This grammar of Pashto was designed to accompany a set of beginning- and intermediate-level instructional materials for teaching the Pashto language to English speakers, but can be used separately as a reference by readers who are not learning the language. Introductory sections in English and Pashto describe the content and organization. The first chapter gives background information on the people who speak it and on the language (history, social status, dialects, standardization, and history of its study). Subsequent chapters address grammatical forms and uses in the language, including: phonology and pronunciation; Pashto word stock and their origins, borrowings from Persian, Arabic, Urdu, English, and Russian and other languages; the Arabic-based writing system, written literature, alphabet, and punctuation; nouns; pronouns; adjectives; verb forms and verb uses; prepositions; simple sentence structure; conjunction; and subordinate clause structure. Contents are indexed. (MSE)
A Reference Grammar of Pashto

Center for Applied Linguistics

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A Reference Grammar of Pashto

Habibullah Tegey
Barbara Robson

Center for Applied Linguistics
Washington, D.C.
1996
Acknowledgements

This Reference Grammar of Pashto has been developed with funding from Grant No. P017A50047-95 from the International Research and Studies Program of the U.S. Department of Education. We are grateful to that office for its continuing support of our materials development projects for Pashto and other languages.

The Grammar is the final component of a set of materials teaching the Pashto language to English speakers, all developed at the Center for Applied Linguistics. The other components are:

- *Beginning Pashto* (textbook, workbook, tapescripts, teachers' manual)
- *Intermediate Pashto* (textbook, workbook, teachers' manual)
- *Pashto Reader* (textbook, originals, passages in transcription)
- *Pashto Conversation* (tapescripts, workbook)
- *Pashto-English Glossary for the CAL Pashto Materials*

All components are available in microfiche or hard copy through the ERIC Document Reproduction Service. For ordering information, please contact EDRS at 1-800-443-ERIC. For information on ERIC and the Pashto materials, please call the ERIC Clearinghouse on Languages and Linguistics at 1-800-276-9834, or contact them through their web site at http://www.cal.org/ericcll. Further information on the Pashto materials can be found at the Center for Applied Linguistics' web site at http://www.cal.org.

We are grateful to Dr. Fazel Nur, for his ongoing service to the project as a 'second opinion' on the Pashto examples and analyses.

We are especially indebted to Taylor Roberts, graduate student in linguistics at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, whose careful reading and extensive, detailed comments have improved the grammar exponentially in accuracy, consistency and readability.
# Table of Contents

Acknowledgements ................................................................. iii
To the English-speaking Reader ................................................ xi
Note  ................................................................. xiii

Chapter 1: Pashto and the Pashtuns ........................................... 1
   A. The People Who Speak Pashto .......................................... 1
   B. The Language .......................................................... 4
      Its name .......................................................... 4
      Its ancestry ...................................................... 5
      Its social status .................................................. 6
      Its dialects ......................................................... 6
      Its standardization ............................................... 7
      History of its study ............................................... 8

Chapter 2: Pronunciation ....................................................... 11
   A. Introduction ......................................................... 11
   B. Consonants ......................................................... 11
      Technical description of consonants ............................ 13
      Non-native Pashto consonants .................................. 15
      The dental consonants ........................................... 16
      The retroflex consonants ....................................... 16
   C. Vowels .............................................................. 16
      Technical description of vowels ................................. 17
      Notes on the vowels .............................................. 18
      Diphthongs ......................................................... 18
   D. Syllable Structure .................................................. 19
      Two-consonant Clusters ........................................... 19
      Three-consonant Clusters ....................................... 23
      Consonant Clusters at the ends of syllables ................... 23
   E. Stress and Intonation ............................................... 24
      Basic word stress ............................................... 24
      Stress in affixes ............................................... 26
      Secondary stresses ............................................... 27
      Intonation ......................................................... 27
   F. Major Dialectal Differences ........................................ 28
   G. Other Analyses ..................................................... 29

Chapter 3: Pashto Words ...................................................... 30
   A. Introduction ....................................................... 30
   B. Pashto’s Basic Word Stock and Persian Cognates ................. 30
   C. Borrowings from and through Persian ................................ 31
   D. Borrowings Directly from Arabic .................................. 33
   E. Borrowings from Urdu and English ................................... 34
   F. Recent Borrowings from English and Russian ....................... 35
   G. International Words in Pashto ..................................... 36

Chapter 4: The Writing System ............................................... 37
   A. Pashto’s Arabic-based Writing System ............................. 37
      The Arabic alphabet ............................................. 37
      Letters peculiar to Pashto ....................................... 38
Chapter 4: The Writing System (Cont.)
B. Handwritten, Printed, and Computerized Pashto ........................................ 38
C. Pashto Written Literature ............................................................................ 39
D. The Letters in the Pashto Alphabet ............................................................ 39
E. Punctuation ................................................................................................... 43
F. Relationship between Spoken and Written Pashto ................................... 43

Chapter 5: Nouns ............................................................................................. 46
A. Introduction .................................................................................................. 46
B. Masculine and Feminine Noun Classes ..................................................... 46
C. Masculine Nouns ......................................................................................... 47
   M1 nouns. ....................................................................................................... 47
   M2 nouns. ....................................................................................................... 49
   M3 nouns. ....................................................................................................... 51
   M4 nouns. ....................................................................................................... 53
D. Feminine Nouns .......................................................................................... 54
   F1 nouns. ....................................................................................................... 54
   F2 nouns. ....................................................................................................... 55
   F3 nouns. ....................................................................................................... 56
E. Irregular Nouns ............................................................................................ 56
   Arabic borrowings. ....................................................................................... 57
   Kinship terms. ............................................................................................... 57
   Other old irregular words. ............................................................................ 59
F. Regularization ............................................................................................. 59
   Gender and class assignment of borrowed nouns. ................................. 60
G. Singulars and Plurals ................................................................................ 60
   Mass nouns. .................................................................................................. 60
   Numerical plurals. ......................................................................................... 61
H. Uses of the Cases ....................................................................................... 61
   Uses of the direct forms of nouns. ............................................................... 62
   Uses of the oblique forms of nouns. ........................................................... 62
I. Other Analyses ............................................................................................ 63

Chapter 6: Pronouns ....................................................................................... 65
A. Introduction ................................................................................................ 65
B. Weak Pronouns ......................................................................................... 65
   Form ............................................................................................................... 65
   Occurrence ................................................................................................... 65
   Other characteristics of weak pronouns .................................................. 68
C. Strong Pronouns ....................................................................................... 68
D. Demonstrative Pronouns .......................................................................... 70
E. Other Pronouns ......................................................................................... 72
   Interrogative / indefinite pronouns ............................................................ 72
   Note on {khpall} خیل ................................................................................. 73
F. Other Analyses ........................................................................................... 74

Chapter 7: Adjectives ..................................................................................... 75
A. Introduction ................................................................................................ 75
B. Adjective Classes ....................................................................................... 75
   Adj 1 ............................................................................................................ 75
   Adj 2 ............................................................................................................ 76
   Adj 3 ............................................................................................................ 77
   Adj 4 ............................................................................................................ 79
Chapter 7: Adjectives (Cont.)
C. Irregular Adjectives ........................................... 76
D. Numbers ................................................................ 80
   Number symbols ..................................................... 80
   Numbers as adjectives .......................................... 80
   Ordinal numbers .................................................... 83
E. Vocative Forms of Adjectives .................................. 85
F. Uses of Adjectives ................................................ 85
G. Comparison of Adjectives ...................................... 87
H. Variation ............................................................. 87
I. Adjectives and Adverbs .......................................... 87
J. Other Analyses ...................................................... 88

Chapter 8: Verb Forms ........................................... 89
A. Introduction ......................................................... 89
B. Personal Endings .................................................. 90
   Present tense endings ............................................. 90
   Past tense endings ............................................... 91
C. Tense and Aspect .................................................. 91
D. The Verb be ........................................................ 92
E. Auxiliaries ........................................................... 95
   The intransitive auxiliary ....................................... 95
   The transitive auxiliary ......................................... 96
F. Simple Verbs ......................................................... 98
   Ordinary simple verb formations ......................... 98
   Simple intransitive verbs ending in [-eg-] -y- ............ 100
   Simple verbs ending in [-aw-] -e- ......................... 102
   Simple irregular verbs ........................................... 102
   Simple Verbs beginning with [§] -l .......................... 105
G. Derivative Verbs ................................................... 105
H. Doubly Irregular Verbs .......................................... 114
I. Participles ............................................................. 118
   Formation of imperfective participles ..................... 118
   Formation of perfective participles ....................... 119
   Idiosyncratic participles ....................................... 120
J. Other Analyses ...................................................... 121

Chapter 9: Verb Uses ........................................... 122
A. Introduction ......................................................... 122
B. Present Time Expressions ..................................... 123
   be ......................................................................... 123
   The present imperfective tense ............................. 123
   Negative present imperfective constructions .......... 124
   The present perfective tense ................................ 126
C. Future Time Expressions ...................................... 126
   Future Statements with be .................................... 126
   [be] with the present perfective tense .................... 127
   Negative future expressions ............................... 127
   Present imperfective tense with future time phrases 129
   Contrastive future expressions .......................... 130
Chapter 9: Verb Uses (Cont.)
D. Commands ................................................................. 130
   Commands with be ...................................................... 130
   Positive commands .................................................. 131
   Commands with [wardsz-] (واند) and [radsz-] (رند) ....... 133
   Negative commands ............................................... 133
   Intensive commands .............................................. 134
E. Past Time Expressions .............................................. 135
   Past time expressions with be .................................. 135
   The pastimperfective tense ...................................... 136
   The past perfective tense ....................................... 138
   "Perfect" expressions ........................................... 139
F. Expressions with Infinitives ...................................... 142
   Citation forms ...................................................... 143
   Infinitives as nouns .............................................. 143
   Passives .............................................................. 144
G. Expressions of Ability ............................................. 144
   "can/be able to" .................................................. 144
   'might be able' .................................................... 147
H. Expressions of Obligation ......................................... 148
   Constructions with 'must' [dey] ................................. 148
   Constructions with 'should' [beyad] .......................... 149
I. Summary: Forms and Uses ......................................... 149
J. Other Analyses ...................................................... 151

Chapter 10: Prepositions ............................................... 153
A. Introduction ......................................................... 153
B. Pre-positions ...................................................... 153
C. Post-positions ..................................................... 154
D. Pre-post-positions ................................................ 154
   Deleted elements .................................................. 155
E. Special Cases ....................................................... 156
   'from' [le ... na] ................................................. 156
   'lar' ............................................................... 157
   Phrases with 'house' [kor] ...................................... 157
   Pre forms .......................................................... 157
F. Noun Cases with Prepositions .................................... 158
G. Prepositions in Phrases .......................................... 158
H. Uses of Prepositional Phrases ................................... 161
   Indirect objects ................................................... 161
   Comparatives ...................................................... 162
   Superlatives ....................................................... 163
I. Other Analyses ..................................................... 164

Chapter 11: Simple Sentence Structure .............................. 165
A. Introduction ......................................................... 165
B. Basic Word Order .................................................. 165
   SOV order ......................................................... 165
   Deletion of subjects and objects ............................ 166
   Word order in questions ....................................... 166
Chapter 11: Simple Sentence Structure (Cont.)

C. Noun Phrases ................................................................. 170
   Order of elements ......................................................... 170
   Order of modifiers in noun phrases ............................... 171

D. Verb Phrases ................................................................ 172
   Order of elements in verb phrases ................................. 172
   Order in negative verb phrases ...................................... 173

E. Particles ........................................................................ 173
   The particles ................................................................. 173
   The first stressed element in a sentence ....................... 173
   Order of particles among themselves ............................ 175

F. Order of Modifiers in Sentences .................................... 176
   Time phrases ................................................................. 177

G. Agreement ..................................................................... 180

H. The Ergative Constructions ......................................... 181

I. Two Unusual Constructions ........................................ 184
   Verbs that require possessive subjects ......................... 184
   Impersonal transitive verbs .......................................... 188
   Other Analyses ............................................................. 189

Chapter 12: Conjunction .................................................. 191

A. Introduction ................................................................. 191

B. Conjoined Nouns and Noun Phrases ............................ 191
   Adjective agreement with conjoined nouns ................. 192
   Agreement of verbs with conjoined subjects .............. 192

C. Double Conjunctions .................................................. 194

D. Conjoined Sentences .................................................. 195

E. Other Analyses ............................................................ 196

Chapter 13: Subordinate Clause Structure ......................... 199

A. Introduction ................................................................. 199

B. Noun Clauses ................................................................ 199
   Noun clauses as subjects ............................................. 199
   Noun clauses as direct objects .................................... 200
   Reported speech .......................................................... 202
   Tense restrictions with some common verbs ............... 203
   Noun clauses as complements .................................... 204
   Noun clauses as objects of prepositions ..................... 204

C. Relative Clauses .......................................................... 206

D. Adverbial Clauses ......................................................... 209
   Time clauses ................................................................. 209
   Consequence clauses .................................................. 210
   Purpose clauses .......................................................... 211
   Causal clauses and [džēk-a] .......................................... 212
   Clauses after idiomatic expressions ............................ 215

E. Conditionals and Counterfactuals ............................... 215
   Conditional sentences .................................................. 216
   Counterfactuals ............................................................ 217
   Present unreal conditionals ........................................ 218
   Present unreal condition, result in the present .............. 218
   Present unreal condition, result in the past .................. 219
Chapter 13: Subordinate Clause Structure (Cont.)

E. Conditionals and Counterfactuals (Cont.)

   Past unreal conditionals ................................................. 219
   Past unreal condition, present result .................................. 220
   Past unreal condition, past result ..................................... 221
   Conditional sentences expressing ability .............................. 222

F. Other Analyses ..................................................................... 223

Index ..................................................................................... 225
To the Reader

As a component of the Center for Applied Linguistics' Pashto teaching materials, this grammar is intended to accompany, organize and amplify the presentations of grammar in Beginning and Intermediate Pashto. It can also be used independently by readers who are not learning to speak the language. As is appropriate with a reference grammar, the Table of Contents and Index are designed so that the reader can find the pages in which specific topics are described. The chapters can also be read through in order, for an overall picture of Pashto grammar.

Charts of forms and other such information are given in boxes, for example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'student'</th>
<th>OS: [shāgārd]</th>
<th>DP: [shāgārdān]</th>
<th>'شاگردن'</th>
<th>'شاگردنو'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M1</td>
<td>OS: [shāgārd]</td>
<td>DP: [shāgārdān]</td>
<td>'شاگردن'</td>
<td>'شاگردنو'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

which shows the different forms that an M1 noun can occur in. Abbreviations used in the tables are given at the beginnings of chapters.

Example words are presented in Pashto script, transcription, and gloss (= translation into English) in presenting words and short phrases, the following format is used:

'gloss' [transcription] **Pashto script**

for example:

Pashto: [pəxt̠o]

in presenting longer phrases and sentences, a word-for-word gloss is given, and the following format is used:

[transcription] **Pashto script**

word-for-word gloss 'idiomatic translation'

for example:

[pəxt̠o dərə pə zərə pərə zəbə də]  پښتو دیره په زره پوری زه ده.

Pashto very with heart like language is  'Pashto is an interesting language.'

The word-for-word gloss includes grammatical information if necessary or useful, for example:

[wāgay ye?]  وی ی?

hungry  be2S  'Are you hungry?'
Attempts have been made to keep each word in the word-for-word gloss directly under its Pashto equivalent, but unavoidable vagaries in the fonts and word processing program frequently crowd the word-for-word glosses to the left.

We have taken steps to simplify the presentation of examples for the reader who is not working with Beginning and Intermediate Pashto, by keeping the appearance of new vocabulary to a minimum. The same people and objects appear from example to example, and when possible, the same sentences appear from section to section with appropriate changes in tense, number, etc., to illustrate the points being made.

The reader is urged to remember that this grammar, and other grammars of Pashto, are much more tentative than are grammars of English or other languages with long grammatical traditions. As we mention in Chapter 1, Pashto grammatical studies are in their infancy, and such simple matters as the number of noun classes or names of the tenses are by no means definitely agreed on, as they are for languages that have been studied for a long time. We hope that this grammar corrects and refines previous studies of Pashto (including some of the analyses in Beginning and Intermediate Pashto), and at the same time fully expect that subsequent studies of Pashto grammar will correct and refine our work.

As we have developed the grammar, we have come to respect more and more the work of Herbert Penzl, whose 1955 grammar of Pashto was developed under far more difficult practical circumstances, and within a much more 'restrictive' grammatical framework, than ours. We dedicate this grammar to his memory.

Habibullah Tegay
Barbara Robson
یادونه

خرگ‌نگ چه ددی کتاب به عنوان کی د گرامر تر زنگ د "فرننس" کلهم هم راغلی ده، تو له دی امله پدی لنده سریزه کی، اول باید وواپی چه گرامر مختلف دولونه لری. یو دول گرامر له دی چه د رنکس گرامر په نامه یادبیری او خانه سهیم لری. دله دا اصلح ددسی په مختص گرامر په معتن استعمال شوی چه د پستو زی انجیسی و اوکنجی شاگرداند، د خلو او نورو درسی موادو د مم په توگه استفاده تری وکری.

د "دطبیقتی ویپوهنی مرکز" له کال 1989 نه رادي خواته دهغو امریکایانو د پاره چه گواری پستو زده کری، د درسی کتابونو پوه سلسله ویکلکه. پدی کتابونو کی د پستو زی د مرورو گرامری خصوصیات په پاره کی هم لازم بحث شوی. خو د "مرکز" په نظر دا لنده گرامری توضیحات گانی له وو او دی له ضرورت لیدل کیده چه د پستو زی دعمده گرامری خصوصیاتو دیو به زباته او منظم توضیح دبازه یو لنده پستو گرامر هم ویکلک شی او دغړه درسی موادو له سلسلی سره ملگری شی.

د گرامر دلیکلو عمده هدف له شاگردانو سره د هغو گرامری پوینتو او مسایل دروبیانلو په پاره کی مرسته ده چه د "مرکز" ددرسی سلسلی د زده کری په وخت کی ور سره مخابک کنی. خو له زنگه چه له درسی کتابونو نه د پوره استفاده یو درب اساسی شرط په معلم دی، له گرامر له هم پوره استفاده هله کبادی شی، چه سری به معلم ولی. هیله ده چه دا گرامر به د پستو زی د تولو هنو شاگردانو د پاره گنیور وی چه انگریزی متن لوسکی شی.
Chapter 1: Pashto and the Pashtuns

A. The People Who Speak Pashto

Pashto is a principal language in Afghanistan and Pakistan. It is spoken natively by over half the population of Afghanistan, an estimated 7,500,000, and by about 90% of the population in the Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan, an estimated 14,000,000. Pashto is also spoken natively in Baluchistan, the province of Pakistan directly south of central Afghanistan; there is a community of about two million who speak Pashto natively in Karachi; and there are about 50,000 native speakers in Iran.
Chapter 1: Pashto and the Pashtuns

The majority of Pashto speakers occupy a single geographical area which constitutes roughly the southern part of Afghanistan and the northeastern part of Pakistan. This predominantly Pashtun area is bordered by Dari speakers in the north; Dari is a dialect of Persian, and is the other major language in Afghanistan. The areas to the northeast are adjacent to Uzbek- and Turkmen-speaking areas in Afghanistan, which themselves border Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. The Pashto-speaking area is bordered on the southeast by Urdu speakers, and by Baluchi speakers directly south. Pashto speakers and these other ethnic groups have been living side by side for centuries, and share many cultural and economic characteristics.

The people who speak Pashto call themselves Pashtuns (pronounced [pashtʊn]1). In Pakistan and India, they are referred to as Pathans; (pronounced [patən]) by non-Pashtuns. Other ethnic groups, including westerners, have traditionally called Pashtuns Afghans; when King Ahmad Shah established a political state in the 1700's, he called it Afghanistan - the country of the Afghans, i.e., Pashtuns. It is only in the last fifty years or so that the term Afghan has come to refer to any resident of Afghanistan, regardless of ethnic background. Now, the term Pashtun seems to have been adopted by westerners (although Pashtuns in Pakistan are still called Pathans). When the notion is discussed of an independent Pashtun state, for example, the state is usually called Pashtunistan.

Pashtuns figure prominently in the history of the British Empire in India. They occupied and dominated the Northwest Frontier area, which was then the northernmost boundary of the British holdings in India. The British spent years trying not very successfully to bring the “Afghans” into some sort of governable order. Nineteenth century British attitudes towards Pashtuns are reflected in a number of books, grammars and government reports, and alternate between extreme exasperation and reluctant admiration and affection. An example of the exasperation can be seen in an 1861 article in the Army and Navy Gazette: “Afghan chiefs were able to talk treason in Pashto before the noses of our generals, while assuring them of their fidelity in... Persian.” An example of the admiration can be seen in the first sentences of the introduction to Sir Olaf Caroe's The Pathans:

There is a strange fascination in living among the Pathans...One secret of the hold of the North-West Frontier is to be sought in the tremendous scenic canvas

---

1 Words in square brackets represent transcriptions of pronunciation. There is a detailed explanation of the transcription system used in this Grammar in Chapter 2. In English spelling, Pashtun would be approximately pahshtoon, and Pathan would be approximately pahtahn. The stress is on the last syllable in both words.
against which the Pathan plays out his life, a canvas brought into vivid relief by
sharp, cruel changes of climate. Sometimes the assault on the spirit is that of
stark ugliness and discomfort - appalling heat, a dust-storm across the Peshawar
plain, the eroded foothills of Khaibar or Waziristan; more often it is an
impression of beauty indescribable in its clarity and contrast with the barren
emptiness that went before. The weft and warp of this tapestry is woven into the
souls and bodies of the men who move before it..." (p. xv)

Pashtun society is basically tribal. There are well over a hundred tribes, each
with its own name and lineage, the latter usually traced to a mythical ancestor. Tribes
are located and/or have power in particular areas—British records frequently refer to
one or the other of the tribes providing opposition to British ambitions in an area. Most
Pashtuns are highly conscious of their tribal affiliation, although many who have
migrated to Kabul and Herat have become "detribalized", having lost their ties to their
tribes. Many of these ethnic Pashtuns no longer speak Pashto, although they identify
themselves as Pashtuns. Such Pashtuns in Afghanistan speak Dari; those in Pakistan
speak Urdu or Baluchi.

Pashtun society is characterized by what westerners call the Pashtunwali, an
unwritten but nonetheless powerful code of ethics which emphasizes hospitality,
revenge, and honor. Overlying the Pashtunwali is Islam: Pashtuns in general are among
the more conservative Sunni Moslems, and since the Soviet occupation in the 1980's, the
Islamic fundamentalist movement that has established itself in other Islamic countries
has gained a strong foothold among the Pashtuns as well.

Traditionally, such education as Pashtuns received was provided by mosques, and
was confined to teaching of the Kora. (In Arabic) and related subjects. In the years
before the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, various governments had started a basic
public education system, and at least primary education gradually became available to
rural as well as urban Pashtuns. Progress was brought to a halt, however, by response to
the Soviet attempts to "Sovietize" the educational system, and whatever was left of it
was completely destroyed by fighting among the factions struggling for control after the
Soviets left Afghanistan in 1989.

The literacy rate among Afghan Pashtuns has always been very low (about 5%
according to the best available estimates), and the destruction of the educational
system will undoubtedly result in even lower rates for the foreseeable future.

Below are listed the most extensive general descriptions of the Pashtuns and of
Afghanistan. National Geographic articles on Afghanistan and Pakistan are also
Chapter 1: Pashto and the Pashtuns

recommended as vivid introductions to the people and the land they occupy. For a more extensive bibliography of works on Afghanistan, see the article ‘Afghanistan’ on pp. 25-36 of Vol. 13, The Encyclopedia Britannica (15th edition, 1994).


B. The Language

Its name. For a variety of reasons, the name of the Pashto language has been spelled in several ways. One reason is that the middle consonant (the [sh]) is a sound that differs from one dialect to the other. As will be discussed in Chapter 2, speakers of the Kundahar dialect pronounce the word with a [sh]-like middle consonant, and speakers of the central and eastern dialects pronounce it with a sound similar to German "ch" or Greek "χ".

The second reason for the variety in rendering of the word Pashto is that there has never been a standardized transliteration system for rendering the language in a roman alphabet, and so writers dealing with the language are free to transliterate as they choose. In the West, the Pashto spelling seems to have taken hold (the Voice of America has a Pashto Service, and the BBC has a Pashto Program) although Pushtu is a commonly seen variant.

A look at earlier books and reports on the Pashtuns shows more diversity in the representation of the name. H.W. Bellew's 1857 grammar of Pashto, for example, is called A Grammar of the Pukhto or Pukhto Language (the underlining is Bellew's), and Bellew spells the language as Pukhto throughout, with the kkh underlined, presumably to show that it is a multiple-letter rendition of a single sound, or maybe to show that it

1 The term transliteration refers to the writing of one alphabet in the characters of another, and is different from transcription, which refers to the representation of the sounds of a language by means of written symbols. Strictly speaking, the transliteration of the Pashto spelling of Pashto into roman characters would be something like pxtu (the alphabet does not spell out many of the vowels); the transcription of the word Pashto is, in the system used in this Grammar, [pakt6].
was a non-English sound. In D. L. R. Lorimer's grammar, published fifty years later, the language name is spelled Pashtu.

Its ancestry. Pashto belongs to the Iranian branch of the Indo-European family of languages. Its closest major relatives are Persian, Kurdish, Baluchi, Tajik, and Ossetian, all languages are spoken in the area around Afghanistan.

As an Indo-European language, Pashto is distantly related to English, as can be seen in the following diagram, which includes the major branches of the family and one or two well-known languages belonging to each branch:

Indo-European Language Family

- Celtic (Welsh)
- Germanic (English, German)
-Italic (Italian, French)
- Hellenic (Greek)
- Baltic (Latvian, Lithuanian)
- Slavic (Russian, Polish)
- Indic (Hindi, Urdu)
- Iranian (Persian, Pashto)

Despite the fact that it is written with a variant of the Arabic alphabet and uses a number of Arabic words, Pashto is not related to Arabic. It is also not related to the Turkic languages, two of which (Uzbek and Turkmen) are spoken in Afghanistan.

Pashto appears to be the most conservative of the Iranian languages, in that it has preserved archaic elements that the other languages have lost. One of these elements is the distinctive ergative construction described in Chapter 11, which has been lost to a great extent in the other Iranian languages. Another element retained by Pashto is a gender system in nouns: Pashto has masculine and feminine nouns, whereas nouns in the other Iranian languages are not differentiated by gender.

Besides retaining archaic elements of the Iranian languages, Pashto shares some characteristics with the Indic languages spoken to the south, most notably the retroflex consonants, which are present in the Indic but not in the Iranian languages.

Pashto shares great numbers of words with Dari, not only because the languages are related, but also because Pashtuns and Dari speakers have been neighbors for centuries, and more recently have been citizens of the same country. Both Pashto and Dari also have numbers of words in common which have been borrowed from Arabic.
Chapter 1: Pashto and the Pashtuns

Its social status. While Pashto is a national language of Afghanistan, it is second in social prestige to Dari, which as we mentioned above is a dialect of Persian. Before the Soviet occupation, there were attempts to "equalize" Pashto: Dari-speaking children were required to study Pashto in the public schools, and Dari-speaking government officials were required to take Pashto classes. These attempts did not result in much change, however; now, as before, any educated Pashtun in Afghanistan speaks Dari, but very few Dari speakers speak Pashto.

In Pakistan, Pashto has no official status: Pathans who receive education do so in Urdu and/or English. As a result of the British presence in the Northwest Frontier Province, however, there are more publishing houses in Pakistan, and, consequently, more Pashto books are published in Peshawar than in Afghanistan.

Its dialects. There are dialects and sub-dialects of Pashto, as there are of any language. These dialects have not been classified or studied to any great extent by western grammarians, and most Pashtuns themselves are sensitive only to the obvious differences in pronunciation and vocabulary.

There are three major dialects of Pashto: the Kandahar or western dialect, the Kabul or central dialect, and the Ningrah or eastern dialect. Speakers of the Kandahar dialect live mostly in southwest Afghanistan and in Beluchistan. The Khattek tribe living in Qandah - the tribe that effectively established the Pashto literary tradition - speaks Kandahar Pashto, and the neighboring Waziris have some of the Kandahar characteristics in their dialect, notably the same set of retroflex consonants. Speakers of the central, or Kabul, dialect live mostly in the Kabul, Logar, Ghazni, and Parwan provinces. Speakers of the eastern, or Ningrah or eastern dialect, live in the northeast sections of Afghanistan, and in the Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan.

Differences among these dialects are largely in pronunciation, the details of which will be discussed in Chapter 2. The Kandahar and Kabul dialects (spoken in

---

2 We are using the term 'dialect' in its technical sense, i.e. to refer to variations of the language that arise mostly through geographical or historical isolation. Note that in this sense, no one dialect of another is considered to be 'better' in some absolute sense, although it is often the case that one dialect may carry more social prestige than another.

3 You will frequently encounter the adjectival forms of the city names--Kandahari, Kabuli, and Ningrahari--in referring to the inhabitants of the cities, and in such phrases as 'the Kandahari dialect' or 'Kabuli customs'.
Chapter 1: Pashto and the Pashtuns

Afghanistan) are most likely to borrow vocabulary from Persian, whereas the Eastern
dialect (spoken mostly in Pakistan) is more likely to borrow vocabulary from Urdu and
English. Sophisticated Pashtuns have large passive vocabularies of words from other
dialects, i.e. they know a good many words on hearing them, but do not use them in their
own speech.

The dialectal differences among these major dialect groups of Pashto are
relatively minor: speakers of most dialects of Pashto are readily understood by almost
all speakers of other dialects, except for Pashtuns located in isolated areas who might
have trouble understanding and being understood by Pashtuns from distant areas. Two of
these isolated dialects have attracted attention and some study: the Waziri dialect
spoken on the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan, and the Wardak dialect spoken
in Kabul province, have been observed to differ markedly from the other dialects.

By and large, each Pashtun considers his own dialect to be the 'normal' way to
speak Pashto, although the Kandahar dialect enjoys the most prestige (at least among
the Kandaharis), and serves as the basis for the writing system. However, as the 19th-
century British soldier and grammarian D. L. R. Lorimer observed:

'... Many an Afridi or Shinwari [tribes then located in the Northwest Frontier
Province] phrase or pronunciation will incur the contempt of the Peshawar Munshi
[a Pashtun teacher of the British troops in Peshawar] as a solecism or a
boorishness, while to the countrymen the Munshi's speech will seem foreign,
womanish, and mincing.'

It is highly probable that one tribe's opinion of another's dialect of Pashto reflected, and
still reflects, the tribe's general opinion of the other.

Its standardization. Pashto is not standardized in the way that English or
most of the European languages are. There is, in other words, no universal agreement
among Pashto speakers as to what constitutes 'correct' Pashto, either oral or written.
Standardization arises from a high level of literacy or from a long-standing grammatical
tradition, neither of which Pashto has. English speakers, for example, are accustomed to
the notion that there are universally-accepted rules for spelling and punctuation, and
consider that writers who do not follow these rules are uneducated. Pashto speakers, on
the other hand, have no set of rules to go by, and many of them (in Pakistan especially)
have never had formal instruction in Pashto.

One of the results of this lack of standardization is that individual Pashtun
writers vary widely in spelling and punctuation. Words are frequently spelled
Chapter 1: Pashto and the Pashtuns

differently, not only from one writer to another, but often by the same writer, and even within the same document. Even such matters as spacing between words are not consistent. This variation does not pose much of a problem to native speakers (highly literate Pashtuns are so accustomed to dealing with the variation that they do not even notice it) but it is a major challenge to learners of the language and non-native speaking readers. It is important to remember that although many Pashto texts are by writers who have only a few years of formal schooling, lack of consistency in spelling and punctuation does not always reflect lack of education or sophistication on the part of the writer: it is as often a reflection of the lack of standardization in the language.

Another challenge to learners of the language is that Pashto writing in newspapers and magazines is frequently written by non-native speakers, and is liable to contain 'real' errors, similar in kind to such errors as *He are here* in English. Also, Pashto newspaper and magazine articles are likely to be translated from Dari or Urdu, and the translated sentences often bear more resemblance to the original language than they do to Pashto. Finally, typesetters are usually not native Pashto speakers, and therefore cannot verify the correctness of their own typesetting.

In the years before the Russian invasion in 1979, there attempts to establish standards for Pashto. For example, the Pashto Academy was established in Kabul in the 1930's by King Zaher, in an effort to develop Pashto so that it could be used as the medium of instruction in schools and the language spoken in government offices. Members of the Pashto Academy engaged in a variety of activities: they developed dictionaries, printed the works of Pashtun poets, conducted research in the social sciences, and translated works (mostly from Arabic, Urdu, and English). They also developed recommendations for spelling and punctuation, many of which are now followed by Pashtun writers. An example of one of these recommendations is the spelling of retroflex [g] as ڥ, rather than ڦ.

A parallel Pashto Academy began in Peshawar in the 1950's, for the purposes of developing the Pashto spoken in Pakistan, engaging in and publishing research on the language, and translating important and interesting works into Pashto. Recently, the publications of the Peshawar academy have reflected the standardizations recommended by the Kabul academy, although in general, written Pakistani Pashto tends to reflect influences from English and Urdu.

**History of its study.** As we mentioned above, Pashto does not have a grammatical tradition. Such traditions are a result of interest on the part of a
language's speakers in grammar in general, and the grammar or structure of their language in particular. English and the major European languages have long grammatical traditions, as does Arabic, and such traditions have yielded widespread agreement on matters like the number of noun classes, the names of tenses, and even whether a set of verbs is merely irregular or constitutes a special class. These agreements have been arrived at through articles and books that have proposed analyses, arguments against the proposed analyses, re-analyses and continuing arguments until eventually a consensus is reached. Pashto grammatical studies are still in their infancy, and consensus has not been reached on any but the most obvious elements of Pashto grammar.

Despite a long literary tradition, Pashtuns themselves have not been widely interested in the grammar of their language. During the nineteenth century, however, when Russia and Great Britain both had political and territorial interests in the Pashto-speaking area, soldiers and administrators on both sides found it necessary to deal with Pashtuns and to learn Pashto. There are, correspondingly, a number of grammars of Pashto written in Russian and English dating from this period. These vary greatly in quality and accuracy, depending on the amount of Pashto learned by their authors, their authors' general educational and linguistic backgrounds, and the sophistication of the Pashtuns who served as the authors' consultants on the language. The most interesting of the Pashto grammars in English is Lorimer's *Pashtu: Part 1* (a sentence from its preface is quoted above), which describes the spoken language. Lorimer's analyses are reminiscent of Latin grammar, but are still valuable: his transcription system accurately reflects the pronunciation of his Pashtun consultants, and his analyses show great insight into the language.

After India's independence and the end of the rivalry between Britain and Russia, political interest in the Pashtuns waned. With it the need for foreigners to speak Pashto lessened, and western interest in grammatical aspects of the language diminished. At the same time, the academies mentioned above focused their limited resources on matters more crucial than grammatical study, in particular issues of spelling standardization and dictionary development. After the Russian invasion of Afghanistan, there was renewed political interest in the Pashtuns on the part of western powers, and therefore a resumption of interest in Pashto. Included in the results of that interest are several Pashto-Russian dictionaries and grammatical sketches, and the reference grammar you are holding in your hands.

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4 Part 2 was unfortunately never completed.
Chapter 1: Pashto and the Pashims

Below are listed the most readily available or interesting general grammatical studies of Pashto in English. Most of the early British grammars have been reprinted, and are available in bookstores in Pakistan.


Chapter 2: Pronunciation

A. Introduction

In this chapter, we will describe the consonants and vowels of the central dialect, and the ways in which these sounds may combine to form words. We will also describe the ways that the Kandahar and Ningrarah dialects of Pashto differ from the central dialect. Each example is given with its Pashto spelling, its transcription in square brackets, and its English translation or gloss, in single quote marks, as in the following example: 'grandfather' [bābā] پاپا.

The transcription shows the stress in words of more than one syllable, by means of the symbol ' placed over the vowel of the stressed syllable. The roman symbols that are used to represent the Pashto sounds in the transcriptions have been chosen to make them easier for the English-speaking student of Pashto to remember. Although most symbols represent one and only one Pashto sound, sometimes a double symbol represents a single sound (for example [ch], [dz], [ts], and [sh]) in order to minimize the use of unfamiliar symbols. Because the English spelling system has only five vowel symbols, and Pashto has nine vowels, representation of the vowel system requires the use of unfamiliar symbols [a], [i], [e], [o], and [u] in addition to the familiar [a], [e], [i], [o], and [u].

B. Consonants

We will first discuss the consonants of Pashto from the point of view of the English speaker, and after that discuss their phonological characteristics in more technical terms.

There are thirty-two consonants in the Central dialect. They are grouped below according to their resemblance to English consonants, with the retroflex consonants listed separately.

Consonants similar to English consonants

[b] as in boy, bub: 'other' [bal] بل, 'grandfather' [bābā] پاپا
[f] as in fire, if: 'break' [taf] تریخ, 'pronunciation' [talačů] تلفظ
Chapter 2: Pronunciation

\[g\] as in \textit{go, jug}: 'tail' [jæg], 'flower' [gwæ]  
\[h\] as in \textit{hat, behave}: 'nine' [néh], 'also' [hæm]  
\[j\] as in \textit{judge, edge}: 'good' [jɔr], 'war' [jɔng]  
\[k\] as in \textit{car, cake}: 'work' [kɔr], 'house' [kor]  
\[m\] as in \textit{mom, bump}: 'mother' [mɔr], 'hello' [sælɛm]  
\[p\] as in \textit{pie, apple}: 'curtain' [pɜrdə], 'left' [ʃæp]  
\[s\] as in \textit{go, city}: 'hand' [læs], 'red' [sər]  
\[sh\] as in \textit{show, push}: 'six' [ʃæp], 'twenty' [ʃæl]  
\[t\] as in \textit{cut, guisy}: 'how many' [tsɔ], 'how' [tsæŋə]  
\[w\] as in \textit{wait, kwi}: 'say' [wɔwɛ], 'open' [wɔza]  
\[y\] as in \textit{yes, boy}: 'one' [jɔw], 'God' [kwædʒ]  
\[z\] as in \textit{ag, zero}: 'son' [zoj], 'lion' [zmaræ]  

\textbf{Consonants somewhat different from English consonants}

\[t\]: 'thank' [tashakûr], 'eight' [atå]  
\[d\]: 'this' [da], 'three' [dɾə]  
\[l\]: 'hand' [læs], 'here' [dɔlta]  
\[n\]: 'not' [nə], 'field' [karwandə]  

\textbf{Consonants very different from English consonants}

\[gh\]: 'Afghan' [afgɛn], 'that' [aghə]  
\[fl\]: 'March-April' [ʃɛmæl], 'dear' [fæbl]  
\[kh\]: 'time' [wakht], 'God' [kwædʒ]  
\[q\]: 'trunk' [sændɔ], 'minute' [daqlæ]  
\[r\]: 'where' [ʃɛrə], 'thank' [tashakûr]  
\[x\]: 'good' [zw], 'Pashto' [pæxtə]  
\[z\]: 'wisdom' [zɔpæl], 'without study' [be ʃamæl]
Retroflex consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stops</th>
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<tr>
<td>Voiceless</td>
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<td>Voiced</td>
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<tr>
<th>Nasals</th>
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<th>n</th>
<th>η</th>
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<tr>
<th>Fricatives</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless</td>
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<tr>
<td>Voiced</td>
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<tr>
<th>Affricates</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless</td>
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<tr>
<td>Voiced</td>
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<tr>
<th>Others</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless</td>
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<tr>
<td>Voiced</td>
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</table>

Technical description of consonants. The chart below presents the consonants in a format familiar to phoneticists and linguists. The terms across the top of the chart - bilabial, dental, velar, etc. - refer to the place in the mouth where the sound is made. The terms down the left side of the chart - stops, fricatives, etc. - refer to the type of sound. The chart is followed by a technical description of each consonant.

For an explanation of the terms used here, see a general introduction to phonetics or phonology such as Peter Ladefoged's *A Course in Phonetics.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975.
Chapter 2: Pronunciation

Technical descriptions:

[ð]: voiceless bilabial stop.
[b]: voiced bilabial stop.
[t]: voiceless dental stop.
[d]: voiced dental stop.
[ʈ]: voiceless retroflex stop.
[ɖ]: voiced retroflex stop.
[k]: voiceless velar stop.
[g]: voiced velar stop. Some Central dialect [g]'s - those spelled with the letter ـ - are pronounced differently in other dialects.
[q]: voiced aspirated uvular stop, like [q] ـ in Arabic. [q] influences the sound quality of vowels coming before or after it. [q] occurs only in borrowed words.
[ʔ]: glottal stop.
[m]: voiced bilabial nasal.
[n]: voiced dental nasal.
[ŋ]: voiceless retroflex nasal. [ŋ] does not occur at the beginnings of words.
[ng]: voiced velar nasal, as in English hang ـ but not ringer.
[f]: voiceless labio-dental fricative. [f] occurs only in borrowed words, and is frequently replaced by [p] in informal or uneducated speech. The ability to pronounce [f] is a mark of erudition among Pashtuns. Educated Pashto speakers therefore occasionally ‘hypercorrect’, pronouncing even ordinary [p] as [f].
[s]: voiceless dental fricative.
[z]: voiced dental fricative. Some central dialect [z]'s - those that are spelled with the letter ـ - are pronounced differently in other Pashto dialects.
[ʃ]: voiceless palatal fricative.
[x]: voiceless palatal (or front velar) fricative. Other dialects have different sounds where the central dialect has [x].
[kh]: voiceless velar fricative, similar to German ch. [kh] also occurs in Persian and Arabic.
[gh]: voiced velar fricative, like Persian or Arabic [gh].
[h]: voiceless glottal fricative. [h] occurs only at the beginnings of words or syllables.
[ɦ]: voiceless pharyngeal fricative, occurring in borrowed words only.
[ʔ]: voiced pharyngeal fricative, occurring in borrowed words only.
Chapter 2: Pronunciation

[ts]: voiceless dental affricate.
[dz]: voiced dental affricate.
[ch]: voiceless palatal affricate.
[j]: voiced palatal affricate.
[l]: voiced dental lateral.
[r]: voiced dental tap or trill.
[r̩]: voiced retroflex flap.
[w]: voiced bilabial semi-vowel, the consonantal form of [u].
[y]: voiced palatal semi-vowel, the consonantal form of [l].

Non-native Pashto consonants. The sounds [f], [q], [r̩] and [?] are not native Pashto sounds. They occur in words borrowed mostly from Arabic and Persian, but also in words borrowed from other languages as well. In the informal speech of educated Pashtuns, and in formal and informal speech of uneducated Pashtuns, [f] is pronounced as [p], [q] is pronounced as [k] (although Pashtuns growing up in areas where there is extensive interaction with Dari speakers will often have [q] exclusively in the relevant words), and [r̩] and [?] are dropped altogether. Some examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educated, formal pronunciation</th>
<th>Uneducated, informal pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>فصل</td>
<td>[fāсол]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>فارسی</td>
<td>[fārsī]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>فرق</td>
<td>[farq]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>اتفاق</td>
<td>[itifāq]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ترقی</td>
<td>[taraq̣]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تفاوت</td>
<td>[taq̣īzā]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>حتی</td>
<td>[ḥātī]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>حكومت</td>
<td>[ḥukumāt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>حلاول</td>
<td>[ḥalāwol]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>عام</td>
<td>[ʿum]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>عرب</td>
<td>[ʿarāb]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>عصري</td>
<td>[ʿasrī]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>علاقه</td>
<td>[ʿalāqā]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The dental consonants. Sounds that are slightly different from their English counterparts include the dental consonants [t], [d], [n], [ts], and [dz]. These sounds are pronounced with the tongue touching the back of the front teeth (hence the name 'dental'), as opposed to their English counterparts which are pronounced with the tongue touching the alveolar ridge (the roof of the mouth just behind the front teeth). Many languages have dental rather than alveolar segments, including Spanish and Turkish.

The retroflex consonants. The retroflex consonants in Pashto are particularly interesting to linguists, mainly because Pashto is the only one of the Iranian languages to have retroflex consonants, and because Pashto has these sounds in common with neighboring but only distantly related languages spoken to the south, mainly Urdu.

Retroflex consonants are pronounced with the tongue curled up and back from its usual position in the mouth (retro means 'back' and flex means 'bend' or 'curve'). Retroflex consonants are common in the South Asian languages; it is mostly the pronunciation of English [t] and [d] as their retroflex counterparts that makes Indian English readily identifiable as such.

