct object pronoun, which is the trigger of agreement, can be omitted from sentence 7.10:

(7.10) . تا وليدم .

tā *wá-lid-əm*
2SG.STR.OBL AOR-see.PST-1SG

‘You saw **me**.’

But the subject argument cannot, as shown by the ungrammatical example 7.11:

(7.11) . *زه وليدم .

zə *wá-lid-əm*
1SG.STR.DIR AOR-see.PST-1SG

‘You saw **me**.’

The oblique case form of the first and second persons in the singular is also used for the direct object in present tense sentences. Note that this use of the oblique case for a direct object is particular to these strong personal pronouns and does not occur in nouns or adjectives, where direct objects take direct case suffixes:

(7.12) . تا وينم .

tā *∅-win-əm*
2SG.STR.OBL CONT-see.PRS-1SG

‘I see **you**.’^(sw)

(7.13) . ما خوروې .

mā *∅-džəwraw-é*
1SG.STR.OBL CONT-distress-2SG

‘You disturb **me**.’^(sw)

The third person strong personal pronouns take the direct case form when serving as accusative arguments in present tense sentences. This reflects the normal behavior of the direct case in Pashto:

(7.14) ته دی وینې .

tə *day* *Ø-win-é*
 2SG.STR.DIR **3SG.M.STR.DIR** CONT-see.PRS-2SG

‘You see **him**.’

7.2.3 Strong possessive pronouns

There is a paradigm of strong personal pronouns that serve genitive functions. These forms exist only for the first and second person and appear to derive historically from the preposition *د* /də/ followed by the oblique forms of the pronouns (Babrakzai, 1999: 30). In most dialects, the *د* /də/ is lenited to a fricative and assimilated in the first and second persons, so that *س* /s/ appears before /t/ and *ز* /z/ appears before /m/. In the Eastern dialects (or, according to Tegey & Robson 1996: 70, all dialects but their Central or Kabul group), these forms may appear unreduced with a /di/ or /də/. Since there is no third person form, strong possessive pronouns do not distinguish gender.

These forms may appear in any position that would admit the corresponding phrase with *د* /də/, including as the object of what otherwise would be a circumposition containing *د* /də/ (see 8.22 for an example).

(7.15) زما موټر بیرون ولاړ دی .

zmā *moṭər-Ø* *birun* *walār-Ø* *dəy*
1SG.STR.POSS car-M.DIR outside standing-M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M

‘My car is standing outside.’^(sw)

(7.16) ستا کور چېرته دی؟

stā *kor-Ø* *čerta* *dəy*
2SG.STR.POSS house-M.DIR where be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M

‘Where is **your** home?’^(sw)

Compare 7.17 with the weak pronoun in 7.28; although either a weak or a strong pronoun is possible, the strong form can be used for emphasis while the weak form cannot.

(7.17) دا زما کتاب دی .

dā *zmā* *kitāb-Ø* *dəy*
 this.DIR **1SG.STR.POSS** book-M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M

‘This is **my** book.’^(sw)

An alternative way of expressing possession with strong pronouns (and the only way, in some dialects) is to use the construction *د* /də/ + Strong Pronoun, as in 7.18. See Section 9.3.1.1 for more discussion.

	Singular	Plural
1st	زما zmā	زمونږ zmunḡ ^E
		زمونځ zmunʒ ^W
		زموږ zmug ^E
		زموځ zmuʒ ^W
		زمونږ zmunḡæ ^E
2nd	ستا stā	ستاسې stāse ^E
		ستاسي stāsi ^W
		ستاسو stāsu ^E
		ستاسو stāso ^W

Table 7.6: Possessive pronouns

(7.18) د دې نوم څه دی؟

də de *num-∅* *tsə* *dəy*
of 3SG.F.STR.OBL name-M.OBL what be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M
 ‘What is **her** name?’^(SW)

7.3 Weak personal pronouns

7.3.1 Forms

The weak personal pronouns are also called *uninflected pronominal particles* (Penzl, 1955: 87) and *enclitic pronominal particles* (Heston, 1992: 1574). They are unstressed pronouns that do not inflect for case and cannot govern agreement with the verb, a constraint that restricts where they may occur (see Section 7.3.2 for more discussion and examples). Note that the third person uses the same form for singular and plural, and the first and second person plural each use a single form.

	Singular	Plural
1st	مي me _E	مو mo _E
	مي mi _W	مو mu _W
		ام am _W
2nd	دي de _E	
	دي di _W	
3rd	ي ye	

Table 7.7: GP weak pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1st	me _{DZA}	(ə)m _{DZA}
	be _{DZA}	
	mi _{WAZ}	
2nd	de _{DZA}	
	di _{WAZ}	
3rd	(y)e	

Table 7.8: Middle dialect weak pronouns

7.3.2 Usage

Weak pronouns may not appear in positions in which they would agree with the verb. From this fact it follows that (1) they never occur with intransitive verbs, and (2) with transitive verbs, they only occur in an accusative role in the present tense and an ergative role in the past. Thus they do not occur in either the nominative or absolutive slot. Table 7.9 summarizes the positions in which weak personal pronouns may occur or not; this pattern parallels the case-marking pattern exhibited by strong pronouns, as outlined by Table 11.6. Sentences in Section 7.3.2.1 (some of which come from Tegey & Robson 1996) illustrate these restrictions.²

	Non-past tenses	Past tenses
Transitive Subject	DOES NOT OCCUR	MAY OCCUR
Intransitive Subject		DOES NOT OCCUR
Direct Object	MAY OCCUR	

Table 7.9: Distribution pattern for weak pronouns

With the above occurrence restrictions, weak pronouns are used for subjects, direct objects, and (without further marking) possessive determiners, but not as objects of adpositions, and they do not inflect for case. In contrast with nouns, which will be in the direct case when the object of a present tense sentence and in the oblique case when the subject of a past tense transitive sentence, the weak pronouns will have the same form in these two positions.

Weak pronouns are second-position clitics - see Section 11.2.3.2 and Section 11.3.5.1 for discussion. Section 11.3.5.1 also gives examples of various positions of weak pronouns in a clause.

7.3.2.1 Occurrence restrictions

The example in 7.19 shows that a weak personal pronoun may express an accusative argument in the present tense, but the unacceptable sentences in 7.20 and 7.21 shows that it may not be in the nominative slot.

² Roberts (2001a: 127–153) offers a different analysis.

(7.19) ولي مي مچوي؟

wali **me** mač-aw-í
 why **1SG.WK** kiss-do.CONT-PRS.3[SG.M]
 ‘Why is he kissing **me**?’^(NW)

(7.20) * مچولم يي .

ye mač-aw-í mi
3.WK kiss-do.CONT-PRS.3[SG.M] 1SG.WK
 ‘**He** is kissing me.’

(7.21) * نن يي گلپيري .

nən ye Ø-gəḏ-íg-i
 today **3.WK** CONT-dance-PRS-PRS.3[SG.M]
 ‘Today **he** is dancing.’^(NW)

The sentence in 7.22 shows the acceptability of a weak pronoun as a subject in the past tense:

(7.22) مچولم يي .

mač-aw-ál-əm ye
 kiss-do.CONT-PST-1SG **3.WK**
 ‘**He** was kissing me.’

On the other hand, the unacceptable sentences in 7.23 and 7.24 show that a weak personal pronoun may not express an intransitive subject or a direct object:

(7.23) * پرون مي مچولم يي .

parun **mi** mač-aw-ál-əm ye
 yesterday **1SG.WK** kiss-do.CONT-PST-1SG 3.WK
 ‘Yesterday he was kissing **me**.’^(SW)

(7.24) * پرون يي گلپده .

parun ye Ø-gəḏ-éd-ə
 yesterday **3.WK** CONT-dance-PST-PST.3SG.M
 ‘Yesterday **he** was dancing.’^(SW)

Published sources (Tegey & Robson, 1996: 156) and our research indicate that weak pronouns cannot be the objects of adpositions. Example 7.25 shows a phrase where the weak pronoun is simply omitted. Example 7.26, which is unacceptable, and

7.27, which is acceptable, show that the weak pronoun cannot appear as the object of an adposition.

(7.25) تر پوري ولاړم .

tər porī wlāṛ-əm
up.to... ...up.to go.AOR.PST-1SG
'I went up to **it**.'^(SW)

(7.26) * پر دي خېجَم .

pər dī Ø-xej-ám
on **2.WK** CONT-step.PRS-1SG
'I step on **you**.'^(SW)

(7.27) پر تا خېجَم .

pər tā Ø-xej-ám
on **2SG.STR.OBL** CONT-step.PRS-1SG
'I step on **you**.'^(SW)

7.3.2.2 Possessive constructions

Weak pronouns are also used in possessive constructions (except in conditions of coreference; see Section 7.9), so long as the weak pronouns do not occur in sentence-initial position:

(7.28) دا مي کتاب دى .

dā mi kitāb-Ø dəy
this.DIR **1SG.WK** book-M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M
'That is **my** book.'^(SW)

(7.29) زوى مي گډه پري .

zuy-Ø mi Ø-gəḍ-éḥ-i
son-M.DIR **1SG.WK** CONT-dance-PRS-PRS.3[SG.M]
'**My** son is dancing.'^(SW)

In possessive constructions with weak pronouns, the pronouns are sometimes written attached to the word they follow, and the /y/ in پي /ye/ may be elided in pronunciation (Tegey & Robson, 1996):

(7.30) کتابې

kitāb-Ø e
 book-M.DIR 3.WK

‘his book’³

This pronunciation is in fact standard in the spoken dialects of the Northeast, and before recent reforms in orthography, the pronoun was regularly spelled with a *hamza* instead of a *ye*; in fact, it still is by some speakers. Furthermore, many speakers when asked for the pronoun in isolation will offer a spelling pronunciation based on the *hamza*, pronouncing it with a glottal stop: [ʔe].

Possessive constructions are also formed with strong personal pronouns, as discussed in Section 7.2.3.

7.4 Deictoids: را /rā/, در /dər/, and ور /wər/

Pashto has three sets of deictic morphemes that closely resemble each other formally and semantically, to the extent that most authors classify these forms under one rubric. They are variously called *pronominal prefixes* (Penzl, 1955: 87–88), *directive pronouns* (Shafeev 1964: 33 and Babrakzai 1999: 33), *directional particles* (Lorenz 1982: 66 — *Richtungspartikels*—and Skjærvø 1989: 393), *independent pronominal particles* (Heston, 1992: 1574) and *verbal clitics* (Roberts, 2000: 105ff). In addition to being homophones or near-homophones, these sets of forms share two other qualities: first, they encode either personal or directional deixis; and second, they are bound to some extent, either as clitics or as prefixes. Some authors specifically refer to at least some of them as “proclitics” (Roberts 2000: 106; Pate 2012: 17, 19); however, more research is required before definitive statements of their morphological status can be made.

In recognition of the fact that these morphemes are so frequently and so easily conflated (and also of their probable diachronic relationship), we refer to them with the umbrella term *deictoids*, which we use to signify that these forms can be either person-deictic or spatial-deictic. Then adapting two different, binary distinctions from Tegey (1977) and Pate (2012) respectively, we divide them into three types, which we describe in the following sections.

Both Tegey (1977: 105ff.) and Penzl (1955: 87) report two forms for the second and third person: در /dər, dar/ ‘you (sg/pl)’, and ور /wər, war/ ‘him/her/it/them’. Tegey specifies that the forms in ə are what he calls *deictic preverbs* (corresponding to, we believe, both our *oblique pronominal clitics* and our *directional verbal clitics*). Those in a are what he (and we) call the *deictic prefixes*. Because the ə/a distinction only holds for stressed vowels (and two of the three types of deictoids never bear stress),

3 Standardized version of 7.30: کتاب ي

and because most descriptions do not mention these different forms for the deictoids, we cannot be sure how real or how general this vowel variation is.

7.4.1 Oblique pronominal clitics

As oblique pronominal clitics, the forms را /rā/ ‘me/us’, در /dər/ ‘you (sg/pl)’, and و /wər/ ‘him/her/it/them’ occur as objects of postpositions in place of strong pronouns or noun phrases. They distinguish person, but not number or gender (and thus are glossed only by a person numeral—1, 2, or 3). In this role, Tegey (1977) considers them to be a type of weak personal pronoun and sometimes refers to them as *weak oblique pronouns* or (see also Pate 2012) *oblique clitic pronouns*. They cannot take stress, and they occur *only* with postpositions—not with prepositions or circumpositions:

(7.31) اسد پېښور ته را سره ځي .

asad-Ø pešawar-Ø tə **rā** sərə ɟ-í
Asad-M.DIR Peshawar-M.OBL to 1 COMIT go.CONT.PRS-PRS.3[SG.M]

‘Asad is going to Peshawar with **me**.’^(SW)

(7.32) کتاب مي در نه واخيست .

kitāb-Ø mi **dər** na w-āxist-Ø
book-M.DIR 1SG.WK 2 from AOR-take.PST-PST.3SG.M

‘I took the book from **you**.’^(SW)

(7.33) کتاب مي وړ باندي ايښی دئ .

kitāb-Ø mi **wər** bāndi iṣ-áy
book-M.DIR 1SG.WK 3 on CONT\put.PST-PTCP.M.DIR

dəy
be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M

‘I put the book on **it**.’^(SW)

These sorts of adpositional phrases almost always directly cliticize to the verb. If the postposition is monosyllabic, the adpositional phrase bears no stress, but if it is disyllabic and the phrase is in construction with unstressed forms of the copula, the second syllable of the postposition will be stressed:

(7.34) را سره ده .

rā sará da
1 with be.CONT.PRS.3SG.F

‘It’s with me [lit. I have it].’

the role of the former, and رَا /rā/ the latter. Note that وړ /wər/ unambiguously denotes a person, and رَا /rā/ denotes a location that is indexed deictically to a person.

(7.37) خوشل یو توپک وړ ته راوړلېږه .

xuʃal-Ø yaw topak wər ta rā-wə-leg-ə
 Khoshal-M.DIR one gun-M.DIR 3 to 1DVC-AOR-send.PST-PST.3SG
 ‘Khoshal sent **him** a gun **where I am** [lit. here/to me].’

7.4.3 Deictic prefixes

Deictic prefixes also occur with verbs, but only the four verbs or verb stems in the list below. Furthermore, they behave like bound morphemes with respect to their verbs, rather than like clitics: they take the stress that encodes aorist forms, and only clitics and negative particles may intervene between them and the verb stem.

- وړل /wɹəl/ ‘to carry’;
 for example, راوړل /rā-wɹəl/ ‘to bring here/to me’
- تلل /tləl/ ‘to go’;
 for example, درتلل /dar-tləl/ ‘to go there/to you’
- کول /kawəl/ ‘to make; to do’;
 for example, ورکول /war-kawəl/ ‘to give to him’
- -وست /-wast/;
 for example, راوړل /rā-wastəl/ ‘to transport here/to me’

These forms usually express a deictic goal. See Section 8.2.4.3 for more about them.

7.5 Demonstratives

As described in Section 6.3.1, there is significant formal overlap between demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative determiners in Pashto, with the only difference being in stress placement: demonstrative pronouns have final stress. They are covered in this section; Section 6.3.1 contains examples of demonstrative determiners. To express the proximal demonstrative, there are two forms, one based on دا /dā/, and the other based on دغه /dayā/. دا /dā/ does not inflect for gender or number, but does differ by case, as illustrated in Table 7.11, reproduced from Table 6.27 in Section 6.3.1.

The following examples show the use of these forms as a demonstrative pronoun in the direct and oblique cases, respectively:

Direct	دا dā
Oblique	دې de

Table 7.11: GP proximal demonstrative دا /dā/

Direct	(d)ā
Oblique	de

Table 7.12: Middle dialect proximal demonstrative دا /dā/

(7.38) دا بڼه دئ.

dā *ʃə* *dəy*
this.DIR nice be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M
 ‘**This** is nice.’

(7.39) پس له دې

pas *lə* *de*
 after from **this.OBL**
 ‘after **this**’

The other proximal demonstrative, دغه /dayá/, does not have distinct forms showing gender or number in the direct case. In the oblique case, there is a difference between the masculine and feminine forms in the singular, but not in the plural, as shown in Table 7.13.

Note that the proximal demonstrative pronouns دغه /dayá/ and the medial demonstrative هغه /hayá/ in Table 7.16 have final stress. They contrast with similar forms with initial stress that serve as demonstrative determiners as described in Section 6.3.1.

The medial and distal demonstratives illustrate the same patterning with respect to gender, number, and case as دغه /dayá/; this is shown in Table 7.16.

	Singular		Plural
	Masculine	Feminine	
Direct	دغه day-ā		
Oblique	day-ā̄ dəy-ā̄	دغې day-é ^E dəy-é ^E دغي dəy-í ^W	دغو day-ó dəy-ó doy-ó

Table 7.13: GP proximal demonstrative دغه /dayá/

	Singular		Plural
	Masculine	Feminine	
Direct	day(-a)		
Oblique	day(-a)	day-e	day-e

Table 7.14: Waziri proximal demonstrative /daya/

	Singular		Plural
	Masculine	Feminine	
Direct	day-a		
Oblique	day-e dey(-e) day-ə	day-e dey-e	day-e dey-e

Table 7.15: Dzadrani proximal demonstrative /daya/

	Singular		Plural
	Masculine	Feminine	
Direct	هغه hay-á hay-á ay-á		
Oblique	ay-á hay-á	هغې hay-é _E ay-é _E هغي hay-í _w hay-í _w	هغو hay-ó ay-ó hay-ó

Table 7.16: GP medial demonstrative هغه /hay-á/

	Singular		Plural
	Masculine	Feminine	
Direct	(h)ay-a		
Oblique	(y)ay-a hay	(y)ay-e hay-e	(y)ay-e hay-e

Table 7.17: Waziri medial demonstrative /ayə/

	Singular		Plural
	Masculine	Feminine	
Direct	ay-a ay-ə		
Oblique	ay-ə	yey-e	yey-e

Table 7.18: Dzadrani medial demonstrative /ayə/

The following (from Tegey & Robson 1996) are illustrations of the General Pashto demonstrative pronoun in its various word forms. Note that the gender of the understood yet absent noun affects the gender of the pronoun:

(7.40) پر هغه وڅېجه!

pər hay-ô wâ-xej-a
on **that-M.OBL** AOR-step-IMP.SG

‘Step on **that!** [referring to masculine item, like a rug, bridge, etc.]’

(7.41) پر هغې وڅېجه!

pər hay-é wâ-xej-a
on **that-F.OBL** AOR-step-IMP.SG

‘Look at **that!** [referring to feminine thing, like a rock, an insect, etc.]’

The General Pashto distal demonstrative has two variants, هوغه /huyô/ and هاغه /hâyô/. Both of these inflect in a manner similar to دغه /dayâ/ and هغه /hayâ/.

	Singular		Plural
	Masculine	Feminine	
Direct	هوغه huy-ô uy-â hoɣ-ô		
Oblique	هاغه hây-ô _E hây-â _E	هوغې huy-é uy-é هاغې hây-é	هوغو huy-ô uy-ô هاغو hây-ô

Table 7.19: GP distal demonstrative هوغه /huy-ô/

7.6 Interrogative pronouns

The set of Pashto interrogative pronouns reflects the usual human vs. non-human attribute of the potential referent.

Table 7.20 and Table 7.21 show the forms for the human interrogative and indefinite pronoun, for General Pashto and for the Middle dialects respectively. This pronoun inflects for case, but not for number or gender.

Case	Form
Direct	څوک tsok
Oblique	چا čā

Table 7.20: GP human interrogative pronoun څوک /tsok/

Case	Form
Direct	tsok _{WAZ} tsik _{DZA} tsek _{MIR}
Oblique	čā

Table 7.21: Middle dialect human interrogative pronoun /tsok/

The direct case form is used for nominatives and accusatives of present tense sentences, and for direct objects in past tense sentences. Questions in Pashto do not use a different word order than statements.

(7.42) څوک راغی؟

tsok *rāy-ay*

who.DIR come.AOR.PST-PTCP.M.DIR

‘Who came?’

(7.43) شوک رايی؟

tsok rāz-í
who.DIR come.CONT.PRS-PRS.3[SG.M]

‘Who is coming?’^(NW)

(7.44) شوک ويني؟

tsok Ø-win-é
who.DIR CONT-see.PRS-2SG

‘Whom do you see?’^(SW)

(7.45) زلمي شوک وواهه؟

zalm-i tsok wá-wāh-ə
 Zalmay-M.OBL **who.DIR** AOR-hit-PST.3SG.M

‘Whom did Zalmay hit?’

The oblique case form is used for objects of adpositions and subjects of transitive verbs. As noted in Section 7.3.2, the personal pronoun that agrees with the verb is generally dropped, whether it be the subject (as in the present tense example at 7.46) or the object (as in the past tense example at 7.47):

(7.46) چا ته وايي؟

čā tə Ø-wāy-é
who.OBL to CONT-talk.PRS-2SG

‘Whom are you talking to?’^(SW)

(7.47) چا وليدم؟

čā wá-lid-əm
who.OBL AOR-see.PST-1SG

‘Who saw me?’^(SW)

The possessive interrogative *whose?* is expressed by using the oblique form چا /čā/ ‘who’ with the preposition د /də/ ‘of’ (example from Tegey & Robson 1996):

(7.48) هغه د چا کتاب دی؟

ayá də čā kitāb-Ø day
 that.DIR of **who.OBL** book-M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M

‘Whose book is that?’

For nonhuman referents, شه /tsə/ ‘what’ is used. It is invariant: it has the same form regardless of case, gender, or number. شه /tsə/ can act pronominally, appearing

alone as in 7.49, or adjectivally, appearing with a noun as in 6.33 of Section 6.6. In 7.50 the word order reflects the requirement that weak pronouns appear in second position.

(7.49) د دې نوم څه دی؟

də de num-∅ tsə dəy
of 3SG.F.STR.OBL name-M.DIR **what** be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M

‘What is her name?’^(SW)

(7.50) څه مې وکړه؟

tsə mi wə-kr-ə
what 1SG.WK AOR-do.AOR-PST.3SG.M

‘What did I do?’^(SW)

While څه /tsə/ does not inflect for number, it tends to be interpreted as plural, so a verb agreeing with it will often be in the plural:

(7.51) تا څه اړوبدلي دی؟

tā tsə ∅-arw-ed-əl-i di
2SG.STR.OBL **what** CONT-hear-PST-PTCP.PL.M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3PL.M

‘What [things] have you heard?’^(SW)

7.7 Indefinite pronouns

In Pashto, indefinite pronouns are identical in form to interrogative pronouns (examples 7.52 and following from Tegey & Robson 1996). In order to distinguish sentences with indefinites from questions, *yaw* ‘one’ may be added, to yield *yaw tsok* ‘someone’ and *yaw tsə* ‘something’.

(7.52) څوک راغی.

tsok rāy-ay
who.DIR come.AOR.PST-PTCP.M.DIR

‘Someone came.’

(7.53) کتاب چا ته ورکه.

kītāb-∅ čā tə wār-k-a
book-M.DIR **who.OBL** to give.AOR-IMP.SG

‘Give the book to **someone**.’

(7.54) شه مې نه دي کړي .

tsə me nã di kãr-i
what 1SG.WK NEG be.CONT.PRS.3PL.M do.AOR-PTCP.PL.M.DIR
 'I haven't done **anything**.'^(SW)

(7.55) يو څوک د ملگري کورته د ډوډۍ خوړلو پر وخت ورغی .

yaw tsok də malgər-i kor-Ø ta də ɖoɖ-əy
one who.DIR of friend-M.OBL house-M.OBL to of food-F.DIR
xoɾ-əl-o pər waxt-Ø wãry-ay
 eat-INF-PL.M.OBL on time-M come.AOR.PST-PTCP.M.DIR
 'Someone showed up at my friend's house during mealtime.'

When هر /har/, /ar/ 'every' precedes the indefinite pronouns, the combination can mean *everyone, everything*, as in 7.56 and 7.57 (after Tegey & Robson 1996). A similar meaning can also be conveyed by هر يو /har yaw/ 'each one'.

(7.56) هر څوک راغلل .

har-Ø tsok rãyl-əl
every-PL.M.DIR who.DIR come.AOR.PST-PST.3PL.M
 'Everyone came.'

(7.57) هر څه مې کړي دي .

har-Ø tsə me kãr-i
every-PL.M.DIR what 1SG.WK do.AOR-PTCP.PL.M.DIR
di
 be.CONT.PRS.3PL.M
 'I have done **everything**.'^(SW)

(7.58) ما هر يو وليده .

mã har-Ø yaw-Ø wã-lid-ə
 1SG.STR.OBL **every-M.DIR one-M.DIR** AOR-see.PST-PST.3SG.M
 'I saw **each one**.'^(NW)

The phrase هر څه /har tsə/ can also express an indefinite pronoun meaning 'whatever; anything and everything':

(7.59) هر څه يې سمومه نه سمپري!

har-Ø tsə ye sam-aw-əma ná
every-M.DIR what 3.WK correct-do.CONT-1SG NEG
sam-ég-i
 correct-become.CONT.PRS-PRS.3[PL.M]

'**However much** I [try and] straighten them out, they just don't straighten!'

The negative indefinites (analogous to *no one/anyone*, *nothing/anything*) are formed using هېڅ /hets/ 'any' with the indefinite pronoun. The verb is also negated.

(7.60) ما هېڅ څه و نه لیده.

mā hets-Ø sə wá ná lid-ə
 1SG.STR.OBL **none-M.DIR what** AOR NEG see.PST-PST.3SG.M

'I didn't see **anything**.'^(NW)

(7.61) هېڅوک مې و نه لیده.

hets tsok-Ø me wá ná lid-ə
none who.DIR 1SG.WK AOR NEG see.PST-PST.3SG.M

'I didn't see **anyone**.'^(NW)

(7.62) هېڅوک ولاړ نه شو.

hets tsok wlāř-Ø ná šo-Ø
none who.DIR gone-M.DIR NEG become.AOR.PST-PST.3SG.M

'**No one** was gone.'^(NW)

7.8 Relative pronouns

The interrogative/indefinite pronouns څوک /tsok/ and څه /tsə/ can be employed with the complementizer چه /čə/ to form relative clauses (as in 11.78). This is discussed at greater length in Section 11.4.1.

7.9 Expressions of coreference

Pashto uses two kinds of items for expressing coreference: the emphatic adjective (Tegey, 1979) خپل /xpəl/ 'own' (masculine), خپله /xpələ/ 'own' (feminine), and the reflexive pronoun ځان /džān/ 'self' (oblique form ځانه /džāna/). خپل /xpəl/ inflects as a Class I adjective (Section 6.2.1.1), while ځان /džān/ inflects for case only.

The emphatic adjectives function as possessives in conditions of coreference, in complementary distribution with the weak pronouns (see Section 7.3; these examples are from Tegey & Robson 1996):

(7.63) احمد خپل کتاب راوړ. .

ahmad-Ø xpəl-Ø kitāb-Ø rāwor-Ø
 Ahmad-M.OBL **own-M.DIR** book-M.DIR AOR\bring.PST-PST.3SG.M
 ‘Ahmad brought **his [own]** book [here].’

(7.64) احمد يې کتاب راوړ. .

ahmad-Ø ye kitāb-Ø rāwor-Ø
 Ahmad-M.OBL **3.WK** book-M.DIR AOR\bring.PST-PST.3SG.M
 ‘Ahmad brought **his [another's]** book [here].’

In keeping with the item’s grammatical category of adjective, the gender of the emphatic possessive agrees with the object possessed, not with the possessor:

(7.65) احمد خپله کتابچه راوړه. .

ahmad-Ø xpəl-ə kitābčā-Ø rāwr-a
 Ahmad-M.OBL **own-F.DIR** notebook-F.DIR AOR\bring.PST-PST.3SG.F
 ‘Ahmad brought **his [own]** notebook.’

(7.66) مريم خپل کتاب راوړ. .

maryam-Ø xpəl-Ø kitāb-Ø rāwor-Ø
 Maryam-F.OBL **own-M.DIR** book-M.DIR AOR\bring.PST-PST.3SG.M
 ‘Maryam brought **her [own]** book.’

When reduplicated, the adjective *خپل* /xpəl/ expresses distributed possession.

(7.67) پرون په جومات کي هر چا خپل خپل جای نمازونه راوړي وه. .

parun pə jumāt-Ø ki har-Ø čā
 yesterday in... mosque-M.OBL ...in every-M.OBL who.OBL
xpəl-Ø xpəl-Ø jāy-Ø namāz-una
own-PL.M.DIR own-PL.M.DIR place-M.DIR prayer-PL.M.DIR
rāwər-i wə
 bring.CONT.PST-PTCP.PL.M.DIR be.CONT.PST.3PL.M

‘Yesterday **each** person in the mosque brought **his own** prayer rug.’ ^(SW)

The item خان /džān/ (/dʒon/ in Waziri: see 7.70) signals coreference with another nuclear term, and may appear in direct object and adpositional object positions. As shown in the examples that follow, person information may, but need not, be expressed

in the form of a weak pronoun (see also examples 8.12 and 8.42). Tegey (1979) suggests that the weak pronoun precedes the emphatic, but all of the examples we have found show the order emphatic > weak pronoun.

(7.68) خان مې نه شو ټينګولی .

dzān-Ø me ná šo-Ø
self-M.DIR 1SG.WK NEG become.AOR.PST-PST.3SG.M
ting-aw-əl-ay
 tight-do.CONT-PST-OPT
 ‘I couldn’t pull **myself** together.’

(7.69) هغه په بیره خان تر شیرینې اورسولو .

hayə pə biṛa-Ø dzān-Ø tar širin-əy
 3SG.M.STR.OBL INSTR haste-F.DIR **self-M.DIR** up.to Shiranai-M.OBL
ó-rasaw-əl-u
 AOR-deliver-PST-PST.SG.M
 ‘He hurriedly got **himself** near Shirinai.’

(7.70) *dzon-Ø ye badāl-Ø k-ə*
self-M.DIR 3.WK changed-M.DIR do.AOR.PST-PST.3SG.M
 ‘He disguised **himself**.’^(WAZ-L)

(7.71) داروېې واخله ځانه ته خپلې هم واخله .

dā rup-əy w-āxl-a dzān-a ta
 this.DIR rupee-F.DIR AOR-take.PRS-IMP.SG **self-M.OBL** for
tsapl-əy ham w-āxl-a
 sandals-F.DIR also AOR-take.PRS-IMP.SG
 ‘Take the money and buy some sandals for **yourself**.’

The emphatic and reflexive may appear in combination:

(7.72) د خپل ځان دپاره

də xpəl-Ø dzān-Ø də pā-r-a
 of **own-M.DIR self-M.DIR** from sake-M.ABL
 ‘for **oneself**’

7.10 Reciprocal pronouns

In Pashto, the reciprocal relationship can be expressed by *يو او بل* /*yaw aw bəl*/ ‘one and other’, or by the shorter *يو بل* /*yaw bəl*/ ‘one other’. Depending on context, the reciprocal can also be expressed by *يو له بله* /*yaw lə bələ*/ ‘one from other’. These reciprocal expressions do not inflect for person or gender. Case inflection does occur, as the word *بله* /*bələ*/ ‘other’ in *يو له بله* /*yaw lə bələ*/ ‘one from other’ is in the ablative case.

Another way of expressing reciprocal relationships can be found in Section 10.2.3.1.

(7.73) احمد او محمود يو بل ته سره گوري.

ahmad-Ø aw mahmud-Ø yaw bəl-Ø tə sərə
Ahmad-M.DIR and Mahmoud-M.DIR **one other-M.OBL** to COMIT

Ø-gur-í
CONT-look.PRS-PRS.3[PL.M]

‘Ahmad and Mahmoud see **each other**.’^(SW)

(7.74) احمد او محمود يو له بله خفه دي.

ahmad-Ø aw mahmud-Ø yaw lə bəl-ə xafa
Ahmad-M.DIR and Mahmoud-M.DIR **one from other-M.ABL** angry

di
be.CONT.PRS.3PL.M

‘Ahmad and Mahmoud are angry at **each other**.’^(SW)

Pashto has at least one other strategy for conveying reciprocal reference—see Section 10.2.3.1.

7.11 Other pro-forms

See Section 9.6 for a description of some other pro-forms in Pashto.

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8 Verbs

8.1 Overview

8.1.1 Properties of verbs

As Grjunberg (1987: 111) observes, Pashto verbal morphology is uncharacteristically complex compared to the verbs of other Iranian languages. Probably for this reason, among others, descriptions of Pashto verbs vary widely both in the way they analyze and explain verbal forms and also in the data they present. In this chapter we try to reconcile the data and information in those descriptions, supplementing it with advice from Pashto language experts and data obtained from native speakers we have interviewed. In doing so, we have also reorganized, to some degree, the way Pashto verbs have been presented previously, taking from each approach the aspects that we believe have the strongest empirical foundation.

The morphology of verbs in the Middle dialects does not differ significantly from that of General Pashto verbs. Some suffixes show variant forms, as do the verb *to be* and the verbalizers. The differences are covered in Section 8.2.2, Section 8.2.8.1, Section 8.2.8.2, and Section 8.2.8.3.

Verb constructions in Pashto encode the following categories morphologically:

- tense (present, past)

Pashto has no morphological future tense. We agree with Penzl (1955: 93) that the clitic ه /bə/ is not strictly a future clitic, but a modal one. See Section 10.1.2.1 for more discussion of what it conveys.

- aspect (continuous, aorist)

What we call *continuous* and *aorist* are usually called *imperfective* and *perfective* in other descriptions of Pashto. See Section 8.2.5.1 for an explanation of our change in terminology.

- mood (indicative, imperative, optative)

- person (first, second, third)

- number (singular, plural)

- gender (masculine, feminine): but only in: (1) third person past tense forms of all verbs and (2) third person singular (past and present) forms of the verb *to be*

These features are encoded in verb forms by means of affixes or stress placement; however, not all verb constructions are marked for all properties. For example, infinitives are not marked for any of the above features; and participles for only some of them.

Person, number, and gender (which we abbreviate to *PNG* in this grammar) are features that mark agreement with noun phrases in the clause. Which noun governs this agreement is determined in accordance with Pashto's system of split ergativity, which is discussed in more detail in Section 5.1.3.5 and Section 11.7.1.

Pashto verbs are all built on one of four possible building blocks, called *bases* in this grammar, which vary in shape according to two parameters: tense (present/past) and aspect (continuous/aorist).

- present continuous (= *present imperfective* or *present I/1* in some grammars)
- present aorist (= *present perfective* or *present II/2* in some grammars)
- past continuous (= *past imperfective* or *past I/1* in some grammars)
- past aorist (= *past perfective* or *past II/2* in some grammars)

These four base types are described and exemplified below in Section 8.2.6.

Pashto verbs are a closed class. As is common in the South Asian linguistic area, new verbs enter the language via light verb constructions of the form Noun/Adjective + Verb. As will be described below, some of these light verb constructions have become partly lexicalized. (see Section 8.2.4.4 and Section 11.2.3.1).

There are also several functions or modalities encoded periphrastically, with the use of particles or auxiliary verbs. These include negation, a passive-like construction, expression of future events, and expressions of ability.

8.1.2 Classifying verbs

Based on its morphological and syntactic behavior, a Pashto verb can be classified in three ways, according to

1. how it forms the aorist (i.e., conjugation class; see Section 8.2.5)
2. whether it has stem allomorphy (i.e., stem class-class—weak or strong; see Section 8.2.6)
3. whether the stem is simplex or complex (i.e., morphological structure; see Section 8.2.4)¹

¹ The standard descriptions of Pashto verbs set out by Shafeev (1964), Tegey & Robson (1996), and Pashtoon (2009) refer to *derivative verbs*. We use the broader term *complex verb*, because in our description, this group also includes verbs with separable prefixes; what they call *derivative verbs* are a subset of what we call *complex verbs*.

Previous descriptions of Pashto do not clearly distinguish among the above verb groupings, but a thorough analysis of Pashto verbs requires that we take all three into account.² Conjugation class and stem class membership both reflect morphological behavior; and whether a verb is simplex or complex—and if complex, what type of complex verb it is—determines its syntactic behavior. We follow Tegey & Robson (1996) (as well as grammatical tradition) in focusing primarily on conjugation class as a way of classifying verbs, but also make reference to stem allomorphy and morphological structure where relevant.

The following sections of the grammar describe the parts of the various Pashto verbal constructions and how these constructions are formed, the three ways of categorizing Pashto verbs, paradigms of inflected verbs, and some aspects of verbal usage.

8.2 Verb components

This section describes the structure of Pashto verbs and all the building blocks for forming Pashto verb constructions.

8.2.1 Structure of the verb

Pashto verbs are largely agglutinative,³ as can be seen in Table 8.1 and Table 8.2, which illustrate Pashto verb structure for weak and strong verbs respectively. The difference between weak and strong verbs lies in whether they exhibit stem allomorphy (Section 8.2.6). These tables cover both inflectional and derivational morphology. Parentheses around column heads indicate that morphemes in that column may or may not appear on a given verb construction; the only component that is part of every construction is the stem. However, no verb form can consist of only a stem; every verb also has to have at least one suffix from among suffixes 1, 2, or 3.

² Although they are not explicit about it, Tegey & Robson (1996) classify verbs into three groups, according to a combination of our (1) and (3)—aorist formation (ـې /wá-/ prefixation versus stress shift) plus one element of morphological structure (prefixed versus denominal verbs). Penzl (1955) and Heston (1992) arrive at their five-way classification of verbs using our (2) and (3)—allomorphy and morphological structure. The analysis of Grjunberg (1987: 111–193) is the most detailed: his carefully thought-out system incorporates all three of the above criteria, as well as one we do not take into account (the ـېج /-ég-/ and ـېد /-ed/ tense markers of intransitive first conjugation verbs) but differs from ours in a number of ways, chiefly in that he gives primacy to morphological structure of the stem rather than to conjugation class.

³ With complications introduced by morphologically complex verbs such as denominal verbs.

Verbal base			(Suffix 1)	(Suffix 2)	(Suffix 3)
Prefix	Stem		Intransitive	Transitive	
CONTINUOUS: ∅- or unstressed derivational prefix	(See Table 8.3 for possible stem shapes.)	CAUSATIVE: → -aw-	PRESENT: -∅g- -∅g-	PRESENT: -∅	PNG (see Table 8.4.)
AORIST: → wā- u- or stressed derivational prefix			PAST: -ed(-ā)- -ā- (often optional—see Section 8.2.6.1)	PAST: -ā- (often optional—see Section 8.2.6.1)	OPTATIVE: (for all persons and numbers) āy -āy ^{SW, SE} -ay ^{NW} -e ^{NE}
			INFINITIVE: -ed-ā-	INFINITIVE: -ā-	IMPERATIVE: -a (SG) -ay (PL) -āst ^{SW, SE} (PL)
					PRESENT PARTICIPLE: -unk- + Class IIIb adjectival suffixes (see Table 6.17)
					PAST PARTICIPLE: Class IIIb adjectival suffixes

Table 8.1: Structure of weak (one stem) verbs

Verbal Base

Prefix	Stem	(Suffix 1)	(Suffix 2)	(Suffix 3)
CONTINUOUS: ∅- or unstressed derivational prefix	_____ (See Table 8.3 for possible stem shapes)	CAUSATIVE: → -aw-	PAST: لـ -āl- (often optional—see Section 8.2.6.1)	PNG (see Table 8.4)
AORIST: → wā- u- _E or stressed derivational prefix			INFINITIVE: لـ -āl	OPTATIVE: (for all persons and numbers): لـ -āy ^{SW, SE} يـ -āy ^{NW} عـ -e ^{NE}
				IMPERATIVE: هـ -a (SG) يـ -āy (PL) أست -āst ^{SW, SE} (PL)
				PRESENT PARTICIPLE: -unk + Class IIIb adjectival suffixes (see Table 6.17)
				PAST PARTICIPLE: Class IIIb adjectival suffixes

Table 8.2: Structure of strong (more than one stem) verbs

Verb stem shapes and examples are given in Table 8.3. Note that Pashto verb stems cannot be vowel-final.

Stem shape	Examples	
	Stem	Infinitive
C	ک k	کېدل kedál 'to become'
CC	تل tl	تلل tlál 'to go'
CVC	تړ taṛ	تړل taṛál 'to tie'
VC	اود ud	اودل udál 'to weave, knit'
VCC	ایست ist	ایستل istál 'to pull (out)'
VCVC	ایښود ixod	ایښودل ixodál 'to put'
CVCC	غوښت yušt	غوښتل yuštál 'to want'
CCVC	درومېد drum	درومېدل drumedál 'to march'
CCVCC	نغښت nyəšt	نغښتل nyəštál 'to wrap up'
CVCVC	رانېو rāniw	رانېول rāniwál 'to buy (up)'
CVCVCC	پېژند pežand	پېژندل pežandál 'to know'
VCVCC	اوښت awuxt	اوښتل awuxtál 'to overturn, climb over'
VCCVC	الوت alwut	الوتل alwutál 'to fly'

Table 8.3: Stem shapes

Note in Table 8.1 and Table 8.2 that the suffixes for past and infinitive are identical. The infinitive (Section 8.2.3) is the citation form of the verb.

Under some conditions, some Pashto verbs are separable into two parts: certain particles may occur between the prefixed components (of Column 1 in Table 8.1 and Table 8.2) and the rest of the verb; that is, the stem and any suffixes (see Section 11.2.3.2). Certain instances of this phenomenon are the reason for the claim that Pashto is one of the few languages that has endoclysis (Kaisse 1981; Koprís & Davis 2005; Koprís 2009; David 2011). The derivational prefixes mentioned in column 1 of Table 8.1 and Table 8.2 can be seen in Table 8.8 and Table 8.9.

8.2.2 Personal suffixes

The suffixes in Table 8.4 are those that reflect the categories of person, number, and gender (PNG suffixes). PNG suffixes are not inherently stressed, but can carry stress in the past tense, as described below.

PNG suffixes can be attached to the bases described in Section 8.2.6 to form finite verbs, with some exceptions to be described below. With the exception of the irregular verb *to be*, PNG suffixes differ between the tenses only in the third person, as the past tense third person suffixes encode gender and person, while present tense ones do not, as can be seen in Table 8.4 through Table 8.6. Note also that despite the orthographic similarity of the past singular suffixes for masculine and feminine forms (ټ), the realizations differ, the masculine being /ə/ and the feminine being /a/. Table 8.4 through Table 8.6 give the personal suffixes for verbs in General Pashto, Waziri, and Dzadrani.

The first person singular suffix ټمه /-əma/ is heard most often in poetry, where meter determines which whether the monosyllabic or bisyllabic allomorph is used, but it is not uncommon in spoken General Pashto.

Notes on Table 8.5 and Table 8.6:

1. The Waziri and Dzadrani first person singular suffixes /-əm/ and /-əma/ are in free variation. They occur in both poetic and non-poetic contexts, in contrast with GP dialects, where the suffix /-əma/ occurs more often in poetry. As in GP, meter determines which form is used in the poetic contexts, but Septfonds (1994: 81) speculates that even in non-poetic speech, “the melody of discourse” can play a role in which form is used.
2. Lorimer (1902: 18ff.) reports the Waziri second person plural suffix as /-ay/ (/ -ai/ in his Romanization), but it does not occur in any of our field data. This discrepancy could be due to the vowel /a/ having changed to /ə/ over the past hundred years or to Lorimer’s transcription methods, which predate phonological theory.
3. The third person present suffix /-o/, while heard frequently in both Waziri and Dzadrani, only occurs on one verb, the root /k-/ of the verbalizer /kawəl/ ‘to make; to do.’ It is frequent because /kawəl/ forms part of so many third conjugation verbs.

		Singular	Plural
1st		م -əm	و -u
		مه -əm(a) _{sw}	
2nd present		ي -e	ئى -əy است -āst (verb bases ending in ی _{sw})
2nd past			ئى -əy است -āst _{sw}
3rd present	M	ي -i	
	F		
3rd past	M	ه -ə	ه -ə
		ئى -əy _{sw}	Ø _E
		و -o _{NE} Ø _E	
	F	ه -a	ي -e

Table 8.4: GP verbs: personal suffixes

		Singular	Plural
1st		-ā	-i
		-əm(a)	
2nd		-e	-əy
			(-ay)
3rd present	M	-i	
		-o	
	F		
3rd past	M	-ə	-əl
		-∅	
	F	-(ə)l	-(ə)l

Table 8.5: Waziri verbs: personal suffixes

		Singular	Plural
1st		-əm(a)	-i
2nd		-e	-əy
			-oy
3rd present	M	-i	
		-o	
	F		
3rd past	M	-∅	-ə(l)
		-ə	
		-ay	
	F	-(ə)l	-(ə)l

Table 8.6: Dzadrani verbs: personal suffixes

4. The third person past masculine suffix /-ay/ of Dzadrani only occurs on a few verbs: for example, certain second conjugation verbs containing the roots /tɬəl/ ‘to go’ and /çwəl/ ‘to place’.
5. As in General Pashto, the third person suffixes encode tense.

8.2.3 The infinitive

The infinitive in Pashto is the citation form of the verb and formally equivalent to the verb’s past continuous base (see Section 8.2.6), with ټ /-əɬ-/.⁴ It can be used as a noun and takes masculine plural agreement on the verb.

Formation: past continuous stem + ټ /-əɬ-/

The stress is always on the final syllable. Examples of infinitives from all three conjugation classes are in Table 8.7.

⁴ Some grammars, such as Tegey & Robson (1996), use the present continuous base as the citation form, arguing that because of stem allomorphy, the present base is not always obvious. However, we use the infinitive, both because it is traditional Pashto grammatical practice, and because this is the form used as headword in dictionaries.

Conjugation	Past continuous stem	Infinitive
First	خور- xwaɾ- 'eat'	خورل xwaɾól 'to eat'
	درېد- dar-éd- 'stop'	درېدل daredál 'to stop'
	گرځېد- gəɾɕ-éd- 'walk'	گرځېدل gəɾɕedál 'to walk'
	اچو- ačaw- 'pour, throw'	اچول ačawól 'to pour, to throw'
Second	ننوت nəna-wat- 'enter'	ننوتل nənawatól 'to enter'
	راتل rā-tl- 'come'	راتلل rātlól 'to come'
Third	Contracted	
	ازادېد azād-éd- 'go free'	ازادېدل azādedál 'to go free'
	ازادو azād-aw- 'set free'	ازادول azādawól 'to set free'
Uncontracted	ښایسته کېد xāyista k-ed- 'become pretty'	ښایسته کېدل xāyista kedól 'to become pretty'

Table 8.7: Infinitives

8.2.4 Simplex and complex verbs

8.2.4.1 Overview

Pashto verbs may be either simplex or complex.⁵ The chief difference between simplex and complex verbs is a morphosyntactic one: unlike simplex verbs, complex verbs are separable; that is, under some conditions, they resolve into two parts, with certain restricted classes of words intervening between them (see Section 11.2.3.2).

Simplex verbs are all those verbs whose base consists of a single morpheme, such as:

وهل /wahâl/ ‘to hit’, with base وه /wah-/ + infinitive suffix ل -/âl/;

while complex verbs have a base with two morphemes (or what were once two morphemes). There are three kinds:

- *a*-initial verbs (Section 8.2.4.2)

استو- /astawâl/ ‘to send’

(not synchronically bi-morphemic, but probably < Proto-Iranian *ā-staH- ; Cheung 2007)

- prefixed verbs (Section 8.2.4.3)

راورل /rā-wṛâl/ ‘to bring here/to me’

= ر- /rā-/ ‘here, to me’ + وړل /wṛâl/ ‘to carry’

- denominal verbs (Section 8.2.4.4)

ازادول /azād-awâl/ ‘to set free’

= ازاډ /azād/ ‘free’ + کول /(k)awâl/ ‘to make; to do’

These three groups correspond closely—but not entirely—to the three conjugation classes (Section 8.2.5): prefixed verbs comprise the second conjugation, and denominal verbs the third. The only difference is that *a*-initial verbs form only a small part of the first conjugation; the greater part of it consists of simplex verbs. This crucial difference illustrates why it is important to recognize this second way of classifying verbs: Pashto verbs may cluster in one way based on their inflectional behavior, but in another way based on their morphosyntactic behavior. All three types of complex verb will be discussed in the following sections.

8.2.4.2 *a*-initial verbs

Most verbs that begin with /a/ fall into the class of complex verbs known as *a*-initial verbs. There are only about a dozen or so members of this class; it does not include

⁵ Note that *simplex* is used to mean the opposite of *complex*; this distinction is not to be confused with the distinction between simple and compound verb constructions (Section 8.3 and Section 8.4).

As mentioned earlier, this separating behavior of *a*-initial verbs has led some linguists to assert that Pashto is among a handful of languages in the world that undergo endoclitisis. (See Kaisse 1981, Koprís & Davis 2005, Koprís 2009, and David 2011 for attempts to account for it, both synchronically and diachronically.)

8.2.4.3 Prefixed verbs

Prefixed verbs, called *doubly irregular* verbs by Tegey & Robson (1996: 114), coincide with our second conjugation (Section 8.2.5.4). They take the form of a derivational prefix plus a verb base, although in a few instances, either the first or the second of these does not appear in any other context in the language. However, as with the *a*-initial verbs, because these pseudo-prefixed verbs behave like other prefixed verbs, we have chosen, with Tegey & Robson (1996) and Grjunberg (1987), to group them all under the same category. The derivational prefixes are shown in Table 8.8 and Table 8.9.

The prefixes رآ /rā-/, دآ /dār-/, and وړ /wār-/ of Table 8.8 correspond historically and semantically to the oblique pronominal clitics and directional verbal clitics described in Section 7.4, hence we class them all as what we call *deictoids*. However, as elements of complex verbs, their role is not pronominal, and we therefore refer to them in this context as *deictic prefixes*. They occur with only four verb stems (see Section 7.4.3) and frequently incorporate meanings of *to me/to him, here/there*, etc., into the verb of which they are a part.

In the Dzadrani forms, the first person deictic prefix is reduced to /r/ in the continuous aspect (i.e., when it is unstressed) and appears in its full form, /ro/, in the aorist (when it is stressed). Past aorist forms of /der-tlāl/ ‘to go there/to you’ and /wer-tlāl/ ‘to go there/to him/her/it/them’ have an epenthetic *a* between the prefix and the stem in Dzadrani; for example, /déra-ɣləm(a)/ ‘I joined you’.

Person	GP prefix	Waziri prefix	Dzadrani prefix	Gloss
1	رآ rā-	rā-	r(o)-	'here; to me'
2	دآ dār-, dar-	dar-	der-	'there; to you'
3	وړ wār-, war-	war-	wer-	'there (yonder); to him/her/it/them'

Table 8.8: Deictic verb prefixes

Although the prefixes in Table 8.9 exist in the same position class as the deictic prefixes, and are subject to the same rules of stress movement to encode aorist aspect, as well as to separation from the rest of the verb by negative morphemes and second position clitics, they do not necessarily have meanings that are synchronically separable from the verbal lexeme of which they are a part. The glosses given should therefore be thought of as the glosses of their etymons, not as synchronic glosses.

Prefix	Gloss of etymon
کنہہ kxe- _E	'in; on'
kši- _W	
کنہیہ kxi- _W	
کہ ke- _E	
کیہ ki- _W	
ننہہ nāna-	'into'
پوریہ pori-	'across; over; on'
پراہ prā-	
پرہ pre-	'off; away'
تہہ ter-	'past'

Table 8.9: Non-productive verb prefixes

Some examples of prefixed verbs can be seen in Table 8.10 in their infinitival forms (see Section 8.2.3), and in the sentences 8.4 and 8.5. In sentence 8.4 the prefix is separated from the verb stem by a second position clitic.

(8.4) ور یی کہہ .

wār ye *kṛ-á*
give... 3.WK ...**give.AOR-IMP.SG**

'Give it to her/him/them.'^(SW)

Prefix	Verb	Prefixed verb
را رā- ‘here’	تتل tlál ‘to go’	راتلل rātlál ‘to come’
ننه nēna- ‘into’	وتل watál ‘to leave, depart’	ننوتل nēnawatál ‘to enter’
کنهپ kxe- ‘in; on’	وتل watál ‘to leave, depart’	کنهپوتل kxewatál ‘to fall or drop into; to slip or slide’

Table 8.10: Examples of prefixed verbs

(8.5) زه وروسته له تا ننوتلم .

za wrustá lə tā nānawat-əl-əm
 1SG.STR.DIR after from 2SG.STR.OBL AOR\enter-PST-1SG
 ‘I **entered** after you.’

8.2.4.4 Denominal verb constructions

Denominal verbs are *light verb constructions*⁸ of the form Noun/Adjective + Verb, where the verb is either *کېدل* /kedâl/ ‘to become’ (to form intransitives) or *کول* /kawâl/ ‘to make; to do’ (to form transitives). We refer to the adjective or noun as the *complement* and to the verb as the *verbalizer*. As a light verb, denominal verb encodes a single event, deriving its semantics from the complement, while the verbalizer carries categories such as PNG, tense, and so on.⁹ (See Section 11.2.3.1 for more on light verb constructions in Pashto.)

There are two versions of this construction; the difference between them has to do with the degree to which the verb fuses phonologically with its noun or adjective complement in the continuous aspect. We can therefore speak of *contracted* and *uncontracted* denominal verb constructions. In the uncontracted one, the verbal construction is always a two-word phrase, with the verb occurring in its full form as a separate word from the substantive that gives the overall construction its meaning.

⁸ These forms are variously referred to in other grammars of Pashto as *derivative*, *compound*, *complex*, or *denominative* verbs.

⁹ Most other Pashto grammars use the term *auxiliary*, but see Butt (2003) for a clear differentiation between light verbs and auxiliary verbs.

In a contracted denominal verb, the *k* is deleted in continuous forms, leaving the verb in a shortened form: *چېدل* /-edál/ (intransitive), or *جول* /-awól/ (transitive). In written Pashto, contracted verbal constructions are represented as single words. Generally speaking, this contraction only occurs when the complement is a consonant-final adjective. If the first element is a vowel-final adjective or if it is a noun of any sort, the verbal construction usually does not contract, but remains two separate words throughout the paradigm. However, there are a few contracted verb forms with nouns as the first element; for example:

- *رنگول* /rangawól/ ‘to paint’ (from the noun *رنگ* /rang/ ‘paint, color’)
- *حسابول* /hisābawól/ ‘to account, calculate’ (from the noun *حساب* /hisāb/ ‘calculation, count’)

Note that both these nouns are consonant-final, while the majority of Pashto nouns are vowel-final. It therefore appears that /k/-deletion reflects a tendency against the sequence /Ck/, since it applies to C-final adjectives and some C-final nouns, but this is a tendency only.

Among denominal verbs with adjective complements, both the contracted and the uncontracted constructions behave like single words:

- Continuous forms do not allow other words—such as negatives or weak pronouns—between the adjective and verbalizer.
- Adjective complements are uninflected in the continuous aspect (whereas adjective complements in the aorist aspect, and all noun complements—in both aorist and continuous—may inflect for case). This is described and exemplified in Section 6.7.

So we see a spectrum of behavior among third conjugation verbs, from word-like, or lexicalized, to phrase-like, as summed up in Table 8.11. The forms with a consonant-final adjective complement (column 2) are the most lexicalized, because the adjectival and verbal components of the construction together behave as one word, while those with a vowel-final noun complement (column 4), as well as all aorist forms (column 5), are the least so.

The small number of contracted verb forms that have noun complements fall in between the contracted adjectival and the uncontracted nominal third conjugation verbs in their morphological and syntactic behavior:

- Unlike uncontracted denominal verbs with noun complements, they allow a separate direct object.
- Also unlike uncontracted denominal verbs with noun complements, when negated they must be preceded by the negative marker; it cannot occur between the complement and verb.

- However, like uncontracted denominal verbs with noun complements, they can take morphological material on the end of the complement; however, it is optional.

The situation is complex and suggests that what we are seeing is a change in progress. The contracted denominal verbs contradict the claim by Butt & Lahiri (2002) and Butt (2003) about light verbs and grammaticalization; namely, that light verbs do not “enter the grammaticalization cline,” at all, but rather remain “form-identical to a main verb.” These Pashto forms instead provide additional evidence for the argument in Bowerman (2008) that complex predicates “aren’t necessarily stable” but can in fact lenite phonologically and are subject to reanalysis. David & Goodman (2012) discusses these points at length.

With all types of denominal verbs, this contracted/uncontracted distinction only holds in the continuous aspect: among aorist forms, all third conjugation verbs are fully separate from their noun or adjective complement.

Adjective complements that inflect for case usually do so as Class I adjectives, unless they end in /ay/; for example, the adjective complement سترې /stəɾay/ ‘tired’ in سترې کول /stəɾay kawál/ ‘to tire, exhaust’, which behaves like a Class III adjective. In denominal verbs formed from adjectives, the adjective agrees with the undergoer of the action, if there is one, and with the subject if there is none, in both present and past tenses. Table 8.11 summarizes the morphosyntactic behavior of the different types of denominal verbs.

	CONTINUOUS			AORIST
	C-final adjective complement	V-final adjective complement	Noun complement	
Verb in full form?	N	Y	Y	Y
Intervening lexical material permitted?	N	N	Y	Y
Inflected complement permitted?	N	N	Y	Y

Table 8.11: Behavior of denominal verbs

Table 8.12 gives some examples of denominal verbs. The one in the first row is uncontracted; those in the second and third rows are contracted. Contracted transitive denominals (those in *كول* /-awól/—column 3) formally resemble historical causatives (Section 8.2.7); however, there are two differences: causatives have a verb stem, rather than a noun or adjective, as their first element, and, unlike transitive denominals, causatives form aorists according to first conjugation rules, with a *و* /wâ-/ prefix (Section 8.2.5.1). But in the continuous aspect, transitive contracted denominals do conjugate identically with causatives. Likewise, intransitive contracted denominal verbs (those in *كېدل* /-edól/ ‘to become’—column 2) conjugate identically with intransitive first conjugation verbs (Section 8.2.5.2).

Substantive base	Verb (intransitive)	Verb (transitive)
ښايسته <i>xāyista</i> ‘pretty’	كېدل ښايسته <i>xāyista kedál</i> ‘to become pretty’	كول ښايسته <i>xāyista kawál</i> ‘to make pretty, to beautify’
ازاد <i>azād</i> ‘free’	ازادېدل <i>azādedál</i> ‘to go free’	ازادول <i>azādawál</i> ‘to set free’
ژوبل <i>žobal</i> ‘wound’	ژوبلېدل <i>žobledál</i> ‘to be injured’	ژوبلول <i>žoblawál</i> ‘to injure’

Table 8.12: Examples of denominal verbs

8.2.5 Conjugation classes

8.2.5.1 Overview of conjugation classes

Pashto verbs can be classified into three conjugation classes according to how they inflect for the aorist aspect. For General Pashto as well as the Middle dialects, first conjugation verbs form the aorist through the addition of the prefix *و* /wâ-/; second conjugation verbs through stress shift to the first syllable, and third conjugation verbs—denominal constructions all—through stress shift to the complement, plus use of the irregular aorist form of the verbalizer. In Dzadrani, there is a phonologically conditioned rule that changes /wâ-/ to /ó-/ when followed by a bilabial consonant, as in:

/ó-be-gərđzi/ ‘we will walk’

Most first conjugation verbs are simplex, but a few—the *a*-initial verbs—are complex, while all second and third conjugation verbs are complex (Section 8.2.4).

Before describing these classes in detail, an explanation is called for as to why we use the term *aorist* rather than the more common *perfective*. Most descriptions of

Pashto recognize an aspectual dichotomy reflected in both the morphology and the semantics of Pashto verbs. The usual terms in those descriptions for the two categories are *imperfective* and *perfective*; however, we are not the first to have misgivings over the aptness of those words. Penzl (1955) and Heston (1992) both substitute the Roman numerals *I* and *II* respectively, and Septfonds (1994) uses the numerals *1* and *2*, but we reject their terminology as liable to confusion and not descriptive enough. We have instead decided on the terms *continuous* and *aorist*. The reason for using *continuous* is probably clear enough: both *imperfective* and *continuous* suggest the verb's action is unfinished or ongoing.

As for our term for the aspect contrasting with continuous, one possible substitute for *perfective* might have been *non-continuous*, but our use of the term *aorist* follows the twentieth-century Pashto grammarian Khan (2002)'s usage as cited by Penzl (1951). *Aorist*, from a Greek word meaning *without boundaries* or *indeterminate*, comes, appropriately, from the Indo-European grammatical tradition and refers to a simple event, without reference to internal structure; that is, without specifying whether it was completed, is continuing, etc.

We have decided the following facts justify a change in terminology:

1. Use of the terms *imperfective* and *perfective* could lead, as it often does in other linguistic descriptions, to confusion with the different term *perfect*, which most descriptions of Pashto, including our own, use for another verbal category.
2. In addition to following Khan (2002)'s terminology, *aorist* is also a better gloss of traditional Pashto grammarians' Pashto terms for this category, *مطلق* /mutlâq/ or *مجرد* /mujarad/ as they are reported in Penzl (1951).
3. We believe *aorist*, with its sense of *indeterminate*, is a more accurate term for the Pashto verbal category under discussion than *perfective*, which connotes completion.

8.2.5.2 First conjugation class in General Pashto

Aorist formation: add stressed prefix *و* /wâ-/; subsequent syllables are unstressed

General Pashto first conjugation verbs consist of all simplex verbs, plus the *a*-initial verbs (see Section 8.2.4.2). They can be recognized by their aorist forms, which begin with the prefix *و* /wâ-/ , which carries an inherent stress, as shown in Table 8.13. In *a*-initial verbs, the aorist prefix *و* /wâ-/ coalesces with the /a/ to form a prefix *وا* /wâ-/ , as in Table 8.14. Most, but not all, first conjugation verbs with initial /a/ are of this type. Note that denominal verbs beginning with /a/ do not belong to the first conjugation (see Section 8.2.4.4).

The verbs *كېدل* /kedâl/ 'to become' and *كول* /kawâl/ 'to make; to do' have two sets of aorist forms. As independent verbs, they belong to the first conjugation, because they form the aorist with the prefix *و* /wâ-/ , as can be seen in their General Pashto

Verb	(Present) stem	Aorist base
لېرل legāl ‘to send’	لېر- leg-	ولېر- wāleg-
پېچل pečāl ‘to wind, to twist’	پېچ- peč-	وپېچ- wāpeč-
گاډېدل gaḍedāl ‘to dance’	گاډ- gaḍ-	وگاډېر- wāgaḍég-
بلل balāl ‘to consider’	بول- bol-	وبول- wābol-
ښودل xodāl ‘to show’	ښي- xay-	وښي- wāxay-
کتل katāl ‘to see’	گور- gor-	وگور- wāgor-
کېدل kedāl ‘to become’	ش- š-	وش- wāš-
کول kawāl ‘to make; to do’	ک(ړ)- k(r)-	وک(ړ)- wāk(r)-

Table 8.13: GP first conjugation verbs: present tense stems and aorist bases

forms in the last two rows of Table 8.13 and, for example, in the sentence *زه باید دا وکړم* /zə bāyad dā wāk(r)əm/ ‘I must do this’. However, when acting as verbalizers in denominal verbs (see Section 8.2.8), they form the aorist irregularly, as discussed in Section 8.2.8.2 and Section 8.2.8.3.

Verb	Present continuous base	Past aorist base
اچول ačawál 'to pour, to throw'	اچو- ačaw-	واچو- wāčaw-
اخيستل axistál 'to buy, take, seize'	اخذ- axl-	واخيست- wāxist-
ارتل aratál 'to break wind'	ارت- arat-	وارت- wārat-
اروېدل arwedál 'to hear'	اور(ېر)- awr(eg)-	واروېد- wārwed-
اړول aṛawál 'to move, turn over'	اړاو- aṛāw-	واړاو- wāṛāw-
ازمیل azmeyál 'to test'	ازميه- azmey-	وازميه- wāzmey-
استول astawál 'to send'	استاو- astāw-	واستاو- wāstāw-
اڅښل axxál 'to knead'	اڅږ- axg-	واڅږ- wāxx-
اغوستل ayustál 'to put on (clothing)'	اغوند- aywand-	واغوست- wāyust-
الوتل alwutál 'to fly'	الوز- alwaz-	والوت- wālwut-
الوزول alwuzawál 'to make fly, blow up'	الوزو- alwuz-āw-	والوزو- wālwuzaw-
الوويل alwoyál 'to burn'	الوويه- alwoy-	والوويه- wālwoy-
انول anawál 'to compel (someone), to pacify'	اناو- anāw-	واناو- wānāw-
اوښتل awuxtál 'to overturn, climb over'	اوږ- awṛ-	واوښت- wāwuxt-

Table 8.14: GP *a*-initial verbs (first conjugation): aorist bases

8.2.5.3 First conjugation class in Middle dialects

The morphology of the first conjugation verbs in the Middle dialects is similar to that of first conjugation verbs in the General Pashto dialects, with a few exceptions. These are noted below.

