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ABSTRACT

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)

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# A Reference Grammar of Pashto

Habibullah Tegey  
Barbara Robson

Center for Applied Linguistics  
Washington, D.C.  
1996



## Acknowledgements

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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*

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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 یادونه .....	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 [khpəl] خپل	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 <i>be</i>	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-] - ڻ	100
Simple verbs ending in [-aw-] - ڻ	102
Simple irregular verbs	102
Simple Verbs beginning with [ā] - ڻ	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
<i>be</i>	123
The present imperfective tense	123
Negative present imperfective constructions	124
The present perfective tense.	126
C. Future Time Expressions	126
Future Statements with <i>be</i>	126
[ba] 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 <i>be</i>	130
Positive commands.	131
Commands with [wardz-] - ورځد (ورتلل) and [rādz-] - راتلل (راحد)	133
Negative commands.	133
Intensive commands.	134
E. Past Time Expressions	135
Past time expressions with <i>be</i>	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' [de] دي	148
Constructions with 'should' [bāyād] بايد	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' [læ ... na] له ... نه	156
[taɾ] تر	157
Phrases with 'house' [kor] کور	157
Pro 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	168





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 Construction	181
I. Two Unusual Constructions	184
Verbs that require possessive subjects	184
Impersonal transitive verbs	188
K. 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	198
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 [dzáka] $\text{كَلِمَات}$	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



<b>Chapter 13: Subordinate Clause Structure (Cont.)</b>	
<b>E. Conditionals and Counterfactuals (Cont.)</b>	
Past unreal conditionals .....	219
Past unreal condition, present result .....	220
Past unreal condition, past result .....	221
Conditional sentences expressing ability .....	222
<b>F. Other Analyses</b> .....	223
<b>Index</b> .....	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:

'student'	DS : [shāgárd]	شاگرد	DP : [shāgərdān]	شاگردان
M1	DS : [shāgárd]	شاگرد	DP : [shāgərdāno]	شاگردانو

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' [paxtó] پښتو

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

[transcription]	<i>Pashto script</i>
word-for-word gloss	'idiomatic translation'

for example:

[paxto qəra pə zɾə pore zába da.]	پښتو ډېره په زړه پورې ژبه 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:

[wəgəy yeʔ]	وږی یې؟
hungry bə2S	'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 Tegey  
Barbara Robson

## يادونه

څرنگه چې ددې کتاب په عنوان کې د گرامر تر څنگه د «رفرنس» کلمه هم راغلې ده، نو له دې امله پدې لنډه سرېزه کې، اول، بايد ووايو چې گرامر مختلف ډولونه لري. يو ډول گرامر هغه دی چې د رفرنس گرامر په نامه يادېږي او ځانته مفهوم لري. دلته دا اصطلاح دداسې يوه مختص گرامر په معنا استعمال شوې چې د پښتو ژبې انگلیسي ويونکي شاگردان، د خپلو نورو درسي موادو د ميم په توگه استفاده ترې وکړي.

«د تطبیقي ژبپوهنې مرکز» له کال ۱۹۸۹ نه رادی خواته دهغو امریکایانو د پاره چې غواړي پښتو زده کړي، د درسي کتابونو يوه سلسله وليکله. پدې کتابونو کې د پښتو ژبې د مربوطو گرامري خصوصياتو په باره کې هم لازم بحث شوی و. خو د «مرکز» په نظر دا لنډ گرامري توضیحات کافي نه وو او دې ته ضرورت ليدل کېده چې د پښتو ژبې د عمده گرامري خصوصياتو د يو څه زیاتره او منظم توضیح دپاره يو لنډ پښتو گرامر هم وليکل شي او ددغو درسي موادو له سلسلې سره ملگري شي.

د گرامر د ليکلو عمده هدف له شاگردانو سره د هغو گرامري پوښتنو او مسایلو دروښانولو په باره کې مرسته ده چې د «مرکز» د درسي سلسلې د زده کړې په وخت کې ور سره مخامخ کېږي. خو لکه څنگه چې له درسي کتابونو نه د پوره استفادې يو ډېر اساسی شرط ښه معلم دی، له گرامر نه هم پوره استفاده هلته کېدای شي، چې سړی ښه معلم ولري.

هيله ده چې دا گرامر به د پښتو ژبې د ټولو هغو شاگردانو د پاره گټور وي چې انگريزي متن لوستلی شي.

- نړی



## 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 Beluchi 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 [pashtúnz])<sup>1</sup>. In Pakistan and India, they are referred to as Pathans; (pronounced [patánz]) 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

---

<sup>1</sup> 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 *pahahn*. 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 foot-hills 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 "detrribalized", 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 Beluchi.

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).

Caroe, Sir Olaf. *The Pathans 550 B.C. - A.D. 1957. With an epilogue on Russia by the Author.* Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1983.

Dupree, Louis. *Afghanistan.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980.

Nyrop, Richard F. and Donald M. Seekins. *Afghanistan, A Country Study*, 5th ed. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1983.

### 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 Kandahar 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 *x*.

The second reason for the variety in rendering of the word *Pashto* is that there has never been a standardized transliteration<sup>1</sup> 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 1867 grammar of Pashto, for example, is called *A Grammar of the Pukkhto or Pukshto Language* (the underlining is Bellew's), and Bellew spells the language as *Pukkhto* throughout, with the *kh* underlined, presumably to show that it is a multiple-letter rendition of a single sound, or maybe to show that it

---

<sup>1</sup> 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, [paxtɔ].



## Chapter 1: Pashto and the Pashtuns

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, Beluchi, 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:



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<sup>2</sup>. 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 Ningrahar or eastern dialect<sup>3</sup>. Speakers of the Kandahar dialect live mostly in southwest Afghanistan and in Beluchistan. The Khattak tribe living in Quhat - 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 Ningrahar 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

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<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> 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'.

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 countryman 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 [ŋ] as *ښ* rather than *ښر*.

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*<sup>4</sup> (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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<sup>4</sup> Part 2 was unfortunately never completed.



## Chapter 1: Pashto and the Pashtuns

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.

Lorimer, D. L. R. 1915. *Pashtu Part 1: Syntax of colloquial Pashtu, with chapters on the Persian and Indian elements in the modern language*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Penzl, Herbert. 1955. *A grammar of Pashto: A descriptive study of the dialect of Kandahar, Afghanistan*. Program in Oriental Languages, Publications Series B - Aids - Number 2. Washington, D.C.: American Council of Learned Societies.

Mackenzie, D.N. 1987. 'Pashto'. In *The World's Major Languages*, Bernard Comrie, ed. New York: Oxford University Press.

Shafeev, D. A. 1964. *A Short Grammatical Outline of Pashto*. Translated from the Russian by Herbert H. Paper. The Hague: Mouton & Co.



## 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 Ningrahar 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] بابا.

The transcription shows the stress in words of more than one syllable, by means of the symbol ˈ 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 [ə], [ɪ], [ā], 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, cub*: 'other' [bəl] بل, 'grandfather' [bābā] بابا

[ch] as in *church, teacher*: 'where' [chéra] چیره, 'left' [chap] چپ

[dz] as in *dads, adze*: 'self' [dzān] خان, 'place' [dzāy] خای

[f] as in *fire, if*: 'break' [ta.ɸ] تفریح, 'pronunciation' [talafúz] تلفظ





Chapter 2: Pronunciation

- [g] as in *go, jug*: 'tail' [jæg] جگ, 'flower' [gwəl] گل
- [h] as in *hat, behave*: 'nine' [náhə] نه, 'also' [həm] هم
- [j] as in *judge, edge*: 'good' [joɹ] جور, 'war' [jang] جنگ
- [k] as in *car, cake*: 'work' [kāɹ] کار, 'house' [kor] کور
- [m] as in *mom, bump*: 'mother' [mor] مور, 'hello' [salám] سلام
- [p] as in *pie, apple*: 'curtain' [pardá] پرده, 'left' [chap] چپ
- [s] as in *so, city*: 'hand' [lās] لاس, 'red' [sur] سور
- [sh] as in *show, push*: 'six' [shpag] شپه, 'twenty' [shəl] شل
- [ts] as in *cuts, gutsy*: 'how many' [tso] شو, 'how' [tsénga] شنگه
- [w] as in *wait, kiwi*: 'say' [wáwāya] ووايه, 'open' [wāza] وازه
- [y] as in *yes, boy*: 'one' [yaw] يو, 'God' [khwdāy] خدای
- [z] as in *as, zero*: 'son' [zoy] زوی, 'lion' [zmaráy] زمري

Consonants somewhat different from English consonants

- [t]: 'thank' [tashakúr] تشكر, 'eight' [atá] اته
- [d]: 'this' [da] دا, 'three' [dre] درې
- [l]: 'hand' [lās] لاس, 'here' [dálta] دلته
- [n]: 'not' [nə] نه, 'field' [karwandá] کرونده

Consonants very different from English consonants

- [gh]: 'Afghan' [afghán] افغان, 'that' [aghá] هغه
- [f]: 'March-April' [řamál] حمل, 'dear' [řabíɓ] حبيب
- [kh]: 'time' [wakht] وخت, 'God' [khwdāy] خدای
- [q]: 'trunk' [sandúq] صندوق, 'minute' [daqíqá] دقيقه
- [r]: 'where' [chéral] چېره, 'thank' [tashakúr] تشكر
- [x]: 'good' [xa] ښه, 'Pashto' [paxtó] پښتو
- [ʒ]: 'wisdom' [ʒáqə] عقل, 'without study' [be řamála] بې عمله

**Retroflex consonants**

[ʈ]: 'all' [ʈol] قول, 'cer' [moʈár] موټر

[ɖ]: 'very' [ɖer] ډېر, 'bread' [ɖoɖáy] دودۍ

[ɳ]: 'daughters' [lúɳe] لورنې, 'apple' [maɳá] مڼه

[ʂ]: 'tired' [stáʂay] ستړی, 'children' [wāɳá] واره

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.<sup>1</sup> The chart is followed by a technical description of each consonant.

	Bilabial	Dental	Palatal	Retroflex	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal
<b>Stops</b>							
Voiceless	p	t		ʈ	k	q	ʕ
Voiced	b	d		ɖ	g		
<b>Nasals</b>	m	n		ɳ	ŋ		
<b>Fricatives</b>							
Voiceless	f	s	sh, x		kh		ħ h
Voiced		z			gʱ		ʕ
<b>Affricates</b>							
Voiceless		ts	ch				
Voiced		dz	j				
<b>Others</b>							
Voiceless		l					
Voiced	w	r	y	ɽ			

<sup>1</sup> 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.

Technical descriptions:

- [p]: 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  $\text{گ}$  - are pronounced differently in other dialects.
- [q]: voiced aspirated uvular stop, like [q]  $\text{ق}$  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.
- [ɳ]: voiced retroflex nasal. [ɳ] does not occur at the beginnings of words.
- [ŋ]: voiced velar nasal, as in English *hanger* but not *finger*.
- [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  $\text{ز}$  - 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.
- [ħ]: voiceless pharyngeal fricative, occurring in borrowed words only.
- [ʁ]: voiced pharyngeal fricative, occurring in borrowed words only.

- [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.  
 [ɾ]: voiced retroflex flap.  
 [w]: voiced bilabial semi-vowel, the consonantal form of [u].  
 [ɣ]: voiced palatal semi-vowel, the consonantal form of [i].

*Non-native Pashto consonants.* The sounds [f], [q], [ɸ] and [ʒ] 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 [ɸ] and [ʒ] are dropped altogether. Some examples:

		<u>Educated, formal pronunciation:</u>	<u>Uneducated, informal pronunciation</u>
[f]:	'crop' فصل	[fásəɪ]	[pásəɪ]
	'Farsi' فارسی	[fārsí]	[pārsí]
	'difference' فرق	[farq]	[parq]
[q]:	'unity' اتفاق	[itifāq]	[itipāk]
	'progress' ترقی	[taraqí]	[tarakí]
	'demand' تقاضا	[taqāzā]	[takāzā]
[ɸ]:	'even' حتی	[ɸátā]	[átā]
	'government' حکومت	[ɸukumát]	[ukumát]
	'slaughtered' حلالول	[ɸalālawáɪ]	[alālawáɪ]
[ʒ]:	'public' عام	[ʒām]	[ām]
	'Arab' عرب	[ʒaráb]	[aráb]
	'modern' عصری	[ʒasrí]	[asrí]
	'region' علاقه	[ʒalaqá]	[alaqá]

**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:

'road' [roḍ] روډ

'dollar' [ḍā́lár] ډالر

'male doctor' [ḍáktár] ډاکټر

'deputy' [ḍeptí] ډپټی

### C. Vowels

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

[a] as in *ask, glass*, or close to Midwestern English *got, box*: 'is' [da] ده

'pronunciation' [talafúz] تلفظ

[ā] as in *awful, caught*: 'hand' [lās] لاس, 'you' [tāse] تاسې

[e] as in *bed, yellow*: 'this' [de] دې, 'me' [me] مې

[ɪ] as in *sit, rift*: 'repeat' [tɪkrār] تکرار, 'spell' [spɪl] سپل

[i] as in *beet, feet*: 'go' [dzi] ځي, 'are' [di] دی

[o] as in *boat, so*: 'Pashto' [paxtó] پښتو, 'loan' [por] پور

[u] as in *boot, foot*: 'street' [kutsá] كوشه, 'hands' [lāsúna] لاسونه

[ʊ] as in *put, book*: 'please' [lútran] لطفاً, 'quiet' [chup] چپ

[ə] as in *but, just*: 'not' [nə] نه, 'tall' [jəg] جگ

**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.

	Front (unrounded)	Central (unrounded)	Back (rounded)
High	i ɪ		u ʊ
Mid	e	ə	o
Low		a	ā ɔ

**Technical descriptions:**

[i]: high front tense unrounded vowel.

[ɪ]: high front lax unrounded vowel.

[e]: mid front unrounded vowel.

[ə]: mid central lax unrounded vowel (the symbol is called 'schwa').

[a]: low central unrounded vowel.

[ā]: low back rounded vowel.

[o]: mid back rounded vowel.

[u]: high back tense rounded vowel.

[ʊ]: high back lax rounded vowel.



## Chapter 2: Pronunciation

*Notes on the vowels.* Not all of the vowels occur everywhere in words. [ɪ], [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' [eyjansáɣ] اېجنسی.

The vowel [a] is often pronounced as [ə] 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' [kégam] کهم as opposed to 'he does' [kégi] or [kígi] کېږي.

*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 + [y]/[w] combinations are listed below.

[ey]: as in English *play*, spelled with the letter ي

'placket' [greywǎn] گرهوان

'peg' [meykh] مېخ

'sigh' [asweyláy] اسوېلی

[əy]: no parallel in most dialects of American English. Grammatical endings involving [əy] are spelled with the letters ي and ئی. [əy] occurs only at the ends of words.

'edge' [zəy] ژی

'tail' [lákəy] لکی

'you all are' [yǎstəy] یاستئ

[ay]: like English *bite*, *fly*.

'buyer' [akhistúnkay] اخستونکی

'summer' [wóɾay] وړی

'mirror' [ayná] اینه

'success' [baryālaytób] بریالیټوب

'plant' [búɽay] بوټی

[āy]: no English equivalent.

'God' [khwdāy] خدای

'place' [dzāy] خای



[uy]: like English *phooey*, *Huey*.

'smell' [buy] بوی

'nature' [khuy] خوی

'they, them' [duy] دوی

[aw]: like English *bow*, *frown*

'taste' [zawq] ذوق

'and' [aw] او

'dig' [ghawchawál] غوچول

'army' [pawdz] پوخ

'November-December' [qaws] قوس

'nation' [qawm] قوم

### 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:

V	VC	VCC
CV	CVC	CVCC
CCV	CCVC	CCVCC
CCCV	CCCVC	CCCVCC

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 [ŋ], the diphthong [əy], and the sounds represented by the letter ږ 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.<sup>2</sup>

- [br]: 'glory' [bram] برام, 'attack' [brid] برید, 'seems' [bréxi] برهیبی  
 [br]: 'quilt' [brástán] برستن, 'pouting' [brus] بروس  
 [by]: 'then' [byā] بیا, 'takes' [byāyi] بیایی, 'scissors' [byāfi] بیاتی  
 [dr]: 'right?' [drəst?] درست؟, 'respect' [dranəxti] درنیت,  
 'falsehood' [drogh] دروغ  
 [dw]: 'both' [dwāra] دواره, 'two' [dwa] دوه, 'praying' [dwā] دوا  
 [dzgh]: 'operates' [dzghalawí] خغلولی, 'endurance' [dzghamál] خغمل  
 [dzm]: 'farm' [dzmáka] خمکه, 'our' [dzmung] خمونگ  
 [dzw]: 'young' [dzwān] خوان, 'hanging' [dzwaránd] خورند, 'slope' [dzwar] خور  
 [gr]: 'inflation' [grānfi] گرانی, 'dear' [grān] گران, 'placket' [greywān] گرپوان  
 [gr]: 'fast' [grándáy] گرندی, 'mucus' [grəng] گرنگ, 'roar' [grazā] گرزا  
 [gw]: 'finger' [gwáta] گوته, 'brown sugar' [gwára] گوره, 'gather' [gwándza] گونخه  
 [gh]: 'theft' [ghā] غلا, 'thief (feminine)' [ghia] غله  
 [ki]: 'hard' [kiak] کلک, 'string' [kiech] کلیچ  
 [kr]: 'fare' [krāyá] کرایه, 'hard' [krāfi] کرار  
 [kr]: 'clutch (in a car)' [krach] کرچ, 'bent' [krup] کروپ  
 [kw]: 'piled' [kwáta] کوته, 'widow' [kwánda] کونده  
 [khp]: 'own' [khpai] خپل, 'independence' [khpaiwaki] خپلواکی,  
 'spread' [khpai] خپور  
 [khw]: 'direction' [khwā] خوا, 'food' [khwāra] خواره,  
 'move' [khwadzégi] خوځه‌پری  
 [lm]: 'respect' [lmāndzál] لمانخل, 'sun' [lmar] لمر  
 [lw]: 'high' [lwar] لور, 'is studying' [lwáli] لولی  
 [my]: 'month' [myāst] میاشت, 'Mikhei (tribe)' [myākhéi] میاخیل

<sup>2</sup> Remember that [ts], [dz], [ch], [sh], [zh], [gh] and [kh] are considered single consonants: [shkh], for example, is a cluster of just two consonants. Remember also that [y] and [w] are considered consonants.

[mr]:	'pepper' [mrəch] مرچ, 'help' [mrɪsra] مرسته
[mɾ]:	'faded' [mɾāway] مړاوی, 'death' [mɾina] مړینه
[ng]:	'daughter-in-law' [ngor] نږور, 'limp' [nguxedál] نږوښیدل
[ngh]:	'rolls up' [nghāɾi] نږاری, 'burner' [ngharáy] نږری
[nm]:	'the East' [nmar khātá] نمر خا ته, 'grandson' [nmasáy] نمنسی
[ny]:	'grandmother' [nyā] نیا, 'popular' [nyāzmín] نیازمین, 'intention' [nyat] نیت
[pl]:	'father' [plār] پلار, 'wide' [plán] پلن, 'bridges' [plúna] پلونه
[pr]:	'except' [práta] پرته, 'unfamiliar' [pradáy] پردی, 'lying (on)' [prot] پروت
[pɾ]:	'tiger' [pɾāng] پړانگ, 'spread out' [pɾākh] پړاخ
[py]:	'on foot' [pyādá] پیاده, 'onion' [pyāz] پیاز, 'cup' [pyāíá] پیاله
[tl]:	'went' [tlíá] تلل, 'anniversary' [tlin] تلین
[tr]:	'strong' [traɟá] ترته, 'aunt' [tror] ترور, 'bitter' [trikh] تریخ
[sk]:	'charcoal' [skor] سکور, 'pinch' [skundá] سکوندل
[skh]:	'tight' [skhára] سخره
[sp]:	'soldier' [spāyí] سپایی, 'insult' [spakāwáy] سپکاوی, 'white' [spin] سپین
[sr]:	'red (feminine)' [sra] سره, 'glue' [srix] سرینس
[st]:	'star' [stúray] ستوری, 'tired' [stáray] ستړی, 'great' [star] ستر
[sw]:	'burns' [swadzégi] سوخېږی, 'ride' [swarégi] سورېږی
[shk]:	'picks' [shkawí] شکوی, 'basket' [shkor] شکور, 'break' [shkedá] شکېدل
[shp]:	'six' [shpag] شپې, 'night' [shpa] شپه, 'flute' [shpeíáy] شپېلی
[xk]:	'down' [xkáta] ښکته, 'hunting' [xkār] ښکار, 'appearance' [xkārá] ښکاره
[wl]:	'curls' [wlúna] ولونه, 'wash' [wla] وولل, 'went' [wlāɾ] ولاړ
[wr]:	'doors' [wrúna] ورونه, 'nephew' [wrārál] وراړه, 'wedding party' [wrā] ورا
[wɾ]:	'ahead' [wɾāndel] وړاندې, 'beforehand' [wɾunbáy] وړونښی, 'carry' [wɾal] وړل
[zg]:	'moan' [zgerwáy] زگېرووی, 'sew' [zgerá] زگېرل
[zgh]:	'courage' [zghard] زغرد, 'tolerance' [zgham] زغم
[zm]:	'lion' [zmaráy] زمړی, 'my' [zmā] زما, 'faded' [zmol] زمول
[zɾ]:	'brave' [zɾawár] زېرور, 'heart' [zɾal] زړه
[zy]:	'much' [zyāt] زیات, 'effort' [zyār] زیار, 'harm' [zyān] زیان



Chapter 2: Pronunciation

[zhm]: 'promise' [zhména] ژمنه, 'comb' [zhmandz] ژمنغ

[zhw]: 'life' [zhwandún] ژوندون, 'life' [zhwāk] ژواک

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.

[bl]: 'pregnant' [blārba] بلاربه

[dy]: 'thirteen' [dyārlas] دیارلس

[khy]: 'handsome' [khyalí] خیالی

[ml]: 'waist' [mlā] ملا, 'friend' [mla] مله

[nj]: 'girl' [njeláy] نجلې

[rgh]: 'rolls around' [rgháṛi] رغړی

[shkh]: 'dispute' [shkháṛa] شخړه

[shm]: 'number' [shmer] شمېر

[tw]: 'ability' [twān] توان

[tsk]: 'drinking' [tskāk] څکاک

[tsw]: 'fourteen' [tswārlas] څوارلس

[zb]: 'sucks' [zbéxi] زبېښې

[zd]: 'study' [zdá kṛa] زده کړه

[zr]: 'mill' [zránda] ژرنده

[zw]: 'life' [zwənd] ژوند

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

[khr̥]: *slapping sound* [khr̥ap] خړپ

[tr̥]: *gunshot noise* [tr̥aɔ] ترق

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 - [pɒa] پښه - is also pronounced [pəxá], with an epenthetic [ə] 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.

- [khwɪ]: 'mouth' [khwɪa] خوله  
 [khwɔd]: 'God' [khwɔd̪ɔy] خدای  
 [ndr]: 'sister-in-law' [ndror] ندرور  
 [skw]: 'shear' [skwəlá] سکولل  
 [skhw]: 'bull' [skhwandár] سخوندر  
 [shkhw]: 'chewing' [shkhwand] شخوند  
 [xkw]: 'pretty' [xkwálay] ښکلې, 'kisses' [xkwəlaw] ښکلوی

*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] بنک. The most common clusters appearing in native Pashto words are the following:

- [kht]: 'fortune' [bakht] بخت, 'busy' [bokht] بوخت, 'capital' [pāytákht] پایتخت  
 [nd]: 'blind person' [r̪und] روند, 'stack' [dérmand] درمند  
           'obvious' [tsargánd] څرگند  
 [nɔ]: 'round' [ghwənd] غوند, 'short' [lanɔ] لند  
 [rg]: 'death' [marg] مرگ, 'rooster' [charg] چرگ  
 [r̪kh]: 'aspect' [ar̪kh] اړخ  
 [sk]: 'smiling' [mæsk] مسک  
 [st]: 'right?' [drust?] درست?, 'skin' [post] پوست, 'month' [myāst] میاشت  
 [xt]: 'age' [zaráxt] زړپښت, 'crop' [kəxt] کښت, 'forty' [tsəlwéxt] څلویښت  
           'generation' [puxt] پښت

Other clusters appearing in borrowed words are the following:

- [bz]: 'green' [sar sábz] سر سبز  
 [fz/wz]: 'promise' [lafz] / [lawz] لفظ  
 [ks]: 'picture' [aks] عکس



## Chapter 2: Pronunciation

[khs]: 'person' [shakhs]	شخص
[mp]: 'refugee camp' [kamp]	کمپ
[mz]: 'secret' [ramz]	رمز
[ndz]: 'prayer' [mundz], 'middle' [mandz]	مونځ, منځ
[nj]: 'corner' [kwanj]	کونج
[nk]: 'bank' [bānk]	بانک
[ns]: 'agency' [azhāns]	اژانس
[nz]: 'comb' [gumānz]	ږومنځ
[qsh]: 'painting' [naqsh]	نقش
[rd]: 'student' [shāgárd], 'courage' [zghard], 'pain' [dard]	شاگرد, زغرد, درد
[rgh]: 'turkey' [pilmúrgh]	فیل مرغ
[rm]: 'farm' [fārm]	فارم
[rn]: 'century' [qarn]	قرن
[rq]: 'east' [sharq], 'difference' [farq], 'electricity' [barq]	شرق, فرق, برق
[rs]: 'lesson' [dars]	درس
[rt]: 'condition' [shart], 'thought' [churt]	شرط, چرت
[rz]: 'petition' [arz], 'type' [tarz]	عرض, طرز
[shq]: 'love' [ishq]	عشق
[sht]: 'destiny' [sarnawísht]	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      símlar      Énglish      respéct

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 'n a consonant, and on the next-to-last (penultimate) syllable if the last syllable ends in a vowel, for example:

'sick' (masculine form) [randzúr] رنخور

'sick' (feminine form) [randzúra] رنخوره

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' [paxtó] پښتو.

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 [ā] that have been borrowed from Persian are stressed on the last syllable as they are in Persian, for example:

'daddy' [abā] ابا

'eighty' [atyā] اتيا

'bus stop' [istādḡā] استادگاه

'friend' [ashnā] آشنا

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

'however' [ámā] اما

'monster' [búbalā] بوبلا

'even' [fīātā] حتی

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' [ṭāngā] تانگه vs. 'cart' [ṭāngá] تانگه

'mare' [áspa] اسپه vs. 'spotted fever' [aspá] اسپه

'look!' [góra] گوره vs. 'fair-skinned' [gorá] گوره

'dive!' [ghuṭá] غوته vs. 'knot' [ghúṭa] غوته

'pair' [jóṛá] جوړه vs. 'well (feminine)' [jóra] جوړه

'he's sitting' [kenastá] كښناسته vs. 'he sat' [kénasta] كښناسته

**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 those 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, [-úna] -ونه, one of the masculine plural markers, carries heavy stress; words with this suffix are always stressed on the [u] of the suffix:

'invasion' [yǝrghál] يرغل	'invasions' [yǝrghalúna] يرغلوڼه
'song' [surúd] سرود	'songs' [surudúna] سرودونه
'charm' [afsún] افسون	'charms' [afsunúna] افسونونه
'pomegranate' [anār] انار	'pomegranates' [anārúna] انارونه
'neck' [ormég] اورمېږ	'necks' [ormegúna] اورمېږونه

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

'I'm starting out' [rawānégam] روانېږم
'You're starting out' [rawānégay] روانېږی

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 [nǎ] نه, for example, always carries heavy stress in the sentence. For example:

'He's eating' [khwrí] خوری
'He's not eating' [nǎ khwrí] نه خوری

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

'I was standing' [darecám] درېدم	'I wasn't standing' [nǎdaredám] نه درېدم
'I stood' [wǎdaredám] ودرېدم	'I didn't stand' [wǎnǎdaredám] وندرېدم

**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 [nə] ن and [wə] و, 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-] -د- has a heavier stress than the final syllable [-əm] م-, but not so heavy as the primary-stressed syllable [wə] و.

There are probably patterns of primary and secondary stresses in multi-syllabic words as well. The first syllable of the multi-syllabic 'buyer' [akhístúnkay] اخستونکی, 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 fundamental part 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' [patáng dākṭár da↓] پټنگ ډاکټر ده .

Question: 'Is Patang a doctor?' [patáng dākṭár da↑] پټنگ ډاکټر ده ؟

Statement: 'He's not eating.' [nə knwri↓] نه خوري .

Question: 'Isn't he eating?' [nə khwri↑] نه خوري ؟



## 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 (Ningrahar) dialect groups. These major correspondences are shown in the table below. ([zh<sup>r</sup>] is a voiced palatal fricative with the tongue curled back as the sound is pronounced [sh<sup>r</sup>] is a voiceless palatal fricative with the tongue curled back as the sound is pronounced.)

<u>Letter</u>	<u>Central pronunciation</u>	<u>Western pronunciation</u>	<u>Eastern pronunciation</u>
ژ	[z]	[zh]	[j]
ږ	[g]	(retroflex) [zh <sup>r</sup> ]	[g]
ځ	[x]	(retroflex) [sh <sup>r</sup> ]	[kh]

Examples:

	<u>Central</u>	<u>Western</u>	<u>Eastern</u>
'moon' سپوږمى	[spogmáý]	[spozh <sup>r</sup> máý]	[spogmáý]
'shivers' رېږدېږي	[regdégí]	[rezh <sup>r</sup> dézh <sup>r</sup> í]	[regdégí]
'Pashto' پښتو	[paxtó]	[pash <sup>r</sup> tó]	[pakhtó]
'branch' ښاخ	[xāk <sup>h</sup> ]	[sh <sup>r</sup> āk <sup>h</sup> ]	[khāk <sup>h</sup> ]
'truth' رښتيا	[rixtyā]	[rish <sup>r</sup> tyā]	[rikhtyā]
'deep' ژور	[zawár]	[zh <sup>r</sup> awár]	[jawár]
'wilts' رژېږي	[razégi]	[razhézh <sup>r</sup> í]	[rajégi]

The only other correspondence among the major dialects that is described in the literature on Pashto pronunciation is that described by MacKenzie (1967), which involves the pronunciation of the final diphthongs:

<u>Spelling</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>Western</u>	<u>Eastern</u>
ـي	[ay]	long [e]	[ay]
ـى	[əy]	[ey]	[əy]



## G. Other Analyses

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

Long:	[i]	[ā]	[u]
Short:	[ɪ]	[a]	[ʊ]

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.