Speakers of these languages hear English [t], [d] and other alveolar consonants as closer to their retroflex than to their dental consonants, and as a consequence English borrowings with alveolar consonants are pronounced with retroflex consonants. Hence the existence in Pashto of:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{road} & \rightarrow \text{road} \\
\text{dollar} & \rightarrow \text{dollar}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{male doctor} & \rightarrow \text{male doctor} \\
\text{deputy} & \rightarrow \text{deputy}
\end{align*}
\]

C. Vowels

The central dialect of Pashto has nine vowels. Below is a list with English equivalents:

\[
\begin{align*}
[a] & \text{as in ask, glass, or close to Midwestern English got, box: 'is' [da]} \\
& \text{تیلب (talefūz)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
[a] & \text{as in awful, caught: 'hand' [lās]} \\
& \text{تاسی (tāsā)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
[e] & \text{as in bed, yellow: 'this' [del] } \\
& \text{می (mi)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
[z] & \text{as in sit, rift: 'repeat' [ižkrār] } \\
& \text{سپل (spal)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
[l] & \text{as in beet, seat: 'go' [dzil], 'are' [dil]} \\
& \text{پور (pūr)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
[o] & \text{as in beat, so: 'Pashto' [paxtō], 'loan' [por]}
\end{align*}
\]
Chapter 2: Pronunciation

[u] as in boat, foot: 'street' [kutsá], 'hands' [lásúna]  
[œ] as in put, book: 'please' [lútta], 'quiet' [chup]
[u] as in but, just: 'not' [nə], 'tall' [tʃag]

Technical description of vowels. In the chart below, the vowels are presented in a format familiar to phoneticists and linguists. The terms across the top of the chart refer to the position of the tongue from front to back in the mouth; the terms down the left side refer to the position of the tongue from top to bottom and the position of the upper and lower jaws (closer together for the higher vowels, farther apart for the lower vowels). The categories 'rounded' and 'unrounded' refer to the position of the lips.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front (unrounded)</th>
<th>Central (unrounded)</th>
<th>Back (rounded)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>å</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Technical descriptions:

[u]: high front tense unrounded vowel.
[œ]: high front lax unrounded vowel.
[e]: mid front unrounded vowel.
[a]: mid central lax unrounded vowel (the symbol is called 'schwa').
[a]: low central unrounded vowel.
[å]: low back rounded vowel.
[o]: mid back rounded vowel.
[u]: high back tense rounded vowel.
[v]: high back lax rounded vowel.
Chapter 2: Pronunciation

Notes on the vowels. Not all of the vowels occur everywhere in words. [i], [o], [e] and [u] do not occur at the beginnings of native Pashto words, but at the beginnings of borrowed words only, for example 'agency' [eyjansay] یابینسن.

The vowel [a] is often pronounced as [a] in unstressed syllables.

In all dialects, but particularly the western dialect, [e] and [o] frequently become [i] and [u] respectively if a following vowel is [i] or [u], for example 'I do' [kégami] کېږمې as opposed to 'he does' [kégil] or [kflgil] کږېې.

Diphthongs. Some of the vowels listed above occur followed by [w] or [y]. In many languages (like English), such combinations are called diphthongs, and function like vowels. In Pashto, however, it is simpler to consider [y] and [w] as consonants. The more frequently-occurring vowel + [yl/w] combinations are listed below.

[ey]: as in English play, spelled with the letter ي
  'placket' [greywán] گرېپان
  'peg' [meykh] مېک
  'sligh' [asweyléy] اسوبېېلي

[ay]: no parallel in most dialects of American English. Grammatical endings involving [ay] are spelled with the letters ېې. [ay] occurs only at the ends of words.
  'edge' [zay] ژې
  'tall' [lókay] څېکې
  'you all are' [yóstay] ېېاستې

[ay]: like English bite, fly.
  'buyer' [akhistánkey] اخستانکې
  'summer' [wóray] اوږي
  'mirror' [aynál] اېنې
  'success' [bargálaytób] برېلایتوب
  'plant' [bútay] برېنې

[ay]: no English equivalent.
  'God' [khwdáy] خنډې
  'place' [dzáy] خېې
D. Syllable Structure

Pashto syllables consist of at least a vowel, with as many as three consonants before, and up to two consonants after. Using the symbol C to represent a consonant, and V to represent a vowel, the following syllable structures are possible in principle:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
V & VC & VCC \\
CV & CVC & CVCC \\
CCV & CCVC & CCVCC \\
CCCV & CCCVC & CCCVCC \\
\end{array}
\]

As in all languages, there are restrictions as to which consonants and vowels can occur in various types of Pashto syllables. The consonant [h], for example, occurs only at the beginnings of syllables; retroflex [p], the diphthong [ay], and the sounds represented by the letter ʁ, occur only at the ends of syllables.

Two-consonant Clusters. Pashto is remarkable for the number of different consonant clusters that can begin syllables. English, for example, has about thirty-five allowable combinations of consonants; Pashto has close to a hundred.
Chapter 2: Pronunciation

The most common of these consonant clusters are given below, in English alphabetical order. 2

[br]: 'glory' [bɹoʊɹ], 'bride' [bɹɪd], 'seems' [bɹɛz]
[br]: 'quilt' [kwɪlt], 'quetsch' [kwɛts] 2
[br]: 'thigh' [θaɪ], 'tights' [tɪʃz]
[dw]: 'both' [dβəθ], 'two' [twau], 'shrew' [σrəʊ]
[dw]: 'praying' [ˈpreɪɪŋ], 'dog' [dɔɡ]
[dzgh]: 'operate' [dʒəˈpərer], 'endurance' [dʒəˈnaʊəns]
[dzm]: 'farm' [fərm], 'burn' [bərn], 'our' [ˈauər]
[dzw]: 'young' [dʒʌŋ], 'hanging' [ˈhæŋɪŋ], 'sweat' [sweit]
[gr]: 'inflation' [ɪnˈflæʃn], 'dear' [dɪə], 'piquet' [ˈpiːkət]
[gr]: 'east' [ɛst], 'green' [ɡriːn], 'rear' [rɛər]
[gw]: 'finger' [ˈfɪŋər], 'brown sugar' [ˈbraʊn ˈsʌgər], 'gather' [ˈgætər]
[ghl]: 'thief' [θiəf], 'ghla' [ˈgħla], 'i.e. feminine'
[kl]: 'hard' [hɑrd], 'kleck' [ˈklɛk], 'string' [ˈstrɪŋ]
[kr]: 'car' [ˈkær], 'stark' [ˈstɑrk], 'hard' [hɑrd]
[kr]: 'crotch' [ˈkrɒtʃ], 'bent' [bɛnt]
[kw]: 'killed' [ˈkɪld], 'widow' [ˈwɪdəuv]
[khp]: 'own' [ɔʊn], 'independence' [ˌɪndɪˈpendəns]
[khw]: 'direction' [ˈdɪrekʃn], 'food' [ˈfuːd]
[khw]: 'move' [ˈmʌv]
[lm]: 'respect' [rɛˈspekt], 'sun' [sʌn]
[lw]: 'high' [hɪg], 'is studying' [ˈɪz ˈstʌdiŋ]
[my]: 'month' [mʌnθ], 'Mikhal (tribe)' [ˈmɪkhlə] 2

2 Remember that [ts], [dz], [ch], [sh], zhl [gh] and [kh] are considered single consonants: [shk], for example, is a cluster of just two consonants. Remember also that [y] and [w] are considered consonants.
Chapter 2: Pronunciation

[mr]: 'pepper' [mɾeŋ]، مرچ
[ml]: 'faded' [mɾeŋəwɛ]، مرنگ
[ng]: 'daughter-in-law' [ŋɔr]، نگوئی
[nt]: 'imp' [ŋuɛdə]، نگوئی
[ngh]: 'burner' [ŋhɑrə]، نگوئی
[ng]: 'nephew' [ŋnæf]، نبرمه
[nn]: 'the East' [nɔm nətæ]، نمر خاکه
[nym]: 'grandmother' [nʌm]، نماز مین
[ny]: 'popular' [nʌpəl]، نیا زمین
[ny]: 'intention' [nyɛnt]، نیا زمین
[pl]: 'father' [prə]، پلا ر
[pr]: 'practise' [prætɪs]، پرته
[prt]: 'except' [prɛkst]، پرته
[pr]: 'familiar' [fɛməl]، پرته
[pr]: 'flying' [fliŋ]، پرته
[pr]: 'plan' [plæn]، پلا ر
[pr]: 'bridges' [brɪdʒɪz]، پلا ر
[pr]: 'wide' [waɪd]، پلا ر
[pr]: 'plane' [pleɪn]، پلا ر

[pt]: 'tiger' [tɪdʒə]، پلا ر
[pt]: 'spread out' [spred aʊt]، پلا ر
[pt]: 'province' [prəvəns]، پلا ر

[pj]: 'on foot' [ɒn fʊt]، پلا ر
[pj]: 'onion' [ɒnɪən]، پلا ر
[pj]: 'cup' [kʌp]، پلا ر
[pj]: 'cup' [kʌp]، پلا ر
[pl]: 'went' [wɛnt]، پلا ر

[t]: 'tell' [tɛl]، پلا ر
[tr]: 'strong' [strɔŋ]، پلا ر
[tr]: 'aunt' [ɔnt]، پلا ر
[tr]: 'bitter' [bɪtər]، پلا ر

[s]: 'charcoal' [ʃərəul]، پلا ر
[sk]: 'skunk' [skʌŋk]، پلا ر
[sk]: 'pinch' [pɪŋk]، پلا ر

[sh]: 'tight' [tʃeɪt]، پلا ر
[sh]: 'soldier' [ˈsɔldjə]، پلا ر
[sh]: 'seal' [ˈsɛl]، پلا ر
[sh]: 'white' [ˈwaɪt]، پلا ر
[sh]: 'spin' [ˈspɪn]، پلا ر

[sp]: 'split' [ˈsplɪt]، پلا ر
[sp]: 'spiky' [ˈspɪkɪ]، پلا ر
[sp]: 'spear' [ˈspɛr]، پلا ر

[st]: 'star' [ˈstɑr]، پلا ر
[st]: 'tired' [ˈtɪrd]، پلا ر
[st]: 'great' [ɡreɪt]، پلا ر
[st]: 'steroid' [ˈstɛrɔɪd]، پلا ر

[s]: 'burns' [bɜrnz]، پلا ر
[s]: 'swedish' [ˈswɛdɪʃ]، پلا ر
[s]: 'ride' [raɪd]، پلا ر

[sh]: 'picks' [ˈpɪks]، پلا ر
[sh]: 'basket' [ˈbæskɪt]، پلا ر
[sh]: 'break' [ˈbreɪk]، پلا ر
[sh]: 'shkawal' [ˈʃkəwɔl]، پلا ر
[sh]: 'skor' [ˈskɔr]، پلا ر
[sh]: 'pinch' [ˈpɪŋk]، پلا ر

[sh]: 'six' [ˈsɪks]، پلا ر
[sh]: 'mght' [ˈmɡt]، پلا ر
[sh]: 'flute' [ˈflʌt]، پلا ر

[sk]: 'ski' [ˈski]، پلا ر
[sk]: 'skiph' [ˈskɪp]، پلا ر
[sk]: 'skow' [ˈskɔw]، پلا ر

[sk]: 'down' [ˈdaʊn]، پلا ر
[sk]: 'hunting' [ˈhʌntɪŋ]، پلا ر
[sk]: 'appearance' [ˈəpərəns]، پلا ر

[w]: 'worn' [wɜrn]، پلا ر
[w]: 'wash' [wæʃ]، پلا ر
[w]: 'went' [wɛnt]، پلا ر

[w]: 'dores' [ˈdɔrəz]، پلا ر
[w]: 'nephew' [ˈnɛfɪ]، پلا ر
[w]: 'wedding party' [ˈwedɪŋ pɑrəti]، پلا ر
[w]: 'beforehand' [ˈbɪfɔrəhænd]، پلا ر
[w]: 'bray' [ˈbreɪ]، پلا ر
[w]: 'moan' [ˈmɔn]، پلا ر
[w]: 'sew' [ˈsəʊ]، پلا ر
[w]: 'courage' [ˈkɔrɪdʒ]، پلا ر
[w]: 'tolerance' [ˈtələrəns]، پلا ر

[z]: 'lion' [ˈlaɪən]، پلا ر
[z]: 'my' [maɪ]، پلا ر
[z]: 'faded' [ˈfeɪd]، پلا ر

[z]: 'brave' [ˈbreɪv]، پلا ر
[z]: 'heart' [ˈhɑrt]، پلا ر
[z]: 'zebra' [ˈzebrə]، پلا ر
[z]: 'zibar' [ˈzybər]، پلا ر
[z]: 'much' [ˈmʌtʃ]، پلا ر
[z]: 'harm' [ˈhɑrm]، پلا ر
[z]: 'zeigen' [ˈzyʒən]، پلا ر

Chapter 2: Pronunciation

[zhm]: 'promise' [zhtmâna], 'comb' [zhmândz]

[zhw]: 'life' [zhwândûn], 'lîf' [zhwâk]

Other clusters appear, apparently, in only one or two words, but these words are widespread and basic to Pashto, and so the following clusters are added to the list.

[bî]: 'pregnant' [bîrba]

[dî]: 'thirteen' [dîyârás]

[khy]: 'handsome' [khyâlî]

[mî]: 'waist' [mîlî], 'friend' [mîa]

[nj]: 'girl' [njâlî]

[rgî]: 'rolls around' [rgîhî]

[shkh]: 'dispute' [shkîhâ]

[shm]: 'number' [shmêr]

[tw]: 'ability' [twân]

[tsh]: 'drinking' [tshêk]

[tsw]: 'fourteen' [tswârîs]

[zb]: 'sucks' [zbéxî]

[zd]: 'study' [zdê kî]

[zr]: 'mill' [zrânda]

[zw]: 'life' [zwând]

There are yet other clusters which apparently appear only in onomatopoeic words, i.e. words which represent particular sounds. Some examples:

[khî]: 'slapping sound' [khîáp]

[trî]: 'gunshot noise' [trîaq]

A final note on clusters is that they are frequently broken up with epenthetic vowels, possibly because they are difficult to articulate. The word for 'foot', for example – [paxî] – is also pronounced [paxâl], with an epenthetic [â] breaking up the consonant cluster.
Three-consonant Clusters. There are some three-consonant clusters at the beginnings of syllables. Like some of the two-consonant clusters, these appear in a handful of words at most.

[khw]: 'mouth' [khw:]-نونه
[khwd]: 'God' [khwd:]-ن:آ
[nrd]: 'sister-in-law' [nrd:]-ن:ردور
[skw]: 'shear' [skw:]-سکول
[skhwd]: 'bull' [skhw:]-سکوند
[shkhw]: 'chewing' [shkw:]-سکنند
don: 'pretty' [kxw:]-پیکلی, 'kisses' [kwh:]-پینلوي

Consonant Clusters at the ends of syllables. As mentioned above, syllables can end in up to two consonants. There are many fewer syllable-final clusters in Pashto than there are syllable-initial, and most of the final ones are in borrowed words, for example [nk] in 'bank' [bank]-ب:ک. The most common clusters appearing in native Pashto words are the following:

[kht]: 'fortune' [bakt]-پ:بتکت, 'busy' [bokht]-پ:بتکت, 'capital' [pæytækht]-پ:بتکت
[nd]: 'blind person' [rund]-پ:ند
[ng]: 'round' [ghwand]-غوند
[rg]: 'death' [marq]-مرگ
[rgk]: 'aspect' [arkh]-اربخ
[sk]: 'smiling' [maeak]-مسک
[st]: 'right?' [drust?]-?پوست

Other clusters appearing in borrowed words are the following:
[bz]: 'green' [sar sâbز]-س:ر س:بز
[fz/wz]: 'promise' [lafz] / [lawz]-ل:ف:ز
[ks]: 'picture' [aks]-عکس
Chapter 2: Pronunciation

[khs]: 'person' [shakhs] شخص
[mp]: 'refugee camp' [kamp] کمپ
[mz]: 'secret' [ramz] رمز
[ndz]: 'prayer' [mundz] منخ 'middle' [mandz] منخ
[nj]: 'corner' [kwanj] کونج
[nk]: 'bank' [bânk] پانک
[ns]: 'agency' [azhâns] اژانس
[nz]: 'comb' [gumânz] پومنغ
[ash]: 'painting' [naqsh] نقش
[rd]: 'student' [shâgâr] شاگرد 'courage' [zghard] زغرد 'pain' [dard] درد
[rgh]: 'turkey' [pigmûrg] فيل مرغ
[rm]: 'farm' [färmi] فارم
[rn]: 'century' [qarn] قرن
[rq]: 'east' [šerq] شرق 'difference' [farq] فرق 'electricity' [barq] برق
[rr]: 'lesson' [darš] درس
[rt]: 'condition' [šart] شرط 'thought' [churt] چرت
[rz]: 'petition' [arz] طورز 'type' [tarz] طرز
[shq]: 'love' [ishq] عشق
[sht]: 'destiny' [sarnâwšht] سرنوشت

E. Stress and Intonation

Basic word stress. In every word of more than one syllable, one of the
syllables bears heavy stress: it is pronounced with more emphasis and probably with
slightly higher pitch than syllables with weaker stress. Pashto is similar to English in
this respect: in the previous clause, for example, the stresses on the English words are
as follows (heavy stress is marked with the ' symbol over the vowel):

Pashto similar English respect

The location of the heavy stress (whether on the last syllable, the next-to-last,
or one of the earlier syllables) is not predictable in Pashto, and the spelling system does
not mark stress at all. To ascertain where the heavy stress is in a Pashto word, the non-
native speaker must ask a native speaker how to pronounce the word, and then listen for the stressed syllable.

The stress in native Pashto words is generally on the last syllable if the syllable ends in a consonant, and on the next-to-last (penult) syllable if the last syllable ends in a vowel, for example:

'neck' (masculine form) [ransúr]

'Sick' (feminine form) [ranszára]

There are probably as many exceptions to the rule given above as there are words which follow it, however, including the word for the language: 'Pashto' [pástó].

One of the sources for the exceptions is the number of borrowings in the language. Pashto has borrowed thousands of words from a number of languages, and in many cases the words have been borrowed with the stress patterns of the language from which they have been borrowed. For example, many words ending in [a] that have been borrowed from Persian are stressed on the last syllable as they are in Persian, for example:

'apa' [ápa]

'expat' [átyá]

'bus stop' [ístángá]

'friend' [áshná]

There are as many words ending in [a] borrowed from Arabic, however, which are not stressed on the last syllable, for example:

'however' [ámá]

'monster' [búlabá]

'even' [írá]

The number of borrowings and other factors have resulted in Pashto's having a number of pairs of words which are exactly alike except for stress:

'pear tree' [tángá] vs. 'cart' [tángá]

'mare' [ásá] vs. 'spotted fever' [ásá]

'took' [górá] vs. 'fair-skinned' [górá]

'divert' [ghútá] vs. 'knot' [ghútá]

'pair' [jorá] vs. 'well (feminine)' [jorá]

'he's sitting' [kénástá] vs. 'he sat' [kénástá]
Chapter 2: Pronunciation

Stress in affixes. Another source of exceptions to the rule given above is that some affixes automatically carry heavy stress. Pashto has a number of affixes - prefixes, suffixes, and infixes that carry (usually) grammatical information, such as tense, number, gender, and so on. Many of these affixes always carry heavy stress: a word with one of these affixes will be pronounced with the stress on the affix rather than on the root of the word. For example, [-una] -نین, one of the masculine plural markers, carries heavy stress; words with this suffix are always stressed on the [u] of the suffix:

- 'invasion' [yarghal] يرغلل 'inversions' [yarghaluna] يرغللونه
- 'song' [surud] سرود 'songs' [suruduna] سرودونه
- 'charm' [afsun] افسن 'charms' [afsununa] افسنونه
- 'pomegranate' [anar] ائثار 'pomegranates' [anaruna] ائثرونه
- 'neck' [ormeg] اورمسل 'necks' [ormeguna] اورمسلوه

Sometimes the addition of an affix (like [-una] -نین-) results in a word that continues to follow the basic rule, but this is not always the case. An example is the suffix [-og-] -وگ- that converts nouns and adjectives to verbs, and carries heavy stress, resulting in forms that break the basic rule:

- I'm starting out' [rawanejam] روانپیرم 'You're starting out' [rawanejag] روانپیرم

In following chapters in which affixes are presented and described, those that carry heavy stress will always include the stress mark in the transcription.

In addition to word stress, there are stress patterns in sentences as well, which often have the effect of shifting the heavy stress off a word that would ordinarily receive it. The negative particle [na] نه, for example, always carries heavy stress in the sentence. For example:

- 'He's eating' [khwari] خوري 'He's not eating' [nakhwari] نه خوري

The perfective particle [wali] و also carries heavy stress, and when both [na] نه and [wali] و occur, they both seem to receive heavy stress:

- 'I was standing' [daredam] دربدم 'I wasn't standing' [nadoaredam] نه دربدم
- 'I stood' [wadoaredam] ونربدم 'I didn't stand' [wandoaredam] ونربدم
Secondary stresses. Stress patterns in polysyllabic words and in phrases and sentences have not been studied to any great extent, other than to note particles and affixes like [nē] and [wā], and to comment that there seem to be secondary stresses in Pashto as well as primary stresses. In the 'I stood' example above, for example, the syllable [-ed-] has a heavier stress than the final syllable [-am], but not so heavy as the primary-stressed syllable [wā].

There are probably patterns of primary and secondary stresses in multi-syllabic words as well. The first syllable of the multi-syllabic 'buyer' [akhistūnkey], for example, seems to have heavier stress than either the second or fourth syllables.

Intonation. Intonation - the altering of the pitch at which vowels are pronounced - clearly plays an important role in at least one aspect of Pashto, but, like stress, has not been studied. (Studies of stress and pitch require extensive field work, and typically take place after more fundamental research on the language has been carried out.) It appears that in general, heavily stressed syllables are pronounced with higher pitch than weakly stressed syllables.

An aspect of Pashto in which intonation plays a major role is in question formation. The only difference between Pashto statements and their corresponding yes/no questions is that in the statement the pitch goes down at the end of a sentence, whereas in the question the pitch goes up. English has a parallel way of forming yes/no questions, but it is an alternate to the usual question formation which involves shifts in word order as well as the rise in pitch at the end of the question, for example:

Statement: 'Patang is a doctor.' (†)
Normal question: 'Is Patang a doctor?' (†)
Alternate form: 'Patang is a doctor?' (†)

All Pashto yes/no questions are formed entirely by shifting the intonation pattern.

Statement: 'Patang is a doctor.' [patāng ḍāktār da†]
Question: 'Is Patang a doctor?' [patāng ḍāktār da†]

Statement: 'He's not eating.' [nē khwri†]
Question: 'Isn't he eating?' [nē khwri†]
Chapter 2: Pronunciation

F. Major Dialectal Differences

As we mentioned in Chapter 1, not much is known in detail about the pronunciation differences among the various dialects of Pashto, except for major phonological correspondences between the western (Kandahar), central (Kabul) and eastern (Ningrah) dialect groups. These major correspondences are shown in the table below. ([zh] is a voiced palatal fricative with the tongue curled back as the sound is pronounced. [sh] is a voiceless palatal fricative with the tongue curled back as the sound is pronounced.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Central pronunciation</th>
<th>Western pronunciation</th>
<th>Eastern pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ز</td>
<td>[z]</td>
<td>[zh]</td>
<td>[jh]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>پ</td>
<td>[g]</td>
<td>(retroflex) [zh']</td>
<td>[gi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ش</td>
<td>[x]</td>
<td>(retroflex) [sh']</td>
<td>[kh]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

'moon' سموئل | Central [spogmáy] | Western [spozh'máy] | Eastern [spogmáy] |
'shivers' روپ دهانی | Central [regdégí] | Western [rezh'dézh'i] | Eastern [regdégí] |
'Pashto' پښتو | Central [paxtō] | Western [pash'tō] | Eastern [pakhtō] |
'branch' باخ | Central [kākh] | Western [sh'ākh] | Eastern [khākh] |
'truth' ریشا | Central [rixtyā] | Western [rish'tyā] | Eastern [rikhtyā] |
'deep' دیر | Central [zawár] | Western [zh'awár] | Eastern [jawár] |
'wilts' روپه | Central [razégi] | Western [rezh'ézh'í] | Eastern [rajégi] |

The only other correspondence among the major dialects that is described in the literature on Pashto pronunciation is that described by MacKenzie (1987), which involves the pronunciation of the final diphthongs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Western</th>
<th>Eastern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ی</td>
<td>[ay]</td>
<td>long [æ]</td>
<td>[ay]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ی</td>
<td>[ay]</td>
<td>[ay]</td>
<td>[ay]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A. Other Analyses

Penzl (1955) and other earlier descriptions group some of the vowels in pairs of short and long vowels, as follows:

Long: [i] [e] [u]
Short: [i] [e] [u]

These descriptions are possibly based on those of Pashtun writers who, following the lead of grammarians describing Arabic's short/long vowel system, analyzed Pashto vowels as short and long.

Mackenzie (1987) describes the Pashto sounds from a historical perspective, and includes notes on dialectal alternations. His list of sounds, and that of Shafeev (1964), do not differ significantly from the one given here.

Chapter 3: Pashto Words

A. Introduction

Pashto is like other languages in that its speakers use words that are native Pashto, while also using words that have been borrowed from other languages.

The native Pashto words are the most high-frequency, and tend to denote 'basic' human objects and actions, like terms for family and tribe members, words denoting ordinary human activities like eating and working and moving around, plants and animals, words having to do with farming and hunting, and words describing other areas of traditional culture.

Borrowed words are usually associated with aspects of Pashtun life that have arisen from contacts with speakers of other languages: the most obvious of these are words related to Islam, which entered Pashto either through Persian, or directly from Arabic.

The major sources of borrowed vocabulary in Pashto are Persian, including native Persian words and words that Persian itself borrowed from other languages; Urdu, from the Pashtuns' relations with Urdu speakers in Pakistan; and English, from their original involvement with the British in the 19th century, and from the current widespread use of English in the Northwest Frontier Province. Other languages that have contributed words to Pashto are the Turkic and Dardic languages spoken in neighboring areas, or in small pockets in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

B. Pashto's Basic Word Stock and Persian Cognates

As we mentioned in Chapter 1, Pashto and Persian are related, and both are descended (along with the other Iranian languages) from the ancient language called Iranian by historical linguists. The basic native words in both languages have evolved in parallel from a single stock of words in Iranian. The common ancestry of words in modern Persian and Pashto may be seen by comparing the words from each language that denote the same basic elements. Such pairs of words are called cognates: not only do cognates show relationships among languages, they also reveal the ways in which the languages have changed. Note, for example, in the words below, that Pashto frequently has an [l] in words where Persian has a [d]:

43
Chapter 3: Pashto Words

Pashto: 'hand' [lāh] لاس
Persian: 'hand' [dast] دست

Pashto: 'father' [plār] پلار
Persian: 'father' [padār] پدر

Pashto: 'mother' [mor] مور
Persian: 'mother' [mādār] مادر

Pashto: 'sister' [khor] خور
Persian: 'sister' [khwār] خواهر

Pashto: 'two' [dwā] دوه
Persian: 'two' [du] دو

Pashto: 'sleeve' [lastōnay] لستونی
Persian: 'sleeve' [astīn] استین

Pashto: 'day' [wradz] رخ
Persian: 'day' [roz] روز

Pashto: 'five' [plndžō] پنځه
Persian: 'five' [pān] پنج

C. Borrowings from and through Persian

Besides Pashto/Persian cognates, there are numbers of words in Pashto that have clearly been borrowed from Persian, i.e. Persian words have been learned by Pashto speakers and adapted for use in Pashto. Borrowing is a process that goes on constantly: any tourist who brings home a souvenir and calls it by its name in another language has borrowed a term. Some borrowings become widespread, and become part of the word stock of the language; others fall into disuse.

When a word is borrowed from one language into another, its pronunciation may be restructured to fit the pronunciation patterns of the borrowing language. The Pashto word for car, [moṭār] موټر, for example, is borrowed from English, and its pronunciation has gradually been restructured to resemble native Pashto words: the stress has shifted from the first syllable to the last, and the English [t] is pronounced with Pashto sound perceived to be closest to it, the retroflex [{].

Clear borrowings can sometimes be distinguished from cognates by checking their resemblances: in general, if the word in question is pronounced very similarly to its pronunciation in the language being borrowed from, and if it refers to a cultural item or action that is likely to have been transmitted from one culture to the other, linguists conclude that the word has been borrowed.

The Pashto words below are clear borrowings from Persian:
Chapter 3: Pashto Words

Pashto: 'kitchen' [Ashpazkhānā]  آشپزخانه
Persian: 'kitchen' [asnoazkhanā] آشپزخانه
Pashto: 'table' [mez] میز
Persian: 'table' [mez] میز

Pashto: 'servant' [muzdār] مزدور
Persian: 'servant' [mazdūr] مزدور
Pashto: 'clerk' [mirzā] میرزا
Persian: 'clerk' [mirzā] میرزا

Pashto: 'garden' [gwalistān] گلستان
Persian: 'garden' [gulistān] گلستان
Pashto: 'cucumber' [bādrāng] بادرنگ
Persian: 'cucumber' [bādrāng] بادرنگ

Pashto: 'chair' [tsawkā] چوکی
Persian: 'chair' [chawkā] چوکی
Pashto: 'syrup' [sharbat] شربت
Persian: 'syrup' [sharbat] شربت

If the speakers of two related languages have interacted for a long time, it is often difficult to tell whether similar words in the languages are true cognates, i.e. descended from a single word in the ancestor language, or borrowed from one language to the other and restructured. This is the case with Pashto and Persian, and there is correspondingly no way to tell whether pairs like the following are true cognates or examples of borrowing from one language into the other:

Pashto: 'aw' [tābar] تبر
Persian: 'ax' [tabār] تبر
Pashto: 'stick' [kotāk] کوتک
Persian: 'stick' [kutāk] کتک

Pashto: 'lamp' [tslāgh] شراغ
Persian: 'lamp' [charāgh] چراغ
Pashto: 'rope' [rasāy] رسای
Persian: 'rope' [rsmovān] رسمان

Pashto: 'bush' [butāy] بر پی
Persian: 'bush' [butá] بر وت
Pashto: 'red' [sur] سور
Persian: 'red' [surk] شرخ

Most of the non-native words in Afghan Pashto are from Persian, reflecting the fact that speakers of the two languages have been neighbors or countrymen for centuries.

Pashto has also borrowed words from Persian that Persian itself had borrowed from some other language. Most of the Pashto words pertaining to education, for example, were borrowed from Arabic through Persian. Some examples are given below:

Most of the non-native words in Afghan Pashto are from Persian, reflecting the fact that speakers of the two languages have been neighbors or countrymen for centuries.

Pashto has also borrowed words from Persian that Persian itself had borrowed from some other language. Most of the Pashto words pertaining to education, for example, were borrowed from Arabic through Persian. Some examples are given below:
D. Borrowings directly from Arabic

Some words and phrases concerning Islam have been borrowed directly into Pashto from Arabic, usually with their spelling intact. These words and phrases have a variety of pronunciations, depending on the speaker's familiarity with Arabic (either from devotion to Islam or from extensive education). Some example phrases are:

الله تعالى
(Please be with you) [asalām บีจุก]
(God knows) [wa'llāhu ә'ɫām], [wa'lawâli'm]

Sometimes, even the Arabic plural is borrowed, as in the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Pashto singular</th>
<th>Arabic plural used</th>
<th>Expected Pashto plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bonus</td>
<td>[imtiyāz]</td>
<td>امتيازات [imtiyāzāt]</td>
<td>امتيازونه [imtiyāzūna]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>criticism</td>
<td>[intiqād]</td>
<td>انتقادات [intiqādat]</td>
<td>انتقادونه [intiqādūna]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>establishment</td>
<td>[tashkil]</td>
<td>تشكيلات [tashkilāt]</td>
<td>تشكيلونه [tashkilūna]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dignity</td>
<td>[tāzmā]</td>
<td>تعظيمات [tāzmūnā]</td>
<td>تعظيمونه [tāzmūnūna]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The use of an Arabic plural indicates that the speaker knows Arabic, a mark of education parallel to an English speaker's use of a Latin plural like *foci*, as opposed to the regular English plural *focuses*. 
E. Borrowings from Urdu and English

The Pashto spoken in Pakistan contains more borrowings from Urdu and English than does Afghan Pashto. The English borrowings are through Urdu, which has hundreds of English borrowings as a result of the British presence there in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

A characteristic of English borrowings in both Urdu and Pashto is that English [t] and [d] have been restructured as retroflex [ʈ] and [ɖ]. As was mentioned before, this has to do with the phonetic characteristics of English [t] and [d], which are phonetically halfway between the retroflex [ʈ] and [ɖ] of Urdu and Pashto and their non-retroflex [t] and [d], and are perceived as the retroflex rather than the non-retroflex [t] and [d]. Below are examples of borrowings from these two languages:

Pashto: 'truck' [larāy] لاری
English: lorry

Pashto: 'hospital' [aspatāl] هسپتال
English: hospital

Pashto: 'machine' [māshin] ماشین
English: machine

Pashto: 'jeep' [jsp] جیپ
English: jeep

Pashto: 'vest' [wūskāt] واسکت
English: waistcoat

Pashto: 'cassette' [kastt] کسټ
English: cassette

Pashto: 'glove compartment' [ṭulbāks] تول بکس
English: tool box

Pashto: 'driver's apprentice' [kilīnār] کیلنار
English: cleaner (i.e. one whose job is to wash the car)
F. Recent Borrowings from English and Russian

The Russian occupation of Afghanistan, the resistance to it, and the formation of refugee camps in Pakistan with their international supervision, all have supplied words borrowed from Russian and English into Pashto, but the occupation was too recent to predict whether the words will remain in the language. Some examples are:

Pashto: "rifle" [kališinkov] راکشنک
Russian: Kalishnikov (type of rifle)

Pashto: "machine gun" [dashakä] داشک
Russian: Dashka (machine gun)

Pashto: [rashän] راکش
English: ration

Pashto: "launcher" [rakët lënhär] راکت لانچر
English: rocket launcher

Pashto: "missile" [stingär] ستینگ
English: Stinger (ground-to-air missile)
Chapter 3: Pashto Words

G. International Words in Pashto

Another source of words in Pashto is the international community, which provides words for modern phenomena that are so widespread it is often impossible to tell which language they originated from. A few examples, with their English translations, are:

'readio' [rādyō] رادیو
'television' [télwəzjən] تلویزیون
'socialism' [səˈsɒlɪzəm] سوسیالیزم
'professor' [profəˈsɔr] پروفیسر
'police' [polıs] پولیس
'pizza' [piːtsə] پیززا
Chapter 4: The Writing System

A. Pashto’s Arabic-based Writing System

The Arabic alphabet. Pashto is written with a variation of the Persian alphabet, which in turn a variation of the Arabic alphabet. Pashto shares the characteristics of all Arabic-based alphabets:

- It is written from right to left, although numbers are written from left to right as they are in roman-alphabet systems, e.g., 5000 is written ٥٠٠٠ rather than ٠٠٥٠.
- There is no upper/lower case distinction among letters.
- Vowels other than [a], [u], [i] (and [o] in Pashto) are not represented in writing, and even those sounds are not consistently represented. (The system of diacritical marks, which is used to represent Arabic vowels in the Koran and for other purposes, is not used in Pashto.)
- The shape of an individual letter varies slightly depending on whether it is in the beginning, middle or final position in the word, and whether the letter preceding it is one that connects with following letters to the left. For example, the letter representing the sound [b] (ب) is one of the letters that connects with following letters. It has the following shapes:

  - when it occurs independently, as in the preceding paragraph, or at the end of a word following a letter that does not connect to the left;
  - when it occurs at the beginning of a word, or after a letter that does not connect to the left;
  - when it occurs after a letter that connects to the left, and before another letter; and
  - when it occurs at the end of a word, after a letter that connects to the left.

In contrast, the letter representing the sound [d] -- د -- is one of the letters that does not connect to the left. Its forms are:

  - when it occurs independently, or following a letter that does not connect to the left, and
  - when it follows a letter that connects to the left.
Letters peculiar to Pashto. The difference between the Pashto and Arabic alphabets mainly involves the modification of existing Arabic letters to represent sounds which exist in Pashto but not Arabic. The Pashto alphabet includes letters from the Persian alphabet (representing sounds in that exist in Persian but not Arabic, for example [p] ږ and [ch] چ) and additional letters representing sounds that exist in Pashto but not Persian or Arabic. These extra letters are:

- [Zh] ر
- [G] گ
- [X] ش
- [Q] ن
- [Ay] ی

B. Handwritten, Printed, and Computerized Pashto

Pashtuns share with other users of Arabic alphabets an awareness of the beauty of the alphabet, and beautiful handwriting (for formal occasions) is a cherished accomplishment. Informal handwriting, on the other hand, is usually very difficult for the foreigner to decipher.

The Pashto in books and magazines that have been offset-printed is frequently handwritten; in such cases, the handwriter takes particular care that his handwriting is not only readable, but elegant. Handwritten, offset-printed Pashto is more frequently published in Pakistan than Afghanistan, reflecting both the greater availability of offset printing in Pakistan and the fact that Pashto's status as a national language in Afghanistan guarantees that printing houses will have the capability to typeset Pashto.

In modern times, Arabic alphabets have been computerized, and several software programs are available in the United States for word-processing in Arabic and Persian. Most of these programs do not have fonts which contain the additional characters needed to represent Pashto, but at least one private company sells a set of Pashto fonts. The computer systems in the U.S. government agencies that deal with Afghanistan and Pakistan are also capable of producing Pashto: the Voice of America's Pashto service, for example, produces documents in Pashto with its Xerox computer system.

Books entirely in Pashto are constructed exactly opposite from books in roman alphabets. The are read with their bound edges to the right rather than to the left; pages are turned from left to right, and are numbered accordingly; and the cover, title pages, and other introductory material are in what would be the back of a roman alphabet book.
although occasionally the table of contents is at the end of the book rather than after the title page.

C. Pashto Written Literature

The earliest known example of written Pashto is a multilingual book of religious verses. The text, in Pashto and Arabic, dates from the end of the 16th Century, and was written by Bayazid Rushan Ansari, presumably a Pashtun, who founded a sect of Islam and who wrote the book in order to make religious writing available to people in their own language. The Pashto in that text is a stilted, unnatural sort of rhymed prose that reflects a style of Arabic found in the Koran.

The earliest Pashto literature was written by the Khattak clan (the foremost writer of which was the pre-eminent 16th-century Pashtun poet Khoshal Khan Khattak), whose adaptations of the Persian alphabet laid the foundations for the modern Pashto spelling system. The Khattaks spoke the Kandahar dialect of Pashto, and the spelling system still reflects the Kandahar dialect more than it does the central or eastern dialects.

D. The Letters in the Pashto Alphabet

The letters of the Pashto alphabet are listed in order in the following chart.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Letter Name</th>
<th>Letter Forms</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>[an]</td>
<td>َل’</td>
<td>[a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>[en]</td>
<td>َب’</td>
<td>[e]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>[pe]</td>
<td>َپ’</td>
<td>[p]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>[te]</td>
<td>َت’</td>
<td>[t]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>[je]</td>
<td>َج’</td>
<td>[j]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>[jim]</td>
<td>َج’</td>
<td>[j]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letter</td>
<td>Letter Name</td>
<td>Letter Forms</td>
<td>Transcription</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ج</td>
<td>[chol]</td>
<td>[j]</td>
<td>[ch]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ح</td>
<td>[re, jhe]</td>
<td>[h], [h]</td>
<td>[h], [h]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>خ</td>
<td>[khol]</td>
<td>[kh]</td>
<td>[kh]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>خ</td>
<td>[tse]</td>
<td>[ts]</td>
<td>[ts]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>خ</td>
<td>[dze]</td>
<td>[dz]</td>
<td>[dz]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>د</td>
<td>[da]</td>
<td>[d]</td>
<td>[d]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>د</td>
<td>[qal]</td>
<td>[q]</td>
<td>[q]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ذ</td>
<td>[za]</td>
<td>[z]</td>
<td>[z]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ر</td>
<td>[re]</td>
<td>[r]</td>
<td>[r]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ر</td>
<td>[re]</td>
<td>[r]</td>
<td>[r]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ز</td>
<td>[ze]</td>
<td>[z]</td>
<td>[z]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ز</td>
<td>[zh]</td>
<td>[zh], [zh], [j]</td>
<td>[zh], [zh], [j]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>س</td>
<td>[sin]</td>
<td>س</td>
<td>[s]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ش</td>
<td>[shin]</td>
<td>ش</td>
<td>[sh]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ش</td>
<td>[xin]</td>
<td>[x]</td>
<td>[x]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ص</td>
<td>[skhwät]</td>
<td>[s], [s]</td>
<td>[s], [s]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ص</td>
<td>[skhwät]</td>
<td>[s], [s]</td>
<td>[s], [s]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ط</td>
<td>[lkhwa]</td>
<td>[l], [l]</td>
<td>[l], [l]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ط</td>
<td>[zghwe]</td>
<td>[z], [z]</td>
<td>[z], [z]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ع</td>
<td>[Rayn], [ayn]</td>
<td>[u], not pronounced</td>
<td>[u], not pronounced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>غ</td>
<td>[ghayn]</td>
<td>[gh]</td>
<td>[gh]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ف</td>
<td>[fe]</td>
<td>[f]</td>
<td>[f]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ق</td>
<td>[qaf]</td>
<td>[q]</td>
<td>[q]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ك</td>
<td>[kaf]</td>
<td>[k]</td>
<td>[k]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>غ</td>
<td>[gaf]</td>
<td>[g]</td>
<td>[g]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ل</td>
<td>[lm]</td>
<td>[l]</td>
<td>[l]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>م</td>
<td>[mim]</td>
<td>[m]</td>
<td>[m]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Chapter 4: The Writing System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Letter Name</th>
<th>Letter Forms</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ن</td>
<td>[nun]</td>
<td>ن ن ن ن</td>
<td>[n]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ن</td>
<td>[pun]</td>
<td>ن ن ن ن</td>
<td>[p]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>و</td>
<td>[wāw]</td>
<td>و و و و</td>
<td>[w], [w], [n]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ه</td>
<td>[he]</td>
<td>ه ه ه ه</td>
<td>[h], [a] at ends of words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ی</td>
<td>[ye], [mārūfa ye]</td>
<td>ی ی ی ی</td>
<td>[y], [l]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ی</td>
<td>[majhūla ye]</td>
<td>ی ی ی ی</td>
<td>[a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ی</td>
<td>[de tānīs saqīlā ye]</td>
<td>ی ی ی ی</td>
<td>[ay] at ends of words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ی</td>
<td>[de tāzklī saqīlā ye]</td>
<td>ی ی ی ی</td>
<td>[ay] at ends of words</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comments:

1. This symbol frequently occurs with additional "acritics in borrowed words:
   - ی = [lāl] in words borrowed from Persian: "آزادی" (Azādi), 'freedom', and many
     city names, e.g., [islāmābād] "Islamābād".
   - ی = [lān] in words borrowed from Arabic: "امان" (amūn) ‘usually’ or
     ‘exactly’ (āynān) عيناً

2. Another letter of this same basic shape that occasionally occurs in educated Pashto
   writing is ـ، called a hamza. It occurs only in words borrowed directly from Arabic,
   and is pronounced as a glottal stop (the sound in the middle of English "ah-ohl"), if it is
   pronounced at all.

3. These symbols represent sounds that exist in Arabic but not in Pashto. They are used
   in the spelling of words borrowed from Arabic, but are pronounced in informal speech
   with the closest Pashto equivalent of the Arabic sound. As you can see in the chart,
   the result of this maintenance of Arabic spelling is that there are three letters representing
   the [s] sound, and four letters representing the [z] sound. Educated Pashtuns will in
   formal or careful speech pronounce the letters (especially mostly چ and خ) as they are in
   Arabic, much the way that English speakers will pronounce French words in English with

41 54
their French pronunciation. The "educated" pronunciation of those letters, if there is one, is given first, and the normal Pashto pronunciation second.

4 These three letters are pronounced differently in the major dialects of Pashto, as was mentioned in Chapter 2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ر</td>
<td>[zh]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ه</td>
<td>retroflex [zhʃ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ش</td>
<td>retroflex [shʃ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ل</td>
<td>[zl]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>م</td>
<td>[g]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ك</td>
<td>[k]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5 ل followed by ل is normally represented as ن (a combination of two letters, which is called a ligature). م followed by م is also represented by a ligature. Arabic and Persian have other ligatures which Pashto does not use. This is sometimes problematic in computerized fonts for Pashto, which are typically developed by non-Pashto speakers from basic Arabic or Persian fonts. Developers assume that Pashto employs all the ligatures that Arabic and Persian do, and the resulting Pashto word processing programs do not allow for the "undoing" of the unused ligatures.

6 Sometimes the letter has the dots in final form, e.g., ي and ي.

7 The different variations of the letter ي arise from a felt necessity to represent the Pashto vowel [e] when it occurs at the ends of words (it is one of the frequently occurring grammatical endings in feminine nouns and in verbs), and to represent the grammatical ending [ay] in nouns, adjectives and verbs. The names of the letters translate as follows:

- ي [mārūfa ye] 'known y' (probably because ي is the normal symbol)
- ي [majhūla ye] 'unknown y' (probably because ي is a symbol occurring only in Pashto)
- ي [de tānīs saqqāl ye] 'heavy feminine y'
- ي [de tāzklī saqqāl ye] 'heavy masculine y'
Chapter 4: The Writing System

E. Punctuation

To the westerner, the most obvious indication of the lack of standardization of Pashto discussed in the previous chapter is the wide variation in punctuation among writers of Pashto. First, the convention of leaving spaces between words is not consistently observed, especially in hand-written documents. Readers use other clues to distinguish one word from another, such as their knowledge of letter shapes, grammatical endings, and Pashto vocabulary. For native speakers of the language, this presents little problem, just as this sentence can be deciphered relatively easily by English speakers.