The Waziri and Džadrani counterparts of the so-called *a*-initial verbs differ from those of General Pashto. While it is clear that both dialects do have verbs that correspond to the *a*-initial verbs of the General Pashto dialects, our data are sparse, so we cannot offer a full description, nor can we supply a full list of corresponding forms. What we are able to say is that the initial syllables in the forms we do have differ from General Pashto forms. We find four initial syllables among these verbs: /a/, /ā/, /o/, and /wo/. The latter comes from Lorimer and with two exceptions (/woxestāl/ ‘to take; to buy’ and /woyestāl/ ‘to put on (clothing)’), appears to be due to his misinterpreting some aorist forms as continuous, thus leading to the aorist prefix /wā-/ being taken as part of the verb stem. The two verbs whose citation forms begin with /wo/ are perhaps examples of metaphony (/ā/ ~ /o/) plus typical Waziri insertion of a /w/ glide before an initial /o/.

The forms for which we have data are in Table 8.15 and Table 8.16. In one instance –Waziri ‘to hear’–we provide forms from the Miran Shah dialect (MIR) of northern Waziri and the Wana dialect (WAA) of southern Waziri, as reported by Hallberg. Other than those, the Waziri forms are from Lorimer (1902) and/or our native speaker, and the Džadrani forms are from Septfonds (1994). A dash in the cell indicates that we do not have an attested form.

Verb	Present continuous base	Past aorist base
āčawál 'to throw'	ačaw-	wočaw-
woxestál 'to take; to buy'	wəx(ə)l-	wóxest-
arwedál 'to hear'	arwed-	wórwed-
		owred- ^{MIR}
		warwed- ^{WAA}
āṛawál 'to overturn (intrans)'	wovɾ-	wuṛew-
	owaɾ-	woṛaw-
		wiweššt-
āṛawál 'to overturn (trans)'	āṛaw-	wu-āṛaw-
	woṛāw-	woṛaw-
woyestál 'to put on (clothing)'	woyund-	wóyest-

Table 8.15: Waziri verbs: forms corresponding to GP *a*-initial verbs

Verb	Present continuous base	Past aorist base
čawól 'to throw'	---	o-čow-
		wə-čow-
		wə-čaw-
(o)xostál 'to take, catch'	(o)x(wə)l-	óxwəst-
(o)r(w)edál 'to hear'	(o)r(w)-	órwed-
(a)ṛawól 'to reverse, overturn (trans)'	aṛaw-	wu-āṛaw-
		woṛaw-
(o)ɣwəstál 'to dress'	(o)ɣwənd-	(ó)ɣwest-
(o)wəxtál 'to cross, go to'	(o)wəɾ-	ówəxt-

Table 8.16: Dzadrani verbs: forms corresponding to GP *a*-initial verbs

8.2.5.4 Second conjugation

Aorist formation: shift stress to prefix

Second conjugation verbs in Pashto are complex verbs (Section 8.2.4); they are all of the form *prefix + stem*, although not all of those so-called prefixes have a recognizable meaning. We call them all *prefixes* because they all behave the same way morphosyntactically: they undergo stress shift to form the aorist, and they can be separated from the stem by a second-position clitic or the negative morpheme (Section 11.2.3.2.2).¹⁰

Although the forms may differ, second conjugation verbs in the Middle dialects behave similarly to those of the GP dialects.

Pashto second conjugation verbs form the aorist by shifting the stress to their prefix, as in Table 8.17. If the prefix has more than one syllable, the stress goes on the first syllable.

Verb	Stem	Present aorist base
پورې وهل pore-wahâl 'to push'	پورې وه pore-wah	پورې وه póre-wah-
پرېمېنځل pre-mindzâl 'to wash'	پرېمېنځ pre-mindz	پرېمېنځ pré-mindz-
درکول där-kawâl 'to give to you'	درکړ där-kړ	درکړ där-kړ-

Table 8.17: Second conjugation verbs: aorist bases (present tense)

There are two kinds of prefixed verbs: those formed with one of the three deictic prefixes (see Section 7.4) را /rā/ 'here; to me', در /där/ 'there; to you', and ور /wār/ 'there; to him/her/them', and those with other types of prefixes. They are sometimes written as one word and sometimes as two.

¹⁰ We differ from both Penzl (1955) and Heston (1992) in not grouping کېدل /kedâl/ 'to become' and کول /kawâl/ 'to make; to do' with the prefixed verbs under one conjugation class. Our reason is that they do not fit our criteria: when they occur as independent verbs (see Section 8.2.5.2), their aorist formation puts them with first conjugation verbs; when they occur as verbalizers (see Section 8.2.8), they do not fit into any conjugation class because they form the aorist irregularly.

8.2.5.5 Third conjugation

8.2.5.5.1 Forming the aorist in third conjugation verbs

Aorist formation: shift stress from verb to complement and use irregular aorist forms of کول /kawâl/ or کېدل /kedâl/

(All forms are uncontracted in the aorist aspect.)

Third conjugation verbs are the most common and the most complicated of Pashto verb types. They consist of the majority of denominal verbs (Section 8.2.4.4)—all of those with adjective complements and most of those with noun complements. Among the denominal verbs whose complement is a noun, however, there are some that are less lexicalized and form the aorist with و /wâ-/; they therefore belong to the first conjugation.

Third conjugation verbs form the aorist by:

- shifting stress from the second element (the verbalizer) to the first element (the noun or adjective complement), according to the lexical stress of that complement
- using the irregular aorist forms of the verbalizer (rather than the forms with و /wâ-/)

Although many third conjugation verbs are contracted in the continuous aspect, in aorist constructions, the complement is always separate from the verbalizer. (See Section 8.2.8.2 and Section 8.2.8.3 for these aorist forms.) The forms in Table 8.18 illustrate some separated aorist forms of contracted denominal verbs.

8.2.5.5.2 A special case of third conjugation verbs: infinitive/past participle + کېدل /kedâl/

Sometimes the complement of a third conjugation verb with کېدل /kedâl/ is an infinitive or a past participle. This construction is often referred to by other grammars of Pashto as the Pashto *passive*, because it is best translated with an English passive construction:

- وهل /wahâl/ ‘to beat, strike’
 وهل کېدل /wahâl kedâl/ ‘to be beaten’
 وهلى کېدل /wahâlay kedâl/ ‘to be beaten’
- ليکل /likâl/ ‘to write’
 کيدل ليکل /likâl kedâl/ ‘to be written’
 ليکلى کېدل /likâlay kedâl/ ‘to be written’
- ليدل /lidâl/ ‘to see’
 کيدل ليدل /lidâl kedâl/ ‘to be seen’
 ليدلى کېدل /lidâlay kedâl/ ‘to be seen’

However, because these constructions parallel the structure of other third conjugation verbs and because there are many other Pashto intransitive verbs—both simplex and complex—that can be translated by the English passive,¹¹ we see no reason to place infinitive + کېدل /kedâl/ constructions in a special category. For these reasons, we classify them as denominal verbs. See Section 8.5.5.2 for discussion and examples.

For example sentences using this construction, see Section 11.3.1.5.

8.2.6 Stem classes and the four bases

Pashto verbs fall into two stem classes depending on how many stem allomorphs they have. Some descriptions have referred to all Pashto verbs with stem allomorphy as *irregular*; however, we feel this term is inaccurate, as many of them share somewhat regular patterns in their formation, and furthermore, their number is too large to consider them out of the ordinary, as *irregular* also implies. Drawing on Indo-European grammatical tradition, we call verbs with no stem allomorphy *weak* verbs, and those with stem allomorphy of any degree, *strong* verbs. As can be seen in Table 8.19, strong Pashto verbs can have as many as four stems.

¹¹ For example: the simplex verbs پړېدل /pæzedâl/ ‘to be wounded’, and غلېدل /ɣuledâl/ ‘to be deceived’; and the complex (denominal) verbs ازادېدل /azâdedâl/ ‘to be freed’ and جوړېدل /joɾedâl/ ‘to be made/built’.

Stem class	Verb	Present aorist stem	Present continuous stem	Past continuous stem	Past aorist stem
Strong	بېول biwāl ‘to lead away’	بوز bóz-	بیای byāy-	بیو biw-	بوت bót-
	وړل wṛəl ‘to carry’	یوس yós-	وړد wṛ-		یوړد yówṛ-
	ختل xatól ‘to rise’	خېژ xež-		خت xat-	
Weak	تړل taṛəl ‘to tie’		تړ taṛ-		
	رسېدل rasedál ‘to arrive’		رس ras-		
	اچول ačawəl ‘to throw’		اچو ačaw-		

Table 8.19: Verbs and their stems: strong and weak

These stems are the basis for the four morphological building blocks upon which all Pashto verbs are formed. (See Section 8.1.1 and Section 8.2.6.1.) Most Pashto grammars extend the term *stem* to include these building blocks, but since, strictly speaking, the *stem* of a verb includes only derivational material, while the building blocks also contain inflectional material—for tense and aspect—we prefer to avoid this looser terminology and instead refer to the latter as *bases*. We confine our use of *stem* to forms that include only (1) a plain verbal form or one with derivational affixes, as for example prefixed verbs (Section 8.2.4.3); or (2) a nominal complement-verb construction, in the case of contracted denominal verbs (Section 8.2.4.4). We do so in order to distinguish in our descriptions the more elemental stems from the partially inflected building blocks.

Two comments are pertinent here. First, one could probably speak theoretically of Pashto verb *roots* in addition to stems and bases—and certainly so in a historical-comparative discussion—but the concept is not necessary to a synchronic description. Second, the term *base* is frequently used as a synonym for *root*; we therefore acknowledge we are co-opting it for this new sense; however, there is no loss to the accurate description of Pashto in doing so.

8.2.6.1 The four verb bases

Pashto verb bases are formed according to the two parameters of tense (present/past) and aspect (continuous/aorist). In Pashto, the past tense of weak verbs is indicated by either the suffix ـﺎ /-â-/ (for transitive verbs)¹² or ـﺎد /-ed(-â-)/ (for intransitives), and the present tense either by the absence of this suffix (transitives), or by the suffix ـﺎږ /-êg-/ (intransitives), while the past tense of strong verbs is indicated by stem allomorphy. The aorist aspect is indicated by the stressed prefix ـﻮ /wâ-/ or (in the case of complex verbs) by stress on the prefix or complement, and the continuous aspect by the absence of ـﻮ /wâ-/ or stress on the verb itself rather than the prefix or complement. The result of these two binary choices, present/past and continuous/aorist, is the following four-way contrast of bases:

1. present continuous
2. present aorist
3. past continuous
4. past aorist

To these bases can be added either:

- a PNG suffix

¹² Although see Section 8.3.3 for a more complete discussion of how past tense is encoded in the morphology.

- an imperative or optative suffix, or
- an adjectival suffix (to form a participle)

The result is a fully inflected Pashto verb. See Table 8.1 and Table 8.2 for a schematization of verb formation. Both present and imperative forms are formed on present bases; past, optative, and infinitive forms are formed on past bases. Three of the four bases are also used as the base of participles (see Section 8.2.9). The way the four bases are formed from the stems of the verb is described in the following sections. In a few cases of strong verbs with four stem allomorphs, the stems and bases may coincide.

The 𐰋 /-ə́l-/ suffix of the past base is sometimes optional or even disallowed: it is required only in weak transitive verbs (see Section 8.2.6.2), whose past continuous base would otherwise be identical to the present continuous base. For all other verbs, whose past and present stems differ, the 𐰋 /-ə́l-/ suffix is optional in first and second person forms and is prohibited in third masculine singular forms. Conversely, in third plural masculine forms, 𐰋 /-ə́l-/ is usually present, and the PNG suffix is encoded therein. Because they share an identical suffix, the past continuous base of any Pashto verb is formally identical to its infinitive.

8.2.6.2 Weak verbs (one stem)

Weak verbs have a single stem from which all four bases are predictable. Among weak verbs, intransitives and transitives have different, though predictable, shape: the bases of intransitive verbs have an extra affix after the stem, one for present and one for past tense. Examples are given in Table 8.20 through Table 8.22.

Formation of bases for weak verbs, first conjugation:

Transitive (see Table 8.20):

- present continuous base = **stem**
- present aorist base: ډ /wá-/ + **stem**
- past continuous base: **stem** + 𐰋 /-ə́l-/ (**suffix obligatory**)
- past aorist base: ډ /wá-/ + **stem** + 𐰋 /-ə́l-/ (**suffix obligatory**)

Intransitive (see Table 8.21):

- present continuous base: **stem** + ځ /-eg/
- present aorist base: ډ /wá-/ + **stem** + ځ /-eg/
- past continuous base: **stem** + ځ /-ed/ (+ 𐰋 /-ə́l-/—**prohibited in 3SGM; optional elsewhere**)

تړل taṛál 'to tie'	Stem	Continuous base	Aorist base
Present	تړ taṛ	تړ taṛ-	وتړ wā-taṛ-
Past		تړل taṛ-ál-	وتړل wā-taṛ-əl-

Table 8.20: Weak verb bases: first conjugation (transitive)

رسیدل rasédal 'to arrive'	Stem	Continuous base	Aorist base
Present	رس ras	رسېږ ras-eg-	ورسېږ wā-ras-eg-
Past		رسېدل(ل) ras-ed(-ál)-	ورسېدل(ل) wā-ras-ed(-əl)-

Table 8.21: Weak verb bases: first conjugation (intransitive)

- past aorist base: ـو /wâ-/ + stem + ـد /-ed/(+ ـل /-əl/- **prohibited in 3SGM; optional elsewhere**)

Formation of bases for weak verbs, second conjugation (see Table 8.22):

- present continuous base = **stem**
- present aorist base: **stressed prefix + stem**
- past continuous base: **prefix + stem + ل** /-əl-/(**suffix obligatory**)
- past aorist base: **stressed prefix + stem + ل** /-əl-/(**suffix obligatory**)

In the second conjugation, aorists are formed by a shift of stress to the existing prefix, rather than the addition of the ـو /wâ-/ prefix. Note that ورل /wɾ-əl/ ‘to carry’ is weak when it is the stem of a prefixed verb and strong when it occurs alone. See Table 8.27.

راورل rāwɾəl ‘to bring (to me)’	Stem	Continuous base	Aorist base
Present	راور rā-wɾ	راور rā-wɾ	راور rā-wɾ
Past		راورل rā-wɾ-əl	راور rā-wɾ-əl

Table 8.22: Weak verb bases: second conjugation

8.2.6.3 Strong verbs (more than one stem)

It is not feasible at this time to provide an exhaustive list of the Pashto strong verbs. Forms vary tremendously across dialects; furthermore, what is strong in one area may be weak in another; for example, the verb ختل /xatəl/ ‘to rise’, which has a strong aorist masculine singular base in most dialects (وخوت /wəxot-/), has وخت /wəxat-/ for a base in NE Pashto.

8.2.6.3.1 Strong verbs with two stems¹³

These verbs have two different stems; present bases are predictable from one stem, and past bases from the other. The two stems have no predictable similarity to each other, although many can be grouped loosely together according to shared initial sound or sounds (see Table 8.37); others are simply suppletive (see Table 8.24). Examples are given in Table 8.23 through Table 8.25.

Formation of bases for strong verbs, first conjugation (two stems) (see Table 8.23):

- present continuous base = **present stem**
- present aorist base: **و /wâ-/ + present stem**
- past continuous base: **past stem (+ ٲ /-âl-/— prohibited in 3SGM; optional elsewhere)**
- past aorist base: **و /wâ-/ + past stem (+ ٲ /-âl-/— prohibited in 3SGM; optional elsewhere)**

ختل <i>xatól</i> 'to rise'	Stem	Continuous base	Aorist base
Present	خېژ <i>xéž</i>	خېژ- <i>xéž-</i>	و خېژ- <i>wâ-xež-</i>
Past	خوت <i>xot</i>	خوت(ل)- <i>xot(-âl)-</i>	و خوت(ل)- <i>wâ-xot(-âl)-</i>

Table 8.23: Strong verb bases: first conjugation (two stems)

Formation of bases for strong verbs, second conjugation (two stems) (see Table 8.25):

- present continuous base = **present stem**
- present aorist base: **stressed prefix + present stem**
- past continuous base: **prefix + past stem (+ ٲ /-âl-/— prohibited in 3SGM; optional elsewhere)**

¹³ Equivalent to Penzl's *Class II* (excluding the intransitives with -eg- and -ed-) and *Class III* and to Heston's *second conjugation/irregular verbs*.

ليدل lidâl 'to see'	Stem	Continuous base	Aorist base
Present	وين win	وين- win-	ووين wâ-win-
Past	ليد lid	ليد(ل)- lid(-âl)-	ولييد(ل)- wâ-lid(-æl)-

Table 8.24: Strong suppletive verb, first conjugation (two stems)

- past aorist base: **stressed prefix + past stem (+ ل /-âl/- prohibited in 3SGM; optional elsewhere)**

پړېوتل pre-wat-âl 'to fall'	Stem	Continuous base	Aorist base
Present	پړېوز- pre-wâz-	پړېوز- pre-wâz-	پړېوز- pré-wâz-
Past	پړېوت wat	پړېوت(ل)- pre-wat(-âl)-	پړېوت(ل)- pré-wat(-æl)-

Table 8.25: Strong verb bases: second conjugation (two stems)

8.2.6.3.2 Strong verbs with three or four stems¹⁴

In verbs with three or four stems, the four bases are not predictable from each other. There are six simplex multi-stem verbs; note that three of them form the base for deictic prefixed verbs. The last table therefore gives the a paradigm of the combining forms for تلل /tlâl/ 'to go' when it forms the base of a prefixed verb with the deictic prefixes. The prefixed verbs based on كول /kawâl/ 'to do' use its irregular forms (listed elsewhere

¹⁴ Equivalent to Penzl's *Class IV* and Heston's *fourth conjugation/double verbs*.

in Section 8.2.8.3), and those based on the otherwise multi-stem verb وړل /wɾəl/ ‘to carry’, use its weak stem (as illustrated by Table 8.22).

Formation of bases for strong verbs (three or four stems) (see Table 8.26 through Table 8.32):

- Present continuous base = **(present) continuous stem**
- Present aorist base: ـو /wâ-/ + **present aorist stem**
- Past continuous base: **(past continuous) stem** + (ـل /-âl/- **—prohibited in 3SGM; optional elsewhere**)
- Past aorist base: ـو /wâ-/ + **past aorist stem** + (ـل /-âl/- **—prohibited in 3SGM; optional elsewhere**)

The bases and stems for the six simplex members and one complex member of this class of multi-stem strong verbs are listed in Table 8.26 through Table 8.32. The first four verbs in these tables are transitive; the remaining three are intransitive. Note that two of these seven verbs, کول /kawâl/ ‘to do’ and کېول /kedâl/ ‘to become’, are also used as verbalizers (Section 8.2.4.4), and when they are, their aorist forms are not formed with the first conjugation prefix ـو /wâ-/, but are irregular. The paradigms for these verbs in their verbalizer role are in Section 8.2.8. The parenthetical ړ /ɾ/ in the present aorist base of کول /kawâl/ ‘to do’ indicates that it is frequently elided in speech.

	Continuous		Aorist	
	Stem	Base	Stem	Base
Present	کو kaw	ـکو kaw-	کړ k(ɾ)	وکړ wâ-k(ɾ)-
Past		کول kaw-âl	کړ kɾ	وکړل wâ-kɾ-əl-

Table 8.26: Strong verb bases: کول /kawâl/ ‘to do’

The verb bases of /kawâl/ ‘to do’ and /kedâl/ ‘to become’ in the Middle dialects are in Table 8.33 through Table 8.36. Notice that in both Waziri and Dzadrani, the stem of the past tense reduces when taking /-ə/ as a suffix: /kɾ-/ → /k-/ and /šw-/ → /š-/.

	Continuous		Aorist	
	Stem	Base	Stem	Base
Present	وړ wɾ	-وړ wɾ-	يوس yós	يوس- yós-
Past		وړل wɾ-əl-	يووړ yówɾ	يووړل yówɾ-əl-

Table 8.27: Strong verb bases: وړل /wɾəl/ 'to carry'

	Continuous		Aorist	
	Stem	Base	Stem	Base
Present	بياي byāy	بياي- byāy-	بوز bóz	بوز- bóz-
Past	بيو biw	ببول biw-əl-	بوت(ل) bót(l)	بوت(ل)- bót(l)-əl-

Table 8.28: Strong verb bases: ببول /biwāl/ 'to lead away'

	Continuous		Aorist	
	Stem	Base	Stem	Base
Present	(اي)رد (i)gd	(اي)رد- (i)gd-	كښېرد kxégd	كښېرد- kxégd-
Past	اينود / كښېنود ixod/kxéxod	اينودل / كښېنودل ixod- əl/kxéxod-əl	كښېنود kxéxod	كښېنودل kxéxod-əl-

Table 8.29: Strong verb bases: اينودل /ixodāl/ 'to put'

كېدل <i>kedâl</i> 'to become'	Continuous		Aorist	
	Stem	Base	Stem	Base
Present	كېز <i>kég</i>	كېز- <i>kég-</i>	ش <i>š</i>	وشد <i>wā-š-</i>
Past	كېد <i>ked</i>	كېدل <i>ked-âl-</i>	شو <i>šw</i>	(و)شول <i>wā-šw-âl-</i>

Table 8.30: Strong verb bases: كېدل /*kedâl*/ 'to become'

تلل <i>tlâl</i> 'to go'	Continuous		Aorist	
	Stem	Base	Stem	Base
Present	خ <i>č</i>	خ <i>č-</i>	(و)لاړ <i>(w)lār</i>	(و)لاړشد <i>(w)lār š-</i>
Past	ت(ل) <i>tl</i>	ت(ل)ل <i>tl-(âl-)</i>	(و)لاړ <i>(w)lār</i>	(و)لاړل <i>(w)lār-âl-</i>

Table 8.31: Strong verb bases: تلل /*tlâl*/ 'to go'

راتلل <i>rātlâl</i> 'to come'	Continuous		Aorist	
	Stem	Base	Stem	Base
Present	راغ <i>rāč</i>	راخ <i>rāč-</i>	راش <i>rāš</i>	راشد <i>rāš-</i>
Past	راتل <i>rātl</i>	راتل(ل) <i>rātl-(âl-)</i>	راغ <i>rāy</i>	راغ(ل) <i>rāy-(âl-)</i>

Table 8.32: Strong verb bases: راتلل /*rātlâl*/ 'to come'

kawál 'to do'	Continuous		Aorist	
	Root	Base	Root	Base
Present	kaw- k-	kaw- k-	k-	wá-k-
Past	kaw- kɾ-	kaw-ál- kɾ(-əl)-	kɾ-	wá-kɾ(-əl)-

Table 8.33: Waziri strong verb bases: /kawál/ 'to do'

kawál 'to do'	Continuous		Aorist	
	Root	Base	Root	Base
Present	k-	k-	k-	wá-k-
Past	kɾ-	kɾ(-əl)-	kɾ	wá-kɾ(-əl)-

Table 8.34: Dzadrani strong verb bases: /kawál/ 'to do'

kedál 'to become'	Continuous		Aorist	
	Root	Base	Root	Base
Present	kež- š-	kež- š-	š-	wá-š-
Past	ked- šw-	ked(-ál)- šw(-əl)-	šw-	wá-šw(-əl)-

Table 8.35: Waziri strong verb bases: /kedál/ 'to become'

kedál 'to become'	Continuous		Aorist	
	Root	Base	Root	Base
Present	š-	š-	š-	wá-š-
Past	šw-	šw(-əl)-	šw-	wá-šw(-əl)-

Table 8.36: Dzadrani strong verb bases: /kedál/ 'to become'

8.2.6.3.3 List of strong verbs

Table 8.37 shows some strong Pashto verbs, grouped according to similarity of morphological patterns.¹⁵

Table 8.37: Strong verbs

Infinitive	3rd sg. pres.	3rd sg. masc. past aorist
الوتل <i>alwotál</i> 'to fly [away]'	الوزي <i>álwozi</i>	الوت <i>wálwot</i>
پرېوتل <i>prewatál</i> 'to fall'	پرېوږي <i>prewúzi</i>	پرېوت <i>préwot</i>
پوري وتل <i>poriwatál</i> 'to cross'	پوري وږي <i>poriwúzi</i>	پوري ووت <i>póriwot</i>
ننوتل <i>nənawatál</i> 'to enter'	ننوزي <i>nənawúzi</i>	ننوت <i>nánawot</i>
وتل <i>watál</i> 'to go out'	وږي <i>wúzi</i>	ووت <i>wáwot</i>
پېژندل <i>pežandál</i> 'to know'	پېژني <i>péžani</i>	وېژاند <i>wápežānd</i>
کيندل <i>kindál</i> , کنل <i>kinál</i> 'to dig'	کني <i>kíni</i>	وکنده <i>wákində</i>
ایستل <i>istál</i> 'to pull [out]'	باسي <i>bāsi</i>	وايست <i>wáist</i> , <i>wúyust</i>
پرېيستل <i>preistál</i> 'to throw, pack'	پرېباسي <i>prebāsi</i>	پرې ايست <i>préist</i>
ننه ایستل <i>nənaistál</i> 'to introduce'	ننه باسي <i>nənabāsi</i>	ننه یوست <i>nənaist</i> , <i>nənayust</i>

¹⁵ Adapted from Shafeev (1964).

Table 8.37: (continued)

Infinitive	3rd sg. pres.	3rd sg. masc. past aorist
اوبىتل awuštál 'to turn over'	اوري awoři	واوبىت wāwušt
غوبىتل ɣuštál 'to want'	غواري ɣwāři	وغوبىت wāɣušt
غبىتل ɣəštál 'to twist'	غري ɣaři	وغبىت wāɣəšt
نغبىتل nyəštál 'to wrap up'	نغاري nyāři	ونغبىت wānyəšt
اروبدل arwedál 'to hear'	اروي árwi	وروده wārwedə
ايشبىدل išedál 'to boil'	ايشي iši	وايشبده wāišedə
برېښبىدل brešedál 'to shine, appear'	برېښي bréši	وبرېښبده wābrešedə
درومېدل drumedál 'to march'	درومي drúmi	ودرومېده wādrumedə
زېرېدل zežedál 'to be born'	زېري zīři	وزېرېده wāzežedə
اخېنېل axšál 'to mix up'	اخېري axží	واخېنه wāaxšə
مېنېل mušál 'to rub'	مېري muží	ومېنه wāmušə
رانېول rāniwál 'to buy [up]'	رانېسي rānisi	رانېو rāniw
نيول niwál 'to take, seize'	نېسي nīsi	ونېو wāniw
اخېستل axistál 'to take, get'	اخلي āxli	واخېست wāxist
راوستل rāwustál 'to bring'	راولي rāwəli	راوست rāwust
لوستل lwastál 'to read'	لولي lwəli	ولوست wālwast
ځغىستل dzyastál 'to run'	ځغلي dzyalí	وځغاست wādzyast
راکېنېل rākšál 'to extract'	راکاري rākāži	راوکېنې rāwúkiš
کېنېل kšəl 'to pull'	کاري kāži	وکېنې wākiš
اغوستل aɣustál 'to dress'	اغوندي aɣundí	واغوست wāɣust
اودل udál 'to weave, knit'	اويې úwi, úyi	واوده wāudə
ايښودل išodál 'to lay down'	ايردي iždi	کښې ښود kšéšod
بلل balál 'to call, count'	بولي bóli	وباله wābālə

Table 8.37: (continued)

Infinitive	3rd sg. pres.	3rd sg. masc. past aorist
بھول biwál 'to lead, steal'	بیای biāí	بوت bot
پرائیتل prānitál 'to open'	پرائیڈی prānidzi	پرائیت prānit
پرہنبودل preṣodál 'to leave, allow'	پرہرڈی prēždi	پرہی پرہود preṣod
پیرودل perodál 'to buy'	پیری píri	وپیرود wāperod
تلل tlál 'to go'	ڈی dži	ولار wālar
چاودل čaudál 'to split'	چوی čawí	وچاود wāčāud
چول čawál 'to blow up'	چوی čawí	وچاوه wāčāwə
ٹھکل tskal 'to smoke'	ٹھکی tski	وٹھکاوه wātskāwə
ٹھکل tsakál 'to drink, taste'	ٹھکی tsakí	وٹھکاه wātsakə
ختل xatál 'to ascend'	خہڑی xéži	وختوت wāxot
راتلل rātlál 'to arrive'	راخی rādzi	راغی rāyay
رودل rudál 'to suck [out]'	روی rōwi	وروده wārudə
سکھنتل skəštál 'to cut [off]'	سکھی skəṇí	وسکھنت wāskəṣt
سول swál, سوخل swaḍál 'to burn [down]'	سوخی swaḍí	وسو wāsu
سھول šowál 'to show'	سھی šāyi	سھوئی wāšow
کتل katál 'to look'	کوری gōri	وکوت wākot
کھنپکھنل kṣekṣál 'to rub'	کھنپکاری kṣekāži	کھنپکھنود kṣekṣod
کھنپھنستل kṣenastál 'to sit [down]'	کھنپھنی kṣéni	کھنپھنوست kṣénost
کول kawál 'to do'	کوی kawí	وکھ wākəṛ
کھدل kedál 'to become'	کھڑی kéži	وسو wāsu
لرل larál 'to have'	لری larí	درلود darlod
لیدل lidál 'to see'	وینی wíni	ولید wālid
میندل mindál 'to find'	مومی múmi	ومینده wāminda
نھنتل nštál 'to stick to'	نھنلی nšáli	ونھنت wānṣəṭ

Table 8.37: (continued)

Infinitive	3rd sg. pres.	3rd sg. masc. past aorist
ورل wɾəl 'to take [away]'	وري wɾi	يوور yuwúɾ
وژل wažál 'to kill, execute'	وژني wāžni	وواژه wáwāžə
ويشتل wištál 'to shoot'	ولي wáli	ووېشت wáwišt
ويل wayál 'to speak'	وايي wāi	ووايه wáwāyə

8.2.7 The causative morpheme

As shown in Table 8.1 and Table 8.2, causative verbs consist of verb stem plus an affix *-aw-*. The result is a verb with the meaning *to make (someone/something) do X*, where *do X* is the original verb. In the case of verbs with more than one stem, some causative forms use the present and some the past stem, depending on the verb. Our data do not suggest a rule for which stem is used, and in some cases, both forms exist, as can be seen in the fourth example in Table 8.38. Causative verbs belong to the first conjugation (see Section 8.2.5.2).

The causative suffix is no longer productive. In modern Pashto, a caused event can be expressed periphrastically rather than derivationally, with a phrase that consists of a verb meaning 'to force; to compel' plus either an infinitive or present aorist form of the verb that represents the event being caused. (See Section 11.5.) Since the outcomes of causative affixation are lexicalized, we do not gloss it in our interlinear examples.

Present stem	Past stem	Causative
لول lwal- 'read'	لوست lwast- 'read'	لولول lwal-aw-ál 'to teach' [lit. <i>to cause to read</i>]
الوز- alwuz- 'fly'	الوت alwut- 'fly'	الوزول alwuz-aw-ál 'to make fly, to explode'
خپږ xež- 'climb'	خت xat- 'climb'	خپږول xež-aw-ál 'to make climb'
اغوند- ayund- 'dress'	اغوست- ayust- 'dress'	اغوندول ayund-aw-ál 'to make dress' اغوستول ayust-aw-ál 'to make dress'
خاند xānd- 'laugh'	خند xand- 'laugh'	خندول xand-aw-ál 'to make laugh'
زانگ zāng- 'rock, swing'	زنگ zang- 'rock, swing'	زنگول zang-aw-ál 'to rock [e.g., in a cradle]'

Table 8.38: Causative verbs

8.2.8 The auxiliary *to be* and the verbalizers کېدل /kedâl/ and کول /kawâl/

The three Pashto verbs *to be*, کېدل /kedâl/ 'to become', and کول /kawâl/ 'to make; to do' are all used with other verbs to form morphologically complicated verb constructions. The verb *to be* is used in compound verb constructions (Section 8.4), while کېدل /kedâl/ and کول /kawâl/ are used to form denominal verbs (Section 8.2.4.4). Most Pashto grammars refer to all three as *auxiliary verbs*, but properly speaking, only *to be* is an auxiliary. This grammar therefore adopts the term *verbalizer* for کېدل /kedâl/ and کول /kawâl/ when used as light verbs in denominal constructions. (See the second footnote of Section 8.2.4.4.)

The uses of these three verbs will be described later; for now we are only providing tables of their inflected forms, as they are irregular and are among the building blocks necessary to form verb constructions. The verbalizers have double sets of aorist forms: one with the aorist prefix و- /wâ-/ and one without; the stems remain identical. The tables in this section list the irregular forms; that is, those without و- /wâ-/, because they are the forms used as verbalizers. When کېدل /kedâl/ and کول /kawâl/ are used as main verbs, they have regular aorist forms that take و- /wâ-/.

The Middle dialects use the three Pashto verbs *to be*, /kedál/ ‘to become’, and /kawól/ ‘to make; to do’ in the same way as the General Pashto dialects do, but some of the forms differ. Tables of their respective paradigms are in the following sections.

Some authors describe the existential particle شته /šta/ as an alternative form of *to be*. We treat it as a sentence-level operator: see Section 10.1.1.

8.2.8.1 Forms of *to be*

As is typical of Indo-European languages, the verb *to be* in Pashto is irregular. Indeed, alone among Pashto verbs, the verb *to be* does not even have a standard infinitive or citation form, so in English it is commonly referred to by the infinitive of its English gloss, *to be*, or sometimes by its first person singular present continuous form, یم /yəm/. It also has suppletive stems; for example, ی /y-/ for first and second person present continuous forms, but د /d-/ for third person present continuous. In addition, in General Pashto and Waziri, *to be* does not have separate aorist forms, with the exception in General Pashto of the third person present form وي /wi/ ‘he/she/it is, they are’. In the first and second person, speakers will use either present continuous forms of *to be* or present aorist forms of کېدل /kedál/ ‘to become’ where one might expect present aorist forms, as in 8.43 below. Dzadrani does have distinct forms of *to be* for the present continuous and present aorist. There is no aspectual distinction in the past tense of *to be* of any of the dialects; i.e., there are no past aorist forms for *to be*.

In Pashto *to be* may act as the copula and also as an auxiliary verb in a compound tense construction (see Section 8.5.3). The forms of *to be* are shown in Table 8.39 through Table 8.48.

Imperative forms of the verb *to be* are built from the present aorist base شه /š-/-. The singular uses a special form, شه /ša/ ‘be!’, while the plural uses the second person plural form, شئ /šəy/ ‘be!’:

<i>to be</i>		Singular	Plural
1st		یَم yəm	یو yu
2nd		یِ ye	یاستِ yāstəy یِ yəy (E) یاست yāst (S)
3rd	M	دِ day (E) دِه da (E) دِئ dəy (W)	دِ di
	F	دِه da; də(W)	

Table 8.39: GP present continuous of *to be*

<i>to be</i>		Singular	Plural
1st		yəm(a) yā	yi
2nd		ye	yāstəy
3rd	M	day	di
	F	do	

Table 8.40: Waziri present continuous of *to be*

<i>to be</i>		Singular	Plural
1st		yəm(a)	yi
2nd		ye	yəy
3rd	M	day	di
	F	do	

Table 8.41: Dzadrani present continuous of *to be*

<i>to be</i>		Singular	Plural
1st		Present continuous forms of <i>to be</i> , or present aorist forms of كيدل <i>kedāl</i> 'to become' (see text)	
2nd			
3rd	M	وي wi	
	F		

Table 8.42: GP present aorist of *to be* (= present continuous except in 3rd person)

<i>to be</i>		Singular	Plural
1st		Present continuous forms of <i>to be</i> , or present aorist forms of <i>kedāl</i> 'to become' (see text)	
2nd			
3rd	M	wi	
	F		

Table 8.43: Waziri present aorist of *to be* (= present continuous except in 3rd person)

<i>to be</i>		Singular	Plural
1st		wəm(a)	wi
2nd		we	wəy
3rd	M	wi	? (Septfonds is unclear on this form.)
	F		

Table 8.44: Dzadrani present aorist of *to be*

<i>to be</i>		Singular	Plural
1st		وم wəm	وو wu
2nd		وي we	وستي wastəy وي wəy ^E واست wāst ^{sw}
3rd	M	ؤ و وو wə	وو wə ول wəl
	F	وه wa wə ^{sw}	وي we

Table 8.45: GP past of *to be*

<i>to be</i>	Singular	Plural
1st	wəm(a) wā	wi
2nd	we	wāstəy
3rd	M	wə
	F	wa
		wi
		we

Table 8.46: Waziri past of *to be*

<i>to be</i>	Singular	Plural
1st	wəm(a)	wi
2nd	we	wəy
3rd	M	wə
	F	wa
		wi
		we

Table 8.47: Dzadrani past of *to be*

<i>to be</i>	Singular	Plural
2nd	شە šə	شەي šəy

Table 8.48: Imperative of *to be*

8.2.8.2 Forms of كېدل /kedál/ ‘to become’

The present continuous forms of the intransitive verbalizer كېدل /kedál/ ‘to become’ are shown in Table 8.49, Table 8.50, and Table 8.51.

كېدل kedál ‘to become’	Singular	Plural
1st	كېگەم kégəṃ	كېگەۋ kégəw
2nd	كېگەي kége	كېگەي kégəy
3rd	M كېگەي kégi	
	F	

Table 8.49: GP present continuous of كېدل /kedál/ ‘to become’

kedál ‘to become’	Singular	Plural
1st	kéžəṃ(a) kežā	kéži
2nd	kéže	kéžəy
3rd	M kéži	
	F	

Table 8.50: Waziri present continuous of /kedál/ ‘to become’

The present aorist forms of كېدل /kedál/ ‘to become’ are shown in Table 8.52, Table 8.53, and Table 8.54. They are often pronounced with an initial /s/ in ordinary speech in the Southwest dialect, although speakers may have /š/ in reading and careful

kedál 'to become'		Singular	Plural
1st		kégam(a)	kégi
2nd		kége	kégəy
3rd	M	kégi	
	F		

Table 8.51: Dzadrani present continuous of /kedál/ 'to become'

کېدل kedál 'to become'		Singular	Plural
1st		شم šəm	شو šu
2nd		شې še	شې šəy
3rd	M	شې ši	
	F		

Table 8.52: GP present aorist of کېدل /kedál/ 'to become'

kedál 'to become'		Singular	Plural
1st		šəm(a) šā	ši
2nd		še	šəy
3rd	M	ši	
	F		

Table 8.53: Waziri present aorist of /kedál/ 'to become'

kedâl 'to become'		Singular	Plural
1st		šəm(a)	ši
2nd		še	šəy
3rd	M	ši	
	F		

Table 8.54: Dzadrani present aorist of /kedâl/ 'to become'

speech. In General Pashto and Waziri, the first and second person forms are identical to those of the present aorist forms of *to be* (Table 8.42).

The past continuous forms of کپدل /kedâl/ 'to become' are shown in Table 8.55 and Table 8.57. Our reading of Lorimer is that Waziri does not distinguish aspect for /kedâl/ 'to become' in the past tense, so we have only past forms for that dialect (Table 8.56). Although Septfonds does not list any past forms of /kedâl/ 'to become' with the past tense affix /-əl-/, in his discussion of Dzadrani verbs in general, he does say that it "serves only to relieve ambiguities" (Septfonds, 1994: 141), which implies that it may also appear in forms of /kedâl/ 'to become'. Moreover, as can be seen elsewhere in this grammar, /-əl-/ is used in both General Pashto and Waziri forms of /kedâl/ 'to become'. However, we have no data to confirm this supposition, so we are not listing forms with /-əl-/ for Dzadrani.

The past aorist forms of کپدل /kedâl/ 'to become' are shown in Table 8.58 and Table 8.59. See Table 8.56 for past forms of Waziri کپدل /kedâl/ 'to become', which may not distinguish aspect.

كېدل <i>kedál</i> 'to become'		Singular	Plural
1st		كېدل(ل)م <i>ked(ál)ám</i>	كېدل(ل)و <i>ked(ál)ú</i>
2nd		كېدل(ل)ې <i>ked(ál)é</i>	كېدل(ل)ئى <i>ked(ál)áy</i>
3rd	M	كېدە <i>kedá</i>	كېدل(ە) <i>kedál(á)</i>
	F	كېدل(ل)ە <i>ked(ál)á</i>	كېدل(ل)ى <i>ked(ál)é</i>

Table 8.55: GP past continuous of كېدل /*kedál*/ 'to become'

<i>kedál</i> 'to become'		Singular	Plural
1st		šw(ál)əm(a) sw(ál)ā	šw(ál)i
2nd		šw(ál)e	šw(ál)əy
3rd	M	šə	šwəl
	F	šw(ál)a	šw(ál)e

Table 8.56: Waziri past continuous of /*kedál*/ 'to become'

kedál 'to become'		Singular	Plural
1st		kedám(a)	kedī
2nd		kede	kedáy
3rd	M	kedá	kedá(l)
	F	keda	kedé

Table 8.57: Dzadrani past continuous of /kedál/ 'to become'

کېدل kedál 'to become'		Singular	Plural
1st		شول(ل)م šw(ál)əm	شول(ل)و šw(ál)u
2nd		شول(ل)ې šw(ál)e	شول(ل)ئ šw(ál)əy
3rd	M	شه šə	شول(ه) šwál(ə)
	F	شول(ل)ه šw(ál)ā	شول(ل)ې šw(ál)é

Table 8.58: GP past aorist of کېدل /kedál/ 'to become'

kedál 'to become'		Singular	Plural
1st		šwəm(a)	šwi
2nd		šwe	šwəy
3rd	M	šə	šwə(l)
	F	šwa	šwe

Table 8.59: Dzadrani past aorist of /kedál/ 'to become'

8.2.8.3 Forms of کول /kawól/ 'to make; to do'

Table 8.60, Table 8.61, and Table 8.62 illustrate the formation of the present continuous of the transitive verbalizer کول /kawól/ 'to make; to do'.

کول kawól 'to make; to do'		Singular	Plural
1st		کوم kawóm	کوو kawú
2nd		کوی kawé	کوی kawóy
3rd	M	کوی kawí	
	F		

Table 8.60: GP present continuous of کول /kawól/ 'to make; to do'

kawál 'to make; to do'		Singular	Plural
1st		kawóm(a)	kawí
		kawā	
2nd		kawé	kawáy
3rd	M	kawí	
	F		

Table 8.61: Waziri present continuous of /kawál/ 'to make; to do'

kawál 'to make; to do'		Singular	Plural
1st		kawóm(a)	kawí
2nd		kawé	kawáy
3rd	M	kawí	
	F		

Table 8.62: Dzadrani present continuous of /kawál/ 'to make; to do'

The aorist forms of the transitive verbalizer (used with denominal verbs) are irregular, and are therefore best analyzed as fully inflected forms. Table 8.63, Table 8.64, and Table 8.65 illustrate them.

کول kawál 'to make; to do'		Singular	Plural
1st		کرم kəm kɾəm	کرو ku kɾu
		کړې ke kɾe	کړئ kəy kɾəy
3rd	M	کړي ki kɾi	
	F		

Table 8.63: GP present aorist of کول /kawál/ 'to make; to do'

kawál 'to make; to do'		Singular	Plural
1st		kəm(a) kā	ki
		ke	kəy
3rd	M	ki ko	
	F		

Table 8.64: Waziri present aorist of /kawál/ 'to make; to do'

kawál 'to make; to do'		Singular	Plural
1st		kəm(a)	ki
2nd		ke	kəy
3rd	M	ko	
	F		

Table 8.65: Dzadrani present aorist of /kawál/ 'to make; to do'

The *ر* /ʔ/ in present aorist forms is usually written, and is always pronounced in careful speech, but is unpronounced in ordinary speech in many dialects.

Table 8.66, Table 8.67, and Table 8.68 illustrate the formation of the past continuous of the transitive verbalizer.

کول kawál 'to make; to do'		Singular	Plural
1st		کولم kawáləm	کولو kawálu
2nd		کولې kawále	کولې kawáləy
3rd	M	کوه kawé کاوه kāwé	کول(ه) kawál(ə)
	F	کوله kawála کوه kawá	کولې kawále کوي kawé

Table 8.66: GP past continuous of کول /kawál/ 'to make; to do'

kawól ‘to make; to do’		Singular	Plural
1st		kawóləm(a)	kawóli
		kawólā	
2nd		kawóle	kawóləy
3rd	M	kawé kowé	kawól
	F	kawóla kawá	kawóle kawé

Table 8.67: Waziri past continuous of /kawól/ ‘to make; to do’

kawól ‘to make; to do’		Singular	Plural
1st		kawóləm(a)	kawóli
2nd		kawóle	kawóləy
3rd	M	kowé	kawó(l)
	F	kawóla	kawóle

Table 8.68: Dzadrani past continuous of /kawól/ ‘to make; to do’

Table 8.69, Table 8.70, and Table 8.71 illustrate the formation of the past aorist of the transitive verbalizer.

Although the past aorist forms of the General Pashto transitive verbalizer without the \perp /-ól-/ suffix are orthographically identical to the present aorist forms, the fact that in the present aorist the \downarrow /ɪ/ is often not pronounced means that in speech the bases are often not identical—so the \perp /-ól-/ suffix is not always required to differentiate the tense. In past third person forms, even the /ɪ/ can be dropped, since the personal suffixes differ from those in the present: past \leftarrow /-ə, -a/ versus present \leftarrow /-i/; thus encoding tense without need of either \perp /-ól-/ or \downarrow /ɪ/. In Waziri and Dzadrani,

کول kawál 'to make; to do'	Singular	Plural	
1st	کړم kɾəm	کړو kɾu	
	کړلم kɾóləm	کړلو kɾólu	
2nd	کړې kɾe	کړئ kɾəy	
	کړلې kɾóle	کړلئ kɾələy	
3rd	M	کړ kɾ	کړل kɾəl
		که kə	کړله kɾóla
	F	کړه kɾa	کړلې kɾóle
		که ka	کړې kɾe
		کړله kɾóla	

Table 8.69: GP past aorist of کول /kawál/ 'to make; to do'

the longer forms that show /-əl-/ in Table 8.70 and Table 8.71 are rarer than the short forms.

kawól 'to make; to do'		Singular	Plural
1st		kɾəm	kɾi
		kɾóləm	kɾóli
2nd		kɾe	kɾəy
		kɾóle	kɾóləy
3rd	M	kə	kɾəl
	F	kɾa	kɾóle
		kɾóla	kɾe

Table 8.70: Waziri past aorist of /kawól/ 'to make; to do'

kawól 'to make; to do'		Singular	Plural
1st		kɾəm(a)	kɾi
		kɾóləm(a)	kɾóli
2nd		kɾe	kɾəy
		kɾóle	kɾóləy
3rd	M	kə	kɾə(l)
	F	kɾa	kɾóle
		kɾóla	kɾe

Table 8.71: Dzadrani past aorist of /kawól/ 'to make; to do'

8.2.9 Participles

There are two kinds of participles in Pashto, present and past. These participles are both formed on past bases and declined as Class IIIb adjectives (Section 6.2.1.3.2). They are described in more detail in the sub-sections below.

8.2.9.1 Present participle

Formation: past continuous base (without ټ /-əɫ-/) + ونک /-unk/ + Class IIIb adjectival suffixes

The present participle is declined like a Class IIIb adjective (Section 6.2.1.3.2). Some examples are given in Table 8.72.

Verb class	Verb	Present participle
First Conjugation	وہل wahál 'to beat'	وهونکی wah-unk-ay
Second Conjugation	بوول bowál 'to take away'	بوونکی bow-unk-ay
Third Conjugation	خلاصېدل xalās-edál 'to become free'	خلاصېدونکی xalās-ed-unk-ay
	خلاصول xalās-awál 'to liberate'	خلاصوونکی xalās-aw-unk-ay

Table 8.72: Present participles

An example of a declined present participle is given in Table 8.73.

چارول <i>ḡārawəl</i> 'to threaten'	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	چارونكي <i>ḡārawúnkay</i>	چارونكي <i>ḡārawúnki</i>	چارونكي <i>ḡārawúnke</i>	چارونكي <i>ḡārawúnke</i>
Oblique	چارونكي <i>ḡārawúnki</i>	چارونكو <i>ḡārawúnko</i>		چارونكو <i>ḡārawúnko</i>
Ablative				
Vocative	چارونكيه <i>ḡārawúnkaya</i>			

Table 8.73: Present participle: declension

8.2.9.2 Past participle

Formation:

- (First and Second conj.) past continuous base + Class IIIb adjectival suffixes
- (Third conj.) Noun/Adj. + past aorist base of كېدل /*kedəl*/ or كول /*kawəl*/ + Class IIIb adjectival suffixes

In these forms, the suffix ل /-əl-/ may be dropped. Past participles are then declined using the Class IIIb adjective suffixes (Section 6.2.1.3.2). They are used to form the perfect constructions for first and second conjugation verbs (see Section 8.4.1). Some examples are given in Table 8.74, and an example of a declined past participle is given in Table 8.75.

Verb class	Verb	Past participle
First Conjugation	وہل wahál 'to beat'	وہلی wah-əl-ay
Second Conjugation	ہوول bowál 'to take away'	ہوولی bow-əl-ay
Third Conjugation	خلاصہدل xalās-edál 'to be liberated'	خلاص شوی xalās šāway
	خلاصول xalās-awál 'to set free'	کری خلاص xalās kōray

Table 8.74: Past participles

تَلَّ t̄l̄ 'to go'	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	تَلِّي t̄l̄āy	تَلِّي t̄l̄āli	تَلِّي t̄l̄āle	تَلِّي t̄l̄āle
	تَلِي t̄lay	تَلِي t̄li	تَلِي t̄le	تَلِي t̄le
Oblique	تَلِّي t̄l̄āli	تَلُّو t̄l̄ālo		تَلُّو t̄l̄ālo
	تَلِي t̄li	تَلُو t̄lo		تَلُو t̄lo
Ablative				
Vocative	تَلِّيَه t̄l̄ālya			
	تَلِيَه t̄lya			

Table 8.75: Past participle: declension

8.2.9.3 Irregularities among past participles

The verbs کبډل /kedál/ and کول /kawól/ (Section 8.2.8) form their past participles from the past aorist base, rather than the past continuous, and these participles are used to form the perfect constructions for third conjugation (denominal) verbs. The prefixed verbs built from تلل /tlál/ ‘to go’—راتلل /rātlál/ ‘to come’, درتلل /dərtlál/ ‘to go (to you)’, and ورتلل /wərtlál/ ‘to go (to him)’—also form their past participles from their past aorist base. All of these atypical forms are shown in Table 8.76.

Infinitive	Aorist participle
کبډل kedál ‘to become’	شوی šəway
کول kawól ‘to make; to do’	کړی kəray
راتلل rātlál ‘to come’	راغلی rāyəlay
درتلل dərtlál ‘to go (to you)’	درغلی dərayəlay
ورتلل wərtlál ‘to go (to him)’	ورغلی wərayəlay

Table 8.76: Past participles built on aorist bases

8.3 Simple verb constructions

Formation rules for each type of verb construction are given in terms of the verb components described above in Section 8.2.

8.3.1 Present continuous

Formation: present continuous base + present PNG

رسیدل rasedál 'to arrive'		Singular	Plural
1st		رسیدم raségəm	رسیدو raségu
2nd		رسیدی rasége	رسیدی raségay
3rd	M	رسیدی raségi	
	F		

Table 8.77: Present continuous, first conjugation (intransitive)

نیول niwál 'to catch'		Singular	Plural
1st		نیسم nisám	نیسو nisú
2nd		نیسی nisé	نیسی nisáy
3rd	M	نیسی nisí	
	F		

Table 8.78: Present continuous, first conjugation (transitive)

پړېوتل <i>prewatél</i> 'to fall'		Singular	Plural
1st		پړېوزم <i>prewézəm</i>	پړېوزو <i>prewézu</i>
2nd		پړېوزې <i>prewéze</i>	پړېوزئ <i>prewézəy</i>
3rd	M	پړېوزي <i>prewézi</i>	
	F		

Table 8.79: Present continuous, second conjugation

روښانول <i>roxānawél</i> 'to enlighten'		Singular	Plural
1st		روښانوم <i>roxānawém</i>	روښانوو <i>roxānawú</i>
2nd		روښانوې <i>roxānawé</i>	روښانوئ <i>roxānawáy</i>
3rd	M	روښانوي <i>roxānawí</i>	
	F		

Table 8.80: Present continuous, third conjugation

8.3.2 Present aorist

Formation: present aorist base + present PNG

رسېدل rasedāl 'to arrive'		Singular	Plural
1st		ورسېږم wārasegəm	ورسېږو wārasegu
2nd		ورسېږې wārasege	ورسېږئ wārasegəy
3rd	M	ورسېږي wārasegi	
	F		

Table 8.81: Present aorist, first conjugation (intransitive)

نيول niwāl 'to catch'		Singular	Plural
1st		ونیسېم wānisəm	ونیسو wānisu
2nd		ونیسې wānise	ونیسئ wānisəy
3rd	M	ونیسې wānisi	
	F		

Table 8.82: Present aorist, first conjugation (transitive)

پړېوتل <i>prewatəl</i> 'to fall'		Singular	Plural
1st		پړېوزم <i>préwəzəm</i>	پړېوزو <i>préwəzu</i>
2nd		پړېوزې <i>préwəze</i>	پړېوزئ <i>préwəzəy</i>
3rd	M	پړېوزي <i>préwəzi</i>	
	F		

Table 8.83: Present aorist, second conjugation

روښانول <i>roxānawəl</i> 'to enlighten'		Singular	Plural
1st		روښان ک(ړ)م <i>roxān k(r)əm</i>	روښان ک(ړ)و <i>roxān k(r)u</i>
2nd		روښان ک(ړ)ې <i>roxān k(r)e</i>	روښان ک(ړ)ئ <i>roxān k(r)əy</i>
3rd	M	روښان ک(ړ)ي <i>roxān k(r)i</i>	
	F		

Table 8.84: Present aorist, third conjugation

8.3.3 Past continuous

Formation: **Past continuous base + past PNG**

As mentioned earlier, the past tense affix **ل** /-əl-/ does not occur uniformly throughout the paradigm: it is optional in any verbs with other morphological markers of tense. These groups would include first and second person forms of first conjugation intransitive verbs, as well as those of third conjugation verbs, because both types redundantly encode tense with the affixes **چېر** /-eg-/ and **چېد** /-ed-/; and likewise any strong verbs, as they encode tense through allomorphic stems. The past tense affix is prohibited in the third person masculine singular for all of the above classes, and obligatory in third plural masculine forms. These constraints prevent homophony between the singular and plural forms of masculine verbs, as the PNG suffix is the same for both: **ه** /-ə/. The PNG suffix **ه** /-ə/ can thus be omitted in plural masculine forms, resulting in the tense affix becoming a portmanteau morpheme that encodes tense as well as person, number, and gender.

رسېدل <i>rasedál</i> 'to arrive'		Singular	Plural
1st		رسېدل(ل)م <i>rased(ə́l)ám</i>	رسېدل(ل)و <i>rased(ə́l)ú</i>
2nd		رسېدل(ل)ې <i>rased(ə́l)é</i>	رسېدل(ل)ئ <i>rased(ə́l)əy</i>
3rd	M	رسېده <i>rasedá</i>	رسېدل(ه) <i>rasedá(ə)</i>
	F	رسېدل(ل)ه <i>rased(ə́l)á</i>	رسېدل(ل)ې <i>rased(ə́l)é</i>

Table 8.85: Past continuous, first conjugation (intransitive)

نیول niwâl 'to catch'		Singular	Plural
1st		نیول(ل)م niw(â)âm	نیول(ل)و niw(â)û
2nd		نیول(ل)ی niw(â)é	نیول(ل)ئ niw(â)ây
3rd	M	نیوه niwâ	نیول(ه) niwâl(â)
	F	نیول(ل)ه niw(â)â	نیول(ل)ی niw(â)é

Table 8.86: Past continuous, first conjugation (transitive)

پربوتل prewatâl 'to fall'		Singular	Plural
1st		پربوت(ل)م prewat(â)âm	پربوت(ل)و prewat(â)û
2nd		پربوت(ل)ی prewat(â)é	پربوت(ل)ئ prewat(â)ây
3rd	M	پربوت prewôt پربوتہ prewatâ ^{NE} پربوت(و) prewât(ô) ^{NE}	پربوت(ل) prewatâl
	F	پربوت(ل)ه prewatâla	پربوتلی prewatâle

Table 8.87: Past continuous, second conjugation

روښانول roxānawál 'to enlighten'		Singular	Plural
1st		روښانوم roxānawóləm	روښانوو roxānawəlu
2nd		روښانوې roxānawóle	روښانوئ roxānawóləy
3rd	M	روښانوی roxānawó	روښانوئ roxānawól
	F	روښانوې roxānaw(ál)ā	روښانوې roxānaw(ál)é

Table 8.88: Past continuous, third conjugation

8.3.4 Past aorist

Formation: **Past aorist base + past PNG**

رسېدل rasedál 'to arrive'		Singular	Plural
1st		ورسېدل(ل)م wárased(əl)əm	ورسېدل(ل)و wárased(əl)u
2nd		ورسېدل(ل)ې wárased(əl)e	ورسېدل(ل)ئ wárased(əl)əy
3rd	M	ورسېده wárasedə	ورسېدل(ه) wárasedəl(ə)
	F	ورسېدل(ل)ه wárased(əl)a	ورسېدل(ل)ې wárased(əl)e

Table 8.89: Past aorist, first conjugation (intransitive)

نيول niwál 'to catch'		Singular	Plural
1st		ونيول(ل)م wániw(əl)əm	ونيول(ل)و wániw(əl)u
2nd		ونيول(ل)ي wániw(əl)e	ونيول(ل)ئ wániw(əl)əy
3rd	M	ونيوه wániwə	ونيول(ه) wániwəl(ə)
	F	ونيول(ل)ه wániw(əl)a	ونيول(ل)ي wániw(əl)e

Table 8.90: Past aorist, first conjugation (transitive)

پرپوتل prewatál 'to fall'		Singular	Plural
1st		پرپوت(ل)م préwat(əl)əm	پرپوت(ل)و préwat(əl)u
2nd		پرپوت(ل)ي préwat(əl)e	پرپوت(ل)ئ préwat(əl)əy
3rd	M	پرپوت préwot پرپوته préwatə ^{NE} پرپوت(و) préwat(o) ^{NE}	پرپوت(ل) préwatəl
	F	پرپوت(ل)ه préwatəla	پرپوتلې préwatəle

Table 8.91: Past aorist, second conjugation

روښانول roxānawól 'to enlighten'		Singular	Plural
1st		روښان کړ(ل)م roxān kɾ(ə)əm	روښان کړ(ل)و roxān kɾ(ə)u
2nd		روښان کړ(ل)ې roxān kɾ(ə)e	روښان کړ(ل)ئ roxān kɾ(ə)əy
3rd	M	روښان کړ roxān kəɾ	روښان کړل roxān kɾəl
	F	روښان کړ(ل)ه roxān kɾ(ə)a	روښان کړ(ل)ې roxān kɾ(ə)e

Table 8.92: Past aorist, third conjugation

8.3.5 Continuous imperative

Formation: **Present continuous base + -a (sg.)/-əy (pl.)**

Imperative verbs do not encode the categories of person or tense; however, they do have both continuous and aorist forms. The difference is illustrated below in Section 8.5.2.5. In continuous imperatives, stress is located according to the lexical stress of the verb. Imperatives are negated with the particle مه /má/, which takes the primary stress for the verbal construction, as illustrated in Table 8.94, Table 8.96, and Table 8.98. Only the continuous imperative is used in negation. Note that NE Pashto treats negative forms differently for prefixed verbs, placing the negative particle before the entire verb (Heston 1992: 1589), whereas other dialects place it between the prefix and the stem (Table 8.96).

نیول niwál 'to catch'	Singular	Plural
2nd	نیسه nisá	نیسی nisây

Table 8.93: Continuous imperative, first conjugation

نیول niwál 'to catch'	Singular	Plural
2nd	مه نیسه mā nisa	مه نیسی mā nisây

Table 8.94: Continuous imperative, first conjugation (negative)

پرېکول prekawál 'to cut'	Singular	Plural
2nd	پرېمېکوه prekawá	پرېمېکوی prekawây

Table 8.95: Continuous imperative, second conjugation

پرېکول prekawál 'to cut'	Singular	Plural
2nd	پرېمېکوه pre mā kawa	پرېمېکوی pre mā kaway
	مه پرېکوه mā prekawa ^{NE}	مه پرېکوی mā prekaway ^{NE}

Table 8.96: Continuous imperative, second conjugation (negative)

روښانول roxānawál 'to enlighten'	Singular	Plural
2nd	روښانوه roxānawá	روښانوئ roxānawáy

Table 8.97: Continuous imperative, third conjugation

روښانول roxānawál 'to enlighten'	Singular	Plural
2nd	مه روښانوه má roxānawa	مه روښانوئ má roxānawəy

Table 8.98: Continuous imperative, third conjugation, negative

8.3.6 Aorist imperative

Formation: **Present aorist base + -a (sg.)/-əy (pl.)**

Aorist imperative forms are used only in the affirmative. To negate an imperative, the continuous form is used.

نيول niwál 'to catch'	Singular	Plural
2nd	ونيسه wānisa	ونيسئ wānisəy

Table 8.99: Aorist imperative, first conjugation

پریکول <i>prekawál</i> 'to cut'	Singular	Plural
2nd	پریکړه <i>prékřa</i>	پریکړئ <i>prékřəy</i>

Table 8.100: Aorist imperative, second conjugation

روښانول <i>roxānawál</i> 'to enlighten'	Singular	Plural
2nd	روښان کړه <i>roxān křa</i>	روښان کړئ <i>roxān křəy</i>

Table 8.101: Aorist imperative, third conjugation

8.3.7 Continuous optative

Formation: past continuous base + ای /-āy/ (SW,SE), ی /-ay/ (NW), or ے /-e/ (NE)

Some examples of continuous optative verbs are shown in Table 8.102. Optative verb forms do not show agreement.

Optative forms occur after the conditional particle که /kə/ 'if' and the counterfactual particle کاشکې /kāške/ 'if only'; see Section 10.1.2.4 for an example. Continuous optative forms can also be used in combination with the aorist forms of کېدل /kedál/ 'to become' to yield a verb construction meaning *can X, able to X* (see Section 8.2.8.2 for the aorist forms of کېدل /kedál/ and Section 8.5.4 for examples).

Conjugation	Verb	Continuous optative
First (intransitive)	رسیدل rasedál 'to arrive'	ای رسید(ل) rased(ál)āy ^{SW,SE} ی رسید(ل) rased(ál)ay ^{NW} ے رسید(ل) rased(ál)e ^{NE}
Second (intransitive)	پرہوتل prewatál 'to fall'	ای پرہوت(ل) prewat(ál)āy ^{SW,SE} ی پرہوت(ل) prewat(ál)ay ^{NW} ے پرہوت(ل) prewat(ál)e ^{NE}
Third (intransitive)	پخیدل paxedál 'to ripen; to mature'	ای پخید(ل) paxed(ál)āy ^{SW,SE} ی پخید(ل) paxed(ál)ay ^{NW} ے پخید(ل) paxed(ál)e ^{NE}
First (transitive)	نیول niwál 'to catch'	ای بیسول(ل) niw(ál)āy ^{SW,SE} ی بیسول(ل) niw(ál)ay ^{NW} ے بیسول(ل) niw(ál)e ^{NE}
Second (transitive)	پرہکول prekawál 'to cut'	ای پرہکول(ل) prekaw(ál)āy ^{SW,SE} ی پرہکول(ل) prekaw(ál)ay ^{NW} ے پرہکول(ل) prekaw(ál)e ^{NE}
Third (transitive)	روبنانول roxānawál 'to enlighten'	ای روبنانول(ل) roxānaw(ál)āy ^{SW,SE} ی روبنانول(ل) roxānaw(ál)ay ^{NW} ے روبنانول(ل) roxānaw(ál)e ^{NE}

Table 8.102: Continuous optative forms

8.3.8 Aorist optative

Formation: past aorist base + /-āy/ (SW,SE), /-ay/ (NW), or /-e/ (NE)

Some examples of aorist optative verbs are shown in Table 8.103.

Aorist optative forms can be used in combination with the aorist forms of کبډل /kedál/ ‘to become’ to yield a verb construction meaning *could X, was able to X* (see Section 8.2.8.2 and Section 8.5.4); however, in the case of third conjugation intransitive verbs, the light verb شي /šw-/ is omitted. Therefore instead of the incorrect *پوخ شوی /pox šwí/, we would see پوخ شي /pox ši/ ‘could ripen; could mature’.