There exists a relatively detailed description (but not analysis) of Pashto stress: Jiri Becka's *A Study in Pashto Stress* (Prague: Oriental Institute in Academia, Publishing House of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, 1969). Becka discusses stress in the context of the Iranian languages, and gives numerous examples of words and phrases.



## 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]:

Pashto: 'hand' [lās] لاس	Pashto: 'father' [plār] پلار
Persian: 'hand' [dast] دست	Persian: 'father' [padár] پدر
Pashto: 'mother' [mor] مور	Pashto: 'sister' [khor] خور
Persian: 'mother' [mādr] مادر	Persian: 'sister' [khwār] خواهر
Pashto: 'two' [dwa] دوه	Pashto: 'sleeve' [lastónay] لستونۍ
Persian: 'two' [du] دو	Persian: 'sleeve' [astín] استین
Pashto: 'day' [wradz] ورځ	Pashto: 'five' [pindzé] پنځه
Persian: 'day' [roz] روز	Persian: 'five' [panj] 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, [moṭár] 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 [ʈ].

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:

Pashto: 'kitchen' [āshpazkhānā] آشپزخانه	Pashto: 'table' [mez] مېز
Persian: 'kitchen' [ashpazkhanā] آشپزخانه	Persian: 'table' [mez] مېز
Pashto: 'servant' [muzdúr] مزدور	Pashto: 'clerk' [mirzā] ميرزا
Persian: 'servant' [mazdúr] مزدور	Persian: 'clerk' [mirzā] ميرزا
Pashto: 'garden' [gwəlistān] گلستان	Pashto: 'cucumber' [bādrāng] بادرنګ
Persian: 'garden' [gulistān] گلستان	Persian: 'cucumber' [bādrāng] بادرنګ
Pashto: 'chair' [tsawkáy] څوګۍ	Pashto: 'syrup' [sharbát] شربت
Persian: 'chair' [chawkí] چوګۍ	Persian: 'syrup' [sharbát] 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: 'ax' [tábar] تېر	Pashto: 'stick' [koták] کوتک
Persian: 'ax' [tabár] تېر	Persian: 'stick' [kuták] کتک
Pashto: 'lamp' [tsírāgh] څړاغ	Pashto: 'rope' [rasúy] رسي
Persian: 'lamp' [chirāgh] چراغ	Persian: 'rope' [rismān] رسمان
Pashto: 'bush' [búṭay] بوټۍ	Pashto: 'red' [sur] سور
Persian: 'bush' [butá] بوته	Persian: 'red' [surkh] سرخ

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:

Pashto:	'school' [maktáb] مکتب
Arabic through Persian:	'school' [maktáb] مکتب
Pashto:	'book' [kitáb] کتاب
Arabic through Persian:	'book' [kitáb] کتاب
Pashto:	'director' [mudír] مدیر
Arabic through Persian:	'director' [mudír] مدیر
Pashto:	'secretary' [munshí] منشی
Arabic through Persian:	'secretary' [munshí] منشی

#### 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:

'great God'	[allāh tālá] الله تعالى
'Peace be with you'	[asalām āláykum] السلام عليكم
'God knows'	[walláhu aʔlám], [walawalám] والله اعلم

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

English	Pashto singular	Arabic plural used	Expected Pashto plural
bonus	[imtiyāz] امتیاز	[imtiyāzāt] امتیازات	[imtiyāzúna] امتیازونه
criticism	[intiqād] انتقاد	[intiqadāt] انتقادات	[intiqadúna] انتقادونه
establishment	[tashkíl] تشکیل	[tashkilāt] تشکیلات	[tashkílúna] تشکیلونه
dignity,	[tāzím] تعظیم	[tāzímāt] تعظیبات	[tāzímúna] تعظیمونه

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' [laráy] لاری

English: *lorry*

Pashto: 'hospital' [aspaṭāi] هسپتال

English: *hospital*

Pashto: 'machine' [māshín] ماشین

English: *machine*

Pashto: 'jeep' [jíp] جیپ

English: *jeep*

Pashto: 'vest' [wāskát] واسکت

English: *waistcoat*

Pashto: 'cassette' [kasít] کست

English: *cassette*

Pashto: 'glove compartment' [ṭulbāks] ټول بکس

English: *tool box*

Pashto: 'driver's apprentice' [killiṇár] کیلینر

English: *cleaner* (i.e. one whose job is to wash the car)

Pashto: 'videotape' [weḡeyó] ویديو

English: *video*

Pashto: kind of candy [mitāyí] میتايي

Urdu: kind of candy [mitāyi] میتايي

Pashto: kind of sauce [chakní] چکني

Urdu: 'chutney' [chaṅní] چتني

Pashto: 'coriander' [danyā] دنيا

Urdu: 'coriander' [danyá] دهنيا

Pashto: 'fence' [kaṭārá] كتاره

Urdu: 'gallery' [kaṭzhrá] كتيره

## 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' [kalishinkóv] كلشنيكوف

Russian: *Kalishnikov* (type of rifle)

Pashto: 'machine gun' [dashakā] داشكه

Russian: *Dashaka* (machine gun)

Pashto: [rāshán] راشن

English: *ration*

Pashto: 'launcher' [rakít lānchár] راکت لانچر

English: *rocket launcher*

Pashto: 'missile' [stingár] ستنگر

English: *Stinger* (ground-to-air missile)





## A. 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:

'radio' [rādyó] راديو

'television' [talwezyón] تلوېزيون

'socialism' [sosyālīzm] سوسياليزم

'professor' [profaysár] پروفيسر

'police' [polís] پوليس

'pizza' [pitsá] پيڅه



## 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 is 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 ٠٠٠٥.

- 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:

- ب 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;
- پ when it occurs at the beginning of a word, or after a letter that does not connect to the left;
- پ when it occurs after a letter that connects to the left, and before another letter; and
- پ 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:

- د when it occurs independently, or following a letter that does not connect to the left; and
- د 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 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] پ and [ch] چ) and additional letters representing sounds that exist in Pashto but not Persian or Arabic. These extra letters are:

[ʈ]	ټ	[zh]	ژ
[ts]	ټس	[g]	ګ
[dz]	دز	[x]	ځ
[q]	ق	[ŋ]	ڼ
[r]	ر	[əy]	ی and 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. After each letter is its name in transcription, the forms it takes (those letters with only two forms are the ones that do not connect to the left; the letters with three forms are those that do connect to the left), the sound or sounds it represents, and numbers referring to comments immediately following the chart.

<u>Letter</u>	<u>Letter Name</u>	<u>Letter Forms</u>	<u>Transcription</u>
ا	[áɪf]	ا	[a]
ب	[be]	ب   ب   ب	[b]
پ	[pe]	پ   پ   پ	[p]
ت	[te]	ت   ت   ت	[t]
ټ	[t̚e]	ټ   ټ   ټ	[t̚]
ث	[se]	ث   ث   ث <sup>2</sup>	[s] <sup>3</sup>
ج	[jim]	ج   ج   ج	[j]

<u>Letter</u>	<u>Letter Name</u>	<u>Letter Forms</u>	<u>Transcription</u>
چ	[che]	چ چ چ	[ch]
ح	[ʃe], [he]	ح ح ح	[ʃ], [h] <sup>3</sup>
خ	[khe]	خ خ خ	[kh]
خ	[tse]	خ خ خ	[ts]
خ	[dze]	خ خ خ	[dz]
د	[dā]	د د د	[d]
د	[qā]	د د د	[q]
ذ	[zā]	ذ ذ ذ	[z] <sup>3</sup>
ر	[re]	ر ر ر	[r]
ر	[ʀe]	ر ر ر	[ʀ]
ز	[ze]	ز ز ز	[z]
ژ	[zhe]	ژ ژ ژ	[zh], [z], [j] <sup>4</sup>
ج	[ge], [zhe]	ج ج ج	[zh], [g] <sup>4</sup>
س	[sɪn]	س س س	[s]
ش	[shɪn]	ش ش ش	[sh]
سین	[xɪn]	سین سین سین	[x]
ص	[skhwāt]	ص ص ص	[s] <sup>3</sup>
صن	[skhwāt]	صن صن صن	[z] <sup>3</sup>
ط	[tkhwe]	ط ط ط	[t] <sup>3</sup>
ظ	[zghwe]	ظ ظ ظ	[z] <sup>3</sup>
ع	[ʔayn], [ayn]	ع ع ع	[ʔ], not pronounced <sup>3</sup>
غ	[ghayn]	غ غ غ	[gh]
ف	[fe]	ف ف ف	[f]
ق	[qaf]	ق ق ق	[q]
ک	[kar]	ک ک ک	[k]
گ	[gār]	گ گ گ	[g]
ل	[lām]	ل ل ل <sup>5</sup>	[l]
م	[mim]	م م م	[m]

<u>Letter</u>	<u>Letter Name</u>	<u>Letter Forms</u>	<u>Transcription</u>
ن	[nun]	ن ن ن	[n]
ڼ	[ṅun]	ڼ ڼ ڼ	[ŋ]
و	[wāw]	و و و	[w], [u], [o]
ه	[he]	ه ه ه	[h], [a] at ends of words
ی	[ye], [mārúfa ye] <sup>7</sup>	ی ی ی	[y], [i]
ې	[majhúla ye] <sup>7</sup>	ې ې ې	[e]
ی	[de tānís saqilá ye] <sup>7</sup>	ی ی ی	[əy] at ends of words
ئ	[de tazkír saqilá ye] <sup>7</sup>	ئ ئ ئ	[əy] at ends of words

## Comments:

<sup>1</sup> This symbol frequently occurs with additional diacritics in borrowed words:

آ = [ā] in words borrowed from Persian: آزادی [azādí] 'freedom', and many city names, e.g., [islāmābād] اسلام آباد.

أ = [an] in words borrowed from Arabic: [amúman] عموماً 'usually' or 'exactly' [áynan] عیناً

<sup>2</sup> Another letter of this same basic shape that occasionally occurs in educated Pashto writing is ت, 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-ah!*), if it is pronounced at all.

<sup>3</sup> 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 ع and ح) as they are in Arabic, much the way that English speakers will pronounce French words in English with

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

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

Letter	Pronunciation		
	Western	Central	Eastern
ژ	[zh]	[z]	[j]
ږ	retroflex [zhʳ]	[g]	[g]
ښ	retroflex [shʳ]	[x]	[kh]

<sup>5</sup> ل followed by ا is normally represented as لا (a combination of two letters, which is called a ligature). ل followed by م is also represented by a ligature ل. 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.

<sup>6</sup> Sometimes the letter has the dots in final form, e.g., ي and ي

<sup>7</sup> The different variations of the letter ی 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 [əy] in nouns, adjectives and verbs. The names of the letters translate as follows:

ی [mārúfa ye] 'known y' (probably because ی is the normal symbol)

ې [majhúla ye] 'unknown y' (probably because ې is a symbol occurring only in Pashto)

ی [de tāns saqilá ye] 'heavy feminine y'

ی [de tazkír saqilá ye] 'heavy masculine y'

## 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

<u>Vowel transcription</u>	<u>Pashto letter</u>
[a] initially	ا
[a] finally	ه
[a] medially	no symbol
[ā] in all positions	ا
[e] initially	اې
[e] medially, finally	ې
[i] initially	ای
[i] medially, finally	ی
[ɪ] initially	ا
[ɪ] medially, finally	no symbol
[o] initially	او
[o] finally	و
[o] medially	و, no symbol
[u] medially, finally	و
[u] in all positions	no symbol
[ə] finally	ه
[ə] elsewhere	no symbol
[əy] finally (nouns, adjs)	ه
[əy] finally (verbs)	ئ



Pashto Consonants and Letter Representations

<u>Consonant transcription</u>	<u>Pashto letter</u>	<u>Consonant transcription</u>	<u>Pashto letter</u>
[b]	ب	[n]	ن
[ch]	چ	[ŋ]	ڼ
[d]	د	[p]	پ
[d̪]	ډ	[q]	ق
[dz]	ج	[r]	ر
[f]	ف	[ɾ]	ږ
[g]	گ	[s]	س, ص, ث
[gh]	غ	[sh]	ش
[h]	ه	[t]	ط, ت
[ħ]	ح	[t̪]	ټ
[j]	ج	[ts]	ټس
[k]	ك	[w]	و
[kh]	خ	[x]	ځ
[l]	ل	[y]	ی
[m]	م	[z]	ظ, ص, ژ, ذ, ز
		[ʔ]	ء



## 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.

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 [-úna] *ون*- to the direct singular form, and their oblique plurals by adding the suffix [-úno] *ونو*- 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' [khān] خان, 'go-between' [raybār] ريبار, and 'male camel' [wux] اوبين. In addition, however, most masculine nouns refer to objects, qualities, and ideas that have no natural gender. Some examples: 'surprise' [fiygrát] حيرت, '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] *و*- to the direct plural form.

'student'	DS: [shāgárd] شاگرد	DP: [shāgərdān] شاگردان
M1	OS: [shāgárd] شاگرد	OP: [shāgərdāno] شاگردانو

Other examples of M1 nouns are:

'str' [sāyib] صاحب	'contractor' [ijāradār] اچاره دار
'poet' [shāfir] شاعر	'historian' [tārikh pōh] تاريخ پوه
'day laborer' [ajir] اجير	'fundamentalist' [ikhwānāy] اخواني
'Uzbeki' [uzbák] ازبک	'professor, barber' [ustād] استاد

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' [tut] توت	'flower' [gwəl] گل
'cloth' [ʃukér] توکر	

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

'pasha'	DS: [pāchā] پاچا	DP: [pāchāyān] پاچایان
M1	OS: [pāchā] پاچا	OP: [pāchāyāno] پاچایانو

Other examples:

'friend, lover' [ashnā] آشنا	'mullah' [mulā] ملا
'prophet' [peshwā] پیشوا	'clerk' [mirzā] میرزا
'guide' [rahnamā] راهنما	

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

'foreigner'	DS: [khārejī] خارجی	DP: [khārejyān] خارجیان
M1	OS: [khārejī] خارجی	OP: [khārejyāno] خارجیانو

Other examples:

'hash smoker' [bangī] بنگی	'rebel' [yāghī] یاغی
'assassin' [khunī] خونی	'parrot' [totī] طوطی
'drummer' [ḍolchī] دولچی	'judge' [qāzī] قاضی
'cupbearer' [sāqī] ساقی	'kabob seller' [kabābī] کبابی
'soldier' [spāyī] سپایی	'antagonist' [modāyī] مدعی

Yet another group of atypical M1 nouns is a group of mostly animate nouns that end in stressed [-ə] ة-. The [-ə] ة- drops when the plural [-ān] ان- is added.

'wolf'	DS: [lewá] لپوه	DP: [lewān] لپوان
M1	DS: [lewá] لپوه	DP: [lewāno] لپوانو

More examples:

'bird' [mərghá] مرغه      'hair' [wextá] وېښته      'crow' [kārghá] 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 [-ān] ان- endings are added:

'pumpkin'	DS: [kadú] كدو	DP: [kadwān] كدوان
M1	DS: [kadú] كدو	DP: [kadwāno] كدوانو

Other examples:

'clay grain bin' [kandú] كندو      'piece of manure' [laḏú] لډو

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:

'stepfather'	DS: [plandár] پلندر	DP: [plandarān] پلندران
M1	DS: [plandér] پلندر	DP: [plandarāno] پلندرانو

Other examples:

'animal' [dzenāwár] ځناور      'shrinekeeper' [mznjawár] منجور

**M2 nouns.** M2 nouns are those masculine nouns that form their plurals by adding the suffix [-úna] ونه- 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 [-úno] ونو- to the direct singular. For example:

'house'	DS:	[kor] کور	DP:	[korúna] کورونه
M2	DS:	[kor] کور	DP:	[korúno] کورونو

Examples of other M2 nouns are:

'hospital' [roghtún] روغتون	'classroom' [sɪnf] صنف
'dance' [atán] اتن	'guess' [atáká] اټکل
'pomegranate' [anář] انار	'dream' [khob] 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] و-, rather than the suffix [-úno] ونو-, to the direct stem, for example 'house', which has both [koró] کورو and [korúno] کورونو as possible oblique plural forms.

Some animate nouns are M2 in form, for example:

'horse' [as] اس	'father' [plār] پلار
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There is a group of M2 nouns that add the plural and oblique plural endings as usual, but add a [-é] ه- to the oblique singular form.

'kitchen garden'	DS. [pāléz] پاليز	DP. [pālezúna] پاليزونه
M2	DS. [pālezé] پاليزه	DP. [pālezúno] پاليزونو

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

'slacks, pants'	DS. [patlún] پتلون	DP. [patlanúna] پتلنونه
M2	DS. [patlāné] پتلانه	DP. [patlanúno] پتلونو

Other examples:

'thigh' [wrun] ورون	'liver' [lařmún] لرمون
'(Afghan) pants' [partúg] پرتوگ	'knee' [zangún] زنگون
'oven' [tanúr] تنور	

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

'office'	DS. [daftár] دفتر	DP. [daftərúna] دفترونه
M2	OS. [daftər] دفتري	OP. [daftərúno] دفترونو

Other examples:

'ocean' [samandár] سمندر	'shroud' [kafán] کفن
'street' [sarák] سړک	'country' [watán] وطن

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

'husband'	DS. [meṛé] مېرې	DP. [meṛúna] مېرونه
M2	OS. [meṛé] مېرې	OP. [meṛúno] مېرونو

Some other nouns in this group:

'sheep' [pəsé] پسه	'heart' [zṛə] زړه
'grandfather' [niké] نیکه	'uncle' [trə] تره
'wedding' [wādé] واده (the [ā] changes to [a] in the oblique forms)	

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

'mountain'	DS. [ghar] غر	DP. [ghrúna] غرونه
M2	OS. [ghar] غر	OP. [ghrúno] غرونو

Other nouns in this group include:

'door' [war] وړ	'unit of weight' [man] من
'rug' [ṭaghár] ټغر	'unit of length' [gaz] گز

**M3 nouns.** The direct singular form of an M3 noun ends in [ay] ی. 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



an M3 noun is formed by replacing the [ay] 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:

'friend'	DS:	[maɪgəray] ملگری	DP:	[maɪgəri] ملگری
M3	DS:	[maɪgəri] ملگری	DP:	[maɪgəro] ملگرو

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

'summer'	[wɔɾay] اوړی	'scabbard'	[té kay] تېکي
'elder'	[spingíray] سپين ږيري	'monument'	[tsálay] څلي

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

'turban'	DS:	[paɪkáy] پتکي	DP:	[paɪkí] پتکي
M3	DS:	[paɪkí] پتکي	DP:	[paɪkó] پتکو

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

'man'	[saɾáy] سړی	'planting bed'	[paɪáy] پتې
'spring'	[pəsaríay] پسرلی	'cooking'	[pakhíay] پخلی
'calf'	[khusáy] خوسی	'Ahmadzai'	[ahmadzáy] احمدزی
'Abdalai'	[abdāíay] ابدالی	'Achakzai'	[atsəkzáy] اڅکزی
'Afridai'	[apridáy] اپریدی		

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 [-ayo] -یو plurals. For example:

'man'	DS:	[saɾáy] سړی	DP:	[saɾí] سړی /
M3				[saɾyān] سړیان
	DS:	[saɾí] سړی	DP:	[saɾo] سړو /
				[saɾyāno] سړیانو /
				[saɾáyɔ] سړیو

'Ghalzai'	DS: [ghəldzəy] غلخي	DP: [ghəldzɪ] غلخي / [ghəldzyǎn] غلحيان
	OS: [ghəldzɪ] غلخي	OP: [ghəldzɔ] غلخو / [ghəldzyǎno] غلحيانو / [ghəldzəyɔ] غلخييو

M4 nouns. The direct singular form of an M4 noun ordinarily ends in [ǎ] ټ- or [á] ټ-; 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 [-gǎn] گان- to the direct singular form, and the oblique plural is formed by adding the suffix [-o] و- to the direct plural form.

'uncle'	DS: [māmǎ] ماما	DP: [māmǎgǎn] ماماگان
M4	OS: [māmǎ] ماما	OP: [māmǎgǎno] ماماگانو

Examples of other M4 nouns are:

'musician' [sǎzəndá] سازنده	'child' [bandá] بنده
'representative' [namǎyindá] نماينده	'Hazara' [azǎrál] هزاره
'grandfather (title)' [bǎbǎ] بابا	

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

'scarf'	DS: [sǎlú] سالو	DP: [sǎlugǎn] سالوگان
M4	OS: [sǎlú] سالو	OP: [sǎlugǎno] سالوگانو

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

'toy' [lǎtú] لټو	'sailor' [mǎnó] مانو
'knife' [chǎqú] چاقو	'churn' [mandǎnó] مندانو
'weaving tool' [mǎkú] ماكو	'sugar beet' [lǎblú] لبلو
'snake charmer' [pǎrú] پارو	

## D. Feminine Nouns

Words referring to all female animals and people are feminine, for example 'girl' [pégħla] پېڅله, 'female nurse' [parastāra] پرستاره, and 'woman whose son has died' [búra] بوره. Feminine nouns also denote objects, qualities and ideas that have no natural gender, for example 'shoe' [paŋá] پڼه, 'tear' [wóxka] اوبکه, and 'thirst' [tánda] تنده.

**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] ې-. The direct singular form can end in unstressed [-a]/[-ə] ا- or [-e] ې-. The oblique plural is formed by replacing the final vowel of the direct singular form with the suffix [-o] و-.

'woman'	DS: [xádza] بڼڅه	DP: [xádze] بڼڅې
F1	DS: [xádze] بڼڅې	DP: [xádzo] بڼڅو
'friend'	DS: [mǎlgáre] ملگرې	DP: [mǎlgáre] ملگرې
F1	DS: [mǎlgáre] ملگرې	DP: [mǎlgáro] ملگرو

Other examples of F1 nouns:

'nurse' [parastāra] پرستاره

'council' [jərgá] جرگه

'dormitory' [layliyá] لیلیه

'student (f)' [shāgárdə] شاگرد

'rent' [ijārá] اجاره

'flag' [janǧá] جنده

A subclass of F1 nouns appear to have dropped the final [-a] ا- 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: [wrádz] ورځ	DP: [wrádze] ورځې
F1	DS: [wrádze] ورځې	DP: [wrádzo] ورځو

Other examples:

'skirt' [lamán] لمن

'month' [myāst] میاشت

'bosom' [għeg] غڼېږ

'elbow' [tsəngá] څنگل

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

'(m) nurse' [parastār] پرستار      '(f) nurse' [parastāra] پرستاره  
'(m) student' [shāgārd] شاگرد      '(f) student' [shāgārda] شاگردہ

**F2 nouns.** The direct and oblique singular forms of ordinary F2 nouns end in [-éy] یِ. Note that the letter یِ is used only to represent the [-éy] ending. F2 nouns have alternative direct plural forms: the stem plus the suffix [-gāne] گانی -, the [-əy] of the stem changed to [y] and the suffix [-āne] انی - added, or a form identical to the singular. The oblique plural form has similar alternative forms that end in [-o] و.

'family'	DS:	[koranáy] کورنی	DP:	[koranáy] / کورنی [koranəygāne] / کورنی گانی [koranyāne] / کورنیانی
F2	DS:	[koranáy] کورنی	DP:	[koranəyo] / کورنیو [koranəygāno] / کورنی گانو [koranyāno] / کورنیانو

Other examples of F2 nouns:

'skullcap' [khwaláy] خولی      'chair' [tsawkáy] څوکی  
'sandal' [tseptáy] څپلی      'cradle' [dzoláy] خولی

There are a number of abstract F2 nouns, the direct singulars of which end in [-í] یِ rather than, [-éy] یِ.

'friendship'	DS:	[dostí] دوستی	DP:	[dostáy] دوستی
F2	DS:	[dostáy] دوستی	DP:	[dostáy] دوستیو

Other F2 nouns ending in [-í] یِ are:

'trickiness' [chāīākí] چالاکی      'heat' [garmí] گرمی  
'hurry' [chaṭakí] چټکی      'act of ruling, governing' [wākdārí] واکداری  
'bad deed' [badí] بدی      'good deed' [nekí] نهکی

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' [spəy] سپی

'(m) lamb' [wuráy] اوری

'(f) lamb' [wuráy] اوری

**F3 nouns.** The direct singular form of F3 nouns usually ends in stressed [-á] ا- or [-ā] آ-, but there are also F3 nouns that end in [-ól] (spelled a number of ways) and [-i] ی. F3 nouns form their direct plurals by adding the suffix [-we] وې- or the suffix [-gāne] گانې- 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] وړ- or the suffix [-gāno] گانو- to the direct form.

'salary'	DS: [tankhā] تنخا	DP: [tankhāwe] تنخاوي
F3		[tankhāgāne] تنخاگانې
	DS: [tankhā] تنخا	DP: [tankhāwo] تنخاوو
		[tankhāgāno] تنخاگانو

Examples of other F3 nouns:

'Pashtun homeland' [paxtunkhwā] پښتونخوا

'cruelty' [jafā] جفا

'May-June' [jawzā] جوزا

'dignity' [fiyā] حیا

'mistake' [khatā] خطا

'praise' [sanā] ثنا

'beginning' [shuról] شروع

'topic' [mawzól] موضوع

'request' [arzó] آرزو

'prediction' [peshbiní] پېشبینی

'enmity' [duxmaní] دښمنی

### 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 wide usage in Pashto. A frequently encountered irregular noun borrowed from Arabic is:

'principle'	DS: [ásə] اصل	DP: [usú] اصول
M irreg.	DS: [ásə] اصل	DP: [usúlo] اصولو

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

'animal'	DS: [haywān] حيوان	DP: [haywānāt] حيوانات
M irreg.	DS: [haywān] حيوان	DP: [haywānāto] حيواناتو

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

'brother'	DS: [wrər] ورور	DP: [wrúna] ورونه
	OS: [wrər] ورور	DP: [wrúno] ورونو
'uncle'	DS: [aká] اكا	DP: [akāgān] اكاگان
	OS: [aká] اكا	DP: [akāgāno] اكاگانو
'paternal uncle'	DS: [trə] تره	DP: [trúna] ترونه
	OS: [trə] تره	DP: [trúno] ترونو

'mother'	DS: [mor] مور	DP: [máýnde] ميندي
	OS: [mor] مور	OP: [máýndo] ميندو
'sister'	DS: [khor] خور	DP: [khwáynde] خويندي
	OS: [khor] خور	OP: [khwáyndo] خويندو
'sister's son' (M3)	DS: [khwrayáy] خور يي	DP: [khwrayán] خور يان
	OS: [khwrayá] خور يي	OP: [khwrayó] خور يو / [khwrayáno] خور يانو
'son'	DS: [zoy] زوي	DP: [zāmén] زامن
	OS: [zoy] زوي	OP: [zāméno] زامنو
'brother'	DS: [wrór] ورور	DP: [wrúna] ورونه
	OS: [wrór] ورور	OP: [wrúno] ورونو
'aunt'	DS: [trór] ترور	DP: [tráynde] تريندي
	OS: [trór] ترور	OP: [tráyndo] تريندو
'daughter'	DS: [lur] لور	DP: [lúne] لونې
	OS: [lur] لور	OP: [lúno] لونو
'husband's brother'	DS: [lewár] لهور	DP: [lewrúna] لهورونه
	OS: [lewrá] لهوره	OP: [lewrúno] لهورونو
'daughter-in-law'	DS: [ngor] نگور	DP: [ngáynde] نځيندي
	OS: [ngor] نگور	OP: [ngáyndo] نځيندو
'brother's son'	DS: [wrār] وراره	DP: [wrerúna] ورهرونه
	OS: [wrār] وراره	OP: [wreró] ورهرو / [wrerúno] ورهرونو

**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):

'Pashtun'	DS:	[paxtún] پښتون	DP:	[paxtānó] پښتانه
M irreg.	DS:	[paxtānó] پښتانه	DP:	[paxtanó] پښتنو

Other example: 'ant, anthill' [megatún] مېچتون

'ruler'	DS:	[wākmán] واکمن	DP:	[wākmán] واکمن
M irreg.	DS:	[wākmán] واکمن	DP:	[wākmáno] واکمنو

Other examples:

'enemy' [duxmán] دښمن

'sensitive one' [dardmán] دردمن

## 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:

- Nouns ending in consonants are masculine. Animate masculine nouns are M1; inanimate nouns are M2.
- Nouns ending in an unstressed vowel are F1.
- Nouns ending in stressed vowels are either M4 or F3.

An example of regularization can be seen in the word 'horse' [as] اس, 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' [nuk] نوک and 'thing' [shay] شی, which frequently occur with M2 endings.



*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 one 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] حیوان, 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' [afsár] افسر, and 'doctor' [ḡākṡár] ډاکټر. Inanimate nouns ending in consonants are usually assigned to the M2 class, for example 'address' [adrás], ادرس, 'bicycle' [bāysikl] بایسکل, and 'branch (of a business, bank, etc.)' [brānch] برانچ. Nouns ending in unstressed vowels are usually assigned to the F1 class, for example 'Britain' [briṡānye] بریتانیې, although 'America' has emerged in Pashto as the F3 [amriká] امریکا, another English borrowing ending in [i] has become an F2 noun: 'agency' [eyjansáy] اژنسی, and a borrowing from French ending in a stressed [o] has emerged as an F3: 'painting' [tābló] تابلو.

## A. 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--[partúg] پرتوگ -- 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' [chaláw] چلو

'kebob' [kabāb] کباب

'pilaf' [paláw] پلو

'soup' [xurwá] شوروا

and some examples of always-plural mass nouns are:

'flour' [wɾə] اوره	'water' [wobé] اوبه
'wine' [sharāb] شراب	'lentils' [dāi] دال
'food' [khwāṛé] 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] و- ending, and they always occur with plural adjectives and verbs. The following sentences illustrate this:

[wobə khwáge di.] water sweetFP is3P	اوبه خوږې دى. 'The water is sweet.'
[zə khwage wobé tskəm.] I sweetFP water drink	زه خوږې اوبه څکم. 'I'm drinking the sweet water.'