Periods, commas, question and quotation marks appear in Pashto, but are used differently from writer to writer. (Commas and question marks are the mirror images of those used in roman alphabets: ; and .) In general, Pashtuns who know a western language well tend to adopt punctuation conventions from the western language. Often, however, punctuation marks are used differently from conventional western practice: commas, for example, are often used to indicate the ends of sentences, and quotation marks are used for a variety of purposes, from indicating emphasis to setting off parenthetical remarks.

F. Relationship between Spoken and Written Pashto

From a linguistic point of view, a writing system is considered optimal if there is one and only one symbol representing each distinctive sound in the language. Pashto is both over-representational---there is more than one symbol representing the sound [s], for example---and under-representational---there are some vowels for which there are no symbols in the writing system, and stress is not marked at all.

In the charts on the following pages, the vowel and consonant sounds are listed with the letters used to represent them.
### Pashto Vowels and Letter Representations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel transcription</th>
<th>Pashto letter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[a] initially</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[a] finally</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[a] medially</td>
<td>no symbol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[i] in all positions</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[e] initially</td>
<td>aï</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[e] medially, finally</td>
<td>ë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ï] initially</td>
<td>aï</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ï] medially, finally</td>
<td>ë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[i] initially</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[i] medially, finally</td>
<td>no symbol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[o] initially</td>
<td>ò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[o] finally</td>
<td>ò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[o] medially</td>
<td>ò, no symbol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[u] medially, finally</td>
<td>ò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[u] in all positions</td>
<td>no symbol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[æ] finally</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[æ] elsewhere</td>
<td>no symbol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[æ] finally (nouns, adjs)</td>
<td>ë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[æ] finally (verbs)</td>
<td>ë</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Pashto Consonants and Letter Representations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant transcription</th>
<th>Pashto letter</th>
<th>Consonant transcription</th>
<th>Pashto letter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[b]</td>
<td>ب</td>
<td>[m]</td>
<td>م</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ch]</td>
<td>ج</td>
<td>[n]</td>
<td>ن</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[d]</td>
<td>د</td>
<td>[ŋ]</td>
<td>نن</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[q]</td>
<td>ښ</td>
<td>[q]</td>
<td>نه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[dz]</td>
<td>ذ</td>
<td>[r]</td>
<td>ر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[r]</td>
<td>ر</td>
<td>[ɾ]</td>
<td>ر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[g]</td>
<td>غ</td>
<td>[s]</td>
<td>س</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[gh]</td>
<td>ګ</td>
<td>[sh]</td>
<td>ش</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[h]</td>
<td>ه</td>
<td>[tʃ]</td>
<td>ش</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kh]</td>
<td>خ</td>
<td>[x]</td>
<td>خ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[l]</td>
<td>ل</td>
<td>[yl]</td>
<td>یل</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[m]</td>
<td>م</td>
<td>[z]</td>
<td>ئز</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[?]</td>
<td>؟</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 5: Nouns

A. Introduction

Nouns in Pashto have gender (masculine and feminine), number (singular and plural), and case (called here direct and oblique). Within each gender, there are classes, membership in which is based on the form of the plural endings; in this analysis, there are four classes of masculine nouns, three of feminine nouns. In addition, there are irregular masculine and feminine nouns, the endings of which are idiosyncratic.

In the sections below, we will first describe the forms of different classes of nouns. Then we will describe and give examples of the uses of the different forms in the classes, including descriptions of the direct and oblique cases, the singular, plural, vocative and other forms.

The grammatical study of Pashto has not progressed to the point where there is widespread agreement on such basic topics as the number of noun classes. In the case of more heavily studied languages, scholars have long ago arrived at agreement: all analyses agree, for example, on the number and characteristics of the noun classes in Latin. In Pashto, however, writers differ in their analyses, and use different criteria for choosing the number and characteristics of classes. In the absence of extensive dictionaries and word counts, the distinction between a noun class or sub-class with very few members and a set of irregular nouns that happen to behave the same way is a very arbitrary one.

B. Masculine and Feminine Noun Classes

The most basic division of nouns is into two major classes, called masculine and feminine, in line with traditional analyses of such classes in the Indo-European languages. Each noun has one or the other gender, and the gender of the noun determines agreement within the noun phrase, and within the sentence or clause. In particular, the gender of a noun determines which endings will occur on any of its modifiers: adjectives, for example, will occur with masculine or feminine endings depending on the gender of the noun they modify. And the gender of the noun in the subject position in a sentence (or in past tense transitive sentences, the object) determines whether the verb will have masculine or feminine endings.
Chapter 5: Nouns

The masculine and feminine classes are divided into sub-classes, called M1, M2, F1, F2, and so on. In this analysis, membership in a sub-class depends on the plural and oblique case endings that occur on the noun: all M2 nouns, for example, form their direct plurals by adding the suffix [-ũna] ون- to the direct singular form, and their oblique plurals by adding the suffix [-ũno] ون- to the direct singular form. In the sections below, we list the masculine and feminine sub-classes, with their general characteristics, examples, and discussions of exceptional members of the class. The following abbreviations are used:

Genders: Numbers: Cases:
M = masculine S = singular D = direct
F = feminine P = plural O = oblique

and examples of nouns with all their forms are given in boxes.

C. Masculine Nouns

Words denoting all male animals and people are masculine, for example 'landowner' [kān]، ‘go-between' [raybar] ویبار، and 'male camel' [wux] اورش. In addition, however, most masculine nouns refer to objects, qualities, and ideas that have no natural gender. Some examples: ‘surprise' [hayrat] حیرت، ‘blink' [rap] رپ，and ‘thorn' [khār] خار.

M1 nouns. Nouns in the M1 class form their plurals by adding the suffix [-ān] ان- to the direct singular form. M1 nouns ordinarily denote people or animals, and ordinarily end in consonants. The oblique singular form of an M1 noun is usually the same as the direct form, and the oblique plural is formed by adding the suffix [-o] ا- to the direct plural form.

| 'student' | DS: [shāgārd] | DP: [shāgārdān] | O: [shāgārdāno] |
| 'sir' [ṣiyāb] | صاحب | 'contractor' [ṣīradar] | ‘الجاحر دار [ṣīradar] |
| 'poet' [ṣāfār] | شاعر | ‘historian' [ṣīrīkh pān] | تاريخ پوه |
| 'day laborer' [ṣafīr] | اجری | ‘fundamentalist' [ṣkhwānāt] | اخوانی |
| 'Uzbek' [uzbāk] | ازبک | ‘professor, barber’ [ustād] | استاد |
Chapter 5: Nouns

There are many nouns that form their plurals and obliques along the standard M1 pattern, but do not follow the pattern strictly.

The following are examples of inanimate rather than animate M1 nouns:

'thing' [shay] شی
'fingernail' [nuk] نوک
'mulberry tree' [lut] توت
'flower' [gwa'ī] گل
'cloth' [tukār] توکر

There is also a group of animate nouns, not ending in consonants but ending in [-z] l- instead, whose plurals are formed with the M1 suffix [-ân]. Many of these words denote people in occupations or professions. A [y] is added between the [â] l- of the stem and the [â] l- of the suffix. An example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'pasha'</td>
<td>DS: [pâchā] پاچا</td>
<td>DP: [pâchâyân] پاچا یان</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DS: [pâchā] پاچا</td>
<td>DP: [pâchâyano] پاچا یانو</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other examples:

'friend, lover' [ashnâ] اشنانا
'mullah' [mulâ] ملا
'prophet' [peshwâ] پیشوا
'clerk' [mirzâ] میرزا
'guide' [rahnâmâ] رهنما

Another large group of atypical M1 nouns end in [-î] ی-. These nouns denote mostly animates, like the group described just above. In the plural and oblique forms, the final [-î] ی- changes to [y].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'foreigner'</td>
<td>DS: [khârejî] خارجی</td>
<td>DP: [khârejâyân] خارجی یان</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DS: [khârejî] خارجی</td>
<td>DP: [khârejâyano] خارجی یانو</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other examples:

'hash smoker' [bangî] بنگی
'yanagi' یانگی
'assassin' [khu'î] خونی
'teapot' [totî] طوطي
'drummer' [qo'lî] دولچی
'judge' [qâzes] قاضی
'cup bearer' [sâqî] ساقی
'kabob seller' [kâbā'î] کبابی
'soldier' [spâyî] سبایی
'antagonist' [modâyî] مدعی
Yet another group of atypical M1 nouns is a group of mostly animate nouns that end in stressed [-a] -و-. The [-a] -و- drops when the plural [-ən] -و- is added.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>DS: [lewəj]</th>
<th>DP: [lewən]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'wolf'</td>
<td>لبويه</td>
<td>لبويان</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M1</td>
<td>لبويه</td>
<td>لبويان</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

More examples:

'bird' [marghā] مارغه
'hair' [wextā] وخته
'crow' [kārghā] كارغه

Another group of M1 nouns ending in a vowel is a group ending in stressed [-u] -و-. The [u] changes to [w] when the [-ən] -و- endings are added:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>DS: [kadวล]</th>
<th>DP: [kadwən]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'pumpkin'</td>
<td>كدوان</td>
<td>كدوان</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M1</td>
<td>كدوان</td>
<td>كدوان</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other examples:

'clay grain bin' [kandú] كندو
'piece of manure' [laqū] لدو

A final group of non-typical M1 nouns is a group that adds the suffixes as usual, but adds or changes vowels in the root, for example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>DS: [planダー]</th>
<th>DP: [plan达尔ان]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'stepfather'</td>
<td>پلندر</td>
<td>پلندران</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M1</td>
<td>پلندر</td>
<td>پلندران</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other examples:

'animal' [dzanəwər] خناور
'shrinekeeper' [minjewər] منجور

M2 nouns. M2 nouns are those masculine nouns that form their plurals by adding the suffix [-ən] -و- to the direct singular form. M2 nouns ordinarily denote inanimate objects, or ideas or characteristics. The oblique singular form of an M2 noun is usually the same as the direct form. The oblique plural is formed by adding the suffix [-ən] -و- to the direct singular. For example:
Chapter 5: Nouns

Examples of other M2 nouns are:

- 'hospital' [roghtún] كور
- 'dance' [atág] اتا
- 'pomegranate' [tanár] اثار
- 'classroom' [sín] صف
- 'guess' [atkál] اتکل
- 'dream' [khôb] خوب

There are many nouns that form their plurals and obliques along the standard M2 pattern, but do not follow the pattern strictly.

Some M2 nouns have an alternative oblique plural form which is formed by adding the suffix [o] to the direct stem, for example 'house', which has both [koró] كور and [korúno] كورونو as possible oblique plural forms.

Some animate nouns are M2 in form, for example:

- 'horse' [as] اس
- 'father' [piár] پلار

There is a group of M2 nouns that add the plural and oblique plural endings as usual, but add a [-él] - to the oblique singular form.

- 'kitchen garden' [páléz] پاليز
- 'slacks, pants' [patlún] پتلون

There is a larger group that adds a [-él] - to the oblique singular form, but changes the vowels in the stem as well.

- 'liver' [laːrмún] لرمون
- 'knee' [zangún] زنگون
- 'oven' [tanúr] تنور

Other examples:
Chapter 5: Nouns

Another set of M2 nouns changes [a] to [a] in the plural and oblique forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>DS. [daftar]</th>
<th>DP. [daftaruna]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'office'</td>
<td>دفتر</td>
<td>دفترینه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M2</td>
<td>دفتر</td>
<td>دفترینه</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other examples:
- 'ocean' [samandar] سندار
- 'shroud' [kafan] کفن
- 'street' [sarak] سرک
- 'country' [watani] وطن

Another group of M2 nouns end in stressed [-a]. These appear to be words of great antiquity in the language, and include both animate and inanimate nouns. The final [-a] drops in the plural forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>DS. [mera]</th>
<th>DP. [meruna]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'husband'</td>
<td>مهره</td>
<td>مهرینه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M2</td>
<td>مهره</td>
<td>مهرینه</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some other nouns in this group:
- 'sheep' [pas] پس
- 'heart' [zar] زره
- 'grandfather' [nik] نیک
- 'uncle' [tra] تره
- 'wedding' [wada] واده
  (the [a] changes to [a] in the oblique forms)

Yet another group of M2 nouns delete the final vowel [a] of their stems when the [-una] -ونه and [-uno] -ونه -endings are added:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>DS. [ghar]</th>
<th>DP. [ghruna]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'mountain'</td>
<td>غره</td>
<td>غرینه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M2</td>
<td>غره</td>
<td>غرینه</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other nouns in this group include:
- 'door' [war] ور
- 'unit of weight' [man] من
- 'rug' [taghar] تغر
- 'unit of length' [gez] گز

M3 nouns. The direct singular form of an M3 noun ends in [ay]. The direct plural and oblique singular forms of an M3 noun are the same, and are formed by replacing the [ay] with [i]. (The Pashto spelling does not change, however.) The oblique plural of
Chapter 5: Nouns

An M3 noun is formed by replacing the [a]- of the direct singular with [o]. M3 nouns denote both animate beings and inanimate objects, ideas or characteristics.

Some M3 nouns are stressed on the next-to-final syllable:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'friend'</th>
<th>DS: [malğaray]</th>
<th>DP: [malğār]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M3</td>
<td>[malğar]</td>
<td>[malğār]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other M3 nouns with stress on the next-to-last syllable are:

- 'summer' [wəɾay] اوری
- 'scabbard' [tékay] تکی
- 'elder' [spingfray] سپین پیری
- 'monument' [tsálay] خلی

The stress in many M3 nouns is on the final vowel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'turban'</th>
<th>DS: [paɾkāy]</th>
<th>DP: [paɾkāy]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M3</td>
<td>[paɾkā]</td>
<td>[paɾkā]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other examples of M3 nouns with stress on the final syllable are:

- 'man' [sarāy] سری
- 'spring' [pasarāy] پسرا
- 'calf' [khusāy] خوسر
- 'Abdalal' [abdali] ابدالی
- 'Afridak' [apridāy] اپریدی

- 'planting bed' [patāy] پتی
- 'cooking' [pakhīy] پخی
- 'Ahmadzi' [ahmadzāy] احمدزی
- 'Achakzai' [atsakzāy] اشکزی

As can be seen in the examples above, many of the Pashtun tribe names are M3 nouns with last-syllable stress.

A particular characteristic of the M3 last-syllable stressed nouns is that they have alternate [-ān] -ان, [-āno] -انو and [-āya] -یا plurals. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'man'</th>
<th>DS: [sarāy]</th>
<th>DP: [sarāy] / [saryān]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M3</td>
<td>[sarā]</td>
<td>[saryān] / [saryāno]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

52
M4 nouns. The direct singular form of an M4 noun ordinarily ends in [ة] or [ة] -; M4 nouns generally refer to animates. The direct and oblique singular forms of an M4 noun are the same. The direct plural is formed by adding the suffix [-gān] - to the direct singular form, and the oblique plural is formed by adding the suffix [-o] - to the direct plural form.

Examples of other M4 nouns are:

- 'musician' [sæzandå] بندة 'child' [bandå] بنده
- 'representative' [namæyindå] نماينده 'Hazara' [azårå] هزاره
- 'grandfather (title)' [bæbå] جاپا

There is a large group of M4 nouns ending in [-u] -:

Other examples of M4 nouns ending in [-u] - are:

- 'toy' [lætu lætu] لاتو 'sailor' [mægå] مانو
- 'knife' [chæqå] جاقو 'churn' [mandæŋå] مندانو
- 'weaving tool' [mækå] ماكر 'sugar beet' [lablabå] لبلبو
- 'snake charmer' [pæruqo] شارمور
Chapter 5: Nouns

D. Feminine Nouns

Words referring to all female animals and people are feminine, for example 'girl' [pághlaj] پَهْلَج, 'female nurse' [parastára] پَرْسَتَارَه, and 'woman whose son has died' [búra] بوْرَا. Feminine nouns also denote objects, qualities and ideas that have no natural gender, for example 'shoe' [págá] پَجَة, 'tear' [wóxka] وَخْكَة, and 'thirst' [táláda] تَلْدَة.

F1 nouns. F1 nouns form their direct plural and oblique singular forms by replacing the final vowel of the direct singular form with the suffix [-e] يَ. The direct singular form can end in unstressed [-a]/[-a] or [-a] يَ. The oblique plural is formed by replacing the final vowel of the direct singular form with the suffix [-o] وَ.

| 'woman' | DS: [xáда] بنخه | DP: [xáda] بنخه |
| F1 | DS: [xáda] بنخه | OP: [xázo] بنخه |

Other examples of F1 nouns:
- 'nurse' [parastára] پَرْسَتَارَه
- 'dormitory' [layliyá] لَيْلَیَه
- 'rent' [lijárá] اَجَارَه
- 'student (f)' [shágárdá] شَاَگْرِدَه
- 'flag' [jándá] جَنَدَه

A subclass of F1 nouns appear to have dropped the final [-a] يَ in the direct singular form, and as such are the only feminine nouns that end with a consonant other than the irregular kinship terms described in the next section. For example:

| 'day' | DS: [wrádž] وَرْخ | DP: [wrádža] وَرْخَه |
| F1 | DS: [wrádž] وَرْخ | OP: [wrádžo] وَرْخَو |

Other examples:
- 'skirt' [lamán] لَمَن
- 'month' [myást] مَياَشَت
- 'bosom' [ghég] غَهَبَه
- 'elbow' [tsangá] تَسْنَگَل
Chapter 5: Nouns

F1 nouns appear to be related to M1 nouns, given several pairs like:

\(\text{'(m) nurse' [parastār]}\) \(\text{'(f) nurse [parastārā]}\)

\(\text{'(m) student' [šāgārē]}\) \(\text{'(f) student [šāgārēde]}\)

F2 nouns. The direct and oblique singular forms of ordinary F2 nouns end in \(-[\text{-ay}]\) \(-[\text{y}]-\). Note that the letter \(\text{y}\) is used only to represent the \(-[\text{-ay}]\) ending. F2 nouns have alternative direct plural forms: the stem plus the suffix \(-[\text{-ayne}]\), the \(-[\text{-ay}]\) of the stem changed to \([\text{y}]\) and the suffix \(-[\text{-ayne}]\) \(-[\text{y}]-\) added, or a form identical to the singular. The oblique plural form has similar alternative forms that end in \(-[\text{-oo}]\) \(-[\text{y}]-\).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family</th>
<th>DS: [koranāyi]</th>
<th>DP: [koranāyi]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[koranāygi can]</td>
<td>[koranāygi can]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F2</td>
<td>[koranāyi]</td>
<td>[koranāygin]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[koranāygan]</td>
<td>[koranāygan]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[koranāyang]</td>
<td>[koranāyang]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other examples of F2 nouns:

\(\text{'skullcap' [khvalāyi]}\) خولی خولی
\(\text{'chair' [tsawkāyi]}\) خرکی خولی
\(\text{'sandal' [tsplāyi]}\) اختی خولی
\(\text{'cradle' [dzolāyi]}\) خولی خولی

There are a number of abstract F2 nouns, the direct singulars of which end in \(-[\text{y}]-[\text{-ay}]\) \(-[\text{y}]-\) rather than, \(-[\text{-ay}]\) \(-[\text{y}]-\):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'friendship'</th>
<th>DS: [dostī]</th>
<th>DP: [dostāyi]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F2</td>
<td>[dostāyi]</td>
<td>[dostāyo]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other F2 nouns ending in \(-[\text{y}]-[\text{-ay}]\) \(-[\text{y}]-\) are:

\(\text{'trickiness' [chālāki]}\) چالاکی چالاکی
\(\text{'heat' [garm]}\) گرمی گرمی
\(\text{'hurry' [chātak]}\) چتاکی چتاکی
\(\text{'act of ruling, governing' [wākdāri]}\) وکداری وکداری
\(\text{'bad deed' [bed]}\) بدی بیدی
\(\text{'good deed' [nek]}\) نبکی نبکی

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55 68
Chapter 5: Nouns

F2 nouns appear to be related to M3 nouns: there are many pairs for which the masculine is an M3 noun and the feminine is an F2. For example:

- 'm dog [spay] سپی
- (f) dog [spay] سپه
- 'm lamb [wuray] اوری
- (f) lamb [wuray] اوره

F3 nouns. The direct singular form of F3 nouns usually ends in stressed [-â] or [-â] - , but there are also F3 nouns that end in [-ô] (spelled a number of ways) and [-î]. F3 nouns form their direct plurals by adding the suffix [-we] - or the suffix [-gâne] - to the direct singular form. The oblique singular form is the same as the direct singular. The oblique plural is formed by adding the suffix [-wo] - or the suffix [-gâno] - to the direct form.

| 'salary' | DS: [tankhâ] تنخا | DP: [tankhâwe] تنخاوی |
| F3       |             | تنخاگانی |
|          | DS: [tankhâ] تنخا | DP: [tankhâwo] تنخاوو |
|          |             | تنخاگانو |

Examples of other F3 nouns:

- 'Pashtun homeland' [pextunkhwâ] پښتونهوار | 'cruelty' [jâfâ] جفا
- 'May-June' [jawzâ] جوړا | 'dignity' [fayâ] حيا
- 'mistake' [khatâ] خطا | 'praise' [sanâ] ثنا
- 'beginning' [shurô] شروع | 'topic' [mawzô] موضوع
- 'request' [arzô] آرزو | 'prediction' [peshbinf] پښچینین
- 'enmity' [duxmanf] د ښمنی |

E. Irregular Nouns

Like the other Indo-European languages, Pashto has a number of irregular nouns. Irregular nouns in Pashto are clearly masculine or feminine, in that any given noun will consistently occur with adjectives and verb endings of one gender or the other. Beyond that, however, their oblique and plural forms are varied enough that these nouns cannot readily be grouped into any of the more regular noun classes that are described above.
Arabic borrowings. One of the largest groups of irregular nouns are borrowings from Arabic. In many cases (and depending on the erudition of the speaker) the Arabic plural of a noun has been borrowed into Pashto along with its singular. Frequently, a regular Pashto plural will exist side by side with the Arabic plural, especially if the noun has come into widespread usage in Pashto. A frequently encountered irregular noun borrowed from Arabic is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Pashto</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| اصول (عصول) | اصول | اصول [عصول]

Many of the borrowings from Arabic occur with the Arabic plural [-ät], which is the regular Arabic feminine plural. All such words borrowed into Pashto, however, are masculine, probably because they end in consonants. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Pashto</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| حيوان | حيوانات [حيوانات]

A good many of the words ending in [-ät] are Arabic borrowings that exist only in plural form only as mass nouns; these are discussed in Section 6 below.

Kinship terms. A very obvious group of irregular nouns are the kinship terms, which are all native words of great antiquity. Many are members of classes or subclasses and have been listed above; we are listing them here separately, with their plural and oblique forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Pashto</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| ورونه | ورونه [روهن]
| [akä] | [akägän]
| [tra] | [trúno]

Chapter 5: Nouns
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>DS:</th>
<th>OS:</th>
<th>DP:</th>
<th>OP:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'mother'</td>
<td>[mor]</td>
<td>مور</td>
<td>[meynde]</td>
<td>ميندنو</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sister'</td>
<td>[khor]</td>
<td>خور</td>
<td>[khwende]</td>
<td>خويندنو</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sister's son' (M3)</td>
<td>[khwray]</td>
<td>خوربي</td>
<td>[khwrayan]</td>
<td>خوريانو</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'son'</td>
<td>[zoy]</td>
<td>زوي</td>
<td>[zamand]</td>
<td>زامندو</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'brother'</td>
<td>[wror]</td>
<td>وورو</td>
<td>[wranda]</td>
<td>وروندو</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'aunt'</td>
<td>[tror]</td>
<td>تورور</td>
<td>[traynde]</td>
<td>تريندو</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'daughter'</td>
<td>[lur]</td>
<td>لور</td>
<td>[luna]</td>
<td>لونا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'husband's brother'</td>
<td>[lewarr]</td>
<td>لبورور</td>
<td>[lewrand]</td>
<td>لبورندو</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'daughter-in-law'</td>
<td>[ngor]</td>
<td>نكور</td>
<td>[ngynde]</td>
<td>نگیندنو</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'brother's son'</td>
<td>[wrra]</td>
<td>ورارة</td>
<td>[wrranda]</td>
<td>وربرندو</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chapter 5: Nouns
Other old irregular words. Besides the kinship terms, there are other irregular nouns that seem to have been in the language for a long time. Some samples (grouped by similarity of plural and oblique formation):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>OS:</th>
<th>DP:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pashtun</td>
<td>[paxtún]</td>
<td>[paxtánál]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M irreg.</td>
<td>[paxtáná]</td>
<td>[paxtanó]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other example: 'ant, anthill' [megatún]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>OS:</th>
<th>DP:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ruler</td>
<td>[wákmán]</td>
<td>[wákmán]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M irreg.</td>
<td>[wákmán]</td>
<td>[wákmán]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other examples:
'enemy' [duxmán] دردمن  'sensitive one' [dardmán]

F. Regularization
Irregular nouns vary widely from dialect to dialect, from speaker to speaker, and even within the same speaker at different times. For the most part, this variation arises when irregular nouns become regularized, or lose their irregularity and conform to one or the other of the regular classes.

Observations of the ways in which forms 'regularize', and of the assignment of class and gender to newly borrowed words from other languages, show that regularization appears to be moving towards the following norms:

a. Nouns ending in consonants are masculine. Animate masculine nouns are M1; inanimate nouns are M2.

b. Nouns ending in an unstressed vowel are F1.

c. Nouns ending in stressed vowels are either M4 or F3.

An example of regularization can be seen in the word 'horse' [es]، which is M2 in the central dialect, and as such violates the 'rule' that animate nouns are M1. In the Kandahar dialect, however, the word occurs with both M2 and M1 endings. Other examples are M1 nouns denoting inanimates, like 'fingernail' [núk] ترك and 'thing' [shay] ده، which frequently occur with M2 endings.
Chapter 5: Nouns

Gender and class assignment of borrowed nouns. Nouns borrowed into Pashto from other languages are assigned a gender and a class: for example, a borrowing from English, which does not have gender and case among nouns, is converted into a masculine or feminine noun of M₁ or the other of the classes. It appears that the classification, which is remarkably consistent from speaker to speaker, is based almost entirely on the phonological shape of the noun and usually conforms to the norms listed above. Even words like ‘animal’ [haywān] حيوان, borrowed from Arabic, which has its own gender system, ignore the Arabic gender classes and are reclassified in Pashto according to their shape. Animate nouns ending in consonants are usually assigned to the M₁ class, for example ‘officer’ [afsār] افسر, and ‘doctor’ [qāktār] دکتر. Inanimate nouns ending in consonants are usually assigned to the M₂ class, for example ‘address’ [adrās] , برانچ, ‘bicycle’ [bāysikl] , پیشکسی, and ‘branch (of a business, bank, etc.)’ [brānch] .

Nouns ending in unstressed vowels are usually assigned to the F₁ class, for example ‘Britain’ [brijānja] بریتانیا, although ‘America’ has emerged in Pashto as the F₃ [amrikā] امریکا, another English borrowing ending in [ɪ] has become an F₂ noun: ‘agency’ [eyjānsāg] آژنسر, and a borrowing from French ending in a stressed [o] has emerged as an F₃: ‘painting’ [tāblō] تابلو.

G. Singulars and Plurals

The uses of singular and plural forms in Pashto are similar to the uses of singulars and plurals in English. Nouns denoting one object are singular; those denoting more than one are plural. There are differences from word to word: for example, the English word ‘pants’ is plural, whereas the word for Afghan pants--ṣartūg--is singular.

Mass nouns. There are a number of Pashto nouns that function in ways similar to English mass nouns like chalk, cheese, wheat, and so on: in English, these mass nouns regularly occur only in the singular. In Pashto, however, such words occur either only in singular or only in plural. These nouns tend to denote such things as grain, food, liquid, or other elements that are not practically countable.

Some examples of always-singular mass nouns are names for Afghan food:

'(cooked) rice' [chatlōw] چلو 'kabob' [kabōb] کباب
'pulav' [palōw] پلو 'soup' [xurwā] بوروا
and some examples of always-plural mass nouns are:

- 'flour' [wra] آویه
- ‘water’ [woβe] اویه
- ‘wine’ [sαrαb] شرباب
- ‘lentils’ [dαl] دال
- ‘food’ [khwαra] خواره

Note that the always-plural designation of these mass nouns is not based on their direct form, which appears to be missing a plural ending, but on the fact that their oblique forms are always with the oblique plural [-o] ending, and they always occur with plural adjectives and verbs. The following sentences illustrate this:

[wobα khwαγe dl] اویه خویی دی.
water sweetFP is3P

[za khwαgα wobα tskαm] زه خویی اویه ختم.
I sweetFP water drink

Many Arabic borrowings ending in the Arabic [-et] plural are always-plural mass nouns, for example:

- ‘equipment’ [kmαliet] اکمالات
- ‘relationship(s)’ [munαsαliet] مناسبات
- ‘universe’ [kαnyet] کاینات
- ‘publications’ [nashαret] نشرات
- ‘conveniences’ [tas-hiliet] تسیلیات

Numerical plurals. A peculiar characteristic of masculine nouns ending in consonants is that when they occur in phrases modified by numbers, they end in [-a], instead of the expected [-ane] or [-ane].

- ‘three houses’ [dre kore] دری کوره
- ‘five offices’ [pindzα daftαra] پنه دفتره
- ‘two streets’ [dwa sarαka] دوو سرکه

H. Uses of the Cases

Pashto nouns function in sentences as they do in other languages: as subjects, objects, objects of prepositions, and as vocatives.
Chapter 5: Nouns

Uses of the direct forms of nouns. The direct singular and plural forms of nouns are used in subject position in present tense sentences and clauses:

[pəxtúːn pa kəbāl ke wəsi] Pashtun in Kabul in lives

پښتون ښه کابل کی اوسی ی.  
'The Pashtun lives in Kabul.'

[pəxtənə pa kəbāl ke wəsi] Pashtuns in Kabul in live

پښتونه په کابل کی اوسی ی.  
'The Pashtuns live in Kabul.'

They are also used in in direct object position in present tense sentences:

[əhməd pəxtúːn wəni] Ahmad Pashtun sees

احمد پښتون وینئ.  
'Ahmad is seeing the Pashtun.'

[əhməd pəxtənə wəni] Ahmad Pashtuns sees

احمد پښتونه وینئ.  
'Ahmad is seeing the Pashtuns.'

Uses of the oblique forms of nouns. The oblique singular and plural forms of nouns are used as objects of prepositions:

[de pəxtənə zəy pa kəbāl ke wəsi] of Pashtun son in Kabul lives

د پښتونه زوی په کابل کی اوسی ی.  
'The Pashtun's son lives in Kabul.'

[de pəxtənə zəmai pa kəbāl ke wəsi] of Pashtuns sons in Kabul live

د پښتونه زمین په کابل کی اوسی ی.  
'The Pashtuns' sons live in Kabul.'

and in subjects of past tense transitive sentences (these oblique forms are part of the very distinctive Pashto ergative construction described in detail in Chapter 11).

[pəxtənə topan rəwər] Pashtun rifle brought

پښتون توبک راوور.  
'The Pashtun brought the rifle.'

[pəxtənə topan rəwər] Pashtuns rifle brought

پښتونه توبک راوور.  
'The Pashtuns brought the rifle.'
Chapter 5: Nouns

These forms are also used as vocatives, for example:

[ay ghwāl] (F3, OS)  
O  cow

[ay nikāl] (M irreg, OS)  
O  grandfather

[ay māmāgānol] (M4, DP)  
O  uncles

[ay xādzo] (F1, DP)  
O  women

There are regular exceptions to the rule given above that the oblique forms of nouns are used in vocatives. Masculine nouns ending in consonants (the [y] of M3 nouns counts as a consonant) form the vocative by adding the suffix [-a] to the direct singular form, for example:

‘boy’  [alēkāl]  (M1)  
‘friend’  [malgāryal]  (M3)

and feminine nouns ending in consonants form their vocatives by adding the suffix [-a] to the direct singular, for example (the [y] in the feminine ending [-ay], [y] does not count as a consonant):

‘mother’  [mōral]  (F irreg.)  
‘family’  [koramāy] (F3, OS form)

J. Other Analyses

Mackenzie (1987) describes the different classes from a historical point of view, and bases membership in a class on the shape of the direct singular form. He posits three main masculine stem types: those ending in a consonant (our M1 and M2), those ending in stressed [āy] (our M3 with final stress) and those ending in unstressed [ay] (our M3 with next-to-final-syllable stress); and three main feminine stem types: those ending with unstressed [-a] (our F1), those ending in stressed [-ay] (our F2), and those
Chapter 5: Nouns

ending in unstressed [-e] (a subclass of our F1). Mackenzie posits four cases: direct, oblique, vocative, and prepositional.

Shafeev (1964) groups nouns on the basis of their gender and the ending vowel or consonant of the direct singular form, then describes the formation of feminine nouns from masculine ones, the formation of plurals, the cases, which he calls absolute and oblique, vocatives, and the Pashto constructions corresponding to the genitive, dative, instrumental and prepositional cases.

Penzl (1955) divides nouns into five masculine and six feminine subclasses, and describes and gives examples of each class. He posits four cases: direct, oblique 1, oblique 2, and vocative, and discusses their uses. He briefly describes word formation and the derivational suffixes. Many of the differences between Penzl's analyses and ours can be traced to the differences between the central dialect our analysis is based on, and the western or Kandahar dialect Penzl's is based on.

In the following chart are the correspondences (some of them not exact) between the analysis in this chapter, and those of Penzl, Mackenzie and Shafeev.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Here:</th>
<th>Penzl:</th>
<th>Mackenzie</th>
<th>Shafeev</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M1</td>
<td>M2</td>
<td>classes</td>
<td>Masc. 1,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M2</td>
<td>M1</td>
<td>not</td>
<td>Masc. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M3</td>
<td>M3, M4</td>
<td>given</td>
<td>Masc. 2, 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M4</td>
<td>M2</td>
<td>names,</td>
<td>Masc. 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M irregulars</td>
<td>M5</td>
<td>and</td>
<td>Masc. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>grouped</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F1</td>
<td>F1, F2</td>
<td>with</td>
<td>Fem. 1, 4, 5, 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F2</td>
<td>F4</td>
<td>adjective</td>
<td>Fem. 3, 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F3</td>
<td>F3, F5</td>
<td>classes</td>
<td>Fem. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F irregulars</td>
<td>F6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 6: Pronouns

A. Introduction

There are several different types of pronouns in Pashto: weak pronouns parallel to English ordinary personal pronouns; strong pronouns parallel to the English personal pronouns in emphatic positions; demonstrative pronoun/adjectives parallel to English this/that/these/those; and other interrogative and indefinite pronouns parallel to English who, what, etc.

B. Weak Pronouns

Form. The Pashto weak pronouns are parallel to the English personal pronouns I, you, he, she, it, we, they; and are much the same in meaning, although there are great differences between the English and Pashto pronouns in terms of form, position, and occurrence in sentences. There are two forms for each weak pronoun, which correspond closely but not exactly to the direct and oblique forms of nouns. The weak pronoun forms are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person/Number</th>
<th>Direct/ Possessive</th>
<th>Oblique (Obj. of Prep.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S. (I', 'my', 'me')</td>
<td>[me] می</td>
<td>[ra] را</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S. (you', 'your', 'you')</td>
<td>[de] دی</td>
<td>[dar] در</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S. (he/she', 'his/her', 'him/her')</td>
<td>[ye] یه</td>
<td>[war] ور</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P. (we', 'our', 'us')</td>
<td>[mo] مو/[lam] یام</td>
<td>[ra] را</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P. (you-all', 'your', 'you')</td>
<td>[mo] مو/[lam] یام</td>
<td>[dar] در</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P. (they', 'their', 'them')</td>
<td>[ye] یه</td>
<td>[war] ور</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Occurrence. Weak pronouns are dropped entirely in subject position in present tense and past tense intransitive sentences. They are also dropped in object position in past tense transitive sentences. In the examples below, the position of the dropped pronoun is indicated with ___.
Chapter 6: Pronouns

Dropped in subject position in present tense sentences:

[ahmad gağégi.]
Ahmad dances

'Ahmad is dancing.'

[gâgêgi.]
dances

'He is dancing.'

[gâgêgâm.]
(l) dance

'I am dancing.'

[ahmad me machawi.]
Ahmad me kâsas

'Ahmad is kissing me.'

[machawi me.]
kissas me

'He is kissing me.'

Dropped in subject position in past tense intransitive sentences:

[ahmad gağêdê.]
Ahmad danced

'Ahmad was dancing.'

[gağêdê.]
(he) danced

'He was dancing.'

[gağêdêm.]
(l) danced

'I was dancing.'

Dropped in object position in past tense transitive sentences:

[ahmad kitâb lîwastà.]
Ahmad book read

'Ahmad was reading the book.'

[ahmad lîwastà.]
Ahmad read (lî)

'Ahmad was reading it.'
Chapter 6: Pronouns

[ahmad khpela xádza machawéla]  
Ahmad own wife kissed  
'Ahmad was kissing his wife.'

[ahmad machawélam]  
Ahmad kissed (me)  
'Ahmad was kissing me.'

[machawém yél]  
kissed (me) he  
'He was kissing me.'

The direct forms of weak pronouns are used in several ways. First, they are used when the pronoun is the object of the verb in present tense sentences, and when the pronoun is the subject of the sentence in past tense transitive sentences.

[ahmad me machawél]  
Ahmad me kisses  
'Ahmad is kissing me.'

[machawém yél]  
kissed (me) he  
'He was kissing me.'

The direct forms are also used in possessive constructions:

[kitáb me]  
book my  
'my book'

[kitáb yél]  
book his  
'his book'

The oblique forms of the weak pronouns are used with pre- and post-positions:

[asad és rāta ékhll]  
Asad horse me to buys  
'Asad is buying a horse for me.'

[lâyla wēr tā wàwela]  
Layla them to told  
'Layla told them.'
Chapter 8: Pronouns

[āmān nā war sāre dzf.]  
Aman not him with goes  
‘Aman isn’t going with him.’

[da dār pāro khāndī]  
she you at laughs  
‘She’s laughing at you.’

(For further discussion of the behavior of weak pronouns with certain prepositions, see Chapter 10, Prepositions.)

Other characteristics of weak pronouns. Many of the sentences above illustrate that the position of weak pronouns is not consistent. The rules by which the position of weak pronouns (and other particles) are positioned in a sentence are given in detail in Chapter 11, Simple Sentence Structure. Briefly, however, the weak pronoun follows the first stressed phrase in the sentence, regardless of its function in the sentence. The stressed phrase can be the subject or object phrase, an entire prepositional phrase, a verb, or an adverb.

Weak pronouns are never stressed in sentences. A weak possessive pronoun is often written attached to the word it follows, for example حکم پی که le [kitāb ye]. The [ye] in [ye] is often not pronounced: حکم پی is often pronounced [kitāb].

C. Strong Pronouns

Strong pronouns are used when the speaker wants to emphasize the pronoun, e.g.

[za ahamq nā yam; dāy ahamq da.]  
I stupid not am he stupid is  
‘I’m not stupid; he is.’

Strong pronouns function like nouns in sentences, but in the singular there are three rather than two possible forms: one set of forms is used in subject position; another in direct object position; and the third in object of preposition positions (including the possessive construction). In the plural, there is only one form per person, used in all positions in the sentence.

The third person singular strong pronouns are differentiated into two semantic groups: those used when the person or object referred to is in sight of the speaker; the others used when the referent is out of sight. Pashtun writers differ in referring to a
person or object already mentioned: some use the 'in-sight' forms, and others use the 'out-of-sight' forms.

The third person 'out-of-sight' strong pronouns are stressed on the final syllable. It is stress alone that differentiates them from the demonstrative pronouns to be discussed below.

The strong pronoun forms are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S. ('I', 'me')</td>
<td>زه</td>
<td>مأ</td>
<td>ما</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S. ('you')</td>
<td>تا</td>
<td>تا</td>
<td>تأ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S. (in sight)</td>
<td>دی</td>
<td>دی</td>
<td>ده</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. ('he', 'him')</td>
<td>دی</td>
<td>دی</td>
<td>ده</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. ('she', 'her')</td>
<td>دا</td>
<td>دا</td>
<td>ده</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S. (out of sight):</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. ('he', 'him')</td>
<td>هن</td>
<td>هن</td>
<td>هن</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. ('she', 'her')</td>
<td>هن</td>
<td>هن</td>
<td>هن</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural forms</th>
<th>All positions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1P. ('we', 'us')</td>
<td>مونه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P. ('you')</td>
<td>ناسي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P. (in sight) ('they', 'them')</td>
<td>دوی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P. (out of sight) ('they', 'them')</td>
<td>هنوي</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Possessive phrases with strong pronouns take the form of ordinary prepositional phrases with the preposition د. There is dialectal variation in their pronunciation, and the spelling system favors the Kandahar dialect's pronunciation.
### Possessive Phrases with Strong Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form:</th>
<th>Central pronunciation</th>
<th>Other pronunciation</th>
<th>Pashto spelling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>[di mā]</td>
<td>[zmə]</td>
<td>زما</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>[di šā]</td>
<td>[stə]</td>
<td>ستا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SM (in sight)</td>
<td>[di dé]</td>
<td>[di dé]</td>
<td>دده</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SF (in sight)</td>
<td>[di dé]</td>
<td>[di dé]</td>
<td>ددي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SM (out of sight)</td>
<td>[de āghā]</td>
<td>[de āghā]</td>
<td>دهنگه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S (out of sight)</td>
<td>[de āghā]</td>
<td>[de āghā]</td>
<td>دهگه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>[di mūng]</td>
<td>[zmung]</td>
<td>زمونه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>[di tāse]</td>
<td>[stāse]</td>
<td>ستاسی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P M&amp;F (in sight)</td>
<td>[de dúy]</td>
<td>[de dúy]</td>
<td>ددوی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P M&amp;F (out of sight)</td>
<td>[de āghūy]</td>
<td>[de āghūy]</td>
<td>دهنگوی</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### D. Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns in Pashto correspond to the English demonstrative pronouns this, that, these and those, and, like such forms in English, are used both as pronouns and as adjectives. Pashto demonstratives, like nouns, are masculine or feminine, singular or plural, direct or oblique.

In addition, there is a three-way contrast in Pashto demonstratives, called here close, middle, and far. (English has only close - this /these - and far - that/those.) The 'middle' demonstratives translate into English sometimes as 'this/these', and sometimes as 'that/those'.
Chapter 6: Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns

Masculine forms:

Close:  
- DS: [dá]  
  - د [dá]  
- DP: [dá]  
  - د د [dá]

('this/these'):  
- DS: [de]  
  - د [de]  
- DP: [ítá]  
  - د د [ítá]

Middle:  
- DS: [ágha]  
  - هن [ágha]  
- DP: [ítá]  
  - هن د [ítá]

Feminine forms:

Close:  
- DS: [dá]  
  - د [dá]  
- DP: [dá]  
  - د د [dá]

('this/these'):  
- DS: [de]  
  - د [de]  
- DP: [de]  
  - د د [de]

Middle:  
- DS: [ágha]  
  - هن [ágha]  
- DP: [ítá]  
  - هن د [ítá]

Far:  
- DS: [ítá]  
  - هن [ítá]  
- DP: [ítá]  
  - هن د [ítá]

('that/those'):  
- DS: [ítá]  
  - هن [ítá]  
- DP: [ítá]  
  - هن د [ítá]

The only difference between the two-syllable demonstrative pronouns and the similarly-spelled strong pronouns is that the demonstratives are pronounced with stress on the first syllable, whereas the strong pronouns are stressed on the last syllable:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Middle Demonstratives</th>
<th>Strong pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ágha] هن</td>
<td>'this/that (M)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ítá] هن</td>
<td>'he/she (out of sight)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ágha] هن</td>
<td>'this/that (F)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ítá] هن</td>
<td>'her'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The masculine/feminine distinction is maintained not only with males and females, but also corresponds to the grammatical gender of whatever is being referred to.
Chapter 6: Pronouns

[ághna tā góral]
that at look
'Look at that (m)!' (referring to a man, book, etc.)

for example, contrasts with

[ághna tā góral]
that at look
'Look at that (f)!' (referring to a woman, chair, etc.)

E. Other Pronouns

Interrogative / indefinite pronouns. Pashto has interrogative pronouns parallel to English who? and what?. [tsok] خرک translates as 'who?', and has the alternative oblique form [chā] چا when it occurs as object of a preposition or subject of a past tense transitive sentence. Both [tsok] خرک and [chā] چا carry heavy stress in a question:

[tsok rāghay?] خرک راگه؟
who came
'Who came?'

[chā tā wāya?] چا تا وای؟
who to talk-2s
'Who are you talking to?'

[chā rāwor?] چا راور؟
who brought it
'Who brought it?'