Verb type	Verb	Aorist optative
First conjugation, intransitive	رسیدل rasedál 'to arrive'	ورسید(ل)ای wárased(əl)āy ^{SW,SE} ورسید(ل)ای wárased(əl)ay ^{NW} ورسید(ل)ے wárased(əl)e ^{NE}
Second conjugation, intransitive	پړوتل prewatál 'to fall'	پړوت(ل)ای préwat(əl)āy ^{SW,SE} پړوت(ل)ای préwat(əl)ay ^{NW} پړوت(ل)ے préwat(əl)e ^{NE}
Third conjugation, intransitive	پخېدل paxedál 'to ripen; to mature'	پوخ (شوای) pox (šwāy) ^{SW,SE} پوخ (شوی) pox (šway) ^{NW} پوخ (شوے) pox (šwe) ^{NE}
First conjugation, transitive	نیول niwál 'to catch'	ویوای wóniwāy ^{SW,SE} ویوی wóniway ^{NW} ویوے wóniwe ^{NE}
Second conjugation, transitive	پړېکول prekawál 'to cut'	پړېکواي prékawāy ^{SW,SE} پړېکوی prékaway ^{NW} پړېکوے prékawe ^{NE}
Third conjugation, transitive	روښانول roxānawál 'to enlighten'	پوخ کړای roxān kórāy ^{SW,SE} پوخ کړی roxān káray ^{NW} پوخ کړے roxān káre ^{NE}

Table 8.103: Aorist optative forms

8.4 Compound verb constructions

There are two kinds of compound verb construction: those that convey the perfect and those that convey a sense of potential or ability.

8.4.1 Perfect constructions

8.4.1.1 Present perfect

Formation: past participle + present continuous of to be

Table 8.104 and Table 8.105 illustrate the forms of the present perfect. Alignment is usually ergative in both present and past perfect constructions; it therefore appears to be governed by the matrix verb, which is built on a past stem. Dialectal variants can be inferred from the various dialectal forms of *to be*, seen in (Table 8.39), so they are not provided here.

		رسیدل rasedól 'to arrive'	Singular	Plural
1st	M		رسیدلی یم rasedólay yəm	رسیدلی یو rasedóli yu
	F		رسیدلی یم rasedóle yəm	رسیدلی یو rasedóle yu
2nd	M		رسیدلی یی rasedólay ye	رسیدلی یی rasedóli yəy
	F		رسیدلی یی rasedóle ye	رسیدلی یی rasedóle yəy
3rd	M		رسیدلی دی rasedólay day	رسیدلی دی rasedóli di
	F		رسیدلی ده rasedóle da	رسیدلی دی rasedóle di

Table 8.104: Present perfect, first and second conjugations

With the addition of the modal clitic به /bə/ and present aorist, rather than present continuous, forms of *to be*, the construction expresses future perfect, as in:

		پخېدل <i>paxedâl</i> 'to ripen; to mature'	
		Singular	Plural
1st	M	پوخ شوی یم <i>pox šáway</i> <i>yəm</i>	پاخه شوي یو <i>pāxə šáwi yu</i>
	F	پخه شوې یم <i>paxa šáwe</i> <i>yəm</i>	پخې شوې یو <i>paxe šáwe yu</i>
2nd	M	پوخ شوی یې <i>pox šáway ye</i>	پاخه شوې یې <i>pāxə šáwi yəy</i>
	F	پخه شوې یې <i>paxa šáwe ye</i>	پخې شوې یې <i>paxe šáwe yəy</i>
3rd	M	پوخ شوی دی <i>pox šáway</i> <i>day</i>	پاخه شوي دي <i>pāxə šáwi di</i>
	F	پخه شوې ده <i>paxa šáwe da</i>	پخې شوې دي <i>paxe šáwe di</i>

Table 8.105: Present perfect, third conjugation

- به رسېدلی یم /bə rasedálay yəm/ 'I [m.] will have arrived'
- به رسېدلې وي /bə rasedále wi/ 'she/they will have arrived'

8.4.1.2 Past perfect

Formation: past participle + past continuous of to be

Table 8.106 illustrates the forms of the past perfect.

رسېدل rasedál 'to arrive'		Singular	Plural
1st	M	رسېدلی وم rasedálay wəm	رسېدلي وو rasedáli wu
	F	رسېدلې وم rasedále wəm	رسېدلې وو rasedále wu
2nd	M	رسېدلی وې rasedálay we	رسېدلي وئ rasedáli wəy
	F	رسېدلې وې rasedále we	رسېدلې وئ rasedále wəy
3rd	M	رسېدلی وه rasedálay wə	رسېدلي وو rasedáli wə
	F	رسېدلې وه rasedále wa	رسېدلې وې rasedále we

Table 8.106: Past perfect

8.4.2 Potential constructions

These constructions express ability: the present potential, translatable as 'can X; be able to X,' and the past potential, translatable as 'could X, was able to X.' Future potential is expressed by means of the modal clitic به /bə/ in construction with the present potential.

8.4.2.1 Present potential

Formation: continuous optative + present aorist of كېدل /*kedâl*/ 'to become'

رسېدل rasedâl 'to arrive'	Singular	Plural
1st	رسېدل(ل) ى شېم rased(âl)ây šəm	رسېدل(ل) ى شو rased(âl)ây šu
2nd	رسېدل(ل) ى شې rased(âl)ây še	رسېدل(ل) ى شې rased(âl)ây šəy
3rd	رسېدل(ل) ى شې rased(âl)ây ši	رسېدل(ل) ى شې rased(âl)ây ši

Table 8.107: Present potential

8.4.2.2 Past potential

Formation: aorist optative + past aorist of كېدل /*kedâl*/ 'to become'

رسېدل rasedâl 'to arrive'	Singular	Plural
1st	ورسېدل(ل) ى شول(ل) م wârased(əl)ay šw(ə)əm	ورسېدل(ل) ى شول(ل) و wârased(əl)ay šw(ə)u
2nd	ورسېدل(ل) ى شول(ل) ې wârased(əl)ay šw(ə)e	ورسېدل(ل) ى شول(ل) ئ wârased(əl)ay šw(ə)əy
3rd	ورسېدل(ل) ى شول(ل) ه wârased(əl)ay šw(ə)ə	ورسېدل(ل) ى شول(ل) ه wârased(əl)ay šw(ə)ə

Table 8.108: Past potential

8.5 Verb usage

Example sentences in this section come from our native speaker informants, the Internet, and also from data in Lorimer (1902), Lorenz (1982), and Seftfonds (1994).

8.5.1 Uses of the verb *to be*

8.5.1.1 *to be* as a copula

The verb *to be* is used in copular constructions in the present tense to represent a present and continuing state:

(8.6) اسد پیلوټ دی.

asad-Ø pilot-Ø dāy
Asad-M.DIR pilot-M.DIR **be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M**

‘Asad **is** a pilot.’^(sw)

(8.7) زما لویه گنا دا ده چې پښتون یم.

zmā loy-a ganā-Ø dā da
1SG.STR.POSS large-F.DIR sin-F.DIR this.DIR **be.CONT.PRS.3SG.F**

če paxtún-Ø yəm
COMP Pashtoon-M.DIR **be.CONT.PRS.1SG**

‘A great sin of mine **is** that I **am** Pashtoon.’

It is likewise used in copular constructions in the past tense to express past states:

(8.8) نسیمه پرون په کور کې وه.

nasima-Ø parun pə kor-Ø ki wa
Nasima-F.DIR yesterday in... house-M ...in **be.CONT.PST.3SG.F**

‘Nasima **was** home yesterday.’^(sw)

(8.9) تاسې دباندي واست؟

tāsi dabāndi wāst
2PL.STR.DIR outside **be.CONT.PST.2PL**

‘**Were** you outside?’^(sw)

8.5.1.2 *to be* as an auxiliary verb

The verb *to be* is used as an auxiliary verb with participles to form compound verb constructions we characterize as perfect (Section 8.4.1):

- (8.10) *mīž* *šāy-ina* *Ø-ačaw-ál-i*
 1PL.STR.DIR goods-PL.M.DIR CONT-throw-PST-PTCP.PL.M.DIR

wi

be.CONT.PST.3PL.M

‘We’ve **thrown** the trash away/left the goods behind.’ (WAZ)

- (8.11) *dzəke* *če* *doy* *pə* *daya* *bonde* *đer-a*
 because COMP 3PL.M.OBL on... this.DIR ...on much-F.DIR

ziyot-a *krāy-a* *Ø-wəxíst-e*

wi

much-F.DIR fee-F.DIR CONT-take.PST-PTCP.F.DIR **be.AOR.PRS.3SG.F**

‘Because they **have** already **gotten** a lot of money as carriage charges for that.’

(WAZ)

- (8.12) *pə wá-ye* *man-a* *če* *bəl-a* *wredz-Ø* *ta*
 on AOR-3.WK accept-IMP.SG COMP other-F.OBL day-F.OBL to
mo *a* *pə xeb-Ø* *dzon-Ø* *Ø-čaw-ál-ay*
 1SG.STR.OBL also on sleep-M self-M.DIR CONT-throw-PST-PTCP.M.DIR

ná **wi**

NEG **be.AOR.PRS.3SG.M**

‘You can bet that tomorrow I won’t pretend to sleep [lit. that I won’t **have thrown** myself into sleep].’ (DZA)

8.5.2 Simple verb constructions

8.5.2.1 Present continuous

The present continuous form expresses the present tense. It covers states and conditions as well as ongoing actions, both in progress and habitual.

- (8.13) استرالیا په افغانستان کې د (بي آر ټي) ټيم جوړوي .

astrāliyā-Ø *pə* *afyānistān-Ø* *ke* *də* *pi* *ar* *ti* *ṭim-Ø*

Australia-F.DIR in... Afghanistan-M ...in of P R T team-M.DIR

joṛ-aw-ī

built-do.CONT-PRS.3[SG.F]

‘Australia **is establishing** a P[rovincial] R[econstruction] T[eam] team in Afghanistan.’

(8.14) مگر د خپلو ناوړه او غلطو کارونو پړه په ما اچوې .

magar də nāwəɾa aw ɣalat-o kār-uno
 but of improper and mistaken-PL.M.OBL work-PL.M.OBL
paɾa-∅ pə mā ∅-ačaw-é
 blame-F.DIR on 1SG.STR.OBL **CONT-throw-2SG**

'But you're **blaming** me for the misdeeds.'

(8.15) پاکستانی سندرې، ډرامې او خبري چینلونه یې زه گورم .

pākistāni sander-e đrām-e aw xabar-e
 Pakistani song-PL.F.DIR drama-PL.F.DIR and word-PL.F.DIR
čanel-una ye zə ∅-gor-ám
 channel-PL.M.DIR 3.WK 1SG.STR.DIR **CONT-see.PRS-1SG**

'I **watch** their Pakistani music, TV, and discussion channels.'

(8.16) نوموړی ماشین د نړۍ په گڼ شمېر ژبو باندې خدمات وړاندې کوي .

numwəɾ-ay māšin-∅ də nər-əy pə
 aforementioned-M.DIR machine-M.DIR of world-F.OBL on...
gaŋ-∅ šmir-∅ žəb-o bānde
 numerous-M number-M language-PL.F.OBL ...on

xadmāt-∅ kaw-í
services-PL.M.DIR do.CONT-PRS.3[SG.M]

'The aforementioned device **functions** in a large number of the world's languages.'

(8.17) *zə ɕipak-∅ wis ná wəxəl-ā*
 1SG.STR.DIR gun-M.DIR now NEG **CONT\take.PRS-1SG**

'I'm not **using** the gun now.'^(WAZ)

(8.18) *da mol-ina ile nəžde*
 this.DIR goods-PL.M.DIR here near

xarts-íž-i ka bahar ta
sold-become.CONT.PRS-PRS.3[PL.M] if outside to
drim-i
 go.CONT.PRS-PRS.3[PL.M]

'**Are** these goods **sold** here or are they sent outside?'^(WAZ)

- (8.19) *de nor-e malk-e áya šay-ina ce*
of other-PL.M.OBL country-PL.M.OBL this.DIR thing-PL.M.DIR COMP
wole arzón-Ø wi ile grón-Ø
there cheap-PL.M.DIR be.AOR.PRS.3PL.M here expensive-PL.M.DIR
wi ro-oṛ-í aw
be.AOR.PRS.3PL.M **1-bring.CONT.PRS-PRS.3[PL.M]** and
xarts-aw-í ye
sold-do.CONT-PRS.3[PL.M] 3.WK
‘They **bring** and **sell** things that are cheap in other countries and expensive here.’ (WAZ)

8.5.2.1.1 Negation of present tense verbs

The present tense is negated by placing نه /ná/ before the verb. Note that the negative particle bears the stress of the verb phrase. For example:

- (8.20) *wād-ə tə aṛtiyā-Ø ná Ø-lar-əm*
wedding-M.OBL for **need-F.DIR NEG CONT-have-1SG**
‘**Don't I need** a wedding?’
- (8.21) *wali pə xost-Ø ke dari-Ø xuwunḏ-ay ná*
why in... Khost-M ...in Dari-M.DIR school-M.DIR NEG
joṛ-eg-i
built-become.CONT.PRS-PRS.3[SG.M]
‘Why **isn't** a Dari school **being built** in Khost?’
- (8.22) *ta wali zmā sərə dāse xabar-e ná*
2SG.STR.DIR why 1SG.STR.POSS with such **word-PL.F.DIR NEG**
kaw-e
do.CONT-2SG
‘Why **don't** you **talk** about such things with me?’

When an *a*-initial verb is negated, ن /n/ is prefixed to the verb and the /a/ lengthens to /ā/.

(8.23) موټر ناخلم .

moʃər-∅ n-∅-āxl-əm
 car-M.DIR NEG-CONT-buy.PRS-1SG
 'I'm not buying a car.'¹⁶

8.5.2.1.2 Present continuous for expressing future events

The present continuous may be used to express a future event:

(8.24) درې بجې به درځم .

dre badje bə dərɖz-əm
 three o'clock WOULD arrive.CONT.PRS-1SG
 'I'll come to you at 3 o'clock.'

In addition, the modal clitic *bə* /bə/ may accompany the present continuous form to express a future event, particularly in the NE dialect, and especially if words like *tomorrow* or *next week* are present or when the speaker is contrasting future actions. However, see Section 8.5.2.2.1 for a more common way to express the future.

(8.25) د دې خلکو غم راسره دی او غم به یې خورم .

də de xalk-o ɣam-∅ rā-sərə
 of this.OBL people-PL.M.OBL sorrow-M.DIR 1-COMIT
ɖay aw ɣam-∅ bə ye
 be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M and sorrow-M.DIR WOULD 3.WK
∅-xor-âm
CONT-eat.PRS-1SG

'I feel these people's sorrow, and I **am going to take care** of it. [lit. the sorrow of these people is with me, and I **will eat** [their] sorrow.]'

¹⁶ Standardized version of 8.23: موټر نه اخلم .

- (8.26) دغه شوری به په هرو ۱۵ ورځو کې غونډه کوي او د ماشوم د ادبیاتو د پراختیا لارې چارې به څیړي.

dáya šurā-Ø bə pə har-o 15 wræɕ-o
 this.DIR council-F.DIR **WOULD** in... every-PL.M.OBL 15 day-PL.F.OBL
ke ywanda-Ø kaw-í aw də māšum-Ø də
 ...in **meeting-F.DIR do.CONT-PRS.3[SG.F]** and of child-M.OBL of
adabi-āto də prāxtiyā-Ø lār-e čāre
 literature-PL.M.OBL of development-F.OBL path-PL.F.DIR ECHO
bə Ø-tseɽ-í
WOULD CONT-investigate-PRS.3[SG.F]

‘The council **will be meeting** every 15 days and **will be looking** at ways to develop children’s literature.’

- (8.27) *yes ye deye sra be sar-Ø*
 now COMIT... him.OBL ...COMIT WOULD head-M.DIR

spin-aw-éma
white-do.CONT.PRS-1SG

‘I **will grow old** with him. [lit. I will **whiten** my hair with him.]’ (DZA)

- (8.28) *tsə be Ø-k-é tsə be ná*
 what WOULD **CONT-do.PRS-2SG** what WOULD **NEG**

Ø-k-é
CONT-do.PRS-2SG

‘Oh, what you **will do!** What you **will not do!**’ (DZA)

8.5.2.2 Present aorist

According to Penzl (1955: 114), “in many of their occurrences present [aorist] forms express a subjunctive mood rather than a perfective aspect.” This is true, although we believe the term *irrealis* to be more apt. In construction with the modal clitic به /bə/, present aorist forms express future events that are expected to occur; by themselves or in construction with other modal particles, they express a variety of other events whose realization is not established in fact, but is desired, requested, doubted, required, and so on. These uses for perfect aorist forms are described in the following two sections.

8.5.2.2.1 Expressing the future with present aorist plus به /bə/

Pashto does not have a morphological future tense. When used with the modal clitic به /bə/, the present aorist form of the verb expresses an unrealized event that is expected to happen, as in sentence 8.29. For more examples of expressing the future, see Section 10.1.2.1.

(8.29) دا به ښوونکې شي .

dā *bə* *xowúnk-e* *s-i*
3SG.F.STR.DIR WOULD teacher-F.DIR **become.AOR.PRS-PRS.3[SG.F]**

‘She will **become** a teacher.’^(SW)

8.5.2.2.2 Other uses of the present aorist

Present aorist forms are also used for wishes; curses; conjectures; gentle commands; expressions of necessity; probable, customary, or usual events; and questions expressing doubt; some of these uses will be in construction with modals such as دې /de/, کاشکې /kāške/ ‘if only’, باید /bāyad/ ‘must, should’ and so on. Most frequently of all, the present aorist is used in subordinate clauses beginning with the complementizer چه /čə/ (when that clause expresses an event with irrealis semantics) or the conditional particle که /kə/ ‘if’. The sentences below give examples of some of these uses of present aorist forms.

As mentioned earlier (Section 8.2.8.1), there is only one unique present aorist form of *to be*: the third person form وي /wi/, which does not encode gender or number. Otherwise speakers either default to present continuous forms or else use present aorist forms of کېدل /kedál/, as in 8.31 and 8.43 below. (Examples 8.36 and 8.47 are from Shafeev 1964: 46.)

(8.30) اوس هیله کوم چې ته غلی شي .

os *hila-Ø* *kaw-ám* *če* *ta* *yál-ay*
now hope-F.DIR do.CONT-1SG COMP 2SG.STR.DIR **quiet-M.DIR**

š-e
become.AOR.PRS-2SG

‘I hope you’ll **be quiet** now.’

(8.31) چی کله مخامخ سترګې پرې ولګیدې مصعب ته یې وویل : خوار شې مصعبه!

če kala muxāmux sterg-e pre wé-lag-ed-e
 COMP when direct eye-PL.F.DIR on.3 AOR-hit-PST-PST.3PL.M
musab-Ø ta ye wá-way-əl xwār-Ø
 Musab-M.OBL to 3.WK AOR-tell.PST-PST.3PL.M **miserable-M.DIR**
š-e musab-a
become.AOR.PRS-2SG Musab-M.VOC

'As he looked directly at Musab, he said to him, 'May you be miserable, Musab!''

(8.32) ښايي ډاکتر عبدالله دملي جبهې کانديد وي.

xāyi ḍāktar-Ø abdāla-Ø də mili jubhay-e
maybe doctor-M.DIR Abdullah-M.DIR of national front-F.OBL
kāndid-Ø wi
 candidate-M.DIR **be.AOR.PRS.3SG.M**

'Maybe Doctor Abdullah **will be** a candidate for the United National Front.'¹⁷

(8.33) د نوکانو ژوول ښايي ماشومانو ته د تشويشونو او خوابديو د خرګندولو يوه لار وي.

də nuk-āno žuw-əl-Ø xāyi
 of fingernail-PL.M.ANIM.OBL bite-INF-PL.M.DIR **maybe**
māsum-āno tə də tašwiš-uno aw xwābd-io
 child-PL.M.ANIM.OBL for of concern-PL.M.OBL and sadness-PL.F.OBL
də tsargand-aw-əl-o yaw-a lār-Ø
 of revealed-do-INF-PL.M.OBL one-F.DIR path-F.DIR
wi
be.AOR.PRS.3[PL.M]

'Biting the fingernails **may be** a way for children to express concerns or distress.'

¹⁷ Standardized version of 8.32: ښايي ډاکتر عبدالله د ملي جبهې کانديد وي

(8.34) بنایى د دې بنسټونو د بیارغاونې لپاره جدی پاملرنه وشى .

xāye də bansaṭ-uno də biyā rayawən-e lə
maybe of foundation-PL.M.OBL of then building-F.DIR from

pār-a jədi pāmlarəna-Ø
sake-M.ABL serious **attention-F.DIR**

wā-š-i

AOR-become.AOR.PRS-PRS.3[SG.F]

‘Maybe they **will take a serious look** at rebuilding [our social] foundations.’

(8.35) *mār-əy ro-səra wā-k-e*
food-F.DIR 1-COMIT **AOR-do.PRS-2SG**

‘Have some food with me.’^(WAZ)

(8.36) *muž bāyād kār-Ø wú-k-u*
1PL.STR.DIR NEC work-M.OBL AOR-do.PRS-1PL.

‘We must **work**.’

(8.37) ولی یی باید زده کړي؟

wali ye bāyad zda kṛ-i
why 3.WK NEC **learned do.AOR-PRS.3[PL.M]**

‘Why do they **have to learn** it?’

(8.38) نه پوهیږم په کوم لفظ دی موري یاد کړم .

ná poh-ég-əm pə kum-Ø lafaz-Ø de
NEG learned-beome.CONT.PRS-1SG INSTR which-M word-M NEC

mor-e yād kṛ-əm
mother-F.VOC **memory do.AOR-1SG**

‘I don’t know which words I **should** use to **remember** you, mother.’

(8.39) *kala kala e šār-Ø bagra-Ø wā-nis-i*
when when of city-M.OBL manual.harvest(?) -F.DIR AOR-gather.PRS-1PL

aw kala biyā ripəl-Ø nə kor-Ø wóxl-i
and when then reaper-M.OBL from work-M.DIR **AOR\take.PRS-1PL**

‘Sometimes we gather village people for harvesting by hand, and sometimes we **use** the reaper.’^(WAZ)¹⁸

(8.40) کله کله زمور په سترگو کې اوبښکې وي چې مور دا سندره وايو .

kala kala zmung pə sterg-o ke uxk-e
when when 1PL.STR.POSS in... eye-PL.F.OBL ...in tear-PL.F.DIR

wi ĉe mung dā sandera-Ø
be.AOR.PRS.3PL.F COMP 1PL.STR.DIR this.DIR song-F.DIR

Ø-wāy-o

CONT-say.PRS-1PL

‘Sometimes we **get** teary-eyed when we sing this song.’

The customary usage of the present aorist can also be expressed with the present continuous:

(8.41) کله کله زمور ترمنځ لفظي شخړه هم منځ ته راځي .

kala kala zmung tər mandz-Ø lahfzi šxara-Ø
when when 1PL.STR.POSS up.to center-M.OBL oral dispute-F.DIR

ham mandz ta rādz-í

also **center to come.CONT.PRS-PRS.3[PL.F]**

‘Sometimes we **argue**, too. [lit. Sometimes verbal disputes are created between us, too.]’

(8.42) *čars-Ø liyā afin-Ø e dzon-Ø səra*
marijuana-M.DIR or opium-M.DIR INSTR... self-M.OBL ...INSTR

paṭ kšéč-i

hidden **AOR\place.PRS-1PL**

‘**They** [often] **hide** marijuana or opium on themselves’ ^(WAZ)

(8.43) زه په خندا شم؟

zə pə xandâ-Ø s-əm

1SG.STR.DIR INSTR laugh-F.OBL **become.AOR.PRS-1SG**

‘**Should** I laugh?’ ^(SW)

18 The glossing of /bagra-Ø/ as ‘manual.harvest’ is uncertain.

- (8.44) *če e polis-Ø na xlos-Ø*
 COMP from... police-M.OBL ...from free-PL.M.DIR
š-i biyā kšén-i arām-Ø
 become.AOR.PRS-1PL then **AOR\sit.PRS-1PL** peace-M.DIR
wé-k-i
AOR-do.PRS-1PL
 ‘After getting rid of the police, we **sit down** and **rest**.’ (WAZ)
- (8.45) *kāla če dāy yer-Ø de se*
 when COMP 3PL.STR.DIR fire-M.DIR 2 after
wá-čaw-i ne če
AOR-throw-PRS.3[PL.M] then COMP
der-bež-iž-i
 2-near-become.CONT.PRS-PRS.3[PL.M]
 ‘When they **put** the fire after you and they approach you...’ (DZA)
- (8.46) نباغلي ويسا له ٽولو هيوادوالو وغوڻبتل چي د ستونزو سره مقابلو وكړي .
xāyl-i wisā-Ø lə ʔol-o hewād-uno
 mister-M.OBL Wisa-M.OBL from all-PL.M.OBL country-PL.M.OBL
wá-yuxt-əl če də stunz-o sərə
 AOR-want.PST-PST.3PL.M COMP COMIT... problem-PL.F.OBL ...COMIT
muqābala-Ø wá-kṛ-i
resistance-M.DIR AOR-do.AOR-PRS.3[PL.M]
 ‘[Governor] Mr. Wesa wanted all nations **to battle** [these] issues.’
- (8.47) *ka háya ná rās-i no zə*
 if 3SG.M.STR.DIR NEG **come.AOR.PRS-3[SG.M]** then 1.SG.STR.DIR
bə wlāṛ-s-əm
 WOULD AOR\go-go-1SG
 ‘If he does not **come**, then I will go.’

8.5.2.3 Past continuous

The past continuous is used for continuous or habitual events in the past:

- (8.52) *pə háya čār-Ø ke đer-a binga-Ø mi*
 in... that.DIR affair-F ...in much-F.DIR wealth-F.DIR 1SG.WK

joŕ-aw-ál-a

built-do.CONT-PST-PST.3SG.F

‘I was **making** great gains in that business.’^(WAZ)

- (8.53) *pə da domra wredz-Ø ke ye ná*
 in... this.DIR so.much day-F.DIR ...in 3.WK NEG

mər-kaw-ál-e

killed-do.CONT-PST-2SG

‘All day long, he did not [want to] **kill** you.’^(DZA)

- (8.54) *če di xwl-ə r Ø-čaw-ál-a*
 COMP 3SG.F.STR.OBL mouth-F.DIR 1 **CONT-throw-PST-PST.3SG.F**

‘When she was taking me in her mouth [lit. when she **threw** her mouth upon me].’^(DZA)

8.5.2.4 Past aorist

The past aorist verb form expresses actions with focus on completion, or on the event per se rather than its duration or multiple instances of the event.

- (8.55) دبیریتانیا حکومت پرون دایران داتومی پروگرام له امله پردغه هیواد نوی بندیزونه ولگول.

də britānyā-Ø hakumat-Ø parun də irān-Ø də
 of Britain-F.OBL government-M.DIR yesterday of Iran-M.OBL of

atomi progrām-Ø lə amal-a pər dáya hewād-Ø
 atomic program-M.OBL from sake-M.ABL on this country-M

nuw-i bandiz-una wá-lagaw-əl
 new-PL.M.DIR sanction-PL.M.DIR **AOR-hit-PST.3PL.M**

‘Yesterday the British government **placed** new sanctions on Iran in response to their nuclear program.’

(8.56) سری په خپل ځای کښېناست او نور هم غصه شو.

sar-ay pə xpəl-Ø dzāy-Ø kxénāst-Ø aw nor ham
man-M.DIR on own-M place-M AOR\sit-PST.3SG.M aw other also

yósa šo-Ø

angry become.AOR.PST-PST.3SG.M

'The gentleman **took** his seat but **was angry**.'

(8.57) مینه مې پټه کړله.

mina-Ø me pát-a kər-l-a
love-M.DIR 1SG.WK **hidden-F.DIR do.AOR-PST-PST.3SG.F**

'I **hid** my affection.'

(8.58) د افغان زندانیانو دخلاصون لپاره بايرن مېستو افغانانو لاریون وکړ.

də afyān zindān-iāno də xlāsun-Ø lə
of Afghan prisoner-PL.M.ANIM.OBL of release-M.OBL from

pār-a bayrān mešt-o afyān-āno lāryun-Ø
sake-M.ABL Bayern settled-PL.M.OBL Afghan-PL.M.OBL **protest-M.DIR**

wá-kər-Ø

AOR-do.AOR-PST.3SG.M

'Afghans living in Bayern [Germany] **protested** for the release of Afghan prisoners.'

(8.59) *e sažkol-Ø silab-Ø tsə naqsān-Ø*
of this.year-M.OBL flood-M.DIR what damage-M.DIR

dárk-ə

give.AOR.PST-PST.3SG.M

'Did the flooding **cause** any damage this year?' (WAZ)

(8.60) *ye šār-Ø na ó-wet-Ø dā ye*
from... city-M.OBL ...from AOR-leave.PST-PST.3SG.M this.DIR of

top-i pə sar-Ø nə bya wer-ta kénost-Ø
hill-F.OBL on... head-M ...on the 3-to **AOR\sit.PST-PST.3SG.M**

'He has left the town to go wait at the top of the hill, **sitting** near it.' (DZA)

- (8.61) *če yenənə pə daɾa-∅ ke wá-lg-ed-ə*
 COMP inside in... threshold-F.DIR ...in **AOR-hit-PST-PST.3SG.M**
čə yenənə wer-nánawet-∅
 when inside **3-AOR\enter.PST-PST.3SG.M**

‘He **landed** on the inside, at the entrance. He **penetrated** the interior.’^(DZA)

- (8.62) *a kisa-∅ ye mo pə da ɣwaž-∅*
 this story-F.DIR of 1SG.STR.OBL on this.DIR ear-M
nénawet-a
AOR\enter.PST-PST.3SG.F

‘This story **fell** into my ear.’^(DZA)

8.5.2.5 Imperative

Imperative forms convey commands (Section 8.3.5; Section 8.3.6).

- (8.63) له واره كوره راوخه لوى جهان سره اشنا شه.
lə wār-ə kor-a rādz-á loy-∅
 from small-M.OBL house-M.ABL **come.CONT.PRS-IMP.SG** big-M.OBL
jahān-∅ sərə ašnā š-a
 universe-M.OBL COMIT **friend become.AOR.PRS-IMP.SG**

‘**Step** outside your comfort zone and **get to know** the wide world out there.’

- (8.64) ته بيا هغه ظلمونه تکرارول غواړی روغ شی!
ta biyā háya zulm-una tikrār-aw-əl-∅
 2SG.STR.DIR then this.DIR abuse-PL.M.DIR repeated-do-INF-PL.M.DIR
∅-ɣwār-e róɣ-∅ š-əy
 CONT-want.PRS-2SG **healthy-M.DIR become.AOR.PRS-IMP.PL**

‘You want to repeat those horrors? **Get a clue!**’

- (8.65) ډېره ډېره مننه. نورې ویدیوگانې هم واچوه.
ɖer-a ɖer-a manana-∅ nor-e vidio-gāne
 many-F.DIR many-F.DIR thanks-F.DIR other-PL.F.DIR video-PL.F.DIR
ham w-áčaw-a
 also **AOR-throw-IMP.SG**

‘Thanks a lot. **Please post** more videos.’

(8.66) شېبې مې پرېږده چې بڼه وژاړمه .

šeb-e me prégd-a ĉe xə
 moment-PL.F.DIR 1SG.WK AOR\abandon-IMP.SG COMP good
wá-žār-əma
 AOR-cry-1SG

'Leave me **alone** for a little bit so I can have a good cry.'

(8.67) خپل ظاهر ته دې پوره پام وکړه .

xpəl-Ø zāher-Ø ta de pura pām-Ø
 own-M.DIR appearance-M.OBL to 2.WK complete **attention-M.DIR**
wá-kṛ-a
AOR-do.AOR-IMP.SG

'Pay full **attention** to how you look.'

(8.68) که بې بې عقلي بې وکړه، په يوه مرمى بې آرام کړه .

ka be be aql-i ye wá-kṛ-a
 if without without intelligence-F.DIR 3.WK AOR-do.AOR-PST.3SG.F
pə yaw-a marm-əy ye arām-Ø kṛ-a
 COMMIT one-F.DIR bullet-F.DIR 3.WK **calm-M.DIR do.AOR-IMP.SG**

'If he does anything stupid, **calm** him with a single shot. [i.e., kill him]'

(8.69) *dāse nim-a genṭa-Ø rā-səra kšén-əy*
 such half-F.DIR hour-F.DIR 1-with **AOR\sit.PRS-IMP.PL**

'Sit with me, like so, for half an hour.' ^(WAZ)

(8.70) *šə waxt-Ø kam-Ø day mo ta*
 good time-M.DIR little-M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M 1SG.STR.OBL to
ijaza-Ø rók-a
permission-M.DIR give.AOR.PRS-IMP.SG

'Okay. Time is short. **Let** me leave now.' ^(WAZ)

(8.71) *mo ta nan-e wá-k-e*
 1SG.STR.OBL for popcorn-PL.F.DIR AOR-do.PRS-2SG

'Make me some popcorn!' ^(DZA)

Present continuous stems may be used to form commands as well, thus intensifying them, imparting a sense of urgency, continuation, or repetition:

(8.72) پښتو وايه ، پښتو لوله ، پښتو ليکه .

paxto-Ø Ø-wāy-á paxto-Ø
 Pashto-F.DIR **CONT-tell.PRS-IMP.SG** Pashto-F.DIR
Ø-lwal-á paxto-Ø Ø-lik-á
CONT-read.PRS-IMP.SG Pashto-F.DIR **CONT-write-IMP.SG**
 ‘**Keep speaking** Pashto, **reading** Pashto, and **writing** Pashto.’

(8.73) هره ورځ لږ لږ د خوانښې په ډوډۍ کې اچوه .

har-a oradz-Ø læg læg də xwāx-e pə ɖoɖ-əy
 every-F.DIR day-F.DIR few few of mother.in.law-F.OBL in... food-F
ke Ø-ačaw-á
 ...in **CONT-throw-IMP.SG**
 ‘**Add** a little bit [of poison] to your mother-in-law's food every day.’

(8.74) په خوانښې دې خوره .

pə xwāx-e de Ø-xor-á
 INSTR mother.in.law-F 2.WK **CONT-eat.PRS-IMP.SG**
 ‘**Get** your mother-in-law to eat [it].’

(8.75) پام کوه! دا جومات دی، د خدای کور دی .

pām-Ø kaw-á dā jumāt-Ø
attention-M.DIR do.CONT-IMP.SG this.DIR mosque-M.DIR
day də xudāy kor-Ø day
 be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M of God house-M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M
 ‘**Behave yourself!** This is a mosque; it's a holy place.’

(8.76) په لسگونو خلک وژنه او له ژونده یې خلاصوه .

pə lasgun-o xalək-Ø Ø-wažn-á aw
 INSTR dozen-PL.M.OBL people-M.DIR **CONT-kill.PRS-IMP.SG** and
lə žwand-a ye xlās-aw-á
 from life-M.ABL 3.WK **freed-do.CONT-IMP.SG**
 ‘**Kill** dozens of people and **release** them from this life.’

(8.77) *sarkor-Ø ta ajiz-i kaw-a*
 government-M.OBL to **helpless-NMLZ do.CONT-IMP.SG**

‘Humbly **submit** to the government!’ (WAZ)

All types of commands, whether using continuous or aorist forms, are negated by *مه /má/*, which usually occurs before the verb but can also be after it. Negative commands almost always use continuous forms, except in certain stock phrases like 8.78.

(8.78) ساده مه شه!

sāda mǎ s-a
naive NEG become.PRS.AOR-IMP.SG

'Don't be naive!'

(8.79) زويه د بل د پاره خان مه وژنه!

zoy-a dǎ bel-Ø dǎ pār-a dzān-Ø má
son-M.VOC of other-M.OBL from sake-M.ABL self-M.DIR NEG

Ø-wāžn-á
CONT-kill.PRS-IMP.SG

'Son, don't kill yourself for the sake of another!'

(8.80) د نن کار سبا ته مه پرېږده.

dǎ nǎn kār-Ø sabā-Ø ta má
of today work-M.DIR tomorrow-M.DIR to NEG

pregd-á
CONT\abandon.PRS-IMP.SG

'Don't put off till tomorrow what you can do today.'

(8.81) د بل چا څخه د مننې هيله مه كوه!

dǎ bel-Ø čǎ tsəxǎ dǎ manan-e hila-Ø
from... other-M.OBL who.OBL ...from of thanks-F.OBL hope-F.DIR

má kaw-á
NEG do.CONT-IMP.SG

'Don't expect thanks from someone else!'

(8.82) كه تا نه پيژني، مه خپه كېره.

ka tā nǎ péžǎn-i má xapa
if 2SG.STR.DIR NEG AOR\recognize.PRS-PRS.3[SG.M] NEG sad

kég-a
become.CONT.PRS-IMP.SG

'Don't get upset if he doesn't recognize you.'

8.5.3 Compound constructions: perfect

Agreement in present and past perfect constructions is governed by the main verb. This means that in transitive constructions the main verb, the auxiliary, and—in the case of third conjugation verbs—the adjectival complement agree with the undergoer of the action, as can be seen in the sentences below. Perfect constructions in Pashto encode relative tense, and are generally best translated using the respective English present and past perfect forms, as can be seen in the example sentences in the following two sections.

8.5.3.1 Present perfect

First and second conjugation verbs form this tense with the past continuous participle and the present continuous of *to be*, as illustrated above in Section 8.4.1.1. Third conjugation verbs use the aorist participle and the present continuous forms of *to be*.

(8.83) افغانستان کی ژمی زور اخیستی دی .

afṡānistān-∅ ke žim-i zor-∅
Afghanistan-M in winter-M.OBL force-M.DIR

∅-axist-áy day
CONT-take[PST]-PTCP.M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M

‘Winter **has taken** hold in Afghanistan.’

(8.84) طالبانو په قطر کې د سیاسي دفتر پرانیستلو خبره منلې ده .

tālibān-o pə qatar-∅ ke də siyāsi daftar-∅ də
Taliban-PL.M.OBL in... Qatar-M ...in of political office-M.OBL of

prānist-əl-o xabara-∅ ∅-man-ál-e
open-INF-PL.M.OBL word-F.DIR **∅-man-ál-e**

da
be.CONT.PRS.3SG.F

‘The Taliban **have confirmed** that they will be opening a political office in Qatar.’

(8.85) دنیا منلی یې .

dunyā-∅ ∅-man-ál-ay ye
world-F.OBL **∅-man-ál-ay** **ye**
CONT-accept-PST-PTCP.M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.2SG

‘The world **has accepted** you.’

(8.86) اوس دې فيصلې ته رسېدلې یم چې ترجمه کول عیب نه دی.

os de faysal-e ta ras-ed-əl-ay
 now this.OBL decision-F.OBL to **arrive-PST-PST-PTCP.M.DIR**
yəm ĉe *tarjuma-Ø kaw-əl-Ø*
be.CONT.PRS.1SG COMP translation-F.DIR do-INF-PL.M.DIR
ayb-Ø ná day
 defect-M.DIR NEG be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M

'I've finally **come** to the conclusion that doing translations isn't so bad.'

(8.87) زه په یو خالي کور کې ننوتلې یم او اوس دا زما کور دي نه ستا!

zə pə yaw xāli kor-Ø ki
 1SG.STR.DIR in... one empty house-M ...in
nənəwat-əl-e **yəm** *aw os dā*
CONT\enter-PST-PTCP.F.DIR be.CONT.PRS.1SG and now this.DIR
zmā kor-Ø day ná stā
 1SG.STR.POSS house-M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M NEG 2SG.STR.POSS

'I've **entered** an empty house, and now it's mine and not yours!'

(8.88) دواړو د دفاع وزیرانو په افغانستان کېنې د پوځ ستړیا احساس کېږي ده.

dwār-o də difah-Ø wazir-āno pə
 both-PL.M.OBL of defense-F.OBL minister-PL.M.ANIM.OBL in...
afyānistān-Ø kxe də paudz-Ø stəryā-Ø ihsās
 Afghanistan-M ...in of force-M.OBL exhaustion-F.DIR **feeling**
kār-e da
do.AOR-PTCP.F.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.F

'Both Defense Ministers **have seen** how exhausted troops in Afghanistan are.'

(8.89) زرغونه یې اوس مجبوره کېږي ده چې واده وکړي.

zaryona-Ø ye os majbur-a kār-e
 Zarghoona-F.DIR 3.WK now **forced-F.DIR do.AOR-PTCP.F.DIR**
da ĉe *wād-ə wā-kṛ-i*
be.CONT.PRS.3SG.F COMP marriage-M.DIR AOR-do.AOR-PRS.3[SG.F]

'Now **he's forced** Zarghuna to get married.'

(8.90) تا پر ما باندی غلط فکر کری دی .

tā pər mā bānde yalat fikar-Ø
 2SG.STR.OBL on... 1SG.STR.OBL ...on mistaken **thought-M.DIR**
kār-ay day
do.AOR-PTCP.M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M

‘You’ve got me all wrong.’

The modal particles به /bə/ or دی /de/ in combination with the present perfect construction express a supposition about a future event, as in 8.91, 8.92, and 8.93, or doubt or uncertainty about one, as in 8.94. Because of the irrealis semantics of this construction, the present aorist form وی /wi/ is used as the third person auxiliary.

(8.91) ہم به بی گتہ کری وی خکہ چی ہم به بی خپل تربور وژی وی .

ham bə ye gaṭa-Ø kār-e
 also **WOULD** 3.WK **benefit-F.DIR do.AOR-PTCP.F.DIR**
wi dzəkə če ham bə ye xpəl-Ø
be.AOR.PRS.3SG.F because COMP also **WOULD** 3.WK own-M.DIR
tərbur-Ø Ø-waž-âl-ay wi
 cousin-M.DIR **CONT-kill-PST-PTCP.M.DIR be.AOR.PRS.3SG.M**

‘He will also have benefited because he will have killed his cousin.’

(8.92) د سوات غیرتمندو پښتنو به د تالبانو نوغی ایستلی وی .

də swat-Ø yayr tamadun-o paxtan-o
 of Swat-M.OBL without civilization-PL.M.OBL Pashtoon-PL.M.OBL
bə də tālibān-o noy-i
WOULD of Taliban-PL.M.OBL mark-PL.M.DIR
Ø-ist-âl-i wi
CONT-remove.PST-PST-PTCP.PL.M.DIR be.AOR.PRS.3PL.M

‘Those heathen Pashtoons in Swat will have eradicated any trace of the Taliban.’

(8.93) ترډیره حده به موستونزه حل کری وی .

tər ɖer-a had-a bə mo stunza-Ø
 up.to very-M.ABL border-M.ABL **WOULD** 1PL.WK problem-F.DIR
hál kār-e wi
solution do.AOR-PTCP.F.DIR be.AOR.PRS.3SG.F

‘We will have more or less resolved the issue.’

(8.98) دې ځغاستو دوږې جوړې کړې وې.

de dzayāst-o duṛ-e jór-e
 this.OBL run-PL.M.OBL sand.storm-PL.F.DIR **built-PL.F.DIR**
kár-e we
do.AOR-PTCP.PL.F.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3PL.F

‘Their steps **had given rise** to sandstorms.’

(8.99) زموږ ډيموکرات دوستانو دوه کاله پخوا بودیجه تصویب کړې وه.

zmung đimokrāt-āno dost-āno dwa
 1PL.STR.POSS democrat-PL.M.ANIM.OBL friend-PL.M.ANIM.OBL two
kāl-a pə xwā-Ø bodija-Ø taswīb-Ø
 year-M.OBL on side-F budget-F.DIR **approval-M.DIR**
kár-ay wə
do.AOR-PTCP.M.DIR be.CONT.PST.3SG.M

‘Our friends the Democrats **had passed** a budget two years ago.’

(8.100) دولت هم د دوی سره د پام وړ مرستې کړې وې.

dawlat-Ø ham də duy sərə də pām
 government-M.OBL also COMMIT... 3PL.STR.OBL ...COMIT of attention
war mārast-e kár-e we
 worthy **help-PL.F.DIR do.AOR-PTCP.PL.F.DIR be.CONT.PST.3PL.F**

‘The government **had** also **helped** them significantly.’

8.5.3.3 Negation of perfect tenses

When compound tenses are negated, the negative particle نه /ná/ immediately precedes the auxiliary verb and forms a constituent phrase with it. With first and second conjugation verbs, the participle can occur before this negated verb phrase, as in 8.101 and 8.103, or after it, as in 8.102 and 8.104. Likewise, in perfect constructions with third conjugation verbs, the light verb construction can occur either before the negated verb phrase, as in 8.105 and 8.106, or after it, as in 8.107.

(8.101) مزل کوومه. تر منزل له رسیدلی نه یم.

mazal-Ø kaw-əma tər manzil-Ø lā
 distance-M.DIR do.CONT-1SG up.to encampment-M.OBL yet
Ø-ras-ed-ál-ay ná yəm
CONT-arrive-PST-PST-PTCP.M.DIR NEG be.CONT.PRS.1SG

‘I’m in transit. **I haven’t gotten** as far as the station.’

(8.102) تر اوسه لا دغه لور ارمان ته نه يم رسيدلى .

tər os-a lā dāya lwaɣ-∅ armān-∅ ta ná
 up.to now-M.ABL yet this.OBL high-M.OBL desire-M.OBL to NEG
yəm **∅-ras-ed-ál-ay**
be.CONT.PRS.1SG CONT-arrive-PST-PST-PTCP.M.DIR

'I still **haven't had** my dream **come** true.'

(8.103) نن يې خبرو ته پرېښودى نه يم .

nən ye xabar-o ta prexúd-ay ná
 today 3.WK word-PL.F.OBL to CONT\permit.PST-PTCP.M.DIR NEG
yəm
be.CONT.PRS.1SG

'He **hasn't let** me talk today.'

(8.104) خدای پاک انسان په خپل حال نه دی پرېښودى .

xudāy pāk insān-∅ pə xpəl-∅ hāl-∅ ná
 God clean person-M.DIR in own-M condition-M NEG
day **prexúd-ay**
be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M CONT\abandon.PST-PTCP.M.DIR

'God **hasn't left** mankind behind.'

(8.105) د طالبانو ادعاوې نورو سرچينو تايد كړي نه دي .

də tālibān-o idā-gāne nor-o sarčīn-o
 of Taliban-PL.M.OBL claim-PL.F.DIR other-PL.F.OBL source-PL.F.OBL
tāyid **kār-e** **ná** **di**
confirmation do.AOR-PTCP.PL.F.DIR NEG be.CONT.PRS.3PL.M

'Other sources **haven't confirmed** the Taliban's assertions.'

(8.106) زمونږ مصيبت خپلي ولس دا ورځ هيره كړى نه وه .

zung masibat-∅ dzəpəl-i walas-∅ dā
 1PL.STR.POSS disaster-M.DIR torn-PTCP.M.DIR people-M.OBL this.DIR
oradz-∅ hīr-a kār-e ná
 day-F.DIR forgotten-F.DIR do.AOR-PTCP.F.DIR NEG
wa
be.CONT.PST.3SG.F

'Our war-torn nation **hadn't forgotten** that day.'

(8.107) پخوا مې هيڅکله په دغشان فعالیت کې نه دی کړی .

pəxwā me hits kala pə dayšān fālāt-Ø ke ná
before 1SG.WK none when in... this.same activity-M ...in NEG

day gaḏun-Ø kəṛ-ay
be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M participation-M.DIR do.AOR-PTCP.M.DIR

'I've never done this type of thing before.'

8.5.4 Compound constructions: potential

Optative verb forms are used in a construction with aorist forms of the verb کېدل /kedāl/ 'to become' to express potential. These verbs are sometimes analyzed as participles in these constructions (Tegey & Robson, 1996: 146), but unlike participles, they do not take agreement suffixes, and should therefore be regarded as optatives. See Section 8.3.7 and Section 8.3.8 for the formation of optative verbs.

8.5.4.1 Expressing potential present events

The present tense of the potentiality construction is formed with the present optative form of the matrix verb and the present aorist form of کېدل /kedāl/ 'to become':

(8.108) نظر مې لا کار کوي او لا هم ليکلای شم .

nizar-Ø me lā kār-Ø kaw-í aw lā
sight-M.DIR 1SG.WK still work-M.DIR do.CONT.PRS.3[SG.M] and still

ham Ø-lik-ál-ay š-əm
also **CONT-write-PST-OPT become.AOR.PRS-1SG**

'My vision still works and I can still write.'

(8.109) تاسود خپل ټليفون شمېره مور ته په غريزه توگه او دبرېښنا ليک په ډول هم پرېښودلای شئ .

tāso *də xpəl-Ø* *ṭelefun-Ø* *šmira-Ø*
2PL.STR.DIR of own-M.OBL telephone-M.OBL number-F.DIR

mung *ta pə* *ṭagiz-a* *toga-Ø* *aw də brixnā*
1PL.STR.OBL to INSTR vocal-F.DIR manner-F.DIR and of electricity

lik-Ø *pə* *ḍawal-Ø* *ham* **prexud-əl-ay**
letter-M.OBL INSTR manner-M also CONT\leave-PST-OPT

š-əy

become.AOR.PRS-2PL

‘You **can** also **leave** us your telephone number over the phone or by email.’

(8.110) مور په غټه پیماننه خلکو ته دین خپرولی شو .

mung *pə* *ṭaṭ-a* *pemāna-Ø* *xalk-o* *ta*
1PL.STR.DIR INSTR large-F.DIR measure-F.DIR people-PL.M.OBL to

din-Ø **xapar-aw-əl-ay** **š-u**
religion-M.DIR spread-do.CONT-PST-OPT become.AOR.PRS-1PL

‘We **can** **proselytize** on a large scale.’

8.5.4.2 Expressing potential past events

The past tense of the potentiality construction is formed from the optative forms of the matrix verb and past aorist forms of کډل /kedəl/ ‘to become’. The aorist optative is used for an event that was actually carried out:

(8.111) تۀ هلته پر وخت ورسېدلی شوې؟

ta *həltə pər wəxt-Ø* **wə-ras-ed-əl-ay**
2SG.STR.DIR there on time-M.DIR **AOR-arrive-PST-PST-OPT**

šw-e

become.AOR.PST-2SG

‘Were **you** **able to get there** on time?’

If the continuous optative is used in this construction, the connotation is that the event either did not take place, translatable into English with *might* (Tegey & Robson, 1996: 148), or was carried out over an extended period of time in the past:

(8.112) مونږ تېره هفته جوار کرلی شوه .

mung tera hafta jwār-Ø Ø-kar-âl-ay
1PL.STR.OBL last week corn-M **CONT-plant-PST-OPT**

sw-ə

become.AOR.PST-PST.3SG.M

‘We **might have been able to plant** the corn last week [if you had brought the seeds].’

(8.113) د ختيز جرمني خلکو د لويديز برلين ... تلويزوني پروگرامونه ليدلي شول .

də xatiz-Ø jermani-Ø xalk-o də lowediz-Ø
of east-M.OBL Germany-M.OBL people-PL.M.OBL of west-M.OBL

berlin-Ø ... televizyoni progrām-una Ø-lid-âl-ay
Berlin-M.OBL ... televised program-PL.M.DIR **CONT-see.PST-PST-OPT**

šw-əl

become.AOR.PST-PST.3PL.M

‘People in East Germany **were able to watch** TV shows from West Berlin.’

(8.114) افغانانو له موږ سره ډېره لږه مرسته کولای شوه .

afyān-āno lə mung sərə ɖer-a
Afghan-PL.M.ANIM.OBL COMMIT... 1PL.STR.OBL ...COMIT very-F.DIR

læg-a mārasta-Ø kaw-âl-ay šw-a
little-F.DIR **help-F.DIR do.CONT-PST-OPT become.AOR.PST-PST.3SG.F**

‘The Afghans **were able to help** us very little [as they were busy with their own armed conflict].’

8.5.4.3 Expressing potential future events

Potential future events are expressed using the modal clitic به /bə/, either a continuous or an aorist optative form of the matrix verb, and present aorist forms of کېدل /kedâl/ ‘to become’. Using the aorist optative implies that the event is expected by the speaker to take place (Tegey & Robson, 1996: 146).

(8.115) د خبرو له لارې به د افغانستان لس کلنه جگړه پای ته ورسولی شي .

də xabar-o lə lār-e bə də afyānistān-Ø
 of word-PL.F.OBL from side-F.OBL WOULD of Afghanistan-M.OBL
las kalən-a jağra-Ø pāy-Ø ta wá-rasaw-əl-ay
 ten year.old-F.DIR war-F.DIR end-M.OBL to AOR-arrive-PST-OPT
š-i

become.AOR.PRS-PRS.3[PL.M]

‘With diplomacy, [they]’ll **be able to end** the 10 year-old war in Afghanistan.’

(8.116) خلکو دا لې ده چې دوی به یوازې په دومره ویلو پرېښودلای شي .

xalk-o dā Ø-gaṅ-əl-e
 people-PL.M.OBL this.DIR CONT-consider-PST-PTCP.F.DIR
da če duy bə yawāze pə
 be.CONT.PRS.3SG.F COMP 3PL.STR.DIR WOULD only INSTR
dumra way-əl-o prēxud-əl-ay
 so.much say-INF-PL.M.OBL AOR\permit-PST-OPT
š-i

become.AOR.PRS-PRS.3[PL.M]

‘People thought that they **would be allowed to pass** only by talking enough [to convince us].’

(8.117) په لنډ ډول لیکل شوي ترڅو ټول لوستونکي ترې استفاده وکړای شي .

pə lanḍ-Ø ḍawal-Ø lik-əl šúw-ay
 INSTR short-M manner-M write-INF become.AOR.PST-PTCP.PL.M.DIR
tər tso ʔol-Ø lwustunk-i tre istafāda-Ø
 up.to some all-PL.M.DIR reader-PL.M.DIR up.to.3 usage-F.DIR
wá-kṛ-ay š-i

AOR-do.AOR-OPT become.AOR.PRS-PRS.3[PL.M]

‘[The articles] have been written concisely so that all readers **are able to make use** of them.’

(8.118) ایاولس مشرکزای به په دوهم بون کې ورکړي تضمیونونه عملي کړای شي؟

ayā walas māšer-Ø karz-ay bə pə dohəm-Ø bon
 Q people leader-M.DIR Karzai-M.DIR WOULD in... second-M Bonn
konferans-Ø ke wárkr-i tazmin-una
 conference-M ...in give.AOR-PTCP.PL.M.DIR guarantee-PL.M.DIR
amáli kṛ-ay š-i
implemented do.AOR-OPT become.AOR.PRS-PRS.3[SG.M]

‘Will President Karzai **be able to implement** the assurances he made at the Second Bonn Conference?’

If the continuous optative is used in this construction with the future particle, the connotation is that the action is not necessarily probable, translatable into English with *might* (Tegey & Robson, 1996: 148).

(8.119) لایلا به لیک سبا ته لېرلی شي .

laylā-Ø bə lik-Ø sabā-Ø ta
 Layla-F.DIR WOULD letter-M.DIR tomorrow-F.DIR on
Ø-leg-ál-ay s-i
CONT-send-PST-OPT become.AOR.PRS-PRS.3SG.F

‘Layla **might be able to send** the letter tomorrow.’^(NW)

(8.120) ته به په همدې موخه کار کولای شي .

ta bə pə hamde moxa-Ø kār-Ø
 2SG.STR.DIR WOULD on this.same goal-F.DIR **work-M.DIR**
kaw-ál-ay š-e
do.CONT-PST-OPT become.AOR.PRS-2SG

‘You **may be able to work** on [achieving] this same goal.’

(8.121) بل خوگ نشته چې داسې یو شی جوړولی وشي .

bel-Ø tsok ná šta če dāse yaw šay-Ø
 other-M.DIR who.DIR NEG EXT COMP such one thing-M.DIR
joṛ-aw-ál-ay wá-š-i
built-do.CONT-PST-OPT AOR-become.AOR.PRS-PRS.3[SG.M]

‘There's no one else who **could build** such a thing.’

The following two sentences suggest that either a continuous or an aorist optative can be used to express an a repeated event with future time reference:

(8.122) تر خو خلک له کومې ستونزې پرته تگ راتگ کولای وشي .

tər tso xalək-∅ lə kum-e stunz-e prata
up.to some people-M.DIR from which-F.OBL problem-F.OBL without

tag rātag-∅ kaw-āl-ay
go come-M.DIR do.CONT-PST-OPT

wá-š-i

AOR-become.AOR.PRS-PRS.3[PL.M]

‘So that the people **can come and go** without issue.’

(8.123) ناټو دې د مرکچیان طالبان پرېږدي چې په خلاسه پنبه تگ راتگ وکولای شي .

nāto-∅ de marakič-ian tālibān-∅
NATO-M.DIR NEC representative-PL.M.ANIM.DIR Taliban-PL.M.DIR

prégd-i ĉe pə xlās-a pxa-∅ tag
AOR\permit-PRS.3[SG.M] COMP INSTR open-F.DIR foot-F.DIR **go**

rātag-∅ wá-kaw-əl-ay š-i
come-M.DIR AOR-do-PST-OPT become.AOR.PRS-PRS .3[PL.M]

‘NATO should allow the Taliban delegates **to be able to come and go** as they please.’

8.5.4.4 Negative

The negative particle must precede the auxiliary verb in a potential construction, but the optative form may come before or after the negated verb phrase (Tegey & Robson, 1996: 145–147):

(8.124) تر اوسه مې خپل او د پلار نوم نه شو ليکلی .

tər os-a me xpəl-∅ aw də plār-∅
up.to now-M.ABL 1SG.WK own-M.DIR and of father-M.OBL

num-∅ ná šo-∅ ∅-lik-āl-ay
name-M.DIR **NEG become.AOR.PST-PST.3SG.M CONT-write-PST-OPT**

‘Until now, **I wasn't able to write** either my name or my father's.’

(8.125) قلم که مات شی خه لیکلی نشو .

qalam-Ø ka māt-Ø š-i tsə
pen-M.DIR if broken-M.DIR become.AOR.PRS-PRS.3[SG.M] what

Ø-lik-al-ay ná š-u
CONT-write-PST-OPT NEG become.AOR.PRS-1PL

‘You **can't write** anything with a broken pen.’

(8.126) خان مې نه شو ټینګولی .

dzān-Ø me ná šo-Ø
self-M.DIR 1SG.WK NEG become.AOR.PST-PST.3SG.M

ting-aw-ál-ay
tight-do.CONT-PST-OPT

‘I **couldn't pull** myself together.’

(8.127) د کابل پوهنتون د ۹/۱۱ په اړه کوم سیمپوزیم جوړ نشو کړای!!!

də kābul-Ø pohəntun-Ø də 9 11 pə aɾa-Ø
of Kabul university-M.OBL of 9 11 on topic-F.DIR

kum-Ø simpozijom-Ø joɾ-Ø ná
which-PL.M.DIR seminar-M.DIR built-M.DIR NEG

šo-Ø kɾ-ay
become.AOR.PST-PST.3SG.M do.AOR-OPT

‘The University of Kabul **wasn't able to offer** any seminars on 9–11!!!’

(8.128) په کونړ کې ډاکټرانو سم تشخیص ونه شو کړای .

pə konar-Ø ke dāktar-āno sam-Ø
in... Kunar-M ...in doctor-PL.M.ANIM.OBL correct-M.DIR

tašxis-Ø wə-ná šo-Ø kɾ-ay
diagnosis-M.DIR AOR-NEG become.AOR.PST do.AOR-OPT

‘The doctors in Kunar **couldn't give** a correct **diagnosis**.’

8.5.5 Infinitives

8.5.5.1 Infinitives as nouns

Infinitives show the default masculine plural agreement (see Section 11.4.3 and Section 11.7.5); non-direct forms take the *و* /-o/ oblique/ablative plural suffix used on declension Class II nouns (see Section 5.2.4), as in 8.129. Like other event nominals, infinitives

may take their own complements. Infinitival phrases may serve as a subject, object, or object of an adposition.

(8.129) ما له راډيو څخه د حکومت د مرستې د کولو خبرې واوریدې.

mā lə rādyo-Ø tsəxə də hakumat-Ø də
 1SG.STR.OBL from... radio-F.OBL ...from of government-M.OBL of
mərast-e kaw-əl-o xabar-e w-ārw-ed-e
help-PL.F.DIR do-INF-PL.M.OBL word-PL.F.DIR AOR-hear.PST-PST.3PL.F
 'I heard on the radio about the government's **helping out**.'

(8.130) ایا د زکام لپاره تاريک خوړل جایز دي؟

ayā də zukām-Ø lə pār-a tiyārāk-Ø
 Q of head.cold-M.OBL from sake-M.ABL opium-M.DIR
xoṛ-əl-Ø jāyiz-Ø di
eat-INF-PL.M.DIR legal-PL.M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3PL.M
 'Is it legal **to take** opium for a head-cold?'

(8.131) د مدني ټولني دنده د دولت سره مرسته کول دي.

də madani ʔolən-e danda-Ø də dawlat-Ø
 of civilized society-F.OBL job-F.DIR COMMIT... government-M.OBL
sərə mərasta-Ø kaw-əl-Ø di
 ...COMIT **help-F.DIR do-INF-PL.M.DIR** be.CONT.PRS.3PL.M
 '**Helping** the government is a duty in an advanced society.'

8.5.5.2 The periphrastic passive

As described in Section 8.2.5.5.2, infinitives and past participles can be used as the nominal component of a third conjugation verb with کېدل /kedəl/ to form a verbal construction that is often referred to as the Pashto passive. Both infinitival and participial complements of کېدل /kedəl/ can optionally have the aorist prefix و /wə-/ in aorist forms of this construction, in addition to an aorist form of کېدل /kedəl/, as in 8.132, 8.133, and 8.135.

(8.132) بنه بلل کهرې چې مينه له پوتکي سره وخورله شي .

xə bal-əl kég-i če
 good **consider-INF become.CONT.PRS-PRS.3[PL.M]** COMP
maŋa-Ø lə poʔək-i səra wá-xoʔ-əl-a
 apple-F.DIR COMMIT... skin-M.OBL ...COMIT **AOR-eat-INF-F.DIR**
š-i
become.AOR.PRS-PRS.3[SG.F]

'It is considered good to eat an apple along with its peel.'

(8.133) وتړل شم .

wá-taʔ-əl s-əm
AOR-tie-INF become.AOR.PRS-1SG

'[that] I be tied'

(8.134) تړل کېږم .

Ø-taʔ-əl kég-əm
CONT-tie-INF become.CONT.PRS-1SG

'I am being tied.'

(8.135) وتړل شو(ل)م .

wá-taʔ-əl sw(əl)-əm
AOR-tie-INF become.AOR.PST-1SG

'I was tied.'

(8.136) تړل کېد(ل)م .

Ø-taʔ-əl ked(əl)-əm
CONT-tie-INF become.CONT.PST-1SG

'I was being tied.'

The prefix *wá-* /wá-/ is not obligatory, however:

(8.137) په بريد کښې ۲۰۰ تنه وژل شول .

pə brid-Ø kxe 200 tan-a waz-əl
 in... attack-M ...in 200 person-PL.M.DIR **kill-INF**
šw-əl
become.AOR.PST-PST.3PL.M

'Two hundred people were killed in the attack.'

If a participle rather than an infinitive is used, it agrees with the undergoer, as can be seen in examples 8.138 - 8.142. In Dzadrani, however, the participle does not show agreement but remains masculine direct regardless of the gender and number of the subject, as in 8.143 and 8.144:

(8.138) دی وهلی کبری .

day *Ø-wah-âl-ay*
3SG.M.STR.DIR **CONT-beat-PST-PTCP.M.DIR**

kég-i
 become.CONT.PRS-PRS.3[SG.M]

'He is being beaten.'

(8.139) دا وهلی کبری .

dā *Ø-wah-âl-e* *kég-i*
3SG.F.STR.DIR **CONT-beat-PST-PTCP.F.DIR** **become.CONT.PRS-PRS.3[SG.F]**

'She is being beaten.'

(8.140) دوی وهلی کبری .

duy *Ø-wah-âl-i*
3PL.STR.DIR **CONT-beat-PST-PTCP.PL.M.DIR**

kég-i
 become.CONT.PRS-PRS.3[PL.M]

'They are being beaten.'