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

'equipment' [ɪkmāīāt] اکمالات	'relationship(s)' [munāsībāt] مناسبات
'universe' [kāynāt] کاینات	'publications' [nasharāt] نشرات
'conveniences' [tas-hīlāt] تسهیلات	

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] ا instead of the expected [-úna] ونه or [-i] ی-:

'three houses' [dre kóra] درې کوره
'five offices' [pindzé daftéra] پنځه دفتره
'two streets' [dwa saráka] دوه سرکه

### 11. 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:

[paxtún pə kábáí ke wósi.]	پښتون په کابل کېني اوسى .
<u>Pashtun</u> in Kabul in lives	'The <u>Pashtun</u> lives in Kabul.'

[paxtānə pə kábáí ke wósi.]	پښتانه په کابل کېني اوسى .
<u>Pashtuns</u> in Kabul in live	'The <u>Pashtuns</u> live in Kabul.'

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

[ahmad paxtún wíni.]	احمد پښتون ويني .
Ahmad Pashtun sees	'Ahmad is seeing the <u>Pashtun</u> .'

[ahmad paxtānə wíni.]	احمد پښتانه ويني .
Ahmad Pashtuns sees	'Ahmad is seeing the <u>Pashtuns</u> .'

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

[de paxtānə zoy pə kábáí ke wósi ]	د پښتانه زوى په کابل کېني اوسى .
of Pashtun son in Kabul lives	'The <u>Pashtun's</u> son lives in Kabul.'

[de paxtanó zamən pə kábáí ke wósi.]	د پښتنو زمن په کابل کېني اوسى .
of Pashtuns sons in Kabul live	'The <u>Pashtuns'</u> 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).

[paxtānə topak ráwoɽ.]	پښتانه توپک راوور .
Pashtun rifle brought	'The Pashtun brought the rifle.'

[paxtanə topak ráwoɽ.]	پښتنو توپک راوور .
Pashtuns rifle brought	'The Pashtuns brought the rifle.'

These forms are also used as vocatives, for example:

[ey ghwāi] (F3, OS)	ای غوا!
○ cow	'You cow!'
[ey nikái] (M irreg, OS)	ای نیکه!
○ grandfather	'Grandfather!'
[ey māmāgāno] (M4, DP)	ای ماماگانو!
○ uncles	'Uncles!'
[ey xédzoi] (F1, DP)	ای بنحو!
○ women	'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] ـ to the direct singular form, for example:

'boy'	[alákai] ! هلکه (M1)
'friend'	[mālgáryai] ! ملگریه (M3)

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

'mother'	[móre] ! موری (F irreg.)
'family'	[koranáy] ! کورنی (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 [áy] (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.

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



## 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:

<u>Person/Number</u>	<u>Direct/ Possessive</u>	<u>Oblique (Obj. of Prep.)</u>
1S. ('I', 'my', 'me')	[me] مې	[rā] را
2S. ('you', 'your', 'you')	[de] دې	[dār] در
3S. ('he/she', 'his/her', 'him/her')	[ye] يې	[wār] ور
1P. ('we', 'our', 'us')	[mo] مو/[am] ام	[rā] را
2P. ('you-all', 'your', 'you')	[mo] مو/[am] ام	[dār] در
3P. ('they', 'their', 'them')	[ye] يې	[wār] ور

**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 gaḡéǵi.] Ahmad dances	احمد گدپری . 'Ahmad is dancing.'
[gaḡéǵi.] dances	— گدپری . 'He is dancing.'
[gaḡéǵam.] (I) dance	— گدپرم . 'I am dancing.'
[ahmad me machawí.] Ahmad me kisses	احمد می مچوی . 'Ahmad is kissing me.'
[machawí me.] kisses me	— مچوی می . 'He is kissing me.'

Dropped in subject position in past tense intransitive sentences:

[ahmad gaḡedǵá.] Ahmad danced	احمد گدپده . 'Ahmad was dancing.'
[gaḡedǵá.] (he) danced	— گدپده . 'He was dancing.'
[gaḡedǵám.] (I) danced	— گدپدم . 'I was dancing.'

Dropped in object position in past tense transitive sentences:

[ahmad kitāb lwastá.] Ahmad book read	احمد کتاب لوسته . 'Ahmad was reading the book.'
[ahmad lwastá.] Ahmad read (It)	احمد — لوسته . 'Ahmad was reading it.'



Chapter 6: Pronouns

[ahmad khpalə xədzə machawála.]

Ahmad own wife kissed

احمد خپله ښځه مچوله.

'Ahmad was kissing his wife.'

[ahmad machawálam.]

Ahmad kissed (me)

احمد — مچولم.

'Ahmad was kissing me.'

[machawálam ye.]

kissed (me) he

مچولم يې — .

'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 machawá.]

Ahmad me kisses

احمد مې مچوی.

'Ahmad is kissing me.'

[machawálam ye.]

kissed (me) he

مچولم يې .

'He was kissing me.'

The direct forms are also used in possessive constructions:

[kitāb me]

book my

کتاب مې

'my book'

[kitāb ye]

book his

کتاب يې

'his book'

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

[asad ás rā ta ákhli.]

Asad horse me to buys

اسد اس راته اخلي.

'Asad is buying a horse for me.'

[laylā wər ta wáwele.]

Layla them to told

ليلا ورته وويلي.

'Layla told them.'





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:

<u>Singular forms</u>	<u>Subj.</u>	<u>Obj.</u>	<u>Obj. of Prep.</u>
1S. ('I', 'me')	[zə] زه	[mā] ما	[mā] ما
2S. ('you')	[tə] ته	[tā] تا	[tā] تا
3S. ( <i>in sight</i> )			
m. ('he', 'him')	[day] دی	[day] دی	[də] ده
f. ('she', 'her')	[dā] دا	[dā] دا	[de] دې
3S. ( <i>out of sight</i> ):			
M. ('he', 'him')	[aghá] هغه	[aghá] هغه	[aghé] هغې
F. ('she', 'her')	[aghá] هغه	[aghá] هغه	[aghé] هغې
<u>Plural forms</u>		<u>All positions</u>	
1P. ('we', 'us')		[mung] مونږ	
2P. ('you')		[tāse] تاسې	
3P. ( <i>in sight</i> ) ('they', 'them')		[duy] دوی	
3P. ( <i>out of sight</i> ) ('they', 'them')		[aghúy] هغوی	

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

<i>Possessive phrases with strong pronouns</i>			
<i>Form:</i>	<i>Central pronunciation</i>	<i>Other pronunciation</i>	<i>Pashto spelling</i>
1S	[di mā]	[zmā]	زما
2S	[di tā]	[stā]	ستا
3SM (in sight)	[di dé]	[di dé]	د ده
3SF (in sight)	[di dé]	[di dé]	د دي
3S M (out of sight)	[de aghé]	[de aghé]	د هغه
3S F (out of sight)	[de aghé]	[de aghé]	د هغې
1P	[di múng]	[zmung]	زمونږ
2P	[di tāse]	[stāse]	ستاسې
3P M&F (in sight)	[de dúy]	[de dúy]	د دوی
3P M&F (out of sight)	[de aghúy]	[de aghúy]	د هغوی

#### 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'.

<u>Demonstrative pronouns.</u>		
<u>Masculine forms:</u>		
<i>close</i>	DS: [dā] دا / dāgha] دغه	DP: [dā] دا / dāgha] دغه
('this/these')	OS: [de] دي / [dāghə] دغه	OP: [dāgho] دغو
<i>middle</i>	DS: [ágha] هغه	DP: [ágha] هغه
	OS: [ághə] هغه	OP: [ágho] هغو
<i>far</i>	DS: [úgha] هوغه	DP: [úgha] هوغه
('that/those')	OS: [úghə] هوغه	OP: [úgho] هوغو
<u>Feminine forms:</u>		
<i>close</i>	DS: [dā] دا / [dāgha] دغه	DP: [dā] دا / [dāghə] دغه
('this/these')	OS: [de] دي / [dāghə] دغې	OP: [de] دي / [dāgho] دغو
<i>middle</i>	DS: [ágha] هغه	DP: [ághə] هغې
	OS: [ághə] هغې	OP: [ágho] هغو
<i>far</i>	DS: [úgha] هوغه	DP: [úghə] هوغې
('that/those')	OS: [úghə] هوغې	OP: [úgho] هوغو

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:

Middle Demonstratives

[ágha] هغه = 'this/that (M)'

[ághə] هغې = 'this/that (F)'

Strong pronouns

[aghá] هغه = 'he/she (out of sight)'

[aghé] هغې = 'her'

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

[ághə ta góral]

that at look

هغه ته گوره!

'Look at that (m)!' (referring to a man, book, etc.)

for example, contrasts with

[ághe ta góral]

that at look

هنې ته گوره!

'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] خوك 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] خوك and [chā] چا carry heavy stress in a question.

[tsók rāghay?]

who came

خوك راغی؟

'Who came?'

[chā ta wāye?]

who to talk-2s

چا ته وایې؟

'Who are you talking to?'

[chā rāwoṛ?]

who brought it

چا راوور؟

'Who brought it?'

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

[tsé ta pəx si?]

what will happen

څه به پېښ شی؟

'What will happen?'

[tsé wāye?]

what say (you)

څه وایې؟

'What are you saying?'

[tsé de wəwələ?]

what you said

څه دې وويلې؟

'What did you say?'





Chapter 6: Pronouns

[ahmad khpəl kitāb rāwōr.]  
Ahmad own book brought

احمد خپل کتاب راوور.  
'Ahmad brought his (own) book.'

[ahmad ye kitāb rāwōr.]  
Ahmad his book brought

احمد يي کتاب راوور.  
'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] را, [dər] در and [wər] ور and the directional adverbs 'towards the speaker' [rā] را, 'towards the hearer' [dər] در, and 'towards the one spoken about' [wər] 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] را, [dər] در, and [wər] 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.

Penzl (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 [mə] مي, [de] دي, [mo] مو and [ye] يي as pronominal particles, separates out [rā] را, [dər] در and [wər] 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 (1987) 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] را, [dər] در, and [wər] 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' [wəgay alák] وږې هلك 'hungry girl' [wəge péghla] وږې پېغله

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] ی to the same class, and grouping together all adjectives with [a] ا 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] و. The feminine forms look exactly like F1 nouns: the direct singular is formed by adding [-a] ا to the masculine singular form; the direct plural and oblique singular end in [-e] ې rather than [-a] ا; and the oblique plural ends in [-o] و.

'scattered'	M:	DS: [tit] تیت	DP: [tit] تیت
Adj 1		OS: [tit] تیت	DP: [tito] تیتو
	F:	DS: [tita] تیته	DP: [tite] تیتې
		OS: [tita] تیتې	DP: [tito] تیتو



## Chapter 7: Adjectives

Other adjectives in this class include:

'wide' [prākh] پراخ	'difficult' [sakht] سخت
'strong' [palwānḡ] پلوند	'whole, entire' [ṭol] تول
'narrow' [tang] تنگ	'tousled' [jaṛ] چر
'ready' [tayār] تيار	'quiet' [chúp] چپ

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

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.

Nonfinal stressed Adj 2. The masculine direct singular form of nonfinal stress Adj 2s ends in unstressed [-ay] ی; the masculine direct plural and oblique singular forms end in [-i] ی; and the oblique plural form ends in [-o] و. The direct and oblique singular forms of the feminine end in [-e] ی - and the oblique plural form ends in [-o] و.

'thirsty'	M:	DS: [tágay] تپې	DP: [tági] تپې
Non-final		DS: [tági] ه تپې	DP: [tágo] تپو
stress	F:	DS: [táge] تپې	DP: [táge] تپې
Adj 2		DS: [táge] تپې	DP: [tágo] تپو

Other adjectives in this class include:

'hungry' [wágay] وپې	'beautiful' [xkwálay] ښکلی
'flaming' [sáway] سوی	'new' [náway] نوی
'quiet, careful' [ghólay] غلی	'complex' [pechálay] پېچلی

[-ay] ی 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' [ḡārawúnkay] ډارونکی	from	'threaten' [ḡāraw-] ډارو-
'scheduled' [ṭākálay] ټاکلی	from	'determine' [tāk-] ټاک-

**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] ئی; the oblique singular and direct plural forms end in [-í] ئی or [-áy] ئی; the oblique plural ends in [-ó] و or [-áyo] یو. The feminine forms have endings like those of F2 nouns.

'thin'	M:	DS: [naráy] نری	DP: [narí] نری/[naráy]
Final		DS: [narí] نری/[naráy] نری	DP: [naró] نریو/[naráy] نریو
stress	F:	DS: [naráy] نری	DP: [naráy] نری
Adj 2		DS: [naráy] نری	DP: [naráy] نریو

Other adjectives in this class include:

'patriarchal' [plaránáy] پلرنی

'round' [gərdáy] گردی

'young' [tankáy] تنکی

'primary' [lumranáy] لومړنی

'mountainous' [gharanáy] غرنی

'fast' [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 [ə] ې; and the oblique plural ends in stressed [ó] و. 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:

'rough'	M:	DS: [zɪg] زیږ	DP: [zɪgó] زیږو
Adj 3		DS: [zɪgó] زیږو	DP: [zɪgó] زیږو
	F:	DS: [zɪgá] زیږه	DP: [zɪgá] زیږې
		DS: [zɪgé] زیږې	DP: [zɪgó] زیږو

Other adjectives parallel to [zɪg] زیږ are

'long' [ugd] اوږد

'settled' [misht] میشت

'green, unripe' [um] اوم

An equally small subclass is composed of adjectives that end in [ə] ←, of which [xə] بڼه is the commonest member:

'good'	M:	DS: [xə] بڼه	DP: [xə] بڼه
Adj 3		DS: [xə] بڼه	DP: [xo] ښو
	F:	DS: [xə] بڼه	DP: [xe] ښي
		DS: [xe] ښي	DP: [xo] ښو

Other adjectives in this subclass include:

'asleep' [udé] اوده	'gray' [speré] سپېره
'sharp' [teré] تېره	'sleepy' [widé] ويده

A much larger subclass of the Adj 3's are adjectives ending in a consonant, with stem vowel [o] or [u] -و-. (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 [ə] ا in the forms ending in [ə] ه, and to [a] in the other forms<sup>1</sup>:

'small'	M:	DS: [wof] ووړ	DP: [wā́rə] واړه
Adj 3		DS: [wā́rə] واړه	DP: [waró] وړو
	F:	DS: [warə] وړه	DP: [waré] وړې
		DS: [waré] وړې	DP: [warró] وړو

Other adjectives in this subclass include

'prone, lying' [prot] پروت	'blind' [rənd] روند	'soft' [post] پوست
'cooked, ripe' [pokh] پوخ	'cold' [sor] سور	'old' [zor] زور
'full, satisfied' [mor] مور	'curved' [kog] کوړ	'deaf' [kuŋ] کون
'spread' [khpər] خپور	'rotten' [wrost] وروست	'wet' [tund] لوند
'mounted, riding' [spər] سپور	'heavy' [drund] دروند	'bright' [ruŋ] روڼ

<sup>1</sup> 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 [ə] to change to [ə] if the following syllable contains a final [a], and to change to or remain as [ə] if the following syllable contains any other vowel but [a].

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

English	MDS	Stem of other forms
'red'	[sur] سور	[sr-] - سر
'green/blue'	[shin] شین	[shn-] - شن
'sweet'	[khog] خوږ	[khwāg-] - خواږ / [khwag-] - خوږ
'warm'	[tod] تود	[tāwd-] - تاود / [tawd-] - تود

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

'pretty'	M:	DS: [xāystá] بڼایسته	DP: [xāystá] بڼایسته
		OS: [xāystá] بڼایسته	OP: [xāystá] بڼایسته / [xāystáwo] بڼایسته وو
Adj 4	F:	DS: [xāystá] بڼایسته	DP: [xāystá] بڼایسته
		OS: [xāystá] بڼایسته	OP: [xāystá] بڼایسته / [xāystáwo] بڼایسته وو

Other adjectives in this class include:

'social' [ijtimāyí] اجتماعي	'emergency' [izterāri] اضطراري
'basic, essential' [asāsí] اساسي	'outstanding' [alá] اعلي
'Islamic' [Islāmí] اسلامي	'mythical' [afsānawí] افسانوي
'real, original' [aslí] اصلي	'Afghan' [afghāní] / [awghāní] افغاني

### 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 [-ar] -ر, for example



## Chapter 7: Adjectives

'skinny' [ɖəŋgár] ډنگر, which are like Adj 1's except that the stems of all the forms except the masculine direct singular end in [-ər-], for example [ɖəŋgér-] - ډنگر. Other adjectives in this group are 'observant' [stərgawár] سترگور, 'brave' [zɾawár] زړور, and 'fortunate' [bakhtawár] بختور.

The only other irregular adjective is 'lively' [mastānā] مستانه, 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] مستانه - 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:

1 = ١	6 = ٦
2 = ٢	7 = ٧
3 = ٣	8 = ٨
4 = ٤	9 = ٩
5 = ٥	0 = ٠

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 = ١٥	471 = ٤٧١
20 = ٢٠	1,000 = ١٠٠٠

*Numbers as adjectives.* Pashto numbers are all adjectives, and except for 'one' [yaw] يو, which as an Adj 1 has the alternate feminine form [yawá] يوه, 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 [l] in the equivalents of 'sixteen' and 'nineteen'.

Roman number	Pashto number	Pashto word	Roman number	Pashto number	Pashto word
1	۱	[yaw] يو	16	۱۶	[shpāras] شپاړس
2	۲	[dwa] دوه	17	۱۷	[wálas] اوه لس
3	۳	[dre] درې	18	۱۸	[atálas] اتلس
4	۴	[tsalór] څلور	19	۱۹	[núnas] نونس
5	۵	[pindzá] پنځه	20	۲۰	[shə] شل
6	۶	[shpag] شپږ	21	۲۱	[yáwist] يو ويشت
7	۷	[wə] اوه	22	۲۲	[dwáwist] دوه ويشت
8	۸	[até] اته	23	۲۳	[dérwist] درويشت
9	۹	[náhə] نه	24	۲۴	[tsalárist] څليريشت
10	۱۰	[las] لس	25	۲۵	[pindzəwist] پنځه ويشت
11	۱۱	[yawólas] يوولس	26	۲۶	[shpágwist] شپږويشت
12	۱۲	[dólas] دوولس	27	۲۷	[wáwist] اوه ويشت
13	۱۳	[dyárlas] ديارلس	28	۲۸	[atəwist] اته ويشت
14	۱۴	[tswárlas] څوارلس	29	۲۹	[náhəwist] نه ويشت
15	۱۵	[pindzélas] پنځلس	30	۳۰	[ders] ديرش

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.

31	۳۱	[yáw ders] يوديرش	36	۳۶	[shpág ders] شپږديرش
32	۳۲	[dú ders] دو ديرش	37	۳۷	[wé ders] اوه ديرش
33	۳۳	[drí ders] دري ديرش	38	۳۸	[até ders] اته ديرش
34	۳۴	[tsalór ders] څلورديرش	39	۳۹	[náhə ders] نه ديرش
35	۳۵	[pindzə ders] پنځه ديرش			



## Chapter 7: Adjectives

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

40	٤٠	[tsalwéxt] ثلویبخت
50	٥٠	[pəndzós] پنخوس
60	٦٠	[shpetó] شپته

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	٧٠	[awyəā] اویا	75	٧٥	[pindzé awyəā] پنخه اویا
71	٧١	[yáw awyəā] یو اویا	76	٧٦	[shpég awyəā] شپراویا
72	٧٢	[dwá awyəā] دوه اویا	77	٧٧	[wé awyəā] وه اویا
73	٧٣	[dré awyəā] درې اویا	78	٧٨	[até awyəā] اته اویا
74	٧٤	[tsalór awyəā] ثلوراویا	79	٧٩	[nəhá awyəā] نه اویا

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

80	٨٠	[atyā] اتیا	and	90	٩٠	[nawí] نوی
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The word for 100 is [səl] سل, which has the irregular plural [séwa] سوه used in numbers involving more than one hundred. The word 'and' [aw] او is usually inserted after [səl] سل or [séwa] سوه; its pronunciation, however, is contracted to [s'í o] or [séwa w]. For example:

236 [dwá sewa w shpég ders] دوه سوه او شپرا دیرش

Numbers above one hundred are regularly formed. Some examples:

555	٥٥٥	[pindzé sewa w pindzé pəndzós] پنخه سوه او پنخه پنخوس
840	٨٤٠	[até sewa w tsalwéxt] اته سوه او ثلویبخت
923	٩٢٣	[nəhá sewa w dérwišt] نه سوه او درویش

The word for 1000 is [zər] زر, with the alternate form [zéra] زره. An 'and' [aw] او is sometimes added after the [zər] زر, or [zéra] زره and pronounced [zér o] or [zéra w]; most of the time, however, there is a pause after the [zər] زر or [zéra] زره. Numbers over a thousand are written with no comma or period. Some examples:

3,683	۳۶۸۳	درې زره شپږ سوه او درې اتيا [dré zəra, shpəg sewa w dré atyā]
24,561	۲۴۵۶۱	څلوریشته زره پنځه سوه او یو شپږته [tsalérist zəra, pindzé sewa w yáw shpəta]
320,987	۳۲۰۹۸۷	درې سوه او شل زره نه سوه او اوه اتيا [dré sewa w shəl zəra, náha sewa w wé atyā]

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

155	۱۵۵	یو سل او پنځه پنځوس [yáw səl o pindzé pəndzəs]
or		سل او پنځه پنځوس [səl o pindzé pəndzəs]

In dates, 'and' [aw] او is dropped and the date pronounced as though there were hyphens.

For example:

1996	۱۹۹۶	یو زر نه سوه شپږ نوی [yáw zər - náha sewa - shpəg nawí]
1347	۱۳۴۷	یو زر درې سوه اوه څلویښته [yáw zər - dré sewa - wé tsalwəxt]

**Ordinal numbers.** Ordinal numbers (corresponding to English 'fourth', 'twenty-third', etc.) are formed from the cardinal numbers described above by adding the suffix [-ám]/[-ém] 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] خلورم	DP: [tsalorám] خلورم
irreg.		DS: [tsalorám] خلورم	DP: [tsalorámo] خلورمو
adj.	F:	DS: [tsaloréma] خلورمه	DP: [tsaloráme] خلورمي
		DS: [tsaloráme] خلورمي	DP: [tsalorámo] خلورمو

Other numbers which follow this pattern are

'sixth' [shpagám] شپځم

'tenth' [lasám] لسم

'hundredth' [sálám] سلم

'thousandth' [zárám] زرم

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

'seventh'	M:	DS: [wám] اوم	DP: [wám] اوم
irreg.		DS: [wám] اوم	DP: [wámo] اومو
adj.	F:	DS: [wáma] اومه	DP: [wáme] اومي
		DS: [wáme] اومي	DP: [wámo] اومو

Other numbers which follow this pattern are:

'eight' [atá] اته

'nine' [náhə] نه

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

'two' [dwa] دوه

'second' [dojá] دويم

'three' [dre] درې

'third' [dreyá] دريم

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

'one' [yaw] يو

'first' [awá] اول (Adj 1)

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

### 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 [əy] ending does not count as a consonant) an [-a] is added. The only exception is the non final stress Adj 2's like 'hungry' [wəgay] وړې, the masculine vocatives of which end in [-e] in the central dialect. Some examples of vocative phrases with adjectives:

'hungry boy!'	[wəgye aləkai]! وړې هلک!
'hungry boys!'	[wəgyo aləkāno]! وړيو هلکانو!
'hungry girl!'	[wəge pəghlei]! وړې پېغلې!
'hungry girls!'	[wəgo pəghlo]! وړيو پېغلو!
'little one!'	[wəɾal]! وړه!
'little ones!'	[wəɾo]! وړو!

### 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:

[loɣ khān]	لوی خان
bigM khan	'an important khan'
[pindzə xkwəle pəghle]	پنځه ښکلې پېغلې
five prettyF girls	'five pretty girls'

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

MDS: [tagay alək wobə ghwāɾi.]	تېږې هلک اوبه غواړي.
<u>thirsty</u> boy water want3S	The <u>thirsty</u> boy wants water.'

## Chapter 7: Adjectives

<p>MDP: [tagi alakān wobá ghwāri.]  <u>thirsty boys</u> water want3P</p>	<p>تېبې هلکان اوبه غواړی.          'The <u>thirsty boys</u> want water.'</p>
<p>MDS: [de tagi alak khwla wácha wa.]          of <u>thirsty boy</u> mouth dry was</p>	<p>د تېبې هلك خوله وچه وه.          'The <u>thirsty boy's</u> mouth was dry.'</p>
<p>MDP: [de tago alakāno khwle wáche we.]          of <u>thirsty boys</u> mouths dry were</p>	<p>د تېبو هلکانو خولې وچې وې.          'The <u>thirsty boys'</u> mouths were dry.'</p>
<p>FDS: [tage pehla wobá ghwāri.]  <u>thirsty girl</u> water want3s</p>	<p>تېبې پېغله اوبه غواړی.          'The <u>thirsty girl</u> wants water.'</p>
<p>FDP: [tage pehle wobá ghwāri.]  <u>thirsty girls</u> water want3P</p>	<p>تېبې پېغلې اوبه غواړی.          'The <u>thirsty girls</u> want water.'</p>
<p>FDS: [de tage pehle khwla wácha wa.]          of <u>thirsty girl</u> mouth dry was</p>	<p>د تېبې پېغلې خوله وچه وه.          'The <u>thirsty girl's</u> mouth was dry.'</p>
<p>FDP: [de tago pehlo khwle wáche we.]          of <u>thirsty girls</u> mouths dry were</p>	<p>د تېبو پېغلو خولې وچې وې.          'The <u>thirsty girls'</u> mouths were dry.'</p>

Adjectives also occur in predicates, as they do in English, with the Pashto equivalents of 'be' and with other predicates like 'become' [keg-] کېږ- and 'seem' [xkar-] ښکاري. 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] خوله which is F1, and the adjective 'dry' [wácha] وچ 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] زخمي is used as an M1 noun, direct plural form:



## Chapter 7: Adjectives

[zakhmiyān roghtún ta rāghlā.]

injured hospital to came.

زخمیان روغتون ته راغلل.

'The injured (ones) came to the hospital'

and in the next example, the Adj 3 'mounted, on horseback' [spor] سپور is used as an F1 noun, direct plural form:

[spare wādé ta rāghle.]

mounted wedding to came.

سپري واده ته راغلي.

'The mounted ones (f) (i.e. horsewomen)

came to the wedding.'

### G. 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' [xə] ښه (Adj 3)

'pretty/very' [xāystá] ښايسته (Adj 4)

'many/very' [dər] ډېر (Adj 1)

'heavy/many' [zyāt] زيات (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 gaqégi.] well(m) dances (m)	بِه گدېږي. 'He dances well.'
[ xa gaqégi.] well (f) dances (f)	بِه گدېږي. 'She dances well.'
[dā peghla kitabúna xé lwali.] that girl books (m) well(m) reads	دا پېغله کتابونه به لولي. 'That girl reads books well.'
[dā peghla kitabché xé lwali.] that girl notebooks(f) well(f) reads	دا پېغله کتابچې به لولي. '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 (1957) 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:

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



## 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' [kədál] کېدل and 'make, do' [kawál] کول;
- 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' [gd-] - ډ-، rather than the traditional infinitives, which are formed with the past imperfective plus the [-á] ل- past tense marker, for example 'put' [kexodál] کېښودل. 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
- pst = past
- imp = imperfective
- 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:

Ending:		Example:	
1S:	[-am] م-	'I'm dancing'	[gaḏégam] گدېږم
2S:	[-e] ې-	'you're dancing'	[gaḏége] گدېږې
3S:	[-i] ی-	'he/she is dancing'	[gaḏégi] گدېږی
1P:	[-u] و-	'we're dancing'	[gaḏégul] گدېږو
2P:	[-əy] ې-	'you-all are dancing'	[gaḏégəy] گدېږې
3P:	[-i] ی-	'they're dancing'	[gaḏégi] گدېږی

Note that the second person plural ending is spelled with **ځ** (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 [gaḡed-] - گډېد- and will be explained in the section on simple verbs below.)

Ending:		Example:	
1S:	[-am] م-	'I was dancing'	[gaḡedám] گډېدم
2S:	[-e] ې-	'You were dancing'	[gaḡedé] گډېدې
3SM:	[-a] ه-	'He was dancing'	[gaḡedé] گډېده
3SF:	[-a] ه-	'She was dancing'	[gaḡedé] گډېده
1P:	[-u] و-	'We were dancing'	[gaḡedú] گډېدو
2P:	[-ay] ئې-	'You-all were dancing'	[gaḡedáy] گډېدئې
3PM:	[-a] ه-	'They (m) were dancing'	[gaḡedá] گډېدله <sup>1</sup>
3PF:	[-e] ې-	'They (f) were dancing'	[gaḡedé] گډېدې

### 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:

*Present Imperfective*      *Present Perfective*  
*Past Imperfective*      *Past Perfective*

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

<sup>1</sup> The presence of the [-al-] -ل- will be explained below in the section on simple verbs.





## Chapter 8: Verb Forms

'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 (= perfective, 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:

#### Present imperfective forms of *be*

1S: 'I am' [yəm] يم	1P: 'we are' [yu] يو
2S: 'you are' [ye] يې	2P: 'you all are' [yāstay] ياستې
3S: 'he is' [da] دې	3P: 'they are' [di] دې
'she is' [da] ده	
3S/P: 'he/she/it is; they are' [wi] وې	
3S/P: 'there is/are' [sta] شته	



## Chapter 8: Verb Forms

[asad stáʔ]	اسد شته؟
Asad there-is?	'Is Asad there?'
[asad nóstá]	اسد نشته.
Asad not-there-is	'Asad isn't here.'
[wo, stá.]	وو، شته.
yes, there-is	'Yes, he's here.'

<u>Past imperfective forms of be</u>					
1S:	'I was'	[wəm] وم	1P:	'we were'	[wu] وو
2S:	'you were'	[wɛ] وې	2P:	'you all were'	[v.əy] وئ
3SM:	'he was'	[wə] و	3PM:	'they were'	[wə] وو
3SF:	'she was'	[wa] وه	3PF:	'they were'	[wɛ] وې
<u>Past perfective forms of be</u>					
		<u>without [-áɪ-] -J-</u>	<u>with [-áɪ-] -J-</u>		
1S:	'I was'	[swəm] شوم	[swáɪəm] شولم		
2S:	'you were'	[swɛ] شوې	[swáɪɛ] شولې		
3S:	'he was'	[swə] شوه			
	'she was'	[swa] شوه	[swáɪa] شوله		
1P:	'we were'	[swu] شوو	[swáɪu] شولو		
2P:	'you all were'	[sway] شوي	[swáɪay] شولي		
3P:	'they were'		[swáɪə] شوله / [swəl] شول		

The suffix [-áɪ-] -J- 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 [-áɪ-] -J- 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, [kəg-] کږې- (کېدل) 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.