The word [tsē] خه is parallel to English 'what?'. It is invariant in form, and carries heavy stress in a question:

[tsē bā pēx si?] خه پښنه شی؟
what will happen
'What will happen?'

[tsē wāye?] خه وای؟
what say (you)
'What are you saying?'

[tsē de wāwola?] خه دی وهلو؟
what you said
'What did you say?'
Chapter 6: Pronouns

Both [tsok] /حوك and [tsa] ۵ is used as indefinite pronouns parallel to English someone and something. Combined with the adjective 'every' [ar] ۵، they are parallel to everyone, everything. When used as indefinites, they are unstressed.

[tsok rāghay.] ۵ خوک راگی. 'Someone came.'
someone came

[artsok rāghlal.] ۵ هر خوک راغلی. 'Every came.'
everyone came

[kitāb chā ta wérka.] ۵ کتاب چا ته ورکه. 'Give the book to someone.'
book who to give

[tsa me né dī karī.] ۵ هم نه دی کری. 'I haven’t done anything (wrong).'
something I not have done

[ārtsa me karī dī.] ۵ هر هم کری دی. 'I have done everything.'
everything I have done

[tsok] /حوك and [tsa] ۵ are parallel to English whoever and whatever when combined with the clause marker [tsa] ۵، as shown in Chapter 13. Some examples:

[tsok tsa dzān né pezant khwāy ná pezant.] ۵ خوک چی خان نه پژنتی. 'Whoever else does not know himself does not know God.'
who that self not know-3s God not know

[tsa tsa dā wāy jaye manām.] ۵ هم چی دا یوابی زه یی منم. 'I accept whatever she says.'
what that she say I it accept

Note on [khpal] خیل. English does not differentiate among pronoun references; in the sentence John brought his book, for example, the his can refer to John, i.e. John brought his own book, or it can refer to someone else previously mentioned by not in the same sentence. Pashto does make a distinction: in the latter meaning, the ordinary adjective [khpal] خیل appears, whereas in the first meaning, a weak or strong possessive pronoun is used.
Chapter 6. Pronouns

(ahmad kheī kitāb rāwārī)
Ahmad own book brought 'Ahmad brought his (own) book.'

[ahmad ye kitāb rāwārī]
Ahmad his book brought 'Ahmad brought his (someone else's) book.'

F. Other Analyses

Treatment of the weak pronouns varies widely, depending on the author's perceptions of relationships between the weak pronouns [rā] یا, [dar] در, and [war] ور, and the directional adverbs 'towards the speaker' [rā] یا, 'towards the hearer' [dar] در, and 'towards the one spoken about' [war] ور. The analysis on which the discussion of pronouns above is based considers the pronouns and directional adverbs as separate categories, although there is undoubtedly a historical reason for their having the same phonetic shape.

Shafeev (1964) calls the subject/object forms weak pronouns, but differentiates the oblique forms [rā] یا, [dar] در, and [war] ور as 'directive pronouns.' He comments that the weak pronouns function as subjects in past tense transitive sentences, and objects in other contexts, but does not discuss the fact that the pronouns do not appear at all in the converse environments.

Penzi (1955) calls the weak pronouns particles, and groups them with other particles that behave similarly with respect to their varying positions in sentences, as will likewise be done here in Chapter 11. He identifies [me] مي, [mo] مو, and [ye] يي as pronominal particles, separates out [rā] یا, [dar] در, and [war] ور as prefixes with prepositional particles. He lists the strong pronouns, calling them pronouns, and while he mentions that they can drop when the verbal forms express person in their endings, he does not give the contexts in which they drop. He also mentions that the pronouns (our strong pronouns) and particles (our weak pronouns) alternate, but does not indicate that the alternation has anything to do with meaning.

MacKenzie (1967) calls the weak pronouns enclitics, and asserts that they behave like pronouns in oblique positions (i.e. as subjects of past tense intransitive verbs, and as objects in other contexts), except with prepositions. He identifies [rā] یا, [dar] در, and [war] ور as directional adverbs that act as pseudo-pronouns.
Chapter 7: Adjectives

A. Introduction

Adjectives can be grouped into classes like the nouns, although each adjective has masculine and feminine alternatives whereas nouns are either masculine or feminine, but not both. The reason for this is that the gender of a noun determines the gender of the adjectives that modify it, so any one adjective might agree with a masculine noun at one point and a feminine noun at another point, for example the forms of the adjective for 'hungry' in the following phrases:

'hungry boy' [wagay alak] وَغَيْ أَلَّك
'hungry girl' [wage paghila] وَغَيْ پَغْلِئَا

There are four classes of adjectives, two of which have sub-classes. There are also a very few irregular adjectives.

The analysis here differs from that in Beginning and Intermediate Pashto. By assigning all the adjectives ending in [ay] ْئِ to the same class, and grouping together all adjectives with [a] endings in the masculine forms, the number of classes is reduced from six to four, and the overall analysis is less redundant.

B. Adjective Classes

Adj 1. Adjectives in this class have forms that are somewhat parallel to the M2 and F1 noun class forms. The masculine direct singular form ends in a consonant; the masculine direct plural and oblique singular forms are the same as the direct singular; and the oblique plural ends in the usual [-o] ْرِ. The feminine forms look exactly like F1 nouns: the direct singular is formed by adding [-al] ْئِ to the masculine singular form; the direct plural and oblique singular end in [-al] ْئِ rather than [-a] ْئِ; and the oblique plural ends in [-o] ْرِ.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scattered</th>
<th>M: [tita]</th>
<th>DP: [ttit]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adj 1</td>
<td>OS: [ttit]</td>
<td>OP: [ttito]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DS: [ttita]</td>
<td>OP: [ttita]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OS: [ttita]</td>
<td>OP: [ttita]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

88
Chapter 7: Adjectives

Other adjectives in this class include:

- 'wide' [prák] (بیان)
- 'difficult' [sakht] (سخت)
- 'strong' [palwâng] (پوئند)
- 'whole, entire' [toj] (تول)
- 'narrow' [tang] (تنگ)
- 'tousled' [jar] (جج)
- 'ready' [tayár] (تیار)
- 'quiet' [châp] (چچ)

**Adj 2.** Adjectives in this class have masculine forms which end in [-ay] -

There are two subclasses of Adj 2's: those in which the stress is on other than the last syllable, and those in which the stress is on the last syllable.

**Non-final stressed Adj 2.** The masculine direct singular form of nonfinal stress Adj 2s ends in unstressed [-ay] -; the masculine direct plural and oblique singular forms end in [-i] -; and the oblique plural form ends in [-o] - . The direct and oblique singular forms of the feminine end in [-a] - and the oblique plural form ends in [-o] - .

|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------|------------|

Other adjectives in this class include:

- 'hungry' [wágay] (ویای)
- 'beautiful' [khwâlay] (بیکلی)
- 'flaming' [sáway] (سوی)
- 'new' [náway] (نوج)
- 'quiet, careful' [gholay] (غلی)
- 'complex' [pechálay] (پچلی)

[-ay] - is the suffix that forms participles from verbs. Most of the non-final stress 2's, then, are poly-syllabic, and are transparently related to verbs. For example:

- 'threatening' [gärwünkay] (داروونکی) from 'threaten' [gär] (دارو)
- 'scheduled' [tákay] (تیاکی) from 'determine' [ták] (تاک)

76
Final stress Adj 2. Adjectives in this class mimic M3 and F2 nouns, and in
Beginning and Intermediate Pashto are called Adj 6. The masculine direct singular
form ends in stressed [-áy] ; the oblique singular and direct plural forms end in [-í]
or [-ây] ; the oblique plural ends in [-6] or [-âyo]. The feminine forms have
endings like those of F2 nouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'thin'</th>
<th>M: DS: [naráy] نری</th>
<th>DP: [narí] نری</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Final</td>
<td>DS: [narí] نری</td>
<td>OP: [narí] نری</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stress</td>
<td>DS: [naráy] نری</td>
<td>DP: [naráy] نری</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj 2</td>
<td>DS: [naráy] نری</td>
<td>OP: [naráyo] نری</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other adjectives in this class include:

- 'patriarchal' [plaranáy] پلرانی
- 'young' [tankáy] تنکی
- 'mountainous' [gharanáy] غرانی
- 'round' [gardáy] گردنی
- 'primary' [lumçanáy] لومرنی
- 'west' [wrustáy] وروستی

Adj 3. Adjectives in this class are similar to those in the Adj 1 class. The
masculine direct singular ends in a consonant; the masculine direct plural and oblique
singular forms end in stressed [í] ; and the oblique plural ends in stressed [6]. The
feminine forms are like F1 nouns. There are a number of subclasses of Adj 3, the
simplest of which appears to be the smallest.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'rough'</th>
<th>M: DS: [zigl] زیر</th>
<th>DP: [zigl] زیر</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adj 3</td>
<td>DS: [ziglé] زیره</td>
<td>OP: [ziglé] زیره</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DS: [ziglé] زیره</td>
<td>DP: [ziglé] زیره</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DS: [ziglé] زیره</td>
<td>OP: [ziglé] زیره</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other adjectives parallel to [zigl] زیر are

- 'long' [ugd] لود
- 'settled' [misht] میششت
- 'green, unripe' [um] اوم
Chapter 7: Adjectives

An equally small subclass is composed of adjectives that end in /a/, of which /ka/ is the commonest member:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>M:</th>
<th>DS: [xa]</th>
<th>DP: [xa]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'good'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj 3</td>
<td></td>
<td>[xa]</td>
<td>[xo]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F:</td>
<td></td>
<td>[xa]</td>
<td>[xe]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[xa]</td>
<td>[xo]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other adjectives in this subclass include:

- 'asleep' [udal]  
- 'gray' [spaq]  
- 'sharp' [teral]  
- 'sleepy' [widel]

A much larger subclass of the Adj 3's are adjectives ending in a consonant, with stem vowel /a/ or /u/ - /we/. (Adjectives in this subclass are called Adj 5 in Beginning and Intermediate Pashto.) Except for the masculine direct singular, the form endings in this subclass are identical to those above, but the stem vowel changes to /a/ in the forms ending in /a/, and to /a/ in the other forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>M:</th>
<th>DS: [wof]</th>
<th>DP: [war]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'small'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj 3</td>
<td></td>
<td>[war]</td>
<td>[we]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F:</td>
<td></td>
<td>[war]</td>
<td>[we]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[war]</td>
<td>[we]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other adjectives in this subclass include:

- 'prone, lying' [pro]  
- 'blind' [und]  
- 'soft' [post]
- 'cooked, ripe' [pokh]  
- 'cold' [sor]  
- 'old' [zor]
- 'full, satisfied' [mor]  
- 'curved' [kog]  
- 'deaf' [kun]
- 'spread' [kprop]  
- 'rotten' [wrest]  
- 'wet' [lund]
- 'mounted, riding' [spr]  
- 'heavy' [drund]  
- 'bright' [run]
- 'sour'

---

1 These particular stem changes occur elsewhere in the language as well. The generality appears to be that there is a tendency for stem vowels /o/, /u/, and /a/ to change to /a/ if the following syllable contains a final /a/, and to change to or remain as /a/ if the following syllable contains any other vowel but /a/.

78
Other adjectives in the class have idiosyncratic stem vowel changes or deletions. The examples we have are listed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>MDS</th>
<th>Stem of other forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'red'</td>
<td>سور</td>
<td>[sr]-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'green/blue'</td>
<td>شين</td>
<td>[shn]-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sweet'</td>
<td>خور</td>
<td>[khwāg]-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'warm'</td>
<td>تود</td>
<td>[tāwd]-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adj 4. Adjectives in this class end in stressed vowels, and have only one form, although some of them ending in [a] or [ai] have alternate oblique plural forms ending in [-awo] in the Kandahar dialect. These adjectives come from a variety of sources, including Arabic and Persian.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>M:</th>
<th>DS: [kāystāl]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>بایسته</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[kāystāl]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ف: [kāystāl]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>بایسته</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[kāystāl]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[kāystāw:]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other adjectives in this class include:

- 'social' [ijtimāy:] اسمی
- 'emergency' [izterāf] اسمی
- 'basic, essential' [asāsī] اسمی
- 'Islamic' [islāmī] اسمی
- 'mythical' [afsānew:] اسمی
- 'real, original' [asīl] اسمی
- 'Afghan' [āfghān] اسمی

C. Irregular Adjectives

If the adjectives with stem vowel changes are included as a sub-class of Adj 3, there are very few irregular adjectives in our word list. One of them is a group of adjectives the masculine singular forms of which end in the syllable [-er], for example
Chapter 7: Adjectives

'skinny' [dangár] دنگر, which are like Adj 1's except that the stems of all the forms except the masculine direct singular end in [-er-], for example [dangár-] دنگر. Other adjectives in this group are 'observant' [stargawár] ستارگر, 'brave' [zr̥awár] زرور, and 'fortunate' [bakhtawár] بختور.

The only other irregular adjective is 'lively' [mastānā] مساتنه, which appears in some dialects to be in mid-shift from an Adj 4 to and Adj 1. The masculine forms are all the same - [mastānā] مساتنه - and the feminine forms are like Adj 1.

D. Numbers

Number symbols. Pashto numbers are represented with the following numerals, which are those used in all languages written in Arabic alphabets:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The written order of symbols in numbers higher than 9 is the same as the order in English, i.e., from left to right. For example:

15 = 10 471 = ٤٧١
20 = ٢٠ 1,000 = ١٠٠٠٠

Numbers as adjectives. Pashto numbers are all adjectives, and except for 'one' [yaw] پو, which as an Adj 1 has the alternate feminine form [yawā], they have just one form (and therefore are class 4 adjectives).

Numbers between 1 and 100 are unusually irregular. In the list below of the numbers from 1 to 30, note that the 'ones' numbers differ in the teens and the twenties, especially the equivalents of 'two', 'three', 'four', and 'six'. Note also that the equivalent of 'teen' drops the [1] in the equivalents of 'sixteen' and 'nineteen'.

80

93
Chapter 7: Adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roman number</th>
<th>Pashto number</th>
<th>Pashto word</th>
<th>Roman number</th>
<th>Pashto number</th>
<th>Pashto word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>١</td>
<td>[yaw]</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>١٦</td>
<td>[šhpāras]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>٢</td>
<td>[owā]</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>١٧</td>
<td>[wélæs]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>٣</td>
<td>[drel]</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>١٨</td>
<td>[atélæs]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>٤</td>
<td>[tsalór]</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>١٩</td>
<td>[núnas]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>٥</td>
<td>[pindzá]</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>٢٠</td>
<td>[shál]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>٦</td>
<td>[shpág]</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>٢١</td>
<td>[yawíst]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>٧</td>
<td>[wá]</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>٢٢</td>
<td>[dwéíst]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>٨</td>
<td>[átélæ]</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>٢٣</td>
<td>[dáíst]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>٩</td>
<td>[né]</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>٢٤</td>
<td>[tståíst]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>١٠</td>
<td>[lás]</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>٢٥</td>
<td>[pindzáíst]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>١١</td>
<td>[yawélæs]</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>٢٦</td>
<td>[shpágíst]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>١٢</td>
<td>[dólæs]</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>٢٧</td>
<td>[wéíst]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>١٣</td>
<td>[dyárlæs]</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>٢٨</td>
<td>[atélæíst]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>١٤</td>
<td>[tswáræls]</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>٢٩</td>
<td>[núhəíst]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>١٥</td>
<td>[pindzáæls]</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>٣٠</td>
<td>[dérəs]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The numbers between thirty and sixty-nine are consistent among themselves. Note that in this series the equivalents of *two* and *three* are different from the *two* and *three* in the twenties, tens and ones.
Chapter 7: Adjectives

The numbers for forty, fifty, and sixty are as follows:

40 [tsalwéxt] خلوبیت
50 [pándzós] پنخوس
60 [shpaté] شپتی

In the seventies, eighties, and nineties, the 'ones' are identical to the single-digit numbers except for the equivalent of 'six', which is pronounced with a [ə] rather than an [a]. Here are the seventies:

70 70 [awyá] اویا
71 71 [gaw awyá] یو اویا
72 72 [dwé awyá] دوه اویا
73 73 [dré awyá] دری اویا
74 74 [tselór awyá] خلوراویا
75 75 [pindzé awyá] پنخه اویا
76 76 [shpág awyá] شپتی اویا
77 77 [wó awyá] اوه اویا
78 78 [atá awyá] اتی اویا
79 79 [náha awyá] نی اویا

The equivalents for 'eighty' and 'ninety' are:

80 [atá] اتی
80 [naw1] نوی

The word for 100 is [sál] سلل, which has the irregular plural [séwa] سوه used in numbers involving more than one hundred. The word 'and' [aw] ارو is usually inserted after [sál] سلل or [séwa] سوه. Its pronunciation, however, is contracted to [sæl] or [séwa w]. For example:

236 [dwé sewa w shpág dars] دوه سوه او شپتی دیرش

Numbers above one hundred are regularly formed. Some examples:

555 [pindzé sewa w pindzé pándzós] پنخه سوه او پنخه پنخوس
840 [atá sewa w tsalwéxt] اتی سوه او خلوبیت
923 [náha sewa w dárwíst] نی سوه او درويشکت
Chapter 7: Adjectives

The word for 1000 is [zar] زر, with the alternate form [zára] زرا, and an 'and' [law] ار is sometimes added after the [zar] زر or [zára] زرا, and pronounced [zár o] or [zára w].

Most of the time, however, there is a pause after the [zar] زر or [zára] زرا. Numbers over a thousand are written with no comma or period. Some examples:

3,682
[dré zara, shpág sewa w dré atyä]

24,561
[tshárist zara, pindzé sewa y gaw shpäta]

320,987
[dré sewa w shél zara, nána sewa w wá atyä]

In numbers with 100 or 1000, the [law] ار is frequently dropped:

155
[yéw sól o pindzé pandzos]

or

150
[sái o pindzé pandzos]

In dates, 'and' [law] ار is dropped and the date pronounced as though there were hyphens. For example:

1996
[yéw zára nána sewa shpág nawi]

1347
[yéw zára dré sewa wá tsháiwext]

Ordinal numbers. Ordinal numbers (corresponding to English 'fourth', 'twenty-third', etc.) are formed from the cardinal numbers described above by adding the suffix [-ší]/[-śí] م to the cardinal form. The resulting adjective has the following forms when the cardinal ends in a consonant.
Chapter 7: Adjectives

| 'fourth' M: | DS: [tsalorám] خلوروم | DP: [tsalorám] خلوروم |
| irreg. | DS: [tsalorám] خلوروم | DP: [tsalorám] خلوروم |
| DS: [tsalorám] خلوروم | DP: [tsalorám] خلوروم |

Other numbers which follow this pattern are:

'sixth' [shpagám] شپام | 'tenth' [tasám] لسم |
'hundredth' [salám] سلم | 'thousandth' [zarám] زررم |

The following forms are used when the cardinal ends in a vowel:

| 'seventh' M: | DS: [wam] اوم | DP: [wam] اوم |
| irreg. | DS: [wam] اوم | DP: [wámo] اومو |
| DS: [wáma] اوم | DP: [wámo] اومو |

Other numbers which follow this pattern are:

'eight' [atá] ات | 'nine' [náha] نه |

There are some irregularities in the stems of ordinals corresponding to 'second' and 'third', as follows:

two [dwa] دوه | 'second' [dojám] دريم |
'three' [drei] دري | 'third' [drégám] دريم |

and the ordinal parallel to 'first' is a different adjective altogether:

'one' [yaw] يو | 'first' [awál] أول (Adj 1) |

There is no conventional way to represent ordinal numbers with number symbols; they are always written in words.

84
E. Vocative Forms of Adjectives

Vocative phrases occasionally include adjectives, and sometimes comprise adjectives used as nouns. The endings of adjectives in vocative constructions are essentially identical to those of nouns: the oblique forms are used except when the adjective ends in a consonant, in which case (always masculine: the [y] of the feminine ending does not count as a consonant) an [-a] is added. The only exception is the non final stress Adj 2’s like ‘hungry’ [wágay]. دیى the masculine vocatives of which end in [-e] in the central dialect. Some examples of vocative phrases with adjectives:

- 'hungry boy' [wágé alákā] یوپیي هلكا
- 'hungry boys' [wágýo alákāno] یوپیو هلكانو
- 'hungry girl' [wágé péghľal] یوپیي پهغلي
- 'hungry girls' [wágýo péghľol] یوپیو پهغلو
- 'little one' [wáqel] یووه
- 'little ones' [wáqel] یووه

F. Uses of Adjectives

Adjectives modify nouns in ways parallel to English. A description of the position and order of adjectives in noun phrases is given in Chapter 11, but in brief, adjectives occur before the nouns they modify. For example:

[loy khān] لوئى خان
bigM khan

[pindza xkwale péghľe] پنئه پکلي پهغلي
five prettyF girls

Adjectives agree with the nouns they modify in gender, number, and case:

MDS: [taggy alak wóbá ghwač1] تیبب هلکت اوبه غواری
thirsty boy water want3S

The thirsty boy wants water.
Chapter 7: Adjectives

MDP: [tagi alakan wobé ghwaari]  
thirsty boys  water want3P

'The thirsty boys want water.'

MOS: [de tagi ak khwla wache wa]  
of thirsty boy mouth dry was

'De té mi hélekh Khólé qe jeh.'  
The thirsty boy’s mouth was dry.'

MDP: [de tagi alakan khwla wache we]  
of thirsty boys mouths dry were

'De té mi hélekh Khólé qe jeh.'  
The thirsty boys’ mouths were dry.'

FDS: [tagi naghla wobé ghwaari]  
thirsty girl water want3s

'The thirsty girl wants water.'

FDP: [tagi naghla wobé ghwaari]  
thirsty girls water want3P

'The thirsty girls want water.'

FOS: [de tagi naghla khwla wache wa]  
of thirsty girl mouth dry was

'De té mi hélekh Khólé qe jeh.'  
The thirsty girl’s mouth was dry.'

FOP: [de tagi naghla khwla wache we]  
of thirsty girls mouths dry were

'De té mi hélekh Khólé qe jeh.'  
The thirsty girls’ mouths were dry.'

Adjectives also occur in predicates, as they do in English, with the Pashto equivalents of 'be' and with other predicates like 'become' [keg-] and 'seem' [kar-]. These predicate adjectives agree with their subjects in gender, number, and case (which is always direct, because predicate adjectives always occur in intransitive constructions). In the examples above, the agreement can be seen with the noun 'mouth' [khwla] which is F1, and the adjective 'dry' [wach] which is Adj 1.

Most adjectives can be used as nouns, in ways parallel to the English adjective 'poor' in 'The poor ye always have with you' but more extensively than in English. (In many cases, the Pashto adjective-as-noun translates as 'the _____ one', as can be seen in the examples below.) In some dialects adjectives-as-nouns occur with adjective endings, but others occur with noun endings; in the central dialect, however, any adjective that can be used as a noun takes on the endings of the noun class most similar to the adjective. In the example below, the Adj 4 'injured, hurt' [zakhmi] is used as an M1 noun, direct plural form:
Chapter 7: Adjectives

[zakhmiyān roghtān tā rāghil.] رخمان روفتون ی راغل.
injured hospital ی came. "The injured (ones) came to the hospital."

and in the next example, the Adj 3 'mounted, on horseback' [spor] is used as an f1 noun, direct plural form:

[spare wādā tā rāghle.] سپری واده ی راغلی.
mounted wedding ی came. "The mounted ones (f) (i.e. horsewomen) came to the wedding."

A. Comparison of Adjectives

Pashto forms comparative statements like 'Ahmad is taller than Massoud' by means of prepositional phrases which do not involve special adjective suffixes like English comparative -er or superlative -est suffixes. The comparative and superlative constructions are described in Chapter 10, Prepositions.

H. Variation

Like the nouns, there is a great deal of variation from dialect to dialect in terms of adjective forms, especially in cases where the stem changes or the adjective is otherwise idiosyncratic. The Adj 1’s, however, are the norm, and most variation is towards that norm.

J. Adjectives and Adverbs

Several adjectives do double duty as adverbs, modifying other adjectives or sentences. The most common of these are:

'good/well' [xe] (Adj 3) 'pretty/very' [kāystā] (Adj 4)
'meny/very' [ģer] (Adj 1) 'heavy/meny' [zyāt] (Adj 1)

When these adjective/adverbs modify other adjectives, they agree with the adjective; when they modify sentences, they agree with the direct object if there is one, and otherwise with the subject. Examples:
Chapter 7: Adjectives

[xa gađégi]  
well (m) dances (m)  
'He dances well.'

[xa gađégi]  
well (f) dances (f)  
'She dances well.'

[dá ρegile kitabúne xe iwali]  
that girl books (m) well (m) reads  
'That girl reads books well.'

[dá ρegile kitabché xe iwali]  
that girl notebooks (f) well (f) reads  
'That girl reads notebooks well.'

J. Other Analyses

Penzl (1955) devotes a chapter to adjectives, and posits five classes, defined on the basis of the feminine forms. Mackenzie (1967) also posits five classes, but bases their membership on different characteristics. Shafeev (1964) posits seven classes. The classes of these analyses correlate with one another and with the one given above as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Here</th>
<th>Penzl's</th>
<th>Mackenzie's</th>
<th>Shafeev's</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, final stress</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, nonfinal stress</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>additional</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, C*, o/u stem</td>
<td>some 1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, C*, various stem</td>
<td>some 2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3, 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 (all forms same)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>additional</td>
<td>additional</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

88

101
Chapter 8: Verb Forms

A. Introduction

Pashto verbs are complex both in form and in use, so we have divided their description into two chapters. In this chapter, we will describe the various forms that Pashto verbs can assume, including:
- the personal endings by which verbs agree with subjects or objects;
- the forms of the verb parallel to 'be';
- the auxiliaries 'become' [kədɔl] and 'make, do' [kəwɔl];
- the four basic tense/aspect combinations (present/past and imperfective/perfective);
- the three types of verbs, (simple verbs, derivative verbs, and doubly irregular verbs); and
- the formation of participles.

In Chapter 9, we will describe the use of these forms in constructions which occur in simple sentences. In Chapter 13, we will describe additional constructions which appear only in clauses, for example the various verb constructions associated with conditional sentences.

Throughout the discussion, we refer to verbs as their present imperfective stems, for example 'put' [gw-] -دو, rather than the traditional infinitives, which are formed with the past imperfective plus the [-al] ل- past tense marker, for example 'put' [kəwɔl]. While some Pashtun readers have objected to this departure from tradition, and correctly pointed out that the present imperfective stems are sometimes unpronounceable, we continue to use the present imperfective to keep in accord with Beginning Pashto and Intermediate Pashto and the accompanying glossary. In boxed models and examples below, however, we list the infinitive form in Pashto script (in parentheses) for the convenience of those accustomed to the traditional citation form.

In this chapter, English glosses are not given in the cases where they are impossible to formulate or do not make much sense. The lack of distinction in English between imperfective and perfective makes it difficult to reflect the distinction in Pashto, especially in dealing with the equivalent of 'be' and with the Pashto auxiliaries.
Chapter 8. Verb Forms

Whenever possible, intransitive verbs are used as examples, so that the points being made are not obscured by complications of the ergative construction, which is not discussed in detail until Chapter 11.

Finally, we use the following abbreviations in charts and lists of forms:

1 = first person, i.e. 'I', 'me', 'we', 'us'
2 = second person, i.e. 'you'
3 = third person, i.e. 'he', 'him', 'she', 'her', 'it', 'they', 'them'

S = singular
P = plural
M = masculine
F = feminine
pres = present
imp = imperfective
pst = past
perf = perfective
part = participle

B. Personal Endings

Verbs agree in person and number with either the objects or the subjects of sentences, depending on the tense and particular construction. Agreement is indicated with personal endings, i.e. suffixes following the verb stem which indicate person and number.

Present tense endings. The endings for verbs in present tense constructions are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ending</th>
<th>Example:</th>
<th>Example:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S:</td>
<td>[-a]م-</td>
<td>گداش گداش</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S:</td>
<td>[-al]ي-</td>
<td>گداش گداش</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S:</td>
<td>[-l]ي-</td>
<td>گداش گداش</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P:</td>
<td>[-u]ر-</td>
<td>گداش گداش</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P:</td>
<td>[-ay]ي-</td>
<td>گداش گداش</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P:</td>
<td>[-1]ي-</td>
<td>گداش گداش</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 8: Verb Forms

Note that the second person plural ending is spelled with ی (the unique use of this letter) and that the third person endings are the same for singular and plural.

Past tense endings. In past tense constructions, the personal endings are the same as the present tense endings, except for the third person endings, which agree with the subject or object in gender as well as number, as can be seen in the examples below. (The verb 'dance' has the past tense stem [gadad-], and will be explained in the section on simple verbs below.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ending</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S:</td>
<td>'I was dancing'</td>
<td>[gadad ominous]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S:</td>
<td>'You were dancing'</td>
<td>[gadadé]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SM:</td>
<td>'He was dancing'</td>
<td>[gadadé]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SF:</td>
<td>'She was dancing'</td>
<td>[gadadé]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P:</td>
<td>'We were dancing'</td>
<td>[gadadé]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P:</td>
<td>'You all were dancing'</td>
<td>[gadadé]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PM:</td>
<td>'They (m) were dancing'</td>
<td>[gadadé]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PF:</td>
<td>'They (f) were dancing'</td>
<td>[gadadé]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C. Tense and Aspect

The classification of verbs is based on two interacting verbal "states": tense (either present and past) and aspect (either imperfective and perfective). All verb constructions therefore involve one or the other of the following four verb forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Imperfective</th>
<th>Present Perfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past Imperfective</td>
<td>Past Perfective</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbs may be classified according to the way in which their four forms are constructed, in the same way that nouns or adjectives can be grouped into classes on the basis of their various endings. There are three classes of verbs in Pashto, called in this analysis simple verbs, derivative verbs, and doubly irregular verbs. We use the term 'irregular' to describe verbs whose present and past stems are different, and the term

\[1\] The presence of the [-al-] is will be explained below in the section on simple verbs.
'doubly irregular' to describe verbs whose present and past stems and imperfective and perfective stems are different.

Each verb class is described in detail below, after the presentation of the verb be and the auxiliaries.

Aspect, or the imperfective/perfective distinction, is a central characteristic of the verb system. Pashto aspect is difficult for non-native speakers to understand in semantic terms, but the difference between the perfective and the imperfective appears to relate to whether the action denoted by a verb is completed (= perfected, or perfective) or not completed (= imperfective). This semantic distinction is not consistent, however (in the next chapter, for example, it will be shown that positive commands use the perfective, whereas the corresponding negative commands use the imperfective), and it seems best to consider the imperfective-perfective distinction as one of grammatical form only. Readers are cautioned that a parallel should not be made between the Pashto perfective and the English perfect tenses, i.e. the present perfect (I have gone), past perfect (I had gone) and future perfect (I will have gone).

D. The Verb be

Like most of the other Indo-European languages including English, Pashto's equivalent of the verb be is irregular. Also like other Indo-European languages, the Pashto be verbs may occur as main verbs in sentences parallel to 'I am hungry' or 'He is an important khān' and also as components of verb constructions, as will be seen in the next chapter. The be verb is unique among Pashto verbs in that it does not have an infinitive form; we will continue to label it as be in English.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present imperfective forms of be</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S: 'I am' [yam] [yam]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S: 'you are' [ye] [ye]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S: 'he is' [da] [da]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'she is' [da] [da]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S/P: 'he/she/it is; they are' [wa] [wa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S/P: 'there is/are' [sta] [sta]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Present perfective forms of *be*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S:</td>
<td>'I am' [sam]</td>
<td>'we are' [su]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S:</td>
<td>'you are' [sa]</td>
<td>'you all are' [say]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S command form:</td>
<td>[sa]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S:</td>
<td>'he/she is' [sil]</td>
<td>'they are' [is]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 3rd singular masculine present imperfective form دی [da] is pronounced [day] in the Kandahar dialect, and [day] in some of the eastern dialects. It is pronounced [day] in reading and formal speech. The spelling of the perfective forms with [sh] - ـ reflects the pronunciation of the Kandahar dialect, they are pronounced with [sh] in formal speech in the central dialect.

Among third person forms, [wi] وی is used when an assumption or given fact is being discussed, whereas [da] ده and [di] دی are used when reporting an observation. The contrast is clear, for example, in the following sentences referring to a public picnic table:

[khalak datta nāst wi.] خلک دلته ناست وی.
people here sitting bāS 'People sit here. (We can use this table.)'

[khalak datta nāst di.] خلک دلته ناست دی.
people here sitting bāS 'People are sitting here. (We can see them.)'

As may be seen in the glosses, this contrast parallels the contrast in English between the simple present tense (‘People sit here’) and the present continuous (‘People are sitting here’).

The other 3rd singular present tense form listed in the chart - [sta] شته - functions like English ‘there is’. An example:

[pā kor ke wɔra sta] پ کور کی اوره سته.
in house in flour there-is 'There's flour in the house.'

Sentences and questions with [sta] شته are commonly used over the telephone, for example:
Chapter 8: Verb Forms

[asad stá?]  
Asad there-is?  
'Is Asad there?'

[asad nást:]  
Asad not-there-is  
'Asad isn't here.'

[wá, stá]  
yes, there-is  
'Yes, he's here.'

#### Past imperfective forms of be

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>'I was'</td>
<td>[swam]</td>
<td>'we were'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>'you were'</td>
<td>[wej]</td>
<td>'you all were'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JSM</td>
<td>'he was'</td>
<td>[wa]</td>
<td>'they were'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JSF</td>
<td>'she was'</td>
<td>[wa]</td>
<td>'they were'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Past perfective forms of be

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>'I was'</td>
<td>[swám]</td>
<td>'we were'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>'you were'</td>
<td>[swéj]</td>
<td>'you all were'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JSM</td>
<td>'he was'</td>
<td>[swé]</td>
<td>'they were'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JSF</td>
<td>'she was'</td>
<td>[swé]</td>
<td>'they were'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>'we were'</td>
<td>[swú]</td>
<td>'we were'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>'you all were'</td>
<td>[swúl]</td>
<td>'you all were'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>'they were'</td>
<td>[swái]</td>
<td>'they were'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The suffix [-əl] -i- is the regular past tense suffix, and is optional for verbs having different present and past stems. (The tense of the verb can be seen in this difference, just as the English present/past verb distinction can be seen in pairs like run/ran.)

In the be verbs as well as others, the [-əl] -i- must not appear in the third singular masculine form, but must appear in the third plural masculine form. In the latter, however, the personal ending can drop.
E. Auxiliaries

The part that auxiliaries play in the formation of verbs and constructions is described in Section G below, and throughout Chapter 9, Verb Constructions. There are two auxiliaries, described separately below.

The intransitive auxiliary. [keg-] is the intransitive auxiliary which when used as a full verb has the meaning 'become'. As an auxiliary, it translates in a number of ways, so we have left glosses out of the following chart.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present imperfective</th>
<th>Present perfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S: [kégam]</td>
<td>1P: [kégul]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S: [kége]</td>
<td>2P: [kégay]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S: [kégi]</td>
<td>3P: [kégi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1S: [sam]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2S: [se]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3S: [si]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The present imperfective 3rd person form [kégi] is always pronounced [kigí] in the Kandahar dialect, and frequently in other dialects as well. This pronunciation is a reflection of the phonological process described in Chapter 2.

The present perfective forms are pronounced with [sh] rather than [si] in reading and formal speech.
### Past forms of the intransitive auxiliary 

**Past imperfective**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Without [-ál]-</th>
<th>With [-ál]-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S:</td>
<td>[kedám]</td>
<td>[kedám]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S:</td>
<td>[kedélé]</td>
<td>[kedélé]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SM:</td>
<td>[kedál]</td>
<td>[kedál]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SF:</td>
<td>[kedé]</td>
<td>[kedé]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P:</td>
<td>[kedú]</td>
<td>[kedú]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P:</td>
<td>[kedý]</td>
<td>[kedý]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PM:</td>
<td>[kedál]</td>
<td>[kedál]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PF:</td>
<td>[kedé]</td>
<td>[kedé]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Past perfective**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Without [ál] -isuffix:</th>
<th>With [ál] -isuffix:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S:</td>
<td>[swám] شوم</td>
<td>[swám] شوم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S:</td>
<td>[swélé] شوي</td>
<td>[swélé] شوي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SM:</td>
<td>شأ</td>
<td>شأ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SF:</td>
<td>[swé] شوه</td>
<td>[swé] شوه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P:</td>
<td>[swú] شو</td>
<td>[swú] شو</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P:</td>
<td>[sway] شئ</td>
<td>[sway] شئ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PM:</td>
<td>[swé] شول</td>
<td>[swé] شول</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PF:</td>
<td>[swélé] شوي</td>
<td>[swélé] شوي</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Again, the past tense suffix [ál] -is is optional in verbs (except in 3rd singular masculine forms, where it must not appear) whose present and past tense stems are different, as this one is.

The initial -د in past perfective forms is pronounced [sh] in reading and formal speech.

*The transitive auxiliary*. The transitive auxiliary is [kaw-] كر، which when used as a full verb has the meaning 'do' or 'make'.
## Present forms of the transitive auxiliary (kaw-)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present imperfective</th>
<th>Present perfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1S:</strong> kawām (کوم)</td>
<td>1P: kawā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2S:</strong> kawā (کوی)</td>
<td>2P: kawāy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3S:</strong> kawā (کوی)</td>
<td>3P: kawā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The [u] in the perfective forms is pronounced in some dialects, and by all speakers in reading and speaking formally.

## Past forms of the transitive auxiliary (kaw-)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past imperfective</th>
<th><strong>without <a href="-I">-áI-</a>-</strong></th>
<th><strong>with <a href="-I">-áI-</a>-</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1S:</strong></td>
<td>kawāma</td>
<td>kawālam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2S:</strong></td>
<td>kawāla</td>
<td>kawāle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3SM:</strong></td>
<td>kāwā (کاوه)</td>
<td>kawāla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3SF:</strong></td>
<td>kawāla</td>
<td>kawāla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1P:</strong></td>
<td>kawālu</td>
<td>kawāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2P:</strong></td>
<td>kawālay</td>
<td>kawālay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3PM:</strong></td>
<td>kawāl</td>
<td>kawāla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3PF:</strong></td>
<td>kawāla</td>
<td>kawāla</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Past forms of the transitive auxiliary /kaw-1/ (کوم) (cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Without [a] -isuffix</th>
<th>With [a] -isuffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S:</td>
<td>[kram] کرم</td>
<td>[kram] کرم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S:</td>
<td>[krel] کری</td>
<td>[krel] کری</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SM:</td>
<td>[ka], [k] کر</td>
<td>[k] کر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SF:</td>
<td>[krai] کرمه</td>
<td>[krai] کرمه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P:</td>
<td>[krou] کرو</td>
<td>[krou] کرو</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P:</td>
<td>[kraiy] کریئ</td>
<td>[kraiy] کریئ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PM:</td>
<td>[krai], [k] کرمه/کرم</td>
<td>[k] کرم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PF:</td>
<td>[kra] کرم</td>
<td>[kra] کرم</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note, in the 3rd singular masculine past imperfective form, the [a] -l- in both spelling and pronunciation. This is a reflection of a general process, mentioned in Chapter 2, in which an [a] becomes [a] when the following final syllable ends in [a].

### F. Simple Verbs

The following sections describe how the formation of the present/past and imperfective/perfective stems of the three different types of verbs (simple, derivative, and doubly irregular). The personal endings described above are attached to these stems, and they are combined with the forms of be and the auxiliaries in various constructions that will be described in detail in the next chapter.

Ordinary simple verb formations. Simple verbs form their perfective stems by adding the prefix [w̱-] -و, to the imperfective stem, and their past stems by adding the suffix [-a]-ی, for example:
**Simple verb formation: 'tie' [tarî] (تَيّل) (تَّيّل)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pres. imp.</td>
<td>[tarî]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres. perf.</td>
<td>[wâtarî]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pst. imp.</td>
<td>[tarî]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pst. perf.</td>
<td>[wâtarî]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Present imperfective forms of 'tie' [tarî] (تَيّل):**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S:</td>
<td>[tarîm] تَرَم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S:</td>
<td>[tarîl] تَرِی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S:</td>
<td>[tarî] تَرِی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P:</td>
<td>[tarî]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P:</td>
<td>[tarîl] تَرِی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P:</td>
<td>[tarî] تَرِی</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Present perfective forms of 'tie' [tarî] (تَيّل):**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S:</td>
<td>[wâtarîm] وَتَرَم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S:</td>
<td>[wâtarîl] وَتَرِی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S:</td>
<td>[wâtarî] وَتَرِی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P:</td>
<td>[wâtarî]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P:</td>
<td>[wâtarîl] وَتَرِی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P:</td>
<td>[wâtarî] وَتَرِی</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Past imperfective forms of 'tie' [tarî] (تَيّل):**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S:</td>
<td>[tarîlam] تَرَلَم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S:</td>
<td>[tarîl] تَرَلِی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SM:</td>
<td>[tarî] تَرَلِه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SF:</td>
<td>[tarîl] تَرَلِه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P:</td>
<td>[tarîl]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P:</td>
<td>[tarîlay] تَرَلِئِی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PM:</td>
<td>[tarîl] تَرَلِه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PF:</td>
<td>[tarîl] تَرَلِی</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 In this chart and elsewhere, a stress mark over a hyphen indicates that the stress occurs on the personal ending.
### Past perfective forms of 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>[wátašal]</td>
<td>وترولم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>[wátaša]</td>
<td>وترول</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S M</td>
<td>[wátaša]</td>
<td>وترول</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S F</td>
<td>[wátaša]</td>
<td>وترول</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>[wátašal]</td>
<td>وترولم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>[wátašal]</td>
<td>وترولم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PM</td>
<td>[wátaša]</td>
<td>وترول</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PF</td>
<td>[wátaša]</td>
<td>وترول</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of other simple verbs are:

- 'drink' [tsk-] (شندل) نكل - (هشندل) شندل -
- 'throw, toss' [shind-] (ليك) لر - (هليك) ليك -
- 'write' [lik-] (ليك) لر - (هليك) ليك -
- 'consider' [gann-] (قلئ) دن - (هقلئ) دن -
- 'send' [leg-] (لر) لر - (هلر) لر -
- 'keep' [sät-] (سانت) سان - (هسانت) سان -
- 'make, do' [kaw-] (كول) كر - (هكول) كر -

Note that it is not possible to drop the [-al-] suffix in past tenses of simple verbs; doing so would make the past tense forms identical to the present tense forms.

Note also the presence of [a] in the 3rd singular masculine forms in the past tenses in the paradigm of [taš-] (ترول) تر above. This is another exemplification of the rule that changes [a] to [æ] when the following final syllable ends in [a]. The verbs above that have [a] as the vowel of the stem, also have [æ] as stem vowel in the 3rd singular masculine forms.

Simple intransitive verbs ending in [-eg-] - ـه: The present stems of all intransitive simple verbs end in the common intransitive marker [-eg-] - ـه which is similar to the intransitive auxiliary described above. The past stems of these verbs predictably end in [-ed(a)-] - ـه. Parentheses around an element indicate that the element is optional.
Simple verb formation: intransitives ending in [-ag-]

'dance' [gađég-] گنبدی

Pres. Imp. گنبدی - [gađég-]
Pres. perf. [wé gađeg-] گنبدی - وکنبدی
Pst. imp. [gađed(él)-] گنبدید (ل) - [wé gađed(él)-]
Pst. perf. گنبدید (ل) - وکنبدید

In a pattern that was seen in the auxiliary forms above, and will be seen throughout the description of verbs, the past tense marker [-él-] -l- is optional when the past stem differs from the present stem, except in the 3rd masculine forms. The following alternatives are all correct:

Past imperfective forms of [gađég-] گنبدی

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>without [-él-] -l-</th>
<th>with [-él-] -l-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S:</td>
<td>[gađedém] گنبدیم</td>
<td>[gađedél] گنبدیلم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S:</td>
<td>[gađedé] گنبدی</td>
<td>[gađedélé] گنبدیلی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SM:</td>
<td>[gađedá] گنبدید</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SF:</td>
<td>[gađedá] گنبدید</td>
<td>[gađedála] گنبدیدل</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P:</td>
<td>[gađedú] گنبدید</td>
<td>[gađedúl] گنبدیدلو</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P:</td>
<td>[gađedý] گنبدیدی</td>
<td>[gađedýl] گنبدیدلی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PM:</td>
<td>[gađedá] گنبدیا</td>
<td>[gađedá] گنبدیا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PF:</td>
<td>[gađedý] گنبدیدی</td>
<td>[gađedý] گنبدیدی</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note the peculiarity of the 3rd masculine forms encountered before: in the singular, the past tense suffix must not appear. In the plural, the suffix must appear, but the personal ending is optional.