(8.141) *de sten-e* *pə* *sim-Ø* *ob-e* *nā*
 of needle-SG.F.OBL INSTR eye-M water-PL.F.DIR NEG

Ø-mīnd-e *kež-i*
CONT-find.PST-PTCP.PL.F.DIR **become.CONT.PRS-PRS.3[PL.F]**

'Not a needle's eyeful of water is [to be] found.' (WAZ-L)

(8.142) *pš-e* *ye* *wa* *wā-tik-âl-e*
 feet-PL.F.DIR 3.WK WOULD **AOR-injure-INF-PTCP.PL.F.DIR**

Ø-š-i
CONT-become.PRS-PRS.3[PL.F]

'His feet will be injured.' (WAZ)

(8.143) *ḡāndera-Ø ó-wa-l-ay Ø-šw-a*
 drum-F.DIR AOR-beat-INF-PTCP.M.DIR CONT-become.PST-PST.3SG.F
 ‘A drum **was struck**.’^(DZA)

(8.144) *ḡānder-e ó-wa-l-ay*
 drum-PL.F.DIR AOR-beat-INF-PTCP.M.DIR
Ø-šw-e
CONT-become.PST-PST.3PL.F
 ‘Drums **were struck**.’^(DZA)

For more example sentences using the periphrastic passive, see Section 11.3.1.5.

8.5.6 Present participles

Present participles can be used to modify nouns, as in:

(8.145) اروپایی ٲولنه باید د خلاصونکی سوداگریزې تگلارې غوره کړي .
europay-i ʈulən-a bāyad də Ø-xlas-únk-i
 Europe-ADJZ society-F.DIR NEC of CONT-liberate-PTCP-SG.M.OBL
sawda-gar-iz-e taglar-e ɣwára
 business-NMLZ-ADJZ-PL.F.DIR policy-PL.F.DIR considered
kɾ-i
 do.AOR-PRS.3SG.F

‘The European Union must consider commercial **rescue** policies.’

or to form a verbal noun:

(8.146) د اروپایی ٲولنې کتونکی په اوکراین کې په کار پیل کړی .
də europay-i ʈulən-e Ø-kat-únk-i pə
 of Europe-ADJZ society-F.OBL CONT-see-PTCP-SG.M.OBL in...
ukren-Ø ke pə kār-Ø payəl-Ø
 Ukraine-M.OBL ...in on work-M.OBL beginning-M.DIR
kɾ-áy
 do.AOR-PTCP.M.DIR

‘A European Union **observer** has begun work in the Ukraine.’

Claudia M. Brugman

9 Adpositions

9.1 Overview

Pashto exhibits three categories of adposition: prepositions, postpositions, and circumpositions.¹

The class of circumpositions is the most difficult to describe exhaustively, for several reasons:

- First, though for a given variety the inventory of prepositions and postpositions is fixed, some circumpositions appear to be semi-productive combinations of prepositions and postpositions or prepositions and adverbs (as asserted by Babrakzai 1999).
- Second, some items that function as circumpositions are complex in one component, typically the postpositional component, as is shown in Example 9.74. The postpositional component in such cases may be a lexicalized meronymic expression. We call these phrasal adpositions *complex adpositions*.²
- Finally, there is a set of principles that we understand only in part, which require or allow one or the other component of a circumposition to be deleted, rendering the effect of independent prepositions or (more typically) postpositions. In this chapter we discuss those principles that we understand.

In the general style of Indo-European, the functions of adpositions in Pashto range from quite abstract relationships to very specific spatial, temporal, or causal relationships, and generally the interpretation of any given adposition will depend on the context, as reflected in the glossing or translation. Where two components of a circumposition together express a single relation, the first component will have an ellipsis (...) after the gloss, and the second will have an ellipsis before the gloss. Sentence 9.1 gives an example of this glossing convention.

The Middle dialects vary from General Pashto in the inventory of adpositions, in the pronunciation of individual items, and in some case assignments. Much of the description provided of Middle dialect adpositions originates in Septfonds (1994),³ which

¹ These items are referred to in other grammars as *pre-post-positions* (Tegey & Robson, 1996) or *ambipositions* (Heston, 1987). The term *circumposition* more transparently denotes a single discontinuous lexeme; Hewson & Bubenik (2006: 109) use this term as well. Throughout this chapter, and in the examples throughout this book, attested examples show that Pashto also has ambipositions, i.e. adpositions that may occur either before or after their objects.

² Circumpositions in Persian, including cognates, are mentioned by Heston (1987), Lazard (1963) and Phillott (1919).

³ The translation into English of this work was provided by Melissa Fox.

is a description of the Džadrani dialect; however, example sentences and descriptions may reflect other Middle varieties. Our own research suggests the existence of both similarities and differences between Džadrani (as Septfonds describes it) and Waziri, as described more briefly by Lorimer (1902: 39–40), but a dearth of information prevents us from making any substantive claims about how they differ from each other. Furthermore, it is possible that some of the features noted here for Džadrani and Waziri may be found in varieties of Pashto outside of the Middle dialect group as well.

Three other points should be remembered about Pashto adpositions:

- Items that are identified (in this grammar or elsewhere) as adverbs may in fact function as adpositions. For instance, we identify *ورسته* /wrusta/ ‘after, later’ as an adverb in Table 10.1, concurring with other grammars, and based on the fact that from our information it only governs an object when it is a component of a complex circumposition (see Example 9.120); however, it is possible that there are varieties of Pashto that treat it as a simple adposition. Conversely, the item *سره . . .* /... sara/ is identified here primarily as a postpositional component of a circumposition; however, in its function outlined in Section 10.2.3.1, it does not take even a notional object, and is therefore properly classified as an adverb. The same can be said for some items identified in this grammar as adverbs of place in Table 10.2.
- As expected, adpositions in Pashto may govern objects other than noun phrases, including strong pronouns and oblique pronominal clitics. In addition, the object in an adpositional phrase may be more or less clausal: one possibility is an infinitive verb and its local argument, both of which may be case-marked according to the requirements of the governing adposition (see 9.72 and 9.73). Many of the subsections of Section 11.4.4 give examples of different adpositions in construction with the complementizer *چه* /čə/, where the adposition’s object is a subordinate clause. Finally, 9.32 gives an example with a case-marked adjectival object.
- Some adpositions are subject to dialect-based pronunciation variation as exemplified in Table 4.2. This is in addition to some dialect-based variation in the specific combinations of adpositions into complex adpositions or circumpositions.
- Individual adpositions are often described as clitics; this is reflected in some written examples by the lack of space between the adposition and its object.

9.2 Adpositions and case assignment

For all varieties of Pashto, adpositions generally govern either oblique or ablative case assignment to their objects. However, L. Rzehak (p.c.) suggests that the direct case may be becoming the preferred case assignment for some adpositions as well, claiming that the use of the oblique form may sound dated to some speakers. Furthermore,

the picture is somewhat complicated by several issues: first, sometimes case-marking can vary (usually between direct and oblique) without difference in meaning; in other situations, however, the difference in case-marking is associated with a difference in meaning. In addition, this grammar recognizes an ablative case, where some other grammars do not, so descriptions of the same facts may not line up. The ablative case is governed by a small number of adpositions; again, however, in some situations either ablative or oblique case may appear in construction with a particular adposition. Some speakers have reported that vocative case-marking may be assigned; this matter deserves more study.

For Dzadrani in particular, Septfonds (1994) asserts that an adposition may assign direct, oblique, or ablative case to its object when the object is singular in number; however, when the object is plural, the case assignment is always oblique. Our research suggests that Waziri does not observe this constraint: singular or plural objects of /e/ may be case-marked direct (as shown in example 9.19). Also for Dzadrani, Septfonds (1997: 8.3.2) claims that the comparative postposition /təɾ/ ‘than’ can assign either oblique or direct case to its object. Septfonds (1994: 262) notes further that circumpositions whose first component is /ye/ or /təɾ/ may assign the oblique or the ablative case to their objects.

In Waziri, according to Lorimer (1902: 40), /pə/ ‘on, in’ preferentially assigns direct case but may also assign oblique case. Our own research on Waziri confirms that assignment of direct case predominates.

There may be varieties of Pashto for which oblique is the only case-marking form governed by adpositions (as is claimed in, e.g., Dessart 1994: 52). This includes the appearance of the fused genitive strong pronoun (see Section 7.2.3) as the object of the adposition, as shown in sentence 9.3.

9.2.1 Assignment of oblique case

Our research suggests that the object of an adposition is most often assigned the oblique case. In particular, the preposition تر /təɾ/ ‘up to’ and circumpositions of which it is the prepositional component always assign the oblique case to their objects.

(9.1) د زرخانگي زوی په فرانسې کې اوسېږي .

də zartsāng-i zoy-Ø pə farāns-e ki
of Zartsangay-M.OBL son-M.DIR in... France-M.OBL ...in
Ø-os-éz-i
CONT-live-PRS-PRS.3[SG.M]

‘Zartsangay’s son lives in France.’ (SW)

(9.2) زما نوټونه په کتابچې کې دي .

zmā noʔ-una pə kitābč-e ke
1SG.STR.POSS note-PL.M.DIR in... notebook-F.OBL ...in
di
be.CONT.PRS.3PL.M

‘My notes are in the notebook.’

(9.3) له ما سره په کښتۍ کې ډېر سره او سپين زر دي .

la mā sərə pə kixt-ey ke ɖer-Ø
COMIT... 1SG.STR.OBL ...COMIT in... boat-F ...in much-PL.M.DIR
sr-ə aw spin-Ø zar-Ø di
red-PL.M.DIR and white-PL.M.DIR metal-PL.M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3PL.M

‘There is a lot of gold and silver in the boat with **me**.’^(SW)

9.2.2 Assignment of ablative case

Some adpositions assign the ablative case to their object, most notably GP له /lə/ and complex adpositions that contain it. The ablative case is discussed in Section 5.1.3.3.

The ablative case-marking suffix is apparently historically related to the postposition نه /na/; for instance, پاسه /pāsa/ ‘top.ABL’ in example 9.17 is historically derived from پاس /pas/ ‘top’ plus the postposition نه /na/ ‘from’. In this work, we nevertheless treat the ablative suffix as a case-marker and نه /na/ as a postpositional element, unlike other sources (e.g. Tegey & Robson 1996) that treat ه /a/ as simply a variant of نه /na/.

(9.4) له پلاره راغلی يم .

lə plār-a rāy-əl-əy yəm
from father-M.ABL come.AOR.PST-PST-PTCP.M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.1SG

‘I have come from father.’^(NW,SW)

(9.5) د القاعده غړي له افغانستانه وتښتېدل .

də al-qeda-Ø yəɾ-i lə afyānistān-a
of al-Qaida-M.OBL member-PL.M.DIR from Afghanistan-M.ABL
wā-taxt-ed-əl
AOR-flee-PST-PST.3PL.M

‘The members of al-Qaida fled from Afghanistan.’

Other adpositions can assign either oblique or ablative case to the object, without a difference in meaning.

(9.6) بې سړي کور خالي وي .

be sar-i kor-∅ xāli wi
without man-M.**OBL** house-M.DIR empty be.AOR.PRS.3SG.M
'Without a man, the house is empty.'^(SW)

(9.7) بې سړپه کور خالي وي .

be sar-aya kor-∅ xāli wi
without man-M.**ABL** house-M.DIR empty be.AOR.PRS.3SG.M
'Without a man, the house is empty.'^(SW)

For some other adpositions, assigning ablative as opposed to oblique case affects the meaning of the phrase; for instance with \triangleright /də/, which is normally associated with possession (see Section 9.3.1.1), having the object marked in the ablative case gives the sense of '(motion) away from':

(9.8) د کوره راغلم .

də kor-a rāyl-əm
from house-M.**ABL** come.AOR.PST-1SG
'I came from home.'

There may also be dialectal variation as to whether the oblique or the ablative case is assigned by a particular adposition. In some dialects or in different styles, there is apparently synchronic alternation between the ablative suffix and the postposition نه /na/ 'from'.

9.2.3 Assignment of direct case

In General Pashto, the adpositions په /pə/ 'on, in' and په... کې /pə...ke/ 'in, at' may assign direct or oblique case to their objects (Tegey & Robson, 1996: 158); our own research on current usage is that direct case may be gaining ground, while Tegey & Robson (1996) identify the use of the direct form as literary or formal. Example 9.9 shows the feminine noun کوټه /koṭa/ 'room' appearing in the oblique form, while 9.10 demonstrates it in direct form. Likewise, examples 9.11 and 9.12 contain the same alternation, this time using the masculine noun ښار /xār/ 'city'. In example 9.11, the noun is in direct plural form; in 9.12, it is in the oblique plural form. We have not found this difference in case-marking to correspond to a difference in meaning.

(9.9) زما ورور په کوتي کي ناست دی .

zmā wror-∅ pə koṭ-e ki nāst-∅
 1SG.STR.POSS brother-M.DIR in... room-F.OBL ...in sitting-M.DIR
dəy
 be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M

'My brother is sitting in the room.'^(SW)

(9.10) زما ورور په کوته کي ناست دی .

zmā wror-∅ pə koṭ-a ki nāst-∅
 1SG.STR.POSS brother-M.DIR in... room-F.DIR ...in sitting-M.DIR
dəy
 be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M

'My brother is sitting in the room.'^(SW)

(9.11) د ملگرو ملتونو د غذايي موادو پروگرام نه يوازی په ککې، بلکې په ښارونه کې هم خوراكي مواد خلكو ته وپشي .

də malgr-o məlit-uno də yzāyi mowād-o
 of friend-PL.M.OBL nation-PL.M.OBL of nutritional items-PL.M.OBL
progrām-∅ ná yuwaze pə kal-io balki pə
 program-M.DIR NEG only in... village-PL.M.OBL but.also in...
xār-una ke ham xorāki mowād-∅ xalk-o
 city-PL.M.DIR ...in also nutritional items-PL.M.DIR people-PL.M.OBL
ta ∅-weš-í
 to CONT-distribute-PRS.3[SG.M]

'The United Nations' Food Program is distributing food items to people not only in villages, but also to those in cities.'

- (9.12) د افغانستان د پوهنې وزارت وایی، چې غواړي د په مرسته د هیواد په ښارونو او کلیو کې د زده کونکو لپاره یو سان روزنیزه زمينه برابره کړي.

də afyānistān-Ø *də pohən-e* *wizārat-Ø*
of Afghanistan-M.OBL of education-F.OBL ministry-M.DIR
Ø-wāy-i *če* *Ø-ywār-i* *də*
CONT-tell.PRS-PRS.3[SG.M] COMP CONT-want.PRS-PRS.3[SG.M] of
yunəsko pə *mərasta-Ø* *də hewād-Ø* *pə xār-uno* *aw*
UNESCO INSTR help-F.DIR of country-M.OBL in... city-PL.M.OBL and
kal-io *ke* *də zdakawunk-o* *lə* *pār-a*
village-PL.M.OBL ...in of student-PL.M.OBL from sake.M.ABL
yaw-Ø *šān* *rozəniz-a* *zamīna-Ø* *barābār-a*
one-M.DIR similar educational-F.DIR opportunity-F.DIR prepared-F.DIR
kṛ-i
do.AOR-PRS.3[SG.M]

‘Afghanistan’s Ministry of Education says that it wants to provide similar educational opportunities to students in both cities and villages with the help of UNESCO.’

9.2.4 Mixed case-marking inside objects of adpositions

Inside the objects of adpositions, case-marking is not particularly consistent. Modifiers of the noun inside the adpositional object may fail to agree in case with the governing noun, as shown for adjectives in sentence 9.13 and for demonstratives in 9.14. Conjoined noun phases inside the adpositional object may fail to agree with each other, as shown in example 9.11.

- (9.13) نڅاګران لکه د ژوندی قازانو غوندی دي.

nətsāgār-ān *leka* *də žwand-i*
dancer-PL.M.ANIM.DIR like... of **alive-PL.M.DIR**
qāz-āno *yunde di*
goose-PL.M.ANIM.OBL ...like be.CONT.PRS.3PL.M

‘The dancers are like energetic geese.’

- (9.14) په هغه موضوعاتو باندې

pə *háy-ə* *mawzo-āto* *bānde*
on... that-**PL.M.DIR** topic-**PL.M.OBL** ...on

‘on those topics’

9.3 Prepositions

According to most analyses, Pashto has three prepositions: \triangleright /də/ ‘of’, په /pə/ ‘on, by means of’, and تر /tə/ ‘up to’. We describe here several additional prepositions; however, some of them alternate with circumpositions, so it is possible that what appear to be independent prepositions are circumpositions with omitted postpositional components. Besides their independent functions as prepositions, each of them may also appear as components of various circumpositions, which we treat separately in Section 9.5. The additional prepositions listed in that section may be associated with different varieties of Pashto.

9.3.1 The prepositions /də/, /de/, /ye/, /e/ ‘of’

The GP preposition \triangleright /də/ appears to alternate with the items /de/, /ye/, and /e/ characteristic of the Middle dialects. The Middle items appear to vary with relative freedom within the dialect group, while the GP item \triangleright /də/ alternates distributionally with the GP item ل /lə/, which is nevertheless discussed separately in Section 9.3.2. This group of items expresses functions that are in other languages associated with genitive case marking.

9.3.1.1 The General Pashto preposition \triangleright /də/

The preposition \triangleright /də/ is used to express any of a wide range of functional relationships between its object and other elements in the sentence⁴. As a determiner (see also Section 6.3), it expresses typical possessive and meronymic relations, and is used also to mark the complements of transitive nominalizations or gerunds, as well as the subjects of intransitive nominalizations or gerunds.

There appears to be a high degree of variation in the pronunciation of \triangleright /də/: this same orthographic form may be pronounced as /də/ or /di/ in construction with the first and second person pronouns, while /da/ is additionally attested for \triangleright in construction with the third person pronouns. Other scholars analyze the different pronunciations in terms of dialect differences: Penzl (1955) identifies the pronunciation /da/ with the Eastern dialect, and Tegey & Robson (1996) identify the pronunciation /di/ with what they call the Central dialect, the geographic area including Kabul (labeled Northwest in this grammar).

Some examples of common relationships expressed using \triangleright /də/ are given here. Notice that phrases governed by \triangleright /də/ precede their governing noun irrespective of

⁴ Hewson & Bubenik (2006) refer to /də/ as the genitive marker, while acknowledging its grammatical status as a preposition.

the functional relationship between the two—for instance, the nominal complement in sentence 9.15 and the true possessive in 9.16 are both in phrase-initial position.

- د ماښام ستوری /də māxām storay/ ‘the evening star’^{NW}
 د بالا پوښ لستونډی /də bālāpox lastuṇay/ ‘the coat sleeve’^{NW}
 د عادل خپلوان /də ādil xpəlwān/ ‘Adil’s relatives’
 د دوست سپی /də dost spay/ ‘the friend’s dog’
 د وطن ساتنه /də watan sātəna/ ‘protection of the country’
 /de yespone čapləy/ ‘sandals of iron’^{DZA} (Septfonds, 1994: 4.0.2.2)

(9.15) د تیرو انتخاباتو د نتایجو لغوه کول

də tir-o intixābāt-o də natāyij-o
of past-PL.M.OBL elections-PL.M.OBL of result-PL.M.OBL
laɣwa-∅ kaw-āl
 cancellation-M.DIR do-INF

‘invalidating the results **of the past elections**’

د /də/ can govern the objects of deverbal nouns, as in the example د وطن ساتنه /də watan sātəna/ ‘protection of the country’. In such uses, it is common to find multiple instances one after another. In example 9.16, we consider each phrase consisting of د /də/ and its object to be a simple prepositional phrase, except for the final one, which is a circumpositional phrase with له مخی /də ... la məxe/.

(9.16) د افغانستان د کورنیو چارو د وزیر د وینا له مخی

də afyānistān-∅ də korən-əyo čār-o də
of Afghanistan-M.OBL of internal-PL.F.OBL affair-PL.F.OBL of
wazir-∅ də waynā-∅ la məxe
 minister-M.OBL of speech-F.OBL from direction-F.OBL

‘according to **Afghanistan’s** Minister of the Interior’

In many dialects, when د /də/ governs a strong pronoun, the د /də/ has reduced to a single consonant; the result is a set of coalesced or fused forms that are identified in Section 7.2.3 as pronouns expressing genitive functions. Examples of these items are found in examples 9.2 and 9.9. In other dialects, the phrase is pronounced with distinct preposition and object (Penzl, 1955: 77.3a).

9.3.1.2 Complex adpositions using د /də/

In general, د /də/ governs the item denoting the possessor or the holonym of which another adpositional phrase may denote the possessed item or be the meronym. An apparently independent condition requires the phrase governed by د /də/ (or the possessive pronoun mentioned above) to be the first element in the larger phrase it belongs to. With the lexicalization of meronyms, this produces the effect of a circumposition,

as exemplified in 9.17. (See also Table 6.38 for a variant on this construction, used in some additive number name forms.) These collocations are fixed and idiomatic to varying degrees; the glosses reflect the translation of their components, while the sentence translations reflect the meaning of the phrase as a whole.

د ... له پاسه /də...lə pāsa/, د ... د پاسه /də...də pāsa/ 'above, over, on top of'⁵

(9.17) د کلي له پاسه سلاو راغلی دی.

də kil-i lə pās-a silāw-Ø
of village-M.OBL of top-M.ABL flood-M.DIR
rāyl-ay dəy
 come.AOR.PST-PTCP.M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M

'The flood came **from above the village.**'^(E)⁶

(9.18) د مېز د پاسه کتابونه زما ندی.

də mez-Ø də pās-a kitāb-una zmā
of table-M.OBL from top-M.ABL book-PL.M.DIR 1SG.STR.POSS
nā day
 NEG be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M

'The books **on top of the table** are not mine.'⁷

This situation results in constructions that function as circumpositions, in that the elements together all govern one object. Other common phrases with د /də/ that function as complex circumpositions are discussed below in Section 9.5.1.3.

Section 6.5.1.2 and Table 6.38 describe how, in an apparently extragrammatical way (because the construction appears without either د /də/ or له /lə/ governing the grammatical object), this circumposition can be used in number names.

9.3.1.3 The Middle dialect prepositions /de/, /ye/, /e/

In their prepositional uses, these items appear to vary freely with each other. /de/, the form closer in pronunciation to General Pashto, is found less often in Dzadrani than its variant /ye/. Lorimer (1902: 39) lists only /de/ and /e/, not /ye/, for Waziri. These two variant forms fulfill functions very similar to the corresponding items د /də/ and له /lə/ in General Pashto. As is the case for General Pashto, a phrase governed by /de/ or /ye/ is often found in pre-clausal position.

⁵ In example 9.17, the سلاو /silāw/ is an Eastern-dialect variant. In Western dialects it is سېلاب /sélāb/.

⁶ Standardized version of 9.17: د کلي له پاسه سيلاو راغلی دی.

⁷ Standardized version of 9.18: د مېز د پاسه کتابونه زما نه دي.

(9.19) قاچاقچي ا ټول ملكينه اپوره تباهي ليار دو .

qāčāq-i e ʔol-Ø mulk-ina e por-a e
 smuggling-F.DIR of all-PL.M.DIR nation-PL.M.DIR of sake-M.ABL of
tabāh-i liyār-Ø do
 destruction-F.OBL path-F.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.F

‘Smuggling is a path to destruction for all nations.’ (WAZ)

(9.20) *da ye to pə oršo ke mij prot-ə*
 this.DIR of 2SG.STR in... land ...in 1PL.STR.DIR located-PL.M.DIR
yi
 be.CONT.PRS.1PL

‘We are on your land.’ (DZA)

(Example 9.20 is from Septfonds 1994: 269.)

In Dzadrani, according to Septfonds (1997: 8.2.1), the contracted forms discussed in Table 7.6 do not exist; the uncontracted forms with the governing preposition /ye/ and the strong pronoun objects are found instead.

9.3.1.4 Middle dialect complex adpositions using /ye/

Septfonds notes that the placement of these phrases before the phrase they modify has resulted in the effect of circumpositions, due in part to the lexicalization of the meronym. This is analogous to the situation in General Pashto (see Section 9.3.1.2 and Section 9.5.1.1), but Septfonds records different combinations which result in different circumposition-like phrases. The following are constructions mentioned specifically in Septfonds (1994: 258) for Dzadrani:

- /ye ... pə sar/ ‘at the top of, above’ (compare 9.17)
- /ye ... pə manj ke/ ‘in the middle of’
- /ye ... pə ʔo/ ‘at the top of, above’
- /ye ... xo ta/ ‘next to’
- /ye ... ye pora/ ‘after’

A number of phrases are based on the combination of /ye/ (in its use indicating motion away from—see 9.8) with two nouns in succession, both of which are marked ablative. The second noun is always /liri/ or /lerya/ ‘direction’. Again in these cases, the entire phrase governs a single object. Compare the GP examples with مخې /mæx/ ‘direction’ (9.16), and with په لور ... د /də...pə lor/ ‘towards’ (9.89).

- /ye ... pə liri/ ‘towards’

(9.21) *ye... ker ...pə liri*
of... house ...on direction

‘toward the house’ (DZA)

- /ye ... bərya lerya/ ‘from ... above [lit. from ... top direction]’
- /ye ... tsəta lerya/ ‘from ... behind [lit. from ... back direction]’
- /ye ... posa lerya/ ‘from ... above, on top [lit. from ... top direction]’
- /ye ... kiza lerya/ ‘from ... below [lit. from ... bottom direction]’

In addition to these combinations, the circumposition /ye...na/ ‘from’ governs the standard of comparison where the compared item is the object of /tər/ ‘than’ (compare General Pashto: see Section 9.3.5).

9.3.2 The General Pashto preposition له /lə/ ‘from’

Most grammars treat the element له /lə/ only as part of a circumposition. However, له /lə/ can function as a preposition of ablative function or of origin, when its object appears with ablative case marking. Some sources treat له /lə/ as a variant of د /də/, reflecting the fact that they are interchangeable as components of many circumpositions. While we are neutral as to that issue, we should nonetheless note that the two items may differ in meaning when appearing as independent prepositions. In particular, the preposition له /lə/ does not have the possessive interpretation exemplified in Section 9.3.1.1. On the other hand, if there are two circumpositions that contain the same postpositional element and vary between د /də/ and له /lə/, they are apparently synonymous or reflect dialectal differences. The preposition له /lə/ should not be confused with the postposition له /lə/ ‘to’, which exists in some dialects (see Section 9.4.2).

(9.22) له پلاره راغلی يم .

lə plār-a rāyl-əy yəm
from father-M.ABL come.AOR.PST-PTCP.M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.1SG

‘I have come from father.’ (NW,SW)

The GP variant له /lə/ is claimed to be nonexistent in Dzadrani; however, our own consultants dispute this, acknowledging that it is relatively rare; for Waziri, Lorimer (1902: 39) cites it as part of the circumposition /lə...na/ ‘from’ and /be lə...na/ ‘without’.

9.3.3 The preposition *بې* /be/ ‘without’

Alone or in construction with the preposition *له* /lə/ ‘from’, *بې* /be/ ‘without’ may govern an object which is typically assigned the ablative case. Both variants are cited by Lorimer (1902: 39) for Waziri; he does not discuss case assignment, but he does mention the presumably cognate circumposition /be ... la na/ (suggesting that *له* /lə/ is an ambiposition). See also examples 9.6 and 9.116.

(9.23) *بې (له) خوره ورور يوازي وي.*

be (lə) xor-a wror-Ø yawāzi wi
without (from) sister-F.ABL brother-M.DIR lonely be.AOR.PRS.3SG.M
‘A brother without a sister is lonely.’^(NW)

(9.24) *ما د ده بې حرکت او درې وړی جسد ولید.*

mā dā dā be harkat-a aw
1SG.STR.OBL of 3SG.M.STR.OBL without movement-M.ABL and
dəʔ-ay wəʔay jasad-Ø wá-lid-Ø
shredded-M.DIR ECHO corpse-M.DIR AOR-see.PST-PST.3SG.M
‘I saw his lifeless and broken body.’

Some scholars (e.g. Penzl 1955) suggest that *بې* /be/ can be thought of as an affix rather than a preposition; Lorimer (1902: 39) gives the same analysis for Waziri. By contrast, we treat the prefix and the preposition as two separate, but related, items based on the lexical class of the item governed by *بې* /be/. See Section 6.8.2 for a brief description of its use as an affix deriving adjectives. Note that in sentence 9.24, the prepositional phrase is attributively modifying a noun, fulfilling the function of an adjective; this shows the relationship to the derivational affix.

Our analysis of the corresponding Dzadrani item differs from that of Septfonds (1994: 269) in that he identifies the /be/ with the future marker (the /bə/ of General Pashto). We treat it as corresponding to GP *بې* /be/ ‘without’. The object shows ablative case-marking, as it normally does in General Pashto (see Section 9.3.3). Septfonds (1994: 5.1.1.4) claims that the governing of ablative case-marking by /be/ is limited to singular nouns whose stems are consonant-final.

9.3.4 The prepositions *په* /pə/, *پر* /pər/

Scholars disagree as to whether Pashto synchronically possesses one polyfunctional word with two pronunciations, /pə/, /pər/, or two words, /pə/ and /pər/. Arguments

can be made in both directions, and spelling and pronunciation variation does not line up neatly with differences in function.⁸

Here we note that the more frequent pronunciation of these items in Dzadrani is /pə/ (Septfonds, 1997). Below, we describe three functions of the prepositions په /pə/, پر /pər/. This item can also be the first component in several circumpositions, which are discussed in Section 9.5.3. See Section 9.6.1 for a variant of this preposition that incorporates its object.

9.3.4.1 The locational په /pə/, پر /pər/ ‘on’

Either the preposition په /pə/, پر /pər/ ‘on’ or a circumposition containing it may be used to express location. Compare example 9.25 with 9.128.

(9.25) په مېز قلمونه دي .

pə mez-Ø qalam-una di
on table-M pen-PL.M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3PL.M

‘There are pens on the table.’^(E,W)

Example 9.26 shows a circumpositional phrase containing په...ke/, modified by a prepositional phrase headed by په /pə/.

(9.26) په افغانستان په دښتو او غرونو کې تجربه کوي .

pə afyānistān-Ø pə dəxt-o aw yar-uno
in... Afghanistan-M in... desert-PL.F.OBL and mountain-PL.M.OBL
ki tajriba-Ø kaw-ī
...in experiment-F.DIR do.CONT.PRS.3[PL.M]

‘They are performing experiments in the deserts and mountains in Afghanistan.’⁹

Note again the possibility, in at least the NW and SW dialects, that either oblique or direct case may be assigned to the object, as shown in examples 9.28 and 9.27.

(9.27) پر کتابچې مې قلم کېښود .

pər kitābč-e me qalam-Ø kəxod-Ø
on notebook-F.OBL 1SG.WK pen-M.DIR AOR\place.PST-PST.3SG.M

‘I put a pen on the notebook.’^(NW)

⁸ په /pə/ is cognate with Persian به /ba/ ‘in, to’, while پر /pər/ is cognate with Persian بر /bar/ ‘on’ (Heston, 1987: 166–167). Lorenz (1982) takes the position implied here, that there are two words.

⁹ Standardized version of 9.26: په افغانستان په دښتو او غرونو کې تجربه کوي .

(9.28) پر کتایچه مې قلم کېښود.

pər kitābčā-∅ me qalam-∅ kəxod-∅
on notebook-F.DIR 1SG.WK pen-M.DIR AOR\place.PST-PST.3SG.M

'I put a pen on the notebook.'^(NW)

9.3.4.2 The instrumental په /pə/ 'with, by means of'

One use of the preposition په /pə/ (but not پر /pər/) indicates instrumentality or means (compare with example 9.136). Note too the use of په /pə/ with an inflected adjective complement (9.32).

(9.29) زه ډوډۍ په چاکو خورم.

za doḍ-əy pə čākú-∅ ∅-xor-ám
1SG.STR.DIR food-F.DIR INSTR knife-M CONT-eat.PRS-1SG

'I eat **with** a knife.'^(SW)

(9.30) رگو رام چې د هند د صنعت په کانفیدراسیون کې د انرژۍ د برخې پخوانی
سلاکار دی وایي چې دغه ستونزه به د خصوصي سکتور د غټو پانگه اچونو په
مرسته حل شي.

rago rām-∅ če dā hind-∅ dā sunat-∅ pə
Rago Ram-M.DIR COMP of India-M.OBL of industry-M.OBL in...
kanfārāns-∅ ke dā inerž-əy dā barx-e paxwān-ay
conference-M ...in of energy-F.OBL of part-F.OBL former-M.DIR
salākār-∅ day ∅-wāy-ī če
advisor-M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M CONT-tell.PRS-PRS.3[SG.M] COMP
dāya stunza-∅ bə dā xosusi sektor-∅ dā
this.DIR problem-F.DIR WOULD of private sector-M.OBL of
yaṭ-o pānga āčawān-o pə mārasta-∅ hāl
large-PL.M.OBL wealth tossing-PL.F.OBL INSTR help-F.DIR solved
š-i
become.AOR.PRS-PRS.3[SG.F]

'Rago Ram, who is a former energy advisor in India's Industrial Federation, says that this problem will be solved **by means of** significant investments from the private sector.'

په /pə/ may govern an event nominal, often in infinitival form, which indicates an event that has a causative or circumstantial relationship to the event denoted in the finite verb. The examples in Section 5.4.2 show this usage.

When the object of په /pə/ is animate, the sentence takes on the sense of a causative construction in which the grammatical subject denotes an ultimate cause of an event expressed through the rest of the sentence: the actor of the caused event is expressed as the prepositional object. Compare 9.31 with 9.154; the animacy value of the prepositional object prompts the interpretation as denoting an intermediate agent or an instrument.

(9.31) سپری په رسی اس تړي .

saɾ-ay pə ras-əy ās-∅ ∅-taɾ-i
man-M.DIR INSTR rope-F horse-M.DIR CONT-tie-PRS.3

‘The man ties the horse up with a rope.’

An example of په /pə/ conveying manner can be seen in the following examples (see also 9.93 and 9.94). In this usage, it may be found in construction with an adjectival, rather than nominal, object (as shown in example 9.32; see also Section 10.2.3).

(9.32) دغه کسان په آسانه له نورو حکم نه اخلي .

daya kas-ān pə asān-a də
this.DIR person-PL.M.ANIM.DIR INSTR easy-M.ABL of
nor-o hukəm-∅ ná ∅-axl-i
other-PL.M.OBL order-M.DIR NEG CONT-take.PRS-PRS.3[PL.M]

‘These people don't easily take orders from others.’

(9.33) څه په گرانه مي کړي .

tsə pə gran-a mi kəɾ-i
what INSTR difficult-M.ABL 1SG.WK do.AOR-PTCP.PL.M.DIR

‘I did something with great strain.’

(9.34) په خټه پښتون دی .

pə xaɬ-a paxtun-∅ d-ay
INSTR mud-F.DIR Pashtoon-M.DIR be.CONT.PRS-3SG.M

‘He is Pashtoon by origin.’

The preposition په /pə/ can appear in a number of idioms indicating manner. These lexicalized phrases differ across dialects.

9.3.4.3 The temporal په /pə/, پر /pər/ ‘at, on’

The prepositions په /pə/, پر /pər/ ‘at, on’ can govern a noun that refers to a time of day, as shown in 9.35 and 9.36; see also 9.81 for a temporal collocation with په /pə/.

(9.35) احمد په هغه شپه دېر نېشه وو.

ahmad-Ø pə hāya špa-Ø der-Ø neša
Ahmad-M.DIR **at that.DIR night-F.DIR** very-M.DIR drunk

wo

be.CONT.PST.3SG.M

'Ahmad was very drunk **on that night.**'^(sw)

(9.36) هغه فرمان چې د داخله چارو او د مذهبي امورو د وزیرانو او ددې هیواد د لوی څارنوالي لخوا د دوشنبې په شپې لاس لیک شوی دی، په هغه کې د احمدیې نه غوښتنه شوېده چې د خپلو عقایدو د خپرولو نه ډډه وکړي.

hāya farmān-Ø če də dāxila čār-o aw də
that.DIR order-M.DIR COMP of internal affair-PL.F.OBL and of
mazhabi umur-o də wazir-āno aw də de
religious affair-PL.M.OBL of minister-PL.M.ANIM.OBL and of this.OBL

haywād-Ø də loy-Ø tsāranwāl-i lə xwā-Ø də
country-M.OBL of large-M.OBL attorney-M.OBL from side-F.OBL **of**

došanb-e pə šp-e lās lik
Monday-F.OBL at night-F.OBL hand letter

šúw-ay day pə hay-ə ke
become.AOR.PST-PTCP.M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M in... that-M.OBL ...in

də ahmadiy-e na yuxtəna-Ø
from... Ahmadiya-F.OBL ...from request-F.DIR

šúw-e da če də
become.AOR.PST-PTCP.F.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.F COMP of

xpəl-o əqāyid-o də xəpar-aw-əl-o
own-PL.M.OBL beliefs-PL.M.OBL from... broadcasted-do-INF-PL.M.OBL

na daḡa-Ø wə-kṛ-i
...from side-F.DIR AOR-do.AOR-PRS.3[SG.F]

'In the order that was written **on Monday night** by the ministers of Internal Affairs and of Religious Affairs, as well as by the nation's Attorney General, it was requested that Ahmadiya refrain from proselytizing its beliefs.'¹⁰

10 Standardized version of 9.36: هغه فرمان چې د داخله چارو او د مذهبي امورو د وزیرانو او ددې هیواد د لوی څارنوالي له خوا د دوشنبې په شپې لاس لیک شوی دی، په هغه کې د احمدیې نه غوښتنه شوې ده چې د خپلو عقایدو د خپرولو نه ډډه وکړي.

It may also be used with number terms in time expressions to mean *at X o'clock*. In this construction, the numbers can appear either in the oblique form, as expected after a preposition, or in the direct form. Compare 9.37 and 9.38, which also show that the object can appear as either singular or plural:

(9.37) په دوو بجو ډوډی خورم .

pə dw-ó baj-ó doḍ-əy Ø-xor-ám
 at two-**PL.F.OBL** hour-**PL.F.OBL** food-F.DIR CONT-eat.PRS-1SG
 'I eat at two o'clock.'

(9.38) په دوه بجه ډوډی خورم .

pə dw-á baj-á doḍ-əy Ø-xor-ám
 at two-**F.DIR** hour-**F.DIR** food-F.DIR CONT-eat.PRS-1SG
 'I eat at two o'clock.'

In some dialects, both pronunciations of the preposition can be found with this meaning:

(9.39) زه پر دوې بجې ډوډی خورم .

zə pər/pə dw-e baj-e doḍ-əy
 1SG.STR.DIR **at** two-PL.F.DIR hour-PL.F.DIR food-F.DIR
Ø-xwar-ám
 CONT-eat.PRS-1SG
 'I eat **at** two o'clock.'^(sw)

9.3.4.4 With aspectual verbs

Described for Dzadrani (Septfonds, 1994: 269), and found also in General Pashto, is a use of په /pə/ in construction with aspectual verbs to indicate the beginning of the process.

(9.40) *da me we-ta wá-niw-Ø brid-Ø me*
 this.DIR 1SG.WK 3SG-to AOR-take.PST-PST.3SG.M attack-M.DIR 1SG.WK
pə wá-k-ə
TMP AOR-do.PST-PST.3SG.M
 'I took it to her and started [to milk]'

(9.41) ارمل، وروره، دا خو دی دومره غت ډز په وکړ چی سکاټلینډیانو به په سکاټلینډ
کی اوریدلی وی. لول

armal-Ø oror-a dā xo de dumra
Armal-M.DIR brother-M.VOC this.DIR EMPH this.OBL so.much

yaʔ-Ø ɖaz-Ø pə wá-kəʔ-Ø čē
big-M.DIR shot-M.DIR **TMP** AOR-do.AOR-PST.3SG.M COMP

skāʔlanɖ-iāno bə pə skāʔlanɖ-Ø ke
Scottish-PL.M.ANIM.OBL WOULD in... Scotland-M ...in

Ø-āwr-ed-əl-ay wi lol
CONT-hear-PST-PST-PTCP.M.DIR be.AOR.PRS.3SG.M LOL

‘Armal, brother, he took such a large shot right then that the Scots must have heard it in Scotland. LOL’

9.3.5 The preposition تر /tər/ “up to”

The preposition تر /tər/ often appears as the first component of several circumpositions; it is also found as an independent preposition with a meaning of ‘up to, across’ (Hewson & Bubenik, 2006: 156)—see 9.93 for an example of this use.

Example 9.53 gives an example of تر /tər/ in a common idiom. For a reduced form of this preposition in construction with the weak third-person pronoun, see Section 9.6.1.

As part of a pair of correlative adpositions ‘from...to,’ تر /tər/ pairs with the circumposition د...نه /de ... na/ ‘from’, and can govern the assignment of ablative or direct case marking to its object.

(9.42) د کراچی نه تر کابلہ د پښتنو حال.

də karači-Ø na tər Kabul-a də
from... Karachi-M.OBL ...from **up.to** Kabul-M.ABL of

paxtan-o hāl-Ø
Pashtoon-PL.M.OBL situation-M.DIR

‘the state of Pashtoons from Karachi **to** Kabul’

In the SW dialect, the circumposition تر... (ه) پورې /tər ... (a) pore/ ‘up to, until’ is claimed to have an optional second component, as indicated by the parentheses in examples 9.135 and 9.136.

تر /tər/ also functions as a preposition in comparative and superlative constructions (see also examples 9.109 through 9.113 for an alternative form for comparatives and superlatives). Across dialects تر /tər/ may assign direct or oblique case to its ob-

ject; for Dzadrani, Septfonds (1997: 8.3.2) claims that تر /tər/ can assign either oblique or direct case to its object.

(9.43) افغانستان تر فرانسې غټ دی .

afyānistān-Ø tər frāns-e yaṭ-Ø dəy
 Afghanistan-M.DIR **than** France-M.OBL big-M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M
 'Afghanistan is larger **than** France.'

(9.44) د محمود کور تر ټولو لوی دی .

də mahmud-Ø kor-Ø tər ʔol-o lw-ay
 of Mahmoud-M.OBL house-M.DIR **than** all-PL.M.OBL large-M.DIR
day
 be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M

'Mahmoud's house is the biggest [of all].'

(9.45) د پاکستان په کراچی ښار کې د پولیسو پر یوه مرکز د برید په ترڅ کې تر یونیم سلو ډیرو خلکو ته مرګ ژوبله اوښتې ده .

də pākistān-Ø pə karāč-əy ke də polis-o pər
 of Pakistan-M.OBL in... Karachi-F.OBL ...in of police-PL.M.OBL on
yaw-ə merkaz-Ø də brid-Ø pə trats-Ø ke tər yaw
 one-M.OBL center-M of attack-M.OBL in... interval-M ...in **than** one
nim səl-o ɖer-o xalk-o ta mərg
 half one.hundred-PL.M.OBL more-PL.M.OBL people-PL.M.OBL to death
žobl-a Ø-awuxt-é da
 injury-F.DIR CONT-cross.over.PST-PTCP.F.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.F

'**More than** 150 people were injured or killed during an attack on a police station in Karachi, Pakistan.'

A circumposition, which he transcribes as /pa...na/, is cited by Lorimer (1902: 12) as the marker of comparison for Waziri; the entire circumpositional phrase precedes the adjectival head.

9.3.6 The preposition لکه /leka/ 'like'

The preposition لکه /leka/ 'like' may appear independently or may be part of a circumposition (see 9.13).

(9.46) ټلوالې هڅه کړې ځان په ښکلې نومونو سينگار کړي لکه تغيير او اميد.

ṭalwāl-i hatsa-Ø kər-e dzān-Ø pə
 mass-PL.M.DIR effort-F.DIR do.AOR-PTCP.F.DIR self-M.DIR INSTR
xkl-i num-uno singār kṛ-i leka
 beautiful-PL.M.DIR name-PL.M decoration do.AOR-PRS.3[PL.M] like
tayir-Ø aw umed-Ø
 Taghir-M.DIR and Ahmed-M.DIR

‘Everybody’s been trying to doll themselves up using fancy names, **like** Taghir and Umed.’

(9.47) داسې ماوس جوړ شوی لکه لاس پوښي اغوښتل کېږي.

dāse māws-Ø joṛ-Ø šúw-ay leka
 such mouse-M.DIR built-M.DIR become.AOR.PST-PTCP.M.DIR like
lās pox-e aywast-ál kīg-i
 hand cover-F.DIR wear-INF become.CONT.PRES-PRS.3[SG.F]

‘A [computer] mouse has been made to be worn **like** a glove.’

The preposition can also be used in construction with the complementizer چه /čə/, with scope over the corresponding proposition, indicating an epistemic judgment:

(9.48) لکه چه دوی راځي.

leka čə duy rāč-i
 like COMP 3PL come.PRS.CONT-PRS.3

‘It seems **like** they are coming.’^(SW)

9.4 Postpositions

9.4.1 Overview

Some other grammars indicate only one postposition for Pashto overall, ته /ta/ ‘to’. However, many items treated in other works as adverbs take objects; accordingly, some of them are listed in this section. In any case, the claim that ته /ta/ is the only independent postposition may be true for only some dialects: Hewson & Bubenik (2006: 153) claim that کې /ke/ can appear independently in Eastern and Western dialects; also, Tegey & Robson (1996) indicate that نه /na/ can appear as an independent postposition in NW and NE dialects, as exemplified below. Although they do not identify the associated dialects, Hewson & Bubenik (2006: 153) also identify the independent

postposition باتدي /bānde/ ‘up, above’, whose cognate /bondi/ ‘atop, above’ we here identify with Middle varieties, after Lorimer (1902).

There are several morphosyntactic conditions under which the first component of a circumposition is omitted. To the extent we can discern, we consider these cases of incomplete circumpositions, rather than cases of complete postpositions. See Section 9.7.5, in particular the discussion preceding sentences 9.162 and 9.164. In practical terms, it is often difficult to decide whether an item is a postposition, or a circumposition with its first component omitted.

9.4.2 The postposition ته /ta/ ‘to, for’

ته /ta/ is the postposition most commonly described as functioning independently. It governs arguments denoting destinations (9.49) and recipients (9.50), and may also govern beneficiary arguments, as in 7.71. Its object appears in the oblique case form. Note that ته /ta/ can also function as the second component of a circumposition, in construction with the preposition و /wə/. This form, however, appears to be much less common; we have found it described for Dzadrani (see Table 9.2), while it was marked as archaic by Lorimer (1902) for Waziri; Pate (2012: 18) cites the circumposition as possible for the Kandahari dialect, with the postposition preferred.

(9.49) مورې ښوونځي ته ځو.

muz *ʃowəndz-i* **ta** *ɖ-ú*
1PL.STR.DIR school-M.OBL **to** go.CONT.PRS-1PL

‘We are going to school’

(9.50) احمد ته کتاب ورکړه.

ahmad-Ø **ta** *kitāb-Ø* *wārkar-a*
Ahmad-M.OBL **to** book-M.DIR give.AOR-IMP.SG

‘Give the book to Ahmad.’

(9.51) داروېې واخله ځانه ته خپلې هم واخله.

dā *rup-əy* *w-āxl-a* **dzān-a** **ta**
this.DIR rupee-F.DIR AOR-take.PRS-IMP.SG **self-M.OBL** **for**

tsapl-əy *ham* *w-āxl-a*
sandals-F.DIR also AOR-take.PRS-IMP.SG

‘Take the money and buy some sandals **for yourself**.’

Several sources (Skalmowski 1996, Shafeev 1964) claim that له /la/ and لره /lara/ are variants of ته /ta/. There is little agreement as to which variant is more character-

istic of which dialect group; however, among these, لره /lara/ appears to be the rarest in everyday use.

9.4.3 The postposition سره /səra/ ‘with’

Though more common as a component of a circumposition (see examples 9.66 and 9.99), سره /səra/ ‘[comitative] with’ can be found as an independent postposition:

(9.52) ملا محمد عمر افغان حکومت سره خبرې رد کړې.

<i>mullā-Ø</i>	<i>mohammed-Ø</i>	<i>omar-Ø</i>	<i>afghan</i>
Mullah-M.OBL	Mohammed-M.OBL	Omar-M.OBL	Afghan
<i>hukumat-Ø</i>	səra	<i>xabər-e</i>	<i>rād</i>
government-M.OBL	COMIT	word-PL.F.DIR	rejection
<i>keṛ-l-e</i>			
do.AOR-PST-PST.3PL.F			

‘Mullah Mohammed Omar rejected talks with the Afghan government.’

This situation is sometimes described as a dialect-dependent optional omission of the first component of a circumposition (Tegey & Robson, 1996: 155–156).

9.4.4 The postposition ضدى /zidi/ ‘against’

The postposition ضدى /zidi/ ‘against, anti-’ (also pronounced /zed-e/) denotes opposition. It can also be used to govern a predicate or modifier, with the approximate meaning ‘contrary’ (see Section 6.8.2), and the stem as a nominal with the approximate meaning ‘opposite’.

(9.53) طالبانو غوښتل د کابل - جلال اباد پر لاره دولت ضدي فعالیتونه ترسره کړي.

<i>tālibān-o</i>	<i>Ø-yuxt-əl</i>	<i>če</i>	<i>də kābəl-Ø</i>
Taliban-PL.M.DIR	CONT-want.PST-PST.3PL.M	COMP	of Kabul-M.OBL
<i>jalālābad-Ø</i>	<i>pər lāra-Ø</i>	<i>dawlat-Ø</i>	zidi
Jalalabad-M.OBL	on road-F.DIR	government-M.OBL	against
<i>fāliyat-una</i>	<i>tər sar-á</i>	<i>kṛ-i</i>	
activity-PL.M.DIR	on head-.M.ABL	do.AOR-PRS.3[PL.M]	

‘The Taliban wanted to undertake **anti**-government activities on the road from Kabul to Jalalabad.’

9.4.5 The postposition وړاندې /wṛānde/ ‘before’

Although it has not been described as a postposition by other Pashto scholars, وړاندې /wṛānde/ ‘before’ fits our definition of a postposition that governs ablative case on its object. See 9.54 for an example.

(9.54) خو ورځې وړاندې د محصلينو او ځوانانو نړيوالې ټولنې له خوا يوه کنفرانس ته بلل شوی وم.

tso wraḏ-e wṛānde də muhasil-ino aw
some day-F.OBL before of student-PL.M.OBL and

ḏwān-āno naṛewal-e ṭulən-e la
young-PL.M.ANIM.OBL international-F.OBL society-F.OBL from

xwā-Ø yaw-ə kanfārāns-Ø tə bal-āl
side-F.OBL one-M.OBL conference-M.OBL to invite-INF

šúw-ay wəm
become.AOR.PST-PTCP.M.DIR be.CONT.PST.1SG

‘A few days ago, I was invited to a conference **by the International Society of Students and Young People.**’

9.4.6 The postposition غوندي /yunde/ ‘like’

Both this postposition and the preposition لکه /leka/ ‘like’ may independently govern an object, or may be combined into the circumposition exemplified in sentence 9.13.

(9.55) شربت غوندي يې غږپ که .

šarbat-Ø yunde ye yárp k-a
alcohol-SG.M.OBL like 3.WK gulp do.AOR-IMP.SG

‘Chug it **like** a beer.’

9.4.7 The postposition باتدي /bānde/

For some dialects, باتدي /bānde/ can function with a range of meanings similar to those of په . . . باندي /pə...bānde/; see Section 9.5.3 for more information.

A use of postposition /bondi/ in Waziri that we have not found in General Pashto is within number names; an example is given in Section 6.5.

9.4.8 Some additional postpositions in Middle dialects

In apparent contrast to GP, /pse/ ‘after’ may be used as an independent postposition in Dzadrani. For Waziri, Lorimer (1902: 39) lists the independent postpositions /kxe/ ‘on’, /londi/ ‘beneath,’ /pere/ ‘across’, among others, as independent postpositions. This conflicts with most claims about General Pashto that they are only components of circumpositions; however, some speakers of Northern dialects have reported that they can be found in those dialects as well.

Attested examples suggest an even larger inventory of items that can be used as independent postpositions; some of these may represent dialect differences, and some may exemplify constraints that resemble those of General Pashto, such as the constraint against weak pronouns inside circumpositions:

Example 9.56 gives an example of /na/ used as a postposition, and 9.57 shows /(p)se/ used as a postposition.

- (9.56) *kala kala e šār-∅ bagra-∅ wá-nis-i*
 when when of city-M.OBL manual.harvest(?) -F.DIR AOR-gather.PRS-1PL
aw kala biyā ripəl-∅ nə kor-∅ wóxl-i
 and when then reaper-M.OBL from work-M.DIR AOR\take.PRS-1PL
 ‘Sometimes we gather village people for harvesting by hand, and sometimes we **use** the reaper.’^(WAZ)¹¹

- (9.57) *kəla če dəy yer-∅ de se wá-čaw-i*
 when COMP 3PL.STR.DIR fire-M.DIR 2 after AOR-throw-PRS.3[PL.M]
ne če der-bež-iž-i
 then COMP 2-near-become.CONT.PRS-PRS.3[PL.M]
 ‘When they **put** the fire after you and they approach you ...’^(DZA)

9.5 Circumpositions

The majority of adpositions in Pashto are circumpositions. According to many grammarians of Pashto, each circumposition can be analyzed as a combination of a preposition and a postposition.¹² Our analysis is somewhat different in two ways. First, some of the elements found in circumpositions do not function as independent prepositions

¹¹ The glossing of /bagra-∅/ as ‘manual.harvest’ is uncertain.

¹² Some authors, such as Heston (1987: 169) and Dessart (1994), go further and state or hint that the circumpositions are the result of free combinations of prepositions and postpositions and are not completely conventionalized. We nevertheless find it useful to treat the most commonly occurring circumpositions as (discontinuous) lexical items.

or postpositions (though perhaps most do). Second, we want to emphasize that although they consist of separate parts that are in some cases identifiable as independent words, circumpositions function as single relations governing a single complement. Other studies treat the components as separate words, and variability noted throughout this section constitutes some evidence in favor of this view.

Since an adpositional phrase can take an adpositional phrase rather than a noun phrase as an object, it is not always easy to tell whether an item is a true circumposition, according to the definition above, or is (for instance) a preposition with a postpositional phrase as its object. When we are in doubt as to this question, we list the sequence as if it were a circumposition, on the grounds that such phrases may be in the process of lexicalization. Table 9.1 shows many of the simple circumpositions we have found for General Pashto, either through our own research or in other sources. Other dictionaries and descriptions show additional combinations or alternative orderings; apparently there is some freedom in how the elements are combined, and there is not full consensus on even which are the most frequent. It is evident that this is also an area of dialectal variation: besides there being differences in pronunciation associated with dialects, there are also differences in which combinations are to be found as circumpositions. Some of those differences are reflected in Table 9.2, showing common circumpositions of Džadrani and Waziri.

In many of the Northern dialects of Pashto, as well as in some Middle dialects, the first component of some circumpositions appears to be fairly freely omissible, rendering the effect of a postposition. Of the circumpositions listed in Table 9.1, the second component of many of these may appear independently with approximately the meaning of the circumposition.

→second component	کي ke	نه na	لاندې lānde	پسې pəse	پورې pore	باندې bānde	سره sərə	څخه tṣəxa
↓first component								
... د de ...		د...نه de...na 'from' 9.59	د...لاندې de...lānde 'under' 9.61	د...پسې de...pəse 'after'	د...پورې de...pore 'up to, across' 9.65	د...باندې de...bānde	د...سره de...sərə 'with' 9.66	د...څخه de...tṣəxa 'from' 9.63
... له lə ...		له...نه lə...na 'from' 9.104	له...لاندې lə...lānde 'under' 9.100				له...سره lə...sərə 'with' 9.99	له...څخه lə...tṣəxa 'from' 9.101
... پر ... pə ...	په...کي pə...ke 'in, at, on' 9.123			په...پسې pə...pəse 'after, behind' 9.124	پر...پورې pə...pore 'with'	په...باندې pə...bānde 'on top of, by means of' 9.128	په...سره pə...sərə 'with' 9.132	
... تر ... tə ...			تر...لاندې tə...lānde 'under' 9.139		تر...پورې tə...pore 'until, up to' 9.134			

Table 9.1: Some GP simple circumpositions

Table 9.2 shows the circumpositions cited for Middle dialects (Septfonds 1994; Lorimer 1902), in positions corresponding largely to the ones in Table 9.1. The first row of Table 9.2 may be understood as corresponding to the first two rows of that table, since in the Middle dialects, /ye/ and /de/ may vary freely in circumpositions. Some of these forms may also be found in GP dialects, and some of them may vary with forms found also in General Pashto (e.g. /pə...bānde/ (9.58) in contrast with /pə...nde/).

- (9.58) *dəke* *če* *doy* *pə* *daya* *bonde* *đer-a*
 because COMP 3PL.M.OBL on... this.DIR ...on much-F.DIR
ziyot-a *krāy-a* *Ø-wəxíst-e* **wi**
 much-F.DIR fee-F.DIR CONT-take.PST-PTCP.F.DIR **be.AOR.PRS.3SG.F**
 ‘Because they have already gotten a lot of money as carriage charges for that.’

(DZA)

second component →	... kxe (xe)	... na	... londe	... (p)se	... pera	...nde, ...bondi	... sara	...ta
first ↓ component								
(y)ə ...		yə...na 'from, with' 8.44	yə...londe 'under'		yə...pera 'until'		yə...sra 'with' 8.42	
pə ...	pə...kxe 'in, at, on' 8.61		pə...londe 'under'	pə...pse 'in, after' 9.127	pə...pera 'with'	pə...nde 'on top' 9.130	pə...sra 'with'	
tər ...		tər...na 'from, with'	tər...londe 'under'		tər...pera 'until, up to'			
wā...								wā...ta 'to'

Table 9.2: Some Middle Dialect circumpositions in contrast with GP

9.5.1 Circumpositions with د /də/

9.5.1.1 General Pashto simple circumpositions with د /də/

The preposition د /də/ can combine with a number of postpositions to form simple circumpositions.¹³ The ones we have found are exemplified in this section.

- نه ... د /də...na/ ‘from, out of’

In this construction, oblique case is assigned to the object. Compare example 9.8 with 9.60.

(9.59) د کابل نه راغلی يم .

də kābəl-Ø na rāyl-ay
 from... Kabul-M.OBL ...from come.AOR.PST-PTCP.M.DIR
yəm
 be.CONT.PRS.1SG
 ‘I came from Kabul.’

(9.60) د کور نه راغلم .

də kor-Ø na rāyl-əm
 from... house-M.OBL ...from come.AOR.PST-1SG
 ‘I came from home.’

- لاندې ... د /də...lānde/ ‘under’

(9.61) د سایې لاندې ناست يم .

də sāy-e lāndi nāst-Ø yəm
 under... shadow-F.OBL ...under sitting-M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.1SG
 ‘I am sitting in the shade.’ ^(SW)

(9.62) د غالی لاندې اوبه دي .

də yāl-əy lānde ob-ə d.i
 under... carpet-F.OBL ...under water-PL.F.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3PL.F
 ‘There is water under the carpet.’

¹³ Tegey & Robson (1996: 154ff.), who claim to describe a Northwest, Kabuli variety of Pashto, do not list د /də/ as a component of circumpositions, recognizing only the variant له /lə/ as a possible component. Babrakzai (1999: 44), who claims to be describing the same variety, does give examples of circumpositions with د /də/.

This can also be expressed with *تر... لاندې* /tər...lānde/ (see 9.139), and with *له... لاندې* /lə...lānde/ (see 9.100).

- *د... څخه* /də...tsəxa/ ‘from, on account of.’ For dialectal variants, see 9.102; for a postpositional use of *څخه* /tsəxa/, see 9.64.

(9.63) *د لرگي څخه بېرېرم.*

də larg-i tsəxa Ø-ber-éž-əm
 from... stick-M.OBL ...from CONT-fear-PRS-1SG
 ‘I am afraid of a beating [lit. I am afraid of the stick.]’^(SW)

(9.64) *ما څخه دري بڼه کتابونه سته.*

mā tsexā dre xə kitāb-una šta
 1SG.STR.OBL from three good book-PL.M.DIR EXT
 ‘I have three good books.’^(NE)

- *د... پورې* /də...pore/ ‘up to’

(9.65) *د دوسته پورې په موټر کې ولاړم.*

də dost-ə pore pə moṭər-Ø ke wlāy-əm
 up.to... friend-M.ABL ...up.to in... car-M.OBL ...in go.AOR.PST-1SG
 ‘I went to my friend by car’^(NW)

This relation can also be expressed with *تر... پورې* /tər...pore/, as in examples 9.133 - 9.135.

- *د... سره* /də...səra/ ‘[comitative] with’

(9.66) *د احمد سره کمپوټر نشته.*

də ahmad-Ø səra kampuṭər-Ø nə šta
 COMIT... Ahmad-M.OBL ...COMIT computer-M.DIR NEG EXT
 ‘Ahmad doesn't have a computer.’^(SW)

Note too the apparently synonymous phrase *له... سره* /lə...səra/, which is exemplified in Section 9.5.2.1.

The following sentence exemplifies the common “joining with” use of *د... سره* /də...səra/, as well as the idiomatic phrase *له دې سره* /la de səra/ ‘with this’, best translated as *nonetheless* or *thereby* (see also Section 11.4.4.7):

(9.67) له دې سره به پاکستان وتوانېږي چې د هندوستان سره له پولي خپل پوځيان د
افغانستان سره اوږده سرحد ته واستوي.

lə de sərə bə pākistān-Ø

COMIT... this.OBL ...COMIT WOULD Pakistan-M.DIR

wá-tawan-eg-i ĉe də hindustān-Ø sərə lə
AOR-able-PRS-PRS.3[SG.M] COMP COMIT... India-M.OBL ...COMIT from

pul-e xpəl-Ø pawǰ-iān də
border-F.OBL own-PL.M.DIR force-PL.M.ANIM.DIR COMIT...

āfyānistān-Ø sərə ugd-a sarhad-Ø ta
Afghanistan-M.OBL ...COMIT long-M.OBL border-M.OBL to

w-āstaw-i

AOR-send-PRS.3[SG.M]

‘Nonetheless, Pakistan will be able to send their forces from the border with India to the long border with Afghanistan.’¹⁴

The particle *sə* /sərə/ can appear independently and without an overt object, with interpretation determined by context. See Section 10.2.3.1 for more discussion and some examples.

9.5.1.2 Middle dialect simple circumpositions with /ye/, /e/

A local variant of the GP preposition *د* /də/ is Middle /de/, and it is the first component in many of the same circumpositions. However, it is less common in the Middle dialects than the variants /ye/ and /e/, which apparently vary freely with each other. Because the /de/ form is the less common, we are showing here the circumpositions using the more common variants /ye/~e/.

- /ə...sərə/ ‘[comitative] with’

Seftfonds (1994: 5.1.2.4) notes that the postpositional component of this item can be heard as /sra/ and, less often, /sa/.

¹⁴ Standardized version of 9.67: له دې سره به پاکستان وتوانېږي چې د هندوستان سره له پولي خپل پوځيان د افغانستان سره اوږده سرحد ته واستوي.

- (9.68) *kəla kəla xo e sar-Ø xatār-Ø*
 when when EMPH of head-M.OBL danger-M.DIR
wi yane e marg-Ø səra məxāmāx
 be.AOR.PRS.3SG.M that.is **COMIT...** death-M.OBL **...COMIT** facing
š-i
 become.AOR.PRS-PRS.3[PL.M]

‘Sometimes their head is in danger, that is, they are faced with death.’ (WAZ)

He notes further that this item fulfills the a broad range of functions including association, accompaniment, possession, and means.

- /ye...nə/

The circumposition /ye...nə/ can be used with various functions associated with separation or differentiation, including marking the standard of comparison (compare GP 9.109):

- (9.69) *e to na kəšər-Ø da*
than... 2SG.STR.OBL **...than** young-M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M

‘Is he younger than you?’ (WAZ)

Septfonds notes that this circumposition can work as in a malefactive-type construction, to mark a participant who is involuntarily involved in and affected by an event.

- /ye ... kra/ ‘at the home of’

This distinctive circumposition is translated as *chez* in Septfonds (1994: 267) and cited also by Lorimer (1902: 39) as /de ... kra/. We conjecture that this use, exemplified here, is related to GP phrases using forms of *کور* /kor/ ‘house’, as exemplified in sentences 9.151 and 9.8:

- (9.70) *ye de mlo-Ø kra wolma day*
at... of mullah-M.OBL **...the. home** invited be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M

‘He is invited to the mullah's.’ (DZA)

9.5.1.3 Complex circumpositions with > /də/

As discussed in Section 9.3.1.2, the rule about positioning a phrase with > /də/ at the beginning of its noun phrase often results in the effect of a circumposition. As these examples show, the second component consists of an adpositional phrase with a complement-taking, often abstract or relational, nominal; the first component is that complement marked by > /də/.