Present forms of the intransitive auxiliary [kəg-] کږې- (کېدل)			
<u>Present imperfective</u>			
1S:	[kəgəm] کږېم	1P:	[kəgəl] کږېو
2S:	[kəgəl] کږېئ	2P:	[kəgəy] کږېئ
3S:	[kəgi] کږې	3P:	[kəgi] کږې
<u>Present perfective</u>			
1S:	[səm] شم	1P:	[su] شو
2S:	[se] شئ	2P:	[səy] شئ
3S:	[si] شئ	3P:	[si] شئ

The present imperfective 3rd person form کږې is always pronounced [kigi] 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 [s] in reading and formal speech.

<u>Past forms of the intransitive auxiliary [keg-] - کبځل (کېدل)</u>		
<u>Past imperfective</u>		
	<u>without [-á-] -J-</u>	<u>with [-á-] -J-</u>
1S:	[kedám] کېدم	[kedálam] کېدلم
2S:	[kedé] کېدې	[kedále] کېدلې
3SM:	[kedá] کېده	
3SF:	[kedá] کېده	[kedála] کېدله
1P:	[kedú] کېدو	[kedálu] کېدلو
2P:	[kedáy] کېدئ	[kedálay] کېدلئ
3PM:		[kedál] کېدل / [kedála] کېدله
3PF:	[kedé] کېدې	[kedále] کېدلې
<u>Past perfective</u>		
	<u>Without [á] -Jsuffix:</u>	<u>With [á] -Jsuffix:</u>
1S:	[swəm] شوم	[swálam] شولم
2S:	[swe] شوې	[swále] شولې
3SM:	[sə] شه	
3SF:	[swa] شوه	[swála] شوله
1P:	[swu] شوو	[swálu] شولو
2P:	[sway] شوئ	[swálay] شولئ
3PM:		[swəl] شول / [swála] شوله
3PF:	[swe] شوې	[swále] شولې

Again, the past tense suffix [á] -J- 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 -ش in past perfective forms is pronounced [sh] in reading and formal speech.

The transitive auxiliary. The transitive auxiliary is [kaw-] - کول (کول), which when used as a full verb has the meaning 'do' or 'make'.

Present forms of the transitive auxiliary [kaw-] - کوم (کول)			
<u>Present imperfective</u>			
1S:	[kawám] کوم	1P:	[kawú] کوو
2S:	[kawé] کوې	2P:	[kawéy] کوئ
3S:	[kawí] کوی	3P:	[kawí] کوی
<u>Present perfective</u>			
1S:	[kəm] کړم	1P:	[ku] کړو
2S:	[ke] کړې	2P:	[kəy] کړئ
3S:	[ki] کړی	3P:	[ki] کړی

The [r] 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-] - کول (کول)			
<u>Past imperfective</u>			
	<u>without [-á-] -I-</u>		<u>with [-á-] -I-</u>
1S:			[kawáɪəm] کولم
2S:			[kawáɪe] کولې
3SM:	[kāwá] کاوه		
3SF:			[kawáɪa] کوله
1P:			[kawáɪu] کولو
2P:			[kawáɪəy] کولئ
3PM:		[kawáɪ] کول	/[kawáɪə] کوله
3PF:			[kawáɪe] کولې

Past forms of the transitive auxiliary [kaw-] - کو (کول) (cont.)		
Past perfective		
	<u>Without [á] -Isuffix:</u>	<u>With [á] -Isuffix:</u>
1S:	[kɾəm] کرم	[kɾáɪəm] کرلم
2S:	[kɾə] کرې	[kɾáɪə] کرلې
3SM:	[kə] , [kɾ] کر	
3SF:	[kɾə] کره	[kɾáɪə] کرله
1P:	[kɾu] کرو	[kɾáɪu] کرلو
2P:	[kɾay] کرئ	[kɾáɪay] کرلئ
3PM:		[kɾə] کرل / [kɾáɪə] کرله
3PF:		[kɾáɪə] کرلې

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

## 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 [wá-] -و-, to the imperfective stem, and their past stems by adding the suffix [-áɪ-] -ئ-, for example:

Simple verb formation: 'tie' [tarʻ] - تپ (تپل)	
<i>Pres. imp.</i>	تر - [tarʻ] <sup>2</sup>
<i>Pres. perf.</i>	وتپ - [wátar-]
<i>Pst. imp.</i>	تپل - [tarʻál-]
<i>Pst. perf.</i>	وتپل - [wátaral-]

Present imperfective forms of 'tie' [tarʻ] - تپ (تپل):			
1S:	[tarʻám] تپم	1P:	[tarʻú] تپو
2S:	[tarʻé] تپې	2P:	[tarʻáǵ] تپئ
3S:	[tarʻí] تپئ	3P:	[tarʻí] تپئ

Present perfective forms of 'tie' [tarʻ] - تپ (تپل):			
1S:	[wátarám] وتپم	1P:	[wátaru] وتپو
2S:	[wátaré] وتپې	2P:	[wátaray] وتپئ
3S:	[wátarí] وتپئ	3P:	[wátarí] وتپئ

Past imperfective forms of 'tie' [tarʻ] - تپ (تپل):	
1S:	[tarʻálam] تپلم
2S:	[tarʻále] تپلې
3SM:	[tārá] تپره
3SF:	[tarʻála] تپله
1P:	[tarʻálu] تپلو
2P:	[tarʻáləy] تپلئ
3PM:	[tarʻála] تپله / [tarʻál] تپل
3PF:	[tarʻále] تپلې

<sup>2</sup>In this chart and elsewhere, a stress mark over a hyphen indicates that the stress occurs on the personal ending.



**Past perfective forms of 'tie' [tarʕ-] - (تړل):**

1S:	[wátaɾalam] وتړلم
2S:	[wátaɾale] وتړلې
3S M:	[wátāɾal] وتاړه
3S F:	[wátaɾala] وتړله
1P:	[wátaɾalu] وتړلو
2P:	[wátaɾaley] وتړلئ
3PM:	[wátaɾala] وتړله / [wátaɾal] وتړل
3PF:	[wátaɾale] وتړلې

Examples of other simple verbs are:

'drink' [tsk-] - (څک)	'throw, toss' [shind-] - (شندل)
'have' [lar-] - (لرل)	'write' [lik-] - (ليکل)
'consider' [gaŋʕ-] - (گنل)	'keep' [sātʕ-] - (ساتل)
'send' [leg-] - (لېږل)	'make, do' [kaw-] - (کول)

Note that it is not possible to drop the [-əl-] -J- 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 [ā] ɫ in the 3rd singular masculine forms in the past tenses in the paradigm of [tarʕ-] - (تړل) above. This is another exemplification of the rule that changes [a] to [ā] when the following final syllable ends in [ə]. The verbs above that have [a] as the vowel of the stem, also have [ā] ɫ as stem vowel in the 3rd singular masculine forms.

Simple intransitive verbs ending in [-eg-] - ږ-. The present stems of all intransitive simple verbs end in the common intransitive marker [-eg-] - ږ- which is similar to the intransitive auxiliary described above. The past stems of these verbs predictably end in [-ed(á)-] - (J) ډ-. (Parentheses around an element indicate that the element is optional).

Simple verb formation: intransitives ending in [-eg-] -هه	
'dance' [gaḡég-] - گدېدل	
<i>Pres. imp.</i>	[gaḡég-] - گدېد
<i>Pres. perf.</i>	[wá gaḡeg-] - وگدېد
<i>Pst. imp.</i>	[gaḡed(á)-] - (د) گدېد
<i>Pst. perf.</i>	[wá gaḡed(á)-] - (د) وگدېد

In a pattern that was seen in the auxiliary forms above, and will be seen throughout the description of verbs, the past tense marker [-á-] -د- 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 [gaḡég-] - گدېدل		
Form	<i>without [-á-] -د-</i>	<i>with [-á-] -د-</i>
1S:	[gaḡedám] گدېدم	[gaḡedálam] گدېدللم
2S:	[gaḡedé] گدېدې	[gaḡedále] گدېدلې
3SM:	[gaḡedá] گدېده	
3SF:	[gaḡedá] گدېده	[gaḡedála] گدېدله
1P:	[gaḡedú] گدېدو	[gaḡedálu] گدېدلو
2P:	[gaḡedý] گدېدئ	[gaḡedály] گدېدلئ
3PM:		[gaḡedála] گدېدله
		[gaḡedá] گدېدل
3PF:	[gaḡedé] گدېدې	[gaḡedále] گدېدلې

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-] هه are:

'stop' [darég-] - درېدل	'reach' [raség-] - رسېدل
'live' [wóseg-] - اوسېدل	'walk' [gárdzég-] - گرځېدل
'blow' [lagég-] - لگېدل	

Simple verbs ending in [-aw-] -و-. In parallel to the intransitive verbs ending in [-eg-] -ې- described just above, there are also a number of simple verbs that end in the common transitive or causative suffix [-aw-] -و- which is similar to the transitive auxiliary. These are ordinary simple verbs whose forms are parallel to those of 'tie' [taɾʔ-] تړ- (تړل) 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' [rasawʔ-] (رسول) رسو-      'pull, push' [chalawʔ-] (چلول) چلو-  
 'play' [ghagawʔ-] (غږول) غږو-      'throw' [ghordzawʔ-] (غورځول) غورځو-  
 'grind, knock' [ʔakawʔ-] (ټکول) ټکو-

Simple irregular verbs. There is a great number of verbs that form their perfective stems with [wá-] -و-, 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 *thinked*), and are therefore called simple irregular verbs in this analysis.

Simple irregular verb formation: 'roll around' [rghəɾ] - رغرې - (رغښتل)	
Pres. imp.	[rghəɾ] - رغرې
Pres. perf.	[wárgħəɾ] - ورغرې
	<i>without</i> [-əɪ]-[ɪ]-: <i>with</i> [-əɪ]-[ɪ]-
Pst. imp.	[rghəxt-] - رغښت-      [rghəxtəɪ-] - رغښتل-
Pst. perf.	[wárgħəxt-] - ورغښت-      [wárgħəxtəɪ-] - ورغښتل-

The following past tense imperfective forms of the verb 'roll around' [rghəɾ-] - رغرې are all correct:

Past Imperfective forms of 'roll around' [rghær] - رغبتل / رغبتلی		
Form:	<u>without</u> [-á-] -J-	<u>with</u> [-á-] -J-
1S:	[rghæxtám] رغبتتم	[rghæxtálam] رغبتللم
2S:	[rghæxté] رغبتې	[rghæxtále] رغبتلې
3SM:	[rghæxtá] رغبتته	
3SF:	[rghæxtá] رغبتته	[rghæxtála] رغبتله
1P:	[rghæxtú] رغبتو	[rghæxtálu] رغبتلو
2P:	[rghæxtáy] رغبتې	[rghæxtálay] رغبتلې
3PM:		[rghæxtála] رغبتله / [rghæxtál] رغبتل
3PF:	[rghæxté] رغبتې	[rghæxtále] رغبتلې

A lengthy if incomplete list of simple irregular verbs is given below.

<u>English</u>	<u>Present stem</u>	<u>Past stem</u>	<u>Infinitive</u>
'buy'	[ákh-] - اخل	[akhist(á)-] - (ا) اخیست	اخیستل
'wear'	[ághund-] - اغوند	[aghust(á)-] - (ا) اغوست	اغوستل
'buzz'	[áluz-] - الوز	[alut(á)-] - (ا) الوت	الوتل
'pass'	[áwr-] - اوړ	[wuxt(á)-] - (ا) اوښت / (some dialects) [áwrəd(á)-] - (ا) اوړېد	اوښتل
'roll'	[áwr-] - اوړ	[awuxt(á)-] - (ا) اوښت	اوښتل
'pull out'	[bās-] - باسه	[yest(á)-] - (ا) ایست	ایستل
'consider'	[ból-] - بول	[bal(á)-] - (ا) بل	بلل
'know'	[pézan-] - پېژند	[pezand(á)-] - (ا) پېژند	پېژندل
'explode'	[chw-] - چو	[chāwd(á)-] - (ا) چاود	چاودل
'want'	[ghwāř-] - غواړ	[ghuxt(á)-] - (ا) غوښت	غوښتل
'suck'	[ráw-] - رو	[rud(á)-] - (ا) رود	رودل
'slit'	[káğ-] - کاږ	[xk(á)-] - (ا) ځک	ځکل
'show'	[xáy-] - ښی	[xad(á)-] - (ا) ځود	ښودل
'see'	[gór-] - گور	[kat(á)-] - (ا) کت	کتل

'read'	[lwán-] - لول	[lwist(á1)-] - (ل) لوست	لوستل
'see'	[wín-] - وین	[lid(á1)-] - (ل) لید	لیدل
'catch'	[nís-] - نیسه	[niw(á1)-] - (ل) نیو	نیول
'roll up'	[nghār-] - نغار	[nghæxt(ə1)-] - (ل) نغخت	نغختل
'say'	[wāy-] - وای	[wáy(á1)-] - (ل) وی / [wé1-] - وپل	ویل
'seem'	[yís-] - ایسه	[yessed(á1)-] - (ل) ایپسهد	ایسهدل
'kill'	[wázn-] - وژن	[waz(á1)-] - (ل) وژ	وژل
'shoot'	[wái-] - ول	[wisht(á1)-] - (ل) ویشت	ویشتل
'extract'	[bās-] - باسه	[west(á1)-] - (ل) وپست	وپستل

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

<u>English</u>	<u>Present stem</u>	<u>Past stem</u>	<u>3SM in past forms</u>	<u>3PM in past forms</u>
'look' (کتل)	[gór-] - گور	[kat(á1)-] - کتل	[kot] کوت	[kātá] کانه
'get out' (وتل)	[wáz-] - وز	[wat(á1)-] - وتل	[wot] ووت	[wātá] وات
'climb' (ختل)	[khédz-] - خپد	[khat(á1)-] - ختل	[khot] حوت	[khātá] خاته
'eat' (خورل)	[khwr-] - خور	[khwar(á1)-] - خورل	[khwor] خور	[khwārá] خواره

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

<u>Form:</u>	<u>without [-á1] -/-</u>	<u>with [-á1] -/-</u>
1S:	[watám] وتم	[watá1əm] وتلم
2S:	[waté] وتې	[watá1e] وتلې
3S M:	<u>[wot]</u> ووت	
3S F:	[watá] وته	[watá1a] وتله
1P:	[watú] وتو	[watá1u] وتلو
2P:	[watáy] وتئې	[watá1əy] وتلئې
3P M:	<u>[wātá]</u> وات	[watá1ə] وتله / [watá1] وتل
3P F:	[waté] وتې	[watá1e] وتلې

Simple Verbs beginning with [ā] -I. The perfective stems of simple verbs beginning with [a] -I, whether regular or irregular, follow the pattern shown below, in which the [wə-a-] is pronounced [wā-]:

Simple verb beginning with [a-] -I: 'throw' [achaw-] - اچو (اچول)	
Pres. imp.	[áčaw-] - اچو
Pres. perf.	[wáčaw-] - واچو
Pst. imp.	[achawál-] - اچول
Pst. perf.	[wáčhawəl-] - واچول

Other simple verbs starting with [a] -I include:

'buy'	[ákh-] - اخل	'fly'	[áluz-] - الوز
'hear'	[áwr-] - اور	'wear'	[ághund-] - اغوند
'turn over'	[áṙaw-] - اړو	'roll around'	[áwṙ-] - اور
'send'	[ástaw-] - استو	'climb over'	[áwəxt-] - اوښت

## G. 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' [khartség-] - خرڅېږي. The transitive ones, on the other hand, tend to be causative, for example 'sell' (or 'cause to be sold') [khartsaw-] - خرڅو.

A derivative verb consists of a noun or adjective plus either the intransitive [keg-] - کېدل (کېدل) or transitive [kaw-] - کو (کول) 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.

## Chapter 8: Verb Forms

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 [k-] -S of the auxiliary drops when affixed to a word ending in a vowel):

<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Masculine</u>	<u>Feminine</u>	<u>Derivative verb</u>
'warm'	[tod] تود	[tawda] توده	[tawdaw <sup>-</sup> ] تودو- (تودول)
'cold'	[sor] سور	[saɾə] سره	[saɾaw <sup>-</sup> ] سرو- (سرول)
'curved'	[kog] کوډ	[kaga] کږه	[kagaw <sup>-</sup> ] کږو- (کږول)
'ripe, cooked'	[pokh] پوخ	[pakha] پڅه	[pakhaw <sup>-</sup> ] پڅو- (پڅول)

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' [xāystá] بڼایسته, for example, becomes the intransitive derivative verb 'become pretty' [xāysta kég-] بڼایسته کېږ-, with forms as follows:

<u>'become pretty' [xāysta kég-] بڼایسته کېږ-</u>	
<u>Present imperfective</u>	
1S:	[xāysta kégam] بڼایسته کېږم
2S:	[xāysta kége] بڼایسته کېږې
3S:	[xāysta kégi] بڼایسته کېږی
1P:	[xāysta kégu] بڼایسته کېږو
2P:	[xāysta kégay] بڼایسته کېږئ
3P:	[xāysta kégi] بڼایسته کېږی
<u>Present perfective</u>	
1S:	[xāystá səm] بڼایسته شم
2S:	[xāystá se] بڼایسته شې
3S:	[xāystá si] بڼایسته شی
1P:	[xāystá su] بڼایسته شو
2P:	[xāystá səy] بڼایسته شئ
3P:	[xāystá si] بڼایسته شی

<u>'become pretty' [xāysta kég-] - نایسته کېدل - نایسته کېږ -</u>		
<u>Past imperfective</u>		
	<u>without [-á-] - ل-:</u>	<u>with [-á-] - ل-:</u>
1S:	[xāysta kedám] نایسته کېدم	[xāysta kedálám] نایسته کېدل
2S:	[xāysta kedá] نایسته کېدې	[xāysta kedále] نایسته کېدلې
3SM:	[xāysta kedá] نایسته کېده	
3SF:	[xāysta kedá] نایسته کېده	[xāysta kedála] نایسته کېدله
1P:	[xāysta kedú] نایسته کېدو	[xāysta kedálu] نایسته کېدلو
2P:	[[xāysta kedáy] نایسته کېدئ	[xāysta kedáləy] نایسته کېدلئ
3PM:		[xāysta kedála] نایسته کېدله / [xāysta kedál] نایسته کېدل
3PF:	[xāysta kedé] نایسته کېدې	[xāysta kedále] نایسته کېدلې
<u>Past perfective</u>		
	<u>Without [-a-] - ل-:</u>	<u>With [-a-] - ل-:</u>
1S:	[xāystá swám] نایسته شوم	[xāystá swələm] نایسته شولم
2S:	[xāystá swe] نایسته شوې	[xāystá swəle] نایسته شولې
3SM:	[xāystá sə] نایسته شه	
3SF:	[xāystá swa] نایسته شوه	[xāystá swəla] نایسته شوله
1P:	[xāystá swu] نایسته شوو	[xāystá swəlu] نایسته شولو
2P:	[xāystá swəy] نایسته شوی	[xāystá swələy] نایسته شولئ
3PM:		[xāystá swələ] نایسته شوله / [xāystá swəl] نایسته شول
3PF:	[xāystá swe] نایسته شوې	[xāystá swəle] نایسته شولې

The forms for the transitive derivative verb with 'pretty' [xāysta] نایسته are as follows:



(نایسته کول) نایسته کو - [xāysta kaw-] 'beautify, cause to be pretty'

Present imperfective

1S:	[xāysta kawám] نایسته کوم
2S:	[xāysta kawé] نایسته کوی
3S:	[xāysta kawí] نایسته کوی
1P:	[xāysta kawú] نایسته کوو
2P:	[xāysta kawáy] نایسته کوئی
3P:	[xāysta kawí] نایسته کوی

Present perfective

1S:	[xāysta kām] نایسته کرم
2S:	[xāysta ke] نایسته کرې
3S:	[xāysta ki] نایسته کری
1P:	[xāysta ku] نایسته کرو
2P:	[xāysta kay] نایسته کرئ
3P:	[xāysta ki] نایسته کری

(نایسته کول) نایسته کو - [xāysta kaw-] 'beautify, cause to be pretty'

Past imperfective

1S:	[xāysta kawáɫəm] نایسته کولم
2S:	[xāysta kawáɫ] نایسته کولی
3SM:	[xāysta kawá] نایسته کاوه
3SF:	[xāysta kawáɫa] نایسته کوله
1P:	[xāysta kawáɫu] نایسته کولو
2P:	[xāysta kawáɫay] نایسته کولی
3PM:	[xāysta kawáɫ] نایسته کول /
	[xāysta kawáɫə] نایسته کوله
3PF:	[xāysta kawáɫə] نایسته کولی

<u>'beautify, cause to be pretty' [xāysta kaw-] - نایسته کول</u>		
<u>Past perfective</u>		
	<u>without [-a]- [-j]-</u>	<u>with [-a]- [-j]-</u>
1S:	[xāystá kɾəm] نایسته کرم	[xāystá kɾələm] نایسته کرلم
2S:	[xāystá kɾə] نایسته کرې	[xāysta kɾələ] نایسته کرلې
3SM:	[xāystá kə] نایسته کر	
3SF:	[xāystá kɾə] نایسته کره	[xāystá kɾələ] نایسته کرله
1P:	[xāystá kɾu] نایسته کرو	[xāystá kɾəlu] نایسته کرلو
2P:	[xāystá kɾəy] نایسته کرئ	[xāystá kɾələy] نایسته کرلئ
3PM:	[xāystá kɾə] نایسته کره	[xāystá kɾələ] نایسته کرله / [xāystá kɾə] نایسته کرل
3PF:	[xāysta kɾə] نایسته کرې	[xāystá kɾələ] نایسته کرلې

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

All the forms for the transitive and intransitive verbs derived from the adjective 'injured' [zobəl] (زوبل) ([zobəl] has the feminine form [zóbə] زوبله) 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.

<u>'be injured' [zoblég-] - ژوبلېدل</u>	
<u>Present imperfective</u>	
1S:	[zoblégəm] ژوبلېږم
2S:	[zoblége] ژوبلېږې
3S:	[zoblégi] ژوبلېږی
1P:	[zoblégu] ژوبلېږو
2P:	[zoblégəy] ژوبلېږئ
3P:	[zoblégi] ژوبلېږی

'be injured' [zoblég-] - ژوبلېدل - ژوبلېږ

Present perfective

1S:	[zóbəl səm]	ژوبل شم
2S:	[zóbəl se]	ژوبل شي
3SM:	[zóbəl si]	ژوبل شي
1P:	[zóbəl su]	ژوبل شو
2P:	[zóbəl səy]	ژوبل شي
3PM:	[zóbəl si]	ژوبل شي

'be injured' [zoblég-] - ژوبلېدل - ژوبلېږ

Past imperfective

	<u>Without [-əl-] - [-]:</u>	<u>With [-əl-] - [-]:</u>
1S:	[zoblédəm] ژوبلېدم	[zoblédələm] ژوبلېدلېم
2S:	[zoblédé] ژوبلېدې	[zoblédələ] ژوبلېدلې
3SM:	[zoblédé] ژوبلېده	[zoblédələ] ژوبلېدله
3SF:	[zoblédé] ژوبلېده	[zoblédələ] ژوبلېدله
1P:	[zoblédú] ژوبلېدو	[zoblédələu] ژوبلېدلو
2P:	[zoblédəy] ژوبلېدئ	[zoblédələy] ژوبلېدلئ
3PM:		[zoblédəl] / ژوبلېدل
		[zoblédələ] ژوبلېدله
3PF:	[zoblédé] / ژوبلېدې	[zoblédələ] ژوبلېدلې

<u>'be injured' [zoblég-] - ژوبلیدل - ژوبلیډ</u>		
<u>Past perfective</u>		
	<u>Without [-á-] - ڼ-:</u>	<u>With [-á-] - ڼ-:</u>
1S:	[zóbəl swəm] ژوبل شوم	[zóbəl swəlam] ژوبل شولم
2S:	[zóbəl swe] ژوبل شوې	[zóbəlswəle] ژوبل شولي
3SM:	[zóbəl sə] ژوبل شه	
3SF:	[zóbəla swə] ژوبله شوه	[zóbəla swəla] ژوبله شوله /
1P:	[zóbəl swu] ژوبل شور	[zóbəl swəlu] ژوبل شولو
2P:	[zóbəl sway] ژوبل شوي	[zóbəl swəlay] ژوبل شولي
3PM:		[zóbəl swələ] ژوبل شوله
		[zóbəl swəl] ژوبل شول
3PF:	[zóbəle swe] ژوبلي شوې	[zóbəle swəle] ژوبلي شولي

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

<u>'injure, hurt' [zobləw-] - ژوبلول - ژوبلیول</u>			
<u>Present imperfective</u>			
1S:	[zobləwám] ژوبلوم	1P:	[zobləwú] ژوبلوو
2S:	[zobləwé] ژوبلوې	2P:	[zobləwáy] ژوبلوئ
3S:	[zobləwí] ژوبلوی	3P:	[zobləwí] ژوبلوی
<u>Present perfective</u>			
1S:	[zóbəl kəm] <sup>3</sup> ژوبل کړم	1P:	[zóbəl ku] ژوبل کړو
2S:	[zóbəl ke] ژوبل کړې	2P:	[zóbəl kəy] ژوبل کړئ
3S:	[zóbəl ki] ژوبل کړی	3P:	[zóbəl ki] ژوبل کړی

<sup>3</sup>The [r] is pronounced in other dialects, and in reading and careful pronunciation

'injure, hurt' [zoblaw-] - ژوبلو (ژوبلولو)			
<u>Past Imperfective</u>			
1S:	[zoblawálam] ژوبلولم	1P:	[zoblawálu] ژوبلولو
2S:	[zoblawále] ژوبلولې	2P:	[zoblawálay] ژوبلولئ
3SM:	[zoblāwa] ژوبلاوه	3PM:	[zoblawá] ژوبلول / [zoblawála] ژوبلوله
3SF:	[zoblawála] ژوبلوله	3PF:	[zoblawále] ژوبلولې

'injure, hurt' [zoblaw-] - ژوبلو (ژوبلولو)			
<u>Past perfective</u>			
	<u>without [-a]-[-j]-:</u>		<u>with [-a]-[-j]-:</u>
1S:	[zóbəl kɾəm] ژوبل کړم		[zóbəl kɾələm] ژوبل کړلم
2S:	[zóbəl kɾe] ژوبل کړې		[zóbəl kɾəle] ژوبل کړلې
3SM:	[zóbəl kə] ژوبل کړ		
3SF:	[zóbəla kɾa] ژوبله کړه		[zóbəla kɾəla] ژوبله کړله
1P:	[zóbəl kɾu] ژوبل کړو		[zóbəl kɾəlu] ژوبل کړلو
2P:	[zóbəl kɾay] ژوبل کړئ		[zóbəl kɾəlay] ژوبل کړلئ
3PM:			[zóbəl kɾəla] ژوبل کړله / [zóbəl kɾəl] ژوبل کړل
3PF:	[zóbəle kɾe] ژوبلې کړې		[zóbəle kɾəle] ژوبلې کړلې

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] لوند, an irregular adjective with the following forms:

M:	DS: [lund] لوند	DP: [lāndá] لاندە
	OS: [lāndá] لاندە	OP: [landó] لندو
F:	DS: [landá] لنده	DP: [landé] لندي
	OS: [landé] لندي	OP: [landó] لندو

'get wet' (past perfective) [lund swəl-]	لوند شول- [lund swəl-]
'I (m) got wet'	[lund swələm] لوند شولم
'I (f) got wet'	[landa swələm] لنده شولم
'You (m) got wet'	[lund swəle] لوند شولي
'You (f) got wet'	[landa swəle] لنده شولي
'He got wet'	[lund sé] لوند شو
'She got wet'	[landa swəla] لنده شوله
'We (m) got wet'	[iānda swəlū] لاندہ شولو
'We (f) got wet'	[lande swəlū] لندی شولو
'You (m) all got wet'	[iānda swələy] لاندہ شولي
'You all (f) got wet'	[lande swələy] لندی شولي
'They (m) got wet'	[iānda swələ] لاندہ شوله
'They (f) got wet'	[lande swələ] لندی شولي

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' [badlég-] بدلېږ-

'change into' [badlaw-] بدلو-

From 'wind' [bād] باد (M1):

'be winnowed' [bādég-] بادېږ-

'winnow' [bādaw-] بادو-

Derived from adjectives:

From 'clean' [pāk] پاک (adj 1):

'become clean' [pākég-] پاکېږ-

'clean' [pākaw-] پاکو-

From 'blocked' بند (adj 1):

'be blocked' [bandég-] بندېږ-

'block' [bandaw-] بندو-

From 'straight, level' [awār] اوار (adj 1):

'be straightened' [awārég-] اوارېږ-

'straighten, level out' [awāraw-] اوارو-

From 'obligated' [ar] ار (adj 1):

'be in need' [arég-] ارېږ-

'force' [araw-] ارو-

From 'long' [ugd] اوږد (adj Irreg.):

'become long' [ugdég-] - اوږدېږي

'lengthen' [ugdaw-] - اوږدو

From 'free' [azād] آزاد (adj 1):

'become free' [azādég-] - آزادېږي

'set free' [azādaw-] - آزادو

## H1. 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:* [byāy-] بياي

*Pst imp:* [bow(ə)-] بو(ل)

*Pres perf:* [bóz-] بوز

*Pst perf:* [bót(ə)-] بوت(ل)

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-] كشيږي (كشيږول) which has the following forms:

*Pres imp:* [kenaw-] كشيږي

*Pst imp:* [kenawál-] كشيږول

*Pres perf:* [kénaw-] كشيږو

*Pst perf:* [kénawal-] كشيږول

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:

'give (to you)' [dar+kawál] دركول

'give (to me)' [rā+kawal] راکول

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

'sit down' [ke + n-] كنيستل (كنيستول)

'put' [ ? + gd-] ږد (كښودل)

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.