Examples of other simple verbs ending in [-eg-] -l- are:

'stop' [darég-] درسکل گرنی
'reach' [raséég-] یرسکل گرنی
'live' [wóseg-] گرنی گرکنی
'walk' [gardzég-] گرنی گرکنی
'blow' [lagég-] گرنی گرکنی
Chapter 8: Verb Forms

Simple verbs ending in [-aw]-. In parallel to the intransitive verbs ending in [-eg]- described just above, there are also a number of simple verbs that end in the common transitive or causative suffix [-aw]- which is similar to the transitive auxiliary. These are ordinary simple verbs whose forms are parallel to those of 'tie' [taq]- described above, and should not be confused with the class of transitive derivative verbs described below. Some examples (again, the stress mark over the hyphen indicates that the stress is on the personal endings):

'transport' [rasa Weapon] (رسول) رسو- [جول] چل-]
'pull, push' [chala Weapon] -
'play' [gha Weapon] -
'grind, knock' [tak Weapon] -

Simple irregular verbs. There is a great number of verbs that form their perfective stems with [w-], but whose past tense stems differ from their present stems. These verbs are similar to English irregular verbs (like think with its past tense thought rather than the regular thought), and are therefore called simple irregular verbs in this analysis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple Irregular Verb Formation: 'roll around' [rgha Weapon]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pres. imp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres. perf.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>without</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pst. imp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pst. perf.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following past tense imperfective forms of the verb 'roll around' [rgha Weapon] are all correct:
A lengthy but incomplete list of simple irregular verbs is given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Present stem</th>
<th>Past stem</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'buy'</td>
<td>[əxh₁]</td>
<td>[akhist(ə)]-</td>
<td>اخصِل</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'wear'</td>
<td>[aghund]</td>
<td>[aghus(ə)]-</td>
<td>اغوستِ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'buzz'</td>
<td>[aluz]</td>
<td>[alut(ə)]-</td>
<td>اولِتُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'pass'</td>
<td>[əwɔr]</td>
<td>[wuxt(ə)]-</td>
<td>اوبشتُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(some dialects) [əwɔrd(ə)]-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'roll'</td>
<td>[əwɔr]</td>
<td>[awuxt(ə)]-</td>
<td>اوبرشتُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'pull out'</td>
<td>[bəs]</td>
<td>[yest(ə)]-</td>
<td>اباستُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'consider'</td>
<td>[bol]</td>
<td>[bal(ə)]-</td>
<td>ابلُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'know'</td>
<td>[pəzan]</td>
<td>[pezand(ə)]-</td>
<td>پژندُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'explode'</td>
<td>[chəw]</td>
<td>[chawd(ə)]-</td>
<td>چاودُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'want'</td>
<td>[ghwər]</td>
<td>[ghuxt(ə)]-</td>
<td>غوشتُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'suck'</td>
<td>[raw]</td>
<td>[rud(ə)]-</td>
<td>رودُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'slit'</td>
<td>[kag]</td>
<td>[kk(ə)]-</td>
<td>بنکل</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'show'</td>
<td>[kay]</td>
<td>[kod(ə)]-</td>
<td>بنودُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'see'</td>
<td>[gər]</td>
<td>[kat(ə)]-</td>
<td>کتُ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chapter 8: Verb Forms
Chapter 8: Verb Forms

Four very common and very old simple irregular verbs listed below have idiosyncratic third person masculine singular and plural forms in the past tenses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Present stem</th>
<th>Past stem</th>
<th>3SM in past forms</th>
<th>3PM in past forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'look'</td>
<td>[gór-]</td>
<td>[kat(ál)]</td>
<td>[kót]</td>
<td>[kátá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'get out'</td>
<td>[wáz-]</td>
<td>[wat(ál)]</td>
<td>[wót]</td>
<td>[wátá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'climb'</td>
<td>[khédz-]</td>
<td>[khat(ál)]</td>
<td>[khot]</td>
<td>[khátá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'eat'</td>
<td>[khwár-]</td>
<td>[khwar(ál)]</td>
<td>[khwar]</td>
<td>[khwá</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A full paradigm of the past imperfective forms of 'get out' [wáz-] is given below, with the idiosyncratic forms double-underlined.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>without [-ál]</th>
<th>with [-ál]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S:</td>
<td>[watám]</td>
<td>[watélam]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S:</td>
<td>[waté]</td>
<td>[watél]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S M:</td>
<td>[wót]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S F:</td>
<td>[waté]</td>
<td>[watél]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P:</td>
<td>[watul]</td>
<td>[watulú]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 P:</td>
<td>[watály]</td>
<td>[watályú]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P M:</td>
<td>[watél]</td>
<td>[watél]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P F:</td>
<td>[waté]</td>
<td>[watél]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Simple Verbs beginning with [ə] -1. The perfective stems of simple verbs beginning with [ə] -1, whether regular or irregular, follow the pattern shown below, in which the [wa-ə] is pronounced [wə-] :

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple verb beginning with [ə] -1</th>
<th>'throw' ['achaw-ə]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pres. imp.</td>
<td>[əchaw-ə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres. perf.</td>
<td>[wəchaw-1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pst. imp.</td>
<td>[achawə-1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pst. perf.</td>
<td>[wəchawə-1]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other simple verbs starting with [ə] -1 include:

- 'hear' [əwr-1]  'turn over' [əfrəw-1]  'climb over' [əwəxt-1]
- 'send' [əstəw-1]  'climb over' [əwəxt-1]

A. Derivative Verbs

Derivative verbs are formed, or derived, from adjectives or nouns. They constitute the largest and most open class of verbs: any noun or adjective can be made into a verb, although of course in practice some nouns and adjectives do not make sense as verbs.

Derivative verbs may have transitive and/or intransitive forms: the intransitive ones reflect a state of being or a passive situation, for example, the intransitive 'be sold' or 'be on sale' [khartsəg-1]  خرتمس. The transitive ones, on the other hand, tend to be causative, for example 'sell' or 'cause to be sold' [khartsaw-1] خرتم،. One of the verbs consists of a noun or adjective plus either the intransitive [kəg-1] (κειμένο) or transitive [kaw-1] (καθάρισμα) auxiliary. The personal endings are attached to the auxiliary. If the first component of the verb is an adjective, the adjective agrees with the subject or object in number and gender.
In the case of irregular adjectives, it is often the feminine form which is used in derivative verbs. For example (as will be explained in more detail below, the \textit{[k-]}-\textit{s} of the auxiliary drops when affixed to a word ending in a vowel):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Derivative verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'warm'</td>
<td>[tawda]</td>
<td>توده</td>
<td>تودول (تودو-\textit{[k-]}-\textit{s})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'cold'</td>
<td>[sara]</td>
<td>سرها</td>
<td>سرو-\textit{[k-]}-\textit{s}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'curved'</td>
<td>[kaga]</td>
<td>كنها</td>
<td>كاو-\textit{[k-]}-\textit{s}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ripe, cooked'</td>
<td>[pakh]</td>
<td>پخه</td>
<td>پخول-\textit{[k-]}-\textit{s}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If the noun or adjective ends in a vowel, the auxiliary is a separate word, and has forms as listed in Section E above. The adjective 'pretty' [\textit{käystä}], for example, becomes the intransitive derivative verb 'become pretty' [\textit{käystä kég}], with forms as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'become pretty' [\textit{käystä kég}]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present imperfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1S: [\textit{käystä kégam}]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S: [\textit{käystä kége}]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S: [\textit{käystä kégii}]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P: [\textit{käystä kégul}]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P: [\textit{käystä kégay}]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P: [\textit{käystä kégii}]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Present perfective                       |
| 1S: [\textit{käystä sam}]                |
| 2S: [\textit{käystä se}]                 |
| 3S: [\textit{käystä sl}]                 |
| 1P: [\textit{käystä sui}]                |
| 2P: [\textit{käystä say}]                |
| 3P: [\textit{käystä sl}]                 |
### Chapter 8: Verb Forms

#### Past Imperfective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>With</th>
<th>Without</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S:</td>
<td>[xāystā kēdām]</td>
<td>[xāystā kēdām]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S:</td>
<td>[xāystā kēdē]</td>
<td>[xāystā kēdē]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SM:</td>
<td>[xāystā kēdē]</td>
<td>[xāystā kēdē]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SF:</td>
<td>[xāystā kēdē]</td>
<td>[xāystā kēdē]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P:</td>
<td>[xāystā kēdē]</td>
<td>[xāystā kēdē]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P:</td>
<td>[xāystā kēdē]</td>
<td>[xāystā kēdē]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PM:</td>
<td>[xāystā kēdē]</td>
<td>[xāystā kēdē]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PF:</td>
<td>[xāystā kēdē]</td>
<td>[xāystā kēdē]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Past Perfective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>With</th>
<th>Without</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S:</td>
<td>[xāystā swām]</td>
<td>[xāystā swām]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S:</td>
<td>[xāystā swā]</td>
<td>[xāystā swā]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SM:</td>
<td>[xāystā swā]</td>
<td>[xāystā swā]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SF:</td>
<td>[xāystā swā]</td>
<td>[xāystā swā]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P:</td>
<td>[xāystā swā]</td>
<td>[xāystā swā]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P:</td>
<td>[xāystā swā]</td>
<td>[xāystā swā]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PM:</td>
<td>[xāystā swā]</td>
<td>[xāystā swā]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PF:</td>
<td>[xāystā swā]</td>
<td>[xāystā swā]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The forms for the transitive derivative verb with 'pretty' [xāysta] are as follows:
### Chapter 8: Verb Forms

**'beautify, cause to be pretty’ (xäysta kaw-) (xäyste kow-)**

#### Present imperfective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>[xäysta kwam]</td>
<td>xäyste kowm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>[xäysta kwel]</td>
<td>xäyste kwel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>[xäysta kaw]</td>
<td>xäyste kaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>[xäysta kwul]</td>
<td>xäyste kwul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>[xäysta kawyl]</td>
<td>xäyste kwel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>[xäysta kaw]</td>
<td>xäyste kow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Present parfective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>[xäysta kwam]</td>
<td>xäyste kowm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>[xäysta kwel]</td>
<td>xäyste kwel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>[xäysta kaw]</td>
<td>xäyste kaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>[xäysta kwul]</td>
<td>xäyste kwul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>[xäysta kawyl]</td>
<td>xäyste kwel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>[xäysta kaw]</td>
<td>xäyste kow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Past imperfective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>[xäysta kawalam]</td>
<td>xäyste kowl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>[xäysta kawala]</td>
<td>xäyste kowli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SM</td>
<td>[xäysta kawal]</td>
<td>xäyste kawal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SF</td>
<td>[xäysta kawala]</td>
<td>xäyste kowal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>[xäysta kawalu]</td>
<td>xäyste kul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>[xäysta kawalui]</td>
<td>xäyste kowi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PM</td>
<td>[xäysta kawal]</td>
<td>xäyste kowli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PF</td>
<td>[xäysta kawala]</td>
<td>xäyste kowli</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 8. Verb Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past perfective</th>
<th>without</th>
<th>with [al-]</th>
<th>-1-</th>
<th>-1-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S: [xäystä kəm]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S: [xäystä kər]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SM: [xäystä kə]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SF: [xäystä kəral]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P: [xäystä kəulu]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P: [xäystä kəlay]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PM: [xäystä kəral]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PF: [xäysta kəral]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The imperfect forms of a derivative verb are slightly different when the noun or adjective ends with a consonant. The [k-] is dropped, and the rest of the auxiliary is added to the noun or adjective to form a single word. Note that the imperfect forms of these verbs are indistinguishable from the imperfective forms of simple verbs ending in [-eg-] or [-aw-].

All the forms for the transitive and intransitive verbs derived from the adjective ‘injured’ [zobal] (زبّال) has the feminine form [zóblə] (زبّل) are given below. All forms are masculine (except the obvious 3rd person feminine forms) in order to simplify the presentation; the various masculine and feminine possibilities are given later in the section.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S: [zoblégam]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S: [zoblége]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S: [zoblégi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P: [zoblégu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P: [zoblégay]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P: [zoblégil]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Chapter 8: Verb Forms

#### Present Perfective

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S:</td>
<td>Zóbálam</td>
<td>Zóbálam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S:</td>
<td>Zóbáli</td>
<td>Zóbáli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SM:</td>
<td>Zóbáli</td>
<td>Zóbáli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P:</td>
<td>Zóbálam</td>
<td>Zóbálam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P:</td>
<td>Zóbáli</td>
<td>Zóbáli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PM:</td>
<td>Zóbáli</td>
<td>Zóbáli</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Past Imperfective

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S:</td>
<td>Zóblídám</td>
<td>Zóblídám</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S:</td>
<td>Zóblídě</td>
<td>Zóblídě</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SM:</td>
<td>Zóblídě</td>
<td>Zóblídě</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SF:</td>
<td>Zóblídě</td>
<td>Zóblídě</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P:</td>
<td>Zóblídů</td>
<td>Zóblídů</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P:</td>
<td>Zóblídy</td>
<td>Zóblídy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PM:</td>
<td>Zóblídě</td>
<td>Zóblídě</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PF:</td>
<td>Zóblídě</td>
<td>Zóblídě</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Past perfective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>1S</th>
<th>2S</th>
<th>3SM</th>
<th>3SF</th>
<th>1P</th>
<th>2P</th>
<th>3PM</th>
<th>3PF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ál- ]-i-</td>
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<td>With</td>
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<tr>
<td>ál- ]-i-</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The form for the transitive equivalent of [zoblég]- [zoblég] is 'injure, hurt' [zobléw]- [zobléw]. Its various forms are given below; again, all forms are masculine except the the obvious 3rd person feminine forms, in order to simplify presentation.

### Present imperfective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>1S</th>
<th>2S</th>
<th>3SM</th>
<th>3SF</th>
<th>1P</th>
<th>2P</th>
<th>3PM</th>
<th>3PF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[zoblówém]</td>
<td>[zoblówé]</td>
<td>[zoblów]</td>
<td>[zoblówý]</td>
<td>[zoblówú]</td>
<td>[zoblówý]</td>
<td>[zoblów]</td>
<td>[zoblówý]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>شولو</td>
<td>شلوي</td>
<td>شلو</td>
<td>شلوي</td>
<td>شلوي</td>
<td>شلوي</td>
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<td>شلوي</td>
<td>شلو</td>
<td>شلوي</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Present perfective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>1S</th>
<th>2S</th>
<th>3SM</th>
<th>3SF</th>
<th>1P</th>
<th>2P</th>
<th>3PM</th>
<th>3PF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>شولو كرم</td>
<td>شلوي كرم</td>
<td>شلو كرم</td>
<td>شلوي كرم</td>
<td>شلو كرم</td>
<td>شلوي كرم</td>
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<td>شلو كرم</td>
<td>شلوي كرم</td>
<td>شلو كرم</td>
<td>شلوي كرم</td>
<td>شلو كرم</td>
<td>شلوي كرم</td>
<td>شلو كرم</td>
<td>شلوي كرم</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

³The [k] is pronounced in other dialects, and in reading and careful pronunciation.

124
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1S:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2S:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3SM:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3SF:</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past perfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>without [a]-[a]-[a]-</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>with [a]-[a]-[a]-</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1S:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2S:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3SM:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3SF:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IP:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2P:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3PM:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3PF:</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the derivative verb is formed from an adjective, the adjectival part of the verb agrees, in all tenses, in number and gender with the object of the verb in transitive sentences, and with the subject of the verb otherwise. This is reflected in the forms above, and all possible forms of the adjective are shown below with the past perfective forms of the intransitive derivative verb formed from the adjective 'wet' [lund], an irregular adjective with the following forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M.</th>
<th><strong>DS:</strong> [lund]</th>
<th><strong>DP:</strong> [lande]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[lande]</td>
<td>[lande]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>F.</th>
<th><strong>DS:</strong> [lande]</th>
<th><strong>DP:</strong> [lande]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[lande]</td>
<td>[lande]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As mentioned at the beginning of the section, the class of derivative verbs is open, in that almost any noun or adjective can be changed into a derivative verb by adding the appropriate auxiliary. Here is a sample:

**Derived from nouns:**
- From 'change' [badal] (بدل) (M1):
  - 'become changed into' [badalg-] (بدل به)
  - 'change into' [badalw-] (بدل به)

- From 'wind' [bād] (باد) (M1):
  - 'be winnowed' [badég-] (بادو به)
  - 'winnow' [bādaw-] (بادو به)

**Derived from adjectives:**
- From 'clean' [pāk] (پاک) (adj 1):
  - 'become clean' [pākég-] (پاک به)
  - 'clean' [pākaw-] (پاک به)

- From 'straight, level' [awār] (اواز) (adj 1):
  - 'be straightened' [awārég-] (اواز به)
  - 'straighten, level out' [awāraw-] (اواز به)

- From 'obligated' [a'ar] (اكره) (adj 1):
  - 'be in need' [a'reg-] (اكره به)
  - 'force' [a'raw-] (اكره به)
From 'long' [ugd]:

From 'free' [azād]:

'become long' [ugdég-]:

'become free' [azādég-]:

'lengthen' [ugdaw-]:

'azadu-':

H. Doubly Irregular Verbs

The doubly irregular verbs—there are relatively few of them—are those whose perfective and imperfective stems differ as well as their present and past stems. The verb 'take', for example, has the following forms:

Pres imp:  [byāyā-]  Pst imp:  [baw(al)-]
Pres perf:  [bōz-]  Pst perf:  [bōt(lal)-]

In all the doubly irregular verbs, the difference between perfective and imperfective is carried by stress (and is not reflected in the spelling at all). In the perfective forms, stress is on the first part of the verb, and in the imperfective forms on the last or next-to-last syllable, as can be seen in the stress marks over the hyphens in the example above. In many of the doubly irregular verbs, the shift of stress is the only difference between imperfective and perfective, for example 'plant' [kenaw-] (کشیدن) which has the following forms:

Pres imp:  [kenaw-]  Pst imp:  [kenawal-]
Pres perf:  [kénaw-]  Pst perf:  [kénawal-]

All doubly irregular verbs are capable of being split into two parts: in many constructions, for example the negative, a particle is inserted between the first and second part, as will be described in Chapter 9. In most doubly irregular verbs, the first part is easy to identify, for example:

'deck (1) [dar+kwāl]

'deck (1) [rā+kwāl]

In some doubly irregular verbs, however, the parts are not so easily broken into syllables, for example:

'sit down' [ke + ge-]

'put' [gd-]
Other doubly irregular verbs have idiosyncratic 3rd person forms in the past forms, parallel to the idiosyncratic forms of the simple irregular verbs described above.

Here is a list of all the doubly irregular verbs we are aware of. The idiosyncratic third person forms are listed when they exist, with no stress marked, as the stress will be on the final syllable in the imperfective, and on the first syllable in the perfective.

**'loss' [bàylođé]**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pres imp</td>
<td>[bây]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres perf</td>
<td>[bây]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pst imp</td>
<td>[bàylođ(a)l]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pst perf</td>
<td>[bàylođ(a)l]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**'happen' [préwot]**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pres imp</td>
<td>[préw]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres perf</td>
<td>[préw]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pst imp</td>
<td>[préw]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pst perf</td>
<td>[préw]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**3SM: [préwot]**

**3PM: [préwot]**

**'cut' [prékaw]**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pres imp</td>
<td>[prék]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres perf</td>
<td>[prék]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pst imp</td>
<td>[prék]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pst perf</td>
<td>[prék]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**'give (to you)' [darkaw]**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pres imp</td>
<td>[dark]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres perf</td>
<td>[dark]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pst imp</td>
<td>[dark]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pst perf</td>
<td>[dark]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**'wash' [prémindz]**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pres imp</td>
<td>[prémindz]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres perf</td>
<td>[prémindz]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pst imp</td>
<td>[prémindz]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pst perf</td>
<td>[prémindz]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**'go' [tla]**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pres imp</td>
<td>[tla]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres perf</td>
<td>[tla]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pst imp</td>
<td>[tla]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pst perf</td>
<td>[tla]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 8: Verb Forms

'squeeze' [kekóodáli]
Pres imp: [kekág]-
Pres perf: [kékág]-
Pst imp: [kekóod(a1)]-
Pst perf: [kékóod(a1)]-

'arrive enter' [nanawatáli]
Pres imp: [nanawez]-
Pres perf: [nánawez]-
Pst imp: [nanawat(a1)]-
Pst perf: [nánawat(a1)]-
3SM: [nanawot]
3PM: [nanawata]

'go to him' [wartáli]
Pres imp: [wardz]-
Pres perf: [wárš]-
Pst imp: [wart(a1)]-
Pst perf: [wárgh(a1)]-
3SM: [wárghay]

'give to him' [warkawáli]
Pres imp: [warkaw]-
Pres perf: [wárkç]-
Pst imp: [warkaw(a1)]-
Pst perf: [wárkç(a1)]-

'take to him' [warwáli]
Pres imp: [warwç]-
Pres perf: [wárwç]-
Pst imp: [warw(a1)]-
Pst perf: [wárw(a1)]-
3SM: [wafuro]

'take carry' [wráli]
Pres imp: [wrç]-
Pres perf: [wés]-
Pst imp: [wr(a1)]-
Pst perf: [wér(a1)]-
3SM: [wéwor]

'ex' [khatáwatáli]
Pres imp: [khatáwaz]-
Pres perf: [khatáwz]-
Pst imp: [khatáwat(a1)]-
Pst perf: [khatáwat(a1)]-
3SM: [khatáwot]
3PM: [khatáwat]

'deceive' [khatáystáli]
Pres imp: [khatábas]-
Pres perf: [khatábas]-
Pst imp: [khatáyst(a1)]-
Pst perf: [khatáyst(a1)]-
Chapter 8: Verb Forms

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{'sit down'} & \text{\textit{kenéstá}} & \text{\textit{plant}} & \text{\textit{kenawá}} \\
\text{Pres imp:} & \text{\textit{kénp-}} & \text{Pres imp:} & \text{\textit{kénp-}} \\
\text{Pres perf:} & \text{\textit{kén-}} & \text{Pres perf:} & \text{\textit{kénéw-}} \\
\text{Pst imp:} & \text{\textit{kénp(stal)}} & \text{Pst imp:} & \text{\textit{kénéwá}} \\
\text{Pst perf:} & \text{\textit{kénást(stal)}} & \text{Pst perf:} & \text{\textit{kénéwá}} \\
\end{array}
\]

J. Participles

Pashto participles - adjectives formed from the past stems of verbs - are used in several frequently-occurring constructions. There are two types of participles: one formed with the past imperfective stems of verbs, the other formed with the past perfective stems. While the different types of participles are clearly perfective or imperfective in form, the semantic base of the imperfective/perfective distinction is usually not evident in the actual constructions.

While participles take the form of adjectives, they differ from adjectives in having alternate perfective and imperfective forms. They also differ from adjectives in that in some constructions they do not agree with subject or object.

Formation of imperfective participles. The past imperfective form of verbs is used to form imperfective participles: the participial ending [-ay] is added to the past imperfective form of the verb plus the past tense suffix [-al-] (i.e. the infinitive), and the resulting word is a regular class 2 adjective. The imperfective participle for the verb 'go' [dž-] therefore has the following forms:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{M:} & \text{DS:} & \text{TP:} \\
& \text{[tía]} & \text{[tía]} \\
& \text{OS:} & \text{[tía]} \\
& \text{FP:} & \text{[tía]} \\
\text{F:} & \text{DS:} & \text{TP:} \\
& \text{[tía]} & \text{[tía]} \\
& \text{OS:} & \text{[tía]} \\
& \text{FP:} & \text{[tía]} \\
\end{array}
\]

Examples of imperfective participles are:
### Chapter 8: Verb Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Imperfective participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'dance'</td>
<td>[gaqég]</td>
<td>[gaqéدل]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'send'</td>
<td>[lag]</td>
<td>[léدل]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Derivative:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Imperfective participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'be built'</td>
<td>[jorég]</td>
<td>[joréدل]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'build'</td>
<td>[joraw]</td>
<td>[jorawدل]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Doubly irregular:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Imperfective participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'sit'</td>
<td>[ken]</td>
<td>[kenastél]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'plant'</td>
<td>[kénaw]</td>
<td>[kénawدل]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'go'</td>
<td>[dz]</td>
<td>[téal]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'take'</td>
<td>[byây]</td>
<td>[bowدل]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Formation of perfective participles. The participial ending [-دل] is also added to the past perfective form of the verb to form the perfective participle, which is also a class 2 adjective. Some examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Perfective participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'dance'</td>
<td>[wággaqéدل]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'send'</td>
<td>[wággaqéدل]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Derivative:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Perfective participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'be built'</td>
<td>[joréدل]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'build'</td>
<td>[joréدل]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Doubly irregular:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Perfective participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'sit down'</td>
<td>[kénastél]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'plant'</td>
<td>[kénawدل]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The [-al-] -١- suffix may be dropped in participles, again consistently with the general rule that if something else about the form indicates that it is a past tense construction, the past tense suffix can drop. In this case, the participial ending [-إي] ٢- indicates that the form is past tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperfective participle without [-ال-]</th>
<th>Imperfective participle with [-ال-]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>غزددي [gadálay]</td>
<td>غزددي [gadálay]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>لمهمي [legálay]</td>
<td>لمهمي [legálay]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>جرودي [joraедálay]</td>
<td>جرودي [joraедálay]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>جروو [joraowálay]</td>
<td>جروو [joraowálay]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>كياسنتي [kenastálay]</td>
<td>كياسنتي [kenastálay]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>كياعدي [kenawálay]</td>
<td>كياعدي [kenawálay]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تللي [tilálay]</td>
<td>تللي [tilálay]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>بوروي [bowálay]</td>
<td>بوروي [bowálay]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Idiosyncratic participles. Two verbs are idiosyncratic with regard to participles in the central dialect: they have only the imperfective participle form, which is used in all participle constructions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Perfective/imperfective participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'go'</td>
<td>[dz-] ١- ٣- تللي [tilálay] تللي /tilálay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'put'</td>
<td>[gd-] ١- ٣- تللي [tilálay] تللي /tilálay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The participles for the auxiliaries are also idiosyncratic:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Auxiliary</th>
<th>Imperfective participle</th>
<th>Perfective participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>[keg-] ١- كده [kédálay] كده /kédálay</td>
<td>[sáway] ٢- شوى</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>[kaw-] ١- كوي [kawálay] كوي /kawálay</td>
<td>[káray] ٢- كرى</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

120
133
I. Other Analyses

Analyses of verb formation vary widely from writer to writer on Pashto grammar. Mackenzie (1967) posits a four-way system similar to the one given here, i.e. based on present/past, imperfective/perfective. He equates the doubly irregular verbs with the simple verbs, positing the first parts of the former as preverbs which preclude the [wغ] prefix but attract the stress in the perfective forms, and classifies the remaining verbs as irregular. The derivative verbs are called denominative verbs in his analysis.

Shafeev (1967) establishes the perfective/imperfective aspect, but posits three tenses (present, past, future), rather than two. He identifies two types of verbs—simple and derivative—and divides the derivative verbs into three types: prefixed, denominative, and compound. His prefixed verbs are doubly irregular verbs with recognizable first parts; his denominative verbs are the derivative verbs that end in consonants, and his compound verbs are the derivative verbs that end in vowels.

Penzl (1955) observes that Afghan grammarians all clearly establish a distinction between the perfective and imperfective aspect. He posits four classes of verbs. Class I verbs are those with the same present and past stem (simple verbs). Class II verbs are those whose past stems are predictable (simple verbs ending in [-eg-]). Class III verbs are those whose past and present stems are different (simple irregular verbs), and Class IV verbs are those that have different present and past, perfective and imperfective forms (some of the doubly irregular verbs). Verbs which differentiate aspect by stress shifting alone form subgroups of Classes I-III.
Chapter 9: Verb Uses

A. Introduction

In this chapter, we describe how the verb forms presented in the last chapter are used in constructions and phrases. The chapter is organized roughly according to meaning: present time expressions are described, then future expressions, then past expressions, then constructions and expressions that are used in all three time frames. After the presentation of constructions, there is a summary of them, organized according to the form of the verb (present imperfective, present perfective, past imperfective, past perfective, and participles) used in each construction; this organization corresponds to the presentation of verb forms in Chapter B.

To make the example sentences easier to understand, the examples will, whenever possible, contain one of the following verbs:

Simple verbs
- **intransitive**: 'dance' [gaqég-] (گدیدل) جوروب - (گدیدل)
- **transitive**: 'send' [leg-] (لپل) جوروب - (لپل)

**Beginning with [a]**: 'buy' [akîh-] (اکسعل) اخل - (اکسعل)

Derivative verbs (derived from the class 1 adjective 'healthy, constructed' [jor] جور)
- **intransitive**: 'get better, be sewn, be built' [jorég-] (جوربدل) جوروب - (جوربدل)
- **transitive**: 'build, make healthy, sew' [joraw] (جورول) جوروب - (جورول)

Doubly irregular verbs
- **intransitive**: 'go' [dz-] (تلل) 
  - Pr. imp. [dz-] لار- 
  - Pr. perf. [lâर-] لار
  - Past. imp. [lâlar] تللل - Past. perf. [lâlar] لار -

- **transitive**: 'take' [byây-] (بول) بیا -
  - Pr. imp. [byây-] بیا - 
  - Pr. perf. [boz-] بوز -
  - Past. imp. [bow(âl)] تل- Past. perf. [bozt(âl)] بیو تلل -
B. Present Time Expressions

**be.** The simple forms of Pashto be are used in constructions parallel to English 'am, 'is', and 'are', although distinctions are made between perfective and imperfective forms that are not made in English.

The present imperfective forms of be are used in constructions and sentences parallel to English sentences with 'am', 'is', and 'are'. For example:

- [dukāndār yam.]  
  shopkeeper *be*  
  درکاندار یم.  
  'I am a shopkeeper.'

- [wāgay ye?]  
  hungry *be*  
  دوی یه؟  
  'Are you hungry?'

- [la mor sara nāsta da.]  
  with mother with sitting *be*  
  له مور سره ناسیا ده  
  'She's sitting with her mother.'

- [paktāné yu.]  
  Pashtuns *be*  
  پپتانه یو.  
  'We are Pashtuns.'

- [tāse muhtarām khalak yāstaye]  
  you-all respected people *be*  
  تاسی محترم خلک یاستیئ.  
  'You (all) are respected people.'

- [duy aprīdi dt.]  
  they Afridi *be*  
  درو افریدی دی.  
  'They are Afridis.'

The Present Imperfective Tense. Expressions parallel to the English simple present ('I go') or present continuous ('I am going') are formed by adding the present tense personal endings to the present imperfective stem of the verb, for example:
**Present Imperfective tense of (gadgé)`**

- 'I dance/am dancing'  
  
- you dance/are dancing

- he/she/it dances/is dancing
  
- we dance/are dancing

- you all dance/are dancing

- they dance/are dancing

Some examples of sentences using this tense are:

[sarí ʃoḷ pa melā ke gadgé]  
men all at picnic at dance

The men all dance at picnics.

[laylā khpale koranāy ta paysé laq̪]  
Layla own family to money send

Layla sends money to her family.

[tsaplay pá paxawār ke jōregi]  
sandal in Peshawar in are made

Sandals are made in Peshawar.

[majāt jōregi]  
mosque they build

They are building a mosque.

[pohantún ta dzu]  
university to we go

We go to the university.

[tāse asūna bāzār ta by̱gay?]  
you all horses bazaar to take

Are you all are taking the horses to the market?

Negative present imperfective constructions. The negative of the present Imperfective tense is formed by placing the negative particle [nā] before the verb. For example:
### Present imperfective negative of 
\[\text{gágág-}\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'I'm not dancing/don't dance'</td>
<td>نه كد برم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you're not dancing/don't dance’</td>
<td>نه داجيده</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he/she/it isn't dancing/doesn't dance</td>
<td>نه كدبیری</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we aren't dancing/don't dance'</td>
<td>نه داجیجل</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you all aren't dancing/don't dance'</td>
<td>نه داجیجبل</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they aren't dancing/don't dance'</td>
<td>نه داجیجبل</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In present imperfective negative constructions with verbs starting with [a] l, the [a] of the negative particle drops, the [n] is attached to the verb stem, and the [a] changes to [ä]. (This change of [a] + [a] = [ä] also occurs when the perfective [wa] is attached to these verbs.)

### Present imperfective negative of 'buy'  
\[\text{lákhl-1}\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'I'm not buying/don't buy'</td>
<td>نالخلم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you're not buying/don't buy'</td>
<td>نالخلی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he/she/it isn't buying/doesn't buy</td>
<td>نالخلی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we aren't buying/don't buy'</td>
<td>نالخلی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you all aren't buying/don't buy'</td>
<td>نالخلی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they aren't buying/don't buy'</td>
<td>نالخلی</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some examples of the negative present imperfective are:

1. مونپ چ ودیمو کی نه گدیپر.  
   We at weddings at neg danceIP
   "We don't dance at weddings.

2. لیلا پا دی میاست کی 
   Layla in this month in letter home to neg send3S
   'Layla isn't sending a letter home this month.'

3. وطن پا خبیرو نه چورپری. 
   country with words neg build3S
   'A country isn't built with words.'
C. Future Time Expressions

Future Statements with be. Expressions corresponding to English statements like 'I'll be late' or 'We're going to be there in an hour' are formed with the perfective forms of be and the future marker [ba]ق. The third person form [wi]ق is used in future contexts to express certainties. [si]ق is used to express possibilities. Some examples:

[täs ba zar tāgi say.]  تاسی به زور تری شی.'You all might be thirsty soon.'

[day ba jâg wi.]  دیا به جذگ وی.'He will be tall.'
[asad che maktab khlás ki, maalám ba si.]
asad when school finishes teacher fut ba S

‘Asad will be a teacher when he finishes school.’

[bə] with the Present Perfective Tense. Most future expressions are formed with the future particle [ba] ٍ and the present perfective tense, which combines the present perfective stem of the verb with the present personal endings. [ba] ٍ occurs, along with the weak pronouns and some other particles, in fixed order in sentences (see Chapter 11 for a description and examples); this characteristic has impact on the formation of negative future statements as can be seen below.

Some examples of future constructions with the present perfective are:

[ahmad ba pa wādá ke wāgadjegi.]
Ahmad fut at wedding at dance S, pres perf

‘Ahmad will dance at the wedding.’

[piär ba me pāysé bāla hafta wālegi.]
father fut my money next week send S, pres perf

‘My father will send money next week.’

[layla ba jórā si.]
Layla fut improve aux S, pres perf

‘Layla will get better.’

[asad ba dewāl jór kí.]
Asad fut wall build aux S, pres perf

‘Asad will build a wall.’

[tōr ba lāt si.]
tor fut go aux S, pres perf

‘Tor will go.’

[tōr ba ye bōz.]
tor fut him take S, pres perf

‘Tor will take him.’

Negative future expressions. Negative future expressions involve the negative particle [na] َّ, the future particle [ba] ٍ, and the present perfective form of the verb with the appropriate personal ending.
Chapter 9: Verb Uses

With simple verbs, the particles appear in the following orders:

**If there is a subject or object:**

subject/object + [ba] + [wâ] + [nâ] + present verb stem + ending

Example:

[ahmad ba wa nê gaðegi.]

Ahmad fut perf neg dance3S

‘Ahmad will not dance.’

**If there is both a subject and object:**

subject + [ba] + object + [wa] + [nê] + present verb stem + ending

Example:

[asad ba lik wê nê legi.]

Asad fut letter perf neg send3S

‘Asad will not send the letter.’

**If there is neither subject nor object:**

[wê] + [ba] + [nê] + present verb stem + ending

Example:

[wê ba nê gaðegi.]

perf fut neg dance3S

‘He won’t dance.’

With simple verbs beginning with [a] i, the perfective [wa] and the [a] i of the verb combine:

[wâ] + [nê] + rest of the verb,

as in the following example with the verb ‘buy’ [lakhi-i] (لک‌ه-):

[bâgh ba wâ nêkhi.i]

orchard fut perf neg-buy3S

‘He won’t buy the orchard.’

Future negative constructions with derivative verbs are somewhat simpler than those with simple verbs: the negative particle [nê] is inserted between the adjective or noun and the auxiliary, for example:

[layla ba jora nê si.]

Layla fut improve neg aux,3S, pres perf

‘Layla won’t get better.’

[asad ba dawë1 jor nê kî.]

Asad fut wall build neg aux, 3S, pres perf

‘Asad won’t build a wall.’
Future negative constructions with doubly irregular verbs involve placement of
the negative [né] ١ ١ between the first and second parts of the verb. For example:

\[
\text{sit' [ken] \quad Positive: sit' [kénam]} \\
\text{Negative: not sit' [ke ná nam]}
\]

\[
\text{'take there' [warwə] \quad Positive: (he) takes' [warwər]} \\
\text{Negative: not take' [war ná wər]}\]

\[
\text{'take' [byə] \quad Positive: (we) take' [bozul]} \\
\text{Negative: not take' [bo ná zu]}\]

Examples of future negative constructions involving doubly irregular verbs in sentences:

\[
\text{[as ba bázár ta bo ná zl.]} \\
\text{horse fut market to take neg take3S, pres perf} \\
\text{He won't take the horse to market.}
\]

\[
\text{[pákistán ta ba lāc ná su]} \\
\text{Pakistan to fut go neg go3S, pres perf} \\
\text{We won't go to Pakistan.}
\]

\[
\text{[asad ba amán ta moṭár war nákri]} \\
\text{Asad fut Aman to car give neg give3S, pres perf} \\
\text{Asad will not give Amán the car.}
\]

Present Imperfective Tense with Future Time Phrases. Just as in English, the present imperfective tense described in the previous section may be used in future contexts, especially if a future marker like 'tomorrow' or 'next week' is present:

\[
\text{[za ba bál zamay pa pákistán ke ym.]} \\
1 \text{ fut next winter in Pakistan in beIS} \\
\text{I'm (to be) in Pakistan next winter.}
\]
Chapter 9. Verb Uses

[pær me payse bâla hafta légí.]
father my money next week send3s
'My father is sending money next week.'

Contrastive Future Expressions. As was described just above, ordinary future constructions are formed with the present perfective form of the verb preceded by the particle [ba] ب. The same construction with the imperfective stem, however, yields rough equivalents to the English future progressive (e.g. 'I will be writing letters'). In actual use, however, the construction implies contrast between one action and another, for example:

[za ba dzám, ta ba pate kége.]
you fut go1s, pres imp you fut stay aux2s, pres imp
'You're going, you'll be staying.'

[ta ba gadége, za ba darégam.]
you fut dance2s, pres imp you fut stand1s, pres imp
'You're dancing, you'll be standing.'

[ta ba tsâ kawe?]
you fut what do2s, pres imp
'What will you be doing?'

D. Commands

Commands with be. The present perfective forms of 2nd person be forms--[sal] and [say]--are used in commands, and are made negative by inserting the particle [ma] ما. Examples:

[zrâwar sal] brave be2s
'Be brave.'

[sâbár say] patient be2p
'Be patient.'

[sâda mâ sa] naïve neg be2s
'Don't be naïve.'
Another kind of command that translates roughly as English 'May you ...' involves the use of [se] rather than [sa]. The familiar Pashto greetings are examples of this construction:

- [stary má se]  
  'May you not be tired.'

- [khwár má se]  
  'May you not be miserable.'

- [zawár se]  
  'May you be brave!'

Positive Commands. Ordinary positive commands are formed with the present perfective stem of the verb, plus the verb ending [-a] (singular) or [-ag] (plural). The adjective component of derivative verbs agrees with the direct object, if there is one, and with the subject if there isn’t an object; the auxiliary agrees with the subject. Some examples:

- 'dance' (to one person)  
  [wágašega]  
  'dance' (to more than one)  
  [wágašega]

| Positive command forms of 'dance' (gagég- |  |  |
|-------------------------------------------|---------|
| 'dance' (to one person)                   | [wágašega] |
| 'dance' (to more than one)                | [wágašega] |

| Positive command forms of 'build (it/them)' |  |  |
|---------------------------------------------|---------|
| To one person:                              |         |
| 'build (it M)'                              | [jór ka] |
| 'build (it F)'                              | [jór ka] |
| 'build (them M)'                            | [jór ka] |
| 'build (them F)'                            | [jór ka] |
### Positive command forms of 'build' (it/them) - جومبرک (cont.)

To more than one person:
- 'build (it M)'
  - جومبرک (jit/júra kary)
- 'build (it F)'
  - جومبرک (jóra kary)
- 'build (them M)'
  - جومبرک (jóra kary)
- 'build (them F)'
  - جومبرک (jóra kary)

### Positive command forms of 'go' (لر ش) - خلیل (خلل)
- 'go' (to one person)
  - لر ش (lár še)
- 'go' (to more than one)
  - لر ش (lár say)

### Positive command forms of 'take' (بوز) - بیان (بیان)
- 'take' (to one person)
  - بوز (bóza)
- 'take' (to more than one)
  - بوز (bózay)

Additional examples of positive commands:

- [kor jór ka.]
  - کور جومبرک.
  - House (M) build aux2S, pres perf
  - 'Build the house.'

- [tsawkay jór ka.]
  - شکی جومبرک.
  - Chair (F) build aux2S, pres perf
  - 'Build the chair.'

- [bázar ta ra sara lár ša.]
  - بازار تارا سارا لر ش.
  - Bazaar to me with go aux2S, pres perf
  - 'Go to the bazaar with me.'

- [wágájegay.]
  - وگدیر.
  - Dance2P, pres perf
  - 'Dance (everyone).'
Commands with [wardz-] and [rādz-]. These doubly irregular verbs are exceptional in that their positive commands are formed with the imperfective rather than the perfective stem (recall that these are doubly irregular verbs, and so imperfective forms carry stress on the final syllable). Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[rādzé] } & \quad \text{che } \text{dzu.} \\
\text{come2S, pres imp} & \quad \text{that we go} \\
\text{[wardzéy]} & \\
\text{go2S, pres imp}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{راخه } & \quad \text{چی خو.} \\
\text{C'mon, let's go.} & \\
\text{ورخُی.} & \\
\text{Go there.}
\end{align*}
\]

Negative Commands. Negative commands are formed with the particle [má], the present imperfective stem of the verb (not the perfective as in positive commands), and the same 2nd person endings as positive commands-- [-a] (singular) and [-ay] (plural).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negative command forms of 'dance' [gadég-]</th>
<th>Negative command forms of 'go' [dz-]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'don't dance' (to one person)</td>
<td>'don't go' (to one person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[má gadég]</td>
<td>[má dz]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'don't dance' (to more than one)</td>
<td>'don't go' (to more than one)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[má gadégay]</td>
<td>[má dzay]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of negative commands are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[maktub wos má lega.]} & \quad \text{مکتوب اوس مه لپرته.} \\
\text{letter now neg send2S} & \quad \text{Don't send the letter now.} \\
\text{[kor sarak ta nizde má joraway.]} & \quad \text{کور سرک ته نؤدی مه جوروئی.} \\
\text{house road to close neg build2P} & \quad \text{Don't build the house so close to the road.} \\
\text{[wos má dza.]} & \quad \text{اوس مه خه.} \\
\text{now neg go2S} & \quad \text{Don't go now.}
\end{align*}
\]
In this last example, it can be seen that the [a] of the negative particle, followed by the beginning [a] of the verb, again results in [ā].

**Intensive Commands.** As described above, ordinary positive commands require the present perfective stem of verbs. There are other commands which involve the imperfective stem. In most cases, the imperfective command conveys a sense of urgency:

[pātséga  ], 
get upS, pres imp that doomed you are
'Get up before you're doomed!' (i.e., the snake is about to bite you)

The greater sense of urgency which the imperfective command carries can be seen in the following examples:

[wákhwrā] 
eat2S, pres perf
'Eat.' (normal invitation)

as opposed to

[khwřāl  mā ta mágoral] 
eat2S, pres imp me to don't watch
'Eat! Don't wait for me!

or

[khwṛā  ye che dzu.] 
eat2S, pres imp it that we-go
'Finish eating it so we can go.'

or

[khwṛā  ye che sarēqi] 
eat2S, pres imp it that get-cold
'Finish it, it's getting cold.'
Another contrast:

[rä spór sa.] را سپور شه.
here mount2S, pres perf 'Get on (behind me on a horse)!' (normal command)
as opposed to

[rä sparégal] را سپراغه!
here mount2S, pres imp 'Get on (so we can get out of here)!

In some cases, the imperfective command conveys a sense of repeated action, for example:

[har wakht che za rásam, darág.] هر وقت چی زه راشم،
every time that I come stand up2S, pres imp دروبه.
'Every time I come, stand up.'

and a contrastive example:

[ta dzé; za dar dzam.] تا خه، زه در خم.
you go2S, pres imp 1 there am-going 'Keep going; I'll catch up.'
as opposed to

[ta lær sa; za ba sabé dársam.] تا لاپ شه، زه به سبآ درسم.
you go2S, pres perf 1 fut tomorrow go-there 'Go; I'll go tomorrow.'

E. Past Time Expressions

Past Time Expressions with be. The past imperfective forms of be are used in ways parallel to English 'was' and 'were', for example:

[stáray wam.] ستایی وم.
tired be1S, ps! imp 'I was tired.'
Chapter 9: Verb Uses

[za khan wam.]
I khan be1S, pst imp

'Ve was a khan.'

[duy khaps wa.]
they unhappy be3P, pst imp

'Do you love him?'

[layla stara ne wa?]
Layla tired neg be3SF, pst imp

'Wasn't Layla tired?'

When past perfective forms of be are used, they translate as 'became', as can be seen in the following:

[la chara swam.]
tired be1S, pst perf

'I became tired.'

[za khan swam.]
i khan be1S, pst perf

'I became a khan.'