- *دپاره ... د /də...də pāra/ , له پاره ... د /də...lə pāra/* ‘for, for the sake of’

(9.71) محمود د احمد دپاره درملتون ته ولاړ چه درمل واخلي .

mahmud-Ø dā ahmād-Ø de pār-a
 Mahmoud-M.DIR of Ahmad-M.OBL from sake-M.ABL
darmaltun-Ø ta wlār-Ø čā darmal-Ø
 pharmacy-M.OBL to go.AOR.PST-PST.3SG.M COMP medicine-M.DIR
w-āxl-i
 AOR-buy.PRS-PRS.3[SG.M]

‘Mahmoud went to the pharmacy to buy medicine **for** Ahmad.’^(sw)

Verbal nouns within adpositional phrases may express the complements of verbs or, as in this example, nominalizations. Here the circumpositional phrase containing *د... له پاره* /də...lə pāra/ is the complement of *پریکړه* /prekṛa/ ‘decision’:

(9.72) افغانستان ته د دیرش زره اضافی سرتېري د لیرلو لپاره پریکړه یی د جمهوری ریاست په دوره کی ترټولو سخته پریکړه وه .

afyānistān-Ø ta dā dirš zār-a izāfi
 Afghanistan-M.OBL to of thirty thousand-PL.M.DIR additional
sartir-i dā leg-āl-o lə pār-a
 soldiers-M.OBL of send-INF-PL.M.OBL from sake-M.ABL
prekṛa-Ø ye dā jamhuri riyāsāt-Ø pə dawra-Ø ke
 decision-F.DIR 3.WK of national office-M.OBL in... term-F.DIR ...in
tər ʔul-o saxt-a prekṛa-Ø wa
 up.to all-PL.M.OBL difficult-F.DIR decision-F.DIR be.CONT.PST.3SG.F

‘The decision **to send** an additional thirty thousand soldiers to Afghanistan was the hardest decision of his presidential term.’

(9.73) د نو کانو ژوول بنایي ماشومانو ته د تشویشونو او خوابدیو د څرکندولو یوه لار وي .

dā nuk-āno žuw-əl-Ø xāyi
 of fingernail-PL.M.ANIM.OBL bite-INF-PL.M.DIR maybe
māsum-āno tā dā tašwiš-uno aw xwābd-io
 child-PL.M.ANIM.OBL for of concern-PL.M.OBL and sadness-PL.F.OBL
dā tsargand-aw-əl-o yaw-a lār-Ø
 of revealed-do-INF-PL.M.OBL one-F.DIR path-F.DIR
wi
be.AOR.PRS.3[PL.M]

‘Biting the fingernails **may be** a way for children to express concerns or distress.’

- په باره کې د ... /də...pə bāra ke/ ‘about’

(9.74) د احمد په باره کې ډېرې مقالې ليکل شوي دي .

də ahmad-Ø pə bāra-Ø ki ɖer-e
of Ahmad-M.OBL **in...** **subject-F.DIR** ...**in** many-PL.F.DIR
maqāl-e lik-əl šāw-i
 article-PL.F.DIR write-INF become.AOR.PST-PTCP.PL.F.DIR
di
 be.CONT.PRS.3PL.F

‘Many articles have been written **about** Ahmad.’ (SW)

(9.75) دی د مسابقې په باره کې رغېږي چه ما څنگه وگټله .

day də mušābiq-e pə bāra-Ø ke
 3SG.M.STR.DIR of contest-F.OBL **in...** **subject-F.DIR** ...**in**
Ø-zay-éz-i če mā tsanga
 CONT-speak-PRS-PRS.3[SG.M] **COMP** 1SG.STR.OBL how
wá-gaṭ-əl-ə
 AOR-win-PST-PST.3SG.F

‘He is talking **about** how I won the race.’ (SW)

- په باب د ... /də...pə bāb/ ‘about’

(9.76) تاسو ښوونکي ته د زلمي په باب څه ويلي دي؟

tāso šwunk-i tə də zalm-i pə
 2PL.STR.OBL teacher-M.OBL to **of** Zalmay-M.OBL **on**
bāb-Ø tsə Ø-way-əl-i
subject-M what CONT-tell.PST-PST-PTCP.PL.M.DIR
di
 be.CONT.PRS.3PL.M

‘What have you said **about** Zalmay to the teacher?’ (SW)

- په ځای د ... /də...pə dzāy/ ‘instead of’

(9.77) د کابل په ځای چه کندهار ته لاړ شو ښه به وي .

də kābul pə d̪āy ʧə kandahār ta lār
 of Kabul in place.SG.M.DIR COMP Kandahar to go.PRS.AOR
šu ʃə bə wi
 be.PRS.AOR.1PL good WOULD be.AOR.PRS.3SG.M
 'It will be better to go to Kandahar **instead of** Kabul.' (sw)

(9.78) د ضیا په ځای بل کس مقرر شوی دی .

də ziā-Ø pə d̪āy-Ø bal-Ø kas-Ø muqarar-Ø
 of Zia-M.OBL on place-M other-M.DIR person-M.DIR assigned-M.DIR
šáw-ay dəy
 become.AOR.PST-PTCP.M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M
 'Someone else has been appointed **instead of** Zia.' (sw)

- په مخ کې /də...pə məx ke/ 'in front of'

This circumposition has more and less literal uses:

(9.79) د احمد په مخ کې ما ته څه مه وایئ!

də ahmad-Ø pə məx-Ø ke mā ta tsə má
 of Ahmad-M.OBL in... face-M ...in 1SG.STR.OBL to what NEG
Ø-wāy-áy
 CONT-tell-IMP.PL
 'Don't tell me anything **in front of** Ahmad!'

(9.80) د صنف په مخ کې ودرید .

də sinf-Ø pə məx-Ø ke wá-dar-id-Ø
 of class-M.OBL in... face-M ...in AOR-stop-PST-PST.3SG.M
 'He stood **in front of** the class.'

Septfonds (1994) translates the Dzadrani collocation /pə məx/ as 'immediately'; a corresponding item in Waziri can be found in 9.81 below; note the variation in the location of the genitive phrase:

- (9.81) *dā mol-ina ĉe kala ile dĕr-Ø*
 this.DIR goods-PL.M.DIR COMP when here much-PL.M.DIR
š-i biyā dáya qāčābar
 become.AOR.PRS-PRS.3[PL.M] then this.DIR smuggling
xalək-Ø dáya mol-ina pə max-Ø e
 people-PL.M.DIR this.DIR goods-PL.M.DIR on face-M of
məlk-Ø nor-e stər-e šār-e ta
 country-M.OBL other-PL.M.OBL large-PL.M.OBL city-PL.M.OBL to
e rasaw-əl-e košəš-Ø Ø-k-í
 of send-INF-PL.M.OBL effort-M.DIR CONT-do.PRS-PRS.3[PL.M]
 ‘When these goods become excessive in their area, then smugglers
 immediately try to send these goods to other big cities in the country.’ (WAZ)

- خوا (په) ... د /də...(pə) xwā ke/ ‘alongside’

- (9.82) موٽر د احمد (په) خوا کي تير شو.
moṭər-Ø də ahmad-Ø (pə) xwā-Ø ki tér-Ø
 car-M.DIR of Ahmad-M.OBL in... side-F ...in passed-M.DIR
šu-Ø
 become.AOR.PST-PST.3SG.M
 ‘A car passed **beside** Ahmad.’ (SW)

Both the version with the postposition and that without were acceptable to our speaker.

- له امله ... د /də...lə amala/ ‘because of’ (see also 9.84; 9.85)

- (9.83) د احمد له امله ما ته زیان ورسېد.
də ahmad-Ø lə amal-a mā ta zyān-Ø
 of Ahmad-M.OBL from cause-M.ABL 1SG.STR.OBL to loss-M.DIR
wá-ras-ed-Ø
 AOR-arrive.PST-PST-PST.3SG.M
 ‘I have suffered much loss **because of** Ahmad.’

(9.84) د جنگ له امله په افغانستان کې امنیت نشته .

də jang-Ø lə amal-a pə afyānistān-Ø ke
of war-M.OBL from cause-M.ABL in... Afghanistan-M.OBL ...in
amniat-Ø nā šta
security-M.DIR NEG EXT

‘**There is** no security in Afghanistan because of the war.’

(9.85) لویې څارنوالۍ په انتخاباتو کې د شویو پراخو درغلیو له امله له سترې محکمې غوښتي چې نتایج باطل اعلان کړي .

loy-əy tsāranwāl-əy pə intixābāt-o ke də
large-F.OBL lawyer-F.OBL in... elections-PL.M.OBL ...in of
šúw-io prāx-o dəryal-io lə
become.AOR.PST-PTCP.PL.F.OBL vast-PL.F.OBL fraud-PL.F.OBL from
amal-a lə stər-e mahkam-e
reason-M.ABL from high-F.OBL court-F.OBL
Ø-yuxt-í če natāyij-Ø ye
CONT-want.PST-PTCP.PL.M.DIR COMP results-PL.M.DIR 3.WK
bāt-əl elān kṛ-i
invalidate-INF announcement do.AOR-PRS.3[SG.F]

‘The Attorney General wanted the Supreme Court to declare the election results invalid due to widespread fraud.’

- په شان ... د /də...pə šān/ ‘like’

(9.86) د جان په شان اسد هم ټپي شوی دی .

də jān-Ø pə šān-Ø asad-Ø ham ʔəpi
of John-M.OBL **INSTR** **manner-M** Asad-M.DIR also wounded
šúw-ay dəy
become.AOR.PST-PTCP.M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M

‘**Like** John, Asad too has been wounded.’

(9.87) د احمد په شان کېړه مه!

də ahmad-Ø pə šān-Ø kez-a
of Ahmad-M.OBL **INSTR** **manner-M** become.CONT.PRS-IMP.SG
má
NEG.IMP

‘Don’t be **like** Ahmad!’^(sw)

- په خېبر . . . د /də...pə tser/ 'like'

(9.88) د محمود په خېبر احمد هم ښه کار نه کوي.

də mahmud-Ø pə tser-Ø ahmad-Ø ham xa
of Mahmoud-M.OBL **INSTR sort-M** Ahmad-M.DIR also good
kār-Ø ná kaw-i
 work-M.DIR NEG do.CONT-PRS.3[SG.M]
 'Like Mahmoud, Ahmad does not do good work.'

- په لور . . . د /də...pə lor/ 'towards'

(9.89) د امریکا په لور روان شوی دی.

də amrikā-Ø pə lor-Ø rawān-Ø
of America-F.OBL **on direction-M** in.motion-M.DIR
šāw-ay dəy
 become.AOR.PST-PTCP.M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M
 'He is heading **towards** America.'

(9.90) افغانستان د ترقی په لور روان شوی دی.

afyānistān-Ø də taraq-əy pə lor-Ø
 Afghanistan-M.DIR **of** development-F.OBL **on direction-M**
rawān-Ø šāw-ay dəy
 in.motion-M.DIR become.PST.AOR-SG.M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M
 'Afghanistan has been moving **towards** development.'

- له خوا . . . د /də...lə xwā/ 'by'

This circumposition may be used to mark the agent of an action when it is not the subject, as in denominal verb constructions (see Section 8.2.5.5.2 and Section 11.3.1.5). This is exemplified in 9.91 and 9.92 below. It may also mark the agent of a nominalized form of a verb, as in sentence 9.94.

(9.91) د پولیس له خوا کورنۍ محاصره شو.

də polis-Ø lə xwā-Ø kor-Ø ye mahāstra
of police-PL.M.DIR **from side-F.OBL** house-M.DIR 3.WK surrounded
šāw-Ø
 become.AOR.PST-PST.3SG.M
 'His house was surrounded **by** police.'

(9.92) د مذهبي ډلو لخوا ورته سلا مشوره ورکول کېږي .

də mazhabi ɖəl-o lə xwā-Ø wər tə salā
of religious group-PL.F.OBL **from** **side-F.OBL** 3 to advice
mašwar-a wərkaw-əl kīg-i
 advice-SG.M.DIR give-INF do.PRS-PRS.3[SG.F]

‘Advice is being given to them **from** religious groups.’¹⁵

(9.93) هغه په نېره ځان تر سيرينی اورسولو .

hayā pə bīra-Ø ɖzān-Ø tər širin-əy
 3SG.M.STR.OBL INSTR haste-F.DIR **self-M.DIR** up.to Shiranai-M.OBL
ó-rasaw-əl-u
 AOR-deliver-PST-PST.SG.M

‘He hurriedly got himself near Shirinai.’

(9.94) د روسیې جمهور رئیس په مستقیمه توگه د مسکو د ډموکراسی د سابقې په اړه
 د امریکا له خوا د انتقادونو یادونه ونکړه .

də rusiy-e jumhor-Ø rais-Ø pə mustaqima-Ø
 of Russian-F.OBL republic-M.OBL president-M.OBL INSTR direct-F.DIR
toga-Ø də mosko-Ø də ɖəmoqrās-əy də sābəq-e
 manner-F.DIR of Moscow-M.OBL of democracy-F.OBL of history-F.OBL
pə āra-Ø də amrikā-Ø lə xwā-Ø də
 on topic-F.DIR **of** America-F.OBL **from** **side-F.OBL** of
intiḡād-uno yadawəna-Ø wə-nā kṛ-a
 criticism-PL.M.OBL statement-F.DIR AOR-NEG do.AOR-PST.3SG.F

‘Criticisms **from** America regarding Moscow's history with democracy were not directly mentioned by the Russian president.’

This circumposition may also express origin:

(9.95) دا لیک د احمد له خوا راغلی دی .

dā lik-Ø də ahmad-Ø lə xwā-Ø
 this.DIR letter-M.DIR **of** Ahmad-M.OBL **from** **side-F.OBL**
rāyl-ay dəy
 come.AOR.PST-PTCP.M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M

‘This letter came **from** Ahmad.’^(sw)

¹⁵ Standardized version of 9.92: د مذهبي ډلو له خوا ورته سلا مشوره ورکول کېږي .

- له لورې /də...lə lure/ 'by'

Like له خوا /də lə xwā/ 'by', this circumposition can also be used to indicate an agent.

تیر کال د ملگرو ملتونو د امنیت شورا له لورې د ایران د اتومي فعالیتو له (9.96)
کبله پر دې هیواد کې وضعه شول.

ter-Ø *kāl-Ø* *də* *malgr-o* *milat-uno* **də**
passed-M.DIR year-M.DIR of friend-PL.M.OBL nation-PL.M.OBL **of**
amniat **šurā-Ø** **lə** **lur-e** *də* *irān-Ø* *də* *atomi*
security **council-F.OBL** **from** **side-F.OBL** of Iran-M.OBL of atomic
fāliat-o *lə* *kabəl-a* *pər* *de* *haywād-Ø* *ke*
activities-PL.M.OBL from cause-M.ABL in... this.OBL country-M ...in
wázā *šwu-əl*
established become.AOR.PST-PST.3PL.M

'[The sanctions] were implemented last year in Iran **by** the United Nations Security Council.'

یو صراف د غلو له لورې ووژل شو. (9.97)

yaw-Ø *sarrāf-Ø* **də** *γəl-o* **lə** **lur-e**
one-M.DIR banker-M.DIR **of** thief-PL.M.OBL **from** **side-F.OBL**
wá-waž-əl *šu-Ø*
AOR-kill-INF become.AOR.PST-PST.3SG.M

'A banker was killed **by** thieves.'

بریتانیا د ایران له لورې هغه خپره شوې ویډیو پټه چې، په کې نیول شوي (9.98)
 ۱۵ بریتانوي سمندري سرتیري ښودل کيږي محکوم کړه.

britānyā-Ø dā irān-Ø lə lur-e hāya
 Britain-F.OBL of Iran-M.OBL from side-F.OBL this.DIR

xəpura-Ø šuw-e widiyowi paṭa-Ø
 broadcast-F.DIR become.AOR.PST-PTCP.F.DIR videotaped document-F.DIR

če pə ke niw-āl šúw-i 15
 COMP in... ..in seize-INF become.AOR.PST-PTCP.PL.M.DIR 15

britānawi samandari sartir-i xud-āl
 British marine soldier-PL.M.DIR show-INF

kíg-i mahkúm kṛ-a
 become.CONT.PRS-PRS.3[PL.M] condemned do.AOR-PST.3SG.F

‘Britain condemned a video tape broadcast **by** Iran in which 15 captured Naval soldiers were shown.’¹⁶

9.5.2 General Pashto circumpositions with له /lə/

Many grammars describe له /lə/ as a variant of د /də/ that can appear in circumpositions. The postpositional component is the one to look to for the meaning information, as shown in Examples 9.99 - 9.102.

9.5.2.1 GP simple circumpositions with له /lə/

What follows are the most commonly encountered simple circumpositions starting with له /lə/.

- له ... سره /lə...səra/ ‘[comitative] with’

له احمد سره مې خبرې وکړې. (9.99)

lə ahmad-Ø səra me xabər-e
 COMIT... Ahmad-M.OBL ...COMIT 1SG.WK word-PL.F.DIR

wá-kəṛ-e
 AOR-do.AOR-PST.3PL.F

‘I talked with Ahmad.’

¹⁶ Standardized version of 9.98: بریتانیا د ایران له لورې هغه خپره شوې ویډیو پټه چې، په کې نیول شوي ۱۵ بریتانوي سمندري سرتیري ښودل کيږي محکومه کړه.

In NE and NW dialects, it is possible to omit the prepositional component, leaving the postposition سره /səra/ (Tegey & Robson, 1996: 155–156). Compare also the function of سره /səra/ that appears without an object; see Section 10.2.3.1.

- له . . . لاندې /lə...lānde/ *under, from below*

(9.100) پاکستان د حملو له فشارونو لاندې دي .

pākistān-Ø dā haml-o lə fišār-uno lānde
 Pakistan-M.DIR of attack-PL.F.OBL under... pressure-PL.M.OBL ...under
di
 be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M

‘Pakistan is under pressure of attack.’

- له . . . څخه /lə...tsəxa/ ‘from, on account of’. See also 9.103. For a variant with the preposition د /də/, see 9.63.

(9.101) له کابل څخه راغلی يم .

lə kābāl-Ø tsəxa rāyl-ay
 from... Kabul-M.OBL ...from come.AOR.PST-PTCP.M.DIR
yəm
 be.CONT.PRS-1SG

‘I have come from Kabul.’

(9.102) له لرگي څخه ډارېرم .

lə larg-i tsəxa Ø-ḍār-ég-əm
 from... stick-M.OBL ...from CONT-fear-PRS-1SG
 ‘I am afraid of a beating [lit. I am afraid of the stick].’^(NW)

(9.103) شاه محمود له سر څخه تاج ایسته کړ او هیڅ وخت په شاهي تخت کېښېنست .

šāh-Ø mahmud-Ø lə sar-Ø tsəxe tāj-Ø
 Shah-M.OBL Mahmud-M.OBL from... head-M.OBL ...from crown-M.DIR
ista kəṛ-Ø aw hits waxt pə šahi taxt-Ø
 removed do.AOR-PST.3SG.M and none time on royal stage-M

kxé-ne-nāst-Ø

AOR\sit-NEG-sit.PST-PST.3SG.M

‘Shah Mahmud disavowed his royal birthright and **never assumed** the throne.’

- له . . . نه /lə...na/ from

The circumposition له . . . نه /lə...na/ is the most common simple circumposition starting with له /lə/,¹⁷ and it is also used with complex circumpositions, as shown in Section 9.5.2.2. It typically indicates motion away or separation from. The following two examples show how the postposition نه /nə/ alternates with the ablative case-marker له /-a/: the two items may not co-occur.

(9.104) له کور نه راغلم .

lə kor-Ø **na** rāyl-əm
 from... house-M.OBL **...from** come.AOR.PST-1SG
 'I came from home.'

(9.105) له کوره راغلم .

lə kor-**a** rāyl-əm
 from house-**M.ABL** come.AOR.PST-1SG
 'I came from home.'

In the NE and NW dialects, it is possible to omit the prepositional component of this circumposition in informal speech (Tegey & Robson, 1996: 155). Compare 9.106 and 9.107.

(9.106) کالي مي له موٽر نه واخيسته .

kāl-i mi lə moṭər-Ø na
 clothes-M.DIR 1SG.WK from... car-M.OBL ...from
 w-āxist-ə
 AOR-take.PST-PST.3SG.M
 'I took the clothes out of the car.'

(9.107) کالي مي موٽر نه واخيسته .

kāl-i mi moṭər-Ø na w-āxist-ə
 clothes-PL.M.DIR 1SG.WK car-M.OBL from AOR-take.PST-PST.SG.M
 'I took the clothes out of the car.'^(NE,NW)

In sentence 9.108, which is ungrammatical, the ablative marker cannot appear without an adposition governing it.

¹⁷ For Babrakzai (1999: 42), this circumposition is unacceptable; only the two forms له . . . نه /də...na/ and له /lə/ exist.

(9.108) * کالي مي موټره واخيسته .

kāl-i mi moṭar-a w-āxist-ə
clothes-PL.M.DIR 1SG.WK car-M.ABL AOR-take.PST-PST.3SG.M

‘I took the clothes out of the car.’

The full form of the circumposition له...نه /lə...na/ is also the most common way to make comparative statements in Pashto; for another construction, see the examples in Section 9.3.5 (from Tegey & Robson 1996: 162).

(9.109) افغانستان له فرانسې نه غټ دى .

afyānistān-Ø lə frāns-e na yaṭ-Ø
Afghanistan-M.DIR from... France-M.OBL ...from big-M.DIR

dəy
be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M

‘Afghanistan is larger than France.’

Quantitative comparatives such as *more than* and *less than* are created using the circumposition له...نه /lə...na/ followed by زیات /zyāt/ ‘more’, دېر /der/ ‘very’ or لږ /ləg/ ‘less, few’.

(9.110) زه له محمود نه لږ کتابونه لرم .

zə lə mahmud-Ø na ləž-Ø
1SG.STR.DIR from... Mahmoud-M.OBL ...from few-PL.M.DIR

kitāb-una Ø-lar-ām
book-PL.M.DIR CONT-have.PRS-1SG

‘I have fewer books than Mahmoud.’

(9.111) زه له محمود نه ډېرې زياتې پيسې لرم .

zə lə mahmud-Ø na ḍer-i
1SG.STR.DIR from... Mahmoud-M.OBL ...from many-PL.F.DIR

zyāt-i pajs-e Ø-lar-ām
more-PL.F.DIR coin-PL.F.DIR CONT-have.PRS-1SG

‘I have much more money than Mahmoud.’

Similarly, the circumposition له...نه /lə...na/ can be used in Pashto to create superlative constructions. For the superlative construction, the object of the circumposition must be preceded by a universal quantifier such as ټولو /tolo/ ‘all’. The object appears in the oblique case (Tegey & Robson, 1996: 155).

(9.112) محمود له ٽولو نه پوه دى .

mahmud-Ø lə ʔol-o na poh-Ø
 Mahmoud-M.DIR from... **all-PL.OBL** ...from smart-M.DIR
dəy
 be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M

‘Mahmoud is the smartest of all/Mahmoud is smarter than all [of them].’

(9.113) د محمود کور له ٽولو نه لوی دى .

də mahmud-Ø kor-Ø lə ʔol-o na
 of Mahmoud-M.OBL house-M.DIR from... **all-PL.OBL** ...from
lw-ay dəy
 big-M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M

‘Mahmoud's house is the biggest/Mahmoud's house is bigger than all [other houses].’

9.5.2.2 GP complex circumpositions with له...نه /lə...na/

The circumposition له...نه /lə...na/ frequently combines with other adpositions or adverbs to form complex circumpositions. Together they govern the item between the two sets of ellipses. Most of the time, له...نه /lə...na/ does not contribute any meaning beyond the meaning of the other element. Furthermore, it may assign case somewhat irregularly. Traditionally, the postposition نه /na/ governs oblique case-marking on its object; however, this object may sometimes appear in the ablative case form.

- [پخوا /pəxwā/ ‘before’] له...نه پخوا /lə...na pəxwā/ ‘before’]

(9.114) احمد له ما نه پخوا راغلى دى .

ahmad-Ø lə mā na pəxwā
 Ahmad-M.DIR **from...** 1SG.STR.OBL **...from before**
rāyl-ay dəy
 come.AOR.PST-PTCP.M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M

‘Ahmad has come **before** me.’

- [بهر /bahar/ ‘outside’] له...نه بهر /lə...na bahar/ ‘out of, outside of’]

(9.115) احمد له کور نه بهر وتلی دی .

ahmad-Ø lə kor-Ø na bahār
 Ahmad-M.DIR **from...** house-M.OBL **...from outside**
Ø-watāl-ay dəy
 CONT-leave.PST-PTCP.M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M
 'Ahmad has come **out of** the house.'

- بهر له... نه /be lə...na/ *without* [بهر /be/ 'without']

(9.116) بهر له تا نه ولاړم .

be lə tā na wlāṛ-əm
without from... 2SG.STR.OBL **...from** go.AOR.PST-1SG
 'I went **without** you.'

- پرته له... نه /prata lə...na/ *except for* [پرته /prata/ 'except']

(9.117) پرته له احمد نه مې بل څوک ونه لیدل .

prata lə ahmad-Ø na me bəl-Ø
except from... Ahmad-M.OBL **...from** 1SG.WK other-PL.M.DIR
tsok-Ø wə-nā lid-əl
 who.DIR AOR-NEG see.PST-PST.3PL.M
 'I didn't see anybody **except for** Ahmad.'

- (نه)... له وروسته /wrusta lə...(na)/ 'after' [وروسته /wrusta/ 'after, later'; See Table 10.1]

The item وروسته /wrusta/ 'after, later' exemplifies some of the complexity of the system of adpositions. Besides being identifiable as an adverb, it appears to be an ambiposition in that it can appear as either a prepositional or a postpositional component of circumpositions. We find (نه)... له وروسته /wrusta lə...(na)/ next to /lə...(na) wrusta/, as well as /də...(na) wrusta/ (see 9.118 and 9.119).

(9.118) د رايې گيرئ نه وروسته يې د تگئ برگئ او رشوت خوربن په اړه د
تحقيقاتو مسووليت په غاړه درلوده.

də rāy-e gir-í na wrusta ye də
from... vote-F.OBL collection-F.OBL ...from after 3.WK of
ṭag-i bragi aw rašwat-Ø xoṛ-i pə aṛa-Ø
cheat-M.OBL ECHO and bribe-M.OBL eating-F.OBL INSTR topic-F.DIR
də taḥqiq-āto masuliat-Ø pə yāra-Ø
of research-PL.M.OBL responsibility-M.DIR INSTR neck-F.DIR
darlód-Ø
have.AOR.PST-PST.3SG.M

‘He had the responsibility of investigating bribery and **cheating** after the election.’

(9.119) له دې وروسته به د ايران له لوري تېل وارد نه كړو.

lə de wrusta bə də irān-Ø lə lur-e
from this.OBL after **WOULD** of Iran-M.OBL from side-F.OBL
təl-Ø waréd-Ø ná kṛ-u
fuel-M.DIR **imported-M.DIR NEG do.AOR-1PL**

‘After this, **we won’t import** fuel through Iran.’¹⁸

As the parentheses indicate, the element /na/ is apparently optional in all three versions. See also 9.140 and the examples that follow it for another variant using the adposition /wrusta/.

(9.120) زه وروسته له تا ننوتلم.

za wrustá lə tā nānəwat-əl-əm
1SG.STR.DIR **after from** 2SG.STR.OBL AOR\enter-PST-1SG

‘I entered **after** you.’

¹⁸ Standardized version of 9.119: اه دې وروسته به د ايران له لوري تېل وارد نه كړو.

د هغې نښتې په ترڅ کې چې ... د پولیسو پر یو پوستې د بلواګرو له برید (9.121) وروسته رامنځته شوه دوه تنه بلواګر ووژل شول.

də hāye naxət-e pə trats-Ø ke ĉe ... də
of that.OBL dispute-F.OBL in... interval-M ...in COMP ... of
polis-o pər yaw post-e də balwāgar-o lə
police-PL.M.OBL on one post-F.OBL of attacker-PL.M.OBL **from**
brid-Ø wrustá rā-mānǎz ta šw-a dwa
attack-M.OBL **after** 1-center to become.AOR.PST-PST.3SG.F two
tan-a balwāgar-Ø wá-wǎž-ǎl
person-PL.M.DIR attacker-PL.M.DIR AOR-kill-INF
šw-ǎl
become.AOR.PST-PST.3PL.M

‘Two insurgents were killed in a fight which broke out after they attacked a police station.’¹⁹

The following example shows the usual form of clausal complements of adpositions: a demonstrative head and an embedded clause introduced by the complementizer څه /čə/.

وروسته له دې چې ډوډۍ مو وخوړه سینما ته به لاړ شو. (9.122)

wrusta lə de ĉə ɖod-əy mo
after from this.OBL COMP food-F.DIR 1PL.WK
wá-xor-a sinimā-Ø ta bə lār-Ø
AOR-eat.PST-PST.3SG.F cinema-F.OBL to WOULD gone-PL.M.DIR
š-u
become.AOR.PRS-1PL

‘We will go to the movies **after** we eat dinner.’^(SW)

9.5.3 Circumpositions with په /pə/

Circumpositions with په /pə/ denote an entity’s relationship to another’s; these relations may be physical, temporal, or causal. A selection of circumpositions with په /pə/ follows:

¹⁹ Standardized version of 9.121: د هغې نښتې په ترڅ کې چې ... د پولیسو پر یو پوسته د بلواګرو له برید وروسته رامنځته شوه دوه تنه بلواګر ووژل شول.

- په . . . کې /pə...ke/ ‘in, into, on, at’

In addition to the variation that one can find in the pronunciation of the prepositional component, the postpositional component . په /ke/ is also subject to substantial variation in pronunciation: various scholars have cited /kxe/, /kʂe/ (Henderson, 1970) and /ki/.

This very common circumposition indicates a very wide range of relative locations of juxtaposition (Hewson & Bubenik, 2006: 150); mostly, the specific relationship must be inferred from the context. It appears not to permit direct case-marking on its object. See 9.121 for a temporal meaning of this circumposition, and see 9.160 for an example of this circumposition in construction with an omitted object. The example 9.98 shows this circumposition with a null object, introducing a relative clause.

(9.123) محمود په صنف کې دی .

mahmud-Ø pə sinf-Ø ke dəy
 Mahmoud-M.DIR in... class-M.OBL ...in be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M
 ‘Mahmoud is in class.’

Example 9.26 shows the use of the circumposition په . . . کې /pə...ke/ and the preposition په /pə/ in the same clause, where the prepositional phrase is modifying the circumpositional phrase.

Hewson & Bubenik (2006: 153) claim that په . . . کې /ke/ ‘in, into’ can function independently as a postposition, a claim that is supported by our research. There is evidence, however, that it is much rarer than the circumposition (given that it lacks separate description), that it is restricted to the Eastern dialects (Pashtoon, 2009), or that its appearance is restricted to certain kinds of usage.

- GP په . . . پسې /pə...pəse/ ‘after’

(9.124) په ما پسې راځه !

pə mā pəsé rāḁ-á
after... 1SG.STR.OBL **...after** come.CONT.PRS-IMP.SG
 ‘Come **after** me!’

(9.125) په ما پسي ډېرې خبرې مه كوه!

pə mā pəse ɖer-e xabr-e mā
after... 1SG.STR.OBL **...after** many-PL.F.DIR word-PL.F.DIR NEG
kaw-á
 do.CONT-IMP.SG

‘Don’t backbite me!’

For a variant of this form in which پسي /pesə/ acts as a preposition, see 9.126. The Dzadrani item /pə...se/ ‘after, because of’ corresponds to the GP په...پسي /pə...pəse/ ‘after’ (Septfonds, 1994).

(9.126) پس له دې.

pas lə de
 after from **this.OBL**
 ‘after **this**’

(9.127) *zə xo pə madrasa-Ø še tadris dars-Ø*
 1SG.STR.DIR EMPH in... mosque-F.DIR ...in study study-M.DIR
Ø-k-ā
CONT-do.PRS-1SG

‘I am studying in the mosque school.’ ^(WAZ)

- GP په...باندي /pə...bānde/

Septfonds (1994) transcribes the second component /bonde/, and this variant apparently exists in other varieties of Pashto as well; see notes at example 9.130 for conditions on its appearance in Dzadrani.

Hewson & Bubenik (2006: 151) gloss this circumposition as an adverb ‘up’, but our research has not substantiated this meaning.

This circumposition may also appear with the variant پر /pər/ as its first component.

(9.128) په مېز باندي ډېر قلمونه دي.

pə mez-Ø bānde ɖer-Ø qalam-una
on... table-M.OBL **...on** many-PL.M.DIR pen-PL.M.DIR
di
 be.CONT.PRS.3PL.M

‘There are many pens **on** the table.’

An instrumental/means/manner function of پە . . . باندې /pə...bānde/ is exemplified in 9.129 below.

(9.129) نو بیا په شه ورکه بوند فیصله وشي .

no *biyā* *pə* *tsə* *werk-a* ***pə*** *tsə*
 therefore then INSTR what exchange-F.DIR **INSTR...** what
rok-a ***bonde*** *faysəl-a*
 exchange-F.DIR **...INSTR** decision-F.DIR

wā-š-i

AOR.PRS-become.AOR.PRS.-PRS.3SG.F

‘The matter is resolved **by** give-and-take.’

The Middle dialect circumposition /pə...nde/ ‘at, on’ (also pronounced /pə...ne/) corresponds to GP پە . . . باندې /pə...bānde/; the latter is found in poetic registers in these Middle varieties, according to Septfonds (1994).

(9.130) *če* *də* *pə* *želot-on* *nde*
 COMP 3SG.M.STR.OBL on... executioner-PL.M.DIR ...on

yag-Ø ***Ø-k-á***
 voice-M.DIR **CONT-do.PST-PST.3SG.M**

‘Him, he got ready to call the executioners.’ ^(DZA)

A meaning related to this one involves an animate object of this circumposition. Under these conditions, the object of پە . . . باندې /pə...bānde/ designates the proximal actor of the named activity, while the grammatical subject designates a causer or enabler of the entire event. See Section 9.7.3 for more discussion and an example.

There are dialects in which the first component پە /pə/ may be omitted, so /bānde/ functions as a postposition. See 9.131 for an example of the locative meaning, and 9.157 for an example of the instrumental function.

(9.131) کتاب مي ور باندي ايښی دی .

kitāb-Ø *mi* ***wər*** *bāndi* *iš-ay*
 book-M.DIR 1SG.WK 3 on CONT\put.PST-PTCP.M.DIR
dəy
 be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M

‘I put the book on **it**.’ ^(SW)

- سره . . . پە /pə ... sara/ ‘[instrumental] with’

(9.132) زما ځوانی ډول کوي په پښتونواله سره .

zmā *zawān-əy* *ḍəwəl-Ø* *kaw-i* *pə*
1SG.STR.POSS youth-F.DIR manner-M.DIR do.CONT-PRS.3[SG.F] **INSTR...**

paxtunwāla **sara**
Pashtunwali **...INSTR**

‘My youth manifests itself **in** Pashtunwali.’^{(NE)20}

9.5.4 Circumpositions with تر /tər/

The form تر /tər/ is most often found as the first component of several circumpositions that indicate a movement up to a terminal point in time or space. For a discussion of ablative case assignment to its object, see Section 5.1.3.3. For a variant of تر /tər/, see Section 9.6.1.

- پورې (ه) . . . تر /tər...pore/ ‘up to, until’²¹

Where Standard Pashto uses پورې (ه) . . . تر /tər...pore/, the corresponding circumposition in Dzadrani is pronounced /tər...pera/ or /tər ... pere/ (Septfonds, 1997). This is in keeping with the alternation between GP /o/ and M /e/ that is illustrated in Table 4.5.

(9.133) تر سبا پورې د خدا پامان!

tər *sabā-Ø* *pore* *də* *xodā* *pāmān-Ø*
until... morning-F.OBL **...until** of God with.protection-M.DIR

‘See you tomorrow! [lit. **until** tomorrow, with God's protection].’

(9.134) تر کابله پورې

tər *kābəl-a* *pore*
up.to... Kabul-M.ABL ...up.to

‘as far as Kabul’

In the Western dialects, the postposition پورې /pori/ may be omitted from this circumposition in speech, rendering a prepositional phrase.

²⁰ Our thanks to James Caron for this example, which he attributed to the Jalalabad poet Malang Jan.

²¹ Henderson (1970) additionally cites ‘hence’ as a translation of this term.

(9.135) تر سړي (پوري) دي وشرمولم .

tər sar-i (pore) di wá-šarmaw-əl-əm
up.to... man-M.OBL (**...up.to**) 2.WK AOR-shame-PST-1SG

'You shamed me **in front of** the man.'^(NW)

(9.136) تر پلاره (پوري) په منډه ولاړم .

tər plār-a (pori) pə mənḍa-Ø wlār-əm
up.to... father-M.ABL (**...up.to**) INSTR run-F.DIR go.AOR.PST-1SG

'I ran **to** my father.'^(SW)

تر هغه چه /tər tso čə/ ; تر هغه چا /tər haya čə/ 'until'

These two expressions both convey temporal relations, and both can introduce subordinate clauses: see 9.137 and 9.138. The translation 'until' incorporates the negated assertion in the subordinate clause.

(9.137) زه هغې ته ليک نه لېرم تر څو چه ما ته تېليفون ونه کړي .

za hayé ta lik-Ø ná Ø-lež-ám
 1SG.STR.DIR 3SG.F.STR.OBL to letter-SG.M.DIR NEG CONT-send-1SG

tər tso čə mā ta telifún-Ø wə-ná
 up.to how.much COMP 1SG.STR.OBL to telephone-M.DIR AOR-NEG

kr-i
 do.AOR-PRS.3[SG.F]

'I am not writing to her **until** she calls me.'^(SW)

(9.138) تر هغه چي ته نه بي راغلي ډوډی نه خورم .

tər hayə čī tə ná ye
 up.to this.OBL COMP 2SG.STR.DIR **NEG** be.CONT.PRS.2SG

rāyl-ay ḍoḍ-əy ná Ø-xur-əm
 come.AOR.PST-PTCP.M.DIR food-F.DIR NEG CONT-eat.PRS-1SG

'**Until** you have arrived, I will not eat.'^(SW)

- تر... لاندې (ه) /tər...lānde/ 'under'

(9.139) سپری تر پله لاندې ناست دی .

saṛ-ay tər pl-a lānde nāst-∅
 man-M.DIR **under...** bridge-M.OBL **...under** sitting-M.DIR
dəy
 be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M

‘The man is sitting under the bridge.’

The Dzadrani circumposition /tər...londe/ corresponds to the GP item تر...لاندې /tər...lānde/ ‘under’, and is attested in Dzadrani as appearing both with and without an object, i.e. as both an adposition and an adverb (see also Table 10.2).

- وروسته ... تر /tər ... wrusta/ ‘after’ (Hewson & Bubenik, 2006). These authors provide the following examples in comparing this item with the circumposition /lə ... wrusta/ exemplified herein; see also 9.121 and 9.120.

(9.140) *tər dwa tsalwišt kal-uno wrusta*
after... two forty year-PL.M.OBL **...after**
 ‘**after** forty-two years’

(9.141) *wrusta tər špag-o myāšt-o*
after after six-PL.F.OBL month-PL.F.OBL
 ‘**after** six months’

(9.142) *tər xwar-əl-o wrusta*
after... eat-INF-PL.M.OBL **...after**
 ‘**after** eating’

9.5.5 A Middle dialect circumposition with و /wə/

The independent preposition و /wə/ is not discussed here, since it has been described as obsolescent (Trumpp, 1873: 85) or only poetic (Skalmowski, 1996).

There appears to be only one circumposition with و /wə/ (also sometimes transcribed as /vu/—see Section 3.2.1.2) as its first component, and it is not common in General Pashto, although it is cited by Lorimer (1902) as a variant of the postposition ته /ta/. Skalmowski (1996) cites another variant, the compound postposition و ته /wə ta/.

(9.143) دغسي خلگو ته و ښار ته د ننوتلو اجازه نه ورکوله کېږي .

dayase xalk-o ta wə xār-Ø ta dā
 those.same people-PL.M.OBL to **to...** city-M.OBL **...to** of
nənawat-əl-o ejāza-Ø ná warkaw-əl-a
 enter-INF-PL.M.OBL permission-F.DIR NEG give-INF-SG.F.DIR
kég-i
 become.CONT.PRS-PRS.3[SG.F]

‘Permission to enter the city is not being given to those [same] people.’²²

9.6 Coalesced adpositional phrases

9.6.1 Pro-adpositional phrases

Tegey (1977: 35ff.) lists three adpositions that may govern null objects: په */pə ke/* ‘on.3’ (*/pəkʂe/* in the Kandahar dialect, according to Pate 2012), پرې */pə/ ~ /pre/ ~ /pe/* ‘on.3’, and */tre/* ‘up.to.3’. Tegey terms these “Pro-Pre/Postpositional Phrases” and analyzes them as incorporating third person definite objects, an analysis which reflects the requirement that the incorporated object be recoverable from the discourse or extralinguistic context. Pate (2012: 23), in contrast, analyzes these items as weak pronouns that are constrained to function as non-nuclear terms.

There is apparently dialect-based variation on the inventory of these items: Pate (2012) additionally lists the Kandahari form */dzine/* ‘from.3’ as an object-incorporating form corresponding to the circumposition *د...د* */də ... tɬəxə/* ‘from’.

The pronunciation */pe/* instead of پرې */pre/* (Section 9.6.1) is cited by Lorimer (1902: 40) as a characteristic of Waziri.

(9.144) زما ترې نه بد راځي .

zmā tre na bad rač-í
 1SG.STR.POSS **up.to.3...** ...up.to bad come.CONT.PRS-PRS.3[SG.M]
 ‘I don’t like him.’

(9.145) ترې پوري ولاړم .

tre pori wlār-əm
up.to.3.. ...up.to go.AOR.PST-1SG
 ‘I went up to it.’^(NW)

22 Standardized version of 9.143: دغسي خلگو ته و ښار ته د ننوتلو اجازه نه ورکوله کېږي .

The following examples show that both پری /pre/ and پر /pər/ are possible in the same context; this suggests that there is a lexical distinction between the fused forms and the forms that allow a null object.

(9.146) زه پری سپور یم .

za **pre** spor-Ø yəm
1SG.STR.DIR **on.3** sitting-M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.1SG
'I am sitting on it.'

(9.147) زه پر سپور یم .

zə **pər** spor-Ø yəm
1SG.STR.DIR **on** sitting-M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.1SG
'I am sitting on it.'^(sw)

The relative order of the pro-adpositional phrase and the negative in examples 9.148 and 9.149 lends support to the alternative analysis given by Pate (2012) of these forms as essentially pronominal rather than essentially adpositional, since the form incorporating the third person assumes second position, as is characteristic of the weak pronouns:

(9.148) زه بی نه پوهېږم .

zə **pe** ná Ø-poh-éž-əm
1SG.STR.DIR **on.3** NEG CONT-learned-PRS-1SG
'I don't understand it.'

(9.149) زه نه په پوهېږم .

zə ná **pə** Ø-poh-éž-əm
1SG.STR.DIR NEG **on** CONT-learned-PRS-1SG
'I don't understand it.'^(sw)

9.6.2 The adpositional phrase کره /kara/ 'at the home of'

کره /kara/ is a pro-adpositional phrase related to the noun کور /kor/ 'house' that may appear just in case the house's possessor is identified or recoverable. This form optionally replaces کور ته /kor ta/. Compare sentences 9.150 and 9.151; see 9.70 for the corresponding construction in Dzadrani.

9.7.1 نه /na/ vs. ablative case-marking on object

Elsewhere we observe that the postpositional component نه /na/ alternates in usage with ablative case-marking on the noun object. Compare sentences 9.8 and 9.60.

9.7.2 د /də/ and strong pronoun objects

In Section 9.3.1.1, we observed that in some dialects the preposition د /də/ assimilates to a following strong pronoun in the first and second persons. In those dialects, the sequence of د /də/ and the pronoun is unacceptable and the fused form is the only possible form. This is discussed in Section 7.2.3.

9.7.3 په /pə/ and په...باندې /pə...bānde/ used in a causative construction

In Section 11.5 we describe a causative construction that involves one or another verb of causation and a subordinate clause describing the caused event. However, there is also a use of په /pə/ and په...باندې /pə...bānde/ that requires a causative interpretation of the sentence it appears in, even though there is no overt expression of causation, either with another verb or with an affix. In Pashto, the object of په...باندې /pə...bānde/ refers to the proximate agent, and the grammatical subject, if present, refers to ultimate agent.

(9.154) سپري په ما اس تړي .

saṛ-ay pə mā ās-∅ ∅-taṛ-i
man-M.DIR INSTR 1SG.STR.OBL horse-M.DIR CONT-tie-PRS.3

‘The man makes me tie up the horse.’

(9.155) سپري په ما باندې اس وټه .

saṛ-i pə mā bānde ās-∅
man-M.OBL INSTR... 1SG.STR.OBL ...INSTR horse-M.DIR

wá-taṛ-ə
AOR-tie-PST.3SG.M

‘The man made me tie up the horse.’

(9.156) په جوانبني دې خوره .

pə xwāx-e de ∅-xor-á
INSTR mother.in.law-F 2.WK CONT-eat.PRS-IMP.SG

‘Get your mother-in-law to eat [it].’

In some dialects, the first part of the circumposition is optional; in this case, the postposition alone can fulfil the same function in this construction.

(9.157) هغه باندې مي چای وڅکله .

hayə bānde me čay-∅ wə-ʔsak-l-ə
 3SG.STR.OBL INSTR 1.SG.WK tea-M.DIR. AOR-drink-PST.PST.3SG.M
 'I got him a cup of tea to drink.'^(NE)

9.7.4 Omission of pronoun objects of adpositions

As noted in Section 7.3.2, weak pronouns may not appear as objects of adpositions. The following examples demonstrate that weak pronouns cannot appear as the object of an adposition as shown in the ungrammatical example 9.158; compare this with the acceptable 9.159, using the strong pronoun.

(9.158) *پر دي خېجم .

pər di ∅-xej-əm
 on 2.WK CONT-step.PRS-1SG
 'I step on you.'^(SW)

(9.159) پر تا خېجم .

pər tā ∅-xej-əm
 on 2SG.STR CONT-step.PRS-1SG
 'I step on you.'^(SW)

The object can be omitted entirely if it is known or can be recovered from the context, as in 9.160.²³

(9.160) په کې اوبه واچوه .

pə ke ob-ə w-āčaw-a
 on... ...in water-PL.F.DIR AOR-pour-IMP.SG
 'Pour water in it!'

²³ One speaker reports that a weak pronoun may be placed after the circumposition; we have not verified this with other speakers or sources.

9.7.5 Postpositions with oblique pronominal clitics

Some postpositions may govern the oblique pronominal clitics discussed in Section 7.4.

(9.161) محمود کتاب را ته اخلي .

mahmud-Ø *kitāb-Ø* *rā ta* *Ø-axl-í*
Mahmoud-SG.M.DIR book-M.DIR 1 **for** CONT-buy.PRS-PRS.3[SG.M]

‘Mahmoud is buying me a book.’

(9.162) خلک درپورې خاندې .

xalak-Ø *dər pore* *Ø-xand-í*
people-PL.M.DIR 2 **up.to** CONT-laugh-PRS.3[PL.M]

‘People are laughing at you.’

Oblique pronominal clitics cannot be governed by circumpositions; compare the unacceptable 9.163 with the acceptable 9.164 (and note the claim in Babrakzai 1999: 34 that prepositions also may not take oblique pronominal clitic objects; we have not found a counterexample to this claim in any dialect). The postpositional component of a circumposition will cooccur with the directive pronoun.

(9.163) *زه له ورسره باغ ته ولاړم .

za *lə* *wər sərə* *bāy-Ø* *ta walāṛ-əm*
1SG.STR.DIR **COMIT...** 3 ...**COMIT** park-M.OBL to go.AOR.PST-1SG

‘I went to the park with them.’

(9.164) زه ورسره باغ ته ولاړم .

za *wər sərə* *bāy-Ø* *ta walāṛ-əm*
1SG.STR.DIR 3 **COMIT** garden-M.OBL to go.AOR.PST-1SG

‘I went to the park with them.’

Melissa Fox and Anne Boyle David

10 Other Lexical Elements

This chapter provides an overview of lexical categories not treated elsewhere in this grammar.

10.1 Particles

We have classified as particles any lexically free item that does not host inflection and that does not function as the argument or complement of a verb or adposition. This second criterion rules out some elements called “particles” in other works, notably the various pronoun forms. Some particles are formally clitics.

10.1.1 The existential particle شته /šta/

The particle شته /šta/ marks existential clauses in Pashto (including Waziri: Lorimer 1902: 32). The negative form of شته /šta/ is نشته /nə šta/. Though derived from an archaic third person singular form of the verb *to be* in Pashto, شته /šta/ is no longer inflected. Another example of this construction is found in example 10.1. In example 10.3 the particle is found at the end of the clause with a relative clause following it.

(10.1) د احمد سره کمپوټر نشته .

də *ahmad-Ø* *səra* *kampyuṭər-Ø* *nə* *šta*
COMIT... Ahmad-M.OBL ...COMIT computer-M.DIR NEG EXT

‘Ahmad doesn't have a computer.’^(sw)

(10.2) د جنگ له امله په افغانستان کې امنیت نشته .

də *jang-Ø* *lə* *amal-a* *pə* *afyānistān-Ø* *ke*
of war-M.OBL from cause-M.ABL in... Afghanistan-M.OBL ...in

amniat-Ø *ná* *šta*
security-M.DIR NEG EXT

‘**There is** no security in Afghanistan because of the war.’

(10.3) هم داسی عناصر شته چی نه غواری حقیقت څرگند شی .

ham dāse anāsir-∅ šta če ná
 also such elements-PL.M.DIR **EXT** COMP NEG
∅-yiwār-i haqiqat-∅ tsargánd-∅
 CONT-want.PRS-PRS.3[PL.M] reality-M.DIR revealed-M.DIR
š-i
 become.AOR.PRS-PRS.3[SG.M]

‘There are also those parties who don’t want the truth the come to light.’

In the Northern and Middle dialects, the existential particle may exist in construction with the copula, exhibiting third person masculine singular agreement.

(10.4) ظالمان شته دي دا منم .

zālām-ān šta day dā
 abuser-PL.M.ANIM.DIR **EXT** **be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M** this.DIR
∅-man-ām
 CONT-accept-1SG

‘There are bad guys around, I get that.’

The existential particle will often be used over the phone to ask or tell someone if a person is at home (Tegey & Robson, 1996).

(10.5) زلمی شته؟

zalm-ay šta
 Zalmay-M.DIR **EXT**
‘Is Zalmay there?’

(10.6) نه، هغه نه شته .

ná hayá ná šta
NEG 3SG.STR.DIR NEG EXT

‘No, he **is not** here.’

In clauses containing the phrase *نشته* /*nō šta*/, a concordant negative particle may but need not appear within the clause in scope; contrast 10.7, which contains a concordant negative, with 10.8, which does not:

(10.7) هېڅ داسې سازمان او يا مرجع نشته چې له امريکا ورته شکايت وشي .

hets dāse sāzmān-Ø aw yā marja-Ø nā šta
none such organization-M.DIR and or authority-F.DIR **NEG** EXT
če lə amrikā-Ø wər-ta šikāyat-Ø
 COMP from America-F.OBL 3-to complaint-M.DIR
wā-š-i
 AOR-become.CONT.PRS-PRS.3[SG.M]

‘There’s no organization that one may complain to about America.’

(10.8) د فنډونو دادعا لپاره کوم دريم فريق نشته .

də fanḍ-uno də idiā-Ø lə pār-a kum-Ø
 of fund-PL.M.OBL of claim-F.OBL from sake-M.ABL which-M.DIR
dreyəm-Ø fariq-Ø nā šta
 third-M.DIR party-M.DIR **NEG** EXT

‘There’s no third party claiming the money.’¹

10.1.2 Modal particles

In the Indo-European style, Pashto sometimes fulfills modal functions by means of uninflected sentence-level modifiers. The clause within the scope of the particle may appear as a main clause or as a finite subordinate clause, though given the optionality of the complementizer *چه* /čə/ under some conditions, it is difficult to discern a difference between these—contrast 10.22 with 10.23.

10.1.2.1 The modal clitic به /bə/

As noted in the Verbs chapter (Section 8.5.2.2), the modal clitic به /bə/ often appears in constructions with irrealis semantics. It is used to convey future time reference, speculation, or doubt when it occurs with a present aorist verb and can also express the future with present continuous forms (see Section 8.5.2.1.2) if the verb refers to an event that is to be repeated or ongoing. With a past continuous verb form, however, به /bə/ conveys habitual, previous action, as in 10.15. We try to capture its apparent polysemy by glossing this modal clitic as *WOULD*, since its irrealis and past habitual uses parallel two of the uses of English *would*, as in *That would be Mary arriving at the front door* and *Every day last summer the girls would play in the park*.

¹ Standardized version of 10.8: د فنډونو د اعدا لپاره کوم دريم فريق نه شته .

As a second-position clitic (Section 11.2.3.2), به /bə/ must appear after the first stressed element of the clause. If other clitics are present, these follow a particular order discussed in Section 11.3.5.

The following sentences illustrate the uses of به /bə/. (10.14 is taken from Pate 2012: 26):

(10.9) خانگري مهکمه به ټاکنيزې قضیې وڅیړي .

ḏāngr-e mahkma-Ø bə ټākəniz-e qazy-e
 special-F.DIR court-F.DIR **WOULD** selected-PL.F.DIR case-PL.F.DIR
wá-tsej-i
AOR-investigate-PRS.3[SG.F]

'A special court **will investigate** these cases.'²

(10.10) ددی تړون له مخې به نوموړي شرکت ددی پروژې سروی ترسره کړي .

də de tərūn-Ø lə məx-e bə
 of this.OBL contract-M.OBL from direction-F.OBL **WOULD**
numwar-ay šarkat-Ø də de prož-e
 aforementioned-M.DIR company-M.DIR of this.OBL project-F.OBL
sarw-e tər sar-á kṛ-i
 survey-F.DIR **up.to head-M.ABL do.AOR-PRS.3[SG.M]**

'According to the contract, the aforementioned company **will complete** a survey of this project.'³

(10.11) که زه عیسائی شم، نو زما کورنی به ما پرېږدي .

ka zə isayí š-əm no zmā
 if 1SG.STR.DIR Christian become.AOR.PRS-1SG then 1SG.STR.POSS
korən-əy bə mā prégd-i
 family-F.DIR **WOULD** 1SG.STR.OBL **AOR\abandon.PRS-PRS.3[SG.F]**

'If I become a Christian, then my family **will abandon** me.'⁴

2 Standardized version of 10.9: خانگري مهکمه به ټاکنيزې قضیې وڅیړي .

3 Standardized version of 10.10: ددی تړون له مخې به نوموړی شرکت ددی پروژې سروی ترسره کړي .

4 Standardized version of 10.11: که زه عیسائي شم، نو زما کورنی به ما پرېږدي .

(10.12) مونږ به له بهره مرسته وغواړو .

mung bə lə bahar-a mārasta-Ø
1PL.STR.DIR **WOULD** from outside-M.ABL help-F.DIR

wā-γwār-u
AOR-want.PRS-1PL

‘We’ll ask for help from the outside [i.e. foreign aid].’

(10.13) دا لوی مار به ښامار سي .

dā loy-Ø mār-Ø bə xāmār-Ø
this.DIR large-M.DIR snake-M.DIR **WOULD** dragon-M.DIR

š-i
become.AOR.PRS-PRS.3[SG.M]

‘This big snake will turn into a dragon.’

(10.14) *dāwud bə rāyāl-ei wi*
Davud **WOULD** come.PTCP-3MSG **be.AOR.PRS.3[PL.M]**

‘Davud might have come.’

‘Davud should have come [but I’m not sure].’

(10.15) کله چې به طالبانو د ښځو په وړاندې کوم ګام پورته کاوه، نو ټولې نړۍ به نارې وهلې .

kala če bə tālibān-o də xədz-o pə
when COMP **WOULD** Taliban-PL.M.OBL of woman-PL.F.OBL on
wṛānde kum-Ø gām-Ø porta kāw-ə no
before which-M.DIR step-M.DIR above do.CONT-PST.3SG.M then

tol-e nər-əy bə nār-e
all-F.OBL world-F.OBL **WOULD** shout-PL.F.DIR
Ø-wah-əl-e
CONT-beat-PST-PST.3PL.F

‘Whenever the Taliban would take steps against women, the entire world would cry out.’

See also Section 8.5.3.1 and Section 8.5.4.3 for more examples of the uses of *bə* /bə/.

10.1.2.2 The modal particles دې /de/ and باید /bāyad/

The particle دې /de/ (دي /di/ in the Western dialects)⁵ functions most frequently as a deontic modal, in construction with the present aorist form of the verb:

(10.16) هغه دي ولاړ شي!

hayá di wlār-Ø š-i
3SG.STR.DIR NEC gone-M.DIR become.AOR.PRS-PRS.3[SG.M]
'He **should** go!' ^(sw)

(10.17) نارینه دي په لاندې کوټو کې کښېني او ښځې دي په پورته کوټو کې.

nārīna di pə lānde koṭ-u ke kṣén-i
men NEC in... below room-PL.OBL ...in AOR\sit.PRS-PRS.3[PL.M]
aw ṣəḏ-e di pə porta koṭ-u ke
and woman-PL.DIR NEC in... above room-PL.OBL ...in
'Let the men sit in the downstairs rooms and the women in the upstairs rooms.' ^(w)

(10.18) نور دې له خدايه او له رسوله وشرميږي.

nor-Ø de lə xudāy-a aw lə rasul-a
other-PL.M.DIR NEC from God-M.ABL and from Prophet-M.ABL
wá-šarm-eg-i
AOR-shame-PRS-PRS.3[PL.M]

'The others **should be ashamed** in front of God and the Prophet Mohammed.'

(10.19) الجزيره تلويزيون دې د بحرين په اړه خپرونه سانسور کړي.

aljazeera-Ø televīsyon-Ø de də bahrayn-Ø pə aṛa-Ø
Al-Jazeera-M.DIR television NEC of Bahrain-M.OBL on topic-F.DIR
xabar-una sānsór-Ø kṛ-i
news-PL.M.DIR **censored-PL.M.DIR do.AOR-PRS.3[SG.M]**

'The Al-Jazeera network **should censor** reports on Bahrain.'

(10.20) جلانه! ښه مزې دې وکړې.

jālān-a xə mǝz-ay de wá-kṛ-e
Jalan-M.VOC good **haste-M.DIR NEC AOR-do.AOR-2SG**
'Hey Jalan, **you'd better hustle!**'

⁵ According to Babrakzai, دې /de/ functions as an enclitic.

The particle باید /bāyad/ is also found in construction with the present aorist form of the verb.

(10.21) ويې ويل : زه بايد ځان مړ کړم!

wá ye way-əl zə bāyad dzān-Ø
 AOR 3.WK tell.PST-PST.3PL.M 1SG.STR.DIR **NEC** self-M.DIR
mār-Ø kṛ-am
 killed-M.DIR do.AOR-1SG

‘He said: I **should** just **kill** myself!’

10.1.2.3 The modal particle /šāyi/ ‘may; must’

This particle is positioned sentence-initially and may appear in construction with the complementizer چه /čə/.

(10.22) ښايي زه دى په واشنگټن کې ووينم .

šāyi za day pə wāšəngtən ke wā-win-am
 must 1SG be.3SG.M in... Washington ...in AOR-meet.PRS-1SG
 ‘I **should** meet him in Washington.’^(sw)

(10.23) ښايي چه ورور مي سبا ته کورته راشي .

šāyi čə wror mi sabā ta
 maybe COMP brother.SG.M.DIR 1SG.WK tomorrow to
kor ta rāš-i
 house.SG.M.OBL to come-PRS.3

‘It is **possible** that my brother will come home tomorrow.’^(sw)

10.1.2.4 The optative particle /kāške/ کاشکې

Pashto uses the particle کاشکې /kāške/ ‘if only’—also کاشکې /kāški/, کشکې /kaške/, کشکې /kaški/—to introduce clauses expressing a wish or desire that something would happen or would have happened. It can be used one of two ways:

- with an optative verb, to express a counterfactual wish
- with a present aorist verb, to express a polite request

The verb in a sentence with counterfactual meaning must appear with optative mood marking (see Section 8.3.7 and Section 8.3.8 for the formation of these verbs):

(10.24) کشکي وختي راغلی وای!

kaški waxti rāyl-əy wāy
if.only early come.AOR.PST-PTCP.M.DIR be.CONT.PST.OPT

'I wish you had come earlier! [lit. If only you had come earlier!]' ^(sw)

In the second use, a polite request, the speaker is stating a hope that the event will take place. The verb in a sentence with this meaning must appear with present aorist marking, which expresses an irrealis event (see Section 8.3.2 for the formation of these verbs):

(10.25) کشکي ته زما کور ته راسې!

kaški tə zmā kor-Ø tə rās-e
if.only 2SG.STR.DIR 1SG.STR.POSS house-M.OBL to come.AOR.PRS-2SG

'Please come to my house! [lit. If only you would come to my house!]'

It is also possible to use the form که /kə/ 'if' plus the optative to achieve this counterfactual effect; see 11.103 for an example of this use.

10.1.3 Affirmation particles

In Pashto, affirmation questions and statements contain an affirmation particle. The most common of these particles is که نه /kə na/, a phrase that translates literally as 'or not.' It appears to be found more frequently in affirmation questions than in affirmation statements. In speech, intonation differentiates the question use from the affirmation use.

(10.26) پوه شوي که نه؟

póh-Ø šw-e kə na
learned-M.DIR become.AOR.PST-2SG or not

'You understood, **didn't you?**' ^(sw)

(10.27) هو که نه.

wó kə na
yes or not

'Yes, **of course.**' ^(sw)

راودرپره که نه؟ زه نور په تاپسي نشم تللی . (10.28)

rā-wā-dar-eg-a **ka nā** *zə* *nor pə*
 1DVC-AOR-stand-PRS-IMP.SG **or not** 1SG.STR.DIR more after...
tā *pse* *nā* *š-əm* *Ø-təl-əl-ay*
 2SG.STR.OBL ...after NEG become.AOR.PRS-1SG CONT-go.PST-PST-OPT
 ‘Stop, OK? [because] I can’t follow you any longer.’⁶

10.1.4 The emphatic clitic /xo/ خو

The particle /xo/ خو⁷ is a second-position clitic and expresses emphasis.

دا خو زما ورور دی، د بل سړي ورور نه! (10.29)

dā **xo** *zmā* *wror-Ø* *day* *də*
 this.DIR **EMPH** 1SG.STR.POSS brother-M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M of
bel-Ø *saɾ-i* *wror-Ø* *nā*
 other-M.DIR man-M.OBL brother-M.DIR NEG
 ‘He is in fact my brother, not some other man’s brother!’

10.1.5 Vocative particles

A vocative particle may introduce a noun in the vocative case form (see Section 5.1.3.4). In Pashto, the vocative particles are called ندا ادات /*də nədā adāt*/ ‘call particles’. Examples of vocatives in Pashto are:

- ای سړیه! /*ē saɾaya*/ ‘Hey, man!’
- آ سړیه! /*ā saɾaya*/ ‘Hey, man!’
- ای بنځو! /*ay ſeɯu*/ ‘Hello there, women!’
- ...وا /*wā ...*/
- ...او /*o ...*/

⁶ Standardized version of 10.28: راودرپره که نه! زه نور په تاسې نه شم تللی .

⁷ The emphatic /xo/ خو is considered to be different from the conjunction /xo/ ‘but’.

10.1.6 Interjections

Below are some common interjections:

- To express grief or pain (*Ouch!, Oh!*): آخ /ax/, های های /hāy hāy/, وای وای /wāy wāy/, وا /wā/, اوف /of/, واخ /wāx/, آه /āh/
- To express admiration or praise (*Bravo!*): آفرین /āfarin/, آپرین /āprin/, شاباس /šābāš/, اشکی /aški/
- To express surprise (*Wow!, Really?!*): واوا /wā wā/, رینتیا /rixyā/
- To express regret (*For shame!*): افسوس /apsōs/, افسوس /afsos/, ارمان /armān/ *What a pity!*, توبه /toba/
- For corroboration or agreement (*Yes!, All right!*): هو /ho/, بلې /bale/, بلې هو /bale hō/ *Yes!*, خیر /xayr/
- For contradiction or disagreement (*No!*): نه /na/, نه نه /na na/; یه /ya/, یه یه /ya ya/ (Penzl, 1955: 44)
- To threaten or caution (*Whoa!*): وبن /uʃ/

A number of interjective particles are used, usually in fully-reduplicated form, for calling or urging various domesticated animals. They include:

- To call a dog: کچ کچ /kuč kuč/
- To shoo a dog: چغه چغه /čiḡa čiḡa/
- To make a camel kneel: ابخ ابخ /ex ex/
- To call a cat: پش پش /piš piš/
- To shoo a cat: پشتې پشتې /pište pište/
- To urge on a donkey: اشه اشه /aša aša/
- To call a donkey: کورو کورو /kuru kuru/
- To urge on a horse: چ چ /č č/
- To call sheep: درهی /drhey/
- To urge on oxen: او او /aw aw/

Another set of interjections is onomatopoeic:

- Knocking: تَک تَک /tek tek/
- Whispering: پَس پَس /pes pes/
- Water: شَرَب شَرَب /šrap šrap/
- Gunfire: دَز دَز /dez dez/

There is also a set of interjections borrowed directly from Arabic for religious reasons and used in certain cultural contexts.