'lose' [baylodál] بایلودل*Pres imp:* [bāyɪ́-] بایلد-*Pres perf:* [bāyɪ-] بایلد-*Pst imp:* [bāyɪlod(á)-] بایلود-*Pst perf:* [bāyɪlod(ə)-] بایلودل-'happen' [prewatál] پریوتل*Pres imp:* [prewəz-] پریوز-*Pres perf:* [préwəz-] پریوز-*Pst imp:* [prewat-] پریوت-*Pst perf:* [préwat(ə)-] پریوت-

3SM: [prewot] پریوت

3PM: [prewāta] پریواته

'cut' [prekawál] پری کول*Pres imp:* [prekaw-] پری کو-*Pres perf:* [prékɾ-] پری کر-*Pst imp:* [prekawál-] پری کول-*Pst perf:* [prékɾ(-ə)-] پری کرل-'give (to you)' [darkawál] درکول*Pres imp:* [darkaw-] درکو-*Pres perf:* [dárkɾ-] درکر-*Pst imp:* [darkawál-] درکول-*Pst perf:* [dárkɾ(ə)-] درکرل-'wash' [premindzál] پرمیندل*Pres imp:* [premindz-] پرمیند-*Pres perf:* [prémindz-] پرمیند-*Pst imp:* [premindzá-] پرمیندل/

پریوول- [prewól-]

*Pst perf:* [prémindzə-] پرمیندل/

پریوول [préwól]

'go' [tɪal] تلی*Pres imp:* [dz-] د-*Pres perf:* [lãɾ s-] لارس-*Pst imp:* [tɪá(ɪ)-] تلی-*Pst perf:* [lãɾ(ə)-] لارل-



'come (to me)' [rāti(á)] راتلل*Pres imp:* [rā+dz´] - راخه*Pres perf:* [rā+s-] - را شه*Pst imp:* [rāti(á)]- راتللا*Pst perf:* [rághi(á)]- راغللا

3SM: [rāghay] راغی

'bring (to me)' [rāwrá] راوړل*Pres imp:* [rāwr´] - راوړه*Pres perf:* [rāwr-] - راوړه*Pst mp:* [rāwr(-á)]- راوړل*Pst perf:* [rāwr(á)]- راوړل'put' [kexodá] کېښودل*Pres imp:* [gd-] - ږد*Pres perf:* [kégd-] - کېږد*Pst mp:* [kexod(á)]- کېښودل*Pst perf:* [kéxod(á)]- کېښودل'allow' [prexodá] پرېښودل*Pres imp:* [pregd´] - پرېږد*Pres perf:* [prégd-] - پرېږه*Pst imp:* [prexod(á)]- پرېښودل*Pst perf:* [préxod(á)]- پرېښودل'take' [bowá] ټول*Pres imp:* [byāy-] - بیا یه*Pres perf:* [bóz-] - بوز*Pst imp:* [bow(á)]- ټول*Pst perf:* [bót(á)]- ټوللا'give (to me)' [rākawá] راكول*Pres imp:* [rākaw´] - راكو*Pres perf:* [rākṛ-] - راكړه*Pst imp:* [rākaw(á)]- راكول*Pst perf:* [rākṛ(á)]- راكړل'transport here' [rāwastá] راوستل*Pres imp:* [rāwast´] - راوسته*Pres perf:* [rāwast-] - راوسته*Pst imp:* [rāwastá]- راوستل*Pst perf:* [rāwastá]- راوستل'go (to you)' [dardá] ورتلل*Pres imp:* [dardz´] - درخه*Pres perf:* [dárs-] - در شه*Pst imp:* [dard(á)]- در تللا*Pst perf:* [dárg(á)]- در غللا

3SM: [daraghay] در غی

'open' [prānastá] پرانستل*Pres imp:* [prāniU z-] - پرانېز*Pres perf:* [prāniz-] - پرانېز*Pst imp:* [prānast(-á)]- پرانستل*Pst perf:* [prānast(-á)]- پرانستل'get up' [pātsedá] پاڅېدل*Pres imp:* [pātség-] - پاڅېږه*Pres perf:* [pātség-] - پاڅېږه*Pst imp:* [pātsed(-á)]- پاڅېدل*Pst perf:* [pātsed(-á)]- پاڅېدل

'squeeze' [kexkodál] کبکادل*Pres imp:* [kekāg-] - کبکاپ*Pres perf:* [kékāg-] - کبکاپ*Pst imp:* [kexkod(ə)ʔ-] - کببکود*Pst perf:* [kékod(ə)-] - کببکود'arrive, enter' [nənwətál] ننوتال*Pres imp:* [nənwəz-] - ننوخ*Pres perf:* [nənwəz-] - ننوخ*Pst imp:* [nənwət(ə)ʔ-] - ننوتال*Pst perf:* [nənwət(ə)-] - ننوتال*3SM:* [nənwot] - نه وت*3PM:* [nənwətə] - نه واته'go (to him)' [wártál] ورتال*Pres imp:* [wárdz-] - ورخ*Pres perf:* [wárs-] - ورش*Pst imp:* [wárt(ə)ʔ-] - ورتال*Pst perf:* [wárgl(ə)-] - ورغلا*3SM:* [wáraghay] - ورغی'give (to him)' [warkawál] ورکول*Pres imp:* [warkaw-] - ورکو*Pres perf:* [warkw-] - ورکر*Pst imp:* [warkaw(ə)ʔ-] - ورکول*Pst perf:* [warkw(ə)-] - ورکر'take (to him)' [warwrál] وروپل*Pres imp:* [warwr-] - وروپ*Pres perf:* [wáwrw-] - وروپ*Pst imp:* [warwr(ə)ʔ-] - وروپل*Pst perf:* [wáwrw(ə)-] - وروپل*3SM:* [wáwrw] - وروپ'take, carry' [wɾəl] وپل*Pres imp:* [wɾ-] - وپ*Pres perf:* [wés-] - یوس*Pst imp:* [wɾ(ə)ʔ-] - وپل*Pst perf:* [wéwɾ-] - یووپ*3SM:* [wéwɾ] - وپ وپ'err' [khatāwətál] ختاوتل*Pres imp:* [khatāwəz-] - ختاوز*Pres perf:* [khatāwz-] - ختاوز*Pst imp:* [khatāwat(ə)ʔ-] - ختاوتل*Pst perf:* [khatāwat(ə)-] - ختاوتل*3SM:* [khatāwot] - ختاوت*3PM:* [khatāwətə] - ختاواته'deceive' [khatāyestál] ختایستل*Pres imp:* [khatābās-] - ختاباس*Pr perf:* [khatābās-] - ختاباس*Pst imp:* [khatāyest(ə)ʔ-] - ختایستل*Pst perf:* [khatāyest(ə)-] - ختایستل

'sit down' [kenāstá] کښينا ستل

*Pres imp:* [ken-] كښېد-*Pres perf:* [kén-] كښېد-*Pst imp:* [kenāst(ə)-] كښينا ستل-*Pst perf:* [kénāst(ə)-] كښينا ستل-

'plant' [kenawá] كښېنول

*Pres imp:* [kenaw-] كښېنو-*Pres perf:* [kénaw-] كښېنو-*Pst imp:* [kenawá-] كښېنول-*Pst perf:* [kénawá-] كښېنول-

## 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] -ای is added to the past imperfective form of the verb plus the past tense suffix [-á-] -ل (i.e. the infinitive), and the resulting word is a regular class 2 adjective. The imperfective participle for the verb 'go' [dz-] -ځ therefore has the following forms:

<i>M:</i>	<i>DS:</i> [tɬálay] تلی	<i>DP:</i> [tɬáɪ] تلی
	<i>OS:</i> [tɬáɪ] تلی	<i>OP:</i> [tɬáɪ] تلی
<i>F:</i>	<i>DS:</i> [tɬále] تلی	<i>DP:</i> [tɬále] تلی
	<i>OS:</i> [tɬále] تلی	<i>OP:</i> [tɬáɪ] تلی

Examples of imperfective participles are:

<u>Verb</u>		<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Imperfective participle</u>
<i>Simple:</i>			
'dance'	[gaḏeg-] - گدېږ	[gaḏedál] گدېدل	[gaḏedálay] گدېدلی
'send'	[leg-] - لېږ	[legál] لېږل	[legálay] لېږلی
<i>Derivative:</i>			
'be built'	[joṛeg-] - جوړېږ	[joṛedál] جوړېدل	[joṛedálay] جوړېدلی
'build'	[joṛaw-] - جوړو	[joṛawál] جوړول	[joṛawálay] جوړولی
<i>Doubly irregular:</i>			
'sit'	[ken-] - کښېږ	[kenastál] کښېناستل	[kenastálay] کښېناستلی
'plant'	[kenaw-] - کښېنو	[kenawál] کښېنول	[kenawálay] کښېنولی
'go'	[dz-] - ځ	[tlál] تلل	[tlálay] تللی
'take'	[byāy-] - بیا ی	[bowál] بوول	[bowálay] بوولی

Formation of perfective participles. The participial ending [-ay] -ی 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:

<u>Verb</u>		<u>Perfective participle</u>
<i>Simple:</i>		
'dance'	[gaḏég-] - گدېږ	[wágaḏedálay] وگدېدلی
'send'	[leg-] - لېږ	[wálegálay] ولېږلی
<i>Derivative:</i>		
'be built'	[joṛég-] - جوړېږ	[joṛ sáway] جوړ شوی
'build'	[joṛaw-] - جوړو	[joṛ káray] جوړ کړی
<i>Doubly irregular:</i>		
'sit down'	[ken-] - کښېږ	[kénastálay] کښېناستلی
'plant'	[kénaw-] - کښېنو	[kénawálay] کښېنولی

The [-əɪ-] - ɪ- 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 [-ay] ی- indicates that the form is past tense.

Imperfective participle without [-əɪ-] - ɪ-	Imperfective participle with [-əɪ-] - ɪ-
[gəɖədáy] گدېدی	[gəɖədəɪay] گدېدلی
[ləgáy] لېړی	[ləgəɪay] لېړلی
[jorədáy] جوړېدی	[jorədəɪay] جوړېدلی
[jorəwáy] جوړوی	[jorəwəɪay] جوړوللی
[kenastáy] کښېناستی	[kenastəɪay] کښېناستلی
[kenawáy] کښېنوی	[kenawəɪay] کښېنوللی
[tɪay] تلی	[tɪəɪay] تللی
[bowáy] بووی	[bowəɪay] بوللی

*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.

Verb		Perfective/imperfective participle
'go'	[dz-] - ځ	[tɪəɪay] تللی / [tɪay] تلی
'put'	[gd-] - ږد	[ixodəɪay] ایښودلی / [ixay] ایښی

The participles for the auxiliaries are also idiosyncratic:

Auxiliary		Imperfective participle	Perfective participle
<i>Intransitive</i>	[keg-] - کېږ	[kedəɪay] کېدلی / [kedáy] کېدی	[səwəɪay] شوی
<i>Transitive</i>	[kaw-] - کو	[kawəɪay] کوللی / [kawáy] کوی	[kəɾəɪay] کړی

## F. Other Analyses

Analyses of verb formation vary widely from writer to writer on Pashto grammar. Mackenzie (1987) 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 [wá] 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 8.

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

#### Simple verbs

*Intransitive:* 'dance' [gaḡég-] - گدېدل (گدېدل)

*Transitive:* 'send' [leg-] - لېږل (لېږل)

*Beginning with [a]:* 'buy' [ākhl-] - اخل (اخیستل)

*Derivative verbs* (derived from the class 1 adjective 'healthy, constructed' [joṛ] جور) :

*Intransitive:* 'get better, be sewn, be built' [joṛég-] - جوړېدل (جوړېدل)

*Transitive:* 'build, make healthy, sew' [joṛaw-] - جوړول (جوړول)

#### Doubly irregular verbs

*Intransitive:* 'go' [dz-] (تلل)

*Pr. imp.* [dzʰ] - ځ *Pr. perf.* [lãṛ s-] - لار سـ

*Pst. imp.* [tɪá(ɪ)-] - تلال *Pst. perf.* [lãṛ-] - لار

*Transitive:* 'take' [byāy-] - بيايـ (بول)

*Pr. imp.* [byāy-] - بيايـ *Pr. perf.* [boz-] - بوزـ

*Pst. imp.* [bow(ə)-] - بولـ *Pst. perf.* [bótɪ(ə)-] - بوتلال

## 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 yəm.]

shopkeeper *be1S*

دوکاندار يم.

'I am a shopkeeper.'

[wāgay ye?]

hungry *be2S*

وړې يې؟

'Are you hungry?'

[lā mor sara nāsta da.]

with mother with sitting *be3S*

له مور سره ناسته ده.

'She's sitting with her mother.'

[paxtāné yu.]

Pashtuns *be1P*

پښتانه يو.

'We are Pashtuns.'

[tāse muhtarām khalək yāstəy.]

you-all respected people *be2P*

تاسې محترم خلك ياستئ.

'You (all) are respected people.'

[duy aprīdi dī.]

they Afridi *be3P*

دوی 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:



گدېږي - [gaḡég-] Present Imperfective tense of	
'I dance/am dancing'	[gaḡégam] گدېږم
'you dance/are dancing'	[gaḡége] گدېږې
'he/she/it dances/is dancing'	[gaḡégi] گدېږي
'we dance/are dancing'	[gaḡégu] گدېږو
'you all dance/are dancing'	[gaḡégəy] گدېږئ
'they dance/are dancing'	[gaḡégi] گدېږي

Some examples of sentences using this tense are:

[saḡi ʃol pə melé ke gaḡégi.] men all at picnic at dance <sup>3P</sup>	سري ټول په مېله کې گدېږي. 'The men all dance at picnics.'
[laylā khpəle koranáy ta paysé legi.] Layla own family to money send <sup>3S</sup>	ليلا خپلې کورنۍ ته پيسې لېږي. 'Layla sends money to her family.'
[tsapláy pə pexawár ke joḡégi.] sandal in Peshawar in are made <sup>3P</sup>	خپلې په پېښور کې جوړېږي. 'Sandals are made in Peshawar.'
[māját joḡawi.] mosque they build <sup>3P</sup>	ماجت جوړوي. 'They are building a mosque.'
[pohantún ta dzu.] university to we go <sup>1P</sup>	پوهنتون ته ځو. 'We go to the university.'
[tāse asúna bāzár ta byāyay?] you-all horses bazaar to take <sup>3P</sup>	تاسې اسونه بازار ته بيایي؟ '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 [ná] نه before the verb. For example:

Present imperfective negative of [gaḡég-] - گدېږي	
'I'm not dancing/don't dance'	[ná gaḡegam] نه گدېږم
'you're not dancing/don't dance'	[ná gaḡege] نه گدېږې
'he/she/it isn't dancing/doesn't dance'	[ná gaḡegi] نه گدېږي
'we aren't dancing/don't dance'	[ná gaḡegu] نه گدېږو
'you all aren't dancing/don't dance'	[ná gaḡegay] نه گدېږئ
'they aren't dancing/don't dance'	[ná gaḡegi] نه گدېږي

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

Present imperfective negative of 'buy' [ákh-] -  خا	
'I'm not buying/don't buy'	[nākhām] ناخلم
'you're not buying/don't buy'	[nākhle] ناخلي
'he/she/it isn't buying/ doesn't buy'	[nākhli] ناخلي
'we aren't buying/don't buy'	[nākhlu] ناخلو
'you all aren't buying/don't buy'	[nākhlay] ناخلي
'they aren't buying/don't buy'	[nākhli] ناخلي

Some examples of the negative present imperfective are:

[mung pə wādúno ke ná gaḡegu.] مونږ په ودونو کې نه گدېږو.  
we at weddings at neg dance 1P 'We don't dance at weddings.'

[laylā pə ḡé myāst ke lik kor ta ná legi.] لیلې په دې میاست کې لیک کور ته نه لېږي.  
Layla in this month in letter home to neg send 3S 'Layla isn't sending a letter home this month.'

[watán pə khabéro ná joregi.] وطن په خبرو نه جوړېږي.  
country with words neg build 3S 'A country isn't built with words'

[zə khpəle jāme nə joṛawam.]

I own clothes neg sew1S

زه خپلې جامې نه جوړوم.

'I don't sew my own clothes.'

[mung wādə ta nə dzu.]

we wedding to neg go1P

مونږ واده ته نه ځو.

'We're not going to the wedding.'

[day khpəla koranəy pākistān ta nə byāy.]

he own family pakistan to neg take3S

دی خپله کورنۍ

پاکستان ته نه بیایي.

'He isn't taking his family to Pakistan.'

[plār me bāgh nākhil.]

father my orchard neg buy3S

پلار مې باغ ناخلي.

'My father is not buying the orchard.'

*The Present Perfective Tense.* The present perfective tense is formed by adding the personal endings to the present perfective stem of the verb. In present-time expressions, this tense occurs only in clauses, and its use in such clauses is described fully in Chapter 13. An example occurs in the next section, however, in the first clause of the sentence 'Asad will be a teacher when he finishes school.'

### 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] به. The third person form [wi] وی is used in future contexts to express certainties: [si] شی is used to express possibilities. Some examples:

[tāse ba zar tégil say.]

you fut soon thirsty be2P

تاسې به ژر تېرى شی.

'You all might be thirsty soon.'

[day ba jég wi.]

he fut tall be3S

دی به جگ وی.

'He will be tall.'

[asad che maktab khlás ki, maalám ba si.] اسد چي مکتب خالص کري  
 asad when school finishes teacher fut ba3S معلم به شي.  
 'Asad will be a teacher when he finishes school.'

[ba] with the *Present Perfective Tense*. Most future expressions are formed with the future particle [ba] به and the present perfective tense, which combines the present perfective stem of the verb with the present personal endings. [ba] به 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 pə wādé ke wágaḡegi.] احمد به په واده کي وگډهږي.  
 Ahmad fut at wedding at dance3S, pres perf 'Ahmad will dance at the wedding.'

[plār ba me paysé bāla hafta wálegi.] پلار به مې پيسې بله  
 father fut my money next week send3S, pres perf هفته ولېږي.  
 'My father.' will send money next week.'

[layiā ba jóra si.] ليلا به جوړه شي.  
 Layla fut improve aux3S, pres perf 'Layla will get better.'

[asad ba dewāl jóṛ ki.] اسد به دېوال جوړ کري.  
 Asad fut wall build aux3S, pres perf 'Asad will build a wall.'

[tor ba lāṛ si.] تور به لاړ شي.  
 tor fut go aux3S, pres perf 'Tor will go.'

[tor ba ye bózi.] تور به يې بوزي.  
 tor fut him take3S, pres perf 'Tor will take him.'

*Negative future expressions.* Negative future expressions involve the negative particle [nə] نه, the future particle [ba] به, and the present perfective form of the verb with the appropriate personal ending.

With simple verbs, the particles appear in the following orders:

If there is a subject or object:

*subject/object + [ba] به + [wá] و + [ná] نه + present verb stem + ending*

Example:

[ahmad ba wə ná gaḡegi.]	احمد به و نه گدېږي.
Ahmad fut perf neg dance3S	'Ahmad will not dance.'

If there is both a subject and object:

*subject + [ba] به + object + [wə] وه + [nə] نه + present verb stem + ending*

Example:

[asad ba lik wə ná legi.]	اسد به ليك و نه لېږي.
Asad fut letter perf neg send3S	'Asad will not send the letter.'

If there is neither subject nor object:

*[wə] و + [ba] به + [nə] نه + present verb stem + ending*

Example:

[wə ba ná gaḡegi.]	و به نه گدېږي.
perf fut neg dance3S	'He won't dance.'

With simple verbs beginning with [a] l, the perfective [wə] و and the [a] l of the verb combine:

*[wā] وا + [nə] نه + rest of the verb,*

as in the following example with the verb 'buy' [akhl-] اخلا- (اخلل):

[bāgh ba wā nákhli.]	باغ به وا نه خلي.
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 [ná] نه is inserted between the adjective or noun and the auxiliary, for example:

[laylā ba joḡa ná si.]	ليلا به جوړه نه شي.
Layla fut improve neg aux,3S, pres perf	'Layla won't get better.'

[asad ba dawāi joḡ ná k1.]	اسد به دېوال جوړ نه کړي.
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 (ná) نه between the first and second parts of the verb. For example:

'sit' [ken-] (کنبنا ستل)	<u>Positive</u> '(I) sit' [kénam] کنبنا م
	<u>Negative</u> 'not sit' [ke ná nam] کنبنا نه نم
'take there' [warwɾ-] (وروړل)	<u>Positive</u> '(he) takes' [wárwɾi] وروړی
	<u>Negative</u> 'not take' [war ná wri] ورو نه وړی
'take' [byay-] (بول)	<u>Positive</u> '(we) take' [bózu] بوزو
	<u>Negative</u> 'not take' [bo ná zu] بو نه زو

Examples of future negative constructions involving doubly irregular verbs in sentences:

[as ba bāzár ta bo ná zi.] اس به بازار ته بو نه زی.  
horse fut market to take neg take3S, pres perf  
'He won't take the horse to market.'

[pākistān ta ba lāɾ ná su.] پاکستان ته به لار نه شو.  
Pakistan to fut go neg go3S, pres perf  
'We won't go to Pakistan.'

[asad ba amān ta moɟár war ná kɾi] اسد به امان ته موټر ور نکړی.  
Asad fut Aman to car give neg-give3S, pres perf  
'Asad will not give Amān 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:

[zə ba bəl zəmay pə pākistān ke yəm.] زه به بل ژمی په پاکستان کې يم.  
I fut next winter in Pakistan in be1S  
'I'm (to be) in Pakistan next winter.'



Another kind of command that translates roughly as English 'May you ...' involves the use of [se] شي rather than [sa] ش. The familiar Pashto greetings are examples of this construction:

[stəɾay mə se.] tired neg be2S	ستړی مه شي. 'May you not be tired.'
[khwār mə se.] miserable neg be2S	خوار مه شي. 'May you not be miserable.'
[zɾawār se!] brave be2S	زړور شي! '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 [-əy] ي (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:

<u>Positive command forms of 'dance' [gadég-] گډېډ - (گډېدل)</u>	
'dance' (to one person)	[wáɡadégal] وگډېډه
'dance' (to more than one)	[wáɡadégəy] وگډېډئ
<u>Positive command forms of 'build (it/them)' - جوړېډ - (جوړېدل)</u>	
To one person:	
'build (it M)'	[jór ka] جوړ كړه
'build (it F)'	[jóra ka] جوړه كړه
'build (them M)'	[jór ka] جوړ كړه
'build (them F)'	[jóre ka] جوړې كړه



Positive command forms of 'build (it/them)' - جوړېدل (جوړېدل) (cont.)

To more than one person:

'build (it M)'	[jór kəy] جوړ کړئ
'build (itF)'	[jóra kəy] جوړه کړئ
'build (them M)'	[jór kəy] جوړ کړئ
'build (them F)'	[jóre kəy] جوړې کړئ

Positive command forms of 'go' [dz-] (تلل) (تلل)

'go' (to one person)	[lář sa] لار شه
'go' (to more than one)	[lář səy] لار شی

Positive command forms of 'take' [buay-] (پول) (پول)

'take' (to one person)	[bóza] بوزه
'take' (to more than one)	[bózəy] بوزئ

Additional examples of positive commands:

[kor jór ka.] house (M) build <i>aux2S, pres perf</i>	کور جوړ کړه. 'Build the house.'
[tsawkəy jóra ka.] chair (F) build <i>aux2S, pres perf</i>	څوکی جوړه کړه. 'Build the chair.'
[bāzar ta rā sara lář sa.] bazaar to me with go <i>aux2S, pres perf</i>	بازار ته را سره لار شه. 'Go to the bazaar with me.'
[wágaðegəy.] dance <i>2P, pres perf</i>	وگډېږئ. 'Dance (everyone).'
[māshumān dər sara bóza.] children you with take <i>2S, pres perf</i>	ماشومان در سره بوزه. 'Take the children with you.'



[laylā kor ta má byāyay.]

Layla house to neg take2P

ليلا كور ته مه بيائي.

'Don't take Layla home yet.'

[bāgh mākhla.]

orchard neg buy2S

باغ ماخه.

'Don't buy the orchard.'

In this last example, it can be seen that the [ə] 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

tse gharq swell

get up2S, pres imp that doomed you are

پاڅېره چې غرق شوې!

'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

[wákhwɾa]

eat2S, pres perf

وڅوره.

'Eat.' (normal invitation)

as opposed to

[khwɾá]

eat2S, pres imp

mā ta mégoral]

me to don't watch

څوره! ما ته مه گوره!

'Eat! Don't wait for me!'

or

[khwɾá

eat2S, pres imp

ye che dzu.]

it that we-go

څوره يې چې څو.

'Finish eating it so we can go.'

or

[khwɾá

eat2S, pres imp

ye che sarəgi.]

it that get-cold

څوره چې سرېږي.

'Eat it, it's getting cold.'

Another contrast:

[rā spór sa.]	را سپور شه.
here mount2S, pres perf	'Get on (behind me on a horse)' (normal command)

as opposed to

[rā sparéga!]	را سپورېږه!
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 zə rāsəm, daréga.]	هر وخت چې زه راشم،
every time that I come stand up2S, pres imp	درېږه.
	'Every time I come, stand up.'

and a contrastive example:

[tə dzá; zə dar dzəm.]	ته ځه، زه در ځم.
you go2,S pres imp I there am-going	'Keep going; I'll catch up.'

as opposed to

[tə lāř sa; zə ba sabā dársəm.]	ته لاړ شه، زه به
you go2S, pres perf I fut tomorrow go-there	سبا درسم.
	'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:

[stářay wəm.]	ستړی وم.
tired be1S, pst imp	'I was tired.'



[zə khān wəm.]

I khan *bə1S, pst imp*

زه خان وم.

'I was a khān.'

[duy khapá wə.]

they unhappy *bə3P, pst imp*

دوی خپه وو.

'They were unhappy.'

[|aylā stəre ná wə?]

Layla tired *neg bə3SF, pst imp*

لیلا ستړې نه وه؟

'Wasn't Layla tired?'

When past perfective forms of *be* are used, they translate as 'became', as can be seen in the following:

[stəray swəm.]

tired *bə1S, pst perf*

ستړی سوم.

'I became tired.'

[zə khān swəm.]

I khan *bə1S, pst perf*

زه خان سوم.

'I became a khān.'

[duy khapá swə.]

they unhappy *bə3P, pst perf*

دوی خپه سوو.

'They became unhappy.'

[|aylā stəre ná swə?]

Layla tired *neg bə3SF, pst perf*

لیلا ستړې نه سوه؟

'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:

[saɽi ʔol pə melá ke gaɖedəl.]

men all at picnic at dance *pst imp3P*

سړی ټول په مېله کې گډېدل.

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

'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 khpəle kōranáy ta paysé legále.]      لایلا خپلې کورنۍ  
Layla own family to moneyFP send3FP, pst imp      ته پیسې لېږلې.  
'Layla was sending money to her family.'

[tsapləy pə pexawər ke jorədále.]      خپلې په پېښور کې  
sandalsFP in Peshawar in be made3FP, pst imp      جوړېدلې.  
'Sandals used to be made in Peshawar.'

[mājət ye jorawá.]      ماچت یې جوړاوه.  
mosqueMS they build3MS, pst imp      'They were building a mosque.'

[pohantún ta tləlu.]      پوهنتون ته تللو.  
university to go1P, pst imp      'We were going to the university.'

[tāse asuna bāzār ta bowál?]      تاسې اسونه بازار ته ښوول؟  
you-all horsesMP bazaar to take3MP, pst imp      'Were you all taking the  
horses to the market?'

[mung pə wādúno ke ná gaḡedu.]      مونږ په ودونو کې نه گډېدو.  
we 1P at weddings at neg dance1P, pst imp      'We weren't dancing at weddings.'

[laylā pə de myāst ke lík kor ta ná legə.]      لایلا په دې میاشت کې لیک کور ته نه لېږه.  
Layla in this month in letterMS home to neg send3MS, pst imp      'Layla wasn't sending a letter home this month.'

[mā khpəle jāme ná jorawəle.]      ما خپلې جامې نه جوړولې.  
I own clothesFP neg sew3FP, pst imp      'I wasn't sewing my own clothes.'



[mung wāḍə ta ná tlu.] مونږ واده ته نه تلو.  
 we 1P wedding to neg go 1P, pst imp 'We weren't going to the wedding.'

[də khpəla koranəy pākīstān ta ná bowa.] ده خپله کورنۍ پاکستان ته نه بووه.  
 he own family FS Pakistan to neg take 3SF, pst imp 'He wasn't taking his family to Pakistan.'

[piār me bāgh nākhīst.] پلار مې باغ ناخست.  
 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 khpəle koranəy ta payse wəlegəle.] لایلا خپلې کورنۍ ته پیسې ولېږلې.  
 Layla own family to money FP send 3FP, pst perf 'Layla sent money to her family.'

[xədze jóre swe.] ښځې جوړې شوې.  
 women FP recover aux 3FP, pst perf 'The women recovered.'

[mājəd ye jóre kr.] ماچت یې جوړ کړ.  
 mosque MS they build aux 3MS, pst perf 'They built a mosque.'

[pohantún ta laɾu.] پوهنتون ته لاړو.  
 university to go 1P, pst perf 'We went to the university.'

[tāse asuna bāzār ta botlə?] تاسې اسونه بازر ته بوتله؟  
 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 gaḡedə.] Ahmad <i>prf neg dance3MS, pst perf</i>	احمد و نه گډېده . 'Ahmad didn't dance.'
[asad lik wə nə legə.] Asad <i>letterMS prf neg send3MS, pst perf</i>	اسد ليك و نه لېږه . 'Asad didn't send the letter.'
[wə nə gaḡedə.] <i>prf neg dance3SM, pst perf</i>	و نه گډېده . 'He didn't dance.'
[bāgh ye wā nə khīstə.] orchardMS he <i>prf neg buy3SM, pst perf</i>	باغ يې وا نه خسته . 'He didn't buy the orchard.'
[de layla mor joḡa nə swa.] of Layla motherFS healthy <i>neg aux3FS, pst perf</i> Layla's mother didn't get better.	د ليلا مور جوړه نه شوه . 'Layla's mother didn't get better.'
[asad dewāl joḡ nə kḡə.] Asad wallMS build <i>neg aux3MS, pst perf</i>	اسد دېوال جوړ نه کړه . 'Asad didn't build a wall.'
[as ye bāzār ta bo nə tə.] horseMS he market to take <i>neg-take3MS, pst perf</i>	اس يې بازار ته يو نه ته . 'He didn't take the horse to market.'
[pākistān ta lāḡ nə swu.] Pakistan to go <i>neg aux1P, pst perf</i>	پاکستان ته لاړ نه شوو . 'We didn't go to Pakistan.'
[asad amān ta moḡar war nə kə.] Asad Aman to carMS give <i>neg give3SM, pst perf</i>	اسد امان ته موټر ور نه کړ . 'Asad didn't give Amān the car.'