[duy khaps swa.]
they unhappy be3P, pst perf

'They became unhappy.'

[layla stara ne swa?]
Layla tired neg be3SF, pst perf

'Didn't Layla get tired?'

The Past Imperfective Tense. The past imperfective tense consists of the past imperfective form of the verb plus the past tense personal endings. This tense parallels the present imperfective, in that any given construction is ambiguous, and can be translated as the English past continuous, e.g. 'I was studying', or as a past habitual, e.g., 'I used to study'. For example:

[saq tay pa mel keqo dael]
men all at picnic at dance pst imp3P

translates best as 'The men were all dancing at the picnic' if the context is a description, say, of a social event that the speaker attended, and translates best as
Chapter 9: Verb Uses

'The men all used to dance at picnics,’ if the context is a discussion of Pashtun culture.

Other examples are given below, with the most natural translations given the lack of context. Note that in the transitive sentences, the verb agrees with the object rather than the subject of the verb, and the subject is in the oblique case; this is the ergative construction which is described in detail in Chapter 11. In the examples below, the nouns the verbs agree with are shown with grammatical characteristics in the word-by-word glosses.

[laylā khpale korǝnǝy ta payse legalǝ]  
Layla own family to moneyFP send3FP, pst imp  
‘Layla was sending money to her family.’

[tsaplay pa peshawar ke joreadalǝ]  
sandalsFP in Peshawar in be made3FP, pst imp  
‘Sandals used to be made in Peshawar.’

[majet ye jorawǝ]  
mosqueMS they build3MS, pst imp  
‘They were building a mosque.’

[pohantun ta tiawu]  
university to go1P, pst imp  
‘We were going to the university.’

[tāse asuna bazar ta bowai?]  
you-all horsesMP bazaar to take3MP, pst imp  
‘Were you all taking the horses to the market?’

[mung pa wǝduno ke na gaqedu]  
we1P at weddings at neg dance1P, pst imp  
‘We weren’t dancing at weddings.’

[laylǝ pa de myast ke lik kǝr ta na lega]  
Layla in this month in letterMS home to neg send3MS, pst imp  
‘Layla wasn’t sending a letter home this month.’

[mǝ khpale jame nǝ jorawala]  
I own clothesFP neg sew3FP, pst imp  
‘I wasn’t sewing my own clothes.’
Chapter 9: Verb Uses

[mung wāda ta nā tlu.] 
we 1P wedding to neg go 1P, pst imp 
'We weren't going to the wedding.'

[de khāla koranay pākistān ta nā bowa.] 
de own family FS Pakistan to neg take 3SF, pst imp 
'The man isn’t taking his family to Pakistan.'

[pīlar me bāgh nākhiist.] 
father my orchard MS neg buy 3MS, pst imp 
'My father wasn't buying the orchard.'

The Past Perfective Tense. The construction which parallels English simple past tense, e.g., 'I went', 'he saw it', etc., is the past perfective tense, which is formed by adding the past tense personal endings to the past perfective stem of the verb. Again, the personal endings agree with the objects of transitive sentences, and the subjects of intransitive sentences. Examples of positives:

[laylā khāla koranay ta payse wālegale.] 
Layla own family to money FP send 3FP, pst perf 
'Layla sent money to her family.'

[kadze jōre swe.] 
women FP recover aux 3FP, pst perf 
'The women recovered.'

[mājad ye jōr kr.] 
mosque MS they build aux 3MS, pst perf 
'They built a mosque.'

[pohantún ta laču.] 
university to go 1P, pst perf 
'We went to the university.'

[tāsē asuna bāzār te bota?] 
you all horses MP bazaar to take MP, pst perf 
'Did you all take the horses to the market?'
Examples of negatives:

[ahmad wə nə gaːdədə.]
Ahmad prf neg dance3MS, pst perf

[asəd lik wə nə leːgə.]
Asad letterMS prf neg send3MS, pst perf

[wə na gaːdədə.]
pft neg dance3SM, pst perf

[bāgh ye wə nə kuːstə.]
orchardMS he prf neg buy3SM, pst perf

[de ləylə mor jɔɾ nə swə.] of Layla motherFS healthy neg aux3FS, pst perf Layla’s mother didn’t get better.

[asəd dəwəl jɔɾ nə kɾə.]
Asad wallMS build neg aux3MS, pst perf

[laː sə ye bāzəɾ ta bo nə tə.] horseMS he market to take neg-take3MS, pst perf

[pəkɪstān ta ləɾ nə swuː.]
Pakistan to go neg aux1P, pst perf

[asəd amən ta moːɾə war nə kəɾə.] Asad Aman to carMS give neg give3SM, pst perf

"Perfect" Expressions. Pashto has constructions which nearly exactly correspond to the English "perfect" tenses, e.g., ‘I have gone’, ‘I had gone’, and ‘I will have gone.’ (In any reference to the English "perfect" tenses, the word "perfect" is in quotes to remind the reader that there is no relationship between the English "perfect" tenses and the Pashto perfective forms.) These very common Pashto constructions are formed with the imperfective participle of simple verbs, and the perfective participle of the
derivative and doubly irregular verbs, and the imperfective forms of be. Below, a full paradigm of the present and past forms is given with a simple verb:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Pashto</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I have danced</td>
<td>گذهدلی یم (gaʃedelay yam)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you have danced</td>
<td>گذهدلی یی (gaʃedelay ye)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he/she has danced</td>
<td>گذهدلی ده (gaʃedelay da)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we have danced</td>
<td>گذهدلی یو ای (gaʃedelay yu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you-all have danced</td>
<td>گذهدلی یاستی (gaʃedelay yastay)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they have danced</td>
<td>گذهدلی دی (gaʃedelay di)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I had danced</td>
<td>گذهدلی ون (gaʃedelay wam)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you had danced</td>
<td>گذهدلی وی (gaʃedelay wa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he had danced</td>
<td>گذهدلی و (gaʃedelay wa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she had danced</td>
<td>گذهدلی و (gaʃedelay wa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we had danced</td>
<td>گذهدلی وو (gaʃedelay wu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you-all had danced</td>
<td>گذهدلی وی وی (gaʃedelay way)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (m) had danced</td>
<td>گذهدلی وی (gaʃedelay wa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (f) had danced</td>
<td>گذهدلی وی (gaʃedelay wa)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Pashto equivalent of the English future perfect is rendered in a construction comprising the future particle [ba], the participle, and the present imperfective forms of be (with the 3rd person [wa] (وی)):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Pashto</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I will have danced</td>
<td>زه به گذهدلی یم (za ba gaʃedelay yam)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you will have danced</td>
<td>ته به گذهدلی یی (ta ba gaʃedelay ye)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he will have danced</td>
<td>دی به گذهدلی وی (day ba gaʃedelay wai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we will have danced</td>
<td>موی به گذهدلی وو (mung ba gaʃedelay yu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you-all will have danced</td>
<td>تاسی به گذهدلی یاستی (tāse ba gaʃedelay yastay)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they will have have danced</td>
<td>دوی به گذهدلی و (duy ba gaʃedelay wai)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

140

153
The following examples illustrate the "present perfect" and "past perfect" constructions. They also—by using a derivative verb formed from an adjective—show how the different elements of the participle construction agree with the object. (‘house’ [kor] is masculine; ‘chair’ [tsawkáy] is feminine). All these "perfect" tense constructions are past tense constructions, and therefore the verb of transitive sentences agrees with the object. Note that both the adjective segment, (i.e., [jör] جور) and the participle (i.e., [káray] كاري) agree.

**Perfective participle + present tense be**

[tor kor jör káray da.]
Tor house MS build MS part MS be3S
Tor has built a house.

[tor koruna jör kári di.]
Tor houses MP build MP part MP be3P
Tor has built houses.

[tor tsawkáy jór káre da.]
Tor chair FS build FS part FS be3S
Tor has built a chair.

[tor tsawkáy jór kári di.]
Tor chairs FP build FP part FP be3P
Tor has built chairs.

**Perfective participle + past tense be**

[tor kor jör káray wa.]
Tor house MS build MS part MS be3S
Tor had built a house.

[tor koruna jör kári wa.]
Tor houses MP build MP part MP be3P
Tor had built houses.

[tor tsawkáy jór káre wa.]
Tor chair FS build FS part FS be3S
Tor had built a chair.

[tor tsawkáy jór kári wa.]
Tor chairs FP build FP part FP be3P
Tor had built chairs.
Chapter 9: Verb Uses

\[ \text{[bal] + perfective participle + future be} \]

\[ \text{[tor ba kor joč kaɾay wi.] Tor will have built a house.} \]
\[ \text{Tor fut houseMS buildMS part3MS be3S} \]

\[ \text{[tor ba koruna joč kaɾi wi.] Tor will have built houses.} \]
\[ \text{Tor fut houseMP buildMP part3MP be3} \]

\[ \text{[tor ba tsawkay joča kaɾe wa.] Tor will have built a chair.} \]
\[ \text{Tor fut chairFS buildFS part3FS be3S} \]

\[ \text{[tor ba tsa wkay joča kaɾe wa.] Tor will have built chairs.} \]
\[ \text{Tor fut chairsFP buildFP part3FP be3P} \]

In negative constructions, the negative particle precedes the form of \( be \), and the participle is moved to the end of the phrase:

\[ \text{[tor tsa wkay ná da joča kaɾa.] Tor hasn't built a chair.} \]
\[ \text{Tor chair neg be build aux.part} \]

\[ \text{[asad me dwa wradzé ná da y lidalay.] I haven't seen Asad for two days.} \]
\[ \text{Asad I two days neg be see, part} \]

F. Expressions with Infinitives

Infinitives are formed by adding the past tense suffix [-\( \ddot{a}l \)] to the past imperfective form of the verb, for example:

\textbf{Verb: }
\begin{itemize}
  \item 'dance' [gaqēg-] \( \rightarrow \) [gaqēdāl]
  \item 'send' [leg-] \( \rightarrow \) [legāl]
  \item 'buy' [akhl-] \( \rightarrow \) [akhistāl]
  \item 'get better' [joɾəg-] \( \rightarrow \) [joɾədāl]
  \item 'build' [joɾəw-] \( \rightarrow \) [joɾəwāl]
  \item 'go' [dz-] \( \rightarrow \) [dzāl]
  \item 'take' [byāy-] \( \rightarrow \) [byāwāl]
\end{itemize}
Infinitives are masculine plural nouns, and have oblique forms with the usual plural oblique [-o] ending.

**Citation Forms.** The infinitive is used as the citation form for verbs in traditional Pashto grammatical studies, and therefore the form used when Pashtuns talk about particular verbs. In the example below, the infinitive is glossed as the English infinitive with *to.*

\[bowal\] der grän fī day.  
beül dēr gāran fūl dī.  
′bowal is a very difficult verb.'

Infinitives as Nouns. Another common use of infinitive constructions is as nouns, similarly to their use in English. In the examples below, the infinitives are again glossed as the English infinitive with *to.* Note now the verbs are plural in agreement with the subject infinitives.

\[de gideṛe niwal grän dī.\]  
′It is difficult to catch a fox.'

\[de laylā kalal saray wāzhni.\]  
′Layla's gaze kills a man.'

\[tił me stāray kawł.\]  
′Traveling makes me tired.'

\[wayalā ta yā māgora, kawalā ta yā gora.\]  
′Don't look at his words, look at his actions.'

\[wayal nā ghawārām, kawāl ghawārām.\]  
′I don't want words, I want action.'
Passives. The infinitive is also used with the intransitive auxiliary [keg-1] in constructions that translate almost perfectly as English passives. For example:

\[ \text{day wazel kégl.} \]
\[ \text{he killinf aux3S, pres imp} \]
\[ \text{دي وول چپپی.} \]
\[ \text{He's going to be killed.} \]

\[ \text{as melgéri ta baxel kégl.} \]
\[ \text{horse friend to giveinf aux3S, pres imp} \]
\[ \text{اس ملگری ته بیبل چپپی.} \]
\[ \text{[One's] horse is given [only] to friends.} \]

\[ \text{pa peshawár ke njune tawtaal kégl.} \]
\[ \text{in Peshawar in girls kidnapinf aux3P, pres imp} \]
\[ \text{په پېښور کی نجوئی} 
\[ \text{تبتول چپپی.} \]
\[ \text{'Girls are kidnapped in Peshawar.'} \]

\[ \text{islí mi pa pésarí ke naroal kégl.} \]
\[ \text{wheat in spring in plantinf aux3S, pres imp} \]
\[ \text{نلی په پسرن کی کرل چپپی.} \]
\[ \text{'Wheat is planted in the spring.'} \]

\[ \text{sárjál pa bade wražke pezandál kégl.} \]
\[ \text{man on bad day on knowinf aux3S, pres imp} \]
\[ \text{سری په بدی وریم کی} 
\[ \text{پهزنبل چپپی.} \]
\[ \text{A true man makes himself known in difficult times.' (a proverb)} \]

Many traditional grammatical analyses of Pashto concluded that the past tense transitive sentences, in which the verb agrees with the object rather than the subject, are passives, and so the existence of an unequivocal passive construction provides evidence for considering the past tense transitive constructions as something other than passives.

A. Expressions of Ability

'can/be able to'. One of the most common uses of the perfective and imperfective participles is in constructions with the present and past perfective forms of be. These constructions are parallel in meaning to English 'can/be able to', 'will be able to' and 'could/was able to'.

The tense of be determines its agreement. In constructions with present tense be forms, the construction is considered to be in the present tense, so the be form agrees
with the subject. In the constructions with past tense be forms, the be form agrees
with the object if there is one, following the usual pattern for past tense constructions.

Note that the participial form is unchanging: it does not agree with either subject
or object, and in the case of derivative verbs derived from adjectives, the adjectival
part does not agree either.

Statements expressing ability in the present tense consist of the imperfective
participle, followed by the present perfective form of be. Some examples:

[asad xa gađadálay si.]  
Asad well dancepart be3S  
'Asad can dance very well.'

[layla wos lik legšlay si.]  
Layla now letter sendpart be3S  
'Layla can send the letter now.'

[mung pa bągh ke hér chera kenástálay su.]  
we in orchard in wherever sitpart be1P  
'We can sit anywhere in the orchard.'

[kor ta me bowálay sa?]  
home to me takepart be2S  
'Can you take me home?'

In negative constructions, the participle must come at the end of the verb phrase.

Examples:

[pohentun ta ná say tisláy.]  
university to neg be gopart  
'You can't go to the university.'

[bādrong la nawroz na pa khwa ná say karelay.]  
cucumber from Nawroz before neg be plantpart  
'You-all can't plant cucumbers before Nawroz.'

[kor alta ná se joráwalay.]  
house there neg be buildpart  
'You can't build a house there.'
Statements about future ability are formed with the future particle [ba] the perfective participle and the present perfective forms of ba. Note the order of elements in the negative constructions. Some examples:

[asad ba xa wōgaḏedelay si.] Asad fut well dancepart be3S 'Asad will be able to dance very well.'

[layla ba lik sabā ta wa nā si legalay.] Layla fut letter tomorrow perf neg be3S sendpart 'Layla won't be able to send the letter tomorrow.'

[alta ba kor jor nā se karay.] Alta fut house build neg be3S aux, part 'You won't be able to build a house there.'

[mung ba pa bāgh ke har dzāy kēnāstalay su] we fut in orchard in any place sitpart be1P 'We will be able to sit anywhere in the orchard.'

[tāse ba wrustalae nawroza lailmī wa nā say karālay.] you-all fut after from Nawroz wheat neg be plant part 'You-all won't be able to plant wheat after Nawroz.'

[kor ta ba me bōtlay se?] house to fut me take part be2S 'Will you be able to take me home?'

Ordinary past tense could 'was able to' constructions consist of the perfective participle plus the past perfective forms of ba. These statements carry the implication that the action that could be carried out actually was carried out. Examples:

[de asad plār pakhwā der xa wōgaḏedelay sa] of Asad father earlier very good dancepart be3MS 'Asad’s father was able to dance very well years ago.'
Chapter 9: Verb Uses

[layla lik walegalay sa.] Layla letterMS sendpart be3MS

'layla could send the letter.'

[mung nan sahar pa bagh ke har chera kanastalay swu.] we today morning in orchard in anywhere sitpart be1P

'mornin we morning the bagh somewhere then we sit on everywhere this morning, and did.'

[za we na sweem gazedalay.] I prf neg be1S dancepart

'we couldn't dance.'

Some examples of negatives:

[pohantun ta na sway tialay.] university to neg be2P gopart

'you-all couldn't go to the university.'

[badarang le nawroz na pakhwa wa na swai karalay.]

cucumberMP from Nawroz from before perf neg be3MP plantpart

'badarang let Nawroz not we swai plant.'

[mung pa bagh ke her chera na swu kanastalay.] we in orchard in anywhere neg be1P sitpart

'mornin we morning the bagh somewhere didn't sit somewhere.'

'might be able'. There are constructions using the past imperfective participle and the present and past perfective forms of be which translate roughly as 'might be able' or 'might have been able'. (Note that the combination of imperfective participle and present perfective form of be is unambiguously a definite 'can' statement, as described above; a parallel construction with the perfective participle is not used.)

This construction with the imperfective participle usually occurs in conjunction with a conditional clause (often implied), and will be described in detail in Chapter 13; briefly, however, the difference between it and the construction described above is that the
Imperfective participle + past perfective be construction does not carry the implication that the action is probable or was carried out. Contrast the following sentences:

[layla ba lik sabata wilegalay si.]

Layla fut letter tomorrow send, perf part be3S

Layla will be able to send the letter tomorrow.

[layla ba lik sabata legalay si.]

Layla fut letter tomorrow send, imp part be3S

Layla might be able to send the letter tomorrow (if the post office is open).

[mung tara hafta jwar wakaralay swa.]

we last week com plant part be3S

We were able to plant the corn last week (and did).

[mung tara hafta jwar karalay swa.]

we last week com plant imp part be3S

We might have been able to plant the corn last week (if you had brought the seeds).

H. Expressions of Obligation

Constructions with 'must' [de]. Expressions parallel to English expressions with 'must' are formed with the particle 'must' [de], followed by the present imperfective tense of the verb. Some examples:

[asad de yawa baja raddzi.]

Asad must one o'clock come3S, pres imp

Asad must be here at one.

[layla de korta na dzl.]

Layla must house to neg go3S, pres imp

Layla must not go home.

[te de pa de powa.]

you must about this know3S, pres imp

You must know this.
Constructions with 'should' [bāyād] باید. The particle 'should' [bāyād] باید followed by a verb in the present perfective tense combines in a construction parallel in meaning to English 'should'. Note that [bāyād] باید carries the same ambiguity that English 'should' does, e.g., 'You should [it's good for you] brush your teeth every day' as opposed to 'Asad should [will probably] be here any minute.' Examples:

[asad bāyād yāwā bāje rāsi.] 
Asad should one o'clock come3S, pres perf 
'Asad should be here at one.'

[laylā bāyād korr ta lāra né sl.] 
Layla should house to go neg go3S, pres perf 
'Layla shouldn't go home.'

[tā bāyād pa de po se.] 
you should about this know aux2S, pres perf 
'You should know this.'

J. Summary: Forms and Uses

Below are summarized, by verb stem, the constructions described in previous sections of this chapter. Also included in the summary are characteristic English glosses for each construction, and the components of each construction in italics.

Simple be constructions ('I am/ I was/ I become/ I will be/ be/I May you be')

Various tense forms of be

Constructions with the present imperfective stem.

Present imperfective tense ('I am going/ I go:')

pres. imp. stem + pres. personal endings

Ordinary negative commands ('Don't go:')

[me] + pres. imp. stem + 2S/2P endings

Future statements with time phrases ('I'm going tomorrow:')

time phrases + pres. imp. stem + pres. personal endings

Contrastive future (Will you be going?)

[be] + pres. imp. stem + personal endings

Intensive positive commands ('Go!')

pres. imp. stem + 2S/2P command endings

Repeated action commands ('Keep going')

pres. imp. stem + 2S/2P command endings

149
Obligation expressions ('I must go')

[de] + pres. imp. stem + personal endings

Constructions with the present perfective stem:
Ordinary positive commands ('Go!')

pres. perf. stem + 2S/2P command endings

Constructions with the present perfective stem (cont.):
Future expressions ('I'll go.')

[ba] + pres. perf. stem + personal endings

'should' ('I should go')

[be+yad] + pres. perf. stem + pres. personal endings

Constructions with the past imperfective stem:
Past imperfective tense: ('I was going/I used to go')

pst. imp. stem + [at] + pst. personal endings

Infinitives ('to go')

pst. imp. stem + [-at]

Passives ('It was built')

infinitive + aux [keg-] in all tenses

Constructions with the past perfective:
Past perfective tense ('I went')

pst. perf. stem + pst. personal endings

Constructions with perfective participles:
"Present perfect" ('I have gone')

perf. part. + pres. imp. forms of be

"Past perfect" ('I had gone')

perf. part. + pst. imp. forms of be

"Future perfect" ('I will have gone')

[ba] + perf. part. + pres. imp. forms of be

Statements of future ability ('I will be able to go')

[ba] + perf. part. + perf. forms of be

Statements of past ability ('I was able to go')

perf. part. + pst. perf. forms of be
Constructions with Imperfective Participles:

Statements of present ability ('I can go')

imp. part. + pres. perf. forms of be

'might be able to' statements ('I might be able to go')

[ba] + imp. part. + pres. perf. forms of be

'might have been able to' ('I might have been able to go')

imp. part. + pst. perf. forms of be

K. Other Analyses

Analyses of Pashto verb constructions vary widely from one another. All analyses agree on the simple tenses (although they are called by different names)—the present imperfective and perfective tenses, and the past imperfective and perfective tenses—but there are different analyses of what is here called the perfective/imperfective distinction. Much of the difference revolves around the analysis of the participles. This book posits a simple form—the participle—which is used in a variety of constructions, whereas other analysts combine descriptions of forms and constructions, resulting in more tenses, moods, etc., than the analysis here. Moreover, the particle [ba] occurs besides functioning as the ordinary future marker, also occurs with nearly all of the tense/aspect combinations, and other analyses assign different grammatical names to the resulting meanings.

Shafeev (1964) posits two aspects (perfective and imperfective) six moods (indicative, imperative, subjunctive, reprehensive, conditional-optative, and conjectural), two voices (active and passive), and three basic tenses (present, past, and future). The different moods correlate with the analysis here as follows:

indicative: present and future tenses, past tenses, "perfect" tenses with participles + imperfective be forms

reprehensive: 'be' + participle + past imperfective be, described in (Chapter 13)

subjunctive: participle + perfective be forms

conditional/optative: participle constructions with conditionals, described in (Chapter 13)

conjunctural: [ba] + participle + imperfective be
Panzi (1955) posits two basic tenses - present and past - and suggests that these can be made future with the particle (ba) 4. He distinguishes indicative, imperative, and optative moods, the latter all being constructions with the participle. He also distinguishes perfective and imperfective.

Mackenzie's (1987) analysis is from a historical point of view. He distinguishes two basic tense stems (present and past) and a series of derived constructions with the participle. He posits two stems for every verb corresponding to the perfective and imperfective stems of this analysis.
Chapter 10: Prepositions

A. Introduction

This chapter describes Pashto prepositions and prepositional phrases, which are phrases containing a preposition and a noun object of a preposition, as in English phrases like 'in the house', 'of my cousin', and 'towards the orchard'. Pashto has

pre-positions: prepositions like English prepositions which occur before the noun in the phrase;
post-positions, which occur after the noun in the phrase; and
pre-post positions or ambipositions, which consist of two or more elements, the first of which occurs before the noun in the phrase, and the latter of which occurs after the noun in the phrase.

In this analysis and in other chapters we call all of these "prepositions" except when discussing the different orderings among the pre-, post-, and pre-post-positions.

In the discussion below, the different types of prepositions just mentioned will be presented. The noun cases that occur with prepositions will then be discussed, and then some special cases, and some common phrases which utilize different prepositions.

The section on uses of prepositions includes some constructions, notably the comparative and superlative, in which prepositions play a major part.

B. The Pre-positions

There are only two pre-positions, but these are very frequently occurring words. One of them is 'of' [de] ఍ః phrases with [de] ఍ః are the only way to express possession with nouns or strong pronouns:

[de asād]             داست
of Asad               'Asad's'

[(de asād pār)]       داست پار
of Asad father       'Asad's father'

[(de asād lās)]       داست لاس
of Asad hand          'Asad's hand'
Chapter 10: Prepositions

In the central dialect د is pronounced [dl] before strong pronouns, e.g. [di mā] د م. In the western dialect and others, د before pronouns is spelled and pronounced [zl], for example [zmā] ز م.

The other pre-position is [pa] پ, which has several meanings. One of the meanings is the instrumental 'by means of', or 'with':

[pa chārə] پ چهاره
with knife

'with/by means of a knife'

[asad paray pa chārə prēkaɾ] اسد پری پ چاوه پری کر.
Asad rope with knife cut

'Asad cut the rope with a knife.'

[pa] پ is also used with number as 'at' in time expressions:

[pa yawē bajas] پ یوه بچ
at one o'clock

'at one o'clock'

Yet another meaning of [pa] پ is 'at, on, in', and is described below in the discussion of the pre-post-position [pa ... bānde] پ باندي.

C. Post-positions

There is only one common post-position that we know of: the dative post-position 'to' [ ... ta] ت:

[bāzār ta] بازار ت
market to

'to the market'

[bāzār ta dzām.] بازار ت خم,
market to I'm going

'I'm going to the market.'

D. Pre-post-positions

Most prepositions have two elements, with the noun object positioned between the elements. The first element of these pre-post-positions is one or the other of [pa] پ.
Chapter 10: Prepositions

[la] ل، or [tar] تر. The second element of a pre-post-position is likely to be one of the following words:


Here are some of the commonest pre-post-positions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-post-position</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'in, at' [pa ... ke] كي ... كي</td>
<td>'in Kabul' [pa kábal ke]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'after' [pa ... pasé] پسي ... پسي</td>
<td>'after class' [pa dérs pasé]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'on/to' [pa ... bánedi] باندي ... باندي</td>
<td>'on the bridge' [pa plá bándel]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'with' [la ... sará] سره ... سره</td>
<td>'with Asad' [la asád sará]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'from' [la ... na] نه ... نه</td>
<td>'from Layla' [la laylã na]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'under' [la ... ländé] لندي ... لندي</td>
<td>'under the bridge' [la plá lándã]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'under' [tar ... ländé] لندي ... لندي</td>
<td>'under the table' [tar méz lándã]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'from' [la ... tsákha] خخخ ... خخخ</td>
<td>'from Logar' [la logár tsákha]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'up to' [tar ... a póre] پوري ... پوري</td>
<td>'until morning' [tar sahâra póre]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Deleted elements. One or the other element of a pre-post-position – most often the first – may be deleted. Phrases with [la ... na] نه ... نه, for example, can also appear with just [... na] نه ...

[kitab me la asád na wákhista.] کتاب مي له اسد نه واختسته.
book 1 from Asad from look.

[kitab me asád na wákhista.] کتاب مي اسد نه واختسته.
book 1 Asad from look

and phrases with [la ... saré] سره ... نه are also possible with just [... saré] سره ...

[laylã la amãn sarã näst da.] ليلا له امان سره ناست ده.
Layla with Amen with is sitting

Layla is sitting with Aman.'
Chapter 10: Prepositions

[Layla aman sarā nāsta da.]
Layla is sitting with Aman.

In the case of a pre-post-position 'on/to' [pa ... bānde] the second element is dropped more often than the first, resulting in phrases which superficially look like the phrases with the instrumental pre-position [pa] for example:

[kitāb pa méz bānde yīkay da.] The book on the table is placed.

[kitāb pa méz yīkay da.] The book on the table is placed.

One context in which the first element of a pre-post-position must drop is when the object of the preposition is a weak pronoun, as can be seen in the following examples:

[asād peshawār ta wār sarā dzī.] Asad is going to Peshawar with him.

[kitāb me sa na wākhista.] I took the book from you.

[kitāb war bānde yīkay da.] The book on the table is placed.

E. Special Cases

'from' [la ... na] When the noun in a phrase with 'from' [la ... na] ends in a consonant, the [n-] of the second element is frequently dropped, and the remaining [a] is attached to the preceding noun. The example sentence given above has the following alternative:

[kitāb me la asāda wākhista.] I took the book from Asad.
Chapter 10: Prepositions

When the object of a pre-postposition whose first element is [tar] تر ends in a consonant, an [a] ہی must be attached to that noun. If the noun ends in a vowel, there is no attached [a] ہی. Here are examples with the pre-post-position 'up to', 'until'
[tar ...] تر and the object 'morning' [sahār] صحراء which ends in a consonant, and 'tomorrow' [sabā] سابہ which ends in a vowel:

[tar sahār] تر صحراء pore rā sara pāte sa. until morning until us with stay 'Stay with us until morning.'
[tar sabā] تر سابہ pore rā sara pāte sa. until tomorrow until us with stay 'Stay with us until tomorrow.'

Phrases with 'house' [kor] کور. The word 'house' [kor] کور has a special altered form--[kār] کار --that may replace the entire prepositional phrase 'to the house' [kor ta] کور ہے, but only if the possessor of the house is either understood from the context or overtly mentioned.

[de laylā kara dzām.] دلیلا کور ہوں. of Layla to-house I go 'I'm going to Layla's house.'

Pro forms. Certain preposition + 'him/her/it' [ye] یہ combinations are always replaced with pro forms. Some examples: 'with him/her/it' [pa ye] پہ یہ never occurs, but is always replaced by the pro form 'with him/her/it' [pa] پہ:

[starge ye pe tore kāre.] استرگے یہ کیا تورہ کرے. eyes she with-it blackened 'She mascaraed her eyes with it.'

and 'from it/him/her' [la ye tsakha] لا یہ شخی also never occurs, but is always replaced by the pro form 'from it/him/her' [te] تے or [tre] تری:

[kitāb me tre wākhist.] کتاب می تری واخست. book I from-him took 'I took the book from him.'
Chapter 10: Prepositions

A third pro form is [pa ke] په کي, which replaces the phrase *[pa ye ke]* هنه ده لوی کور دی, that very big house is who in it live

‘That’s a huge house. Who lives in it?’

F. Noun Cases with Prepositions

The nouns that occur in prepositional phrases are ordinarily in the oblique case. In the following sentence, the object of the preposition is the F1 noun ‘bowl’ [kás] کاس, in its oblique singular form [kásé] کاسی:

[pa kásé ke wobé stá] په کاسی کي اوبه شته.

‘There’s water in the bowl.’

In some literary or formal usages, however, nouns that end in [ae] اه (i.e. the feminine nouns like ‘bowl’ [kasal]) may occur in direct case with some of the prepositions, mostly ‘with’ [pa] په and ‘in’ [pa ... ke] په ... کي:

[pa kásé ke wobé stá] په کاس کي اوبه شته.

‘There’s water in the bowl.’

G. Prepositions in Phrases

A number of common phrases translate into English prepositional phrases, which in Pashto transparently consist of combinations of prepositional phrases and additional words. Some of them are listed below, with example sentences:

‘before’ [la ... na pakhwá] پخوا [نا پخوا]

(= ‘from’ [la ... na] نا پخوا)

[la tā na pakhwá rāghay.] لی تانه پخوا راغی.

from you from before he came

‘He got here before you.’
'outside' [la ... na bahār]  

(= 'from' [la ... na] + 'outside' [bahār])

[la kālā na bahār wār wār]  

from kālā from outside standing was 'He was standing outside the kālā.'

'after' [wrusta la ... na]  

(= 'after' [wrusta] + 'from' [la ... na])

[wrusta la mā na rāghay]  

after from me from he came 'He got here after me.'

or

[wrusta la mā rāghay]  

after from me he came 'He got here after me.'

'without' [be la ... na]  

(= 'without' [be] + 'from' [la ... na])

[be la tā na me guzāra na kegl]  

without from you from I can’t get along. 'I can’t get along without you.'

'except for' [prāta la ... na]  

(= 'except' [prata] + 'from' [la ... na])

[prāta la tā na tsok na pezanām]  

except for you no one not I know 'Except for you I don’t know anyone.'

In the phrases below that start with the possessive phrase [de] a plus noun, the possessive phrase can be substituted for with a weak possessive pronoun, which is located in the sentence according to the rules for particle placement which are discussed in Chapter 11. The first two phrases below give examples with weak pronouns.
Chapter 10: Prepositions

'over/on top of' ['de ... le pāsa]
d... le pāse

(= 'of' ['de ...'] + 'from top' ['le pāsa'])
le pāse

[margha de bāgh le pāsa tēr šē.]
bird of garden over passed
'The bird passed over the garden.'

[margha ye le pāsa tēr šē.]
bird its over passed
'The bird passed over it.'

'about' ['de ... pa bārā ke]
d... pa bārā ke

(= 'of' ['de ...'] + 'on subject' ['pa bārā ke'])

[pa bārā ke ghegēgam.]
d asad pa bārā ke ghegēgam.
of Asad on subject on I'm talking
'I'm talking about Asad.'

[pa bārā ke ghegēgam.]
on subject on his I'm talking
'I'm talking about him.'

'about' ['de ... pa bāb]
d... pa bāb

(= 'of' ['de ...'] + 'on subject' ['pa bāb'])

[de asad aw tarisā pa bāb tsē waqe?] of Asad and Theresa on subject what you say
bab khāy wa? 'What do you think about Asad and Theresa?'

'instead of' ['de ... pa dzēy]
d... pa dzēy

(= 'of' ['de ...'] + 'in place' ['pa dzēy'])

[amān de asād pa dzēy rāghāl day.]
Aman of Asad in place has come
'Aman has come instead of Asad.'

'in front of' ['de ... pa mákh ke]
d... pa mákh ke

(= 'of' ['de ...'] + 'in face' ['pa mákh ke'])

[dukān pa mákh ke wēr wa:
of shop in face in he was standing
'He was standing in front of the shop'

173
Chapter 10: Prepositions

because of' [de ... la améra] 
(= 'of' [de ...] + 'with cause' [la améra]) 
[di tâ la améra né râdzi.] 
of you with cause not he comes 'He's not coming because of you.'

'like' [de ... pâ shân] 
(= 'of' [de ...] + 'with fashion' [pâ shân]) 
[yâr me de gwâl pâ shân day.] 
love my of flower with fashion is. 'My love is like a flower.'

'towards' [de ... pâ lâr] 
(= 'of' [de ...] + 'with direction' [pâ lâr]) 
[de logâr pâ lâr wâkhwâdèz.] 
of Logar with direction he starts out. 'He started out towards Logar.'

'like' [de ... pâ tsêr] 
(= 'of' [de ...] + 'with sort' [pâ tsêr]) 
[day di tâ pâ tsêr day.] 
he of you with sort is. 'He is like you.'

I. Uses of Prepositional Phrases

In Pashto, prepositions are used as modifiers of noun phrases, verb phrases and whole sentences. Below, we describe some cases where Pashto differs from English in using prepositional phrases where English uses some other construction.

Indirect objects. In Pashto, there is no difference between an indirect object parallel to 'John' in the English sentence 'I gave John the book' and a phrase with the preposition 'to', e.g., 'I gave the book to John.' All such phrases are rendered in Pashto with the preposition 'to' [ta] and the appropriate object. Examples:
Chapter 70: Prepositions

[ма kitāb asād ta ṭawwār]  
I book Asad to brought

[lik war ta wāltwala]  
letter him to read

Comparatives. Comparative statements in Pashto parallel to English

Comparatives like 'Asad is taller than Aman' are formed with the preposition 'from' [la ... na] ت. Unlike English, the relevant adjective has no special form, except for two words borrowed from Persian—'better' [betār] and 'worse' [batār]—which are directly equivalent to their English translations and are the only words in the language specific to comparisons. Some examples of comparisons:

[asad la amān na jāg day.]  
Asad from Aman from tall is

[pešawar la kābāl na loy day.]  
Peshawar from Kabul from big is.

[la bekārī na kār xāda.]  
from without-work from work good is

[ta la mā na batāra ye.]  
you from me from worse are

Comparisons with nouns parallel to English comparisons like 'Aman buys more books than Asad' are also formed with the preposition 'from' [la ... na], and typically include the word 'more' [zyāt] or 'less/few' [lag] ت. Examples:

[de amān plār de asād la plār na lag bāghūna lār.]  
of Amen father of Asad from father from few orchards has

D amān plār de asād le plār ne la bāghūne lār.  
'Aman's father has fewer orchards than Asad's father.'
Chapter 10: Prepositions

[aman la asad na dar zya'it kitabuna akhilli.]  
Aman from Asad from many many books buys

aman ne asad dehri zieyat kitabone akhilli.  
'Aman buys a lot more books than Asad.'

Superlatives. There are three ways to make superlative statements parallel to English statements like 'Khoshal is the tallest boy in class.' The first possibility is a comparative statement with [la ... na] 'in which the object of the preposition is all-inclusive, for example:

[khoshal pa sinf ke la tolo alakano na jag day.]  
Khoshal in class in from all boys from tall is

'those taller than all the boys in the class.'

[de tór as de tól kali la asuno na chațak day.]  
of Tor horse of whole village from horses from fast is

di de tór as de tól kali la asuno ne chațak di.  
'Tor's horse is faster than all the horses in the village.'

[day de pexawar la tolo likwa'llano na mashhúr day.]  
he of Peshawar from all writers from famous is

di de pexawar la tolo likwa'llano ne mashhúr di.  
'He is better known than all the writers in Peshawar.'

A second way to express superlatives is to include the adverb 'very' [dehr] before the adjective in question. Such sentences are ambiguous. For example:

[khoshal pa sinf ke dehr jag alak day.]  
Khoshal in class in very tall boy is

'Khoshal is a very tall boy in class.' or  
'Khoshal is the tallest boy in class.'

[de tór as de tól kali ke dehr chațak as day.]  
of Tor horse in village in very fast horse is

di de tór as de tól kali ke dehr chațak as di.  
'Tor's horse is the fastest horse in the village.' or  
'Tor's horse is a very fast horse in the village.'

163

176
Chapter 10: Prepositions

[day pa pexawar ke der mashhur likwal day.
he in Peshawar in very famous writer is.
'He is the most well-known writer in Peshawar.' or
'He is a very well-known writer in Peshawar.'

To disambiguate the type of sentence above, the subject can be moved out of position to just before the verb. Such sentences are unambiguously superlative.

[pa sinj ke der jog alak khoshal day.
in class in very tall boy Khoshal is.
'Khoshal is the tallest boy in class.'

[pa kati ke der chalet as de tor as day.
in village in very fast horse of Tor horse is.
'Tor's horse is the fastest horse in the village.'

[pa pexawar ke der mashhur likwal day day.
in Peshawar in very famous writer he is.
'He is the most well-known writer in Peshawar.'

J. Other Analyses

Penzi (1955) lists some of the prepositions, grouping them with particles. His lists are similar to the ones here, with minor differences probably attributable to dialectal variation. Penzi postulates a second oblique case in nouns, which occurs only with objects of the prepositions [la] and [ter], and only when the noun in question ends in a consonant.

Shafeev (1964) divides the prepositions into pre- and post-positions, and lists some prepositions and their Russian counterparts.

Mackenzie (1967) does not discuss prepositions.
Chapter 11: Simple Sentence Structure

A. Introduction

This chapter describes the structure of simple sentences, i.e. sentences with only one verb. First, the order of major elements in sentences and questions is described, and the conditions under which some of these elements are deleted. Then, the structure of noun phrases is described, including nouns, pronouns, and adjective and prepositional phrase modifiers. Next, the order of verbs and their modifiers in positive and negative verb phrases is described, then the Pashto particles or clitics, along with their placement in sentences and their internal order. Then, the order of modifiers in sentences is shown, and the construction and use of time phrases. A summary of agreement rules is presented next, then a discussion of the Pashto ergative construction. The chapter concludes with a presentation of some unusual constructions.

B. Basic Word Order

SOV order. The basic word order of a Pashto sentence is subject - object - verb (SOV), as opposed to English, in which the basic order is subject - verb - object (SVO). Some examples are given below, with the basic elements identified:

[asad lik legi]  
SOV  
Asad letter send  
"Asad is sending the letter."

[lar ma yaw lay bagh akhil]  
SOV  
father my a big orchard is buying  
"My father is buying a big orchard."

[la ta kaf kaw?]  
SOV  
you what work do  
"What work do you do?"

Many sentences, of course, are intransitive and do not have objects. In this case in both Pashto and English the order is subject (S) - verb (V). Note, however, that in
Chapter 11: Simple Sentence Structure

Pashto all modifiers precede the verb (making the verb the last element in the sentence) whereas in English most of the verbal modifiers follow the verb, for example:

\[\text{[de aman karanay pa kâbâl ke wosâgî]}\]
\[\text{S} \quad \text{modifier} \quad V\]
\[\text{of Aman family in Kabul lives}\]
\[\text{D aman koren go kabyl kis aospixi.}\]
\[\text{Aman’s family lives in Kabul.}\]

\[\text{[ahmad ba sâbä de logar pa lor wâkhwadzegi]}\]
\[\text{S} \quad \text{modifiers} \quad V\]
\[\text{Ahmad fut tomorrow of Logar in direction starts}\]
\[\text{Ahmad be sâbä de logar ñor wâkhwadzegi.}\]
\[\text{Ahmad will start for Logar tomorrow.}\]

The verb is also the last element in sentences with be. As in all Indo-European languages, Pashto sentences with be verbs are intransitive. Phrases that follow the be verb are complements, not direct objects. (Complements are phrases that further define the subject, and can be noun phrases, adjectives or question words.) Some examples of be sentences, with the complements labelled:

\[\text{[layla de aman xádza qa]}\]
\[\text{S} \quad \text{complement} \quad V\]
\[\text{Layla of Aman wife be3FS}\]
\[\text{Lila de aman bhe de.}\]
\[\text{Layla is Aman's wife.}\]

\[\text{[khostal dar khpâ daya]}\]
\[\text{S} \quad \text{complement} \quad V\]
\[\text{Khosnal very unhappy be3M3}\]
\[\text{Khosnal dar khpâ daya.}\]
\[\text{Khosnal is very unhappy.}\]

\[\text{[mer ma chêra qa?]}\]
\[\text{S} \quad \text{complement} \quad V\]
\[\text{mother my where be3FS}\]
\[\text{Mer ma chêra qa?}\]
\[\text{Where is my mother?}\]

Deletion of subjects and objects. Under predictable circumstances, subjects and objects are deleted. One of those circumstances is in imperative sentences - those whose verbs end in the imperative [-a], or [-ay]. In imperative sentences, the predictable second person singular or plural 'you' subject is deleted, as it is in English.
Chapter 11: Simple Sentence Structure

Examples:

\[
\text{[wádaregayl]} \\
V \quad \text{wait} \ _pl \\
\]

ودری؟!

'Wait!

\[
\text{[motor tar sabā pore mākhla.]} \\
O \quad \text{modifier} \ V \quad \text{car} \quad \text{until tomorrow until don't buy} \\
\]

موتور تر سبی پوزی ماخله.

'Don't buy the car until tomorrow.'

Another predictable circumstance under which subjects or objects are deleted is in the case of weak pronouns. In present tense sentences and past tense intransitive sentences, weak pronoun subjects are deleted (unless they are focussed on, in which case strong pronouns which don't delete are used). The information carried by the weak pronoun (i.e. the person and number of the pronoun) is to a greater or lesser extent carried by the verb endings. Examples:

\[
\text{[kitāb ākhlām]} \\
O \quad V \quad \text{book buy}1S \\
\]

كتاب اخلم.

'I'm buying a book.'

\[
\text{[kor te dz1]} \\
\quad \text{modifier} \ V \quad \text{house to go}3S \\
\]

كور ت خی.

'He's going home.'

\[
\text{[tar sahāra pore wāgaqadam.]} \\
\quad \text{modifier} \ V \quad \text{until morning until danced}1S \\
\]

تر سهاره پوری وگدمد.

'I danced until morning.'

In past tense transitive sentences, weak pronoun objects delete; in this case as well, the identity of the pronoun is recoverable from the verb ending. Past tense transitive sentences are described in detail in Section H below.

\[
\text{[asad parun wākatalu]} \\
S \quad \text{modifier} \ V \quad \text{Asad yesterday saw}1P \\
\]

اسب پرون وکتلو.

'Asad saw us yesterday.'
Chapter 11: Simple Sentence Structure

[pa bāzār x̌e mwaḵhista] 
modifier S V
at market at we bought it 3MS 
'Ve bought it at the market.'

Word order in questions. There is no difference in word order between statements and questions. Yes-no questions (those that can be answered by a simple 'yes' or 'no') are differentiated from statements solely by the rise of the voice at the end of the sentence, directly parallel to the way the English statement "John's a poet" can be made into the question "John's a poet? (I'd never have believed it)". Whereas English questions like these are used to express surprise or get clarification, in Pashto it is the only way to form yes-no questions. Examples:

[amān shāfr day.] 
Aman poet is. 
'Amān is a poet.'

[amān shāfr day?]
Aman poet is?
'Is Aman a poet?'