- Said after praising someone to ward off the evil eye: مَا شَاءَ اللَّهُ /mašallāh/ ‘what God willed’
- Said in relief or in thanks: الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ /alhamdulillāh/ ‘praise to God’
- Said when beginning something such as a speech or starting a journey: بِسْمِ اللَّهِ /bismillāh/ ‘in the name of God’
- Said when talking about an action to be completed in the future: إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ /inšallāh/ ‘if God wills’
- Said after swearing, after saying or doing something inappropriate, or when being modest: اسْتَغْفِرُ اللَّهَ /astayfarallāh/ ‘I ask God for forgiveness’

10.2 Adverbs

For the purposes of this grammar, we have classified adverbs in terms of both lexical and functional properties. Functionally, adverbs comprise modifiers of adjectives, verbs or verb phrases, and sentences; we have excluded “style disjuncts”—terms that have scope over the entire proposition or speech act; these are classified in this work as particles (Section 10.1). As is often the case, it is less straightforward to find lexical properties that differentiate adverbs from other word classes; we have not found mentioned in the literature or from our own research any derivational morphology that results in lexical adverbs.

Our criteria for eliminating an item from the class of adverbs are these:

- If a word has an adjectival function, we have classified it as an adjective.
- If a word is uninflected (and therefore not a verb) but governs an object, we have classed it as an adposition.

Both of these points deserve further clarification:

- Two circumstances exist in which adjectives function adverbially: when they modify other adjectives, and when they modify verbs. We treat both circumstances as adjectival modification, as discussed in Section 10.2.7. Unlike adjectives functioning adverbially, the adverbs discussed in the current section are never inflected. However, since some classes of adjectives in Pashto do not undergo inflection, it may not be possible to tell whether an adjective is being used adjectivally or adverbially without looking at the overall syntax and interpretation of the sentence.
- Because adpositional phrases are substantially “adverbial” in their functions, and because of the numerous conditions under which adpositions can appear without an overt object, there is a fair amount of uncertainty as to whether a particular item has a distinct function as an adverb. The position that we take here is that an item is an adverb if, acting alone, it modifies one of the constituents listed above.

Adverbs can generally be divided into the traditional semantic classes of time, place, manner, and degree. They can appear in any position in the clause that precedes the verb.

In Pashto as in many other languages, some items are multifunctional: adverbs of degree may also be nominal quantifiers (e.g. لږ /ləg/ ‘a little’); adverbs of place or time may also take complements and under those conditions are classified as adpositions (e.g. وروسته /wrusta/ ‘after, later’). In this last case, many of the terms here listed as adverbs but not listed as adpositions may in fact (or in addition) be adpositions.

In addition, some adverbs refer anaphorically and may therefore be classified as pro-forms (e.g. هم /ham/ ‘thus’; see also Septfonds, section 4.2.2 on خپل /xpəl/ ‘own’ as an adverb with reflexive reference); however, since our chapter on pro-forms has been confined to pronouns, we have placed the adverbial pro-forms in this section. Similarly, some adverbs listed here are exophoric in their reference and can therefore be classified as demonstratives (e.g. هلته /həltə/ ‘there’).

10.2.1 Adverbs of time

Adverbs of time include both adverbs with time reference and quantifier-like items. Table 10.1 contains a list of some common Pashto adverbs of time; beginning with 10.30, find examples of their use in sentences.

(10.30) تل دي وي افغانستان!

<i>təl</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>wi</i>	<i>afyānistān-∅</i>
always	NEC	be.AOR.PRS.3[SG.M]	Afghanistan-M.DIR

‘May it **always** be Afghanistan!’

Adverb		Gloss
تل	təl	'always'
همیشه	hameša	'any time'
هر کله	har kala	'whenever' (see Section 7.7)
هیچ کله (نه)	hits kala (na)	'never'
کله	kala	'sometimes'
اوس	os	'now'
اکنون	aknun	
الحال	ilhāl	
نن	nən	'today'
پرون	parun	'yesterday'
سیا	sabā	'tomorrow'
وختی	waxti	'early'
وروسته	wrusta	'after' (11.89; see also Section 9.5.2.2)
مخکښې	məxkše	'before'
لا	lā	'yet'
پس	pas	'later, then'

Table 10.1: Some adverbs of time

(10.31) زه همیشه کار کوم.

za **hamiša** *kār-∅* *kaw-əm*
 1SG.STR.DIR **always** work-M.DIR do.CONT-1SG
 ‘I **always** work.’

(10.32) تا لا ډوډۍ نه ده خوړلې؟

tā **lā** *ḍoḍ-əy* *ná* *da*
 2SG.STR.OBL **yet** food-F.DIR NEG be.CONT.PRS.3SG.F
 ∅-*xwoṛ-əl-e*
 CONT-eat.PST-PST-PTCP.F.DIR
 ‘Haven’t you eaten **yet**?’

10.2.2 Adverbs of place

Table 10.2 contains a list of some common Pashto adverbs of place; sentences beginning with 10.33 provide examples of their use in sentences. Some items mentioned here as adverbs also function as adpositions.

(10.33) هلته کښېنه!

halta *kṣén-a*
there AOR\sit.PRS-IMP.SG
 ‘Sit **there**!’

(10.34) دلته راشه!

dalta *rāš-a*
here come.AOR.PRS-IMP.SG
 ‘Come **here**!’

(10.35) کتاب مې پورته پروت دئ.

kitab-∅ *me* **porta** *prot-∅* *dəy*
 book-M.DIR 1SG.WK **above** lying-M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M
 ‘My book is lying **on top**.’^(w)

8 Notice that دلته /dalta/ and هلته /halta/ follow the same d/h alternation for proximal vs. distal reference as the demonstrative pronouns (Section 7.5).

9 Also: باهر /bāhar/

Adverb		Gloss
دلته	dalta	'here'
دلې	dale	
	dele, dolata ^{WAZ}	
هلته	halta ⁸	'there'
هلې	hale	
پورته	porta	'above, upon'
پاسه	pāsa	
ننه(د)	(də)nəna	'inside'
دباندي	dabāndi	'outside'
بهر	bahar ⁹	
باندي	bānde	'on top'
لاندي	lānde	'down, below'
نژدې	nəžde	'near'
پوري	pori	'around'
لرې	lare	'far (away)'
کښته	kṣətə	'below, underneath'
هیچرې	hičare	'nowhere'
هیچرته	hičarta	

Table 10.2: Some adverbs of place

(10.36) دننه ولاړ شئ، دباندي باران دئ.

dənəna walār-Ø səy dəbānde bārān-Ø
inside gone-M.DIR become.AOR.PRS-IMP.SG **outside** rain-M.DIR
dəy
 be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M
 ‘Go **inside!** It is raining **outside.**’^(w)

10.2.3 Adverbs of manner

Table 10.3 contains a list of some common Pashto adverbs of manner; in examples 10.38 and following, find examples of their use in sentences.

The preposition په /pə/ can be used with an adjective object, to render an adverbial phrase (10.37). This stands next to the more usual construction of په /pə/ with a noun object, also used to convey manner, as discussed in Section 9.3.4.2).

(10.37) ډاکټر کبير ستوری که په فزیکي لحاظ د دی نیمگری ژوند له مداره واوښت او له دی نړۍ څخه ئې کډه وکړله، مگر د پښتو د ادب په هسک کې لا ددې ځلانده ستوری رڼا زمونږ پر سر ده.

ḍāktar-Ø kabir-Ø stori-Ø ka pə fiziki ləhāz-Ø
 doctor-M.DIR Kabir-M.DIR Stori-M.DIR if **INSTR physical** side-M.OBL
də de nimgər-i žwand-Ø lə madār-a
 of this.OBL insufficient-M.OBL life-M.OBL from orbit-M.ABL
w-āwuxt-Ø aw lə de nar-əy tsəxə
 AOR-cross.over.PST-PST.3SG.M and from... this.OBL world-F.OBL ...from
ye kaḍa-Ø wā-kər-l-a magar də
 3.WK movement-F.DIR AOR-do.AOR-PST-PST.3SG.F but of
paxto-Ø də adab-Ø pə hask-Ø ke lā də
 pashto-M.OBL of literature-M.OBL in.... height-M ...in still of
de tsəlānd-ə stur-i raṇā-Ø zmung pər
 this.OBL shining-M.OBL star-M.OBL light-F.DIR 1PL.STR.POSS on
sar-Ø da
 head-M be.CONT.PRS.3SG.F

‘Even though Dr. Kabir Stori has **physically** turned away from movements of his meager life and left this world, in the heights of Pashto literature, the light of his shining star is still above our heads.’¹⁰

Adverb		Gloss
ژر	žer	'quickly'
په لغت	pa layat	
جلته	jalta	
عاجل	ājil	
ورو	wro	'slowly'
آهسته	āhista	
نا خاپه	nā-tsāpa	'suddenly'
بې خافه	be-tsāfa	
ناگه	nā-gāh	
دا هسي ¹¹	dā hasi	'thus'
دا رنگ	dā rang	'in this manner'
سره	sāra	'together (with)'
بهم	baham	
زبله ¹²	zablah	
هم	ham	'also, too'
بې جا	be-jā	'improperly'

Table 10.3: Some adverbs of manner

10.2.3.1 The adverb سره /səra/

Across Pashto varieties, سره /səra/ (otherwise an adposition) can appear without an overt object. In this usage, it has a number of potential meanings, generally determined through context.

- سره /səra/ may indicate a reciprocal reading of the predicate, subject to predictable semantic conditions:

(10.41) په دوهم پړاو کې به سره سيالي وکړي .

pə dohəm-Ø paṛāw-Ø ke bə sərə siyāl-i
 in... second-M stage-M ...in WOULD **together** competition-SG.F.DIR
wə-kṛ-i
 AOR-do.AOR-PRS.3[PL.M]

‘They will compete with [each other] in the second round.’

(10.42) په هغو لارو چارو مو بحث سره وکړ .

pə hayo lār-o čar-o mo bahs-Ø
 in... that.OBL road-PL.F.OBL affair-PLF.OBL 1PL.WK discussion-M.DIR
sərə *kār-ay* *day*
together do.AOR.PST-PTCP.M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M

‘We discussed those efforts [among ourselves].’

Often, the verb that allows this usage of سره /səra/ is a denominal verb, and when it is, the adverb can appear either preceding the substantive word or may occur between the substantive and the verbalizer, as shown in 10.41 and 10.43.

- A second likely interpretation involves the null object of سره /səra/ having anaphoric reference:

(10.43) چي کله سره مخامخ شي

če kala sərə məxāmāx-Ø š-i
 COMP when **COMIT** facing-[PL.M.DIR] become.AOR.PRS-1PL

‘whenever we come face to face with [them]’

Note too that the omitted, understood object need not be animate; in that instance, a translation into English might include the particle *along*.

10.2.4 Adverbs of degree

Often adverbs of degree will be used to modify adjectives or verbs to denote intensity or emphasis, and they strongly tend to precede the modified element. Table 10.4 contains a list of some common Pashto adverbs of degree; their use in sentences can be seen in examples beginning with 10.44.

Adverb		Gloss
لږ	ləg	'a little'
ډېر	ɖer	'very'
زښت	zəxt	
خورا	xwarā	
تنها	tan(h)ā	'only'
صرف ¹³	serf	
مازې	māze	
بيښي	bixi	'completely'
کورټ	kwərɕ	
چټ ¹⁴	čəɕ	
شخو	tsaxo	'slightly'

Table 10.4: Some adverbs of degree

¹³ Also: سرپ /sirp/, as a corruption of the Persian صرف /sirf/ (Raverty, 1867)

¹⁴ Also: چټ پټ /čəɕ paɕ/ (Raverty, 1867)

(10.44) پروڼ مې لږ وځغستل .

parun me ləz wā-ɔyast-əl
 yesterday 1SG.WK **little** AOR-run-PST.3PL.M
 ‘I ran **a little** yesterday.’

(10.45) د مرميو بڼغ ماشوم خورا وپېراوه .

də maram-io zay-∅ māšum-∅ xwarā
 of bullet-PL.F.OBL voice-M.OBL child-M.DIR **very**
wā-berāw-ə
 AOR-scare-PST.3SG.M
 ‘The gunfire scared the child **immensely**.’

(10.46) خپل ننی کار مې چټ پټ خلاص کړ .

xpəl-∅ nan-ay kār-∅ me čaṭ paṭ
 own-M.DIR daily-M.DIR work-M.DIR 1SG.WK **complete ECHO**
xlās-∅ kṛ-∅
 finished-M.DIR do.AOR-PST.3SG.M
 ‘I **completely** finished my work for today.’

10.2.5 Adverbs borrowed from Arabic

A number of adverbs in Pashto have been borrowed from Arabic and have retained their Arabic morphology. These adverbs are recognizable because they end in the Arabic accusative case marker ^ا /-an/. Borrowings from Arabic include all categories of adverbs.¹⁵

¹⁵ Similarly, a number of adverbs have also been borrowed from Persian and Urdu (Shafeev, 1964: 50), though since these borrowings do not have a peculiar morphology, they are listed among the Pashto adverbs.

Adverb		Gloss
تقريباً	taqribán	'approximately'
رسماً	rasmán	'officially'
دفعتاً	dafatán	'suddenly'
فوراً	fawrán	'immediately'
كاملاً	kamilán	'completely'

Table 10.5: Arabic adverbs in Pashto

(10.47) كله چې ماشومانو خپل پلار وليد نو دفعتاً په خندا شول .

kāla *čə* *māšum-āno* *xpəl-∅* *plār-∅*
 when COMP child-PL.M.ANIM.OBL own-M.DIR father-M.DIR
wá-lid-∅ *no* **dafatan** *pə* *xandā-∅*
 AOR-see.PST-PST.3SG.M that **suddenly** INSTR laugh-F.DIR
šw-əl
 become.AOR.PST-PST.3PL.M

'The children **suddenly** started laughing when they saw their father.'

10.2.6 Adverbial interrogatives

Other interrogative words fill the positions of adverbials. They words are summarized in Table 10.6 and exemplified beginning with 10.50. In many cases there is a shorter form as well as a longer (sometimes two word) form starting with *شه* /tsə/, /sə/ 'what'. See 10.48 and 10.49 for examples with *ولي* /wáli/ 'why', suggesting from the variable position of the weak pronoun clitic that this element may be outside the clause.

(10.48) ولي مچوي مي؟

wáli *mač-aw-í* *me*
why kiss-do.CONT-PRS.3[SG.M] 1SG.WK

'Why is he kissing me?' (NW)

GP	M	Translation
ولي wāli	wāle	'why?'
کله kəla	(č)ə kəla	'when?'
خه وخت tsə wəxt, sə wəxt	tsə wəxt, sə wəxt	'when (what time)?'
چېري čeri, čere چېرې čare	čeri, čere	'where?'
چېرته čerta	čerta	'where?'
څنگه tsanga, sanga	tsanga, sanga	'how?'
څرنگه tsəraŋga, səraŋga	tsəraŋga, səraŋga	'how (what manner)?'

Table 10.6: Some other interrogative words

(10.49) ولي مې مچوي؟

wāli me mač-aw-í
 why 1SG.WK kiss-do.CONT-PRS.3[SG.M]
 'Why is he kissing me?'^(NW)

(10.50) کله راغلي؟

kəla rāyl-e
 when come.AOR.PST-2SG
 'When did you come?'^(NW)

(10.51) خه وخت راغلي؟

sə wəxt-Ø rāyl-e
 what time-M.DIR come.AOR.PST-2SG
 'When did you come?'^(NW)

(10.52) چہري خئي؟

čere z-əy
where go.CONT.PRS-2PL
 ‘Where are you going?’^(NW)

(10.53) چہرته خئي؟

čerta z-əy
where go.CONT.PRS-2PL
 ‘Where are you going?’^(NW)

(10.54) نجار خنگه ميز جوړوی؟

najār-Ø **sanga** *mez-Ø* *juṛ-aw-ī*
 carpenter-M.DIR **how** table-M.DIR built-do.CONT-PRS.3[SG.M]
 ‘How is the carpenter making the table?’^(NW)

(10.55) نجار خرنگه ميز جوړوی؟

najār-Ø **saranga** *mez-Ø* *juṛ-aw-ī*
 carpenter-M.DIR **how** table-M.DIR built-do.CONT-PRS.3[SG.M]
 ‘How is the carpenter making the table?’^(NW)

As with interrogative pronouns, these interrogatives also may be used with indefinite meanings, as in Example 10.56. The reduplication of the question word gives the sense that the eating events are distributed over time. See Section 10.3 for more on reduplication.

(10.56) کله کله زه په رستوران کي خورم.

kəla kəla zə pə *restorān-Ø* ki Ø-xwar-ām
when when 1SG.STR.DIR in... restaurant-M ...in CONT-eat.PRS-1SG
 ‘Sometimes I eat in restaurants.’^(SW)

(10.57) هر کله راشئ.

har kala rāš-əy
every when come.AOR.PRS-IMP.PL

‘You are **always** welcome [lit. Come anytime!].’

Also like interrogative pronouns, these interrogatives, when being used indefinitely, can occur with هر /har/ /ar/ ‘every’, as in هر کله /har kəla/ ‘whenever; anytime’ and هر چہري /har čere/ ‘wherever; everywhere’.

Negative statements with هېڅ /hets/, /hes/ ‘any’ also occur with other interrogatives/indefinites, as shown in 10.58.

(10.58) زه هېڅ چېرې ولاړ نه شوم.

zə *hes čere* *wlár-Ø* *ná šw-əm*
1SG.STR.DIR **none where** gone-M.DIR NEG become.AOR.PST-1SG

‘I didn’t go **anywhere**.’^(NW)

(10.59) هېڅ کله غیبت مه کوه!

hits *kala* *yeybat-Ø* *má kaw-a*
never when backbiting-M.DIR NEG do.CONT-IMP.SG

‘**Never** backbite!’

10.2.7 Adjectives as adverbs

Many adjectives can also be used as verbal or sentential modifiers. According to Tegey & Robson (1996: 87), when playing this adverbial role they show agreement with the direct object if there is one, and with the subject if not. This unusual type of concord has been observed in the Caucasian language Avar, as well as certain western Indo-Aryan languages—for example, Bhitrauti, Gujarati, Punjabi, and Kashmiri (Hook & Chauhan 1988b, Hook & Joshi 1991, Hook & Koul 2008). Notably, the Pashto-speaking region is situated between the regions in which Avar is spoken (western Dagestan, northwest Azerbaijan, and Kazakhstan) and those of the western Indo-Aryan languages, and is, in fact, contiguous with Punjabi areas—a fact which suggests that adverbial concord is an areal feature. While it has been briefly described elsewhere, concord in Pashto adverbs is a subject ripe for further linguistic investigation.

Some adjectives that frequently modify verbs are: *ښه* /xə/ ‘good’ (adjective), ‘well’ (adverb); *ډېر* /dɛr/ ‘many’ (adjective), ‘very’ (adverb); *ښایسته* /xāyistá/ ‘pretty’ (adjective), ‘very’ (adverb); *زیات* /zyāt/ ‘heavy’ (adjective), ‘many’ (adverb). The following examples use the adjectives *پوست* /post/ ‘soft’ and *سخت* /səxt/ ‘hard’:

(10.60) دا اوښ په لاره پوست ځي.

dā *ux-Ø* *pə lāra-Ø* *post-Ø*
this.DIR camel-M.DIR on road-F.DIR **soft-M.DIR**

ɬ-i
go.CONT.PRS-PRS.3[SG.M]

‘This camel rides very **comfortably** [lit. goes soft].’^(NW)

(10.61) دا اوښه په لاره پسته ځي .

dā uxa-∅ pə lāra-∅ past-a
this.DIR camel-F.DIR on road-F.DIR **soft-F.DIR**

ɖ-i
go.CONT.PRS-PRS.3[SG.F]

‘This she-camel rides very **comfortably** [lit. goes soft].’^(NW)

(10.62) دا اوښان په لاره پاسته ځي .

dā ux-ān pə lāra-∅ pāst-ə
this.DIR camel-PL.M.DIR on road-F.DIR **soft-PL.M.DIR**

ɖ-i
go.CONT.PRS-PRS.3[PL.M]

‘These camels ride very **comfortably** [lit. go soft].’^(NW)

(10.63) ما دغه اوښ سخت تېلې کړ .

mā dāya ux-∅ səxt-∅ ɬelé
1SG.STR.OBL this.DIR camel-M.DIR **hard-M.DIR** pushed

kɾ-ə
do.AOR-PST.3SG.M

‘I pushed this camel **hard**.’^(NW)

(10.64) ما دغه اوښه سخته تېلې کړله .

mā dāya uxa-∅ səxt-a ɬelé
1SG.STR.OBL this.DIR camel-F.DIR **hard-F.DIR** pushed

kɾ-əl-a
do.AOR-PST-PST.3SG.F

‘I pushed this she-camel **hard**.’^(NW)

10.2.8 Reduplication of adverbs

Degree adverbs may undergo full reduplication to indicate increased intensity of the action.

(10.65) فاطمه زر زر ځي .

fatəma-Ø zər zər ɖ-í

Fatima-F.DIR **quick quick** go.CONT.PRS-PRS.3[SG.F]

'Fatima went very quickly.'^(NW)

10.3 Reduplication

10.3.1 Full (morphological) reduplication

In Pashto, full reduplication is a morphological process with effects dependent on the lexical class of the word reduplicated. Nouns, number names, adjectives, adverbs, and interjections are subject to full reduplication; the functions of reduplication for each of these are found in Section 5.4.2, Section 6.5.3, Section 6.8.4, Section 10.2.8, and Section 10.1.6 respectively.

10.3.2 Partial reduplication: echo words

Partial reduplication (resulting in a *doublet* that consists of a lexeme plus an *echo word*) typically involves the alteration of only the initial sound; the quality of this altered segment is conventionalized for the particular stem. The meanings of these doublet words are similarly conventionalized, though some patterns exist. For instance, if the noun refers to an object, the doublet construction may be a generalized plural, as in examples 10.66 and 10.67. The doublet may convey intensity if the repeated element refers to an action (example 10.69).

Echo words are an areal phenomenon throughout South Asia, where they occur in Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Tibeto-Burman, and Austroasiatic languages. It seems reasonable to assume that their existence in Pashto is due to areal influence. Some attested examples are given here, and Table 10.7 gives a list of some more doublet words and the stem from which they are derived (Pashtoon, 2009).^{16,17}

16 Standardized version of 10.67: د رايې گيري نه وروسته يې د ټگي برگي او رشوت خوري په اړه د تحقیقاتو مسولیت په غاړه درلوده .

17 Standardized version of 10.69: دغو بی هویتو او بی پتو مشرانو زمونږ د مکران هیواد پلازمینه کابل: دومره ویجاړ او دری وړی کړ چه زمونږ تا ریخ یې په دووسو کلنو کی ساری نه لری .

(10.66) گلان ملان دې خوانبیری؟

gul-ān mulān de
flower-PL.M.ANIM.DIR ECHO 2.WK

xwāx-īg-i
 sweet-become.CONT.PRS-PRS.3[PL.M]

‘Do you like **flowers and such things?**’^(NW)

(10.67) د رایې گیرئ نه وروسته یې د ټگئی برگئی او رشوت خورئ په اړه د تحقیقاتو مسوولیت په غاړه درلوده.

də rāy-e gir-i na wrusta ye də
 from... vote-F.OBL collection-F.OBL ...from after 3.WK of

ṭag-i bragi aw rašwat-Ø xoṛ-i pə aṛa-Ø
cheat-M.OBL ECHO and bribe-M.OBL eating-F.OBL INSTR topic-F.DIR

də taḥqiq-āto masuliat-Ø pə yāra-Ø
 of research-PL.M.OBL responsibility-M.DIR INSTR neck-F.DIR

darlód-Ø
 have.AOR.PST-PST.3SG.M

‘He had the responsibility of investigating bribery and **cheating** after the election.’

(10.68) د ملاریا ناروغی او د مخنیوی لاری چاری یی

də malāryā-Ø nāroy-i aw də məxniw-i
 of malaria-F.OBL sickness-F.DIR and of prevention-M.OBL

lār-e čāre ye
path-PL.F.DIR ECHO 3.WK

‘The Disease of Malaria and the **Ways** to Prevent It’

- (10.69) دغه بی هویته او بی پته مشرانو زمونږ د گران هیواد پلازمینه کابل دومره ویجاړاو درې وړی کړ چه زمونږ تا ریخ بی په دووسو کلنوکی ساری نلری .

dayá be huyat-a aw be pat-a
 this.OBL without identity-M.ABL and without honor-M.ABL
məšr-āno zmung də grān-Ø hewād-Ø
 elder-PL.M.ANIM.OBL 1PL.STR.POSS of dear-M.OBL country-M.OBL
plazmena-Ø kābul-Ø dumra wijār-Ø aw
 capital-F.DIR Kabul-M.DIR so.much destroyed-M.DIR and
dār-ay wār-ay *kər-Ø čə zmung*
shredded-M.DIR ECHO do.AOR-PST.3SG.M COMP 1PL.STR.POSS
tārix-Ø pə dw-o saw-o kal-uno
 history-M.DIR in... two-PL.M.OBL hundred-PL.M.OBL year-PL.M.OBL
ke sār-ay ná Ø-lar-i
 ...in example-M.DIR NEG CONT-have-PRS.3[SG.F]

‘These nameless and honorless leaders destroyed Kabul, the capital of our dear country, and **tore it to such pieces** that our history has had no such example in two hundred years.’

- (10.70) هند خو خلی د برېښنا د فابریکو په جوړولو کې خپل ټاکل شوي هدف ته په رسیدو کې شاته پاته سوی دی .

hind-Ø tso dəl-i də brixnā-Ø də
 India-M.DIR some time-PL.M.DIR of electricity-F.OBL of
fābrik-o pə joṛ-aw-əl-o ke xpəl-Ø
 factory-PL.M.OBL in... built-do-INF-PL.M.OBL ...in own-M.OBL
ṭāk-əl šúw-i hadaf-Ø tə pə
 select-INF become.AOR.PST-PCTP.M.OBL goal-M.OBL to in...
ras-éd-o ke šātə pātə
 arrive-become-PL.M.OBL ...in **behind ECHO**
súw-ay day
 become.AOR.PST-PTCP.M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3[SG.M]

‘A couple of times now, India has fallen **behind** in its desired goal of building power plants.’

(10.71) موږ به د امريکا او ملگرو سره يې هيڅ ډول خبری اتری و نه کړو .

mung *bə* *də* *amrikā-∅* *aw* *malgər-o*
 1PL.STR[DIR] WOULD with... America-F.OBL and friend-PL.M.OBL
sərə *ye* *hits* *ɖawal-∅* *xabar-e* *atere* *wá* *ná*
 ...with 3.WK nothing manner-M.DIR **word-PL.F.DIR** **ECHO** AOR NEG
kɾ-u
 do.AOR-1PL

'We will not hold **talks** with America or any of its allies.'

Doublet		Stem	
پوڻهنٽنه اٽنه	poxtəna utəna	'questioning'	پوختنه poxtəna 'question'
پڙني ايجني	pežəne ajane	gloss unknown	پڙنه pežəna 'familiarity, recognition'
وار پار	wār pār	'through and through'	وار war 'time, turn'
ناسته پاسته	nāsta pasta	'social intercourse' 'conduct'	ناسنه nāsta 'sitting'
تت پت	tət pət	'disordered' 'confused'	تت tət 'confused'
غٽ پٽ	yaṭ paṭ	'very big'	غٽ yaṭ 'large'
لٽ پٽ	laṭ paṭ	'soiled' 'besmirched'	لٽ laṭ 'sluggish'
خورين پرين	xuṛin pṛin	'boiled very soft' 'overripe'	خورين xuṛin 'boiled soft, overcooked'
کړينگ پړينگ	kṛiṅ pṛiṅ	'curved' 'bent'	کړينگ kṛiṅ 'curve, bend'
سست پست	sust pust	'quite listless, lax, non-diligent'	سست sust 'listless'
خل پل	xal pal	gloss unknown	خل xal 'faith, confidence'
هلي خلي	hali zali	'effort'	هله hala 'attach'; خله zila 'worry, alarm'

Table 10.7: Some doublets and their base stems

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11 Syntax

11.1 Overview

This grammar has concentrated on Pashto word-formation and phrase-formation. The current chapter covers some aspects of Pashto sentence construction, focusing on questions of word and phrase order, and case-marking and agreement. It is not a comprehensive treatment of Pashto syntax, which has been described in various degrees of detail by Babrakzai (1999), Lorimer (1902), Pate (2012), Penzl (1955), and Tegey (1979), among others. Most of the description in this chapter has been synthesized from these works. For the most part, the research we conducted with native speakers rendered differences in lexical forms or case-marking patterns, not in the general properties of Pashto syntax; however, our field research on syntax was more limited than that on other aspects of Pashto grammar.

Pashto exhibits strong head-final order in noun phrases and verb phrases. A set of apparent exceptions to the general order of elements in a clause results from the large inventory of second-position clitics, described in Section 11.2.3.2.1.

There is at least one phrasal position outside the clause, before the subject. It is used for a variety of purposes including, but not restricted to, a focus function. Because it apparently fulfills many independent grammatical requirements of Pashto, we refer to this position as pre-clausal position, rather than as a Focus position. In addition, there is a phrasal position outside the clause after the verb phrase, which is similarly used for a variety of functions. We refer to this position as the post-clausal position.

Pashto is a pro-drop language: the pronoun coreferential with the agreement marker on the verb may be omitted under the conditions detailed in Section 7.2.2.

11.2 Phrasal syntax

11.2.1 Noun phrases

Pashto noun phrases¹ generally exhibit the internal order Determiner - Quantifier - Adjective - Noun. A genitive determiner (headed either by \triangleright /də/ or by a fused strong form—see Section 7.2.3) is generally phrase-initial, irrespective of its function (see Section 9.3.1.1 for more examples).

Because weak pronouns are second-position clitics, when they are used as genitive determiners (which is indicated only by their proximity to the noun), they may follow

¹ We use this term in its traditional sense of a noun and its complements, modifiers, and determiners; in generative terminology, this is called the Determiner Phrase or DP.

their head. This is exemplified in 11.1. They may also precede their head, as is shown in 11.2.

(11.1) خنګلونه مو ووهل شول، بيا بې هيچا هم غم ونه خوړ.

dzangal-una mo wá-wah-əl šw-əl biyā
jungle-PL.M.DIR 1PL.WK AOR-hit-INF become.AOR.PST-PST.3PL.M then
ye hits čā ham yam-Ø wə-ná xoř-Ø
 3.WK none who.OBL also sorrow-M.DIR AOR-NEG eat.PST-PST.3SG.M
 ‘Our forests were destroyed, and nobody even cared.’

(11.2) دا مي کتاب دئ.

dā mi kitāb-Ø dəy
 this.DIR **1SG.WK** book-M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M
 ‘That is **my** book.’^(sw)

Participial phrases modifying nouns pattern as adjective phrases and tend to precede their heads, as shown in 11.3:

(11.3) په فراه کې تښتول شوي کارگران خوشې شول.

pə farā-Ø ke tæxtaw-əl šúw-i
in... Farah-M ...in kidnap-INF become.AOR.PST-PTCP.PL.M.DIR
kārgar-ān xóše šw-əl
 worker-PL.M.ANIM.DIR released become.AOR.PST-PST.3PL.M
 ‘The workers **kidnapped in Farah** were released.’

Relative-clause modifiers appear after their heads in the same phrase, as shown in example 11.76, but may also appear in the post-clausal position, as shown in example 11.75.

11.2.2 Adpositional phrases

The salient exception to the head-final principle can be found in adpositional phrases, given the existence of prepositions, postpositions, and circumpositions. A number of additional conditions obtain on the internal structure of adpositional phrases, having to do with the interrelationships between weak pronouns or oblique pronominal clitics and adpositions; these are discussed in Section 9.7.4 and Section 9.7.5, respectively.

11.2.3 Verb phrases

Generally, head-final order is found also in the verb phrase, with the verb, if any, as the final element. Relative clauses and sentence-level modifiers may appear in post-clausal position, as described by Tegey (1979) and Pate (2012).

11.2.3.1 Light verb constructions

Like many other languages of the Western Asian and South Asian areas, Pashto has a robust system of light verb constructions (LVC), two-word expressions that are semantically interpretable as a single predicate. Only one of the two canonical types—those of the form Noun/Adjective + Verb (N-V)—appears in our data and has been described by other authors as occurring in Pashto. See Section 8.2.4.4 for a detailed description of their morphosyntactic behavior.

As for the other type of LVC—Verb + Verb (V-V)—since it is abundant in South Asian languages of both the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian families, and has recently been reported for Persian (Kshanovski, 2011), it would not be surprising to find it in Pashto as well. For that reason we will not say definitively that V-V LVCs do not occur in Pashto; further investigation is necessary.

As verbs are a closed class in Pashto, the LVC is the only means of creating new verbal forms in the language; it is also used as a way of importing loanwords, with the borrowed word filling the complement slot; the morphosyntactic requirements on the complement are discussed in Section 8.2.4.4. LVCs are so prominent and productive in Pashto that they serve as simplex predicates for further syntactic purposes—for example, they can license further complementation. (See Section 11.5 for examples.)

The inventory of light verbs in Pashto should not surprise anyone familiar with LVCs. In addition to the verbs *كېدل* /kedâl/ ‘to become’ and *كول* /kawâl/ ‘to make; to do’, which we refer to as the *intransitive* and *transitive verbalizers* when they act as light verbs, Pashto uses the verbs *اخيستل* /axistâl/ ‘to take’, *وهل* /wahâl/ ‘to beat’, *نيول* /niwâl/ ‘to seize; to grasp’, and *ايستا* /istâl/ ‘to throw out’ as light verbs, as in the following examples:

- *پښه اخيستل* /pša axistâl/ ‘to stride’ < *پښه* /pša/ ‘(f.) foot’
- *سا اخيستل* /sā axistâl/ ‘to breathe’ < *سا* /sā/ ‘(f.) breathing, respiration’
- *ټپل وهل* /ṭel wahâl/ ‘to push, shove (one another)’ < *ټپل* /ṭel/ ‘(m.) push, shove’
- *ببوزی وهل* /bəbozay wahâl/ ‘to fan’ < *ببوزی* /bəbózay/ ‘(m.) fan’
- *کنگل نیول* /kangal niwâl/ ‘to freeze (intr.)’ < *کنگل* /kangâl/ ‘(m.) ice’
- *کشتي نیول* /kuští niwâl/ ‘to wrestle’ < *کشتي* /kuští/ ‘(f.) wrestling’

- اړ ایستا /aɾ istól/ 'to compel' < اړ /aɾ/ 'obstacle; compelled'

While LVCs with کېدل /kedâl/ and کول /kawâl/ are by far the most common and extremely productive, we do not know how productive the other verbs in the above examples are as light verbs. In addition, there are likely more light verbs in Pashto, but again, further research in this area is needed. A few examples follow of typical LVCs; as these are so common in Pashto, many more can be seen throughout this book.

Contracted LVC:

- (11.4) استرالیا په افغانستان کې د "پی آر ٹی" ټیم جوړوي.

astrāliyā-Ø pə afyānistān-Ø ke də "pi ar ɽi" ɽim-Ø
Australia-F.DIR in... Afghanistan-M ...in of "P R T" team-M.DIR

joɾ-aw-î

built-do.CONT-PRS.3[SG.F]

'Australia **is establishing** a 'P[rovincial] R[econstruction] T[eam]' team in Afghanistan.'

- (11.5) په لسگونو خلک وژنه او له ژونده یې خلاصوه.

pə lasgun-o xalək-Ø Ø-wažn-á aw
INSTR dozen-PL.M.OBL people-M.DIR **CONT-kill.PRS-IMP.SG** and

lə žwand-a ye xlās-aw-á

from life-M.ABL 3.WK **freed-do.CONT-IMP.SG**

'**Kill** dozens of people and **release** them from this life.'

Uncontracted LVC:

- (11.6) نوموړی ماشین د نړۍ په گڼ شمېر ژبو باندې خدمات وړاندې کوي.

numwəɾ-ay māšin-Ø də nəɾ-əy pə
aforementioned-M.DIR machine-M.DIR of world-F.OBL on...

gaŋ-Ø šmir-Ø žəb-o bānde xadmāt-Ø

numerous-M number-M language-PL.F.OBL ...on **services-PL.M.DIR**

kaw-î

do.CONT-PRS.3[SG.M]

'The aforementioned device **functions** in a large number of the world's languages.'

(11.7) له دې وروسته به د ايران له لوري تېل وارد نه كړو .

lə de wrustá bə də irān-Ø lə lur-e
 from this.OBL after **WOULD** of Iran-M.OBL from side-F.OBL
tel-Ø waréd-Ø ná kṛ-u
 fuel-M.DIR **imported-M.DIR** NEG **do.AOR-1PL**

‘After this, **we won’t import** fuel through Iran.’²

(11.8) غټ غويي كراچي كشه كړه .

yaṭ-Ø ɣway-i karāč-e kašá kṛ-a
big-M.OBL bull-M.OBL cart-F.DIR pulled do.AOR-PST.3SG.F

‘The **big** bull pulled the cart.’

Adjective complements of N-V LVCs always show agreement with the undergoer of the action of the verb, which is in turn marked in accordance with Pashto’s system of split ergativity. Nominal complements are usually treated as the direct object of the verb, and are therefore also case-marked according to split-ergative alignment. The undergoer of the action, on the other hand, cannot be a direct object, as the verb can have at most two arguments; it is instead indicated by an adposition and accordingly case-marked oblique.³

11.2.3.2 Elements in the verbal group

11.2.3.2.1 The verbal group in General Pashto

Certain particles can be inserted between:

- The aorist prefix *و-* /wə/ and its verb.
- A prefix or pseudo-prefix and its verb. (This includes both the *a*-initial complex verbs and second conjugation, or prefixed, verbs.)
- The complement of a denominal verb and its verbalizer.

The particles that interact with verbs in this way are:

- The modal clitics به /bə/ and دې /de/
- The weak personal pronouns, or pronominal clitics مې /me/, دې /de/, يې /ye/, and مو /mo/

2 Standardized version of 11.7: له دې وروسته به د ايران له لوري تېل وارد نه كړو .

3 However, some nominal complements behave like part of the verb lexeme and allow a direct object, similarly to adjective complements; see Section 8.2.4.4 for a discussion of these exceptions.

- The adverbial clitics خو /xo/ and نو /no/
- The negatives نه /nâ/ and مه /mâ/

Modals, weak personal pronouns, and adverbials are all second-position clitics. They also obey strict rules of ordering relative to each other. Tegey (1977) reports the following ordering of enclitics between verbal components:

خو /xo/ > به /bə/ > { مو /mo/ می /me/ دې /de/ یې /ye/ } > نو /no/

If the first syllable of the verb does not carry stress (that is, if it is a non-aorist form), the negative precedes the verb, and the clitics follow the negative. Also, if an aorist form is negated, the negative marker—not the initial syllable of the verb—takes the stress.

Some examples of these phenomena follow (examples are from Kopriv 2009 and Tegey 1977).

With aorist prefix و- /wə/:

(11.9) و می واهه .

wə **me** wāh-ə
AOR **1SG.WK** beat-PST.3SG.M

‘I beat him.’

With و- /wə/ (< و- /wə/ + /a-/):

(11.10) وا می خيستل .

w-ā **me** xist-əl
AOR-buy **1SG.WK** buy.PST-PST.3PL.M

‘I bought them.’

With second conjugation (= prefixed) verb:

(11.11) بو به می نه زې .

bó **bə** **me** **ná** z-e
take.AOR.PRS **WOULD 1SG.WK NEG** take-2SG

‘You **won't** take **me**.’

With *a*-initial verbs, but only when the /a/ is stressed (the *a*-initial verbs are unusual in that they have variable stress placement):

(11.12) ا می خيستل .

Ø-á **me** xist-əl-ə
CONT-buy **1SG.WK** buy.PST-PST-3PL.M

‘I was buying them.’

versus:

(11.13) اخیستل می .

Ø-axist-âl-ə *me*
 CONT-buy.PST-PST-3PL.M **1SG.WK**

'I was buying them.'

With denominal verbs:

(11.14) وړان می کړ .

warān-Ø *me* *k-ə*
 worse-M.DIR **1SG.WK** do.AOR-PST.3SG.M

'I made it worse.'

A negated aorist form (note stress on negative):

(11.15) بخت ورسره یاري ونه کړه .

baxt-Ø *wər-səra* *yār-i* *wə-ná* *kṛ-a*
 fate-M.OBL 3-COMIT **friendship-F.DIR** **AOR-NEG** **do.AOR-PST.3SG.F**

'Fate **didn't** befriend him.'

The pair below with the second conjugation verb *خملول* /*tsamlawól*/ 'to knock down' shows that the choice of pronoun is optional: either the strong pronoun may precede the intact inflected verb, or the weak pronoun clitic may cliticize to the initial stressed syllable of the verb.

(11.16) ما خملول .

mā *tsámlaw-əl*
1SG.STR.OBL AOR\knock.down-PST.3PL.M

'I knocked them down.'

(11.17) شه می ملول .

tsá *me* *mlaw-əl*
 AOR\knock.down **1SG.WK** knock.down-PST.3PL.M

'I knocked them down.'

11.2.3.2.2 The verbal group in Middle dialects

Particles in the Middle dialects interact with verbs similarly to those in the General Pashto dialects. They differ somewhat in form, as illustrated below.

The Waziri particles take the following forms:

- The modal clitics /*wa*/ and /*de*/

- The weak personal pronouns, or pronominal clitics /mi/, /di/, /(y)e/, and /mo/
- The adverbial clitics /xo/ (see Section 10.1.4) and /nu/
- The negative morphemes /ná/ and /má/

The Dzadrani particles take these forms:

- The modal clitics /be/ and /de/
- The weak personal pronouns, or pronominal clitics /me/ ~ /be/, /de/, /ye/, and /əm/
- The adverbial clitic /xo/
- The negative morphemes /nâ/ and /má/

We do not have information on the ordering of Waziri clitics, but Seftfonds reports Dzadrani ordering as follows:

adverbial clitics > pronominal clitics > modal clitics

Note that this ordering distinguishes between modal /de/ and pronominal /de/ 'you', in contrast to General Pashto dialects, where the two occupy the same slot.

11.2.3.2.3 Negative placement in the aorist verb phrase

The negative particle نه /nâ/ nearly always precedes the verb and is placed as close to the verb stem as possible. In aorist constructions, it therefore follows the aorist marker و /wə/ for simplex verbs, and either initial /a/, the prefix, or the light verb complement for complex verbs. Because it carries an inherent stress, it takes the main stress in an aorist verb phrase:

(11.18) ما و نه لوستل .

mā *wu* *nâ* *lwast-əl*
1SG.STR.OBL AOR NEG read-PST.3PL.M

'I **didn't** read [them] over.'

(11.19) څنگلونه مو وو هل شول، بيا يې هيچا هم غم ونه خوړ .

dzangal-una *mo* *wā-wah-əl* *šw-əl* *biyā*
jungle-PL.M.DIR 1PL.WK AOR-hit-INF become.AOR.PST-PST.3PL.M then

ye *hits* *čā* *ham* *yam-Ø* *wə-nā*
3.WK none who.OBL also sorrow-M.DIR AOR-NEG

xoʔ-Ø
eat.PST-PST.3SG.M

'Our forests were destroyed, and **nobody** even **cared**.'

- (11.20) شاه محمود له سر شخه تاج ایسته کړ او هیڅ وخت په شاهې تخت کښیناست .

šāh-∅ mahmud-∅ lə sar-∅ tsəxe tāj-∅
 Shah-M.OBL Mahmud-M.OBL from... head-M.OBL ...from crown-M.DIR
ista kəʔ-∅ aw hits wəxt pə šahi taxt-∅
 removed do.AOR-PST.3SG.M and none time on royal stage-M

kxé-ne-nāst-∅

AOR\sit-NEG-sit.PST-PST.3SG.M

‘Shah Mahmud disavowed his royal birthright and **never assumed** the throne.’

- (11.21) هغې خپله چتری خلاصه نه کړه .

haye xpəl-a čatr-əy xlās-a ná
 3SG.F.STR.OBL own-F.DIR umbrella-F.DIR **opened-F.DIR** NEG

kʔ-a

do.AOR-PST.3SG.F

‘She **didn't open** her umbrella.’

- (11.22) بخت ورسره یاري ونه کړه .

baxt-∅ wər-səra yār-i wə-ná kʔ-a
 fate-M.OBL 3-COMIT friendship-F.DIR **AOR-NEG** **do.AOR-PST.3SG.F**

‘Fate **didn't befriend** him.’

Because *bə* /bə/ is a second-position clitic and therefore must follow the first stressed word in the clause or sentence, when negating future time reference, the order of the other elements depends on the presence of a subject and object or both, as indicated in Table 11.1.

Condition	Order of elements
subject OR object expressed	subject/object + <i>bə</i> و <i>wə</i> + نه <i>nā</i> + verb
subject AND object expressed	subject + <i>bə</i> و object + <i>wə</i> + نه <i>nā</i> + verb
NEITHER subject NOR object expressed	<i>wə</i> + <i>bə</i> و <i>bə</i> + نه <i>nā</i> + verb

Table 11.1: Element ordering in negative future constructions

In the case of simplex verbs (i.e., all first conjugation verbs except *a*-initial ones; see Section 8.2.4), the negated verb is simply نه /ná/ + inflected verb stem, as in 11.23 through 11.28, examples of the orderings in Table 11.1 (Tegey & Robson, 1996: 128).

(11.23) د اور گڼادي لار به يوزاي په بلخ ولايت کې پای ته ونه رسېږي.

də orgād-i lār-Ø bə yawāze pə balx-Ø
of train-M.OBL path-F.DIR WOULD only in... Balkh-M
walāyat-Ø ke pāy tə wə-ná ras-eg-i
province-M ...in end to AOR-NEG arrive-PRS-PRS.3[SG.F]
‘Only in Balkh Province **will** the railroad **not be completed.**’

(11.24) کومه فايده به درته ونه رسوي.

kum-a fāyida-Ø bə dər-tə wə-ná rasaw-i
any-F.DIR benefit-F.DIR WOULD 2-to AOR-NEG deliver-PRS.3[SG]
‘It **won't do** you any good.’

(11.25) داچول دسيسې به ددوی اوربند ته زیان و نه رسوي.

dā ḡawal-Ø dəsis-e bə də duy
this.DIR manner-M.DIR conspiracy-PL.F.DIR WOULD of 3PL.STR.OBL
orband-Ø tə ziyān-Ø wə ná rasaw-i
cease.fire-M.OBL to damage-M.DIR AOR NEG deliver-PRS.3[SG.M]
‘This type of conspiracy **won't hurt** the cease-fire. [lit. This type of conspiracy won't bring damage to their cease-fire.]⁴

(11.26) تر هغه وخته به نوموړی خپلې موخې ته و نه رسېږي.

tər háyə wəxt-ə bə numwar-ay xpəl-e
up.to that.OBL time-M.ABL WOULD aforementioned-M.DIR own-F.OBL
mox-e tə wə ná ras-eg-i
goal-F.OBL to AOR NEG arrive-PRS-PRS.3[SG.M]
‘Even now, **he won't** reach his goals.’

4 Standardized version of 11.25: داچول دسيسې به ددوی اوربند ته زیان و نه رسوي.

(11.27) وبه نه شم کړای د پارلمان له لارې خدمت وکړم .

wá-ba ná š-əm káṛ-āy də
AOR-WOULD NEG become.AOR.PRS-1SG do.AOR-OPT of
pārlamān-Ø lə lār-e xadmat-Ø wá-kṛ-əm
 parliament-M.OBL from path-F.OBL **service-M.DIR AOR-do.AOR-1SG**
 ‘I won’t be able to serve in Parliament.’

(11.28) وبه نه شمېرل شي .

wá bə ná šmir-əl š-i
AOR WOULD NEG count-INF become.AOR.PRS-PRS.3[PL.M]
 ‘[The votes] **won’t be** counted.’⁵

With complex verbs (i.e., *a*-initial verbs, second conjugation verbs, and third conjugation verbs; see Section 8.2.4), the negative particle is inserted between the first element and the verb stem. Note that the prefix *و* /wə/ occurs only in *a*-initial verbs. Table 11.2 describes the relative position of the elements. See also Section 11.2.3.2.

Verb type	Positioning
<i>a</i> -initial verbs	و w + ā (note lengthening) + نه ná + rest of verb
Second conjugation verbs	prefix + نه ná + rest of verb
Third conjugation verbs	noun or adjective + نه ná + verbalizer

Table 11.2: Negative placement

Consider 11.29 through 11.31, examples of this negative placement. Note that in these constructions, *به* /bə/ always appears after the first stressed element of the sentence:

- *a*-initial verb اخيستل /axistəl/ ‘to take; to buy’:

⁵ Standardized version of 11.28: . وبه نه شمېرل شي .

(11.29) نوښابه هم زه ددې کار څخه لاس وا نه خلم.

no biyā bə ham zə də de kār-Ø
 then then **WOULD** also 1SG.STR.DIR from... this.OBL work-M.OBL
tsəxə lās-Ø w-ā ná xl-əm
 ...from hand-M.DIR **AOR-take NEG take.PRS-1SG**
 ‘Then I also **won’t** quit my job.’⁶

- second conjugation verb پرېښودل /prexud-əl/ ‘to abandon’:

(11.30) زه به هغه په هيڅ ډول هم يوازی پرې نه ږدم.

zə bə hayá pə hits ɖawal-Ø ham
 1SG.STR.DIR **WOULD** 3SG.STR.DIR INSTR none manner-M also
yawāze pré ná gđ-əm
 alone **AOR\abandon NEG abandon.PRS-1SG**
 ‘I **won’t** ever **leave** him alone.’

- third conjugation verb واردول /wāredawəl/ ‘to take’:

(11.31) له دې وروسته به د ايران له لوري تېل وارد نه كړو.

lə de wrustá bə də irān-Ø lə lur-e
 from this.OBL after **WOULD** of Iran-M.OBL from side-F.OBL
tel-Ø wāred-Ø ná kř-u
 fuel-M.DIR **imported-M.DIR NEG do.AOR-1PL**
 ‘After this, **we won’t import** fuel through Iran.’⁷

11.3 Main clause sentence types

Pashto is a pro-drop language: it often lacks overt marking of arguments, both because the direct case marker is often zero, and because the direct case reflects nominative, accusative, and absolutive functions (see Section 5.1.3.1 and Section 5.2). This affects word order in that subjects may be expressed through verb agreement suffixation alone.

⁶ Standardized version of 11.29: نو بيا به هم زه ددې کار څخه لاس وا نه خلم.

⁷ Standardized version of 11.31: له دې وروسته به د ايران له لوري تېل وارد نه كړو.

(11.34) د ملي اردو سرتيري ولي بهرني پوځيان وژني؟

də mili urdu-∅ sartir-i wale baharəni
 of national army-M.OBL soldier-PL.M.DIR why foreign
pāwdz-iān ∅-wažn-í
 force-PL.M.ANIM.DIR CONT-kill.PRS-PRS.3[PL.M]

‘Why are the nation's soldiers killing foreign fighters?’

‘Why are foreign fighters killing the nation's soldiers?’⁸

Roberts (2000: 11–12) claims that O-S-V order such as is shown in 11.34 is much more likely in past tense sentences, where the ergative-absolutive case-marking pattern provides disambiguation; he claims further that in such cases, no special intonation is associated with the O-S-V word order. According to Roberts, present-tense sentences with O-S-V order instantiate a construction that contains a pronoun coreferential with the object, as shown in 11.35, where the weak pronoun co-refers with the noun /spay/; this lends support to the view that the object noun phrase is in a preclausal position.

(11.35) **sp-ay** pišo-∅ **ye** xog-aw-í
dog-M.DIR cat-F.DIR **3.WK** hurt-do.CONT-PRS.3[SG]F

‘The dog, the cat is hurting him.’

Penzl (1955: 133) provides a present-tense example for Kandahari with O-S-V word order, which he claims places focus on the object. Note that this example contrasts with the previous one in that only one direct object expression appears. We leave to future research whether these somewhat contradictory claims reflect dialect variation, or register or stylistic variation.

(11.36) **tā** zə ∅-win-əm
2SG.STR.OBL 1SG.STR.DIR AOR-see-1SG

‘It's you I see!’

Because Pashto's denominal verbs place the verb's complement in the direct object position, the undergoer of the expressed action is often given in an adpositional phrase (highlighted in example 11.37). The agreement suffix on the verb reflects that مرسته /mərasta/ ‘help’ is the grammatical direct object. In these constructions, the adpositional phrase containing the undergoer precedes the denominal verb.

⁸ Standardized version of 11.34: د ملي اردو سرتيري ولي بهرني پوځيان وژني؟

(11.37) په افغانستان باندې د حملې پر وخت يې د پاکستان سره مرسته وکړله .

pə afyānistān-∅ bānde də haml-o pər waxt-∅ ye
on... Afghanistan-M ...on of attack-PL.F.OBL at time-M 3.WK

də pākistān-∅ sərə mārasta-∅
COMIT... Pakistan-M.OBL ...COMIT help-F.DIR

wā-kəṛ-l-a

AOR-do.AOR-PST-PST.3SG.F

‘He helped **Pakistan** when Afghanistan was under attack.’

11.3.1.2 Order of elements in ditransitive main clauses

There is in Pashto no double-object ditransitive construction; indirect objects are always marked with an adposition. Roberts (2000: 13) demonstrates that in sentences that have a subject, a direct object, and an indirect object marked with the postposition ټه /ta/ ‘to’, any order of arguments is possible, “as long as the grammatical functions of the arguments are clear from context or case-marking [and] ... the verb appears finally.” Shafeev (1964: 55) claims that the indirect object preferentially precedes the direct object in the Kandahari dialect.

11.3.1.3 Locative alternation

Takahashi (2008) explores the phenomenon of locative alternation in Pashto. She shows that three-argument predicates such as *load*, *spray*, and *smear*, which express the caused movement of material into or onto a location, allow either the undergoer of the activity or the location affected to appear as a nuclear term; the remaining argument appears in an adpositional phrase. This is in keeping with Pashto’s limit of two distinct noun phrases per clause.

(11.38) *Bill lar-əy də... bus-o ...na*
Bill wagon-SG.F[DIR] from... hay-PL.M.OBL ...from

bār-aw-i

load-do.CONT-PRES.3[SG.M]

‘Bill is loading the wagon with hay.’

(11.39) *Bill bus-∅ pə lar-əy bār-aw-i*
Bill hay.DIR[PL.M] on wagon-SG.F[DIR] load-do.CONT-PRES.3[SG.M]

‘Bill is loading hay onto the wagon.’

She shows further that whichever argument appears in the direct object function is the trigger of verb agreement in the past tense, and that either argument may also

sentence, and that noun is case-marked direct and triggers verb agreement (in both tenses); or, as with active sentences, the subject may be expressed through the verb agreement suffix alone, as in example 11.46.

(11.42) هغه سړی او هغه ښځه دواړه باید ووژل شي .

háya saɾ-ay aw háya xəɖa-∅ dwār-a
that.DIR man-M.DIR and that.DIR woman-F.DIR both-PL.M.DIR
bāyad wā-waž-əl š-i
NEC AOR-kill-INF become.AOR.PRS-PRS.3[PL.M]

‘Both that man and that woman must **be killed**.’

(11.43) [که] غوښتنې مو ونه منل شي مظاهرو ته به دوام ورکړو .

[ka] yuxtən-e mo wə-nā man-ál
[if] request-PL.F.DIR 1PL.WK AOR-NEG accept-INF
š-i muzāhər-o ta bə
become.AOR.PRS-PRS.3[PL.F] protest-PL.F.OBL to WOULD
dawām-∅ wárqɾ-u
continuation-M.DIR give.AOR-1PL

‘If our requests **are not accepted**, we will continue our protests.’

(11.44) په کونړ کې د دوو ودانیو بنسټ کېښودل شو .

pə kunar-∅ ke də dw-o wədān-əyo
in... Kunar-M ...in of two-PL.F.OBL building-PL.F.OBL
bənsaɾ-∅ kexud-ál šo-∅
foundation-M.DIR place-INF become.AOR.PST-PST.3SG.M

‘The foundations of two buildings **were laid** in Kunar.’¹⁰

The actor, if expressed, will most likely appear in an adpositional phrase governed by the circumposition له خوا /də...lə xwā/ or له لورې /də...lə lure/ (as seen in examples 11.45 and 11.46 and in Section 9.5.1.3). However, Tegey (1979) asserts that there is no dedicated means of marking an agent within this construction, and James Caron has remarked (p.c.), “any [adposition] that gets the semantic job [of marking the agent] done is a suitable candidate.”

¹⁰ Standardized version of 11.44: په کونړ کې د دوو ودانیو بنسټ کېښودل شو .

(11.45) وړاندې شوې طرحه دولسمشر كرزى له لورې منل شوې.

wṛānde šúw-e tarha-Ø dā walas
 before become.AOR.PST-PTCP.F.DIR draft-F.DIR of people
māšar-Ø Karz-i la lur-e man-âl
elder-M.OBL Karzai-M.OBL from side-F.OBL accept-INF
šúw-e
 become.AOR.PST-PTCP.F.DIR

'The presented drafts have been accepted **by President Karzai.**'¹¹

(11.46) خو ورځې وړاندې د محصلينو او ځوانانو نړيوالې ټولنې له خوا يوه كنفرانس ته بلل شوى وم.

tso wradž-e wṛānde dā muhasil-ino aw
 some day-F.OBL before of student-PL.M.OBL and
ḍwān-āno nəṛewal-e ṭulən-e la
young-PL.M.ANIM.OBL international-F.OBL society-F.OBL from
xwā-Ø yaw-ə kanfərāns-Ø tə bal-âl
side-F.OBL one-M.OBL conference-M.OBL to invite-INF
šúw-ay wəm
 become.AOR.PST-PTCP.M.DIR be.CONT.PST.1SG

'A few days ago, I was invited to a conference **by the International Society of Students and Young People.**'

An embedded instance of this construction may modify a noun; like most noun modifiers, it precedes the head:

¹¹ Standardized version of 11.45: وړاندې شوې طرحه د ولسمشر كرزى له لورې منل شوې.

(11.47) دډاکټر ذاکر نایک له لورې لیکل شوي اثارو په دې وروستیو کې په ځوان کول کې خورا مینه وال موندلي .

də dāktar-Ø zākir-Ø nayak-Ø lə lur-e
of doctor-M.OBL Zakir-M.OBL Nayak-M.OBL from side-F.OBL
lik-al šūw-i āsar-o pə
write-INF become.AOR.PST-PTCP.PL.M.DIR writing-PL.M.OBL in...
ḍwān-Ø khol-Ø ke xorā minawāl-Ø
 young-M generation-M ...in many admirer-PL.M.DIR
Ø-mund-âl-i
 CONT-find.PST-PST-PTCP.PL.M.DIR

‘The works **that were written by Dr. Zakir Naik** have become popular with young people.’¹²

11.3.2 Interrogatives

Pashto uses the same word order for questions as for statements, with interrogative elements, if any, in the place where they would be expected if they were not interrogatives. Questions in Pashto can be differentiated from statements through the presence of the particle associated with yes-or-no and affirmation questions, or of the interrogative pronouns used for information questions, or, in speech, through intonation.

11.3.2.1 Yes-or-no questions with the particle *آيا /āyā/*

Pashto uses the interrogative particle *آيا /āyā/* to introduce yes-or-no questions. It is thought to be more characteristic of Western dialects than others.

(11.48) آيا تا ډوډۍ خوړلې ده؟

āyā tā ɖoɖ-əy Ø-xwar-âl-e
Q 2SG.STR.OBL food-F.DIR CONT-eat.PST-PST-PTCP.F.DIR
da
 be.CONT.PRS.3SG.F

‘Have you eaten yet?’^(SW)

¹² Standardized version of 11.47: د ډاکټر ذاکر نایک له لورې لیکل شويو اثارو په دې وروستیو کې په ځوان کول کې خورا مینه وال موندلي دي .

In addition, the existence or presence of something may be queried by means of the existential particle شته /šta/; 11.49 is an example.

(11.49) زلمی شته؟

zalm-ay **šta**
Zalmay-M.DIR **EXT**
‘Is Zalmay there?’

11.3.2.2 Information questions with interrogative pronouns

As discussed in Section 7.6, the human interrogative pronoun is شوک /tsok/ (direct) or چا /čā/ ‘who?’ (oblique), and Table 11.3, reproduced here from Section 10.2.6, lists other interrogative terms.

Pashto	Translation
ولي wali	‘why?’
کله kəla	‘when?’
څه وخت tsə wəxt, sə wəxt	‘when (what time)?’
چېري čeri, čere	‘where?’
چېرته čerta	‘where?’
څنگه tsanga, sanga	‘how?’
څرنگه tsəraŋga, səraŋga	‘how (what manner)?’

Table 11.3: GP additional interrogative adverbs

Example 11.50 shows that interrogative elements appear in the position characteristic of their grammatical function; here, the identity of the undergoer of the action is being asked about, and the interrogative element appears in direct object position.

(11.50) زلمی شوک وواهه؟

zalm-i **tsok** *wā-wāh-ə*
Zalmay-M.OBL **who.DIR** AOR-hit-PST.3SG.M
‘Whom did Zalmay hit?’

Example 11.51 shows that verb agreement sanctions the omission of the subject noun for questions just as it does for statements.

(11.51) شوک وینې؟

tsok \emptyset -win-é
who.DIR CONT-see.PRS-2SG

‘Whom do you see?’ ^(SW)

Section 7.7 explains the use of the number name *يو* /yaw/ ‘one’ to differentiate between indefinite statements and information questions, given that there may be no word order difference between them.

11.3.2.3 Affirmation questions with the particle *که نه* /kə na/

Affirmation questions are formed through use of the particle *که نه* /kə na/. This is exemplified in Section 10.1.3, which shows that both the question and its answer may be marked with the same particle, and both show normal Pashto word order.

11.3.3 Imperatives

11.3.3.1 The imperative verb form

Pashto utilizes an imperative verb form. This is described in Section 8.5.2.5 and Table 8.48, with associated word forms summarized in Section 8.3.5 and Section 8.3.6. The addressee subject is generally omitted from the sentence, although a name may be used, case-marked vocative, as in 11.52:

(11.52) زلمیه، ودرېره!

zalm-aya *wā-dar-eg-a*
Zalmay-M.VOC AOR-stop-PRS-IMP.SG

‘Zalmay, stop!’ ^(NW)

(11.53) ته بیا هغه ظلمونه تکرارول غواړی روغ شی!

ta *biyā* *hāya* *zulm-una* *tikrār-aw-əl-∅*
2SG.STR.DIR then this.DIR abuse-PL.M.DIR repeated-do-INF-PL.M.DIR
 \emptyset -*γwār-e* **róy-∅** **š-əy**
CONT-want.PRS-2SG **healthy-M.DIR** **become.AOR.PRS-IMP.PL**

‘You want to repeat those horrors? **Get a clue!**’

Use of the imperative verb form is not the only way to express a command. Suggestions or polite commands may be conveyed with the use of the second person present aorist form of the verb; see Section 8.5.2.2 for more explanation and examples.

11.3.3.2 The negative imperative particle مه /má/

Normally مه /má/ precedes a verb in the imperative form to create a negative command. See also example 11.54, in which the particle مه /má/ instead appears sentence finally. In example 11.55, the negative imperative appears inside a direct quotation.

(11.54) د احمد په شان کېږه مه!

də *ahmad-Ø* *pə* *šān-Ø* *keʒ-a*
of Ahmad-M.OBL **INSTR** **manner-M** become.CONT.PRS-IMP.SG
má
 NEG.IMP
 'Don't be **like** Ahmad!' (sw)

(11.55) اسد په خندا خندا راته وويله چه سينما ته مه ځئخ .

asad-Ø *pə* *xandā-Ø* *xandā-Ø* *rā-ta*
 Asad-M.DIR **INSTR** laugh-F.OBL laugh-F.OBL 1-to
wá-way-əl-ə *čə* *sinimā-Ø* *ta má*
 AOR-tell.PST-PST-3PL.M **COMP** cinema-F.OBL to NEG
ǰ-a
 go.CONT.PRS-IMP.SG

'Asad laughed and said to me, 'Don't go to the movies.'