"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 :

'dance' [gaḡeg-] - گډېدل (گډېدل)	
'I have danced'	[gaḡedálay yam] گډېدلی یم
'you have danced'	[gaḡedálay ye] گډېدلی یې
'he/she has danced'	[gaḡedálay da] گډېدلی ده
'we have danced'	[gaḡedáli yu] گډېدلی یو
'you-all have danced'	[gaḡedáli yāstəy] گډېدلی یاستې
'they have danced'	[gaḡedáli di.] گډېدلی دی
'I had danced'	[gaḡedálay wəm] گډېدلی وم
'you had danced'	[gaḡedálay we] گډېدلی وې
'he had danced'	[gaḡedálay wə] گډېدلی و
'she had danced'	[gaḡedəle wa] گډېدلې وه
'we had danced'	[gaḡedáli wu] گډېدلی وو
'you-all had danced'	[gaḡedáli' way] گډېدلی وې
'they (m) had danced'	[gaḡedáli wə] گډېدلی وو
'they (f) had danced'	[gaḡedáli we] گډېدلی وې

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 [wi] وی):

'I will have danced'	[zə ba gaḡedálay yəm] زه به گډېدلی یم
'you will have danced'	[tə ba gaḡedálay ye] ته به گډېدلی یې
'he will have danced'	[day ba gaḡedálay wi] دی به گډېدلی وی
'we will have danced'	[mung ba gaḡedáli yu] مونږ به گډېدلی یو
'you-all will have danced'	[tāse ba gaḡedáli yāstəy] تاسې به گډېدلی یاستې
'they will have have danced'	[duy ba gaḡedáli wi] دوی به گډېدلی وی

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] کور is masculine; 'chair' [tsawkáy] خۆکی 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., [joɾ] جوړ ) and the participle (i.e., [káɾay] کری ) agree.

Perfective participle + present tense be:

[tor kor joɾ káɾay da.] Tor house <sub>MS</sub> build <sub>MS</sub> part <sub>3MS</sub> be <sub>3S</sub>	تور کور جوړ کری دی. 'Tor has built a house.'
[tor koruna joɾ káɾi di.] Tor houses <sub>MP</sub> build <sub>MP</sub> part <sub>3MP</sub> be <sub>3P</sub>	تور کورونه جوړ کری دی. 'Tor has built houses.'
[tor tsawkəy joɾa káɾe da.] Tor chair <sub>FS</sub> build <sub>FS</sub> part <sub>3FS</sub> be <sub>3S</sub>	تور خۆکی جوړه کری ده. 'Tor has built a chair.'
[tor tsawkəy joɾe káɾi di.] Tor chairs <sub>FP</sub> build <sub>FP</sub> part <sub>3FP</sub> be <sub>3P</sub>	تور خۆکی جوړې کری ده. 'Tor has built chairs.'

Perfective participle + past tense be

[tor kor joɾ káɾay wa.] Tor house <sub>MS</sub> build <sub>MS</sub> part <sub>3MS</sub> be <sub>3S</sub>	تور کور جوړ کری و. 'Tor had built a house.'
[tor koruna joɾ káɾi wa.] Tor houses <sub>MP</sub> build <sub>MP</sub> part <sub>3MP</sub> be <sub>3P</sub>	تور کورونه جوړ کری وو. 'Tor had built houses.'
[tor tsawkəy joɾa káɾe wa.] Tor chair <sub>FS</sub> build <sub>FS</sub> part <sub>3FS</sub> be <sub>3S</sub>	تور خۆکی جوړه کری وه. 'Tor had built a chair.'
[tor tsawkəy joɾe káɾe wa.] Tor chairs <sub>FP</sub> build <sub>FP</sub> part <sub>3FP</sub> be <sub>3P</sub>	تور خۆکی جوړې کری وې. 'Tor had built chairs.'

[ba] + perfective participle + future be

[tor ba kor joṛ kaṛay wi.] تور به کور جوړ کړی وی.  
Tor fut house<sub>MS</sub> build<sub>MS</sub> part<sub>3MS</sub> be<sub>3S</sub> 'Tor will have built a house.'

[tor ba koruna joṛ kaṛi wi.] تور به کورونه جوړ کړی وی.  
Tor fut houses<sub>MP</sub> build<sub>MP</sub> part<sub>3MP</sub> be<sub>3</sub> 'Tor will have built houses.'

[tor ba tsawkəy joṛa kaṛe wa.] تور به څوکی جوړه کړې وه.  
Tor fut chair<sub>FS</sub> build<sub>FS</sub> part<sub>3FS</sub> be<sub>3S</sub> 'Tor will have built a chair.'

[tor ba tsawkəy joṛe kaṛe wa.] تور به څوکی جوړې کړې وې.  
Tor fut chairs<sub>FP</sub> build<sub>FP</sub> part<sub>3FP</sub> be<sub>3P</sub> 'Tor will have built chairs.'

In negative constructions, the negative particle precedes the form of *be*, and the participle is moved to the end of the phrase:

[tor tsawkəy né da joṛa kaṛe.] تور څوکی نه ده جوړه کړې.  
Tor chair neg be build aux, part 'Tor hasn't built a chair.'

[asad me dwa wradze né day lidəlay.] اسد مې دوه ورځې نه دي ليدلي.  
Asad I two days neg be see, part 'I haven't seen Asad for two days.'

## F. Expressions with Infinitives

Infinitives are formed by adding the past tense suffix [-á] ل- to the past

imperfective form of the verb, for example:

Verb:

'dance' [gaḡég-] گډېږ-

'send' [leg-] لېږل-

'buy' [akh-] اخل-

'get better' [joṛég-] جوړېږ-

'build' [joṛaw-] جوړو-

'go' [dz-] ځ-

'take' [byāy-] بيا ږ-

Infinitive:

[gaḡedá] گډېدل

[legá] لېږل

[akhístá] اخستل

[joṛedá] جوړېدل

[joṛawá] جوړول

[tɬá] تلل

[bowá] بول

Infinitives are masculine plural nouns, and have oblique forms with the usual plural oblique [-o] و- 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*.

[ <u>bowəl</u> qer grān ffi day.]	بېول دېر گران فعل دی.
to take very difficult verb is .	'bowəl 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 how the verbs are plural in agreement with the subject infinitives.

[de gideṛe <u>niwəl</u> grān di.]	د گیدرې نیول گران دی.
of fox catchinf difficult be3P	'It is difficult to catch a fox.'

[de laylā <u>kaṭəl</u> saṛay wāzhni.]	د لیای کتل سړی وژنی.
of Layla lookinf man kill3P	'Layla's gaze kills a man.'

[ <u>tlə</u> me stəṛay kawī.]	تل مې سترې کوی.
goinf me tired aux3P.	'Traveling makes me tired.'

[ <u>wayə</u> lə ta ye mǎgora, <u>kawə</u> lə ta ye gora.]	ویلو ته یې مه گوره، کولو ته یې گوره.
talkinf to his don't look actinf to his look	'Don't look at his words, look at his actions.'

[wayə] ná ghwāṛəm, kawəl ghwāṛəm.]	ویل نه غوارم، کول غوارم.
talkinf neg I want, doinf I want	'I don't want words, I want action.'





Statements about future ability are formed with the future particle [ba] به, the perfective participle and the present perfective forms of *be*. Note the order of elements in the negative constructions. Some examples:

[asad ba xə wəgəqədəlay si.]                      اسد به ښه وگډېدلی شی.  
Asad fut well dancepart be3S                      'Asad will be able to dance very well.'

[laylā ba lik sabā ta wə ná si legəlay.]                      لایلا به لیک سبا ته  
Layla fut letter tomorrow perf neg be3S sendpart                      و نه شی لېږلی.  
'Layla won't be able to send the letter tomorrow.'

[alta ba kor joŕ ná se karəy.]                      هلته به کور جوړ نه شی کړی.  
there fut house build neg be2S aux, part                      'You won't be able to build a house there.'

[mung ba pə bāgh ke har dzāy kénāstəlay su.]                      مونږ به په باغ کې هر  
we fut in orchard in any place sitpart be1P                      ځای کېښناستلی شو.  
'We will be able to sit anywhere in the orchard.'

[tāse ba wrusta lə nawroza lalmi wə ná say karəlay.]  
you-all fut after from Nawroz wheat neg be plant part  
تاسې به وروسته له نوروڼه للمی و نه شی کړلی.  
'You-all won't be able to plant wheat after Nawroz.'

[kor ta ba me bótlay se?]                      کور ته به مې بوتلی شی؟  
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 *be*. These statements carry the implication that the action that could be carried out actually was carried out. Examples:

[de asad plār pəkhwā ōer xə wəgəqədəday sə.]  
of Asad father earlier very good dancepart be3MS  
د اسد پلار پخوا ډېر ښه وگډېدی شه.  
'Asad's father was able to dance very well years ago.'



[laylā lik wálegəlay sə.] لایلا لیک ولېرلی شه.  
 Layla letterMS sendpart be3MS 'Layla could send the letter.'

[mung nən sahār pə bāgh ke har chera kénāstəlay swu.] مونږ نن سهار په باغ کې هر چېره کښېناستلی شوو.  
 we today morning in orchard in any where sitpart be1P 'We could sit anywhere in the orchard this morning, and did.'

[zə wə ná swəm gaðedəlay.] زه و نه شوم گډېدلی.  
 I prf neg be1S dancepart 'I couldn't dance.'

Some examples of negatives:

[pohantun ta ná swəy tləlay.] پوهنتون ته نه شوی تللی.  
 university to neg be2P gopart 'You-all couldn't go to the university.'

[bādrang lə nawroz na pəkhwa wə ná swəl karəlay.] بادرنګ له نورو زه نه پخوا و نه شول کړلی.  
 cucumberMP from Nawroz from before perf neg be3MP plantpart 'You-all couldn't plant cucumbers before Nawroz.'

[mung pə bāgh ke her chera ná swü kenāstəlay.] مونږ په باغ کې هر چېره نه شوو کښېناستلی.  
 we in orchard in any where neg be1P sitpart 'We weren't able to sit anywhere in the orchard.'

'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:

[laylā ba lik sabā ta wālegālay si.] ليلا به ليك سبا ته  
 Layla fut letter tomorrow send, perf part be3S ولهگلي شي.  
 'Layla will be able to send the letter tomorrow.'

[laylā ba lik sabā ta legālay si.] ليلا به ليك سبا ته  
 Layla fut letter tomorrow send, imp part be3S لهگلي شي.  
 'Layla might be able to send the letter tomorrow (if the post office is open).'

[mung tera hafta jwār wākarālay swā.] مونږ تېره هفته جوار  
 we last week corn plant perf part be3S وکړلي شوه.  
 'We were able to plant the corn last week (and did).'

[mung tera hafta jwār karālay swā.] مونږ تېره هفته جوار  
 we last week corn plant imp part be3S کړلي شوه.  
 '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] دې. Expressions parallel to English expressions with 'must' are formed with the particle 'must' [de] دې, followed by the present

imperfective tense of the verb. Some examples:

[asad de yawa baja rādzi.] اسد دې يوه بجه راځي.  
 Asad must one o'clock come3S, pres imp 'Asad must be here at one.'

[laylā de kor ta ná dzi.] ليلا دې کور ته نه ځي.  
 Layla must house to neg go3S, pres imp 'Layla must not go home.'

[ta de pə de pówe.] ته دې پدې پوه وي.  
 you must about this know3S, pres imp 'You must know this.'

Constructions with 'should' [bāyád] باید. The particle 'should' [bāyád] باید followed by a verb in the present perfective tense combines in a construction parallel in meaning to English 'should'. Note that [bāyád] 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:

[ʔasad bāyad yawa baja rāsi.]	اسد باید یوه بجه راشی.
Asad should one o'clock come3S, pres perf	'Asad should be here at one.' 'Asad will probably be here at one.'
[laylā bāyad kor ta lāra ná si.]	لیلا باید کور ته لاره نه شی.
Layla should house to go neg go3S, pres perf	'Layla shouldn't go home.'
[tə bāyad pə de po sə.]	ته باید پدې پوه شی.
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 became/I will be/be/ 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.')

*[mə] + 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?')

*[ba] + 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*

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')

[bayad] + *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* + [ə] + *pst. personal endings*

Infinitives ('to go')

*pst. imp. stem* + [-ə]

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.* + *pres. 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] ⚡, 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: 'ba' + participle + past imperfective *be*, described in (Chapter 13)

subjunctive: participle + perfective *be* forms

conditional/optative: participle constructions with conditionals, described in (Chapter 13)

conjectural: [ba] ⚡ + participle + imperfective *be*



Penzl (1955) posits two basic tenses - present and past - and suggests that these can be made future with the particle [ba]  $\bar{a}$ . 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] د: phrases with [de] د are the only way to express possession with nouns or strong pronouns:

[de asád]	د اسد
of Asad	'Asad's'
[de asad plār]	د اسد پلار
of Asad father	'Asad's father'
[de asad lās]	د اسد لاس
of Asad hand	'Asad's hand'



Chapter 10: Prepositions

In the central dialect د is pronounced [di] before strong pronouns, e.g. [di mā] ما د. In the western dialect and others, د before pronouns is spelled and pronounced [z], for example [zmā] زما.

The other pre-position is [pə] پ, which has several meanings. One of the meanings is the instrumental 'by means of', or 'with':

[pə chāṛá]	په چاره
with knife	'with/by means of a knife'

[asad pəṛay pə chāṛə prékaṛ.]	اسد پری په چاره پرې کړ.
Asad rope with knife cut	'Asad cut the rope with a knife.'

[pə] پ is also used with number as 'at' in time expressions:

[pə yawá baja]	په یوه بجه
at one o'clock	'at one o'clock'

Yet another meaning of [pə] پ is 'at, on, in', and is described below in the discussion of the pre-post-position [pə ... bānde] په ... باندې.

### C. Post-positions

There is only one common post-position that we know of: the dative post-position 'to' [ ... ta] ت :

[bāzār ta]	بازار ته
market to	'to the market'

[bāzār ta dzám.]	بازار ته ځم.
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 [pə] پ,

[læ] له , or [tær] تر. The second element of a pre-post-position is likely to be one of the following words:

[na] نه	[lānde] لاندې	[pəsé] پسي	[póre] پوري
[sará] سره	[kə] کې	[bānde] باندي	[tsákha] څخه

Here are some of the commonest pre-post-positions:

<u>Pre-post-position:</u>	<u>Example:</u>
'in, at' [pə ... ke] په ... کې	'in Kabul' [pə kəbəl ke] په کابل کې
'after' [pə ... pəsəl] په ... پسي	'after class' [pə dārs pəsəl] په درس پسي
'on/to' [pə ... bānde] په ... باندي	'on the bridge' [pə plá bānde] په پله باندي
'with' [læ ... sara] له ... سره	'with Asad' [læ asád sará] له اسد سره
'from' [læ ... na] له ... نه	'from Layla' [læ laylā na] له ليلي نه
'under' [læ ... lānde] له ... لاندې	'under the bridge' [læ plá lānde] له پله لاندې
'under' [tær ... lānde] تر ... لاندې	'under the table' [tær méz lānde] تر مېز لاندې
'from' [læ ... tsákha] له ... څخه	'from Logar' [læ logár tsákha] له لوگر څخه
'up to' [tær ... a pore] تر ... پوري	'until morning' [tær sahāra póre] تر سهاره پوري

*Deleted elements.* One or the other element of a pre-post-position - most often the first - may be deleted. Phrases with [læ ... na] له ... نه, for example, can also appear with just [... na] نه ...:

[kitab me lə asád na wākhistə.]	کتاب مې له اسد نه واخسته.
book I from Asad from took.	'I took the book from Asad.'

[kitab me asád na wākhistə.]	کتاب مې اسد نه واخسته.
book I Asad from took	'I took the book from Asad.'

and phrases with [læ ... sara] له ... سره are also possible with just [... sara] سره ...:

[laylā lə amān sara nāsta da.]	ليلا له امان سره ناست ده.
Layla with Aman with is sitting	'Layla is sitting with Aman.'





[laylā amān sara nāsta da.]

Layla Aman with is sitting

ليلا امان سره ناست ده .

'Layla is sitting with Aman.'

In the case of the pre-post-position 'on/to' [pə ... bānde] په ... باندې, the second element is dropped more often than the first, resulting in phrases which superficially look like the phrases with the Instrumental pre-position [pə] په, for example:

[kitāb pə méz bānde yíxay da.]

book on table on placed is

کتاب په مېز باندې ايښی دی .

'The book is on the table.'

[kitāb pə mez yíxay da.]

book on table placed is

کتاب په مېز ايښی دی .

'The book is on the table.'

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:

[asad pexawár ta wár sara dzi.]

Asad Peshawar to him with is going

اسد په پېښور ته ورسره ځی .

'Asad is going to Peshawar with him.'

[kitāb me der na wākhista.]

book I you from took

کتاب مې درنه واخسته .

'I took the book from you.'

[kitāb war bānde íxay da.]

book it on placed is

کتاب ور باندې ايښی دی .

'The book is on it.'

### E. Special Cases

له ... نه [lə ... na] 'from'. When the noun in a phrase with 'from' [lə ... na] له ... نه ends in a consonant, the [n-] - ن of the second element is frequently dropped, and the remaining [a] ا is attached to the preceding noun. The example sentence given above has the following alternative:

[kitāb me lə asāda wākhista.]

book I from Asad from took.

کتاب مې له اسده واخسته .

'I took the book from Asad.'

تر [tər]. When the object of a pre-postposition whose first element is [tər] ends in a consonant, an [a] ە must be attached to that noun. (If the noun ends in a vowel, there is no attached [a] ە.) Here are examples with the pre-post-position 'up to', 'until' [tər ...(-a) pore] پورې (هـ) تر and the object 'morning' [sahār] سهاره which ends in a consonant, and 'tomorrow' [sabā] سبا which ends in a vowel:

[tər sahāra pore rā sara pāte sa.] تر سهاره پورې را سره پاتې شه .  
until morning until us with stay 'Stay with us until morning.'

[tər sabā pore rā sara pāte sa.] تر سبا پورې را سره پاتې شه .  
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-- [kára] كره --that may replace the entire prepositional phrase 'to the house' [kor ta] ته کور, but only if the possessor of the house is either understood from the context or overtly mentioned.

[de laylā kara dzám.] د لایلا کره ځم .  
of Layla to-house I go 'I'm going to Layla's house.'

*Pro forms.* Certain preposition + 'him/her/it' [ye] يې combinations are always replaced with pro forms. Some examples: 'with him/her/it' \*[pə ye] په يې never occurs, but is always replaced by the pro form 'with him/her/it' [pe] پې:

[stərgə ye pe tore kʁe.] سترگې يې پې تورې کړې .  
eyes she with-it blackened 'She mascaraed her eyes with it.'

and 'from it/him/her' \*[lə ye tsəkha] له يې څخه also never occurs, but is always replaced by the pro form 'from it/him/her' [te] تې or [tre] ترې:

[kitāb me tre wākhist.] کتاب مې ترې واخست .  
book I from-him took 'I took the book from him.'



Chapter 10: Prepositions

A third pro form is [pə ke] پ کې, which replaces the phrase \*[pə ye ke] پ يې کې:

[agha ɟer lóy kor da, tsok pə ke wosi?]	هغه ډېر لوی کور دی،
that very big house is who in-it live	څوک په کې اوسی؟
	'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' [kāsá] کاسه, in its oblique singular form [kāsé] کاسې:

[pə kāsé ke wobé sta.]	په کاسې کې اوبه شته.
in bowl <sup>OS</sup> in water is	'There's water in the bowl.'

In some literary or formal usages, however, nouns that end in [-a] ا- (i.e. the feminine nouns like 'bowl' [kasa]) may occur in direct case with some of the prepositions, mostly 'with' [pə] پ and 'in' [pə ... ke] پ ... کې:

[pə kāsá ke wobé sta.]	په کاسه کې اوبه شته.
in bowl <sup>DS</sup> in water is	'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' [lə ... na pəkhwā] له ... نه پخوا	
(= 'from' [lə ... na] له ... نه + 'before' [pəkhwā] پخوا)	
[lə tã na pəkhwā rāghay.]	له تا نه پخوا راغی.
from you from before he-came	'He got here before you.'



'outside' [lā ... na bahār] بهر نه ... له  
 (= 'from' [lā ... na] نه ... له + 'outside' [bahār] بهر)  
 [lā kalā na bahar wiāṛ wā.] له کلا نه بهر ولاړ و. .  
 from kala from outside standing was 'He was standing outside the kalā.'

'after' [wrusta lā ... (na)] وروسته له ... نه  
 (= 'after' [wrusta] وروسته + 'from' [lā ... na] نه ... له)  
 [wrusta lā mā na rāghay.] وروسته له ما نه راغی .  
 after from me from he came 'He got here after me.'

or

[wrusta lā mā rāghay.] وروسته له ما راغی .  
 after from me he came 'He got here after me.'

'without' [be lā ... na] بې له ... نه  
 (= 'without' [be] بې + 'from' [lā ... na] نه ... له)  
 [be lā tā na me guzāra né kegi.] بې له تا نه مې گوزاره  
 without from you from I can't get along. نه کېږی .  
 'I can't get along without you.'

'except for' [prāta lā ... na] پرته له ... نه  
 (= 'except' [prāta] پرته + 'from' [lā ... na] نه ... له)  
 [prāta lā tā na tsok né pezanəm.] پرته له تا نه څوک نه پېژنم .  
 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] د 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.



'over/on top of' [de ... lə pāsa] د ... له پاسه

(= 'of' [de ...] د + 'from top' [lə pāsa]) (له پاسه)

[mærgħə de bāgh lə pāsa tér sə.] مرغه د باغ له پاسه تېر شه.  
bird of garden over passed 'The bird passed over the garden.'

[mærgħə ye lə pāsa ter sə.] مرغه يې له پاسه تېر شه.  
bird its over passed 'The bird passed over it.'

'about' [de ... pə bārā ke] د ... په باره کې

(= 'of' [de ...] د + 'on subject' [pə bāra ke]) (په باره کې)

[de asad pə bārā ke ghagegəm.] د اسد په باره کې غږېږم.  
of Asad on subject on I'm talking 'I'm talking about Asad.'

[pə bārā ke ye ghagégəm.] په باره کې يې غږېږم.  
on subject on his I'm talking 'I'm talking about him.'

'about' [de ... pə bāb] د ... په باب

(= 'of' [de ...] د + 'on subject' [pə bāb]) (په باب)

[de asad aw tarisā pə bāb tsé waye?] د اسد او تريسا په باب څه وايي؟  
of Asad and Theresa on subject what you say 'What do you think about Asad and Theresa?'

'instead of' [de ... pə dzāy] د ... په ځای

(= 'of' [de ...] د + 'in place' [pə dzāy]) (په ځای)

[amān de asád pə dzay rāghálay day.] امان د اسد په ځای راغلی دی.  
Aman of Asad in place has come 'Aman has come instead of Asad.'

'in front of' [de ... pə mákh ke] د ... په مخ کې

(= 'of' [de ...] د + 'in face' [pə mákh ke]) (په مخ کې)

[de dukān pə mákh ke wíāř wə:] د دوکان په مخ کې ولاړ و.  
of shop in face in he was standing 'He was standing in front of the shop.'



'because of' [de ... lə amála] له امله د ... د  
 (= 'of' [de ...] د + 'with cause' [lə amála] له امله)  
 [di tā lə amála né rādzi.] د تا له امله نه راځي.  
 of you with cause not he-comes 'He's not coming because of you.'

'like' [de ... pə shān] په شان  
 (= 'of' [de ...] د + 'with fashion' [pə shān] په شان)  
 [yār me de gwáí pə shān day.] يار مې د گل په شان دی.  
 love my of flower with fashion is. 'My love is like a flower.'

'towards' [de ... pə lór] په لور  
 (= 'of' [de ...] د + 'with direction' [pə lór] په لور)  
 [de logár pə lór wákhwadzed.] د لوگر په لور وخوځېد.  
 of Logar with direction he-started-out 'He started out towards Logar.'

'like' [de ... pə tser] د ... په څېر  
 (= 'of' [de ...] د + 'with sort' [pə tser] په څېر)  
 [day di tā pə tser day.] دی د تا په څېر دی.  
 he of you with sort is 'He is like you.'

### 11. 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] ته and the appropriate object. Examples:



[mā kitāb asád ta rāwor.]

I book Asad to brought

ما کتاب اسد ته راوور.

'I brought Asad the book.'

[lik wār ta wáiwala.]

letter him to read

ليك ور ته ولوله.

'Read him the letter.'

*Comparatives.* Comparative statements in Pashto parallel to English

comparatives like 'Asad is taller than Aman' are formed with the preposition 'from' [lā ... na] له ... نه. Unlike English, the relevant adjective has no special form, except for two words borrowed from Persian--'better' [betár] بتر and 'worse' [batár] بتر--which are directly equivalent to their English translations and are the only words in the language specific to comparisons. Some examples of comparisons:

[asad lā amān na jág day.]

Asad from Aman from tall is

اسد له امان نه جگ دی.

'Asad is taller than Aman.'

[pexawar lā kābál na loy day.]

Peshawar from Kabul from big is.

پېشور له کابل نه لوی دی.

'Peshawar is bigger than Kabul.'

[lā bekārí na kār xé da.]

from without-work from work good is

له بېکاری نه کار ښه دی.

'To work is better than to be idle.'

[tə lā mā na batára ye.]

you from me from worse are

ته له ما نه بتره یې.

'You're worse than I am.'

Comparisons with nouns parallel to English comparisons like 'Aman buys more books than Asad' are also formed with the preposition 'from' [lā ... na] له ... نه, and typically include the word 'more' [zyāt] زیات or 'less/few' [lāg] لږ. Examples:

[de amān plār de asád lā plār na lāg bāghuna lari.]

of Aman father of Asad from father from few orchards has

د امان پلار د اسد له پلار نه لږ باغونه لري.

'Amān's father has fewer orchards than Asad's father.'



[amān lə asád na ɖer zyāt kitābúna ákhli.]

Aman from Asad from many many books buys

امان له اسد نه ډېر زيات کتابونه اخلي.

'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 [lə ... na] له ... نه in which the object of the preposition is all-inclusive, for example:

[khoshāl pə sɪnf ke lə ʔolo aləkāno na jág day.] خوشحال په صنف کې له ټولو هلکانو نه جگ دی.

Khoshal in class in from all boys from tall is

تولو هلکانو نه جگ دی.

'Khoshal is taller than all the boys in the class.'

[de tór as de ʔol káli lə asuno na chaʔák day.]

of Tor horse of whole village from horses from fast is

د تور اس د ټول کلی له اسونو نه چټک دی.

'Tor's horse is faster than all the horses in the village.'

[day de pexawər lə ʔolo likwālāno na mashhúr day.]

he of Peshawar from all writers from famous is

دی د پېښور له ټولو لېکوالانو نه مشهور دی.

'He is better known than all the writers in Peshawar.'

A second way to express superlatives is to include the adverb 'very' [ɖer] ډېر before the adjective in question. Such sentences are ambiguous. For example:

[khoshāl pə sɪnf ke ɖer jəg alák day.]

خوشحال په صنف کې ډېر

Khoshal in class in very tall boy is

جگ هلك دی.

'Khoshal is a very tall boy in class.' or

'Khoshal is the tallest boy in class.'

[de tór as pə ʔol káli ke ɖer chaʔák ás day.]

د تور اس په ټول کلی

of Tor horse in village in very fast horse is

کې ډېر چټک اس دی.

'Tor's horse is the fastest horse in the village.' or

'Tor's horse is a very fast horse in the village.'





[d̪ə pə pɛxawār ke ɟer mashhur likwāl d̪əy.]      دی په پېښور کې ډېر  
 he in Peshawar in very famous writer is      مشهور لیکوال دی.  
 '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.

[pə sɪnf ke ɟér jəg alək khoshāl d̪əy.]      په صنف کې ډېر جگ هلك  
 in class in very tall boy Khoshal is      خوشحال دی.  
 'Khoshal is the tallest boy in class.'

[pə kali ke ɟér chaʔak as de tor ás d̪əy.]      په کلی کې ډېر چټک اس  
 in village in very fast horse of Tor horse is      د تور اس دی.  
 'Tor's horse is the fastest horse in the village.'

[pə pɛxawər ke ɟer mashhur likwāl d̪áy d̪əy]      په پېښور کې ډېر  
 in Peshawar in very famous writer he is      مشهور لیکوال دی.  
 'He is the most well-known writer in Peshawar.'

## J. Other Analyses

Penzl (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. Penzl postulates a second oblique case in nouns, which occurs only with objects of the prepositions [lə] ل and [ter] تر, 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 (1987) 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 lík légi.]

S O V

Asad letter send

آسد لیک لېږي.

'Asad is sending the letter.'

[olār me yaw lou bāgh ákhlí.]

S O V

father my a big orchard is buying

پلار مې يو لوی باغ اخلي.

'My father is buying a big orchard.'

[ta tsá kār kawə?] ]

S O V

you what work do

ته څه کار کوي؟

'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

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:

[ <u>de aman koranay</u> pə kābāl ke <u>woségi.</u> ]	د امان کورنۍ په کابل
S        modifier    V	کې اوسېږي.
of Aman family    in Kabul in    lives	'Aman's family lives in Kabul.'

[ <u>ahmad</u> ba sabā de logar pə lor <u>wákhwadzegi.</u> ]	احمد به سبا د لوگر په
S        modifiers        V	لور وڅوڅپړي.
Ahmad fut tomorrow of Logar in direction starts	'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:

[ <u>laylā</u> de amān xédza <u>da.</u> ]	ليلا د امان ښځه ده.
S        complement    V	
Layla of Aman wife <i>be3FS</i>	'Layla is Aman's wife.'

[ <u>khoshā</u> ɖer khapá <u>day.</u> ]	خوشحال ډېر خپه دی.
S        complement    V	
Khoshal very unhappy <i>be3MS</i>	'Khoshal is very unhappy.'