Question-word questions (those with words parallel to English 'who', 'what', 'when', 'where', 'whence', 'why' and 'how') are differentiated from statements by positioning the appropriate question word in its ordinary position in the sentence. The intonation stays the same as for statements. In the examples below, a sentence with a noun or other word in one position or another, followed by a parallel question in which the noun has been replaced with a question word. The phrases and their question-word replacements are underlined in the transcription:

'what' [laa]

[asād kār kaẉ] 
Asad work does 
'Asad is working.'

[asād laa kaẉ?]
Asad what does 
'What is Asad doing?'

168
Chapter 11: Simple Sentence Structure

'who' [tsok] (direct) / [chā] (oblique)

laylā chalāw pakhawī
Layla rice cooks

[tsōk chalaw pakhawī?]
who rice cooks

[ágha de laylā kitāb day.]
that of Layla book is

[ágha de chā kitāb day?]
that of who book is

'who is cooking the rice?'

Layla is cooking the rice.

'Who is cooking the rice?'

That's Layla's book.

'Whose book is that?'

'where' [chéral] (čeralte)

[bāzār ta dżī]
market to he goes

[chéral/chéralta dżī?]
where he goes

'He's going to the market.'

'Where is he going?'

'which' [kum] (Adj.1)

[ágha moṭar akhī]
that car he buys

[kūm moṭar akhī?]
which car he buys

'He's buying that car.'

'Which car is he buying?'

'when' [tsa waktī]

[māxim rāghay]
aftoon he arrived

[tsā waktī rāghay?]
what time he arrived

'Me arrived at dusk.'

'Me arrived what time?'

'what time' [tsa bajal] (čhī 'clock' (bajal) is an F1 noun)

[ghwanda pa yawe bajal shuro kēgl]
meeting at 8 clock's start

'The meeting starts at eight.'

169 182
C. Noun Phrases

Order of elements. Noun phrases comprise a noun or a pronoun, together with modifiers that may be adjectives, prepositional phrases, or whole sentences (i.e., relative clauses, which are described in Chapter 13). For example, the following noun phrase consists of the noun 'car [moṭar] موثر with two modifiers: the prepositional phrase 'of Asad' [de asad د اسد], and the adjective 'new' [naway نوی):

[de asad naway moṭar]

of Asad new car

'Asad’s new car'

Adjective and prepositional phrase modifiers generally precede the noun they modify. As will be seen in Section E below, however, weak possessive pronouns may either precede or follow the nouns they modify, and their position is determined by rules which work on the entire sentence.

Noun phrases function as subjects, complements, objects, or objects of prepositions:

As subject:

[de asad naway moṭar der gāran day] د اسد نوی موثر ده گران دی.

of Asad new car very expensive is

'Asad’s new car is very expensive.'

As complement:

[agha spin moṭar de asād naway moṭar day] هغه سپین موثر د اسد نوی موثر دی.

that white car of asad new car is

'That white car is Asad’s new car.'

As direct object:

[layla de asad naway moṭar rawust] لیلا د اسد نوی موثر راوست.

Layla of Asad new car here brought

'Layla brought Asad’s new car.'
As object of preposition:

[de asad pa nāwi motar ke dzu.

of Asad in new car in we go

'Vere going in Asad's new car.'

Note, in this last example, that the possessive phrase with [de] ą precedes the prepositional phrase in which it is embedded. Examples with other prepositions include:

[de asad la nāwi motar na]

of Asad from car from

'des from Asad's new car'

[de asad pa chēqī]

of Asad with knife

'with Asad's knife'

[de asad ter bāgha pore]

of Asad up to garden up to

'up to Asad's garden'

Order of modifiers in noun phrases. Ordinarily, any possessive phrase with [de] ą is the first element in a string of modifiers. The possessive phrase is followed by any demonstrative (e.g., 'that' [āgha] هده, 'this' [dā] د, etc.), then any quantifier (e.g., a number - including 'one' [yaw], which frequently functions like the English indefinite article 'a' - or a word like 'some' [bāza] بمنى, or 'a few' [yaw tā] ياء تا, then descriptive adjectives like 'big' [loj] لوچ or 'pretty' [kūsta] كويسته, then the noun. Adverbs that modify adjectives, e.g. 'very' [gēr] جيري, occur immediately before the adjectives they modify. This order may be violated when the speaker wishes to focus on one or the other of the modifiers: the emphasized element tends to come first.

Here are some example phrases displaying modifier order:

[de asad agha pindé nor gēr loj kīta även]

of Asad those five other very big books

'those other five very big books of Asad's'

[de asad de plīr tsəlōr gēr kūsta lūge]

of Asad of father four very pretty daughters

'Asad's father's four very pretty daughters'
Chapter 11: Simple Sentence Structure

[pa kāli ke de tor de tartakh de xowünkī de māshar wror xāysta kōr]
in village in of Tor of history of teacher of older brother beautiful house

په کلی کی د تور د تاریخ د بیونکی د مشر ورو پایسته کور
'Tor's history teacher's older brother's beautiful house in the village'

[de maktab de shāgardāno de dārā de dawre de wékht le khwās yā na qāqa yādunā]
of school of students of study of period of time from happiness from full memories

د مکتب د شاگردانو د درس د دوری د وقت له خوښی نه دکه یادونه
'memories full of happiness of the time period of students' studying at school'

Noun phrases within prepositional phrases contain elements in the same order as subject or object noun phrases, with the exception of possessive phrases with [de] د,

which appear before the whole prepositional phrase:

[de asād de plār la tsaloro gero xāysta lūn sāra]
of Asad of father with four very pretty daughters with

د اسد د پلر له خلورو ګرو ښه لونه سره
'with Asad's father's four very pretty daughters'

D. Verb Phrases

Order of elements in verb phrases. The usual order of elements in a verb phrase (which includes everything in the sentence except the subject) is time phrase – complement/object – place phrase – other modifiers – verb. Note that if the object of a preposition is a weak pronoun, the prepositional phrases is almost always positioned just before the verb. Examples:

[parun me la māgōro sāra pa rastūrān ke kābāb wakhwā]
yesterday with friends in restaurant for kabob at

پرونی لی ملگرو سره په رستوران کی کباب و خور،
'I ate kebob at the restaurant with my friends yesterday'

[parun me pa rastūrān ke kābāb war sāra wakhwā]
yesterday in restaurant for kebob them with ate

پرونی په رستوران کی کباب ور سره و خور،
'I ate kebob at the restaurant with them yesterday'

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172

165
Order in negative verb phrases. The order of negative elements in the verb phrase is described in detail Chapter 9. In summary, the negative particle [na] نھ occurs before the verb in the imperfective tenses. In perfective tenses it occurs with simple verbs between the perfective marker [wa] و and the verb stem; with derivative verbs just before the auxiliary; and with doubly irregular verbs between the first element and the rest of the verb. Some examples of negative perfectives:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[za ba lik wa nálegam.]} & \quad \text{زه به ليک و نه لھوم.} \\
\text{i fut letter prf neg i send} & \quad \text{I won't send the letter.}'
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[za ba chalaw pokh nákram.]} & \quad \text{زه به چلو پوکه نه کرم.} \\
\text{i fut rice cook neg i ba'} & \quad \text{I won't cook the rice.'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[za ba dalta ke nénäm.]} & \quad \text{زه به دلتن کبی نه نم.} \\
\text{i fut here sit neg i sit} & \quad \text{'I won't sit here.'}
\end{align*}
\]

E. Particles

The particles. Next to the ergative construction, particles and their order are probably the most famous—or infamous—aspect of Pashto grammar. The particles, sometimes called clitics, are the following:

- 'but, well, then, at least, maybe' [kho] خو
- Future marker [ba] ب
- 'must' [da] دا

These particles are invariably positioned immediately after the first stressed element in a sentence or clause, and when there is more than one particle in a sentence or clause, they must appear in a fixed order. These two factors in many cases result in the separation of a modifier from the modified element, in other cases in the "violation" of the usual SDV order in sentences, and in many other cases in ambiguous sentences.

The first stressed element in a sentence. The first stressed element in a sentence may be one of a number of grammatical elements, ranging from the first part of
a doubly irregular verb to a construction of several words. The sentences below illustrate this point, using the weak pronoun 'my' [me] جی as a possessive in the basic phrase 'my father' [پلار جی] لارا جی or in object position. Note how the position of [me] جی is determined not by its function in the sentence, but by its having to follow the first stressed element.

**Subject as first stressed element:**

[khoshal khan me pliar day.]
khoshal khan my father is

خوشحال خانم پلار دی.

'Khoshal Khan is my father.'

[de pliar kalā me pa logār ke de.]
of father kala my in Logar in is

د پلار کلا می پا لوگر کی ده.

'My father's kala is in Logar.'

[asād me la pliar sara gorti.]
Asad my with father with sees

اسد می له پلار سره گوری.

'Asad is visiting with my father.'

**Direct object as first stressed element:**

[pliar me byāyam.]
father my i bring

پلار می بیايم.

'I am bringing my father.'

[de pliar bāgh me akhili.]
of father orchard my he buys

د پلار باغ می اخیلی.

'He is buying my father's orchard.'

**Prepositional phrase as first stressed element:**

[la pliar sara me nāst yam.] with father with my sitting i am.

له پلار سره می ناست یم.

'I am sitting with my father.'

[wrusta la pliar na me rāghay.] after father from my he arrived

وروسته له پلار نه می راغی.

'He arrived after my father.'

**Adverb as first stressed element:**

[kāle kala me pliar amrikā ta rādzh.] sometimes my father America to comes

کلے کلا می پلار امریکا تے راکھی.

'Sometimes my father comes to America.'

[nān me melā ta byayi!] today me picnic to he takes

نئ می ملے تے بیاپی.

'Today he's taking me to a picnic.'
Chapter 11: Simple Sentence Structure

\[
\text{نَه مي پژانی.} \quad \text{'He doesn't know me.'}
\]

**Verb as first stressed element:**
- \[\text{رَالپه مي.} \quad \text{I was sending it here.'}
- \[\text{ساتِ مي.} \quad \text{'I was keeping it.'}
- \[\text{کَپی مي.} \quad \text{'I kept it.'}

**Part of verb as first stressed element:**
- \[\text{و مي پرمانده.} \quad \text{'I recognized him.'}
- \[\text{ا مي خستت.} \quad \text{'I wore it.'}
- \[\text{بَای مي لوده.} \quad \text{'I lost it.'}

**Order of particles among themselves.** As mentioned above, another characteristic of the particles is that when there is more than one of them in the same sentence, there is a strict internal order among them which overrides their grammatical positioning in the sentence. The order is as follows:

\[
\]

The internal order of particles, and the ambiguity that arises from the rigid ordering, is shown by the idiomatic translations of the following sentence:

\[
\text{پُلر مي دي لپری.} \quad \text{'My father is sending you.' or 'Your father is sending me.'}
\]
Chapter 11: Simple Sentence Structure

Two occurrences of words which are pronounced identically are not possible, even if the words have different meanings (as they do in the case of the word [de] دی, which may be interpreted as either the particle 'must' or the weak pronoun 'your/you'). The following sentence is therefore ungrammatical:

\[ *[plär \ me \ de \ de \ wělegi] \]
father me/my must your/you send

'My father must send you' or 'Your father must send me.'

The only way to express these meanings is by using strong pronouns:

\[ [plär \ me \ de \ tä \ wělegi] \]
father my must you send

' My father must send you.'

\[ [di \ tä \ plär \ me \ de \ wělegi] \]
of you father me must send

'Your father must send me.'

The ambiguity that stems from the rigid order of particles is seldom a problem, as the context in which multiple particles appear nearly always contain enough information to convey the meaning unambiguously. In those cases where ambiguity is a problem, it is resolved with the use of a strong pronoun.

F. Order of Modifiers in Sentences

As described in previous sections, there is a normal order of major elements in a sentence (SOV), a normal order within the noun and verb phrases in a sentence as well, and an internal order among particles which occasionally overrides the other orders. As in English and other languages, however, it is possible for a Pashto speaker to emphasize or place focus on one element of a sentence or another, by placing it out of order. The following sentence, for example, is in normal order, and no one element is focused on over another:

\[ [ahmad \ sabä\ı\ı \ laylə \ logär \ ta \ byä\ı] \]
Ahmad tomorrow Layla Logar to take

'Ahmad is taking Layla to Logar tomorrow.'
If context requires that the time be focused on, it can be brought to the beginning of the sentence:

[saβa’ta ahmad layla logar ta byayi.]

tomorrow Ahmad Layla Logar to takes

'Tomorrow, Ahmad is taking Layla to Logar.'

The movement of a modifier up to the beginning of a sentence for focus appears to be a common device among writers. The following illustrative sentences are taken from pieces of modern prose (the preposed modifiers are underlined in the transcription):

[amdágha waiχt za da yawāze pa maχa pa ρaχwam.]¹

that time 1 of "alone" with meaning understood

همدغه وخت زه د- يوازي. پ ماما پوه شوم.

'At that time, I understood the meaning of "alone":'

[pa dero gono khálko ke ham saɾey dzān ta "yawāze" wayšaŋ shi.]²

in very many people in also man self to 'alone' can say

پ دبه گنه خلکو کی هم سره خان ته- يوازي. ویلی چی.

'In a great crowd of people, a man can say that he is "alone":'

[la náchārāy ye da norj nāqeliano pa tseχ samliši azmaka zhēwāra kʃa.]²

with desperation he of other settlers like immediately earth dug hole

له ناچاری پی د نوره ناقلهینو په غوره سمالی خمه زوره کره.

'In desperation, he like the other settlers immediately dig a hole in the earth.'

[pə dəɾ təkəlf mə wux khīṣas kəɾay shu.]³

with much difficulty we camel have freed

پ دبه تکیف مه چله خلاص گرمی چی.

'With a lot of trouble, we freed the camel.'

Time phrases. Time phrases may take the form of nouns, adverbs, or prepositional phrases.

¹This sentence and the one below are from the essay ' Alone ' [yawāze] by Ulfat, a well-known modern Pashto writer. The essay has been reprinted a number of times.
²This sentence and the one below are from ' The Legs of the Camel ' [da wux pæsa] د- اوښ پښ. an article by M. Pasenay that appeared in the November, 1955 issue of Spada, (pp. 91-2).

177

190
Chapter 11: Simple Sentence Structure

Frequently occurring noun phrases are the days of the week. The terms for all the days except Friday (which is an Arabic borrowing) are transparently formed from the Persian word for ‘day’ and the Persian numbers. The terms for Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday are written as two words in Pashto.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Pashto</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘Saturday’</td>
<td>شنبه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Sunday’</td>
<td>یکشنبه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Monday’</td>
<td>دوشنبه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Tuesday’</td>
<td>سه شنبه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Wednesday’</td>
<td>چهارم شنبه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Thursday’</td>
<td>پنجمشنبه</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The day words may occur alone, for example:

[mung shambé melé ta dzu.]

we Saturday picnic to go

‘we’re going on a picnic Saturday.’

More frequently they are combined with the word for day in general, [wradz], as follows:

[mung de shambé pa wradz melé ta dzu.]

we of Saturday on day picnic to go

‘we’re going on a picnic Saturday.’
Pashto has a series of words to refer to traditional times of day:

- morning [sa₃hār]
- late morning [tsa₃xt/tsa₃xt mahāl]
- noon [ghārmāl]
- afternoon [māspaxīn]
- late afternoon [māzdīgār]
- dusk [mA₀xām]
- late evening [māskhutīn]
- midnight [ni₃ma anpa]

These words may occur as modifiers:

[Imung māspaxīn melē ta dzu]
we afternooon picnic to go 'We’re going on a picnic this afternoon.'

or they may be combined with the day words:

[Imung de snambē pa māspaxīn melē ta dzu]
we of Saturday on afternooon picnic to go 'We’re going on a picnic Sunday afternoon.'

Pashto expresses Western time-telling with the prepositional phrase consisting of 'on/at' [pə], the word 'hour' or 'clock' [bajō], preceded by a number, and other word-and-number combinations to express 'before' and 'after'. Some examples that show the system are given below:

[pa tsa₃laro bajō]
at four hours 'at four o'clock'

[pa pinda bānde tsa₃laro bajō]
at five after four hours 'at five minutes after four'

[pa pāw bānde tsa₃laro bajō]
at quarter after four hours 'at quarter after four'
Chapter 11: Simple Sentence Structure

[pa tsalor nimo bajo]  
at four half hours  
'at four thirty'

[pa paw kám pindzo bajo]  
at quarter lacking five hours  
'at quarter to five'

[pa pindza kám pindzo bajo]  
at five lacking five hours  
'at five minutes to five'

Some examples showing time phrases in complete sentences are:

[de laylā malgārē pa tsalor nimo bajo rādzl.]  
of Layla friend at four half o'clock comes  
'Layla's friend is coming here at four thirty.'

[asad sahā sahār pa ata nimo bajo maydān te dzl.]  
Asad tomorrow morning at eight half o'clock airport to goes  
'Asad is going to the airport tomorrow morning at eight thirty.'

[kānferāns de jumā pa wradz de sahār pa nāhe bajo payl kēgl.]  
conference of Friday on day of morning at nine o'clock starts  
The conference starts Friday morning at nine.'

C. Agreement

Agreement between verbs and subjects/objects was discussed extensively in Chapters 8 and 9. Agreement between adjectives and nouns was explained in Chapter 7. The following is a summary.

Adjectives and demonstrative pronouns agree with the nouns they modify in gender (masculine or feminine), number (singular or plural), and case (direct or oblique). This agreement takes the form of suffixes attached to the adjective or demonstrative pronoun.

In intransitive sentences and in present tense transitive sentences, verbs agree with the subject in person (first, second or third), and number (singular or plural).
third person past tense sentences, the verb agrees with the subject or object in gender (masculine or feminine) as well.

In the case of derivative verbs whose first element is an adjective, the adjective agrees with the object, the verb if there is one, and with the subject if there is no object, in number (singular or plural) and gender (masculine or feminine).

In the "perfect" tenses formed with the participle, the participle agrees with the object of the sentence if there is one, and with the subject if there is no object, in gender (masculine or feminine) and number (singular or plural).

In past tense transitive sentences (discussed in detail in the following section), the verb agrees with the object of the sentence in person (first, second or third), number (singular or plural), and in the third person forms, gender (masculine or feminine).

If the noun phrase to be agreed with consists of both masculine and feminine genders, the agreeing verb or adjective will be masculine. (Such compounds are described in Chapter 12 below.)

H. The Ergative Construction

As has been mentioned several times in preceding chapters, past tense transitive sentences are constructed differently from all other sentences:
- the subject of the sentence is in the oblique case;
- the object of the sentence is in the direct case; and
- the verb agrees in person, number and (in the third person) gender with the direct object rather than the subject.

This combination of agreement and case occurrence is called the 'ergative' construction. 'Ergative' was originally the name of what is now called the agentive case. The term has recently been expanded to refer to languages in which objects in transitive sentences take on the grammatical characteristics of subjects of intransitive sentences. Pashto is an ergative language, but only in past tenses; Basque and some of the languages spoken in the Caucasus are ergative languages in that objects of all transitive sentences have the characteristics of subjects of intransitive sentences. Historical linguists hypothesize that at one time all the Iranian languages might have been ergative languages, and that each has lost ergative elements at different speeds; now, only Pashto, Beluchi, and Kurdish retain ergative elements.
Chapter 11: Simple Sentence Structure

The weak pronouns are also involved in ergative constructions: in past tense transitive sentences, weak object pronouns drop, and weak subject pronouns are in oblique rather than direct forms.

Simple sentence pairs are presented below, the second of each pair being the past tense equivalent of the first. In comparing them, note, first, how the verb endings differ, in agreement with the subjects of the present tense sentences and the objects of the past tense counterparts. In sentences with weak pronouns, note how subject pronouns do not appear in the present tense sentences, and object pronouns do not appear in the past tense counterparts. And finally, observe that the subjects of past tense sentences are in the oblique case.

**Noun subject and object:**

[σαράγ Μανά Θκρι]  
man appleF eats

vs.

[σαράΓ Μανά Θκαρξά]  
man apple was eating

[καδζά τικράν άχκ]  
woman scarfM buys

vs.

[καδζά τικράν άχκστά]  
woman scarf was buying

**Weak pronoun subject, noun object:**

[µανά Θκαρξ]  
apple I eat

vs.

[µανά Με Θκαρξά]  
apple I was eating

[σαράγ Μελµα Καννύ]  
man we invite

vs.

Conclusion:
Chapter 11: Simple Sentence Structure

Noun subject, weak pronoun object:

[asad ye ákhil.]
Asad itM buys

vs.

[asad ákhísta.]
Asad was buying

[zmáray ye râwašlî]
Zmaray itF brings

vs.

[zmári râwaštâla.]
Zmaray was bringing

weak pronoun subject, weak pronoun object:

[gâšâm ye.]
I win itF

vs.

[gâšâla me.]
win I

[khartsawú ye.]
we sell itF

vs.

[khartsawála mo.] were selling we

'Seeyo wó mélke kór. We were inviting the man.'

'Asad ípí axlí. We are buying it.'

'Asad axstá. We are buying it.'

'Zmári ípí râwôli. Zmaray is bringing it.'

'Zmári râwastálá. Zmaray was bringing it.'

'Gít ký. We are winning it.'

'Gítál mé. We were winning it.'

'Xírxyré pé. We're selling it.'

'Xírxyré mó. We were selling it.'
J. Two Unusual Constructions

Verbs that require possessive subjects. There is a small group of frequently-occurring verbs the logical subjects of which must be possessive constructions. This group includes phrases for expressing likes and dislikes, and for feelings like hot or cold. The logical objects of the transitive verbs in this group are sometimes expressed via prepositional phrases, and sometimes as ordinary direct objects; the 

\( \text{v} \) agrees with the grammatical objects. These verbs are listed below, with their grammatical peculiarities and examples.

'dislike' \([\text{bad rādzī}]\)

Subject: possessive phrase
Object: In prepositional phrase with 'from' \([\text{la} \ldots \text{na}]\)
Agreement: verb is always third person plural. \([\text{bad}]\) remains unchanged.

Examples:

\[\text{[la doqāy na de rixtyā ham bād rādzī?]}\]
from bread from your really bad

\[\text{لة دودي نه دي رجعيا هم بد راخي؟}\]
'Do you really dislike bread?'

\[\text{[de asad de kīmyā la dars na bād rāghial.]}\]
of Asad of chemistry from class from bad went:3PM

\[\text{د اسد د كيميا له درس هن بد راغلي.}\]
'Asad didn't like his chemistry class.'

'like' \([\text{xa yīsī}]\)

Subject: possessive phrase
Object: as usual
Agreement: verb and 'good' \([\text{xa}]\) agree with object

Examples:

\[\text{[de har chā layla xā yīsī]}\]
of everyone Layla like:3S

\[\text{ده هار كما لايلا بسي.}\]
'Everyone likes Layla.'

\[\text{[de polo khalko layla xā yaseda.]}\]
of all people Layla liked:SSF

\[\text{ايلو خلكو لايلا بيسده.}\]
'All the people liked Layla.'
Chapter 11: Simple Sentence Structure

[de tarisā tal awghāni doqay xa yesedāie da]
d Terisa tái Afghāni
doqay bā āisepdāi dā. 
Theresa always Afghan food has liked3PF

'dislike' [bad yis]-[bā]
Subject: possessive phrase
Object: as usual
Agreement: verb and 'bad' [bad] bā agree with the object.
Examples:
[de layla mare ye bad yisi.]
of Layla husband his don't like3S
He doesn't like Layla's husband.

[kimyā me bada nā yeseda, de māxim pa khabero na pohedam.]
chemistry my bad neg like3SF of teacher with words not I understood3S

'like, enjoy' [khwaxeg]-[khwaxeg]
Subject: possessive phrase
Object: as usual
Agreement: verb agrees with the object
Examples:
[di mā afghanī doqay khwaxegi.]
of me Afghan food enjoy3PF
I enjoy Afghan food.

[di mā afghanī doqay khwaxa swa.]
of me Afghan food enjoy3PF
I enjoyed Afghan food.

[di da zə khwaxa swam.]
of him me liked1SF
He liked me (f).

[di da zə khwaxa swam.]
of him me liked1SM
He liked me (m).
Chapter 11: Simple Sentence Structure

feel like [zra kegi - 1]

Subject: possessive with 'heart' [zra]، زره، e.g. 'my heart' (= 'I') [zra ma] زره مي
Object: in prepositional phrase with 'to' [ta] تا ... (if object is a clause, it appears after [kegi - 1 کمي] and there is no preposition)
Agreement: verb agrees with [zra] زره مي
Examples:

[palaw ta me zra kegi.] پلول تو مي زره كشي.
I feel like [having some] pilaf.

d asad pa wadke nata ta zra kegi.] د اسد پا وادکه ناتا زره كشي.
Of Asad at wedding at dancing to heart become3S
'Asad feels like dancing at weddings.'

[zra me kegi che kdr ta lar sam.] زره مي كدهي و پا كوم واله
heart my become3S that home to go1S
'I feel like going home.'

[zra me kea che kaadz waarta wakram, kho tsa me wa na sele.] زره مي كدهي و پا كوم، خو کي مي و نه ويل.
'felt like cursing him, but I kept quiet.'

'heat' [garm]، 'cold' [sar]، 'sore' [toba] ته مي and 'fever' ته مي and 'fever' ته مي are feminine nouns.
The constructions below involve these nouns, and can be analyzed as having them as subjects, with the verbs agreeing as usual with them. If so, they can translate more or less as 'X's heat exists', 'X's cold exists', or X's fever exists.'

feel hot [garm kegi - 1]

Subject: possessive of 'heat' [garm]، گرمي
Object: none
Agreement: verb agrees with [garm]، گرمي
Examples:

[di tae garm kegi?] د تا گرمي کشي؟
of you heat become3S
'Do you feel hot?'
Chapter 11: Simple Sentence Structure

[de khoshál garmí kegí, qere mängé ya wahéle di.] of Khoshal heat become35 very ranning he has beaten

د خوشحال جرمی کری، دنیا مندی پی وهلی دی.

‘Khoshal feels hot because he has been running.’

[de asad garmí keda, wóbé ye wéstkele.] of Asad heat became36 water he drank

د اسد جرمی کرده، اوبه پی وشکلی.

‘Asad felt hot so he drank some water.’

[de njáléy, wrusta ta de cha pa bëgh ka ye wázangal. garmí waswa.] of girls after from that in orchard in they swung heat became

د نجلی وروسته له دی چی پی باگ کی پی وزنگل جرمی وشوه.

‘The girls felt hot after swinging in the orchard.’

‘feel cold’ [sárá kegí-]

Subject: possessive of ‘cold’ [sárá]
Object: none
Agreement: verb agrees with ‘cold’ [sárá]
Examples:

[sára de ka kégi lungay me wághunda.] ساره دی که کمپی لونگی می واغنده.

‘If you feel cold put on my shawl.’

[sáhá sabá sárá me kégi] ساره سبی ساره می کمپی
early morning cold my become
rë bënde wëchawo lungay dwërga lësùna.] me around put shawl both hands

‘It’s early morning and I’m cold
Put your shawl and both arms around me.’ (landay)

‘have a fever’ [tëba da]

Subject: possessive of ‘fever’ [tëba]
Object: none
Agreement: verb agrees with ‘fever’ [tëba]
Chapter 11: Simple Sentence Structure

Examples:

[tába ye da.]

'the fever is 3SF'

[ha rush mór ba me pa kē ke šchawalam.]

'every time I would put myself to bed in the fever.'

Whenever I had a fever, my mother put me to bed.

'Impersonal transitive' verbs. There is a small group of intransitive verbs—most of them denoting sounds made by animals and people, for example 'sneezes' [prin]- and 'neigh' [shishn]-—that behave idiosyncratically in past tense sentences. They are called 'false transitives' or 'impersonal transitives', and include the following verbs:

'dance' [nāts]-

'cough' [tuḫ]-

'swim' [lāmb]-

'swing' [zāŋ]-

'jump' [dēng]-

'in the past tenses, the subjects of these verbs are in the oblique case, even though the verbs are intransitive. The verbs always and only take a third person masculine plural verbal ending in past tenses, regardless of the person of the subject, and the [-it] suffix of that ending (which in other contexts is optional) never drops. A final idiosyncrasy is that the present tense stem vowel [a] in some of the verbs becomes [a] in past tenses, for example 'laugh' with its present stem [khānd]- and its past stem [khānd]- Some examples of these verbs in sentences:

[khāndam.]

'I am laughing.'

[mā khanda/khanda] ma khanda

'I was laughing.'

[khanda/khanda me] khanda me

'I was laughing.'
Chapter 14: Simple Sentence Structure

[khandél me dí]  
laughed 1 be3P  
خندلی می دی.  
'I have laughed.'

[khandél shám]  
swam 1 be1S  
خندلی شم.  
'I can laugh.'

[laylá pë afnd ke wállambal.]  
Layla in river in swim3PM  
لايلا په سیند کي ولابل.  
'Layla swam in the river.'

[bégá shpa de ahmad spi gër wágshapal]  
last night of Ahmad dog very barked3PM  
بیگا شب د احمد سی پر وغل.  
'Ahmad's dog barked a lot last night.'

K. Other Analyses

Our analysis of the particles is based on Tegy's The Grammar of Clitics, published in 1978 by the International Centre for Pashto Studies in Kabul. The focus of that treatment is the demonstration that the occurrences of the particles in various places in the sentence can be explained by the single rule that they occur just after the first stressed element in the sentence.

Our presentation of the ergative construction is based on Tegy's 'Ergativity in Pashto (Afghan)' which appeared in Linguistic Method: Essays in Honor of Herbert Penzl, edited by Irmengard Rauch and Gerald F. Carr and published by Mouton in 1979. This article demonstrates that the Pashto past tense transitive sentences contain the characteristics of ergative constructions in other languages.

Penzl (1955) notes the SOV order and gives details of the order of modifiers. He analyzes basic sentence components to allow for subjectless sentences, to account for imperative sentences and those in which the weak pronoun subject (or object) is dropped. He analyzes the occurrence of particles as several special cases of ordering. His grammar preceded the work that was done on ergative constructions, and he therefore relates the objects of past tense transitive sentences with the subjects of all other sentences as follows:
Chapter 11: Simple Sentence Structure

In past tense transitive sentences:
- Agent
- Goal
- Verb

In other transitive sentences:
- Subject
- Object
- Verb

The sketches of syntax in Mackenzie (1987) and Shafeev (1964) do not differ in basics from the analysis given here.
Chapter 12: Conjunction

A. Introduction

This chapter describes how words, phrases and sentences are conjoined by simple conjunctions like 'and' (aw), 'or' (ya) and 'but' (kho) and the more complex conjunctions like 'both ... and' (ham ... ham), 'neither ... nor' (na ... na). The interaction of word and phrase conjunction and agreement is also described.

B. Conjoined Nouns and Noun Phrases

Nouns are conjoined in Pashto most simply by means of the conjunctions 'and' (aw), 'or' (ya) and 'but' (kho):

[امان او لیلا]  
Aman and Layla

[امان یا لیلا]  
Aman or Layla

[امان، لیلا او کوشحال]  
Aman, Layla and Khoshal

[امان، لیلا یا کوشحال]  
Aman, Layla or Khoshal

When one of the elements is a pronoun, the pronoun ordinarily appears first:

[زه او لیلا]  
Zeh and Layla

[تے، اسد او د اسد پلار]  
you, Asad and of Asad's father

204
Adjective agreement with conjoined nouns. When nouns conjoined with 'and' [law] or 'or' [yəl] are the same gender, adjectives modifying both nouns agree with them in whatever the gender is, and are plural:

- [aw xə̀dza] prettyFP girlFS and womanFS
  - بکویی نجلی او بخته
    - 'pretty girl and woman'

- [yə́ xə̀dza] prettyFP girlFS or womanFS
  - بکویی نجلی یا بخته
    - 'pretty girl or woman'

- [alák aw saráy] braveMP boyMS and manMS
  - زورر هملک ای سری
    - 'brave boy and man'

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

- [xə̀dza aw saráy] braveFS womanFS and braveMS manMS
  - زورر هملک او زورر سری
    - 'brave woman and man'

- [xə̀dza yə́ saráy] braveFS womanFS or braveMS manMS
  - زورر هملک یا زورر سری
    - 'brave woman or man'

Agreement of verbs with conjoined subjects. Verbs in sentences with conjoined subjects (or objects, in the case of ergative constructions) connected with 'and' [law] or are plural, as they are in English. When the nouns to be agreed with are all one gender, the verb agrees with that gender, for example:

- [aw khoshál melé ta låxal.] Aman, Asad and Khoshal picnic to went 3MP
  - 'Aman, Asad, and Khoshal went on the picnic.'

- [aw khoshál w-åxal.] we Aman, Asad and Khoshal saw 3MP
  - 'We saw Aman, Asad, and Khoshal.'
Chapter 12: Conjunction

[laylā, rābyā aw kawtāra melē ta lārē.] ليلة، رابيا أو كوتاره مبلي ته لاري.
Layla, Rabya and Kawtara picnic to went 3FP
'Layla, Rabya, and Kawtara went on the picnic.'

[mung laylā rābyā aw kawtāra wālدل] موني ليلة، رابيا أو كوتاره وليدي.
we Layla, Rabya and Kawtara saw 3FP
'We saw Layla, Rabya, and Kawtara.'

When the nouns are of different genders, the verb is masculine. There has apparently been a prescriptive tradition in the language that the verb agrees with the last of a conjoined set of subjects or objects, but in the central dialect, at least, the rule seems to be that if the conjoined set is mixed in gender, the verb is masculine.

[amān laylā aw khoshāl melē ta lārē.] امان، ليلة، أو خوشحال مبلي ته لاري.
Aman, Layla and Khoshal picnic to went 3MP
'Aman, Layla and Khoshal went on the picnic.'

[mung amān laylā aw khoshāl wālدل] موني امان، ليلة، أو خوشحال وليدي.
w Aman Layla and Khoshal saw 3MP
'We saw Aman, Layla and Khoshal.'

[amān khoshāl aw laylā melē ta lārē.] امان، خوشحال، أو ليلة مبلي ته لاري.
Aman Khoshal and Layla picnic to went 3MP
'Aman, Khoshal, and Layla went on the picnic.'

[mung amān khoshāl aw laylā wālدل] موني امان، خوشحال، أو ليلة وليدي.
w Aman Khoshal and Layla saw 3MP
'We saw Aman, Khoshal, and Layla.'

When one of the subjects or objects is a pronoun, the verb agrees with the combination, i.e. the verb in a sentence which includes 'I' [za] or 'we' [mung] موني، امان أو ليلة مبلي ته لاري.
za Aman and Layla picnic to went 1P
'aman, Layla, and I went on the picnic.'

193

206
Chapter 12: Conjunction

TA ZA ASAD AW LAYLA WALDUN.
You me, Asad and Layla saw1P.
‘You saw Asad, Layla, and me.’

TA AMAN AW LAYLA BA DE ASAD PA MOJTAR KE LAI SAY.
You Aman and Layla will of Asad in car in go2P.
‘You, Aman, and Layla will go in Asad’s car.’

MUNG TA, AMAN AW LAYLA WALDAY.
We you Aman and Layla saw2P.
‘We saw you, Aman, and Layla.’

When nouns are connected by ‘or’ [yā]  ya, the verb agrees with the noun closest to it. For example:

AMAN YĀ LAYLA WAGADEDA.
Aman or Layla danced3FS.
‘Aman or Layla danced.’

LAYLA YĀ AMAN WAGADEDA.
Layla or Aman danced 3MS.
‘Layla or Aman danced.’

C. Double Conjunctions

Words and phrases may be conjoined with double conjunctions, as they may be in English. Common double conjunctions are ‘either - or’ [yā ... yā] ya ... ya, ‘neither ... nor’ [na ... na], ‘and’ and ‘both - and’ [ham ... aw ham]. Note the position of the verb in the following sentences (if conjunction is thought of as the combining of sentences and the deletion of common elements in those sentences, these sentences show that it is the second verb that is dropped):

AMAN HAM TĀRIKH PŌH DIYA
Aman both historian is and both writer.
‘Aman is both a historian and a writer.’

AMAN HAM NYU YARK TE DAY,
Aman both New York to goes and both Chicago to.
‘Aman is going both to New York and to Chicago.’
Chapter 12: Conjunction

Aman na nyu yārk ta dzi na shikagā ta."
Aman neither New York to goes nor Chicago to
'Aman is going neither to New York nor to Chicago.'

Aman ba yā nyu yārk ta lār sī yā shikagā ta.
Aman fut either New York to go aux or Chicago to
'Aman will go either to New York or to Chicago.'

Zhe hām pē wādā ke wágagadam aw ham la wādā na wrūsta.
I both at wedding at danced and both from wedding from after
'I danced both at the wedding and after the wedding.'

Na me āshāk tsakāi na sābā.
nor vegetables tasted nor vegetables
'I tested neither the aushak
nor the vegetables.'

Na āshā xu da, na gwēla; duy de wākhwri yaw tar bālal
neither Asha good is nor Gwela; they may eat one toward other
'Neither Asha nor Gwela is good; may they destroy each other.' (proverb)

D. Conjoined Sentences

It appears to be impossible to conjoin Pashto verbs or verb phrases in the same
way that noun phrases can be conjoined. For example, a Pashto equivalent for the English
sentence in which one subject has two verbs, 'I will go to the city and buy a car' does
not exist; its only possibility in Pashto is the following:

[xartā ba lār sam (aw) moṣar ba wākhlām.]
'Will go to the city and buy a car.'

city fut go auxS (and) car fut I buy
'Motar de Wakhlaam.'

which follows the rules for the conjoining of sentences.

The major characteristic of sentence conjoining is that the conjunction
'and' [aw] is optional, and most of the time is dropped.
Chapter 12: Conjunction

[kar ta láram (aw) moštar me wákhist.] *I went to the city and bought a car.*

[bazaar to l-went (and) with shopkeeper with l-talked.]

[dojey me wákhista (aw) kor ta láram.] *I went to the bazaar and talked to the shopkeeper.*

[yaw tsay payse me badale khe (aw) yawa qálina me wákhista.]

[day ba rásī (aw) yā ba rā nō st.] *Either he’ll get here or he won’t.*

As with conjoined nouns, a double [yā ... yā] *rā* renders the equivalent of *either... or*

[ya ḥe shay wákhla (aw) yā la dukān na wawza.] *Either buy something or leave the shop.*

*but* [kho] *does not occur with *and* [aw] or, but functions as its English counterpart does. Note that the conjunction [kho] *is different from the particle [kho].*
Chapter 12: Conjunction

[ahmad kór tā dzi kho khpāla kā́dza nā gori.]
Ahmad house to goes but own wife not sees

'Ahmad goes home, but doesn't see his wife.'

[stāray wām kho byā hām wāgāgedām.]
tired I was but again also I danced

'stāray wām kho byā hām wāgāgedām. I was tired but I danced anyway.'

When the sequence of events is not apparent from the meanings of the verbs, it can be signalled by means of adverbs like 'then' [byā] byā, with or without [aw] or. In the following examples of various combinations of sentences, the deletable 'and' [aw] or is shown in parentheses.

[ahmad awal gāдежī (aw) byā doḏay khwrl]
Ahmad first dances (and) then bread eats

'Ahmad first dances and then eats.'

[ahmad pa bāgh ke wāgārdzād (aw) gwalān ye tōl kāri.
Ahmad in garden in waited (and) flowers he pick aux

'Ahmad walked in the garden and picked flowers.'

[ahmad pa bāgh ke wāgārdzād (aw) byā xār tā lāc.]
Ahmad in garden in walked (and) then city to he went

'Ahmad walked in the garden and then went to the city.'

[lāyā gēr xē angur tāyār kāri, kho awal wā gāдежū (aw) byā mo wākhwrlal.
Layla very good pears fixed but first pare danced and then we ate them

'Layla fixed some very good pears, but we danced first and then we ate them.'
Chapter 10: Conjunction

E. Other Analyses

Shafeev (1964) notes that sentences can be conjoined with or without 'and' [aw] \(^{1}\), and discusses the agreement between verb and compound subjects.

Mackenzie (1977) does not discuss conjunction.

Penzl (1955) groups together sentence conjunction and sentence subordination.
Chapter 13: Subordinate Clause Structure

A. Introduction

This chapter discusses the structure of subordinate clauses, i.e. noun clauses, relative clauses, adverbial clauses with various clause markers, and conditional clauses beginning with 'if' [kal]. The analyses are based on the assumption that subordinate clauses are essentially sentences that function as nouns (in the case of noun clauses) or adjectives (in the case of relative clauses, which are sometimes called adjective clauses), or adverbs (in the case of adverbial clauses which may be analyzed as modifying verbs or sentences).

B. Noun Clauses

Noun clauses are sentences that function as noun phrases; they may appear as subjects, direct objects, complements, or objects of prepositions. Every language has noun clauses, and the extent to which the original sentence is modified or altered to function as a noun clause differs greatly from language to language. In Pashto, modification of the sentence is minimal: a noun clause is identical to a corresponding independent sentence except that it is usually preceded by the clause marker 'that' [tse] or [che]. For agreement purposes, noun clauses are masculine plural.

Noun clauses as subjects. The English sentence 'That you arrived early was good' has a noun clause as its subject. Its Pashto equivalent is:

[che wakhta râghle xê shwali]  
that early you came good be3P

'Che wâl-e râğhle xê shwâli.'  
That you arrived early was good.

and is just as awkward stylistically as the English. (Pashto appears to avoid starting a sentence with 'that' [che].) Both languages have a process by which such noun clause subjects are moved to the end of the sentence:

[xê shwâli tse wâkhta râghle.]  
good be3P that early you came

'Ne shâl-e xê wâkht-e râghlî.'  
'It was good that you arrived early.'

212
and both languages tend to move noun clause subjects to the end more often than not. In English, a word like 'it' must occur in the subject position when the clause is moved; in Pashto, a demonstrative pronoun (usually feminine singular) can occur in the subject place. (The demonstrative pronoun appears to agree with a noun like 'fact' [khabéra] that is then deleted, suggesting that other words like [khabéra] but masculine also trigger agreement.) Some examples:

[dā šé shwa tse wákhtə rāghie.] that good ba3FS that early you came 'It was good that you arrived early.'

dā mohéma ja tse wákhtə rāse.] that important ba3SF that early you arrive 'It's important that you get here early.'

dā rā ta malúma shwa che pe ʒero gano khalko ko hám saray dzān ta “ywáṣe” that me to known ba3SF that in very many people in also man self to ‘alone’ wayalay shi.] say be

dā ra ta mulsóm shahe ché pê dêro gêno xalâko kî him sêri xân “ywázi” wîlî shi. 'I realized that a man can say to himself 'I am alone' in a great crowd of people.' (Ulfať)

Noun clauses as direct objects. The most frequent use of noun clauses is as the objects of sentences. Note in the following examples that the past tense verbs are masculine plural, in order to agree with their object clauses:

[wâyi tse de asad plêr xê saray daj.] say that of Asad Father good man is sarê di. 'They say that Asad's father is a good man.'

[mā katêl che asad râghay.] I saw3P that Asad came. 'I saw that Asad had arrived.'
The two examples just above are similar, in that their m-in verbs appear to be phrases with direct objects ('question' [puxtêna] and 'idea' [fikir] built in. Note that the verb ending of the last example is feminine singular to agree with the feminine 'question' [puxtêna] which suggests that, strictly speaking, the [che] clauses in both examples are not direct objects but some kind of appositives parallel to English 'The question, "Are you alone?' is a difficult one to answer.'

A final example involves the common way to express knowledge, with the verb 'know' [pohag-] which is intransitive. In sentences like 'I know the story', the 'known' fact is the object of the prepositional phrase 'with/by means of' [pa].

[I with story know]

but when what is known is expressed in a clause, the preposition can be present with a demonstrative pronoun:

[Asad with this knows that you neg go]

'Asad knows you're not going there.'
Chapter 13: Subordinate Clauses

or the whole prepositional phrase can be dropped:

[asad ponegi che ta na wardza.] 
Asad knows that you neg go

Asad: 'You're not going there.'

with the resulting structure mimicking the structure of direct object [che] clauses

Reported speech. One of the most common noun clause object constructions is reported speech, corresponding to English sentences like 'Amān said that he would go Pakistan next month,' which is a rendition of the direct quote 'Amān said, 'I'll go to Pakistan next month.'

There is only one way in Pashto to express reported speech, and it is much closer to a direct quote, as can be seen in the following example. Note the (underlined) first person verb ending in the clause:

[amān wāwayal tse bala myāst ba pakistān ta lār sam.] 
Aman said3P that next month fut Pakistan to go be1S

'Amān said that he would go to Pakistan next month.'

in present tense sentences, 'say' [wāwayal] agrees with the subject; in past tense sentences, the verb is masculine plural. (The pronunciation of 'said' [wāwayal] varies from dialect to dialect. [wāwele] is a common pronunciation in the central dialect, but [wāwe] is also heard.) More examples of reported speech:

[laylā amān tā wāwele che malē ta be āshak wāsam.] 
Layla to Aman to said3P that picnic to fut āshak take1S

'Layla told Aman that she would take a picnic.'

[amān laylā tā wāwele che w̢or de sinamā ta dzl.] 
Aman Layla to said3P that brother your movie to goes

'Amān told Layla that her brother was going to a movie.'
Chapter 13: Subordinate Clauses

The newspaper says that the Taliban have reached Kabul.