Notice that example 11.56 exhibits negative concord.

(11.56) هېڅ کله غيبت مه کوه!

hits *kala* *ɣeybat-Ø* *má* *kaw-á*
 never when backbiting-M.DIR **NEG.IMP** do.CONT-IMP.SG
 'Never backbite!'

(11.57) د خپل ورور په باب غلط فکرونه مه کوئ!

də *xpəl-Ø* *wror-Ø* *pə* *bāb-Ø* *ɣalat-Ø*
 of own-M.OBL brother-M.OBL on subject-M wrong-PL.M.DIR
fikr-una *má* *kaw-əy*
 thought-PL.M.DIR **NEG.IMP** do.CONT-IMP.PL
 'Don't think badly about your brother!'

11.3.4 Generic and existential sentences with شته /šta/

Generic and existential sentences are formed using the clause-final particle شته /šta/, as outlined in Section 10.1.1.

(11.58) ځکه په دنيا څومره ژبې چې دي خو په دوي کې داسې يوه هم نشته چې بې مانا وي.

ḍḍaka pə duniā-∅ ke tsumra žəb-e čē
 because in... world-M ...in so.many language-PL.F.DIR COMP
di xo pə duy ke dāse yaw-a ham nā
 be.CONT.PRS.3PL.F but in... 3PL.STR. ...in such one-F.DIR also NEG
šta *čē be mānā-∅ wi*
EXT COMP without meaning-F.OBL be.AOR.PRS.3SG.F

‘While there are many languages in the world, **there is** not one that is without meaning.’¹³

(11.59) ما څخه دري ښه کتابونه شته.

mā tsexa dre xə kitāb-una šta
 1SG.STR.OBL from three good book-PL.M.DIR **EXT**

‘I have three good books.’^(NE)

11.3.5 Other principles of word order in main clauses

11.3.5.1 Weak pronouns

Because weak pronouns must appear in second position in the clause, the order of two pronouns may violate the basic S - O - V ordering in main clauses. In sentences 11.60 and 11.61, the weak pronoun is in second position irrespective of its role in the sentence; verb agreement allows for unambiguous interpretations.

(11.60) زه دې وهم.

zə de ∅-wah-ām
 1SG.STR.DIR **2.WK** CONT-beat-1SG

‘I am hitting **you**.’

¹³ Standardized version of 11.58: ځکه په دنيا څومره ژبې چې دي خو په دوي کې داسې يوه هم نشته چې بې مانا وي.

(11.61) زه دې وهلم .

zā **de** *∅-wah-əl-əm*
1SG.STR.DIR **2.WK** CONT-beat-PST-1SG

‘You were hitting me.’

Similarly, in example 11.62, the verb must precede the pronoun, in contrast with 11.63, where the strong pronoun can occur before the verb, because it is not prohibited from appearing in clause-initial position. Compare the unacceptable 11.64.

(11.62) وينم تې .

∅-win-əm **di**
CONT-see.PRS-1SG **2.WK**

‘I see you.’^(sw)

(11.63) تا وينم .

tā *∅-win-əm*
2SG.STR.OBL CONT-see.PRS-1SG

‘I see **you**.’^(sw)

(11.64) * دې وينم .

di *∅-win-əm*
2.WK CONT-see.PRS-1SG

‘I see **you**.’^(sw)

When a weak pronoun is the subject of a past tense transitive verb (see Section 7.3.2), it may follow a direct object, as in example 11.65; an adpositional phrase, as in example 11.66; an adverb, as in example 11.67; or the complement of a denominal verb, as in example 11.68.

(11.65) او ښار يې پرېښود .

aw xār-∅ **ye** *préxud-∅*
and city-M.DIR **3.WK** AOR\leave.PST-PST.3SG.M

‘And **they** abandoned the city.’

(11.66) په اسراییلو یې غږ کړې .

pə isrāyel-o **ye** *γag-∅* *kér-ay*
on Israeli-PL.M.OBL **3.WK** voice-M.DIR do.AOR-PTCP.M.DIR

‘**They** have called upon the Israelis.’

(11.67) پڻخوا مي د جهاد نيت درلود .

pəxwā me də jihād-∅ niyat-∅
 before **1SG.WK** of Jihad-M.OBL intention-M.DIR
darlód-∅
 have.AOR.PST-PST.3SG.M

‘Previously, I intended [to undertake] a Jihad.’

(11.68) او زياته بي ڪره چي ...

aw ziyāt-a ye kṛ-a ĉe
 and more-F.DIR **3.WK** do.AOR-PST.3SG.F COMP

‘And he added that...’

Example 11.69 shows that the weak pronoun may be the next element after an entire noun phrase, and may therefore not be the second word. It contrasts with sentence 11.70, which shows that the sentence-initial position for pronouns may acceptably be filled with a strong pronoun.

(11.69) ڊبر توت مي وڃوڻ .

ḍer-∅ tūt-∅ me wā-xuṛ-əl
 many-PL.M.DIR mulberry-PL.M.DIR **1SG.WK** AOR-eat.PST-PST.3PL.M

‘I ate many mulberries.’

(11.70) ما لوبه وڃڪڙي .

mā ob-ə wā-tsək-əl-e
1SG.STR.OBL water-PL.F.DIR AOR-drink-PST-PST.3PL.F

‘I drank water.’^(NW)

Given that a weak pronoun cannot appear sentence-initially, it may instead appear in post-clausal position. This is shown in example 11.71, to be contrasted with the unmarked order of 11.72.

(11.71) ولي مچوي مي؟

wāli mač-aw-i me
 why kiss-do.CONT-PRS.3[SG.M] **1SG.WK**

‘Why is he kissing me?’^(NW)

(11.72) ولي مي مچوي؟

wāli me mač-aw-i
 why 1SG.WK kiss-do.CONT-PRS.3[SG.M]
 ‘Why is he kissing **me**?’^(NW)

11.3.5.2 Particles

Section 11.2.3.2 provides a comprehensive discussion of the order of particles with respect to verbs. See also Table 11.1 and Table 11.2 for summaries of the order of negative particles with respect to other segments of the verb. Other discussions of particle order are found throughout Chapter 8.

11.3.5.3 Adpositional phrases in main clauses

Adpositional phrases may be governed by verbs, nouns, and deverbal nouns. In general, adpositional phrase modifiers precede the element they modify, as shown above in the contrast between example 11.3, and 11.73.

(11.73) تښتول شوي کارگران په فراه کې خوشې شول.

təxtaw-əl šúw-i kārgar-ān
 kidnap-INF become.AOR.PST-PTCP.PL.M.DIR worker-PL.M.ANIM.DIR
pə farā-Ø ke xóše šw-əl
in... Farah-M ...in released become.AOR.PST-PST.3PL.M
 ‘The kidnapped workers were released **in Farah**.’

11.3.5.4 Interpretation of adpositional phrases headed by > /də/

As shown in Section 9.3.1.1, noun modifiers governed by > /də/ ‘of’ are extremely common and may be nested within one another. Another feature of these phrases is that any such phrase may appear in pre-clausal position¹⁴. Example 11.57 shows this, and shows also that this may result in the effect of a complex circumpositional phrase. Example 11.145 shows that a phrase governed by > /də/ may appear extracted from its governing phrase—in this case, the phrase governed by the circumposition. The appearance of such a phrase in this pre-clausal position does not necessarily put that phrase in focus.

¹⁴ Roberts (2000: 121ff.) discusses the separation of possessive clitics from their possessee phrases in terms of an apparent possessor raising construction. That concept could account for this phenomenon, too, aside from the fact that > /də/ ‘of’ encodes a much wider range of relations than possession.

11.4 Some subordinate clause types

The complementizer چه /čə/—also چې /če/ in Eastern and چي /či/ in Western dialects—can introduce numerous types of subordinate clauses, including relative clauses, reported speech, verb-governed subordinate clauses, and adverbial clauses. All tensed subordinate clauses except verb complements require the complementizer (Pate, 2012).

11.4.1 Relative clauses

According to Babrakzai (1999), as cited by Pate (2012: 79ff), non-restrictive relative clauses are signaled prosodically by pauses, orthographically by commas (though this does not always differentiate them from restrictive relative clauses), and syntactically by allowing a second position clitic to intervene between the head noun and the relative clause:

- (11.74) *ahmad bə, čə os pə... jarmani ...ki os-iz-i,*
 Ahmad **WOULD** COMP now in... Germany ...in reside-PRS-3[SG.M]
sabā zmā kor-∅ ta rās-i
 tomorrow 1SG.STR.OBL house-M.OBL to come.AOR.PRS-3[SG.M]
 ‘Ahmad, who now lives in Germany, will come to my house tomorrow.’

The rest of this section concerns restrictive relative clauses. Relative clauses in Pashto all employ the complementizer چه /čə/, sometimes combined with another item (which may be classifiable as a resumptive element). The analysis of relative clauses in Tegey & Robson (1996: 206–208) implies that the head noun must be definite; we believe rather that the condition is for specificity, not definiteness (sentence 11.78 has a specific indefinite item in the determiner position); the general condition accords with Pate’s claim (Pate, 2012) that all finite subordinate clauses are determiner (i.e. complementizer) phrases with noun-phrase complements.

- (11.75) هغه باغ ته ځم چه توت لري.
háya bāy-∅ ta ɬ-ám čə
 that.OBL garden-M.OBL to go.CONT.PRS-1SG **COMP**
tut-∅ ∅-lar-í
 mulberry-PL.M.DIR CONT-have.PRS-PRS.3[SG.M]
 ‘I am going to the garden that has the mulberries.’

(11.76) هغه کور چه دروازه يې شنه ده

háya kor-Ø čə darwāza-Ø ye šn-a
 that.DIR house-M.DIR **COMP** door-F.DIR 3.WK blue-F.DIR
da
 be.CONT.PRS.3SG.F

‘the house the door of **which** is blue’

Relative clauses that modify subjects generally follow their subjects immediately; however, relative clauses that modify objects appear in the post-clausal position (Tegey & Robson, 1996: 208), as shown in 11.75 and 11.77; contrast these with 11.79, where the relative clause immediately follows its head.

(11.77) بی پیلوټه الوتکو... ۲۵۲ ترهگری ووزل چې دهغوی له جملې څخه ۱۲ کسان په القاعده پوري تړلي وه.

be pilot-a alotek-o ... 252 tərhağar-Ø
 without pilot-M.ABL airplane-PL.M.DIR ... 252 terrorist-PL.M.DIR
ye wə-waž-əl če də haywi lə jaml-e
 3.WK AOR-kill-PST.3PL.M **COMP** of 3PL.STR.OBL from... total-F.OBL
tsexə 12 kas-ān pə al-qeda-Ø pori
 ...from 12 person-PL.M.ANIM.DIR on Al-Qaida-M.OBL complete
Ø-tɾ-əl-i wə
 CONT-tie-PST-PTCP.PL.M.DIR be.CONT.PST.3PL.M

‘Drones killed 252 terrorists, **of whom** twelve were definitively tied to Al-Qaida.’

Notice too that in sentence 11.77, the full noun phrase identifying the actor is apparently in pre-clausal position, with a resumptive weak pronoun appearing before the verb (see also Roberts 2000: 176–177 for a fuller description of the conditions on the appearance of resumptive pronouns).

(11.78) څوك چه ښه كارونه كوي هغه په مړينه هم يادېږي.

tsok čə xə kār-una kaw-í
who.DIR COMP good work-PL.M.DIR do.CONT.PRS.3[SG.M]
hayá pə mɾinə-Ø həm
 3SG.M.STR.DIR in death-F.DIR also
yād-éž-i
 remembered-become.CONT.PRS-PRS.3[SG.M]

‘**He who** does good deeds is remembered even after his death.’ (SW)

(11.79) خوشال هغه ښځه چه زرنګ سره غږېږي نه وليده .

xušāl-Ø háya šaða-Ø čə zarang-Ø sara
 Xushal-M.OBL that.DIR woman-F.DIR COMP Zarang-M.OBL COMIT
Ø-yag-ég-i ná wá-lid-a
 CONT-speak-PRS-PRS.3[SG.F] NEG AOR-see-PST.PST.3SG.F

‘Xushal didn’t see the woman who was talking with Zarang.’^(sw)¹⁵

(11.80) هغه هلک چه بازار ته تللی و د گڼينه وراره دی .

háya hələk-Ø čə bāzār-Ø ta
 that.DIR boy-M.DIR **COMP** market-M.OBL to
tl-ál-əy wə də gabina-Ø
 go.CONT.PST-PST-PTCP.M.DIR be.CONT.PST.3SG.M of Gabina-F.OBL
wrār-ə dəy
 nephew-M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M

‘The boy who went to the market is Gabina’s nephew.’^(sw)

Among others studying relativization, Pate (2012) shows that any argument type—subjects, direct objects, and adpositional objects, regardless of nominative-accusative or ergative-absolutive alignment—may relativize (under conditions discussed below). His analysis shows also that relative clauses employ resumptive pronouns whose distribution reflects split ergativity: in present-tense relative clauses relativizing on nominative arguments, no overt resumptive pronoun appears, while accusative arguments require an overt pronoun (see also Babrakzai 1999 and Roberts 2000: 152ff). In past-tense relative clauses, direct objects and intransitive subjects do not have a corresponding overt resumptive pronoun, while transitive subjects do (as in 11.81). This follows from the occurrence restrictions described in Section 7.3.2.1; see Table 7.9.

(11.81) دوه بيلابيلو چاودنو ۱۶ کسان ووژل چي ډير ئي ملڪيان ول .

dwa belābel-o čāwdən-o 16 kas-ān
 two separate-PL.F.OBL explosion-PL.F.OBL 16 person-PL.M.ANIM.DIR
wá-waž-əl če ɖer ye mulk-iān
 AOR-kill-PST.3PL.M **COMP** many 3.WK civilian-PL.M.ANIM.DIR
wəl
 be.CONT.PST.3PL.M

‘Two separate explosions killed 16 people, many of whom were civilians.’

¹⁵ Standardized version of 11.79: خوشال هغه ښځه چه زرنګ سره غږېږي ونه لیده .

Pate (2012) reanalyzes the assertion in Tegey (1979) that ergative subjects cannot head relative clauses. Fully nominal, ergative arguments cannot co-occur with restrictive relative clause modifiers; instead, the subject function is filled with a pronoun (or by agreement), and the coreferential nominal, case-marked direct and with its relative clause modifier, appears in pre-clausal position, as evidenced by the second-position clitic به /bə/ (example is from Pate 2012: 80); contrast this with sentence 11.74 above:

- (11.82) *hayə sərei čə lungota ye pər sar-Ø kər-e*
 that man.DIR COMP turban 3.WK on head-M.DIR do.PTCP-SG.F
də sabā bə rās-i
 be.3SG.F tomorrow **WOULD** come.PRS.-PRS.3[SG.M]

‘That man who is wearing a turban will come tomorrow.’

When the subordinate clause relativizes on a location expression, چه /čə/ is often preceded by the interrogative adverb چرته /čərta/ ‘where’ or followed by the locative adverbial مریو /həltə/ ‘there’ (see sentence 11.83).

- (11.83) په هرو لمړيو کالو کې چې استخدام کيږي بايد په کابل کې يو مشخص او
 مصون ځای ولرو چې هلته په لمړيو دو مياشتو کې خپلې ملي ژبې زده کړي.

pə har-o lumṛ-ayo kāl-o ke čə
 in... every-PL.M.OBL first-PL.M.OBL year-PL.M.OBL ...in COMP
istixdām-Ø kég-i bāyad pə kābul-Ø
 hired-PL.M.DIR become.CONT.PRS-PRS.3PL.M NEC in... Kabul-M.OBL
ke yaw-Ø mašax-Ø aw masun-Ø dəy-Ø
 ...in one-M.DIR private-M.DIR and safe-M.DIR place-M.DIR
wá-lar-u čə həltə pə lumṛ-ayo do-Ø
 AOR-have.PRS-1PL **COMP there** in... first-PL.M.OBL two-PL.M.OBL
miyāšt-o ke xpəl-e mil-i žəb-e
 month-PL.M.OBL ...in own-PL.F.DIR comrade-ADJZ language-PL.F.DIR
zdá-Ø kṛ-i
 learned-PL.F.DIR do.AOR-PRS.3PL.M

‘In the first years in which they are hired, we must have a private and safe place in Kabul **where** they will study their national languages for the first two months.’

11.4.2 Noun complement clauses

Nouns that denote states or events (such as تجربه /tajraba/ ‘experience’ in 11.84) can govern a subordinate clause expressing the content of that state or event. As is the case

for the heads of relative clauses, heads of complement clauses must have a determiner. Here the complement clause appears in post-clausal position.

(11.84) ... نارينه ... چې ... دا تجربه لرلې ده چې ... مطلب لیکوال ... د ایشیا ټایمز د دې مطلب لیکوال ... دا تجربه لرلې ده چې ... نارينه ...
 بیا د بنځو او نجونو پر ضد د جگړې یوه جبهه پرانستلې ده.

də asiyā-Ø tāymz-Ø də de matlab-Ø likwāl-Ø
 of Asia-F.OBL Times-M.OBL of this.OBL study-M.OBL author-M.DIR

... *dā tajraba-Ø Ø-lar-ál-e*
 ... **this.DIR experience-F.DIR** CONT-have-PST-PTCP.F.DIR

da če ... nārīna ... biyā də xəð-o
 be.CONT.PRS.3SG.F **COMP** ... men ... then of woman-PL.F.OBL

aw njun-o pər zid-Ø də jagr-e yaw-a jabhha-Ø
 and girl-PL.F.OBL on opposite-M of war-F.OBL one-F.DIR front-F.DIR

prānist-ál-e da
 CONT\open.PST-PST-PTCP.F.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.F

‘The author of the Asia Times study has had the experience that men have started another war against women and children.’

Complements of nouns may also take the form of infinitive verbal nouns governed by adpositions; see sentence 11.85.

(11.85) افغانستان ته د دیرش زره اضافی سرتېري د لیرلو لپاره پریکړه یی د جمهوری ریاست په دوره کی تر ټولو سخته پریکړه وه.

afyānistān-Ø ta də dirš zər-a izāfi
 Afghanistan-M.OBL to of thirty thousand-PL.M.DIR additional

sartir-i də leg-ál-o lə pār-a
 soldiers-M.OBL **of send-INF-PL.M.OBL from sake-M.ABL**

prekṛa-Ø ye də jamhuri riyāsat-Ø pə dawra-Ø ke
 decision-F.DIR 3.WK of national office-M.OBL in... term-F.DIR ...in

tər ʈul-o saxt-a prekṛa-Ø wa
 up.to all-PL.M.OBL difficult-F.DIR decision-F.DIR be.CONT.PST.3SG.F

‘The decision **to send** an additional thirty thousand soldiers to Afghanistan was the hardest decision of his presidential term.’

11.4.3 Verb complement clauses

Verb complement clauses, sometimes called subordinate noun clauses, are also introduced with the complementizer چه /čə/ ‘that’. When a subordinate clause is an ar-

(11.89) وروستو به مې مور ويل چې وروسته ورو ورو د مانې فضا غمجنه شوه .

wrusta bə me mor-∅ ∅-way-ál
 later WOULD 1SG.WK mother-F.OBL CONT-tell.**PST-PST.3PL.M**
če wrusta oro oro dā mān-əy fəzā-∅
 COMP later slow slow of house-F.OBL atmosphere-F.DIR
γámjan-a šw-a
 sad-F.DIR become.AOR.PST-PST.3SG.F

‘Afterwards my mother would say that the house’s atmosphere slowly grew sorrowful.’

When appearing with control verbs such as غواړ /*γwār-*/ ‘to want’ and کوشش کو /*košiš kaw-*/ ‘to try’, the embedded verb will be in the present aorist as in 11.90 (see Section 8.3.2). An example showing the main subject controlling the embedded subject is found in 11.91.

(11.90) لويې څارنوالۍ په انتخاباتو کې د شويو پراخو درغليو له امله له سترې محکمې غوښتي چې نتايج يې باطل اعلان کړي .

loy-əy tsāranwāl-əy pə intixābāt-o ke dā
 large-F.OBL lawyer-F.OBL in... elections-PL.M.OBL ...in of
šúw-io prāx-o dəryal-io lə
 become.AOR.PST-PTCP.PL.F.OBL vast-PL.F.OBL fraud-PL.F.OBL from
amal-a lə stər-e mahkam-e
 reason-M.ABL from high-F.OBL court-F.OBL
∅-γuxt-í če natāyij-∅ ye
 CONT-want.PST-PTCP.PL.M.DIR COMP results-PL.M.DIR 3.WK
bāt-ál elān kṛ-i
 invalidate-INF announcement **do.AOR-PRS.3[SG.F]**

‘The Attorney General wanted the Supreme Court to declare the election results invalid due to widespread fraud.’

(11.91) د افغانستان د پوهنې وزارت وايي، چې غواړي د يونسكو په مرسته د هيواد په ښارونو او كليو كې د زده كوونكو لپاره يو شان روزنيزه زمينه برابره كړي.

də afyānistān-Ø *də pohən-e* *wizārat-Ø*
of Afghanistan-M.OBL of education-F.OBL ministry-M.DIR
Ø-wāy-i *če* *Ø-γwār-i* *də*
CONT-tell.PRS-PRS.3[SG.M] COMP CONT-want.PRS-PRS.3[SG.M] of
yunasko pə mārasta-Ø də hewād-Ø pə xār-uno
UNESCO INSTR help-F.DIR of country-M.OBL in... city-PL.M.OBL
aw kal-io *ke* *də zdakawunk-o* *lə* *pār-a*
and village-PL.M.OBL ...in of student-PL.M.OBL from sake-M.ABL
yaw-Ø *šān* *rozəniz-a* *zamina-Ø* *barābār-a*
one-M.DIR similar educational-F.DIR opportunity-F.DIR prepared-F.DIR
kṛ-i
do.AOR-PRS.3[SG.M]

'Afghanistan's Ministry of Education says that it wants to provide similar educational opportunities to students in both cities and villages with the help of UNESCO.'

چه /čə/ may also introduce a subordinate clause serving as the second element in a copular construction.

(11.92) امید دی چه سوله به راشي .

omed-Ø *day* *če* *sola-Ø* *bə*
hope-M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M COMP peace-F.DIR WOULD
rāš-i
come.AOR.PRS-PRS.3[SG.F]

'The hope is **that peace will come.**'

11.4.3.1 Reported speech

Verbs of speaking may govern clausal complements. Pashto accepts both direct and indirect forms of reported speech (although Penzl 1955: 141 claims that only direct speech is found in Kandahari). The complementizer چه /čə/ is optional for introducing direct speech, as sentence 11.93 demonstrates, but it is obligatory for indirect speech, as in sentences 11.94 and 11.95. Note the use of the present-tense form of the verb in the subordinate clause in 11.95 rather than a relative-tense expression. In example 11.55, the verb form is present-tense and imperative, as we would expect of quoted speech.

(11.93) یو سړی وویل زه تر اوسه پورې چا نه یم خطا کړی .

yaw sar-i wā-way-əl zə tər
 one man-M.OBL AOR-tell.PST-PST.3PL.M 1SG.STR.DIR up.to...
os-a pure čā ná yəm xatā
 now-M.ABL ...up.to who.OBL NEG be.CONT.PRS.1SG mistake
kāṛ-ay
 do.AOR-PTCP.M.DIR

'A man said, 'No one has tricked me yet'.¹⁶

(11.94) ده وویل چې د افغانستان له ولسمشر سره یوځای هڅه کوي چې د سولې او پخلاينې پروسه بريالی شي .

də wā-way-əl čə də afyānistān-Ø
 3SG.M.STR.OBL AOR-tell.PST-PST.3PL.M COMP of Afghanistan-M.OBL
lə walas māsār-Ø sərə yawzāy hatsa-Ø
 COMMIT... people elder-M.OBL ...COMIT together effort-F.DIR
kaw-ī čə də sol-e aw
 do.CONT.PRS.3[SG.M] COMP of peace-F.OBL and
paxlāyən-e prosa-Ø baryāl-e
 reconciliation-F.OBL process-F.DIR successful-F.DIR
š-i
 become.AOR.PRS-PRS.3[SG.F]

'He said that he and the president of Afghanistan are working together to make the peace and reconciliation process a success.'

(11.95) پخوا خلقو به دا ویل چه زمکه د غوځي په ښکر ولاړه ده .

pəxwā xalq-u bə dā Ø-way-əl
 before people-PL.M.OBL WOULD this.DIR CONT-tell.PST-PST.3PL.M
čə zmāka-Ø da γwāy-i pə xkər-Ø walār-a
 COMP earth-F.DIR of ox-M.OBL on horn-M standing-F.DIR
da
 be.CONT.PRS.3SG.F

'Formerly people would say that the earth rested on the horn of an ox.'^(E)

16 Standardized version of 11.93: یو سړی وویل زه تر اوسه پورې چا نه یم خطا کړی .

11.4.4 Subordinate clauses as modifiers

11.4.4.1 Subordinate clauses with time reference

Clausal modifiers take the usual form of complementizer *چه* /čə/ and tensed clause. In some cases, the subordinate clause is the object of an adposition such as *وروسته* *چه* (نه). . . له /wrusta læ...(na) čə/ ‘after’ (as in 11.96).

(11.96) وروسته له دې چه ډوډۍ مو وخوړه سینما ته به لاړ شو.

wrusta læ de čə ɖoɖ-əy mo
after from this.OBL COMP food-F.DIR 1PL.WK
wá-xor-a sinimā-Ø ta bə lâɾ-Ø
 AOR-eat.PST-PST.3SG.F cinema-F.OBL to WOULD gone-PL.M.DIR
š-u
 become.AOR.PRS-1PL

‘We will go to the movies **after** we eat dinner.’^(SW)

- *کله چه* /kəla čə/ ‘when’

(11.97) کله چه ډیوه د توریال په خور خبره شوه سمدستي د دوی کور ته لاړه.

kəla čə ɖiwa-Ø də toɾyāl-Ø pə xor-Ø
when COMP Diwa-F.DIR of Toryal-M.OBL on sister-F.OBL
xábr-a sw-a samdasti də
 informed-F.DIR become.AOR.PST-PST.3SG.F immediately of
ɖuy kor-Ø ta lāɾ-á
 3PL.STR.DIR house-M.OBL to go.AOR.PST-PST.3SG.F

‘**When** Diwa heard about Toryal’s sister she immediately went to their house.’

^(SW)

This relationship may sometimes be expressed with the complementizer alone:

(11.98) چه جهاز غرق شو نو خلق ورسره غرق شول.

čə jahāz-Ø yáɾq-Ø su-Ø no
COMP ship-M.DIR sinking-M.DIR become.AOR.PST-PST.3SG.M then
xalaq-Ø wur sara yáɾq-Ø
 people-PL.M.DIR 3 COMMIT sinking.PL.M.DIR
šw-əl
 become.AOR.PST-PST.3PL.M

‘When the ship sank, people were drowned along with it.’^(NE)

- چه /tsəŋga čə/ 'as soon as'

(11.99) خنګه چه دی راشي زه به لار شم .

tsəŋga čə *day* *rāš-i*
how COMP 3SG.M.STR.DIR come.AOR.PRS-PRS.3[SG.M]
za *bə* *lār-Ø* *š-əm*
 1SG.STR.DIR WOULD gone-M.DIR become.AOR.PRS-1SG
 'I will leave **as soon as** he comes.' (sw)

- هغه وخت چه /həyā wəxt čə/ 'when'

(11.100) هغه وخت چه ولسمشر او باما خبرې کولې ټولو غوږ نیولی وو .

hayā *wəxt-Ø* *čə* *wuləs* *məšr-Ø* *obāmā-Ø*
this.DIR time-M.DIR COMP people leader-M.OBL Obama-M.OBL
xabr-e *kaw-əl-əy* *tol-o* *ywaz-Ø*
 word-PL.M.DIR do.CONT-PST-PST.3PL.F all-PL.M.OBL ear-M.DIR
Ø-niw-əl-ay *wu*
 CONT-seize.PST-PST-PTCP.M.DIR be.CONT.PST.3SG.M
 'When President Obama was speaking everyone was listening.' (sw)

11.4.4.2 Conditional and counterfactual clauses with که /kə/ 'if'

Conditional clauses in Pashto are marked by the particle که /kə/ 'if'. The conditional clause generally precedes the main clause, which may begin with the particle نو /no/ 'then' (Tegey & Robson, 1996: 216). This construction requires that the verb in the antecedent clause appear in the present or past aorist; see Section 8.3.2 and Section 8.3.4 for the appropriate verb forms.

که /kə/ may also appear as an element of a correlative conjunction (see Section 11.6.2).

(11.101) که راشي زه به البوم درښکاره کړم .

kə *rāš-e* *za* *bə* *album-Ø* *dər-škārā*
if come.AOR.PRS-2SG 1SG.STR.DIR WOULD album-M.DIR 2DVC-clear
kṛ-əm
 do.AOR-1SG

'If you come I will show you the album.' (sw)

که /kə/ may also combine with other particles to introduce conditional clauses.

- که چېري /kə čeri/ 'if'

(11.102) که چېري اسد و نه گډوډې، نوزه به يې وگډوډوم.

ke čeri asad-Ø wə-ná gaḍ-ez-i no
if where Asad-M.DIR AOR-NEG dance-PRS-PRS.3[SG.M] then
za bə ye wá-gaḍaw-əm
 1SG.STR.DIR WOULD 3.WK AOR-cause.dance-1SG

'If Asad does not dance, I will make him dance.' (SW)

A counterfactual interpretation of an antecedent clause in construction with a main clause is possible when both the main and the antecedent clause have optative verb forms and the main clause additionally contains the irrealis به /ba/.

As shown in sentence 11.103, a counterfactual interpretation of the conditional clause relies on the verb appearing in the optative form, even when there is no main clause:

(11.103) که موږ امام شافعي غوندي مشران درلوداي!

kə mung imam-Ø šāfi-Ø yunde
 if 1PL.STR.OBL imam-M.OBL Shafi-M.OBL like
māšr-ān darlód-ay
 leader-PL.M.DIR.ANIM have.AOR.PST-OPT

'If only we had leaders like Imam Shafi!'

11.4.4.3 Subordinate clauses with ځکه /dʒəka/ 'because'

ځکه /dʒəka/ 'because, therefore' may mark either the cause clause or the result clause. Note the following variants of word order of ځکه /dʒəka/, its correlative /no/, and their respective complements.

(11.104) ځکه چه هغه مېلې ته ځي نوزه هم ځم.

dʒəka čə hayá mel-e ta
because COMP 3SG.STR.DIR picnic-F.OBL to
dž-í no za ham dž-ám
 go.CONT.PRS-PRS.3[SG.F] **then** 1SG.STR.DIR also go.CONT.PRS-1SG

'Since she is going to the picnic, then I am going too.' (SW)

(11.105) زه ناروغ یم ځکه نو ډاکټر ته ځم .

za nāroy-∅ yəm ǰəka no dāktər-∅
 1SG.STR.DIR sick-M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.1SG **because then** doctor-M.OBL
ta ǰ-ám
 to go.CONT.PRS-1SG

'I am sick **so** I am going to the doctor.'^(sw)

(11.106) یوه وتلي ستوري شاروخ خان ویلي دی بی ځکه په امریکا کې نیولی، چې
 مسلمان دی .

yaw-ə watəl-i stor-i šarux-∅ xān-∅
 one-M.OBL famous-M.OBL star-M.OBL Sharukh-M.OBL khan-M.OBL
∅-way-ǰl-i di ye ǰəka
 CONT-tell.PST-PST-PTCP.PL.M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3PL.M 3.WK **because**
pə amrikā-∅ ke ∅-niw-ǰl-ay ǰe musəlmān
 in... America-F ...in CONT-seize.PST-PST-PTCP.M.DIR **COMP** muslim
day
 be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M

'A famous celebrity, Sharukh Khan, has said that they arrested him in America because he was Muslim.'¹⁷

It may be rarely that punctuation is used to delimit a subordinate clause in Pashto. Example 11.107 shows three instances of چې /ǰe/, bearing three different relationships to the sentence as a whole. The first introduces a relative clause that modifies its head noun; the second introduces the sentential complement of -وای /wāy-/ 'say'; the third introduces the complement of the quantifier څومره /sumra/ 'so much'.

¹⁷ Standardized version of 11.106: یوه وتلي ستوري شاروخ خان ویلي دي بی ځکه په امریکا کې نیولی، چې مسلمان دی .

- (11.107) دغه محرم اسناد چې په کابل کې د امریکا سفارت برابر کړي دي وايي چې
د افغانستان په حکومت کې رشوت خوري دومره زياته ده چې چاره سازي يې
ډېره گرانه معلومېږي.

dāya mahram-Ø asnād-Ø če pə kābul-Ø
this.DIR secret-PL.M.DIR documents-PL.M.DIR **COMP** in... Kabul-M
ke də amrikā-Ø safārat-Ø barābār-Ø
...in of America-F.OBL embassy-M.OBL prepared-PL.M.DIR
kṛ-i di Ø-wāy-í
do.AOR-PTCP.PL.M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3PL.M CONT-tell.PRS-PRS.3[PL.M]
če də afyānistān-Ø pə hakumat-Ø ke rašwat
COMP of Afghanistan-M.OBL in... government-M ...in bribe
xor-i dumra ziyāt-a da če čāra
eating-F.DIR so.much more-F.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.F **COMP** affair
sāz-i ye ɖer-a grān-a
wellness-F.DIR 3.WK very-F.DIR difficult-F.DIR
malum-ég-i
known-become.CONT.PRS-PRS.3[SG.F]

‘The secret documents that were prepared at the American Embassy in Kabul say that the bribery within Afghanistan’s government is so extensive that resolving it has turned out to be very difficult.’

11.4.4.4 Subordinate clauses expressing result

The particle نو /no/, most often used in conditional sentences, may also be used alone to introduce a result clause; see sentence 11.108 for an example.

- (11.108) کله چې ملشومانو خپل بلار وليد نو دقتاً.

kəla čə māšum-āno xpəl-Ø plār-Ø
when COMP child-PL.M.ANIM.OBL own-M.DIR father-M.DIR
wá-lid-Ø no dafatan pə xandā-Ø
AOR-see.PST-PST.3SG.M **then** suddenly INSTR laugh-F.DIR
šw-əl
become.AOR.PST-PST.3PL.M

‘The children suddenly started laughing when they saw their father.’

چه /čə/ may introduce clauses that show the direct result of an action or a state of being. Often, but not always, the main clause in such constructions uses the complement-

taking quantifier دومه /dumra/ ‘so much’ (although Penzl (1955: 80.5) claims that this form is not colloquial among Kandahar speakers); see also example 11.107.

(11.109) ما دومه ډوډی خوړلې ده چې ولاړېدلای نه شم.

mā **dumra** *ḍoḍ-əy* *Ø-xwaŕ-əl-e*
1SG.STR.OBL **so.much** food-F.DIR CONT-eat.PST-PST-PTCP.F.DIR
də **či** *Ø-wəlār-ed-əl-ay* *ná*
be.CONT.PRS.3SG.F **COMP** CONT-stand-PST-PST-OPT NEG
š-əm
become.AOR.PRS-1SG

‘I have eaten **so much that** I cannot stand up.’^(sw)

11.4.4.5 Subordinate clauses expressing reason

- په دې چه /pə de čə/ ‘because’

(11.110) په دې چه لړې وه موټر مې ورو وچلوو.

pə de **čə** *ləŕ-e* *wa* *moṭər-Ø*
in this.OBL COMP fog-PL.F.DIR be.CONT.PST.3SG.F car-M.DIR
me *wro* *wá-čalaw-u*
1SG.WK slow AOR-manage-PST.3SG.M

‘I had to drive slowly **because of** the fog.’^(sw)

- ولي چه /wale čə/ ‘because’

(11.111) زه په منډه راغلم ولي خي وړی وم.

za *pə* *manḍa-Ø* *rāyl-əm* **wale**
1SG.STR.DIR INSTR running-F.DIR come.AOR.PST-1SG **because**
čə *wəz-ay* *wəm*
COMP hungry-M.DIR be.CONT.PST.1SG

‘I came running **because** I was hungry.’^(sw)

11.4.4.6 Subordinate clauses expressing purpose

Pashto purpose clauses require the use of the complementizer چه /čə/; the embedded verb in the subordinate clause appears in the present aorist form, as shown in 11.112.

(11.112) محمود د احمد دپاره درملتون ته ولاړ چه درمل واخلي .

mahmud-Ø də ahməd-Ø de pār-a
 Mahmoud-M.DIR **of** Ahmad-M.OBL **from** **sake-M.ABL**
darmaltun-Ø ta wlār-Ø čə darmal-Ø
 pharmacy-M.OBL to go.AOR.PST-PST.3SG.M COMP medicine-M.DIR
w-āxl-i
 AOR-buy.PRS-PRS.3[SG.M]
 ‘Mahmoud went to the pharmacy to buy medicine **for** Ahmad.’^(sw)

11.4.4.7 Subordinate clauses of concession

- سره له د چه /sara lə də čə/ ‘despite, notwithstanding’

(11.113) هغه سره له ده چه گواښل سوی و پر خپله تگلاره ټینګار کاوه .

hayá sara lə də čə gwāš-ál
 3SG.STR.DIR **with from this.OBL** **COMP** threaten-INF
sāw-ay wə pər xpəl-a
 become.AOR.PST-PTCP.M.DIR be.CONT.PST.3SG.M on own-F.DIR
taglāra-Ø ɕingār-Ø kāw-á
 policy-F.DIR emphasis-M.DIR do.CONT-PST.3SG.M
 ‘He persisted in going his own way, **despite** the warning.’^(sw)

- اګر چه /agar čə/ ‘although’

(11.114) اګر چه زه تری یم خو اوبه نه شم څښلای .

agar čə za təz-ay yəm xo
although **COMP** 1SG.STR.DIR thirsty-M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.1SG but
ob-ə ná š-əm Ø-tsəš-ál-āy
 water-PL.F.DIR NEG become.AOR.PRS-1SG CONT-drink-PST-OPT
 ‘**Although** I am thirsty, I cannot drink.’^(sw)

11.5 Periphrastic causatives

As noted in Section 8.2.7, morphological production of causative predicates is no longer productive in Pashto; we present here commonly-encountered forms of periphrastic

causatives. One such construction encountered in Pashto uses the instrumental circumposition په . . . باندې /pə...bānde/, or its simple adpositional variants, with no additional verb of causation: see Section 9.7.3.

A different construction involves the light verb constructions مجبورول /majborawél/ ‘force’ and ار ایستا /aṛ istâl/ ‘compel’ (see Section 8.2.4.4 and Section 11.2.3.1), along with a complement denoting the caused event. The sentences 11.115 and 11.116 show the construction with مجبورول /majborawél/ ‘force’. The caused event may be expressed either with an infinitive object of the postposition ته /ta/ ‘to’ (11.115) or with a present aorist clause introduced by چه /čə/ ‘that’ (11.116—here found in post-clausal position). The actor of the caused event must have animate reference: it is odd to use this construction with a true instrument, as shown in the unacceptable 11.117.

(11.115) زه سړي د اس تړلو مجبور کړلم .

zə sar:i də ās-Ø tar-əl-o ta
 1SG.STR.DIR man-M.OBL of horse-M.DIR tie-INF-PL.M.OBL to
majbôr-Ø kṛ-l-əm
 forced-M.DIR do.AOR-PST-1SG

‘The man made me tie up the horse.’^(SW)

(11.116) زه سړي مجبور کړلم چی اس و تړم .

zə sar:i majbôr-Ø kṛ-l-əm čə
 1SG.STR.DIR man-M.OBL forced-M.DIR do.AOR-PST-1SG COMP
ās-Ø wâ-tar-əm
horse-M.DIR AOR-tie-1SG

‘The man made me tie up the horse.’^(SW)

(11.117) *زه سړي رسۍ د اس تړلو مجبور کړلم .

sar-i ras-əy də ās-Ø tar-əl-o ta
 man-M.OBL rope-F.DIR of horse-M.DIR tie-.INF-PL.M.OBL to
majbôr-a kṛ-l-a
 forced-F.DIR do.AOR-PST-PST.3SG.F

‘The man made the rope tie up the horse.’^(SW)

The lexical causative ار ایستا /aṛ istâl/ ‘compel’ shows the same two forms of embedded predication as seen in 11.115 and 11.116: 11.118 with the infinitive (in this example, the infinitive affix has been omitted), and 11.119 with the present aorist subordinate clause.

(11.118) هغه يې پټه خوله کښيناستو ته اړ ايست .

hayá ye paṭ-a xola-Ø kxenāst-ó ta aṛ
 3SG.STR.DIR 3.WK hidden-F.DIR mouth-F.DIR sit-PL.M.OBL to forced
Ø-ist-Ø
 CONT-remove.PST-PST.3SG.M
 ‘They made him sit quietly.’

(11.119) د دى خلکو خبرو زه دى ته اړ ايستم چي دا موضوع له گرانو هيوواوالو سره شريکه کړم .

də de xalk-o xabar-o de ta aṛ
 of this.OBL person-PL.M.OBL word-PL.F.OBL this.OBL to forced
Ø-ist-əm cě dā mawzo-Ø la
 CONT-remove.PST-1SG COMP this.DIR topic-F.DIR COMMIT...
grān-o hewāwāl-o səra šarīk-a
 great-PL.M.OBL countryman-PL.M.OBL ...COMIT shared-F.DIR
kṛ-əm
 do.AOR-1SG
 ‘I was forced to share these people's words with my esteemed countrymen.’

11.6 Conjunction

In Pashto, clauses, verbs, and nouns can be conjoined using similar markers. Apposition is also found, frequently expressing simple coordination but also other relationships, as in the following example of simple apposition expressing a causal relationship:

(11.120) احمد نه راغی، خفه دى .

ahməd-Ø ná rāḏ-í xapa
 Ahmad-M.DIR NEG come.CONT.PRS-PRS.3[SG.M] sad
day
 be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M
 ‘Ahmad isn't coming; he is sad.’^(SW)

11.6.1 Coordinating conjunctions

11.6.1.1 او /aw/ ‘and’

The particle او /aw/ ‘and’ is used to connect two words, phrases, or clauses that perform the same function inside a sentence.

(11.121) زه کور ته راغلم او ډوډۍ مې وخوړه.

za kor-Ø tə rāyl-əm aw doḍ-əy
1SG.STR.DIR house-M.OBL to come.AOR.PST-1SG **and** food-F.DIR
me wā-xor-a
1SG.WK AOR-eat.PST-PST.3SG.F

‘I came home **and** ate [dinner].’

(11.122) زه کندهار ته ځم او اختر هلته تېروم.

za kandahār-Ø tə ǰ-əm aw axtar-Ø
1SG.STR.DIR Kandahar-M.OBL to go.CONT.PRS-1SG **and** feast-M.DIR
halta tər-aw-əm
there pass-do.CONT-1SG

‘I’ll go to Kandahar **and** spend the feast of Eid there.’

Example sentences in Tegey & Robson (1996: 191–194) suggest that when one of the conjoined words is a pronoun, the pronoun comes first:

(11.123) ته او خيبر ډېر نژدې ملگري واست.

tə aw xeybar-Ø ǰer-Ø nəžde
2SG.STR.DIR and Khaibar-M.DIR very-PL.M.DIR close
malgər-i wāst
friend-PL.M.DIR be.CONT.PST.2PL

‘**You and** Khaibar were very good friends.’

Two verb phrases with the same subject may be conjoined. Most often the phrases are joined by simple apposition; however, the conjunction او /aw/ ‘and’ may be used:

(11.124) محمود بازار ته ځي او د غرمې ډوډۍ خوري.

mahmud-Ø bāzār-Ø tə ǰ-í aw dā
Mahmoud-M.DIR market-M.OBL to go.CONT.PRS-PRS.3[SG.M] **and** of
yarm-e doḍ-əy Ø-xor-í
noon-F.OBL food-F.DIR CONT-eat.PRS-PRS.3[SG.M]

‘Mahmoud is going to the market **and** having lunch.’

(11.125) احمد ډوډی خوري او اوبه څښي .

ahmad-Ø ɖod-əy Ø-xor-í aw ob-ə
 Ahmad-M.DIR food-F.DIR CONT-eat.PRS-PRS.3[SG.M] **and** water-F.DIR
Ø-tsiṣ-i
 CONT-drink-PRS.3[SG.M]
 ‘Ahmad eats food **and** drinks water.’

11.6.1.2 يا /yā/ ‘or’

This conjunction¹⁸ may conjoin items of many classes, including nouns, noun phrases, and adjectives:

(11.126) ماته اوبه يا شربت راځړه .

ma tə ob-ə yā šərbat-Ø rākr-a
 1SG.STR.OBL to water-F.DIR **or** juice-M.DIR give.AOR-IMP.SG
 ‘Give me water **or** juice.’

(11.127) سپين يا تور کالي واغونده!

spin-Ø yā tor-Ø kāl-i
 white-PL.M.DIR **or** black-PL.M.DIR clothing-PL.M.DIR
w-āyund-a
 AOR-wear.PRS-IMP.SG
 ‘Wear a white **or** black suit!’

It may also conjoin two verb phrases. When used to join phrases, يا /yā/ may combine with the conjunction او /aw/ to express disjunction.

(11.128) زه چه سهار د خوبه راځنېښم سپورټ ته ځم (او) يا کتابخاني ته ځم .

za čə sahār də xob-a rāksen-əm
 1SG.STR.DIR COMP morning from sleep-M.ABL AOR\arise.PRS-1SG
səporṭ-Ø tə ɖ-əm (aw) yā kitābxān-e tə
 sport-M.OBL to go.CONT.PRS-1SG (**and**) **or** library-F.OBL to
ɖ-əm
 go.CONT.PRS-1SG
 ‘When I wake up in the morning I go to the gym **or** to the library.’

¹⁸ Shafeev (1964) additionally cites /ka/ as a disjunction marker.

Unlike with او /aw/ ‘and’, when the two elements conjoined by یا /yā/ ‘or’ differ in gender, the verb must agree with the last element (examples are from Tegey & Robson 1996: 194):

(11.129) امان یا لیلیا وگډېده .

amān-Ø yā laylā-Ø wā-gaḍed-a
 Aman-M.DIR or **Layla-F.DIR** AOR-dance.PST-PST.3SG.F
 ‘Aman or Layla danced.’

(11.130) لیلیا یا امان وگډېده .

laylā-Ø yā amān-Ø wā-gaḍed-a
 Layla-F.DIR or **Aman-M.DIR** AOR-dance.PST-PST.3SG.M
 ‘Layla or Aman danced.’

11.6.1.3 خو /xo/ ‘but’

The conjunction خو /xo/ in Pashto functions similarly to its English counterpart *but*. (Tegey & Robson, 1996: 196).

(11.131) زه کور ته درتلم خو موټر مې خراب سو .

za kor-Ø tə dærtəl-əm xo moṭər-Ø
 1SG.STR.DIR house-M.OBL to come.CONT.PST-1SG **but** car-M.DIR
me xarāb-Ø so-Ø
 1SG.WK bad-M.DIR become.AOR.PST-PST.3SG.M
 ‘I was coming to your home, **but** my car broke down.’^(sw)¹⁹

(11.132) دا ښه هوټل دی خو ډوډی یې خرابه ده .

dā ʂə hoṭəl-Ø dəy xo ɖoɖ-əy ye
 this.DIR good hotel-M.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M **but** food-F.DIR 3.WK
xarāb-a da
 bad-F.DIR be.CONT.PRS.3SG.F
 ‘This is a good hotel, **but** its food is awful.’^(w)

¹⁹ In 11.131, سو /so/ is the Kandahari pronunciation of شو /šwə/; this is usually spelled with ش, but may sometimes be spelled with س instead.

11.6.1.4 بيا (او) /aw/ byā/ 'then'

The adverb بيا /byā/ may be used to express the sequencing of events.

(11.133) زه اول مغازی ته ولاړم بيا کور ته راغلم.

za awal mayāz-e tə wlār-əm byā kor-Ø
 1SG.STR.DIR first shop-F.OBL to go.AOR.PST-1SG **then** house-M.OBL
tə rāyl-əm
 to come.AOR.PST-1SG

'First I went to the store, **then** I came home.'

The conjunction او /aw/ 'and' optionally accompanies بيا /byā/ (Tegey & Robson, 1996):

(11.134) دوډی پخه کړه او بيا يې وخوره!

ḍoḍ-əy pax-á kr-a aw byā ye
 food-F.DIR cooked-F.DIR do.AOR-IMP.SG **and then** 3.WK
wá-xor-a
 AOR-eat-IMP.SG
 'Cook **and then** eat!'

11.6.2 Correlative conjunctions

Elements conjoined in a correlative structure are generally of the same phrasal class.

- او هم... /ham...aw ham/ 'both...and'

(11.135) محمود هم موټر چلوئ او هم يې خبرې کولې.

mahmud-Ø ham moṭar-Ø Ø-čalaw-əy aw ham
 Mahmoud-M.OBL **also** car-M.DIR CONT-manage-PST.3SG.M **and also**
ye xabr-e kaw-əl-i
 3.WK word-PL.F.DIR do.CONT-PST-PST.3PL.F

'Mahmud was driving **and also** was talking [on the phone].'

- نه يوازې... بلکه /ná yawāze...balkə/ 'not only...but also'

(11.136) محمود نه يوازې موټر چلوئ بلکه خبرې يې هم کولې .

mahmud-Ø ná yawāze moṭar-Ø Ø-čalaw-əy
Mahmoud-M.OBL **NEG** **only** car-M.DIR CONT-manage-PST.3SG.M

balkə xabr-e ye ham kaw-əl-i
but.also word-PL.F.DIR 3.WK **also** do.CONT-PST-PST.3PL.F

‘Mahmud was **not only** driving **but** was **also** talking [on the phone].’

- يا . . . يا /yā ... yā/ ‘either...or’

(11.137) يا دلته ډوډۍ وخوره يا ولاړ سه .

yā delta doḍ-əy wá-xor-a yā wlār-Ø
or here food-F.DIR AOR-eat-IMP.SG **or** gone-M.DIR

s-a
become.AOR.PRS-IMP.SG

‘**Either** eat here **or** go.’

- نه . . . نه /ná...ná/ ‘neither...nor’

(11.138) نه ډوډۍ خورم او نه اوبه څښم .

ná doḍ-əy Ø-xor-əm aw ná ob-ə
NEG food-F.DIR CONT-eat.PRS-1SG and **NEG** water-PL.F.DIR

Ø-tsə-əm
CONT-drink-1SG

‘I **neither** eat **nor** drink.’

Although we have not found this attested elsewhere, a single example in Bilal, Khan, Ali & Ahmed (2011: 57) suggests that one instance of the negative particle نه /ná/ in the second conjunct of a correlative construction has a possible reading of wide scope, negating both clauses.

- که . . . نو /kə...no/ ‘if...then’
که /kə/ ‘if’ introduces the antecedent clauses of conditionals, and may or may not appear in construction with the particle نو /no/ ‘then, so’. These two components are discussed respectively in Section 11.4.4.2 and Section 11.4.4.4.
- که . . . خو /kə tse ham ... xo/ ‘even if, although’

(11.139) که شې هم دی خاندی، خو په زړه کي خپه دی .

kə tse *ham day* \emptyset -*xānd-í* *xo pə*
if how.much also 3SG.M.STR.DIR CONT-laugh-PRS.3[SG.M] **but** in...

zər:a *ki* *xəpa day*
 heart-M ...in sad be.CONT.PRS.3SG.M

‘**Although** he is laughing, he is sad deep inside.’^(sw)

11.7 Principles of case-marking and agreement

In this section we provide some of the principles that underlie case-marking and agreement patterns. In Section 11.7.1, we present a summary of the expressions of split ergativity. In Section 11.7.4 and Section 11.7.5, we describe briefly a few constructions in which the general nominative-accusative or ergative-absolutive agreement patterns are not found.

11.7.1 Tense-based case-marking and split ergativity

Pashto uses two strategies for case-marking nouns: the nominative-accusative alignment familiar from Western European languages is used in the non-past tenses, and the ergative-absolutive alignment is used in the past tenses. That is, Pashto is a morphologically split ergative language. In this section we summarize the morphosyntactic expressions of this property.

By contrast with many familiar nominative-accusative languages that mark nominative and accusative cases differently on nouns, Pashto instead uses the direct form for both. In the past tenses, the two-way distinction between ergative and absolutive is realized on nouns in the differential use of oblique vs. direct case suffixes. Table 11.4 shows this.

Table 11.5 shows a similar pattern for human interrogative pronouns, as described in Section 7.6.

A somewhat different pattern, also reflecting split ergativity, can be found for the personal pronoun systems. Table 11.6 shows how the two-way split is manifested in the pattern of case-marking for strong pronouns.

Essentially the same pattern is found for resumptive pronouns (see Section 11.4.1) and for the distribution constraints on weak pronouns, as shown in Table 7.9.

	Non-past tenses (nominative-accusative alignment)	Past tenses (ergative-absolutive alignment)
Transitive subject	DIRECT	OBLIQUE
Intransitive subject		DIRECT
Direct object		

Table 11.4: Case-marking pattern for nouns

	Non-past tenses	Past tenses
Transitive subject	DIRECT	OBLIQUE
Intransitive subject		DIRECT
Direct object		

Table 11.5: Case-marking pattern for human interrogative pronouns

	Non-past tenses	Past tenses
Transitive subject	DIRECT	OBLIQUE
Intransitive subject		DIRECT
Direct object	OBLIQUE	

Table 11.6: Case-marking pattern for strong pronouns

11.7.2 Agreement of conjoined items

Section 5.3 and Section 6.7 summarize agreement properties for conjoined elements in noun phrases.

11.7.3 Concordant adverbs

See Section 10.2.7.

11.7.4 Case-marking patterns of verbs of sensation or preference

In the following sections, we discuss two constructions that show case-marking strategies other than those outlined elsewhere, though they can be compared to similar constructions in other languages.

A brief description is given by Tegey & Robson (1996: 184) of a set of collocations expressing preference or sensation. In these constructions, the experiencer is expressed by means of a genitive phrase, i.e. a phrase governed by Δ /də/ or a possessive pronoun. The thing experienced may be expressed as the accusative argument, as among the predicates discussed in Section 11.7.4.1, or as the complement to the denominal verb in Section 11.7.4.2.

We present the group in subcategories as determined by case-marking or agreement patterns associated with the construction.

11.7.4.1 Four denominal verbs of sensation

Three verbs in this group consist of the verbalizer كېر /keg-/ ‘become’ with a noun; the construction resembles a denominal verb construction, except that the experiencer is expressed in a genitive phrase (recall that weak pronouns appearing in apposition to their heads may express a genitive relation).

- گرمی کپړ /garmí keg-/ ‘feel hot’

(11.140) د زلمی گرمی کېده .

də zalm-i garm-i ked-á
of Zalmay-M.OBL heat-F.DIR become.CONT.PST-PST.3SG.F

‘Zalmay was feeling hot.’

- ساره کپړ /sārê keg-/ ‘feel cold’

(11.141) سارہ دے کپری .

sār-ə de kég-i
cold-PL.M.DIR 2.WK become.CONT.PRS-PRS.3[PL.M]

‘You feel cold.’

A third collocation uses the verb ده /da/ ‘be’ as an auxiliary. Again, the experiencer is expressed in a genitive phrase; the thing experienced governs agreement.

- تبه ده /təba də/ ‘have a fever’

(11.142) تبه یی ده .

təba-Ø ye da
fever-F.DIR 3.WK be.CONT.PRS.3SG.F

‘He has a fever.’

- رده کپری /zrə keg-/ ‘feel like’

This idiomatic expression consists of the verbalizer plus the word زده /zrə/ ‘heart’. The thing experienced is expressed inside an adpositional phrase governed by ته /ta/ ‘to, for’ or, if the thing experienced is expressed through a clause, it will take the usual form of a tensed complement (Tegey & Robson, 1996).

(11.143) تورتاوده ته می زده کپری .

tortāwdə-Ø tə me zr-ə kég-i
pilau-PL.M.DIR to 1SG.WK heart-M.DIR become.CONT.PRS-PRS.3[PL.M]

‘I am craving pilau.’

11.7.4.2 Denominal -خونبهر- /xwaxeg-/ ‘like, enjoy’

A fifth denominal verb, generally written as one word, derives from the verbalizer کپری /keg-/ ‘become’ plus خوش /xwax/ ‘sweet, pleasant’. The thing experienced is expressed as a noun, and the experiencer appears as a genitive phrase. Verb agreement is governed by the noun expressing the thing experienced.

(11.144) زما امریکایی پوچی خونبهری .

zmā amrikāi doq-əy xwax-ég-i
1SG.STR.POSS American food-F.DIR sweet-become.CONT.PRS-PRS.3[SG.F]

‘I like American food.’

11.7.4.3 Three more expressions of preference

The expression بد رايه /bad rāɖ-/ ‘dislike’ is an idiom, according to Tegey & Robson (1996). The verb component always carries third person plural agreement inflection. The thing experienced is expressed as the object within the circumpositional phrase نه...له /lə...na/, and the experiencer appears as a phrase governed by the preposition د /də/, or, as in 11.146, a strong possessive pronoun.

(11.145) د محمود د کيميا له درس نه بد راغلل .

də mahmud-Ø də kimyā-Ø lə dars-Ø
of Mahmoud-M.OBL of chemistry-F.OBL from... lesson-M.OBL
na bad rāyl-əl
...from bad come.AOR.PST-PST.3PL.M
‘Mahmoud didn't like his chemistry class.’

(11.146) زما ترې نه بد راخي .

zmā tre na bad raɖ-i
1SG.STR.POSS up.to.3... ...up.to bad come.CONT.PRS-PRS.3[PL.M]
‘I don't like him.’

The expressions بد ايسد /bad yis-/ ‘dislike’ and ښه ايسد /xə yis-/ ‘like’ are idioms made up of بد /bad/ ‘bad’ or ښه /xə/ ‘good’ plus ايسد /yis-/ ‘seem’. Unlike the preceding example, يد /bad/ ‘bad’ and ښه /xə/ ‘good’ in these expressions show variable agreement inflection: both these and the verbal component agree with the noun expressing the thing experienced.

(11.147) د سنا مېړه يې بد ايسی .

də sanā-Ø meɾ-ə ye bad Ø-yis-ī
of Sana-F.OBL husband-M.DIR 3.WK bad CONT-seem-PRS.3[SG.M]
‘He doesn't like Sana's husband.’

(11.148) د هر چا ډيوې ښه ايسی .

de har-Ø čā ɖiw-e xa Ø-yis-ī
of every-M.OBL who.OBL Diwe-F.DIR good CONT-seem-PRS.3[SG.F]
‘Everyone likes Diwe.’

11.7.5 An unergative or middle voice construction

A number of authors (Babrakzai 1999; Septfonds 1997; Septfonds 2006; Tegey & Robson 1996) describe a set of verbs (called “anti-impersonals” by Septfonds) which, though formally intransitive, nevertheless trigger oblique case marking on their subjects in past tenses. The verb itself exhibits PNG marking of third person masculine plural, the default agreement value in Pashto. The verbs that exhibit this case-marking pattern comprise a small set of vocalization verbs and a small number of activity verbs: خندل /xandəl/ ‘to laugh’; غږل /ɣapəl/ ‘to bark’; ترپل /trapəl/ ‘to jump’; ژرل /zarəl/ ‘to cry’; لمبل /lambəl/ ‘to bathe’; ټوخل /tuxəl/ ‘to cough’.

Functionally, this construction resembles a middle voice construction. It occurs only with past tense verbs, according to Septfonds. Though Septfonds’ research reports on Dzadrani, and we have also found examples of this construction in General Pashto, we have not through our own research been able to confirm the existence of this case-marking pattern in Waziri.

Recall that the oblique case form is expressed through the presence of the weak pronoun in 11.149 and 11.150.

(11.149) نن مې ډېر وخنډل .

nən me ɖer wə-xand-əl
today 1SG.WK much AOR-laugh-**PST.3PL.M**
‘I laughed a lot today.’

(11.150) نښه ډیر مې ژړلي .

xə ɖer me Ø-žār-əl-i
good much 1SG.WK CONT-cry-PST-**PTCP.PL.M.DIR**
‘I was crying my eyes out.’

(11.151) ډيوې او آباسين خندل .

ɖiw-e aw ābāsin-Ø Ø-xand-əl
Diwe-**F.OBL** and Abaseen-**M.OBL** CONT-laugh-**PST.3PL.M**
‘Diwe and Abaseen were laughing.’

Michael Maxwell and Anne Boyle David

A Structure of this Grammar

A.1 Overview

This book is a descriptive grammar of Pashto. The electronic form of the grammar, written in the Extensible Markup Language XML, is supplemented by a formal grammar, also in XML, which encapsulates the morphological and phonological part of the descriptive grammar, and which may be used to build a morphological parser. This formal grammar is available for download from deGruyter Mouton.

This appendix describes how the grammar is conceptualized. Included is a brief description of the structure of the formal grammar, and the twin processes for converting the XML document into a descriptive grammar (specifically, a PDF) and into a morphological parser.

As an XML document, the grammar is structured into two separate but largely parallel grammars: one is a traditional linguistic description in English, in a form that a researcher with a minimum of training in descriptive linguistics would understand—i.e., this book. The other grammar is a formal grammar of morphology and phonology, suitable for automatic extraction and conversion into a form usable by a computer program. The XML-based descriptive grammar is converted into a PDF for people, and the XML-based formal grammar is converted into a computational form for morphological parsers.

When the grammar is converted into a PDF for on-line viewing or printing, the parts containing the formal grammar can be (and have been, in the printed version) omitted. The mechanism for producing the PDF (or other output formats) in these two forms is sketched in Section A.6.

The formal grammar may be used in several ways:

- As a grammar which is easily converted into computational tools, such as morphological parsers.
- As a template for writing similar grammars of other languages.
- As a resource for automated grammar adaptation to related languages.

These intended uses are described in more detail in Section A.3.

It is also possible to use the technique called “Literate Programming” (Knuth, 1992) to convert both the descriptive and the formal grammars into a single PDF for readers who wish to see both. Literate Programming was developed as a way of improving the documentation of computer programs by allowing the programmer to embed pieces of a computer program into a prose document describing the program, in an order and arrangement that would make sense to the human reader, rather than an arrangement that might be required by the computer language’s compiler program.

Weaving together the two grammars allows the strengths of each to support the weaknesses of the other. In particular, a descriptive grammar written in a natural language such as English tends to be ambiguous, whereas the formal grammar should be unambiguous. In the form in which both are woven together, where the English description is (unintentionally) ambiguous, referring to the formal grammar should disambiguate the intended meaning. Conversely, a weakness of formal grammars (and particularly formal grammars that are computer-readable, as is ours) is that they tend to be difficult for people to comprehend. Again, our intention is that the meaning of the formal grammar will be clarified by the descriptive grammar. The descriptive and formal grammar sections on a given topic are written in parallel fashion, making it easy to perform such disambiguation or clarification.

A.2 Audience

The multi-use grammar is in a format which is expected to be useful to linguists ten years or a hundred years from now, whether they wish to understand the structural properties of Pashto, or to use the grammar or parser on a new platform or computer environment.

One intended user is a computational linguist. Since the formal grammar is especially concerned with morphology, and in particular with supporting the creation of morphological analysis tools, this application assumes that the computational linguist is knowledgeable about technology for morphological analysis, and conversant in basic linguistic terminology for morphology and phonology. For such a user, both the descriptive grammar and the formal grammar will be of interest, although the sections on usage of the descriptive grammar will probably be of less concern.

In addition, the examples in the paradigm tables and the examples of usage can serve as tests of parser implementations, supplementing the use of corpora for parser testing. This is particularly important since some paradigm cells are likely to be sparsely attested in typical corpora. But since the complete paradigms of exemplar words are provided in this descriptive grammar, the parser can be tested on those more rarely used parts of the paradigm.

Of course, people who wish to learn about the grammar—linguists and learners of Pashto—form the primary audience of this book. Since these users are largely concerned with understanding how the grammar works, and with the functional meaning of constructions, the formal grammar may be of less interest. This is why we have presented the formal grammar separately.

Another audience we have tried to keep in mind is the linguist who is charged with describing the grammar of another language, particularly of a related language. Such a person may wish to adopt the model given here to this other language. Depending on the purpose, the descriptive grammar, the formal grammar, or both, may be of interest to those users. For the sake of all audiences, we have kept the terminology and the

linguistic analysis itself as basic as possible, avoiding as much as possible theoretical constructs which do not correspond directly to observable linguistic phenomena.

A.3 More on uses of this grammar

In this section we describe in more detail the potential applications we see for this grammar, beginning with computational uses.