[ <u>mor me</u> chéra <u>da?</u> ]	مور مې چېره ده؟
S        complement    V	
mother my        where <i>be3FS</i>	'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] ۰- or [-ay] ۰- . In imperative sentences, the predictable second person singular or plural 'you' subject is deleted, as it is in English.



Examples:

[wédarəgəyɪ]

V

wait *pl*

ودرېږئ!

'Wait!'

[moʈar tər sabā pore mākhiə.]

O modifiers V

car until tomorrow until don't buy

موټر تر سبا پورې ماخه.

'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:

[kitāb ákhləm.]

O V

book buy *1S*

کتاب اخلم.

'I'm buying a book.'

[kor tə dʒi.]

modifier J

house to go *3S*

کور ته ځي.

'He's going home.'

[tər sahāra pore wəgəʃədəm.]

modifier V

until morning until danced *1S*

تر سهاره پورې وگډېدم.

'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.

[asad parun wəkatalu.]

S modifier V

Asad yesterday saw *1P*

اسد پرون وکتلو.

'Asad saw us yesterday.'

[pə bāzār ke mo wākhistə]  
*modifier* S V  
 at market at we bought it3MS

په بازار کې مو واخسته.  
 'We 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 shaīr day.]  
 Aman poet is

امان شاعر دی.  
 'Aman is a poet.'

[amān shaīr day?]  
 Aman poet is?

امان شاعر دی؟  
 'Is Aman a poet?'

**Question-word questions** (those with words parallel to English 'who', 'what', 'when', 'where', 'which', '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' [tsə] څه

[asad kār kawī.]  
 Asad work does

اسد کار کوی.  
 'Asad is working.'

[asad tsə kawī?]  
 Asad what does

اسد څه کوی؟  
 'What is Asad doing?'



'who' [tsok] خوك (direct)/ [chā] چا (oblique)

[laylā chalāw paknawī.]

Layla rice cooks

ليلا چلو پخوي.

'Layla is cooking the rice.'

[tsók chalaw pakhawī?]

who rice cooks

خوك چلو پخوي؟

'Who is cooking the rice?'

[ágha de laylā kitāb day.]

that of Layla book is

هغه د ليلا كتاب دي.

'That's Layla's book.'

[ágha de chā kitāb day?]

that of who book is

هغه د چا كتاب دي؟

'Whose book is that?'

'where' [chéral] چيره / [chérta] چيرته

[bāzār ta dzi.]

market to he goes

بازار ته ځي.

'He's going to the market.'

[chéra/chérta dzi?]

where he goes

چيره/چيرته ځي؟

'Where is he going?'

'which' [kum] كوم (Adj 1)

[ágha moṭar akhli.]

that car he buys

هغه موټر اخلي.

'He's buying that car.'

[kúm moṭar akhli?]

which car he buys

كوم موټر اخلي؟

'Which car is he buying?'

'when' [tsə wakht] څه وخت

[māxām rāghay.]

afternoon he arrived

ماښام راغي.

'He arrived at dusk.'

[tsə wakht rāghay?]

what time he arrived

څه وخت راغي؟

'When did he arrive?'

'what time' [tso bajə] څو بجو ('clock' [bəjə] بجه is an F1 noun)

[ghwanḍə pə yawá baje shuro kégí.] غونډه په يوې بجې شروع کېږي.

meeting at 8 clocks start

'The meeting starts at eight.'



[ghwānda pə tsú bajo shuro kegi?]

meeting at how many clocks start

غونده په څو بجو

شروع کېږي؟

'What time does the meeting start?'

### 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] موټر with two modifiers: the prepositional phrase 'of Asad' [de asad] د اسد, and the adjective 'new' [nəway] نوی:

[de asad nəway moṭar]

of Asad new car

د اسد نوی موټر

'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 nəway moṭar ɖer grān day.]

of Asad new car very expensive is

د اسد نوی موټر

ډېر گران دی.

'Asad's new car is very expensive.'

#### As complement:

[agha spin moṭar de asad nəway moṭar day.]

that white car of asad new car is

هغه سپين موټر د اسد

نوی موټر دی.

'That white car is Asad's new car.'

#### As direct object:

[laylā de asad nəway moṭar rāwust.]

Layla of Asad new car here brought

ليلا د اسد نوی موټر راوست.

'Layla brought Asad's new car.'

As object of preposition:

[de asad pə náwi moʃar ke dzu.]

of Asad in new car in we go

د اسد په نوی موټر کې خو.

'We're going in Asad's new car.'

Note, in this last example, that the possessive phrase with [de] د precedes the prepositional phrase in which it is embedded. Examples with other prepositions include:

[de asad læ náwi moʃár na]

of Asad from car from

د اسد له نوی موټر نه

'from Asad's new car'

[de asad pə chāqú]

of Asad with knife

د اسد په چاقو

'with Asad's knife'

[de asad tər bāgha pore]

of Asad up to garden up to

د اسد تر باغه پورې

'up to Asad's garden'

*Order of modifiers in noun phrases.* Ordinarily, any possessive phrase with [de] د is the first element in a string of modifiers. The possessive phrase is followed by any demonstrative (e.g., 'that' [ágha] هغه, 'this' [dā] دا, 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' [bāze] بعضي or 'a few' [yaw tsá] يو څو), then descriptive adjectives like 'big' [loy] لوی or 'pretty' [xāysta] بڼایسته, then the noun. Adverbs that modify adjectives, e.g. 'very' [ɢer] ډېر, 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 asád agha pindzá nor ɢer loy kitābúna]

of Asad those five other very big books

د اسد هغه پنځه نور

ډېر لوی کتابونه

'those other five very big books of Asad's'

[de asad de plār tsalór ɢere xāystá lupe]

of Asad of father four very pretty daughters

د اسد د پلار څلور ډېرې

بڼایسته لوني

'Asad's father's four very pretty daughters'





[pə kəli ke de tor de tarikh de xowúnki de máshər wror xəysta kor]  
 in village in of Tor of history of teacher of older brother beautiful house  
 په کلی کې د تور د تاریخ د ښوونکي د مشر ورور ښایسته کور  
 'Tor's history teacher's older brother's beautiful house in the village'

[de maktab de shāgərdāno de dārs de dawre de wákht læ khwaxəy na dāka yāduna]  
 of school of students of study of period of time from happiness from full memories  
 د مکتب د شاگردانو د درس د دورې د وخت له خوښۍ نه ډکه 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 asád de plār læ tsaloro qero xəysta lúno sara]  
 of Asad of father with four very pretty daughters with  
 د اسد د پلار له څلورو ډېرو ښایسته لونو 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 phrase is almost always positioned just before the verb. Examples:

[parun me læ malgəro sara pə rasturān ke kabāb wəkhwɔː]  
 yesterday I with friends with in restaurant in kabob ate  
 پرون مې له ملگرو سره په رستوران کې کباب وخور.  
 'I ate kebab at the restaurant with my friends yesterday'

[parun me pə rasturān ke kabāb wər sara wəkhwɔː]  
 yesterday I in restaurant in kabob them with ate  
 پرون مې په رستوران کې کباب ور سره وخور.  
 'I ate kebab at the restaurant with them yesterday'

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*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 [nə] نه occurs before the verb in the imperfective tenses. In perfective tenses it occurs with simple verbs between the perfective marker [wə] 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:

[zə ba lik wə nəlegam.] I fut letter prf neg I send	زه به ليك و نه لېږم. 'I won't send the letter.'
[zə ba chalaw pokh nə kṛam.] I fut rice cook neg I'be'	زه به چلو پوخ نه كړم. 'I won't cook the rice.'
[zə ba dālta ke nənam.] I fut here sit neg I sit	زه به دلته كښې نه نم. 'I won't sit here.'

## 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] به

Weak pronouns 'my/me' [me] مې, 'your/you' [de] دې, 'his/him, her, its/it' [ye] يې,

'our/us' [am] , [mo] مو

'must' [de] دې

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 SOV 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



Chapter 11: Simple Sentence Structure

a doubly irregular verb to a construction of several words. The sentences below illustrate this point, using the weak pronoun 'my' [me] مي as a possessive in the basic phrase 'my father' [plār me] پلار مي, or in object position. Note how the position of [me] مي 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 khān me plār day.] خوشحال خان مي پلار دي. 'Khoshal Khan is my father.'
- [de plār kalā me pā logār ke da.] د پلار كلا مي په لوگر كي ده. 'My father's kalā is in Logar.'
- [asād me lə plār sara gori.] اسد مي له پلار سره گوري. 'Asad is visiting with my father.'

Direct object as first stressed element:

- [plār me byāyām.] پلار مي بيايم. 'I am bringing my father.'
- [de plār bāgh me ākhli.] د پلار باغ مي اخلي. 'He is buying my father's orchard.'

Prepositional phrase as first stressed element:

- [lə plār sara me nāst yām.] له پلار سره مي ناست يم. 'I am sitting with my father.'
- [wrusta lə plār na me rāghay.] وروسته له پلار نه مي راغي. 'He arrived after my father.'

Adverb as first stressed element:

- [kālā kalā me plār amrikā ta rādzi.] كله كله مي پلار امریکا ته راخي. 'Sometimes my father comes to America.'
- [nān me melé ta byayl.] نن مي مهلي ته بيايي. 'Today he's taking me to a picnic.'



(ná me pézant.)  
not me he knows

نه مي پېژنی.  
'He doesn't know me.'

Verb as first stressed element:

(rǎlege me.)  
sent it here they

رالېږه مي.  
'I was sending it here.'

(sātá me.)  
kept it I

ساته مي.  
'I was keeping it.'

Part of verb as first stressed element:

(wá me pezǎndə.)  
perf I knew him

و مي پېژانده.  
'I recognized him.'

(ǎ me khistá.)  
I wore it

ا مي خسته.  
'I wore it.'

(bǎy me lodá.)  
I lost it

باي مي لوده.  
'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:

[kho] خو + [ba] به + [me] مي / [mo] مو + [de] دې + [ye] يې

The internal order of particles, and the ambiguity that arises from the rigid ordering, is shown by the idiomatic translations of the following sentence:

{pǎr me de légi}  
father me/my? you/your? send

پلار مي دې لېږی.  
'My father is sending you.' or  
'Your father is sending me.'

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] دې, which may be interpreted as either the particle 'must' or the weak pronoun 'your/you'). The following sentence is therefore ungrammatical:

\*[plār me de de wálegi.]      پلار مې دې دې ولېږی.  
 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:

[plār me de tā wálegi.]      پلار مې تا ولېږی.  
 father my must you send      'My father must send you.'  
 [dī tā plār me de wálegi.]      د تا پلار مې دې ولېږی.  
 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 sabāte laylā logār ta byāyi.]      احمد سبا ته لیلو لوگر ته بیایي.  
 Ahmad tomorrow Layla Logar to takes  
 '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:

[sabāta ahmad laylā logar ta byayi]. سباته احمد ليلا لوگر ته بيایي.  
 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 pre-posed modifiers are underlined in the transcription):

[amdāgha wakht zə de yawāze pə maʔnā pó shwəm.]<sup>1</sup>  
 that time I of "alone" with meaning understood  
 همدغه وخت زه د "يوازي" په معنا پوه شوم.  
 'At that time, I understood the meaning of "alone".'

[pə dero gano khálko ke ham saray dzān ta "yawāze" wayálay shí.]  
 in very many people in also man self to 'alone' can say  
 په دېرو گڼو خلکو کې هم سړی ځان ته "يوازي" ويلى شى.  
 'In a great crowd of people, a man can say that he is "alone".'

[la nāchāréy ye de noro nāqelino pə tsér samlāsi dzmaka zhawára kṛa.]<sup>2</sup>  
 with desperation he of other settlers like immediately earth dug hole  
 له ناچارۍ يې د نورو ناقهلينو په څېر سملاسي ځمکه ژوره کړه.  
 'In desperation, he like the other settlers immediately dug a hole in the earth.'

[pə der taklíf mo wux khiās kaṛay shu.]  
 with much difficulty we camel have freed  
 په دېر تکليف مو اوښ خلاص کړى شو.  
 'With a lot of trouble, we freed the camel.'

**Time phrases.** Time phrases may take the form of nouns, adverbs, or prepositional phrases.

<sup>1</sup>This sentence and the one below are from the essay 'Alone' [yawāze] يوازي by Ulfat, a well-known modern Pashto writer. The essay has been reprinted a number of times.

<sup>2</sup>This sentence and the one below are from 'The Legs of the Camel' [de wux paxa] د اوښ پسي, an article by M. Pasany that appeared in the November, 1985 issue of *Spede*, (pp. 91-2).



## 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.

'Saturday'	[shambé]	شنبه
'Sunday'	[yakshambé]	یکشنبه
'Monday'	[du shambé]	دو شنبه
'Tuesday'	[se shambé]	سه شنبه
'Wednesday'	[chār shambé]	چار شنبه
'Thursday'	[panshambé]	پنځشنبه
'Friday'	[jumá]	جمعه

The day words may occur alone, for example:

[mung shambé melé ta dzu.]

we Saturday picnic to go

مونږ شنبه مهلي ته ځو.

'We're going on a picnic Saturday.'

More frequently they are combined with the word for day in general, [wradz] ورځ, as follows:

[mung de shambé pa wradz melé ta dzu.]

we of Saturday on day picnic to go

مونږ د شنبه په ورځ

مهلي ته ځو.

'We're going on a picnic Saturday.'

Pashto has a series of words to refer to traditional times of day:

'morning'	[sahār]	سهار
'late morning'	[tsāxt/tsāxt mahā]	څانښت / څانښت مهال
'noon'	[ghārmá]	غرمه
'afternoon'	[māspəxín]	ماسپښين
'late afternoon'	[nāzdigár]	مازديگر
'dusk'	[māxām]	مانام
'late evening'	[māskhutān]	ماسختن
'midnight'	[níma shpa]	نيمه شپه

These words may occur as modifiers:

[mung māspəxín melé ta dzu.]	مونږ ماسپښين مهلي ته څو.
we afternoon picnic to go	'We're going on a picnic this afternoon.'

or they may be combined with the day words:

[mung de shambé pa māspəxín melé ta dzu.]	مونږ د شنبې په ماسپښين مهلي ته څو.
we of Saturday on afternoon 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] په, the word 'hour' or 'clock' [bajá] بج as the object of [pə] په, preceded by a number, and other word-and-number combinations to express 'before' and 'after'. Some examples that show the system are given below:

[pə tsaloro bajó]	په څلورو بجو
at four hours	'at four o'clock'
[pə pindzə bānde tsaloro bajó]	په پنځه باندي څلورو بجو
at five after four hours	'at five minutes after four'
[pə pāw bānde tsaloro bajó]	په پاو باندي څلورو بجو
at quarter after four hours	'at quarter after four'





Chapter 11: Simple Sentence Structure

[pə tsalor nımo bajo]	په څلور نیمو بجو
at four half hours	'at four thirty'
[pə pāw kām pindzo bajo]	په پاو کم پنځو بجو
at quarter lacking five hours	'at quarter to five'
[pə pindzə kām pindzo bajo]	په پنځه کم پنځو بجو
at five lacking five hours	'at five minutes to five'

Some examples showing time phrases in complete sentences are:

[de laylā mǎlgáre pə tsalor nımo bajo rādzi.] د لایلا ملکرې په څلور نیمو بجو راځي.  
of Layla friend at four half o'clock comes  
'Layla's friend is coming here at four thirty.'

[asad sabā sahār pə atə nımo bajo maydān ta dzi.] اسد سبا سهار په اته نیمو بجو میدان ته ځي.  
Asad tomorrow morning at eight half o'clock airport to goes  
'Asad is going to the airport tomorrow morning at eight thirty.'

[kānferāns de jumé pə wradz de sahār pə náho bajo payl kégi.] کانفرانس د جمعې په ورځ د سهار په نهو بجو پیل کېږي.  
conference of Friday on day of morning at nine o'clock starts  
'The conference starts Friday morning at nine.'

### G. 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). In



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 of 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:

[saɾay maɾá khwri.]	سړی منه خوری.
man apple <sup>F</sup> eats	'The man is eating the apple.'

vs.

[saɾi maɾa khwaɾála.]	سړی منه خورله.
man apple was eating	'The man was eating the apple.'

[xəɖza ɕikray ákhli.]	ښځه ټيکړی اخلی.
woman scarf <sup>M</sup> buys	'The woman is buying the scarf.'

vs.

[xəɖze ɕikray ákhista.]	ښځې ټيکړی اخسته.
woman scarf was buying	'The woman was buying the scarf.'

Weak pronoun subject, noun object:

[maɾa khwɾám.]	منه خورم.
apple I eat	'I'm eating the apple.'

vs.

[maɾa me khwaɾála.]	منه مې خورله.
apple I was eating	'I was eating the apple.'

[saɾay melma kawú.]	سړی مهلمه کوو.
man we invite	'We're inviting the man.'

vs.



[saɾay mo meɪmá kə.]  
man we were inviting

سری مو مېلمه کړ.  
'We were inviting the man.'

Noun subject, weak pronoun object:

[asad ye ákhi.]  
Asad itM buys

اسد يې اخلی.  
'Asad is buying it.'

vs.

[asad ákhistə.]  
Asad was buying

اسد اخیسته.  
'Asad was buying it.'

[zmaray ye rāwalí.]  
Zmaray itF brings

زمری يې راوولی.  
'Zmaray is bringing it.'

vs.

[zmari rāwastóla.]  
Zmaray was bringing

زمری راوستله.  
'Zmaray was bringing it.'

Weak pronoun subject, weak pronoun object:

[gaɬóm ye.]  
I win itF

گټم يې.  
'I am winning it.'

vs.

[gaɬóla me.]  
win I

گټله مې.  
'I was winning it.'

[khartsawú ye.]  
we sell itF

خرخوو يې.  
'We're selling it.'

vs.

[khartsawóla mo.]  
were selling we

خرخوله مو.  
'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 verb agrees with the grammatical objects. These verbs are listed below, with their grammatical peculiarities and examples.

#### 'dislike' [bad rādz-] - بد راځي

Subject: possessive phrase

Object: in prepositional phrase with 'from' [læ ...na] له ... نه

Agreement: verb is always third person plural. [bad] بد remains unchanged.

Examples:

[læ ɖoɖɔy na de rixtyā ham bād rādzi?]  
from bread from your really bad go3P

له ډوډۍ نه دې رښتیا هم بد راځي؟  
'Do you really dislike bread?'

[de asad de kīmyā læ dars na bād rāghlæl.]  
of Asad of chemistry from class from bad went3PM

د اسد د کیمیا له درس نه بد راغلل.  
'Asad didn't like his chemistry class.'

#### 'like' [xə yis-] - ښه ایسي

Subject: possessive phrase

Object: as usual

Agreement: verb and 'good' [xə] به agree with object

Examples:

[de har chā laylā xə yis!]  
of everyone Layla like3S

د هر چا لایلا ښه ایسي.  
'Everyone likes Layla.'

[de ʔolo khalko laylā xə yeseda.]  
of all people Layla liked3SF

د ټولو خلکو لایلا ښه اېسېده.  
'All the people liked Layla.'



[de tarisá təl awghāni ɖoɖáy xa yesedále da.]      د تريسا تل افغاني  
of Theresa always Afghan food    has liked<sup>3PF</sup>      دودی به ايسېدلي ده.  
'Theresa has always liked Afghan food.'

'dislike' [bad yis-] - بد ايسېدلي

Subject: possessive phrase

Object: as usual

Agreement: verb and 'bad' [bad] بد agree with the object.

Examples:

[de laylā meɾə ye bád yisi.]      د ليلا مېره يې بد ايسې.  
of Layla husband his don't like<sup>3S</sup>      'He doesn't like Layla's husband.'

[kimyā me bada ná yeseda, de mālim pə khabéro nə pohedəm.]  
chemistry my bad neg like<sup>3SF</sup> of teacher with words not I understood<sup>1S</sup>  
کيميا مې بده نه ايسېده، د معلم په خبرو نه پوهېدم.  
'I didn't dislike chemistry, I didn't understand the teacher.'

'like, enjoy' [khwaxeg-] - خوښېږي

Subject: possessive phrase

Object: as usual

Agreement: verb agrees with the object

Examples:

[di mā afghāni ɖoɖáy khwaxégi.]      زما افغاني دودی خوښېږي.  
of me Afghan food enjoy<sup>3PF</sup>      'I enjoy Afghan food.'

[di mā afghāni ɖoɖáy khwáxa swa.]      زما افغاني دودی خوښه شوه.  
of me Afghan food enjoy<sup>3PF</sup>      'I enjoyed Afghan food.'

[di də zə khwáxa swəm.]      د ده زه خوښه شوم.  
of him me liked<sup>1SF</sup>      'He liked me (f).'

[di də zə khwáx swəm.]      د ده زه خوښ شوم.  
of him me liked<sup>1SM</sup>      'He liked me (m).'

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Chapter 11: Simple Sentence Structure

'feel like' [zrə keg-] - زړه کېږي

Subject: possessive with 'heart' [zrə] زړه, e.g. 'my heart' (= 'I') [zrə me] مې زړه

Object: in prepositional phrase with 'to' [... ta] ته ... (if object is a clause, it appears after [keg-] کېږي and there is no preposition)

Agreement: verb agrees with [zrə] زړه

Examples:

[paɫáw ta me zrə kégi.]	پلو ته مې زړه کېږي.
pilaf to my heart become3S	'I feel like [having some] pilaf.'

[de asad pə wādó ke natsā ta zrə kégi.]	د اسد په واده کې نڅا ته زړه کېږي.
of Asad at wedding at dancing to heart become3S	'Asad feels like dancing at weddings.'

[zrə me kégi che kór ta lār səm.]	زړه مې کېږي چه کور ته لار شم.
heart my become3S that home to go1S	'I feel like going home.'

[zrə me kedá che kandzā warta wəkrəm, kho tsə me wə ná wele.]	زړه مې کېده چه کنځا ورته وکړم، خو څه مې ونه ويل.
heart my became3SF that curse to-him do1S but anything I not said	'I felt like cursing him, but I kept quiet.'

'heat' [garmí] گرمي, 'cold' [sāró] ساره and fever' [tába] تبه 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' [garmí keg-] - گرمي کېږي

Subject: possessive of 'heat' [garmí] گرمي

Object: none

Agreement: verb agrees with [garmí] گرمي

Examples:

[di tá garmí kegi?]	د تا گرمي کېږي؟
of you heat become3S	'Do you feel hot?'



[de khoshāl garmī kegi, ɖere mənɖe ye wahāle di.]  
of Khoshal heat become3S very running he has beaten

د خوشحال گرمی کهپی، ډېرې مندې يې وهلي دي.  
'Khoshal feels hot because he has been running.'

[de asad garmī keda, wobé ye wátskæle.] د اسد گرمی کېده،

of Asad heat: became3SF water he drank اوبه يې وڅکلې.  
'Asad felt hot so he drank some water.'

[de njaíáy, wrusta læ de che pə bāgh ke ye wázangəl, garmī wəswə.]  
of girls after from that that in orchard in they swung heat became

د نجلی وروسته له دې چه په باغ کې يې وزنګل گرمی وشوه.  
'The girls felt hot after swinging in the orchard.'

'feel cold' [sārə kegi] - ساره کېږي

Subject: possessive of 'cold' [sārə] ساره

Object: none

Agreement: verb agrees with 'cold' [sārə] ساره

Examples:

[sāɾə de ka kégi lungəy me wāghunda.] ساره دې که کېږي  
cold your if become3S shawl my put on لونګی مې واغونډه.  
'I, you feel cold put on my shawl.'

[sahār sabā sārə me kégi  
early morning cold my become  
rā bānde wāchawa lungəy dwāɾa lāsúna.]  
me around put shawl both hands

سهار سبا ساره مې کېږي.  
را باندې واچوه لونګی دواړه لاسونه.  
'It's early morning and I'm cold  
Put your shawl and both arms around me.' (landay)

'have a fever' [tāba da] تبه ده

Subject: possessive of 'fever' [tāba] تبه

Object: none

Agreement: verb agrees with 'fever' [tāba] تبه



## Chapter 11: Simple Sentence Structure

## Examples:

[tába ye da.]

fever his is<sup>3SF</sup>

تبہ بیی دہ .

'He has a fever.'

[har wa...:t ba me che téba swa, mor ba me pə kát ke āchawəlam.]  
every tim would my that fever was, mother would my in bed in put me

ہر وخت بہ می چہ تبہ شوہ مور بہ می پہ کت کی اچولم .

'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 'sneeze' [prinj-] پرینج and 'neigh' [shishn-] شیشند--that behave idiosyncratically in past tense sentences. They are called 'false transitives' or 'impersonal transitives', and include the following verbs:

'bray' [hang-] ہنگ	'cry' [zār-] زار	'dance' [nāts-] ناٹ
'bark' [ghāp-] غاپ	'sneeze' [prinj-] پرینج	'swing' [zāng-] زانگ
'whinny' [shishn-] شیشند	'cough' [tukh-] توخ	'swim' [lāmb-] لامب
	'laugh' [khānd-] خاند	'jump' [dang-] دنگ

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 [-ə] ل - suffix of that ending ( which in other contexts is optional) never drops. A final idiosyncrasy is that the present tense stem vowel [ā] ل in some of the verbs becomes [a] in past tenses; for example 'laugh' with its present stem [khānd-] خاند and its past stem [khand-] خند. Some examples of these verbs in sentences:

[khāndəm.]

I am laughing

خاندم .

'I am laughing.'

[mā khandə́l/khandə́lə]

I (obl) laughed<sup>3PM</sup>

ما خندل / خندلہ .

'I was laughing.'

[khandə́l/khandə́lə me.]

laughed<sup>3PM</sup>

خندل / خندلہ می .

'I was laughing.'



[khandá11 me di.] laughpart I be3P	خندلی می دی. 'I have laughed.'
[khandá1ay sãm.] swimpart be1S	خندلی شم. 'I can laugh.'
[1ay1ã pã sínd ke wá1ambã1.] Layla in river in swam3PM	لیلا په سیند کې ولمبل. 'Layla swam in the river.'
[begã shpa de ahmad spi đér wághapã1.] last night of Ahmad dog very barked3PM	بہگا شبہ د احمد سپی دېر وغپل. 'Ahmad's dog barked a lot last night.'

### K. Other Analyses

Our analysis of the particles is based on Tegey'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 Tegey's 'Ergativity in Pushto (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] ار, 'or' [ya] يا, and 'but' [kho] خو and the more complex conjunctions like 'both ... and' [həm ... həm] هم...هم, 'neither ... nor' [nə .. nə] نه ... نه. 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] ار or 'or' [yā] يا:

[amān aw laylā]	امان او ليلا
Aman and Layla	'Aman and Layla'
[amān yā laylā]	امان يا ليلا
Aman or Layla	'Aman or Layla'
[amān, laylā aw khoshāl]	امان، ليلا، او خوشحال
Aman Layla and Khoshal	'Aman, Layla and Khoshal'
[amān, laylā yā khoshāl]	امان، ليلا، يا خوشحال
Aman, Layla or Khoshal	'Aman, Layla or Khoshal'

When one of the elements is a pronoun, the pronoun ordinarily appears first:

[zə aw laylā]	زه او ليلا
I and Layla	'Layla and I'
[tá, asád aw de asad plār]	ته، اسد او د اسد پلار
you, Asad and of Asad father	'you, Asad, and Asad's father'

*Adjective agreement with conjoined nouns.* When nouns conjoined with 'and' [aw] او or 'or' [yā] are the same gender, adjectives modifying both nouns agree with them in whatever the gender is, and are plural:

[xkwəle njələy aw xədəzə] prettyFP girlFS and womanFS	بیکولې نجلې او ښځه 'pretty girl and woman'
[xkwəle njələy yā xədəzə] prettyFP girlFS or womanFS	بیکولې نجلې یا ښځه 'pretty girl or woman'
[zɾawər alək aw saráy] braveMP boyMS and manMS	زړور هلك او سړی 'brave boy and man'

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

[zɾawəra xədəzə aw zɾawár saráy] braveFS womanFS and braveMS manMS	زړوره ښځه او زړور سړی 'brave woman and man'
[zɾawára xədəzə yā zɾawár saráy] braveFS womanFS or braveMS manMS	زړوره ښځه یا زړور سړی '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' [aw] او 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

[amān asád aw khoshāl melé ta lāɾəl.] Aman, Asad and Khoshal picnic to went 3MP	امان، اسد، او خوشحال مېلې ته لاړل. 'Aman, Asad, and Khoshal went on the picnic.'
[mung amān asád aw khoshāl wəlídəl.] we Aman, Asad and Khoshal saw 3MP	مونې امان، اسد او خوشحال ولیدل. 'We saw Aman, Asad and Khoshal.'



[laylā, rābyā aw kawtāra melé ta lāre.]      ليلا، رابيا او كوتره  
 Layla, Rabya and Kawtara picnic to went 3FP      مهلي ته لاري.  
 'Layla, Rabyā, and Kawtara went on the picnic.'

[mung laylā rābyā aw kawtāra wālide.]      مونږ ليلا، رابيا او كوتره  
 we Layla, Rabya and Kawtara saw 3FP      وليدي.  
 'We saw Layla, Rabyā, 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 melé ta lāra.]      امان، ليلا، او خوشحال  
 Aman, Layla and Khoshal picnic to went 3MP      مهلي ته لارل.  
 'Aman, Layla and Khoshal went on the picnic.'

[mung amān laylā aw khoshāl wālidai.]      مونږ امان، ليلا، او  
 we Aman Layla and Khoshal saw 3MP      خوشحال وليدل.  
 'We saw Aman, Layla and Khoshal.'

[amān khoshāl aw laylā melé ta lāra.]      امان، خوشحال، او ليلا  
 Aman Khoshal and Layla picnic to went 3MP      مهلي ته لارل.  
 'Aman, Khoshal, and Layla went on the picnic.'

[mung amān khoshāl aw laylā wālidai.]      مونږ امان، خوشحال او  
 we Aman Khoshal and Layla saw 3MP      ليلا وليدل.  
 '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' [zə] زه or 'we' [mung] مونږ as one of the subjects will be first person plural.

[zə amān aw laylā melé ta lāru.]      زه، امان او ليلا مهلي ته لارو.  
 I Aman and Layla picnic to went 1P      'Aman, Layla, and I went on the picnic.'