ما وويل، نه زه يوازى يم.
I said no I alone am 'I said no, I was alone.' (Ulfa)

Tense restrictions with some common verbs. Another common use of noun clause objects is with verbs like 'want' [ghwär-] غوارى, and 'try' [koshish kaw-] کوشيک کارو, which in English are often followed by infinitives. The noun clause objects of these Pashto verbs, however, must be in the present perfective tense. In present tenses, the verb in the main clause agrees with the subject. In past tenses, the verb is masculine plural to agree with the noun clause. Some examples are:

د اسد پلان غوارې چې یو لوې باغ واخلي.
Asad's father wants to buy a large orchard.

د اسد پلان غورئل چې یو لوې باغ واخلي.
Asad's father wanted to buy a large orchard.

د اسد پلان غورئل دی چې یو لوې باغ واخلي.
Asad's father has wanted to buy a large orchard.

تريسا کوشکړ کړی.
Theresa tried to cook aushak.

زه هم غوارېم چې ورم.
'I want to go too.'
Chapter 13: Subordinate Clauses

Noun clauses as complements. Noun clauses can function as complements. Usually, the noun clause is positioned after the 'be' verb. Some examples are:

[omád day che sóla ba rāsi.]
امید دی چه سوله به راشی.
hope is that peaceful come here 'The hope is that peace will come.'

[pá paxtańó ke dā zarur né da che melma wóbaal si.] in Pashtuns in this necessity zargis that guest be invited
په پهنتن کی دا ضرور نه ده چه مهله وبلل شی.
'Among Pashtuns it is not necessary that a guest be invited.'

[sabā me nyót day che zhwandáy ye xakhawám-a.] tomorrow my intention is that alive him I bury
سيا مي نيت دی چه زوندي يي بخومه.
'My intention tomorrow is that I will bury him alive.' (second line of last day)

Frequently, a demonstrative pronoun appears immediately before the verb in complement position, for example:

[máná. ye dá da tse khor wrót ta wárta wi.]
معنا بيي دا ده چه خور
meaning its this is that sister brother to similar is
'Its meaning is this, that sisters are similar to brothers.'

Noun clauses as objects of prepositions. Noun clauses can also function as objects of prepositions in Pashto (although in English such clauses are not possible; as will be seen in the examples, such objects are gerund phrases like 'your working with me'). The clause is postponed to the end of the prepositional phrase (or sometimes to the end of the sentence), and a feminine singular demonstrative pronoun is inserted where the object of the preposition would occur. In the following example, the noun clause is the object of the preposition 'of' [de] in the phrase equivalent to English: 'about' or 'on the subject of' [de ... pá bāra ke] د ... په باره کی.
Chapter 13: Subordinate Clauses

[mos' di dé pa bārā ke che te, kār rā sarā wakrā wāghāgedu.]
we of this on subject on that you work me with do we talked

'Ve talked about your working with me.'

Other prepositions that frequently occur with noun clause objects are:

'instead of [de ... pa dzāy]:
[di dé pa dzāy che la ahmād sarā kār wakrā, mā sarā ye wakrā.] of this in place that with Ahmad with work you do, me with it do.
d di pe khāi che la ahmād sarā kār kār kār, ma sarā yī kār kār kār
'Instead of doing the work with Ahmad, do it with me.'

'before' [pa khwā la ...]
[mung pa khwā la de che kār sarā wakrā yaw bal pézānda.] we in front from this that work together we did each other we knew.

'Ve knew each other before we worked together.'

'after' [wrustā la ... (na)]:
[wrustā la dé che āshak mo wākhwarāl, wāgāgedu.] after that that aushak we ate we danced

'After we ate the aushak, we danced.'

'because' [pa da ...]
[zar má rādzā pa de che laylā nāwākhtā rādzī.] quick neg come with this that Layla late comes

'Zar me rādzā pe de che laylā nāwākhtā rādzī.' me rādzā pe de che laylā nāwākhtā rādzī.
'Don't come quickly because Layla's coming late.'

This last expression is the most natural way to express reasons in the central dialect, other than juxtaposing the clauses, as will be described below in the discussion of 'because' [dzāka]. The following ordering is also possible:

[zar pa de che laylā nāwākhtā rādzī, má rādzā.] quick with this that Layla late comes neg come

'Zar pe de che laylā nāwākhtā rādzī, má rādzā.' pe de che laylā nāwākhtā rādzī, má rādzā.
'Don't come quickly because Layla's coming late.'

205

218
C. Relative Clauses

Relative clauses, or adjective clauses, are sentences that function as adjectives (i.e. they modify nouns). Again, all languages have relative clauses, but the extent to which relative clauses differ from corresponding independent sentences varies from language to language.

In Pashto, relative clauses differ minimally from their corresponding independent sentences. The relative clause follows the noun it modifies, and is introduced by the clause marker [che] or [tse], which translates as 'that', 'who', 'whom' or 'which'.

Within the original sentence that becomes the relative clause, there is always a noun identical to the noun that the clause modifies; however, that noun has been changed to a weak pronoun and follows weak pronoun rules (e.g., if a subject, it drops in present tense sentences; if a subject in a transitive past tense sentence, it remains, etc.)

These processes are shown step by step below with the following sentence:

[agha njolay tse kamis akhli de Rabya khör da,]
that girl who dress buys of Rabya sister is

هغه نجلی چه کمیس اخلی د رابیا خور ده.
'The girl who is buying the dress is Rabya's sister.'

The relative clause 'who is buying the dress' [che kamis akhli] modifies 'girl' [njolay], the subject of the main sentence. The relative clause has the following as its corresponding independent sentence:

[njolay kamis akhli]
girl dress buys

نجلی کمیس اخلی
'The girl is buying the dress.'

In converting the sentence to a relative clause, the identical noun 'girl' [njolay] is changed to a weak pronoun, which is omitted because it is the subject of the sentence

[kamis akhli]
dress buys

کمیس اخلی
'she is buying the dress'

The clause marker 'that' [che] چه is added:

[tse kamis akhli]
that dress buys

چه کمیس اخلی
'who/that is buying the dress'
and the clause has been positioned after 'girl' [$njalay$ نجلی, the noun it modifies, and the
modified noun is preceded by the demonstrative 'that' [agha] همه.]

In the following examples, the main clause

[agha $njalay$ de $rabya$ khør da.] همه نجلی د رابیا خور ده
that girl of Rabya sister is
'The girl is Rabya’s sister'
remains constant, while the subject 'girl' [$njalay$ نجلی, is modified by different relative
clauses.

[agha $njalay$ tse kamis ye wākhista de $rabya$ khør da.] همه نجلی چه کمیس به واحیسته د رابیا خور ده
that girl who dress she bought of Rabya sister is
'The girl who bought the dress is Rabya’s sister.'

[agha $njalay$ tse melmāsti $ta$ rāghelā we de $rabya$ khør da.] همه نجلی چه مسلمستیا که راهی وده د رابیا خور ده
that girl that party to had come of Rabya sister is
'The girl who came to the party is Rabya’s sister.'

[agha $njalay$ tse pa melmāst $ke$ me wāilā de $rabya$ khør da.] همه نجلی چه په مسلمستیا که می ولیده د رابیا خور ده
that girl who at party at I saw of Rabya sister is
'The girl that I saw at the party is Rabya’s sister.'

[agha $njalay$ tse war sara nāst $war$ de $rabya$ khør da.] همه نجلی چه زه ورسه ناست وم د رابیا خور ده
that girl that her with sitting I was of Rabya sister is
'The girl with whom I was sitting is Rabya’s sister.'

In the following example, the relative clause modifies the object of the
preposition 'with' [la ... sara] سره ... ل. note how the clause 'that Lagia doesn’t know' [tse
layli $ye$ na $pezan$] لیلا می ن پژنی is placed after the entire prepositional phrase,
rather than directly after the noun that the relative clauses modifies.

[asad la agha $njalay$ sara tse layli $ye$ na $pezan$, gādegli] اسد له همی نجلی سره چه لیلا می ن پژنی، گدگلی,
Asad with that girl with that Layla her not know dances
'Asad is dancing with a girl that Layla doesn’t know.'
Chapter 13: Subordinate Clauses

When a noun and its relative clause appear at the end of a sentence (i.e., just before the verb in the main clause), the clause can be placed after the main verb. Western analysts speculate that the juxtaposition of verbs that results when the relative clause modifies the direct object of a sentence (the verb of the relative clause appears immediately before the verb in the main clause) is grammatically awkward, and is avoided by moving the relative clause. (This might be a dialectal characteristic: Penzl (1955), in describing the Kandahar dialect, comments on the juxtaposition of verbs, but does not mention that the clause may be moved. His discussion of clause structure is brief, however, so he simply might not have presented examples.) When the clause has not been moved to the end of the sentence, many Pashtun writers punctuate the end of the relative clause with a comma. The following sentences illustrate the point made above:

[amān agha xādza nā pezñi tsa laylā sara ghagāγi.]  
Aman that woman not knows that Layla with talks

アマン ヒフ ネ パーツ ニ サラ シラ グアピ

'Amān doesn't know the woman who is talking with Laylā.'

[amān agha xādza tsa laylā sara ghagāγi nā pezñi.]  
Aman that woman that Layla with talks not knows

アマン ヒフ ネ シラ サラ グアピ ネ パーツ

'Amān doesn't know the woman who is talking with Laylā.'

Another example of a clause that has been moved to the end of the sentence is:

[dā de agha sari kitāb day che pa pohantūn ke dárs warkaw.]  
that of that man book is who at university at lesson give

ダ デ ヒフ サリー キタブ デーチ ペーポーハントン ケー ダールズ ワルカウ

'That is the book [authored by] the man who teaches at the university.'

English relative clauses with 'where', 'in which', 'to which', and 'whose' are relative clauses in Pashto as well, for example:

[agha kor tse koranay me pake wosedá, kharts săway day.]  
that house that family my in it lived has been sold

ヘフ コーチー コラーナイ メーパークテイ モー カーハツ リーン デーキー

'The house in which/where my family was living has been sold.'
Chapter 13: Subordinate Clauses

[kum bāgh ta che mung wardzū de asad de plār day] 
some garden to which we go there of Asad of father is

کوم باغ ته چې مونې ورځو د اوست د پلار دي.
'The garden to which we're going belongs to Asad's father.'

dā aghe saraj day che mojār me ye wākhist.] 
that that man is who car (his bought

دای هغه سری دی چې موتر مي یې وختهست.
'That's the man whose car I bought.'

(This last example is one of the sentences described in Chapter 11 in the discussion of particles, which is ambiguous out of context. An alternative meaning is 'That's the man who bought my car.')

Two final types of relative clauses involve 'whenever' [har wakht] هر وقت and 'as much' [tsumra] خومره as the modified nouns:

[har wakht che laylā ma wāwini rāta maṣēgī.] 
every time that Layla me sees me to smiles

هر وقت چې لیلا مایا ویوئه می را راسته می سیگه.
'Whenever Layla sees me she smiles.'

[tsumra che ghwāqi wār ye ka.] 
as much as he wants to him it give

خومره چې چوآری ور بی کره.
'Give him as much as he wants.'

D. Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses are sentences that modify verb phrases or other sentences. Pashto has several types of adverbial clauses, described below.

Time clauses. Among the most common adverbial clauses in both English and Pashto are clauses that indicate when something has happened or will happen, e.g. clauses that in English start with clause markers like 'when', 'until', 'while' and so on. The Pashto equivalents of these clauses are straightforward, and involve such clause markers as 'when' [kala che] کله چې or sometimes simply [che] چې, 'until'.

[tar tso che] تار تکه and 'as soon as' [tsanga tse] تسا نگه چې.
Chapter 13: Subordinate Clauses

Apparentley there are no clause markers in Pashto parallel to English 'before' and 'after'. Pashto expresses such notions by means of noun clause objects of prepositions, examples of which are presented in Section B above.

Time clauses typically occur first in the sentence, and the clause marker (especially if it is [che]) by itself) is frequently placed after the first stressed element in the clause.

[kala tse laylā de asad pa aksident khābāra swa samdastī roghūn ta lāra.]
when Layla of Asad with accident heard immediately hospital to want
كله چې لیلا د اسد په اکسیدنت خبره شوه سمدستي روغتون
te lārē.

'When Layla heard about Asad's accident, she immediately went to the hospital.'

[tsanga che kār ta lār se, war sara wāghagega.]
as soon as city to you go him with talk
شی ور سره وغږه،
'Talk to him as soon as you go to the city.'

[tar tso che asad nāway moṭar ākhli, da āmān moṭar gārdzawōlīyay sl.]
until Asad new car buys of Aman car he can use
تر خو چې اسد نوی موټر اخلي د امان موټر گرخولی شی.
'Until Asad buys a new car, he can use Aman's.'

[laylā tse rāghia ger wakht war sara kānestam.]
Layla when she came very time her with l set
لیلا چې راغلې ده وخت ور سره کههناستم.
'When Layla came I spent a lot of time with her.'

Consequence clauses. Some clauses that begin with the clause marker [che] چې report consequences. These clauses follow the verb in the main clause, and frequently occur with adverbs like 'so' [dumre] دومره;


Chapter 13: Subordinate Clauses

[asad dumra stáray wé tse la dárs na wrústa dasti kor ta íşć]  
Asad so tired was that from class from after immediately house to he-went  
'Asad was so tired he went home immediately after class.'

[kala kaia dümra zéyta wáwra worégi che sarakúna bikhi bandégí]  
sometimes so much heavy snow falls that streets completely block  
'Sometimes it snows so much that the streets are completely blocked.'

[dá däse kitáb daj che lwastai ye grän di]  
this such book is that to read it difficult are  
'Da daši kitáb de چه لوستل یی گردن دی.  
'This book is such that it is hard to read.'

Purpose clauses. Another group of clauses with [che] ꞏ ꞏ conveys purpose;  
these purpose clauses are always in the present perfective tense, and are parallel to  
noun clauses with 'want' [ghwār- ꞏ ꞏ غوار] and 'try' [koshish käw- ꞏ ꞏ کرخش کر-], described  
above, both in their structure and in that they translate as infinitives in English.

[sabā ba asad wálegu che xa loy pása wākh'il]  
tomorrow but Asad we send so that good big lamb he buys  
'Sabi be asad ولیرو چه به لوی پسه وخلا.  
'Tomorrow we'll send Asad to buy a good, big lamb.'

[perun mo asad wálega che xa loy pása wākh'il.]  
yesterday we Asad sent that good big lamb he buys  
'پرون مو اسد ولیرو چه به لوی پسه وخلا.  
'Yesterday we sent Asad to buy a good, big lamb.'

[za dä kitáb khpal wróˈa warkawám che wáye lwalit]  
I this book own brother to give so that it reads  
'ژه دا کتاب خیل ورو ره ورکوم چو یی لولو.  
'I'm giving this book to my brother to read.'

[dä kitáb me khpal wrór ta wárkra che wáye lwalit]  
I this book own brother to gave so that it he reads  
دا کتاب می خیل ورو ره ور کر چو یی لولو.  
'I gave this book to my brother to read.'
Causal clauses and [dzaka] حکم. The central dialect ordinarily expresses reasons and causal relationships simply by ordering sentences one after the other and allowing the context to show what is causing what, for example:

[{{dzaka}}] لیلا دلته نه راهی، خپ ده. Layla here neg come upset is

'layla isn't coming here [because] she's upset.'

[{{day bura ná khwri, tawān warta kawil.}}] دی بوره نه خوری، تاوان he sugar not eat loss him to does

'he doesn't eat sugar [because] it's not good for him.'

[{{de asad garmí keda, wóbá yē watskae.}}] د اسد گرمی کده، اوبه of asad heat became water he drank

'asad felt hot [so] he drank some water.'

While there appears to be no word parallel to English 'because', the clause marker 'then' or 'so' [no] نو, which often occurs as the Pashto equivalent of 'then' in conditional ('if-then') sentences, is often used to introduce a result clause, in which case it parallels English 'therefore' or 'so'. The example above may appear with 'so' [no]

[{{de asad garmí keda no wóbá yē watskae.}}] د اسد گرمی کده، نو اوبه بی وحکمی. of asad heat became so water he drank

'asad felt hot, so he drank some water.'

In Pashto writing in general (and presumably in spoken Kandahari Pashto), the clause marker [dzaka] حکم or [dzaka che] حکم frequently appears in cause-and-effect contexts, and depending on the context translates as 'therefore' or 'because'. The following patterns seem to obtain:

'therefore', 'so': [dzaka no] نو حکم or [no dzaka] نو حکم

'because': [dzaka che] حکم or [dzaka] حکم
The dropping of [no] ئى تر or [che] چې, by itself, can translate as either 'because' or its opposite 'therefore', which can lead to confusion on the part of the foreign reader/hearer of Pashto, if not native speakers.

Some examples from written Pashto are given below, with [dzaka] چې and its translations double-underline. The first three are from 'A True Story' [یوا د ریتیانه قیس] په یولف، ایک کراچی دیوبندی دوتنه، چې لیک او دیپ بودا وی. د زماه کې دی چې د هنر لرې چېدیه.

Dde دویک دیر یې کې ار دیر باری و چې دی چې لرې چېدیه.

His rifle was very beautiful and trustworthy, so he was not afraid of anyone.

[] پا مېل خې ژا للاه کالو لا نور خلیق را ورېتل او دی بوره شو دی دویک چې لېکت ننی کولی دیکې لرې بوره خورتې چې بوره کاله. د پېنه ورې ورې او د خان د حمایت غربتنه نې وکرې.

'Other people came towards him from another village, and he realized that he couldn't fight on two fronts at once, so he took asylum in a house on the edge of a creek and asked for protection.'

[Tāse wos dá ta tsu zyān nāshay rasawalay dzaka che day zmā porawār wāg day aw you all now him to any harm neg can bring because that he my debtor is and

mā ta je panān rāwrti da.]

مې ته اسیدې بېرته

تاسې اوس ده ته شې زبان نه شې رسول خېک چې دی زما پوره

di او ما ته پې پېنه راوري ده.

'None of you can harm him because he owes me and came to me for asylum.'
Chapter 13: Subordinate Clauses

Another example, from Ulfa's essay 'Of Hidden Words' (de pardé khábére)

[ter tsó che de xadzo makhuna pát wi xhabáré ba ham pa pardé ke wi as long as of women faces covered be information fut also in curtain in be
dzáká che pa paxtó ke xhabáré ham mu'ânása da.) because in Pashtuns in information also feminine is

تر خو چو د بدخو مخونه پت وي خبري به هم په برده كي وي خو چو په پاشتو كي خبره هم مونه ده.

'As long as as women's faces are covered, information is hidden, because in Pashto information is feminine.'

Here is an example of 'therefore' [no dzáká] نو حککه from the essay 'Malala' [málála] بله سیار by Samandar de Badrashe:

[kho kála kála musulmán dák sábq hér kí, no dzáká pre wár but sometimes Moslems this lesson forget therefore them

khatáyí ghalábá wákí]

panic overcome

خو کله کله مسلمانان دا سبک هبر کري ني خوکه پري ور خطابی غلب وکري.

'But sometimes Moslems forget this lesson, so panic overcomes them.'

The [dzáká] حککه in the phrase 'because' [dzáká che] حککه is sometimes placed before the verb in the previous clause, as in the examples below from the short story 'The Grave' [qabar] قبر by Mir Míndí Shah Míndí:

[dák tapos me dzáká wákra che haghba ba de qábár na der zyút weredó.] this question I because did that he would from grave from very heavy fear

دا تپوس می بشکه اواکرو جه هنع د قبر نه دبر زيات ويربدو.

'I asked this question because he was terrified of graves.'

[bẹ́a xadza ze dzáká na kawam che bua ba me dák lúr wah!.] another wife I because not I do that then will my this daughter beat...

بله بهه زه بشکه نه كوم په بيضا بيضا مي دا لور وه.

'I don't want another wife because she would beat this daughter of mine...'
Chapter 13: Subordinate Clauses

Clauses after idiomatic expressions. A final group of clauses with [che] چې occur with Idiomatic expressions. Some examples:

'because' [wale che]
[asad wa na gaedga wale tse najora wa]
Asad prf not danced why that sick was.

ئس د وئه ګنده ولي چې ناجوره ز
'Asad didn't dance because he was sick.'

'in short' [lange da che]
[lange da che misafir aw melma farq sa bari]
short this that traveler and guest difference with have

لنده دا چې مسافر او میلله فرق سره لري.
'In short, there is a difference between guests and travelers.'

'it looks like' 'it seems to be the case that' [laka che]
[laka che ta nagwore tse melmastyawal farq se]
like that you want that party to you go

لكې چې ته غواري چې میلستیا ته لار شي.
'It looks like you don't want to go to the party.'

'it's possible that' [xayil che]
[xayil che khabal bya bad si]
posible that Kabul again prosperous is

بنې چې کابل بيا ابد شي.
'It's possible that Kabul will be built again.'

C. Conditionals and Counterfactuals

Pashto, like many other Indo-European languages, has special tense and clause combinations to express conditionals--sentences like 'if it rains, we'll stay home' and counterfactuals--sentences like 'if you had asked, I would have told you.' Pashto employs participial constructions and different tenses to express these, along with the clause marker [ka] که, which translates as 'if', and optionally the clause marker 'then'[no] نو.
Conditional sentences. Conditional sentences reflect real conditions or possibilities and their consequences in the future, for example, the English, "If he finds some money, he will spend it immediately."

Pashto future conditionals are expressed by means of sentences with two clauses. The first clause starts with 'if' [ka] ک، the verb in this clause is in the present or past perfective tense, although the tense difference does not reflect a difference in meaning. The second clause, which expresses the result, contains the normal future construction with [ba] ب and the verb in the present perfective tense. Note, in the examples below, the same conditional sentence with different tenses in the 'if' [ka] ک clause:

[ka dá payše paydá ki, samdosti ba ye wálagawi.] 
if he money finds immediately fut he spend

که دی پیسی پیدا کری، سمدستی به یې ولگوری.
"If he finds some money, he will spend it immediately."

[ka dá payše paydá kře, samdosti ba ye wálagawi.] 
if he mone, found immediately fut he spend

که ده پیسی پیدا کری، سمدستی به یې ولگوری.
"If he finds some money, he will spend it immediately."

[ka asad rašhi, zé ba ye wágoram.] 
if Asad come I fut him see

که اسد راشی، زه به یې وګورم.
"If Asad comes, I will see him."

[ka asad ráñeg, zé ba ye wágoram.] 
if Asad came I fut him see

که اسد رانی، زه به یې وګورم.
"If Asad comes, I will see him."

[ka za bāgh wākhlám de asad plār ba khoshála sń.] 
if I orchard buy of Asad father fut pleased is

که زه باغ واخلم، د اسد پلار به خوشحاله شی.
"If I buy the orchard, Asad's father will be pleased."
[ka mā bāgh wákhistā, de asad plār ba khoshāla shī.]
if I orchard bought of Asad father Future is pleased is

'If I buy the orchard, Asad’s father will be pleased.

[kā sabā tā hawā xāwē, melē ṭa ba lār shu.]
if tomorrow weather good is picnic to fut we go

'If the weather is good tomorrow, we will go on a picnic.'

[kā sabā tā hawā xāwē, melē ṭa ba lār shu.]
if tomorrow weather good was picnic to fut we go

'If the weather was good tomorrow, we will go on a picnic.'

Counterfactuals. An unreal condition, or counterfactual, describes a situation that does not exist, for example English 'If I were you...', 'If there were peace in Afghanistan...' 'If pigs had wings...' and so on. (Note that in English the non-reality of the phrase is signalled by the verb's being in the past rather than the present tense: contrast 'If there were peace in Afghanistan...' with 'If there is peace in Afghanistan...'.) Unreal conditional statements usually (in most of the Indo-European languages) consist of a clause stating the contrary-to-fact situation, and a clause describing a result. The conditional clause may describe an unreal situation in the present (e.g., English 'If there were peace in Afghanistan...') or in the past (e.g., 'If there had been peace in Afghanistan...'). The result clause may also be in the present ('If there were peace in Afghanistan, the government would be establishing an education system now'), or past (if there were peace in Afghanistan, the government would have established an education system years ago').

Pashto unreal conditionals are formed in the usual Indo-European pattern involving 'If' [ka] clauses and particular verb tenses. Such constructions comprise a clause starting with 'If' [ka] which describes a counter-to-fact situation, and a following clause that describes the result. The tenses of both the 'If' [ka] clause and the result clause are expressed with various combinations of the imperfective participle and other tense markers.
Chapter 13: Subordinate Clauses

Present unreal conditionals. If the [ka] clause refers to an unreal condition in the present, its verb is an imperfective participle that does not agree with the subject/object. (If the verb is ‘be’, the form is [way].) Some examples of such clauses are:

[ka mo důmra čer kār nā lāralay..]  
if we so much work not have  
‘If we didn’t have so much work...’

[ka amān aw laylā koro tā pārti tālay..]  
if Aman and Layla house to came  
‘If Aman and Layla came to the house...’

[ka tarisā pāxtānā wāy..]  
if Theresa Pashtana were  
‘If Theresa were a Pashtana...’

Present unreal condition, result in the present. If the result clause is in the present, its verb is in the past imperfective tense. If the verb is be (i.e., if it is parallel to English ‘would be’), it comprises the particle [ba] plus the verb [way]. Some examples:

[ka mo důmra čer kār nā lāralay, wos kor tā tālātu.]  
if we so much work not have now home to we-were-going  
‘If we didn’t have so much work, we would go home now.’

[ka amān aw laylā koro tā pārti tālay pasā mo akhista.]  
if Aman and Layla house to some lamb we were-buying  
‘If Aman and Layla came to the house, we would buy a lamb.’

[ka tarisā pāxtānā wāy wos ba wādā wāy..]  
if Theresa Pashtana were now fut married was  
‘If Theresa were a Pashtana, she would be married by now.’
Chapter 13: Subordinate Clauses

Present unreal condition, result in the past. If the result clause is in the past, its verb construction consists of the particle [ba] ړي، the imperfective participle, and be [way] ړي. The participle agrees with the subject/object; [way] ړي does not.

[ka mung dûmra ðer kûr nû laralay, tara hafta ba xûr ta tlâli way.]
if we so much work not have last week ful city to gone been

که مونئ دومره دبئ کار نه لرلي نه هغه به بار مه تللي وى.
'If we didn't have so much work, we would have gone to the city last week.'

[ka amân aw laylâ har wekt kor ta râtlâlay kilî ba mo warkâra way.]
if Aman and Layla every time house to come key ful we would have given

که امان او ليله هر وقت کور هى دومره کيلى به مو وركري وى.
'If Aman and Layla often came to the house, we would have given them a key.'

[ka târîsà paxtânà wai mor âw plîr bai ye qur pakhwâ merî ta warkâra way.]
if Theresa Pashtana were mother and father ful her very long-time husband to given been

که تريسا پختنه وى مور او پلار به بى دبئ پخوا ميره ت وركري وى.
'If Theresa were a Pashtana, her mother and father would have found her a husband years ago.'

Past unreal conditionals. A past time unreal condition or counterfactual in English takes a form like 'if I had been you.' or 'if the Soviets had not established a communist government in Afghanistan...'. In Pashto, a past unreal conditional clause starts with 'if' [ka] که, and contains an imperfective participle plus [way] ړي. The participle agrees with the subject/object as usual, but the [way] ړي does not change.

These clauses are in the past tense, and so follow the rules for ergative constructions. Some examples of such 'if' [ka] که clauses:

[ka mâ dûmra ðer kûr nû laralay...] if I so much work neg be have

که ما دومره دبئ کار نه وى لرلي
'If I hadn't had so much work...'
Chapter 13: Subordinate Clauses

[ka mung dumra serir kār nā way laralay ...]
if we so much work neg be have

که مونی دومره دیپ کار نو وي لرلی
'If we hadn't had so much work...'

[ka amān aw layla kor te rāgholi way...]
if Aman and Layla house to came be

که امان او لیلا کور تی راغلی وی
'If Aman and Layla had come to the house...'

If the verb in the 'if' [ka] clause is be (i.e., if it is para 161 to English 'had been')
there is no participle; the verb is just [way]. The distinction between present and
past unreal condition therefore doesn't exist in Pashto when the verb in the clause is
'if' [ka] که

[ka sultān mahmūd paktūn way...]
if Sultan Mahmud Pashtun be

که سلطان محمود پختون وی
'If Sultan Mahmud had been a Pashtun...' or
'If Sultan Mahmud were a Pashtun...'?

Past unreal condition, present result. If the result is in the present time,
the verb in the result clause is in the past imperfective tense.

[ka me dūmra serir kār nā way laralay wos ba dumra stārpay nā wam.]
if 1 so much work neg be had now but so tired neg 1-was

که می دومره دیپ کار نو لرلی اوس به دومره ستری نه وم.
'If I hadn't had so much work, I wouldn't be so tired now.'

[ka za parun nārōgha nā way nam sīnfr te taliām.]
if 1 yesterday sick neg be today class te I-went

که زه پرون ناروغه نو وي نن صنف ته تللم.
'If I hadn't been sick yesterday, I would go to class today.'
Chapter 13: Subordinate Clauses

[ke shorawyano pa afganistan yergal na way karay pahewad ke ba wos ger]
if Soviets to Afghanistan invasion not be done in country in fut now many

maktabuna way]
schools be

ke shurwyan pa afganistan yergal na way karay pahewad ke ba wos ger

awos dher maktibonu woi.

‘If the Soviets had not invaded Afghanistan, there would be many schools
in the country now.

[katawele way kenastalam.] ke ta weli woi keshnastam.
if you asked be I-was-sitting

‘If you had asked, I would sit down.’

Past unreal condition, past result. If the result is in the past time, the
result clause includes the particle [ba] پ, the imperfective participle, and be [way].
The participle agrees with the subject/object, but the [way] پ is invariable.

[ka ma dumra ger kar na way larelay mor ba me lidaye way.]
if I so much work neg be have mother fut see be

ke ma dawar pe dher kar na woy lei mor woy mi lidayi woi.

‘If I hadn’t had so much work, I would have visited my mother.’

[ka za parun nargha na way sin ta ba tialay way.]
if I yesterday sick neg be class to fut going been

ke zhe piron taraoge na woy lei tiao te pourli woy.

‘If I hadn’t been sick yesterday, I would have gone to class.’

[ka tawele way kenastale ba way.] ke tawei woi keshnastami be woi.
if you asked been sitting fut be

‘If you had asked, I would have sat down.’ (female speaker)
Chapter 13: Subordinate Clauses

[ka sultan mahmud paktún way paxtanó ta ba ye der kär káray way]
if Sultan Mahmud Pashtun be Pashtuns to the much work do be

که سلطان محمود پختون وی پختن وی به یی دیر
کار کری وی.

'If Sultan Mahmud had been a Pashtun, he would have worked hard for the Pashtuns.'

[ka shorawýáno pə afghánistán yerghal ná way káray no dákhlí jang ba ná way
if Soviets to Afghanistan invasion neg be do then civil war lut neg be
dawá sa wáy]
happened

که شورویانو په افغانستان یرغل وی کری نو دا خلی
جنگ به وی وی پهی شوي.

'If the Soviets had not invaded Afghanistan, a civil war would not have happened.'

Conditional sentences expressing ability. A frequently-occurring combination of conditions and results involves constructions that express ability, for example in English, 'If we buy a car, we can go to the city a lot,' or an unreal conditional 'If we bought a car, we could go to the city a lot.' Note how, in the following examples, the 'can' structure with the perfective form of the be verb is constant; if the imperfective form of be were used, the construction would not carry the 'can' meaning.

[ka mung moṭár wákhlu no xár ta zár zar tíałyay su]
if we car buy then city to often go can

که مونی موټر واخلو، نو بار ته زر زر تلی شي.

'If we buy a car, we can go to the city a lot.'

[ka mo moṭár larálay, no xár ta zár zar tíałyay swu]
if we car had then city to often go could

که مو موټر لرلی، نو بار ته زر زر تلی شي.

'If we had a car, we could go to the city a lot.'
Chapter 13: Subordinate Clauses

[ka mo moṭar akhīstāy way no zār zar ba xār ta tīlāy swu.]
If we car bought be often fut city to go could

که مو موتور اخستی وی نو زر زر به بار تا تعلی شوو.
'If we had bought a car, we could have gone to the city a lot.'

In conversation, the 'can' or 'could' statements with the imperfective participle and the perfective be often occur by themselves, but nevertheless imply a conditional, i.e., the sentence below might imply a conditional like 'if he wanted to' or 'if he had his car'.

[asād kor ta bowālay swam.]
Asad home to could take, imp

اسد کور تا بروئی شوم.
'Asad could take me home.'

Such sentences contrast with their counterparts having perfective participles, in that the imperfective participle sentences make no statement as to whether the action was carried out or not, whereas the perfective participle sentences imply that the action was indeed completed. Contrast the sentence above with its counterpart with a perfective participle:

[asād kor ta bātlay swam.]
Asad home to could take, perf

اسد کور تا برتلی شوم.
'Asad could take me home (and did).'

Another example:

[asād ḍoḍay khwārālay swa.]
Asad food eat (imp) be

اسد دودی خورئی شوه.
'Asad could eat the food' (maybe he did, maybe he didn't)

[asād ḍoḍay wākhwārālay swa.]
Asad food eat (perf) be

اسد دودی وخورئی شوه.
'Asad could eat the food' (and he did).

F. Other Analyses

Shafeev (1964) describes subordinate clauses according to the part they play with regard to main sentences (much like the analysis here), but further divides the adverbial clauses in terms of the meanings of the clause markers, e.g. temporal clauses.
Chapter 13: Subordinate Clauses

(with 'when', 'until', etc.), causal clauses (with 'because', 'since', etc.), purpose clauses (with 'for the purpose of' [la para chel], etc.). He distinguishes [dzaka] خاک as 'therefore' from [dzaka chel] خاک چ‌ل as 'because'.

Mackenzie (1987) refers to complex structures only in passing, but discusses the placement of particles in sentences with relative clauses.

Penzl (1955) lists the adverbial clause markers, mentions the occurrence of perfectives in subordinate clauses, and gives a few examples of relative clauses. He discusses the formation of conditionals in his chapter on verb forms. He lists [dzaka chel] خاک چ‌ل as a conjunction meaning 'because'.

Index

At the end of the Index, there is a list of Pashto words that have mostly grammatical functions, alphabetized by transcription.

Adjective comparison 87, 162
Adjectives
  Adj 1 75
  Adj 1 examples 76
  Adj 1 forms, chart 75
  Adj 2 76
  Adj 2 examples 76, 77
  Adj 2 forms, chart 77
  Adj 3 77
  Adj 3 examples 77, 78, 79
  Adj 3 forms, chart 78
  Adj 4 79
  Adj 4 examples 79
  Adj 4 forms, chart 79
  agreement 85
  agreement with conjoined
    nouns 192
  as adverbs 87
  as nouns 86
  as predicates 86
  classes 75
  gender 75
  irregulars 79
  order 85
  other classifications 86
  stress in Adj 2 76, 77
  vocative forms 85

Adverbial Clauses 209
Agreement summary 180
Alphabet
  characteristics 37
  dialect differences 42
  letter names 39
  letters and transcriptions 39
  ligatures 42
  number symbols 80
  punctuation 43
  special Pashto letters 38
  symbol for feminine [ay] 42
  symbol for [ay] verb ending 42
  symbols in borrowed words 41
  Basic SOV word order 165
  be
    in counterfactuals 220
    in future expressions 126
    in past time expressions 135
    in present time expressions 123
    with noun clause complements 204
Becka, Jiri
  study of Pashto stress 29
Bellew, H. W. 4
Borrowed words 30
  Arabic plurals 33, 57
  as Adj 4's 79
  from Arabic 33
  from English 34
  from Persian 31
  from Russian 35
  from Urdu 35
  gender and class assignment 60
  international words 36
Carr, Sir Olaf 2
Cause and effect examples 212
Cause and effect expressions 205
Commands
  examples 132
  examples of negatives 133
  negatives 133
  negatives, chart of forms 133
  personal endings 131
  unusual verbs 133
  with be 130

238
Index

Commands (cont.)
with present imperfective 134
Complements with be 166
Conditional sentences expressing
ability 222
Conditionals
definition 215
future, tenses in 216
Conjoined sentences 195
Consequence clauses 210
Consonants 11
clusters 20
non-native 15
retroflex 13, 16, 34
technical description 13
Counterfactuals
definition 217
present 217
result: structure 218, 219
results 220, 221
structure 218, 219
Days of the week 176
Dialect differences
cconsonants 28
pronunciation of possessives 154
pronunciation of [wayf] يَلِي 202
pronunciation of [kâbri] 95
spelling system 39, 42
vowels 28
Dropping of past tense suffix [-al-] -ا- 94, 96, 100, 101, 102, 104, 107, 109, 110, 111, 112, 120
Dupree, Louis 4
Ergative construction 62, 181
Ergative construction, examples 182, 183
Future expressions
examples 127, 128
negatives 127
order of elements in negatives 128
with present imperfective
tense 129
with [ba] 4 and present imperfective tense 130
with [ba] and the present perfective tense 127
Imperfective participle
in statements of potential
ability 147
Imperfective participles
formation 119
"perfect" tenses 141
statements of ability 145
summary 150
indirect objects 161
Infinitives 142
as citation forms 143
as nouns 143
in passive constructions 144
Intonation
questions 27, 168
sentences 27
Khoshal Khan Khattak 39
Lorimer, D. L. R. 5, 9, 10
Mackenzie, J. N. 10, 28, 29, 64, 74, 86, 121, 152, 164, 190, 196, 224
Mihdi 214
Noun clauses 203
as direct objects 200
as direct objects, examples 201
as objects of prepositions 204, 205
as subjects 199
as subjects, examples 200
as subjects, order 199
clause marker [che] 199
definition 199
English infinitive parallels 203, 211
reported speech 202
Noun clauses as complements 204
Noun comparison 162
Index

Noun phrases
functions in sentences 170
modifiers 170
order of elements 170
order of modifiers 171

Nouns
abbreviations used 47
as objects 52
as objects of prepositions 62
as subjects 62
case 46
classes of borrowed words 60
F1 54
F1 examples 54
F1 forms, chart 54
F1 unusual 54
F2 55
F2 examples 55
F2 forms, chart 55
F3 56
F3 examples 56
F3 forms, chart 56
gender 46, 47, 54
gender of borrowed words 60
in ergative constructions 62
irregular 56, 59
kinship terms, chart 57
M1 47
M1 examples 47
M1 forms, chart 47
M1 unusual 48
M2 49
M2 examples 50
M2 forms, chart 50
M2 unusual 50
M3 51
M3 examples 52
M3 forms, chart 52, 53
M4 53
M4 examples 53
M4 forms, chart 53
mass 60
number 46
numerical plural of masculines 51
other classifications 64
regularization of forms 59
uses of direct forms 52
uses of oblique forms 52
vocative forms 63

Nouns, feminine 54

Numbers
charts 80, 81, 82
grammatical characteristics 80, 83
order 80
ordinals 83
ordinals, chart 84
symbols 80

Obligation expressions
with 'must' (do) 148
with 'should' (bāyād) 149

Order of sentence modifiers 176
Order of time phrases in sentences 177

Participle constructions
"perfect tenses" 140
"perfect tenses", chart of forms 140
"perfect tenses", examples 141
"perfect tenses", negatives 142
statements of ability 144
statements of ability, examples 145, 146
statements of ability, negative examples 147
statements of ability, negatives 145
statements of future ability 146
statements of potential ability 145, 222, 223

Particles
internal ordering 175
order in sentences 173

Pashto
academies and standardization 8
Index

Pashto (cont.)
ancestry 5
dialects 6
form of examples 11
grammars 10
grammatical study 8
in publications 39
language name 4
literature 39
numbers of speakers 1
standardization 7
vocabulary 5
where spoken 1

Pashto and Dari 2, 6, 8
cognates 31

Pashto greeting structure 131
Pashtun education and literacy 3
Pashtun society 3
Pashtun tribes 3, 7, 52
Pashtunwall 3

Passive construction 144
Past expressions
past imperfective examples 137
past perfective examples 136
with the past imperfective 136
with the past perfective 136
Past imperfective stem
summary of uses 150
Past perfective stem
summary of uses 150

Pethans 2

Penzl, Herbert 10, 29, 64, 74, 88,
121, 152, 164, 189, 198, 224

Perfective participles
formation 119
statements of ability 145
summary 150

Phonological processes
derivative verb formation 109
stress in doubly inflected verbs 114
[a] to [i] 98, 100

[-a] with certain prepositions 157
[a]-initial verbs 105
Post-positions 153, 154
Pre-positions 153, 154
Pre-post-positions 153, 155
Prepositions 153
as indirect objects 161
dropping of elements 155
in adjective comparison 162
in noun comparison 162
phrases with, list 158
possessive [de] a, order in noun phrases 172
special forms 157
use of noun cases 158
with noun clause objects 205
with superlatives 163
with weak pronouns 156

Presnt imperfective stem
summary of uses 150

Present imperfective tense 123
chart of forms 124
chart of negative forms 125
examples 124
in expressions of obligation 148
in negative commands 133
negative examples 125
negative statements 124

Present perfective stem
summary of uses 150

Present perfective tense
in commands 131
in expressions of obligation 149
in future statements 127
use in clauses 126, 203

Pronouns 70
demonstrative forms, chart 71
demonstratives 70
demonstratives with noun clauses 204
gender 72
Indefinites 72
Pronouns (cont.)
interrogatives 72
order in compounds 191
stress of weak pronouns 86
strong 86
strong pronoun forms, chart 69
use of strong pronouns 176
weak pronoun internal ordering 175
weak pronoun placement in
sentences 86, 173
weak pronouns 65
weak pronouns dropped 66, 67, 182
weak pronouns, chart 65
weak pronouns, direct forms 57
weak pronouns, dropped 167

Pronunciation
large numbers 83
of intransitive auxiliary 96
of possessives 154

Purpose clauses. 211

Relative Clauses 206
definition 206
examples 207
formation 206
order 208
Samander de Bedrasho 214
Shafeev, D. A. 10, 64, 74, 88, 121, 151, 164, 190, 198, 224

Square brackets, use of 4

Stress
in AdJ 275, 77
in affixes 25
in borrowings 25
in demonstrative and strong
pronouns 71
in doubly irregular verbs 114
in M3 nouns 52
in sentences 25
in weak pronouns 56
in words 24
representation 11
Subject and object deletion 166

Superlative expressions 153

Syllables
of doubly irregular verbs 114
structure 19

Time clauses 209
each exampl3 210
Time-telling, modern 179
Times of day, traditional 179
Transcription 4
Transcription and letter
    correspondences
consonants 45
vowels 44

Transcription system described 11
Transliteration 4
Ulifat 213, 214
Verb phrases
order of elements 172
order of negatives in 173
Verbs
abbreviations used 90
agreement with conjoined
     subjects 192
aspect 91, 92
auxiliaries 95
auxiliary participles 120
be 92
be, past forms, chart 94
be, present forms, chart 92, 93
definition of irregular 92
derivative 105
derivative, agreement 112
derivative, agreement, chart 113
derivative, chart of intransitive
    forms 106, 107, 109, 110, 111
derivative, chart of transitive
    forms 106, 109, 117, 112
derivative, forms 106
derivative, from nouns and
     adjectives 113
doubly irregular 114
doubly irregular, list 115, 116, 117
Verbs (cont.)
  idiosyncratic participles 120
  intransitive auxiliary, chart 95, 96
  other analyses 121
  participles formation 118, 119
  participles 118
  participles, examples 119
  personal endings 90, 91
  personal endings (past), chart 91
  personal endings (present), chart 90
  present imperfective as citation form 89
  simple 98, 105, 125
  simple beginning with [a] -I 126
  simple beginning with [a] -I 134
  simple intransitive, chart of forms 101
  simple irregular 102
  simple Irregular, 3rd person forms 104
  simple Irregular, chart 102
  simple Irregular, list 103, 104
  simple, chart of forms 99, 100
  simple, examples 100
  simple, intransitive examples 101
  simple, transitive examples 102
  summary of forms and uses 149
  tense 91
  transitive auxiliary 96
Verbs with possessive subjects 104
Verbs, 'impersonal transitive' 105
Vocatives
  adjectives 65
  nouns 63
Vowels i6
  diphthongs 18
  technical description 17
Word order in questions 158

[-\$1-] -J- past tense marker 94
[aw] 191
[che] 206, 210, 215
[chér] 169
[dzaka] 'because/therefore' 212
[ham ... ham] 'both ... and'
  191, 194
[kaw-] transitive auxiliary 97
[ka] 'from' 216, 217, 219
[keg-] (intransitive auxiliary) 95
[khol] 'but' 191, 196
[khpal] (possessive) 73
[kum] 'which?' 169
[na ... na] 'neither ... nor'
  191, 194
[sta] 'there is' 93
[tar tse che] 'until' 209
[tsok] 'who?, whoever' 72, 169
[tsanga tse] 'as soon as' 209
[tsa] 'what?, something' 72, 168
[way] 'in counterfactuals 220
[wi] (3rd person form of ba) 93
[wá] perfective marker 99
[yá] 'either ... or' 194
[yá] 'or' 191, 194