The Extensible Markup Language XML is a computer representation of text in which the function of pieces of text is indicated by tags. It provides a mechanism for describing the structure (as opposed to the display format) of documents. Specifically, the descriptive grammar's source document is structured as a DocBook XML¹ document; DocBook is a form of XML that has been developed for book- and article-like documents, particularly technical documents like this one. The DocBook formalism, and the modifications to that formalism that we have used in this project, are described in more detail in the documentation supporting the formal grammar. The XML source of this grammar is available.

For some purposes (such as converting the grammar into a form suitable for use with computational tools, as described in the next sub-section), the native XML is the appropriate format. But for other purposes, such as reading the grammatical description, it is convenient to format the text for viewing by converting the XML tags into formatting appropriate to the printed page. This can be done by a variety of means, since the DocBook XML format is a widely used format, and many tools are available for conversion. We describe in Section A.6 the method we have used to convert it to camera-ready copy as PDF.

In the following section, we describe how the XML document is converted into software.

A.3.1 The grammar as a basis for computational tools

As we have discussed, because this document is intended as a description of the grammar of Pashto which will be simultaneously *unambiguous* and *understandable*, it is suitable for implementation as a computational tool, and in particular as a morphological parser or generator.² We describe the method for converting this grammar, and

¹ We use DocBook version 5, with some extensions described later.

² Finite State Transducers (FSTs) combine parsing and generation capabilities. Therefore, if the morphological parsing engine being used is an FST (such as the Xerox or Stuttgart Finite State Transducer tools), the “parsing” engine serves both as a parser and as a generator. Technically, we should therefore use the term “transducer” for the computational program which uses our grammar, but we continue to refer to this as a “parsing engine” for reasons of familiarity.

in particular the formal grammar of Pashto morphology and phonology, into a form usable by computational tools in Section A.3.1.1.

The descriptive grammar also describes basics of Pashto syntax. However, there is no formal grammar of the syntax, largely because it is difficult to define a formal grammar mechanism for syntax which would be as generic and a-theoretic as the formal grammar schema for morphology and phonology.

In theory, a grammar intended to be used by a computer would not need a descriptive component, written in natural language; a formal grammar, written in some unambiguous format, would suffice. In fact, such formal grammars have already been written for a variety of natural languages—and in many programming languages. We have opted instead to blend our XML formal grammar with a descriptive grammar, using the technology of Literate Programming (briefly described in Section A.1), thereby making this grammar *understandable* by humans, as well as *unambiguous* to computers. Our goal in this is to make it more portable to future computing environments by extensively documenting in English each construct of the formal grammar. The result should be that a computational linguist who is unfamiliar with our formal grammar schema should be able to understand the meaning of the formal grammar itself by referring to the descriptive grammar.

A.3.1.1 Building a parser and generator

Using this grammar's source document to produce computational implementation (a parser) requires several steps. In the first step, the formal grammar is extracted from the grammatical description as a whole (including the descriptive grammar). This operation has been programmed as a simple XSLT (Extensible Stylesheet Language Transformation), which operates on the complete XML grammar to extract the formal grammar in its XML format.³

Second, this extracted XML grammar is translated into the programming language of the chosen morphological parsing engine. This conversion could be done by any program which can parse XML and convert the result into other formats. We have implemented our converter in the Python programming language. We chose Python because it allows the use of an object-oriented programming approach, in which each linguistic structure expressed as an element in the XML grammar corresponds to a *class*. For example, there are elements in the XML grammar corresponding to classes in the Python converter for linguistic objects such as *affixes*, *phonological rules*, and *allomorphs*. This part of the converter program is analogous to the front end of a programming language compiler: it ensures that the formal grammar is syntactically correct, and if so generates an intermediate representation in terms of Python objects.

³ An example of a piece of this formal grammar structure in XML form is given in Section A.3.2.

The other half of the converter is specific to the particular morphological parsing engine being targeted, and it rewrites the grammar into that programming language. This half is thus analogous to the back end of a programming language compiler: it translates from the intermediate representation of the grammar as Python objects, into the target programming language.⁴

Our converter currently targets the Stuttgart Finite State Transducer tools.⁵ Targeting a different parsing engine would require rewriting this half of the converter for the new parsing engine. The converter program is generic in terms of the language being described: that is, the same converter will work for a grammar of any language for which an XML grammar conforming to the schemas has been written.⁶

The final step of the conversion process is to use the parsing engine to compile the converted grammar together with an electronic dictionary of the language.⁷

In summary, the XML-based grammars serve as a stable way to define the morphological analysis of natural languages, so that the grammars can be used by different parsing engines. The converter can be used for any language for which the morphology has been described using the formal grammar. When a new and better parsing engine is developed, and the grammar needs to be ported to that new parsing engine, only part of the converter needs to be changed; the grammatical description can be re-used without change.

4 Modern programming language compilers often include a “middle end,” where optimization is done. This is not directly relevant to our converter, since any optimization is highly dependent on the target programming language. In fact, the back end of our converter currently does do some optimization for the Stuttgart Finite State Transducer (SFST). In particular, SFST’s own compilation phase becomes very slow and memory-intensive under certain circumstances. In order to avoid this, our converter breaks large compilation steps into shorter ones. This affects only SFST’s compilation; the final morphological transducer would be virtually the same regardless of this optimization.

5 The Stuttgart Finite State Transducer is an open source program, available from <http://www.ims.uni-stuttgart.de/projekte/gramotron/SOFTWARE/SFST.html>; it supports the kinds of constructions needed for most languages.

6 While the converter accounts for the morphological constructions needed for Pashto, there are some linguistic constructs in other languages, such as infixes and reduplication, which are allowed in the formal grammar schema but are not yet handled by the converter.

7 Normally, an electronic dictionary is a required resource. Fortunately, dictionaries are almost always more easily obtained than grammars, at least grammars of the sort required for morphological parsing. Electronic dictionaries will, however, require effort to convert them into the form required by the parsing engine. For some languages, this work will be simply extracting words belonging to the various parts of speech into separate files; for other languages, including Pashto, more information is required, including declension classes (for nouns and adjectives) and stem class allomorphy. The details of how this information needs to be represented will vary, depending on the particular parsing engine.

A.3.2 The grammar as a description

This grammar may of course be read as simply a linguistic description of the Pashto language. By *linguistic description* we mean a description that uses such traditional linguistic constructs as *allomorph* and *morphosyntactic features*.

The formal grammar also constitutes a description, and in fact one which may help disambiguate the descriptive grammar. In its current format as an XML document, however, it is difficult for people to read. It is possible, in order to make the formal grammar more accessible to linguists (particularly to linguists who are not familiar with the XML notation), to add to our XML-to-PDF conversion process the capability of converting the XML formal grammar notation into a notation more similar to a traditional linguistic description. For example, the XML representation of inflectional affixation in agglutinating languages uses a structure which (in somewhat simplified form) looks like the following (this example is based on Turkish):

```
<Ln: PartOfSpeech name="noun">
  <Ln: affixSlots >
    <Ln: InflAffixSlot id="slotNumber">
      <Ln: InflectionalAffix idref="afSingular"/>
      <Ln: InflectionalAffix idref="afPlural"/>
    </Ln: InflAffixSlot >
    <Ln: InflAffixSlot id="slotCase">
      <Ln: InflectionalAffix idref="afNominative"/>
      <Ln: InflectionalAffix idref="afGenitive"/>
      <Ln: InflectionalAffix idref="afDative"/>
      <Ln: InflectionalAffix idref="afAccusative"/>
      <Ln: InflectionalAffix idref="afAblative"/>
      <Ln: InflectionalAffix idref="afLocative"/>
    </Ln: InflAffixSlot >
  </Ln: affixSlots >
  <Ln: affixTemplates >
    <Ln: InflAffixTemplate >
      <Ln: refSuffixSlots >
        <Ln: SuffixSlot name="Number" idref="slotNumber"/>
        <Ln: SuffixSlot name="Case" idref="slotCase"/>
      </Ln: refSuffixSlots >
    </Ln: InflAffixTemplate >
  </Ln: affixTemplates >
</Ln: PartOfSpeech >
```

For a linguist, a more useful (and more readable) display of this XML structure might be the following table, in which the slots have been treated as columns in a table of affixes, and the individual affixes are displayed as a pairing of a gloss and a

form, rather than a reference to the definition of the affix elsewhere (the “idref” in the above XML code):

Stem	Number suffix slot	Case suffix slot
(Noun)	-∅ “-Singular”	-∅ “-Nominative”
		-in “-Genitive”
		-e “-Dative”
	-ler “-Plural”	-i “-Accusative”
		-den “-Ablative”
		-de “-Locative”

We emphasize that this is a matter of how the XML structure is *displayed*, not a change in the underlying XML. This particular step (the conversion process from our XML-based grammar to a display in the form of tables or other forms familiar to linguists) is not implemented yet. However, the use of an XML formalism for both the descriptive and formal grammars means that when the display mechanism is programmed, we will be able to produce versions of this grammar as PDFs and other formats which incorporate the new display, without changing the underlying XML documents.

A.4 Spell correction

A morphological parser constitutes a spell checker. That is, in the absence of special rules allowing for spelling variation, a parser requires that words be spelled in a particular way in order to be parsed. Failure of a word to parse can therefore be construed to mean that the word is misspelled (although in fact, many parse failures can be attributed to other errors, such as a missing lexeme in the dictionary).

However, it is frequently the case—particularly in less documented languages—that spelling conventions are not as fixed as they are for languages like English. This can be a problem. In particular, there is considerable variation in the spelling of Pashto, as we have noted in Chapter 1. However, Pashto’s extensive orthographic variation is not well documented in the literature. This could obviously be important in the application of computer processing to printed texts, because while a morphological parser acts as a spell checker, it does not by itself constitute a spell corrector. That is, when a word fails to parse, the parser cannot suggest a corrected spelling. However, it is possible to build a spell corrector on top of a morphological parser.

Spelling variation may in fact result from several different causes. In the absence of spelling standardization, some, but not all, variations can be termed errors; but regardless, all variation can cause problems for morphological parsing. Spell correction is therefore an important technology that can complement morphological parsing. We do not treat spelling variation in the formal grammar. However, the finite state technology currently used for morphological parsing can also be used to encode spelling variation rules.⁸

A.5 Grammar adaptation

There are hundreds of languages for which one might want to build morphological parsers.⁹ All of these, we believe, can benefit from grammar writing using the multi-use framework we have developed. There are two major ways that our work could be leveraged so as to make grammars of a large number of languages, and tools built on those grammars, available: by having it serve as a model or template for other grammar writers; and by automatically or semi-automatically adapting the formal grammar of one language to another language. The two sub-sections below discuss each of these approaches in turn.

A.5.1 Manual grammar building

The traditional way to produce morphological parsers is to rely on highly trained linguists and computational linguists to learn the programming language for some morphological parsing engine (or to write one's own parsing engine), learn the grammar and perhaps the writing system of the target language, and then use the former knowledge to encode the latter knowledge. An obvious impediment to this approach is that it is difficult to find one person who combines all these skills. Another difficulty, discussed above, is that parsing engines tend to be replaced with newer and better engines after a few years, rendering the parser that was built with so much expert effort obsolete.

The multi-use grammar method which we have developed provides a way to avoid the first problem: to the extent that the descriptive and formal grammars are separable, they can be written by people who bring either of two skill sets: one, knowledge of the

8 Ideally, such rules are given “weights” which encode the likelihood that a given spelling variation will be found. Some finite state tools allow the use of such weights.

9 There are in the neighborhood of 7000 languages in the world today (<http://ethnologue.org> is the standard reference on languages of the world). Of these, perhaps 1500 to 2000 are written languages, and probably the majority of these have non-trivial inflectional morphologies. Over 300 languages have at least a million speakers.

grammar (and writing system) of the target language; the other, experience in computer programming. It is, we believe, easier to find two different people (or perhaps two teams of people), one with each of these skill sets, than it is to find one person with both skills. We have in fact employed this division of labor in writing our grammars, and it has become clear that this approach to grammar writing makes it easier to build teams that can construct grammars and morphological parsers.

The two grammars must still be written collaboratively, which calls for a close working relationship between the descriptive grammar writer and the formal grammar writer. While the authors of this pair of descriptive and formal grammars have worked in nearby offices, we believe that this working relationship can probably be more remote; e.g., it might be mediated by email or other collaborative technologies, allowing a descriptive grammar writing team from the linguistics department located in the country where a language is spoken, together with a formal grammar writing team from a computer science department, perhaps in a different country.

It may be possible to further reduce the expertise needed to write grammars, if new grammars can be modeled after existing grammars. To some extent, this Pashto grammar re-uses the model of earlier grammars we have written using this same framework, although we have introduced some new techniques with each new language.

Using grammars as models might work best if the new grammars were for languages related to the ones already described, since the typology of the languages would be similar. But the use of model grammars may prove useful for unrelated languages as well.

We have also developed grammar testing tools based on the information in the descriptive grammar. In particular, these tools use the example sentences and paradigm tables of the descriptive grammar as a source of parser test cases. Such testing of course needs to be supplemented by testing against corpora, which may reveal morphological constructions not previously described.

A.5.2 Automated grammar adaptation

Rather than writing grammars by hand, another approach to grammar adaptation would be to create a computer program that could automatically adapt an existing formal grammar to work for another language, related to the initial target language. (A computer could not be expected to adapt a descriptive grammar, since that would require understanding of an English grammatical description, something which is well beyond the current state of the art.) This task might be done with various sorts of resources in the third language: corpora, bilingual corpora in the third language and English, bilingual corpora in the third language and the initial target language, dictionaries of the third language, etc. In particular, the Bible is available in nearly every written language and therefore constitutes a parallel corpus (Resnik, Olsen & Diab, 1999). While the vocabulary of the Bible is not always useful in a modern context, there

is no reason good Bible translations in two related languages could not serve as the basis for converting the formal grammar of the morphology of one language into a formal grammar of the other language's morphology.

Some work on automatic grammar adaptation has been described in Yarowsky (2002) and Feldman & Hana (2010).

A.6 Formatting the grammar for viewing

This section describes the method we have used to convert this grammar into a format readable by people.

The primary method for formatting XML DocBook documents is through the use of XSL-FO (XSL Formatting Objects, see Stayton 2005). While this method would work (provided it was supplemented with the XSL transformations needed for our literate programming and interlinear text extensions), we were not satisfied that any of the available XSL-FO processors would do a good job of typesetting the Arabic script required for Pashto and other languages.

Fortunately, there is an alternative typesetting method in the form of XeTeX, a Unicode-aware version of TeX and LaTeX, and developed by Jonathan Kew. (XeTeX is released under a free license; the latest distribution is currently included in the TeX Live distributions; see <http://tug.org/texlive/>.) Perhaps in part because Kew had worked with Arabic scripts, the result is, we believe, quite pleasing.

It remained to find a way to convert our DocBook XML files into XeTeX. Fortunately, we found the `dblatex` program, which was designed to convert DocBook into LaTeX (and now into XeLaTeX). The author, Benoît Guillon, has been very helpful in modifying it to work well with XeTeX. Again, this is an open source program, available from Sourceforge (<http://sourceforge.net/projects/dblatex/>). We have tweaked it slightly to allow for the conversion of the literate programming constructs and interlinear text; the latter was made easier by the existence of Michael Covington's LaTeX macros for interlinear text. Again, these are freely licensed, and available in the same TeX Live distribution as XeTeX.

One might ask why we did not write the grammar in LaTeX directly (or XeTeX). The main reason for this is that XML is a content markup system, while LaTeX is a presentation markup system. In part because of this, XML is now recognized as a standard for long term preservation of documents, particularly linguistic documents (see e.g. Borghoff, Rödig, Scheffczyk & Schmitz 2006 and Bird & Simons 2003). Content markup means that not only is the markup easily extensible, but by means of the judicious use of tags, we can extract elements for various purposes. For example, as mentioned in Section A.5.1, we can automatically extract all the words in both interlinear examples and example words in text, and use them to test a parser.

In outline, the steps we have used to format this grammar are the following:

1. Combine the various files of the descriptive and formal grammars into a single file, using the `xsltproc` program and the XSL *weave* stylesheet.
2. Run `dblatex` to convert this file into a XeLaTeX file. Any non-DocBook standard elements, such as interlinear text and inline examples, must be provided with special code to convert them into the format expected by XeLaTeX.
3. For all sequences of characters which require a special font (e.g. characters in the Arabic block of Unicode), we wrap the sequences in a special tag, telling XeLaTeX to use the appropriate font for these characters. Special care needs to be taken at this point with punctuation marks, which can interact badly with right-to-left scripts.
4. Run XeTeX (in its \LaTeX form, XeLaTeX) to produce a PDF.

B Sources of Pashto Data

B.1 Sources of interlinear examples taken from the web

Chapter 1: About this Grammar

1. 1.1 <http://www.miliehsas.com/>

Chapter 6: Adjectives and Other Noun Modifiers

1. 6.19 <http://www.benawa.com>
2. 6.20 <http://eqtisad.bloguna.tolafghan.com>
3. 6.25 <http://www.afghanjirga.net/>
4. 6.26 <http://www.benawa.com>
5. 6.27 <http://www.aryen.bloguna.tolafghan.com>

6. 6.28 <http://www.shamshadtv.tv>

7. 6.36 <http://www.sada-e-azadi.net>

8. 6.37 <http://www.aminzay.com>

Chapter 7: Pronouns

1. 7.55 <http://www.facebook.com/PashtoJokes/>

Chapter 8: Verbs

1. 8.13 <http://www.pajhwok.com/>
2. 8.14 <http://www.sporghay.com/>
3. 8.15 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hw08YbmNFLo/>
4. 8.16 <http://ps.wikipedia.org/wiki/>
5. 8.20 <http://eslahonline.net/>
6. 8.21 <http://www.tolafghan.com/>
7. 8.22 <http://larawbar.com/>
8. 8.25 <http://www.facebook.com/>
9. 8.26 <http://sangaar.com/>

10. 8.30 <http://khabarial.com/>
11. 8.31 <http://ps.wikipedia.org/wiki/>
12. 8.32 <http://www.pajhwok.com/en/photo/96113>
13. 8.33 <http://www.bloguna.com/>
14. 8.34 <http://www.bosa.blogsky.com/>
15. 8.37 <http://www.facebook.com/video/video/php?v=180813528650225/>
16. 8.38 <http://awakening.bloguna.tolafghan.com/>
17. 8.40 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UxcFrUw1ybQ/>
18. 8.41 <http://bloguna.com/Zhwand/>
19. 8.46 <http://kandahartv-gov.com/>
20. 8.49 <http://www.mirmanbaheer.org/>
21. 8.50 <http://www.mirmanbaheer.org/>
22. 8.51 <http://iwpr.net/ps/>
23. 8.55 <http://www.bakhtarnews.com.af/>
24. 8.56 <http://www.baheer.com/>
25. 8.57 <http://www.khyberwatch.com/>
26. 8.58 <http://www.afghan-german.net/>
27. 8.63 <http://dailyshahadat.com/>
28. 8.64 <http://www.tolafghan.com/>
29. 8.65 http://www.youtube.com/all_comments?v=xjHs0-6bOo/
30. 8.66 <http://www.s-rohi.com/>
31. 8.67 <http://eslahonline.net/>
32. 8.68 <http://www.;arawbar.org/>
33. 8.73 <http://www.rohi.af/>
34. 8.74 <http://www.facebook.com/israrahmadzai/posts/246413462138948/>

35. 8.75 <http://taand.com/>
36. 8.76 <http://www.dawatfreemedia.org/>
37. 8.79 <http://www.jahanionline.com/>
38. 8.80 <http://www.ahena.blogfa.com/>
39. 8.81 <http://www.pashtunforums.com/>
40. 8.82 <http://bloguna.com/>
41. 8.83 <http://www.facebook.com/PashtunUnity/posts/318701911484713/>
42. 8.84 <http://khaibarial.com/>
43. 8.85 <http://ghazal.bloguna.tolafghan.com/>
44. 8.86 <http://yahyaghafoorzai.blogfa.com/>
45. 8.87 <http://www.benawa.com/>
46. 8.88 <http://www.scprd.com/>
47. 8.89 <http://taand.com/>
48. 8.90 <http://pushtu.cri.cn/>
49. 8.91 <http://www.benawa.com/>
50. 8.92 <http://www.afghanjirga.com/>
51. 8.93 <http://pashtu.irib.ir/>
52. 8.95 <http://sporghay.com/>
53. 8.96 <http://www.baheer.com/>
54. 8.97 <http://www.s-rohi.com/>
55. 8.98 <http://www.h-obaidi.com/>
56. 8.99 <http://www.voanews.com/pashto/>
57. 8.100 <http://afghan-warlords.blogspot.com/>
58. 8.101 <http://didanona.com/>
59. 8.102 <http://scprd.com/>

60. 8.103 <http://waak.bloguna.tolafghan.com/>
61. 8.104 <http://ghorzang.net/>
62. 8.105 <http://taand.com/>
63. 8.106 <http://www.meenapukhto.blogfa.com/>
64. 8.107 <http://pushtu.cri.cn/>
65. 8.108 <http://baheer.com/>
66. 8.109 <http://khabarial.com/>
67. 8.110 <http://nunn.asia/>
68. 8.111 <http://quizlet.com/>
69. 8.113 <http://www.pashtoonkhwa.com/>
70. 8.114 <http://iwpr.net/>
71. 8.115 <http://wolas-ghag.com/>
72. 8.116 <http://islam-iea.com/>
73. 8.117 <http://eslahonline.net/>
74. 8.118 <http://nunn.asia/>
75. 8.120 <http://afghanfoundation.net/>
76. 8.121 <http://www.destaar.com/>
77. 8.122 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/pashto/world/>
78. 8.123 <http://afghanjirga.net/>
79. 8.124 <http://www.voanews.com/pashto/>
80. 8.125 <http://www.esalat.org/>
81. 8.126 <http://aryen.bloguna.tolafghan.com/>
82. 8.127 <http://rohi.af/>
83. 8.129 <http://iwpr.net/>
84. 8.130 <http://taleemulislam-radio.com/>

85. 8.131 <http://www.acsf.af/>

Chapter 9: Adpositions

1. 9.11 <http://afg-liberal-party.blogfa.com/>
2. 9.13 <http://pushtu.cri.cn/>
3. 9.14 <http://www.baheer.com>
4. 9.15 <http://pa.azadiradio.org/>
5. 9.24 <http://lashkargah.bloguna.tolafghan.com/>
6. 9.26 <http://sporghay.com/>
7. 9.32 <http://www.voanews.com/>
8. 9.33 <http://www.facebook.com/lrataral/posts/193484757403886/>
9. 9.36 <http://www.voanews.com/>
10. 9.41
<http://www.fbjs.facebook.com/afghanistancricketboard/posts/245676592129372/>
11. 9.45 <http://pa.azadiradio.org/>
12. 9.46 <http://larawbar.com/>
13. 9.47 <http://www.mashriqsoft.net/>
14. 9.67 <http://pa.azadiradio.org/>
15. 9.92 <http://lokрана.bloguna.tolafghan.com/>
16. 9.94 <http://da.azadiradio.org/>
17. 9.96 source: from a 12/22/2010 Azadi Radio Broadcast.
18. 9.97 <http://www.wakht.com/>
19. 9.98 <http://www.benawa.com/>
20. 9.121 <http://www.sada-e-azadi.net/>

Chapter 10: Other word classes

1. 10.3 <http://www.facebook.com/>
2. 10.4 <http://www.voanews.com/>

3. 10.7 <http://www.benawa.com/>
4. 10.8 <http://www.benawa.com/>
5. 10.9 <http://www.gma.com.af/>
6. 10.10 <http://www.sada-e-azadi.net/>
7. 10.11 <http://www.gotquestions.org/>
8. 10.12 <http://khyberwatch.com/>
9. 10.18 <http://www.khabarial.com/>
10. 10.19 <http://bowraa.com/>
11. 10.20 <http://s-rohi.com/>
12. 10.21 <http://www.afghanijokes.com/>
13. 10.28 <http://www.talafghan.com/>
14. 10.42 <http://sola.bloguna.tolafghan.com/>
15. 10.67 <http://www.voanews.com/>
16. 10.68 <http://lifeinafghanistan.wordpress.com/>
17. 10.69 <http://wepakhtoons.blogspot.com/>
18. 10.70 <http://www.voanews.com/>
19. 10.71 <http://larawbar.com/>

Chapter 11: Syntax

1. 11.3 <http://www.pajhwok.com/>
2. 11.19 <http://khedmatgar.com/>
3. 11.20 <http://www.kitabtoon.com/>
4. 11.21 <http://thanda.bloguna.tolafghan.com/>
5. 11.22 <http://ps.wikipedia.org/wiki/>
6. 11.23 <http://www.sada-e-azadi.net/>
7. 11.24 <http://www.khost-web.net/>

8. 11.25 <http://www.benawa.com/>
9. 11.26 <http://peshgaman.blogfars.com/>
10. 11.27 <http://iwpr.net/>
11. 11.29 <http://www.tatobay.com/>
12. 11.31 <http://www.loyafghanistan.af/>
13. 11.32 <http://origin-pa.azadiradio.org/>
14. 11.34 <http://loyafghanistan.af/>
15. 11.37 www.tolafghan.com/
16. 11.42 <http://www.pashtozaray.org/>
17. 11.43 <http://www.dailyshahadat.com/>
18. 11.44 <http://www.pajhwok.com/>
19. 11.45 <http://www.tolafghan.com/>
20. 11.46 <http://eslahonline.net/>
21. 11.47 <http://www.tolafghan.com/>
22. 11.65 <http://lawaghar.com/>
23. 11.67 <http://www.tolafghan.com/>
24. 11.68 <http://pa.azadiradio.org/>
25. 11.77 <http://www.khabarial.com/>
26. 11.81 <http://www.surgar.net/>
27. 11.84 <http://www.voanews.com/>
28. 11.85 <http://pa.azadiradio.org/>
29. 11.90 <http://pa.azadiradio.org/>
30. 11.91 <http://pa.azadiradio.org/>
31. 11.93 <http://www.afghanijokes.com/>
32. 11.106 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/>

B.2 List of web pages mined for language data

1. <http://afg-liberal-party.blogfa.com/>
2. <http://www.afghanijokes.com/>
3. <http://www.afghanjirga.net/>
4. <http://www.afghanistanonlineforums.com/>
5. <http://www.afghanistantoday.org/>
6. <http://www.afghanistanvotes.com/>
7. <http://www.aminzay.com/>
8. <http://da.azadiradio.org/>
9. <http://origin-pa.azadiradio.org/>
10. <http://pa.azadiradio.org/>
11. <http://www.baheer.com/>
12. <http://bakhtarnews.com.af/>
13. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/>
14. <http://www.benawa.com/>
15. <http://nojavan.blogfars.com/>
16. <http://peshgaman.blogfars.com/>
17. <http://wepakhtoons.blogspot.com/>
18. <http://lokrana.bloguna.tolafghan.com/>
19. <http://www.bloguna.com/>
20. <http://www.dailyshahadat.com/>
21. <http://eslahonline.net/>
22. <http://www.facebook.com/>
23. <http://www.ghatreh.com/>
24. <http://ghorzang.net/>

25. <http://www.gma.com.af/>
26. <http://www.gotquestions.org/>
27. <http://graanafghanistan.com/>
28. <http://iwpr.net/>
29. <http://www.kabirstori.com/>
30. <http://khatez.net/>
31. <http://www.khost-web.net/>
32. <http://khyberwatch.com/>
33. <http://kw.af/>
34. <http://larawbar.com/>
35. <http://lawaghar.com/>
36. <http://www.loyafghanistan.af/>
37. <http://www.mohe.gov.af/>
38. <http://www.ntm-a.com/>
39. <http://www.pajhwok.com/>
40. <http://www.pashtozera.org/>
41. <http://pashtu.irib.ir/>
42. <http://www.qamosona.com/>
43. <http://rohella-pashto-forum.com/>
44. <http://rohi.af/>
45. <http://www.sada-e-azadi.net/>
46. <http://www.spenghar.com/>
47. <http://sporghay.com/>
48. <http://www.surgar.net/>
49. <http://www.tatobay.com/>

50. <http://cricket.tolafghan.com/>
51. <http://www.tolafghan.com/>
52. <http://tolo.tv/>
53. <http://tolonews.com/>
54. <http://www.voanews.com/>
55. <http://www.wakht.com/>
56. <http://article.wn.com/>
57. <http://www.wranga.com/>
58. <http://lifeinafghanistan.wordpress.com/>
59. <http://www.zarlakht.net/>
60. <http://zwand.com/>

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Index

- Abbreviations 4
- Adjectives 103
 - as adverbs 391
 - as complements of denominal verbs 201
 - as nouns 155
 - animacy of 155
 - inflection of 79
 - attributive vs. predicative 154
 - Class I 104
 - animate 109
 - derivational suffixes 150
 - dialect variation 104
 - ending in /-gár/ 105
 - ending in /-jân/ 105
 - ending in /-mân/ 105
 - ending in /-wâr/ 105
 - forms with stem allomorphy 104, 105
 - forms without stem allomorphy 107
 - in Middle dialects 121
 - regularization toward 104, 119
 - Class II 109
 - diphthongization 113
 - forms with stem allomorphy 110, 111
 - forms without stem allomorphy 115
 - in Middle dialects 122
 - Class III 116
 - Class IIIa derivational suffixes 152
 - IIIa 116
 - IIIb 118, 246, 247
 - in Middle dialects 122
 - Class IV 119
 - derivational suffixes 152
 - loanwords 119
 - comparative 156
 - with /lə...na/ 349
 - with /tər/ 323
 - compound 153
 - derivation of 150
 - by compounding 153
 - Class I suffixes 150
 - Class IIIa suffixes 152
 - Class IV suffixes 152
 - from loanwords 152
 - from participles 116
 - from verbs 118
 - in conjunctive constructions 97
 - inflection 45, 103
 - comparable to noun inflection 103
 - inflectional classes *see* Adjectives; Class I, etc.
 - interrogative 147
 - count and non-count 148
 - negative
 - derived with /be-/ 152
 - derived with /nā-/ 153
 - number names *see* Number names
 - participles as
 - past 247
 - present 246, 303
 - predicative 154
 - reduplication of 153
 - superlative 156
 - *see also* Adjectives; comparative
 - usage 154
 - verbs derived from 200, 202
- Adpositions 305
 - /be/ 317
 - /be (nə)/ 317
 - /be lə...na/ 351
 - /bondi/ 329
 - /bānde/ 328
 - /de/ 314
 - /de ... kra/ 337
 - *see also* Location; constructions with /kara/

- possessive use 313
- *see also* Adpositions; /də/
- /də/ 312
 - /də də...pāra/, /də...lə pāra/ 337
 - /də...lānde/ 334
 - /də...lə amala/ 341
 - /də...lə lure/ 345
 - /də...lə pāsa/ 314
 - /də...lə xwā/ 343
 - /də...na/ 156, 334
 - /də...pore/ 335
 - /də...pə bābi/ 339
 - /də...pə bāra ke/ 339
 - /də...pə lor/ 343
 - /də...pə mæx ke/ 340
 - /də...pə šān/ 342
 - /də...pə ōāy/ 339
 - /də...pə tser/ 343
 - /də...səra/ 335
 - /də...tsəxa/ 335
 - /də...tsəxa/ 156
 - alternation with /lə/ 316
 - expressing possession 163
 - fusion with pronouns 313, 363
 - in complex adpositions 313
 - in possessive interrogatives 178
 - in postpositional phrases 334
 - variant /lə/ *see* Adpositions; /lə/
 - with ablative case 309
 - word order of /də/ clauses 424
- /e/ 314
 - /e...səra/ 336
 - *see also* Adpositions; /də/
- /kxe/ 329
- /la/, /lara/
 - as variants of /ta/ 326
- /leka/ 324
 - modal constructions with /če/ 325
- /londi/ 329
- /lə...na/ 348
 - assigns oblique case 48
 - complex circumpositions with 350
 - in comparatives 349
 - in superlatives 349
- /lə/ 316, 346
 - /lə...lānde/ 347
 - /lə...na bahar/ 350
 - /lə...na pəxwā/ 350
 - /lə...na/ 156, *see* Adpositions; /lə...na/
 - /lə...səra/ 346
 - /lə...tsəxa/ 347
 - alternation with /də/ 316
 - assigns ablative case 48
 - in expressions of preference 452
- /na/ 329
 - vs. ablative case-marking 363
- /prata lə...na/ 351
- /pre/ *see* Adpositions; /pə/; variant /pre/
- /pse/ 329
- /pə/
 - /pə...bānde/ 355, 441
 - /pə...ke/ 354
 - /pə...nde/ 356
 - /pə...pəse/ 354
 - assigns ablative case 48
 - causative with animate objects 320, 356, 363
 - in aspectual constructions 322
 - in circumpositions 353
 - in manner phrases 320
 - instrumental use 319
 - locational use 318
 - manner adverbs 382
 - temporal use 320
 - variant /pre/ 360
 - variant /pər/ 317
- /səra/ 327
 - reciprocal constructions with 385
- /ta/ 326
 - elided in /kara/ 361
- /tre/ *see* Adpositions; /trə/; variant /tre/
- /tər/ 323
 - /tər...londe/ 357

- /tər...lānde/ 358
 - /tər...pere/ 357
 - /tər...pore/ 357
 - assigns ablative case 48
 - in circumpositions 357
 - in comparatives 156, 323
 - in Middle dialects 324
 - variant /tre/ 360
 - /wrusta/
 - /wrusta lə...(na)/ 351
 - /wə/ 359
 - /wṛānde/ 328
 - /ye/ 314
 - /ye...nə/ 337
 - in complex phrases 315
 - *see also* Adpositions; /də/
 - /zidi/ 327
 - as negator 153
 - /ɣunde/ 328
 - adpositional phrases
 - overview of syntax 424
 - structure of 400
 - word order 424
 - ambipositions 305
 - and case assignment 306
 - as adverbs 306
 - circumpositions 305, 329
 - complex 337
 - complex circumpositional constructions with /də/ 313
 - in Middle dialects 332
 - incomplete 326
 - oblique pronominal clitics not governed by 365
 - omission of preposition 348
 - table of circumpositional elements 330
 - table of Middle vs. Standard forms 333
 - with /də/ 334
 - with /lə/ 346
 - with /pə/ 353
 - complex 305
 - with /də/ 313
 - in comparatives and superlatives 156
 - objects of
 - in ablative case 48, 308
 - in direct case 309
 - in oblique case 48, 307
 - mixed case-marking inside 311
 - omission of pronoun objects 364
 - postpositions 305, 325
 - postpositional phrases 334
 - with oblique pronominal clitics 365
 - prepositions 305, 312
 - omitted from circumpositions 348
 - usage 362
 - vs. /kara/ 361
 - weak pronouns not allowed as objects of 167
- Adverbs
- adjectives as 391
 - adpositions as 306
 - agreement of 391
 - Arabic loanwords 387
 - interrogatives as 388
 - of degree 386
 - of manner 382
 - of place 380
 - of time 378
 - reduplication of 392
 - with /čə/ 438
- Affixes 209
- /-(a)war/
 - derived Class I adjective 151
 - /-(w)o/
 - Class IV oblique plural adjective (variant) 119
 - /-(y)ún/
 - Class I masculine direct singular animate noun (M) 61
 - /-a/, /-ə/
 - feminine Class I derived noun 71
 - feminine Class I noun 67

- /-an/
 - Arabic adverbs 387
- /-aw-/
 - causative verb 227
- /-ay/
 - masculine Class III direct singular adjective 116, 122
 - masculine Class III direct singular noun 80
- /-ba/
 - derived nouns: master, keeper 73
- /-e/
 - Class II oblique plural adjective (M) 122
 - masculine Class III vocative singular adjective (W) 118
- /-e/, /-ye/
 - masculine Class I derived noun 55
- /-ed, edál-/
 - past tense intransitive verb 214
- /-eg/
 - present tense intransitive verb 214
- /-in/
 - derived Class I adjective 151
- /-iz/
 - derived Class I adjective 151
- /-jân/
 - derived Class I adjective 151
- /-man/
 - derived Class I adjective 150
- /-ya/
 - masculine Class III vocative singular adjective (E) 118
- /-yé/
 - Class III oblique plural and feminine adjective (M) 122
- /-ám/
 - ordinal numbers 105, 144, 151
- /-í/
 - Class II adjective (M) 122
- /-ín/
 - masculine plural Arabic noun 95
- /-úna/
 - masculine Class I plural inanimate noun 51, 52
- /-ān/
 - masculine direct singular animate adjective 108
- /-āne/
 - feminine direct singular animate adjective 108
- /-āno/
 - oblique animate adjective 108
- /-āt/
 - masculine plural Arabic noun 95
- /-əma/
 - first person singular (poetic) 191
- /-əy/
 - feminine Class III direct singular noun 80
- /-ál-/
 - infinitive verb 194
 - optional/prohibited in some past bases 215
 - past tense transitive verb 214, 254
 - second conjugation infinitive verb 199
- /-ám/
 - ordinal numbers (W) 144, 151
- /be-/
 - derived negative adjective 152
- /nā-/
 - derived negative adjective 153
- /wā-/
 - first conjugation aorist verb 197, 204
 - on infinitive in periphrastic passive 300
- /-(a)nây/
 - derived Class IIIa adjective 152
- /-dār/
 - derived Class I adjective 151
- /-gān/, /-ān/
 - masculine Class I plural animate noun 51, 52, 55

- /-nāk/
 - derived Class I adjective 151
- /-wāl/
 - derived Class I adjective 151
- /-wālā/
 - derived Class IV adjective 152
- /-ây/
 - derived Class IIIa adjective 152
- /-î/
 - derived Class IV adjective 152
- /-â/
 - masculine Class II singular or direct plural adjective 111
- adjectival derivational suffixes 152
- Middle dialect personal endings 194
- table of derivational noun suffixes 98
- table of verbal affixes 187
- verbal prefixes
 - as second-position clitics 209
 - deictic 172, 198
 - derivational 191, 198
- Allomorphy
 - of adjectives
 - Class I 104, 105
 - Class II 110, 111
 - of nouns 45, 52
 - Class I 55, 62, 67, 69
 - Class IIa 75
 - in Middle dialects 61
- Ambipositions *see* Adpositions; ambi-positions
- Animacy 50
 - grammatical vs. natural 51
 - human vs. nonhuman objects 176
 - in adpositional constructions with /pə/ 320, 356, 363
 - of adjectives
 - Class I 109
 - used as nouns 155
 - of nouns 50
 - and gender 45
 - and stem allomorphy 55
 - Class II 73
 - grammatically inanimate 62
 - kinship terms 93
 - switching animacy categories 68
- Aspect 185
 - aorist
 - as subjunctive with present base 252
 - contracted denominal verbs separable in 202
 - definition 203
 - first conjugation base 204
 - negative placement in 406
 - no negative imperatives in 260
 - of a-initial verbs 197
 - periphrastic passive in 300
 - position of enclitics 404
 - second conjugation base 209
 - third conjugation base 210
 - aorist optative 263
 - constructions with /pə/ 322
 - continuous
 - contracted vs. uncontracted denominal verbs in 202
 - definition 204
 - continuous optative 261
 - imperfective *see* Aspect; continuous
 - perfective *see* Aspect; aorist
- Case
 - ablative 48
 - instrumental usage 48
 - objects of adpositions in 48, 308, 317
 - of adjectives 103
 - vs. postposition /na/ 363
 - accusative
 - expressed with the oblique 162
 - in Arabic loanwords 387
 - adpositions and
 - case assignment 306
 - in Middle dialects 307

- mixed case-marking in adpositional objects 311
- direct 48
 - identical to ablative in feminine nouns 48
 - in present tense 48
 - in strong pronouns 157
 - objects of adpositions in 309
 - predicative adjectives in 154
 - strong pronouns and 162
 - with intransitive verbs 48
- ergativity and 448
- in Middle dialects 48
- instrumental
 - causative with instrumental circum-position 441
 - expressed by /pə/ 319
- oblique 48
 - in objects of adpositional phrases 334
 - in past tense 48
 - in possessives 163
 - in pronominal phrases 365
 - in strong pronouns 157
 - marking direct object 162
 - objects of adpositions in 48, 307
 - strong pronouns and 162
 - with transitive verbs 48
- strong pronouns and 162
- syntax of case-marking 448
- vocative 49
 - identical to ablative in masculine nouns 48
 - of adjectives used as nouns 156
 - particles assigning 375
 - variant forms in Class III adjectives 118
- weak pronouns and 166
- with verbs of sensation 450
- Causation *see* Verbs; causative
- Circumpositions *see* Adpositions; circumpositions
- Clauses
 - subordinate *see* Subordinate clauses
- Comparative *see* Adjectives; comparative
- Conditionals *see* Subordinate clauses; with /kə/; conditional clauses
- Conjunctions 442
 - coordinating 443
 - /aw/ 'and' 443
 - /byā/ 'then' 446
 - /xo/ 'but' 445
 - /yā/ 'or' 444
 - omission of in conjoined verb phrases 443
 - correlative 446
 - /ham...aw ham/ 'both...and' 446
 - /kə...no/ 'if...then' 447
 - /nā yawāze...balki/ 'not only...but also' 446
 - /nə...nə/ 'neither...nor' 447
 - /yā...yā/ 'either...or' 447
 - exclusive 447
 - inclusive 446
 - subordinating
 - /čə/ *see* Particles; subordinating; /čə/
 - compounds with /čə/ 440
- Consonants
 - elegant *see* Pronunciation; consonants; elegant
- Determiners
 - demonstrative 124
 - distal 128
 - medial 127
 - proximal 124
 - indefinite 130
 - quantifiers *see* Quantifiers
- Dialect
 - about Pashto dialects 31
 - approaches used in this book 34
 - Central
 - adposition /də/ in 312

- Eastern 41
 - adposition /də/ in 312
 - Class II adjectives 113
 - Class IIIb adjectives 118
 - forms of particle /čə/ 425
 - unreduced strong possessive pronouns 163
 - five-dialect approach 32
 - four-dialect approach 35
 - international differences 36
 - map of dialect regions 32
 - Middle 37
 - a-initial verbs 207
 - adjectives 121
 - adposition /lə/ unattested in 316
 - aspectual constructions 322
 - circumposition /wə ... ta/ 326
 - circumpositions 332
 - consonants 39
 - existential constructions 368
 - independent postpositions 329
 - omission of first circumpositional component 329, 330
 - pronouns 157
 - vowels 13
 - Waziri metaphony 37, 357
 - Northeast 35
 - elision of weak pronouns 169
 - negative imperatives 258
 - omission of first circumpositional component 347, 348
 - Northern 41
 - existential constructions 368
 - omission of first circumpositional component 330
 - Northwest 35
 - case marking with /pə/, /pər/ 318
 - negative imperatives 258
 - omission of first circumpositional component 347, 348
 - soft vs. hard 41
 - Southeast 35
 - Southern 41
 - Southwest 8, 35
 - case marking with /pə/, /pər/ 318
 - circumposition /tər ... pərə/ 323
 - present aorist forms of /kedəl/ 236
 - three-dialect approach 42
 - two-dialect approach 40
 - variation 8, 32
 - cardinal numbers 137
 - circumpositional combinations 330
 - independent postpositions 326, 330
 - morphology 32
 - noun class membership 62
 - Western 41
 - Class II adjectives 113
 - Class IIIb adjectives 118
 - forms of particle /čə/ 425
 - interrogative particle 417
 - omission of postposition /pori/ 357
 - ordinal numbers 144
 - vowel mutation in Class I adjectives 104, 105
 - vowel mutation in ordinal numbers 105
- Dictionaries 459
- Distance
- distal demonstratives 176
 - distal strong pronoun 157
 - medial demonstratives 173
 - proximal demonstratives 172
- Dzadrani *see* Dialect; Middle
- Echo words *see* Reduplication
- Emphasis
- emphatic particle 375
 - marked by strong pronouns 161
- Ergativity 50, 186
- and case 448
 - strong pronouns and 161
 - weak pronouns and 448
 - *see also* Verbs
- Existential

- particle /šta/ 367
 - *see also* Particles; existential
- questions 418
- statements 421

- Gender
 - in strong pronouns 157
 - lack of gender distinction
 - in demonstratives 172
 - in interrogative pronouns 177
 - in number names 133
 - in optative 261
 - in proximal demonstratives 124, 126
 - of nouns 45
 - in Class III 80
 - in conjunctive constructions 97
 - irregular 92
 - loanwords 95
 - plural formation 46
 - *see also* Nouns; gender
 - of verbs 185

- Human vs. non-human distinctions *see* Animacy

- Indirect discourse *see* Reported speech
- Infinitive *see* Verbs; infinitive
- Instrumental *see* Case; instrumental
- Interjections *see* Particles; interjections
- Interrogation
 - adverbial interrogatives 388
 - as indefinites 390
 - affirmation questions 374, 419
 - existential questions 418
 - interrogative adjectives 147
 - interrogative particle /āyā/ 417
 - interrogative pronouns 176
 - in temporal clauses 434
 - with interrogative pronouns 418
 - word order 417
- Irrealis
 - counterfactual
 - with subordinating particle /kə/ 436
 - future
 - with modal clitic /bə/ 274, 369
 - optative
 - with optative particle /kāške/ 374

- Loanwords 102
 - adjectives derived from 152
 - Arabic
 - adjectives 119
 - adverbs 387
 - interjections 377
 - nouns 95
 - gender assignment 92
 - Hindi/Urdu
 - as dialect signifier 37
 - Persian
 - adjectives 119
 - as dialect signifier 37
- Location
 - adverbs of place 380
 - constructions with /kara/ 361
 - constructions with /pə/, /pər/ 318
 - in relative clauses 428
 - locative alternation 413

- Manner
 - adverbs of 382
 - constructions with /pə/ 320
- Modals
 - /kedəl/ as modal auxiliary 293
 - as second-position clitics 404
 - constructions with /leka če/ 325
 - in present aorist constructions 275
- Mood 185
 - imperative 258
 - continuous vs. aorist 260
 - negative 258, 286
 - of to be 229
 - positive commands in present continuous 284
 - syntax of commands 419
 - usage 283
 - optative

- aorist 294
 - continuous 294
 - counterfactual constructions with /kaški/ 373
 - expressing potential 293
 - lack of PNG distinction in 261
 - particle /kāške/ 261, 373
- Negative
- adjectives
 - derived with /be-/ 152
 - derived with /nā-/ 153
 - aorist phrases 406
 - correlative conjunctions 446
 - existential 367
 - future tense 407
 - infixation in 409
 - imperative 258
 - only in continuous aspect 260
 - with particle /má/ 286
 - indefinite pronouns 181, 390
 - of perfect constructions 291
 - of potential constructions 298
 - particles 404
 - /má/ 258, 420
 - /má/ 286
 - /ná/ 404
 - /ná šta/ 367
 - present tense 272
 - quantifiers 132
 - with /zidi/ 153
- Nominalization *see* Nouns; deverbals
- Nouns 45
- abstract 46
 - adjectives as 155
 - inflection of 79
 - animacy 50
 - and gender 45
 - and stem allomorphy 55
 - Class I nouns 55
 - of grammatically inanimate nouns 62
 - of kinship terms 93
 - switching animacy categories 68
 - Class I 52
 - animate 55
 - derived feminine nouns 71
 - derived masculine nouns 55
 - feminine nouns 67
 - inanimate 62
 - inflected as Class II 64
 - kinship terms in /á/ 62
 - overlap with Class IIb 79
 - plural formation 55
 - professional titles 55, 61
 - sample paradigms: feminine animate 67
 - sample paradigms: feminine inanimate 70
 - sample paradigms: masculine animate 55
 - sample paradigms: masculine inanimate 62
 - sample paradigms: Middle dialects 61, 64, 71
 - stem allomorphy in 55, 62, 67, 69
 - switching animacy categories 68
 - Class II 73
 - alternate inflection of Class I nouns 64
 - animacy of 73
 - gender of 73
 - IIa 73, 75
 - IIb 73, 79
 - in Middle dialects 73
 - sample paradigms: class IIa 75
 - sample paradigms: class IIb 79
 - stem allomorphy: class IIa 75
 - stem allomorphy: class IIb 79
 - Class III 80
 - gender of 80
 - IIIa 84
 - IIIa: ethnic denominations 84
 - IIIa: feminine 85

- IIIb 87
 - IIIb: feminine 88
 - IIIb: masculine 84, 87
 - in Middle dialects 89
 - sample paradigms: IIIa feminine 85
 - sample paradigms: IIIa masculine 84
 - sample paradigms: IIIb feminine 88
 - sample paradigms: IIIb masculine 87
 - sample paradigms: Middle dialects 89
 - stress 80, 89
 - collective *see* Nouns; mass
 - compound 101
 - derivation of 98
 - by compounding 101
 - by suffixes 98
 - feminine nouns in /a/, /ə/ 71
 - from adjectives 155
 - masculine nouns in /-e/, /-ye/ 55
 - switching animacy categories 68
 - deverbal 313
 - formation of
 - deverbal 313
 - feminine nouns in /a/, /ə/ 67
 - gender 45
 - in Class II 73
 - in Class III 80
 - of abstract nouns 46
 - of derived nouns 55
 - of irregular nouns 92
 - of loanwords 95
 - plural formation 46
 - governing relative clauses 428
 - in conjunctive constructions 97
 - infinitives as 194, 300
 - inflection 45
 - irregular 92
 - in Middle dialects 71
 - kinship terms 93
 - Class I in /á/ 62
 - loanwords
 - class and gender assignment 92
 - from Arabic 95
 - mass 46
 - interrogative adjectives specifying 148
 - noun classes 51
 - dialectal variation in class membership 62, 92
 - of irregular nouns 92
 - number of 46
 - quantifiers as 130
 - reduplication 101
 - stem allomorphy in 45, 52
 - in Middle dialects 61
 - subordinate noun clauses 429
 - used for reported speech 432
 - syntax of noun phrases 399
 - verbs derived from 200
 - contracted vs. uncontracted denominal verbs 201
- Number
- in loanwords 95
 - lack of number distinction
 - in demonstratives 172
 - in interrogative pronouns 177
 - in optative 261
 - in proximal demonstratives 124
 - in weak pronouns 164
 - of nouns 46
 - Arabic loanwords 95
 - irregular plural forms 92
 - mass nouns 46
 - of verbs 185
- Number names 132
- /yaw/ as indefinite determiner 130
 - cardinal 133
 - counting 137
 - in Middle dialects 136
 - inventory 137
 - morphology 133
 - reduplication of 146

- in time expressions with /pə/, /pər/ 322
- ordinal 144
 - declined like Class I adjectives 105
 - in Middle dialects 146
- Orthography *see* Spelling
- Participles 185, 246
 - agreement of 265
 - aorist 249
 - in future perfect tense 289
 - in past perfect tense 290
 - verbs using 249
 - as adjectives 116
 - declension of 246
 - past 247
 - as adjectives 247
 - irregular forms 249
 - present 246
 - as adjectives 246
 - as noun modifiers 303
- Particles 367
 - adverbial
 - /no/ 404
 - /xo/ 404
 - as second-position clitics 404
 - affirmative
 - /kə na/ 374, 419
 - deictoids 169
 - deictic prefixes 172, 198
 - directional verbal clitics 171
 - oblique pronominal clitics 170, 365
 - emphatic
 - /xo/ 375
 - enclitics 403
 - in Middle dialects 405
 - existential
 - /nə šta/ 367
 - /šta/ 367, 418
 - future
 - /bə/ 274, 275, 369, 403
 - in separable verb constructions *see* Particles; enclitics
 - interjections 376
 - Arabic loanwords 377
 - onomatopoeitic 376
 - to call animals 376
 - to express emotion 376
 - interrogative
 - /āyā/ 417
 - modal 369
 - /bāyad/ 373
 - /de/ 372, 403
 - /šāyi/ 373
 - *see also* Particles; future; /bə/
 - negative
 - /má/ 258, 404, 420
 - /má/ 286
 - /nā/ 404
 - /nə šta/ 367
 - optative
 - /kaški/ 373
 - /kāške/ 261
 - pronominal *see* Pronouns, weak
 - second-position clitics 404
 - modal clitic /bə/ 369
 - verbal prefixes 209
 - weak pronouns 166
 - subordinating
 - /kə/ 435, 436
 - /no/ 438
 - /pə de čə/ 439
 - /wale čə/ 439
 - /če/ 325
 - /čə/ 181, 425
 - /ɬəka 436
 - vocative 375
 - weak personal pronouns 403
 - word order 424
 - dialectal variation 258
 - in Middle dialects 406
 - in separable verb constructions 404
- Pashto

- about 7
- dialects 8
 - *see also* Dialect
- history 8
- phonology 8
- speakers 7
- variation 8
- Passive 414
 - adpositional constructions
 - with /də... lə lure/ 345
 - with /də... lə xw/ā 343
 - periphrastic with infinitive 212
 - as third conjugation verb 212
- Person
 - lack of person distinction
 - in optative 261
 - in weak pronouns 164
 - of verbs 185, 191
- Phonology 9
 - dialectal variation 8, 32
 - Class II adjectives 113
 - consonants in Middle dialects 39
 - glide insertion 207
 - lenition of possessive /də/ 163
 - Waziri metaphony 37
 - of denominal verbs 201
 - vowel variation in deictoids 170
 - *see also* Allomorphy
 - *see also* Pronunciation
- Plurality *see* Number
- Possession
 - constructions with strong pronouns 163
 - constructions with weak pronouns 168
 - in conditions of coreference 182
 - in interrogatives 178
 - with /də/ 313
- Postpositions *see* Adpositions; postpositions
- Prepositions *see* Adpositions; prepositions
- Pro-drop 161
- Pronouns 157
 - coreferential 181
 - /xpəl/ 182
 - vs. possessive 181
 - demonstrative 172
 - as dummy subject 430
 - distinguished from distal strong pronoun 157
 - proximal 172
 - vs. determiners 172
 - in conjunctive constructions 443
 - indefinite *see* Pronouns; interrogative; as indefinites
 - indexical vs. anaphoric 160
 - interrogative 176
 - as adverbials 388
 - as indefinites 179, 390
 - as relatives 181
 - human 176
 - in temporal clauses 434
 - non-human 178
 - possessive 178
 - omission of 161
 - ergativity and 448
 - in adpositional phrases 364
 - *see also* Pro-drop
 - overview 157
 - personal *see* Pronouns; strong
 - reciprocal 184
 - vs. adpositional constructions 385
 - relative 181
 - interrogative pronouns as 181
 - subordinating particle /čə/ 425
 - resumptive 426
 - in relative clauses 427
 - strong 157
 - agreement 161
 - as emphatics 161
 - distal 157
 - fusion with /də/ 313, 363
 - in past tense 161
 - in present tense 161

- in relative clauses 426
- possessive 163, 313
- replacing verbal enclitic 405
- vs. demonstratives 160
- with intransitive verbs 161
- weak 164
 - agreement 166
 - as second-position clitics 166
 - in past tense 166
 - in possessive constructions 168
 - in present tense 166
 - in separable verb constructions 403
 - lack of case distinction in 166
 - not allowed as objects of adpositions 167
 - omission of 166
 - person and number syncretism in 164
 - position in sentence 411
 - *see also* Particles; enclitics
 - resumptive pronouns 426
 - *see also* Pronouns; resumptive
 - sentential stress and 166
 - with intransitive verbs 166
 - with transitive verbs 166, 422
 - word order 404, 421
- Pronunciation 37
 - consonants 9
 - elegant 9
 - in Middle dialects 39
 - vowels 11
 - dialectal variation 32
 - elegant 13
 - in Middle dialects 13
 - Waziri metaphony 37
- *see also* Phonology
- Prosody *see* Stress
- Purpose *see* Subordinate clauses; with /čə/; purpose clauses
- Quantifiers 130
 - as determiners 131
 - as nouns 130
- Reduplication
 - echo words 393
 - full vs. partial 393
 - in interjections
 - onomatopoetic 376
 - to call animals 376
 - of adjectives 153
 - of adverbs 392
 - of coreferential pronoun /xpəl/ 182
 - of interrogatives 390
 - of nouns 101
 - of number names 146
- Relative clauses *see* Subordinate clauses; with /čə/; relative clauses
- /čə/ + interrogative 181
- Reported speech 432
- Script 15
 - representation of vowels 25
- Spelling 1, 15
 - international differences 36
 - Pashto-specific letters 16
 - transcription 28
 - table of characters 18
 - variation 29
- Split ergativity *see* Ergativity
- Stem allomorphy *see* Allomorphy
- Stress 15
 - sentential
 - and weak pronouns 166
 - negative aorist phrases 406
 - with future particle /bə/ 370
 - word
 - Class I and Class II adjectives 103
 - Class III nouns 89
 - Class IIIa adjectives 116
 - Class IIIb adjectives 118
 - Class IV adjectives 119
 - demonstrative determiners 124, 126
 - demonstratives 172
 - in deictoids 170

- negatives 272
- second conjugation aorist base 209, 217
- strong pronouns vs. demonstratives 160
- third conjugation aorist base 210
- verbal group 404
- with directional verbal clitics 171
- with oblique pronominal clitics 170
- Subordinate clauses 425
 - with /kə/
 - conditional clauses 435
 - irrealis clauses 275
 - with /no/
 - result clauses 438
 - with /čə/ 425
 - adverbial clauses 438
 - irrealis clauses 275
 - noun clauses 429
 - other subordinating conjunctions 440
 - purpose clauses 439
 - relative clauses 181, 425, 427
 - reported speech 432
 - temporal clauses 434
 - word order 437
 - with /džəka/
 - reason, cause, and result clauses 436
 - *see also* Particles; subordinating
- Superlative *see* Adjectives; comparative
- Syntax
 - adpositional phrases 424
 - agreement 448
 - commands 419
 - conjunction 442
 - noun phrases 399
 - passive clauses 414
 - sentence types 410
 - subordinate clauses 425
 - *see also* Subordinate clauses
 - verb phrases 401
- Tense 185
 - and case-marking 448
 - future
 - expressing potential 295
 - negative 407
 - with particle /bə/ 275
 - with present aorist + /bə/ 275
 - with present continuous + /ba/ 273
 - future perfect 289
 - past
 - /-əl-/ in past bases 215
 - ergativity and 50
 - expressing potential in 294
 - oblique case and 48
 - oblique case in 48
 - strong pronouns in 161
 - weak pronouns in 166
 - past aorist 256
 - usage 281
 - past continuous 254
 - usage 279
 - past perfect 267, 290
 - past potential 268
 - perfect constructions
 - future perfect 289
 - negatives in 291
 - past perfect 290
 - present perfect 287
 - present
 - direct case in 48
 - ergativity and 50
 - expressing potential in 293
 - strong pronouns in 161
 - weak pronouns in 166
 - present aorist
 - expressing obligation with 373
 - in imperatives 229
 - irrealis constructions in 274
 - polite requests in 373
 - usage 274
 - with purpose clauses 440
 - present continuous 249

- in imperatives 284
- usage 270
- present perfect 265, 287
- present potential 268
- Time
 - adverbs of 378
 - constructions with /pə/, /pər/ 320
 - subordinate clauses of 434
- Transcription *see* Spelling; transcription
- Transitivity *see* Verbs
- Verbs 185
 - /biwál/
 - table of bases 221
 - /ixodál/
 - table of bases 221
 - /kawál/
 - as independent verb 204
 - as verbalizer 200, 228, 229
 - forms of 239
 - in light verb constructions 401
 - table of bases 220
 - tables of bases in Middle dialects 220
 - /kedál/
 - in light verb constructions 401
 - /kedál/
 - as independent verb 204
 - as verbalizer 200, 228, 229
 - expressing potential 293
 - forms of 234
 - in periphrastic passive 212
 - table of bases 222
 - tables of bases in Middle dialects 223
 - /rātlál/
 - table of bases 222
 - /tlál/
 - table of bases 222
 - /wɾəl/
 - table of bases 221
 - agreement of
 - in perfect constructions 287
 - with conjoined subjects 97, 444
 - with subordinate noun clauses 430
 - aorist *see* Aspect; aorist
 - auxiliary 200
 - to be *see* Verbs; to be
 - *see also* Verbs, verbalizers
 - base 186
 - base vs. stem 214
 - first conjugation 204
 - formation from stem 215
 - of a-initial verbs 204
 - of weak verbs 215
 - second conjugation 209
 - third conjugation 210
 - types of verbal base 214
 - causative 227
 - /aɾ istál/ 441
 - /constructions with /pə/ 320
 - constructions with /pə/ 356, 363
 - periphrastic constructions 440
 - vs. contracted denominals 203
 - classification 186
 - a-initial 204
 - conjugation classes 203
 - complex
 - a-initial 196, 204
 - definition 196
 - denominal 200
 - *see also* Verbs; denominal
 - in negative future tense 409
 - prefixed 198, 209
 - compound 228, 265
 - future perfect 289
 - negatives in 291
 - past perfect 267, 290
 - past potential 268
 - potential 293
 - potential constructions 267
 - present perfect 265, 287
 - present potential 268
 - conjoined verb phrases 443

- continuous *see* Aspect; continuous
- denominal 200
 - adjective agreement in 202
 - and word order 412
 - aspect of 202
 - contracted 200
 - in first conjugation 210
 - in imperative constructions 202
 - lexicalization of 201
 - negation of 409
 - of sensation 450
 - omission of light verb in aorist optative 263
 - periphrastic passive 212
 - phonology of 201
 - uncontracted 200
 - with adjective complements 201
 - with conjoined objects 149
 - with enclitics 405
- derivation of 186
 - a-initial 196
 - denominal 200
 - from denominal constructions 200
 - from nouns or adjectives 200
 - light verb constructions 401
 - prefixed verbs 198
- first conjugation 196, 204
 - a-initial 197, 204
 - causatives 227
 - formation of aorist base 204
 - in Middle dialects 207
 - with enclitics 404
 - *see also* Verbs; complex; a-initial
- imperative *see* Mood; imperative, *see* Mood; imperative
- infinitive 185, 194
 - as citation form 190
 - as nouns 300
 - as objects of adpositions 306
 - formation of 194
 - in periphrastic passive 212
 - inflected 300
- intransitive
 - denominal 263
 - direct case and 48
 - ergativity and 50
 - formation of denominal 200
 - predicative adjectives and 154
 - strong pronouns and 161
 - weak pronouns and 166
- irregular
 - past participles 249
 - to be 229
- light verb constructions 401
 - agreement in 403
 - denominal 200
 - middle voice constructions 453
 - of preference 452
 - of sensation 450
 - participles *see* Participles
 - passive *see* Passive
 - personal endings 191
 - root *see* Verbs; base
 - second conjugation 196, 209
 - prefixed 198
 - with enclitics 404
 - *see also* Verbs; complex; prefixed
- simple verb constructions
 - aorist optative 263
 - continuous optative 261
 - imperative continuous 258
 - past aorist 256
 - past continuous 254
 - present aorist 252
 - present continuous 249
- simplex 196
- stem
 - multi-stem verbs 219
 - one-stem verbs 215
 - stem classes 212
 - stem vs. base 214
 - strong vs. weak verbs 212
 - table of stem shapes 190
 - two-stem verbs 218

- strong
 - base formation 218, 219
 - list of 224
 - multi-stem 219
 - tables of multi-stem verbs 220
 - two-stem 218
 - structure of 187
 - subjunctive 252
 - present aorist as 252, 374
 - *see also* Irrealis
 - syntax of noun phrases 401
 - third conjugation 196, 210
 - *see also* Verbs; denominal
 - to be 228, 229
 - as copula 269
 - imperative 229
 - in existential statements 421
 - in Middle dialects 229
 - past continuous 269
 - present aorist 275
 - present continuous 269
 - transitive
 - ergativity and 50
 - formation of denominal 200
 - locative alternation in three-argument predicates 413
 - past tense 48
 - strong pronouns and 161
 - verbalizers 234
 - weak pronouns and 166
 - unergative 453
 - verbalizers 200
 - /kawál/ 228, 229, 239
 - /kedál/ 228, 229, 234
 - aorist participles of 249
 - transitive 234
 - weak 215
- Vowels
- elegant *see* Pronunciation; vowels; elegant

Word order

- denominal verbs and 412
- in conjunctive constructions 443
- in existential constructions 367
- in imperatives 419
- in negatives 420
 - negative aorist phrases 406
 - negative future 407
- in noun phrases 399
- in questions 177, 417
- in statements 411
 - ditransitive 413
 - with multiple pronouns 421
- in verb phrases 401
- locative alternation 413
- of /də/ clauses 424
- of adpositional phrases 400
- of particles 424
 - in separable verb constructions 404
- of relative clauses 426
- of subject and object 48
- of weak pronouns 166
- Pashto as verb-final language 410
- second-position clitics 166, 404
- subordinate clauses 425, 437
- weak pronouns and 421

Waziri *see* Dialect; Middle