[tā zé asád aw laylā wálidu.]                      تا زه، اسد او ليلا وليدو.  
 you me, Asad and Layla saw1P                      'You saw Asad, Layla, and me.'

[tə amān aw laylā ba de asád pə moṭér ke lāṛ say.]  
 you Aman and Layla will of Asad in car in go2P  
 ته امان او ليلا به د اسد په موټر کې لاړ شي.  
 'You, Aman, and Layla will go in Asad's car.'

[mung tá, amān aw laylā wáliday.]                      مونږ ته، امان او ليلا وليدئ.  
 we you Aman and Layla saw2P                      'We saw you, Aman, and Layla.'

When nouns are connected by 'or' [yā] يا, the verb agrees with the noun closest to it. For example:

[amān yā laylā wégaḡeda.]                      امان يا ليلا وگډېده.  
 Aman or Layla danced3FS                      'Aman or Layla danced.'

[laylā yā amān wégaḡeda.]                      ليلا يا امان وگډېده.  
 Layla or Aman danced3MS                      '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] يا ... يا, 'neither ... nor' [nə ... nə], نه ... نه and 'both - and' [həm ... aw həm] هم ... او هم. 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):

[amān həm tāriḡh póh day aw həm likwál.]                      امان هم تاريخ پوه دی  
 Aman both historian is and both writer                      او هم ليکوال.  
 'Aman is both a historian and a writer.'

[amān həm nyu yārk ta dzi, aw həm shikagó ta.]                      امان هم نيو يارك ته  
 Aman both New York to goes and both Chicago to                      ځي او هم شيكاگو ته.  
 'Aman is going both to New York and to Chicago.'



[amān nā nyu yārk ta dzi nā shikagó ta.] امان نه نیو یارک ته ځی  
 Aman neither New York to goes nor Chicago to نه شیکاگو ته.  
 'Aman is going neither to New York nor to Chicago.'

[amān ba yā nyu yārk ta lāṛ si yā shikagó ta.] امان به یا نیو یارک ته  
 Aman fut eitheNew York to go aux or Chicago to لار شی یا شیکاگو ته.  
 'Aman will go either to New York or to Chicago.'

[zə hām pə wādé ke wágaḡedām aw hām lə wādé na wrústa.]  
 I both at wedding at danced and both from wedding from after  
 زه هم په واده کې او هم له واده نه وروسته وگډېدم.  
 'I danced both at the wedding and after the wedding.'

[nə me āshák tsakóli nā sābá.] نه مي اشك څكلی نه سابه.  
 neither I aushak tasted nor vegetables 'I tasted neither the aushak  
 nor the vegetables.'

[nə āshá xə da, nə gwéla; duy de wákhwri yaw tar bálal!]  
 neither Asha good is nor Gwela; they may eat one toward other  
 نه اشه ښه ده نه گوله؛ دوی دې وخورى يو تر بله!  
 '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, like 'I will go to the city and buy a car' does not exist; its only possibility in Pashto is the following:

[xar ta ba lāṛ sām (aw) moṭar ba wākhlem.] ښار ته به لار شم (او)  
 city to fut go aux1S (and) car fut I buy موټر به واخلم.  
 'I will go to the city and I will buy a car.'

which follows the rules for the conjoining of sentences.

The major characteristic of sentence conjoining is that the conjunction 'and' [aw] اړ is optional, and most of the time is dropped.



[xar ta lāṛəm (aw) moṭār me wākhīst.]      ښار ته لارم (او) موټر  
city to I-went (and) car I bought      مې واخست.  
'I went to the city and bought a car.'

[bāzār ta lāṛəm (aw) lə dukāndār sara wəghagedəm.]  
bazaar to I-went (and) with shopkeeper with I-talked  
بازار ته لارم (او) له دوکاندار سره وغږېدم.  
'I went to the bazaar and talked to the shopkeeper.'

[ḍoḍəy me wākhīsta (aw) kor ta lāṛəm.]      دودۍ مې واخسته (او)  
bread I bought (and) house to I-went      کور ته لارم.  
'I bought some bread and went home.'

[yaw tsə paysé me badále kṛe (aw) yawa qālīna me wākhīsta.]  
one some money I change aux (and) one rug I bought  
يو څه پیسې مې بدلې کړې (او) یوه قالینه مې واخسته.  
'I changed some money and bought a rug.'

'and' [aw] اړ may occur with 'or' [yā] یا (the equivalent of English 'or' is  
[aw yā] یا or, with [aw] اړ dropped, just [yā] یا.

[day ba rāsī (aw) yā ba rā né si.]      دی به راسی (او) یا  
he fut come-here (and) or fut here not come      به را نه سی.  
'Either he'll get here or he won't.'

As with conjoined nouns, a double [yā ... yā] یا... یا renders the equivalent of 'either... or'

[yā tsə shay wākhīa (aw) yā lə dukān na wawza.]      یا څه شی واخله (او)  
either some thing buy (and) or from shop from leave      یا له دوکان نه ووزه.  
'Either buy something or leave the shop.'

'but' [kho] خو does not occur with 'and' [aw] اړ, but functions as its English  
counterpart does. Note that the conjunction [kho] خو is different from the particle  
[kho] خو.



[ahmad kór ta dzi kho khpəla xédza ná gorı.] احمد کور ته ځی خو  
 Ahmad house to goes but own wife not sees خپله ښځه نه گوری.  
 'Ahmad goes home, but doesn't see his wife.'

[istəɾay wəm kho byā həm wəgaɟədəm.] ستړی وم خو بیا هم وگډېدم.  
 tired I-was but again also I danced '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] بیا, with or without [aw] او. In the following examples of various combinations of sentences, the deletable 'and' [aw] او is shown in parentheses.

[ahmad awal gaɟégi (aw) byā ɟoɟáy khwri] احمد اول گډېږی (او)  
 Ahmad first dances (and) then bread eats بیا ډوډی خوری.  
 'Ahmad first dances and then eats.'

[ahmad pə bāgh ke wəgardzed (aw) gwəlān ye t̪ól kɾəl.] احمد په باغ کې وگرځېد (او) گلان یې ټول کړل.  
 Ahmad in garden in wal'æd (and) flowers he pick aux 'Ahmad walked in the garden and picked flowers.'

[ahmad pə bāgh ke wəgardzəd (aw) byā xār ta lār.] احمد په باغ کې وگرځېد (او) بیا ښار ته لاړ.  
 Ahmad in garden in walked (and) then city to he went 'Ahmad walked in the garden and then went to the city.'

[laylā ɟer xə angur tayār kɾəl, kho awal wə gaɟedu (aw) byā mo wəkhwɾəl.] لایلا ډېر ښه انګور تیار کړل خو اول وگډېدو (او) بیا مو خوړل.  
 Layla very good pears fixed but first perfdanced and then we ate (them) 'Layla fixed some very good pears, but we danced first and then we ate them.'



### E. Other Analyses

Shafeev (1964) notes that sentences can be conjoined with or without 'and' [aw] و, 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' [ka] که. 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] چه. 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 rāghle xé shwəl.]  
that early you came good *bə3P*

چه وخته راغلي به شول.  
'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] چه.) Both languages have a process by which such noun clause subjects are moved to the end of the sentence:

[xé shwəl tse wákhta rāghle.]  
good *bə3P* that early you came

به شول چه وخته، راغلي.  
'It was good that you arrived early.'

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] خبره that is then deleted, suggesting that other words like [khabéra] خبره but masculine also trigger agreement.) Some examples:

[dā xé shwa tse wákhta rāghle.]      دا ښه شو چه وخته راغلي.  
that good be3FS that early you came      'It was good that you arrived early.'

[dā mohéma ja tse wákhta rāse.]      دا مهمه ده چه وخته راسي.  
that important be3SF that early you arrive      'It's important that you get here early.'

[dā rā ta malúma shwa che pə ɟero gano khalko ke hám saɾay dzān ta "yawāze"  
that me to know be3SF that in very many people in also man self to 'alone'

wayalay shi.]  
say be

دا را ته معلومه شوه چه په ډېرو گڼو خلکو کې هم سړی ځان  
ته "يوازې" ويلى شى.  
'I realized that a man can say to himself 'I am alone' in a great crowd of  
people.' (Ulfat)

*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:

[wāyi tse de asad plār xé saɾay day.]      وايي چه د اسد پلار ښه  
say that of Asad Father good man is      سړی دى.  
'They say that Asad's father is a good man.'

[mā katál che asad rághay.]      ما کتل چه اسد راغى.  
I saw3P that Asad came.      'I saw that Asad had arrived.'



[mung gaŋá] che laylā ba wādá káray wi.]  
 we thought<sup>3P</sup> that Layla fut married aux be  
 مونې کنل چه ليلا به واده کړې وى.  
 'We thought that Layla was probably married.'

[mung fíkir kawu che laylā ba rāsi.] مونې فکر کوو چه ليلا به راشي.  
 we idea do that Layla fut. come 'We think that Layla will come here.'

[chā lə mā na puxtána wəkra che tə yawāze ye aw ka tsók dər sara shtá?]  
 who from me from asked that you alone are or someone you with is  
 چا له ما نه پوښتنه وکړه چه ته يوازې يې او که  
 څوک در سره شته؟  
 'Someone asked me if I was alone or if someone was with me.' (Ulfat)

The two examples just above are similar, in that their main verbs appear to be phrases with direct objects ('question' [puxtána] پوښتنه and 'idea' [fikir] فکر) built in.

Note that the verb ending of the last example is feminine singular to agree with the feminine 'question' [puxtána] پوښتنه, which suggests that, strictly speaking, the [che] چه 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' [poheg-] پوهېږ- which is intransitive. In sentences like 'I know the story', the 'known' fact is the object of the prepositional phrase 'with/by means of' [pə] په:

[zə pə dísa pohegam.] زه په قصه پوهېږم.  
 I with story know 'I know the story.'

but when what is known is expressed in a clause, the preposition can be present with a demonstrative pronoun:

[asad pə dé pohegi che tə ná wardze.] اسد په دې پوهېږي چه ته  
 Asad with this knows that you neg go نه ورځي.  
 'Asad knows you're not going there.'

or the whole prepositional phrase can be dropped:

[asad pohegi che tã nã wardze.]      اسد پوهېږي چه تã نه ورځي .  
Asad knows that you *neg* go      'Asad knows you're not going there.'

with the resulting structure mimicking the structure of direct object [che] چه 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 wáwayəl tse bəla myāst ba pakistān ta lār sām.]  
Aman said<sub>3P</sub> that next month *fut* Pakistan to go *be1S*  
امان وويل چه بله مياشت به پاکستان ته لار شم.  
'Amān said that he would go to Pakistan next month.'

In present tense sentences, 'say' [way-] وړي- agrees with the subject; in past tense sentences, the verb is masculine plural. (The pronunciation of 'said' [wáwayəl] وويل varies from dialect to dialect. [wáwele] is a common pronunciation in the central dialect, but [wáwe] is also heard.) More examples of reported speech:

ويل:

[laylā āmān ta wáwele che melé ta ba āshak wésām.]  
Layla Aman to said<sub>3P</sub> that picnic to *fut* aushak take<sub>1S</sub>  
ليلا امان ته وويل چه مېلې ته به آشك وېسم.  
'Layla told Aman that she would take aushak to the picnic.'

[amān laylā ta wáwele che wror de sinemá ta dzi.]  
Aman Layla to said<sub>3P</sub> that brother your movie to goes  
امان ليلا ته وويل چه ورور دې سينما ته ځي .  
'Aman told Layla that her brother was going to a movie.'

[wradzpañā wāyi che tālibān kābāl ta rasedāli di.]  
 newspaper say<sup>3S</sup> that Taliban Kabul to have reached  
 ورځپاڼه وايي چه طالبان کابل ته رسېدلي دي.  
 'The newspaper says that the Taliban have reached Kabul.'

[mā wāwayəl, ná za yawāze gam.]      ما وويل، نه زه يوازې يم.  
 I said no I alone am      'I said no, I was alone.' (Ulfat)

*Tense restrictions with some common verbs.* Another common use of noun clause objects is with verbs like 'want' [ghwār-] - غوار، and 'try' [koshish kaw-] - کوشش، 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:

[de asad plār ghwārī tse yaw loy bāgh wākhli.]      د اسد پلار غواري چه  
 of Asad father want<sup>3S</sup> that one big orchard he buy<sup>perf</sup>      يو لوی باغ واخلي.  
 'Asad's father wants to buy a large orchard.'

[de asad p'ār ghuxtāl tse yaw loy bāgh wākhli.]  
 of Asad father wanted<sup>3P</sup> that one big orchard he buy<sup>perf</sup>  
 د اسد پلار غوښتل چه يو لوی باغ واخلي.  
 'Asad's father wanted to buy a large orchard.'

[de asad plār ghuxtāli di tse yaw loy bāgh wākhli.]  
 of Asad father wanted *be*<sup>3P</sup> that one big orchard buy<sup>perf</sup>  
 د اسد پلار غوښتلی دی چه يو لوی باغ واخلي.  
 'Asad's father has wanted to buy a large orchard.'

[tarisā koshish wākṛa tse āshak pākhā kṛi.]      تريسا کوشش وکړ  
 Theresa attempt make<sup>3P</sup> that aushak cook *aux*      چه آشک پاخه کړی.  
 'Theresa tried to cook aushak.'

[za hām ghwārām tse wārsām.]      زه هم غواړم چه ورشم.  
 I also want<sup>1S</sup> that I go<sup>perf</sup>      'I want to go too.'





*Noun clauses as complements.* Noun clauses can function as complements. Usually, the noun clause is positioned after the 'be' verb. Some examples are:

[oméd day che sóla ba rāsi.] امید دی چه سوله به راشی .  
hope is that peace *fut* come here 'The hope is that peace will come.'

[pə paxtanó ke dā zarur né da che melma wábaləl si.]  
in Pashtuns in this necessity *neg* is that guest be invited  
په پښتنو کې دا ضرور نه ده چه مېلمه وبلل شی .  
'Among Pashtuns it is not necessary that a guest be invited.'

[sabā me nyát day che zhwandáy ye xakhawém-a.]  
tomorrow my intention is that alive him I bury  
سبا مې نیت دی چه ژوندی یې ښخومه .  
'My intention tomorrow is that I will bury him alive.'(second line of landay)

Frequently, a demonstrative pronoun appears immediately before the verb in complement position, for example:

[mānā. ye dā da tse khor wrór ta wárta wi.] معنا یی دا ده چه خور  
meaning its this is that sister brother to similar is ورور ته ورته وی .  
'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] د in the phrase equivalent to English: 'about' or 'on the subject of' [de ... pə bāra ke] د ... په باره کې:



[mung di dé pə bārā ke che tə kār rā sara wəkre wəghagedu.]

we of this on subject on that you work me with do we talked

مونږ د دی په باره کې چې ته کار را سره وکړی وغږېدو.

'We talked about your working with me.'

Other prepositions that frequently occur with noun clause objects are:

'instead of' [de ... pə dzāy] د ... په ځای:

[di dé pə dzāy che tə ahmad sara kār wəkre, mā sara ye wəkra.]

of this in place that with Ahmad with work you do, me with it do.

د دې په ځای چه له احمد سره کار وکړی، ما سره یې وکړه.

'Instead of doing the work with Ahmad, do it with me.'

'before' [pə khwə lə ...] په خوا له ...:

[mung pə khwə lə de che kār sara wəkre yaw bəl pézandə.]

we in front from this that work together we did each other we knew.

مونږ په خوا له دې چه کار سره وکړو یو بل پېژانده.

'We knew each other before we worked together.'

'after' [wrusta lə ... (na)] (نه) وروسته له ...:

[wrusta lə dé che āshak mo wəkhwarəl, wəgagedu.]

after that that aushak we ate we danced

وروسته له دې چه آشک مو وخورل وگډېدو.

'After we ate the aushak, we danced.'

'because' [pə de ...] په دې ...:

[zər mə rādza pə de che laylā nāwákhta rādzi.]

quick neg come with this that Layla late comes

زر مه راځه په دې چه لایلا ناوخته راځی.

'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' [dzəka] ځکه. The following ordering is also possible:

[zər pə de che laylā nāwákhta rādzi, mə rādza.]

quick with this that Layla late comes neg come

زر په دې چه لایلا ناوخته راځی مه راځه.

'Don't come quickly because Layla's coming late.'



### 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] چه, 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 njaláy tse kamís akhlí de rábyā khór da.]

that girl who dress buys of Rabya sister is

هغه نجلی چه کمیښ اخلی د رابیا خور ده .

'The girl who is buying the dress is Rābyā's sister.'

The relative clause 'who is buying the dress' [che kamís akhlí] اخلی چه کمیښ اخلی modifies 'girl' [njaláy] نجلی, the subject of the main sentence. The relative clause has the following as its corresponding independent sentence:

[njaláy kamís akhlí]

girl dress buys

نجلی کمیښ اخلی

'The girl is buying the dress.'

In converting the sentence to a relative clause, the identical noun 'girl' [njaláy] نجلی is changed to a weak pronoun, which is omitted because it is the subject of the sentence

[kamís akhlí]

dress buys

کمیښ اخلی

'she is buying the dress'

The clause marker 'that' [che] چه is added:

[tse kamís akhlí]

that dress buys

چه کمیښ اخلی

'who/that is buying the dress'



and the clause has been positioned after 'girl' [njäləy] نجلې, the noun it modifies, and the modified noun is preceded by the demonstrative 'that' [agha] هغه.

In the following examples, the main clause

[agha njäləy de rābyā khór da.]	هغه نجلې د رابيا خور ده .
that girl of Rabya sister is	'The girl is Rabya's sister'

remains constant, while the subject 'girl' [njäləy] نجلې, is modified by different relative clauses.

[agha njäləy tse Kamis ye wākhista de rābyā khór da.]	
that girl who dress she bought of Rabya sister is	
	هغه نجلې چه كميس يې واخسته د رابيا خور ده .
	'The girl who bought the dress is Rābyā's sister.'

[agha njäləy tse melmastyā ta rāghāle wa de rābyā khór da.]	
that girl that party to had come of Rabya sister is.	
	هغه نجلې چه مهلمستيا ته راغلي وه د رابيا خور ده .
	'The girl who came to the party is Rābyā's sister.'

[agha njäləy tse pə melmāstyā ke me wālida de rābyā khór da.]	
that girl who at party at I saw of Rabya sister is	
	هغه نجلې چه په مهلمستيا کې مې وليده د رابيا خور ده .
	'The girl that I saw at the party is Rābyā's sister.'

[agha njäləy tse war sara nāst wam de rābyā khór da.]	
that girl that her with sitting I was of Rabya sister is	
	هغه نجلې چه زه ورسره ناست وم د رابيا خور ده .
	'The girl with whom I was sitting is Rābyā's sister.'

In the following example, the relative clause modifies the object of the preposition 'with' [lə ... sara] له ... سره. note how the clause 'that Layla doesn't know' [tse laylā ye nā pezani] چې نه پېژني is placed after the entire prepositional phrase, rather than directly after the noun that the relative clauses modifies.

[asad lə aghe njäləy sara tse laylā ye ná pezani, gaḍegi.]	
Asad with that girl with that Layla her not know dances	
	اسد له هغې نجلې سره چه ليلا يې نه پېژني، گډېږي .
	'Asad is dancing with a girl that Layla doesn't know.'

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 xədzə nə pezani tse laylā sara ghagégi.]

Aman that woman not knows that Layla with talks

امان هغه ښځه نه پيژني چې ليلا سره غږيږي.

'Amān doesn't know the woman who is talking with Laylā.'

[amān agha xədzə (tse laylā sara ghagégi) nə pezani.]

Aman that woman that Layla with talks not knows

امان هغه ښځه چې ليلا سره غږيږي، نه پيژني.

'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 pə pohantún ke dārs warkawí.]

that of that man book is who at university at lesson give

دا د هغه سړي کتاب دی چې په پوهنتون کې درس ورکوي.

'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 Pashic as well, for example:

[agha kor tse koranəy me pəke wosedá, kharts sáway day.]

that house that family my in it lived has been sold

هغه کور چې کورنۍ مې پکښې اوسیده، خرڅ شوی دی.

'The house in which/where my family was living has been sold.'



[kum bāgh ta che mung wardzú de asad de plār day.]  
some garden to which we go there of Asad of father is

کوم باغ ته چه مونږ ورځو د اسد د پلار دی.  
'The garden to which we're going belongs to Asad's father.'

[dā agha sarāy day che moṭār me ye wākhist.]  
that that man is who car I his bought

دا هغه سړی دی چه موټر مې یې واخست.  
'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 وخت and 'as much' [tsumra] څومره as the modified nouns:

[hār wakht che laylā mā wāwini rāta māségi.] هر وخت چه لیلا ما  
every time that Layla me sees me to smiles وویښی را ته مسپړی.  
'Whenever Layla sees me she smiles.'

[tsumra che ghwāri wār ye ka.] څومره چه غواړی ور یې کړه.  
as much as he wants to him it give '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 چه, or sometimes simply [che] چه, 'until', [tar tso che] تر څو چه and 'as soon as' [tsanga tse] څنگ چه.



Apparently 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] چه by itself ) is frequently placed after the first stressed element in the clause.

[kəla tse laylā de asad pə aksident khabāra swə samdastī roghtún ta lāra.]  
when Layla of Asad with accident heard immediately hospital to went

کله چه لایلا د اسد په اکسدنت خبره شوه سمدستی روغتون ته لاړه .

'When Layla heard about Asad's accident, she immediately went to the hospital.'

[tsənga che kār ta lār se, wər sara wəghagega.] څنگه چه کار ته لاړ

as soon as city to you go him with talk شي ور سره وغږېږه .

'Talk to him as soon as you go to the city.'

[tər tso che asad naway moṭar ákhli, de āmān moṭar gərdzawálay si.]

until Asad new car buys of Aman car he can use

تر څو چه اسد نوی موټر اخلی د امان موټر گرځولی شی .

'Until Asad buys a new car, he can use Aman's.'

[laylā tse rāghla ɖər wakht wər sara kénastəm.]

Layla when she came very time her with I sat

لیلا چه راغله ډېر وخت ور سره کښېناستم .

'When Layla came I spent a lot of time with her.'

*Consequence clauses.* Some clauses that begin with the clause marker [che] چه report consequences. These clauses follow the verb in the main clause, and frequently occur with adverbs like 'so' [dumra] دومره ;



[asad dumra stéray wə tse lə dárs na wrústa dasti kor ta lãr.]  
 Asad so tired was that from class from after immediately house to he-went  
 اسد دومره سترې وه چه له درس نه وروسته دستی کور ته لاړ.  
 'Asad was so tired he went home immediately after class.'

[kəla kəla dúmra zyāta wāwra worégi che sarakúna bikhí bandégi.]  
 sometimes so much heavy snow falls that streets completely block  
 کله کله دومره زیاته واوره اوریږي چه سرکونه بیخي بند یږي.  
 'Sometimes it snows so much that the streets are completely blocked.'

[dā dāse kitāb day che lwastəl ye grān di.]  
 this such book is that to read it difficult are  
 دا داسې کتاب دی چه لوستل یې گران دی.  
 'This book is such that it is hard to read.'

*Purpose clauses.* Another group of clauses with [che] هه conveys purpose; these purpose clauses are always in the present perfective tense, and are parallel to noun clauses with 'want' [ghwār-] غواړ- and 'try' [koshish kaw-] کوشش کو-, described above, both in their structure and in that they translate as infinitives in English.

[sabā ba asad wálegu che xə loy pəsə wākhli.]  
 tomorrow fut Asad we send so that good big lamb he buys  
 سبا به اسد ولیږو چه ښه لوی پسه واخلي.  
 'Tomorrow we'll send Asad to buy a good, big lamb.'

[parun mo asad wálegə che xə loy pəsə wākhli.]  
 yesterday we Asad sent that good big lamb he buys  
 پرون مو اسد ولیږه چه ښه لوی پسه واخلي.  
 'Yesterday we sent Asad to buy a good, big lamb.'

[zə dā kitāb khpal wror 'a warkawám che wá ye lwali.]  
 I this book own brother to give so that prf it he reads  
 زه دا کتاب خپل ورور ته ورکوم چه و یې لولي.  
 'I'm giving this book to my brother to read.'

[dā kitāb me khpal wrór ta wár kṛə che wá ye lwali.]  
 I this book own brother to gave so that prf it he reads  
 دا کتاب مې خپل ورور ته ورکړ چه و یې لولي.  
 'I gave this book to my brother to read.'



Causal clauses and [dzaka] ځکه. 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] ځکه 'because/therefore';

[laylā dālta ná rādzi, khapá da.] لایلا دلته نه راځي، خپه ده.  
Layla here neg come upset is 'Layla isn't coming here [because] she's upset.'

[day bura ná khwri, tāwān warta kawi.] دی پوره نه خوري، تاوان ورته کوي.  
he sugar not eat loss him to does 'He doesn't eat sugar [because] it's not good for him.'

[de asad garmí keda, wobá ye watskale.] د اسد گرمي کېده، اوبه يې وځکلي.  
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 wobá ye watskale.] د اسد گرمي کېده، نو اوبه يې وځکلي.  
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] ځکه or [dzaka che] چه 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] ځکه نو or [no dzaka] نو ځکه or [dzaka] ځکه  
'because': [dzaka che] چه ځکه or [dzaka] ځکه

The dropping of [no] نو or [che] چه has the result that [ɔ. əka] ځکه, 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] ځکه and its translations double-underlined. The first three are from 'A True Story' [yawa rixtyānəy qisa] یوه رښتیاڼی قصه by Ulfat, a speaker of the Ningrahar dialect, who seems consistently to use [dzaka] ځکه to mean 'therefore' and [dzaka che] چه ځکه to mean 'because'.

[dɪ də ʈopak ɖer xkwəlay aw ɖer bāwəri wə, dzaka ye lə chā na wera nə keda.]

of him rifle very beautiful and very sure was therefore he from who from afraid not was

دده توپک دیر ښکلی او دیر باوری و ځکه یی له چا نه ویره  
نه کیده.

'His rifle was very beautiful and trustworthy, so he was not afraid of anyone.'

[...pə məkh ke ye lə noro kəlo na nor khaləq rā wəwətəl aw day pōh shu

in face in his from other village from other people came and he understood

che dwa khwā jang nəshi kawəlay, dzaka ye de yawa khwāɾ pə ghāɾa

that two side fight he couldn't do therefore he of one creek at edge

yawa kālā ta panā war wɾa aw de dzān de hemāyāt ghuxtāna ye wəkrə.]

one house to asylum took and of body of protection asked he did

په مخکښی نی له نورو کلیو نه نور خلق را ووتل او دی پوه شو  
چه دوه خوا جنگ نشی کولی ځکه نی د یوه خوږ په غاړه یوه کاله  
ته پناه ور وړه او د خان د حمایت غوښتنه نی وکړه.

'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 də ta tsə zyān nəshəy rasawəlay dzaka che day zmā porawəɾay day aw

you all now him to any harm neg can bring because that he my debtor is and

mā ta ye panāŋ rāwɾi da.]

me to he asylum brought

تاسې اوس ده ته څه زیان نه شی رسولی ځکه چه دی زما پورورپی  
دی او ما ته یې پناه راوړی ده.

'None of you can harm him because he owes me and came to me for asylum.'



Another example, from Ulfat's essay 'Of Hidden Words' [de pardé khabére] د پردې خبرې:

[ter tsó che də xədzə məkhuna pát wi khabére ba hám pə pardá ke wi  
as long as of women faces covered be information fut also in curtain in be

dzaka che pə paxto ke khabéra hám muʔanása da.]  
because in Pashtuns in information also feminine is

تر څو چه د پنځو مخونه پټ وي خبرې به هم په پرده کې وي  
ځکه چه په پښتو کې خبره هم مؤنثه 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 dzaka] نو ځکه from the essay 'Malala' [malāla] ملالہ by Samandar de Badrasho:

[kho kála kála musulmānān dā sabaq hér krī, no dzaka pre wār  
but sometimes Moslems this lesson forget therefore them

khatāyi ghalabá wākri.]  
panic overcome

خو کله کله مسلمانان دا سبق هېر کړی نو ځکه پری وار خطايي  
غلبه وکړی.

'But sometimes Moslems forget this lesson, so panic overcomes them.'

The [dzaka] ځکه in the phrase 'because' [dzaka che] چه ځکه 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 Mihdi Shah Mihdi:

[dā tapus me dzáka wakrā che hagma ba de qabár na ǵer zyāt weredó.]  
this question I because did that he would from grave from very heavy fear

دا تپوس مې ځکه اوکړو چه هغه به د قبر نه ډېر زیات ویرېدو.

'I asked this question because he was terrified of graves.'

[bala xədzə zə dzáka nə kawəm che byā ba me dā lúr wahi...]  
another wife I because not I do that then will my this daughter beat...

بله پنځه زه ځکه نه کوم چه بیا به مې دا لور وهي

'I don't want another wife because she would beat this daughter of mine...'



Clauses after idiomatic expressions. A final group of clauses with [che] چه occur with idiomatic expressions. Some examples:

'because' [wale che]

[asad wa ná gaḡeda wale tse nājora wa.]  
Asad *prf* not danced why that sick was.

اسد و نه گډېده ولې چه ناجوره ؤ.  
'Asad didn't dance because he was sick.'

'in short' [lanḡa dā che] لنده دا چه

[lanḡa dā che misāfēr aw melmá fārq sara lari.]  
short this that traveler and guest difference with have

لنده دا چه مسافر او مېلمه 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] لکه چه

[laka che ta ná ghwāre tse melmastyā ta lār se.]  
like that you not want that party to you go

لکه چه ته نه غواړې چه مېلمستيا ته لار شي.  
'It looks like you don't want to go to the party.'

'It's possible that' [xāyi che] ښای چه

[xāyi che kābál byā abād si.]  
possible that Kabul again prosperous is

ښای چه کابل بیا اباد شي.  
'It's possible that Kabul will be built again.'

### E. 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] ک, 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] که; 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] به and the verb in the present perfective tense. Note, in the examples below, the same conditional sentence with different tenses in the 'if' [ka] که clause:

[ka dáy payse paydā ki, samdastí ba ye wálagawi.]  
if he money finds immediately fut it he spend

که دی پیسې پیدا کړي، سمدستی به یې ولگوي.  
'if he finds some money, he will spend it immediately.'

[ka dá payse paydā kře, samdastí ba ye wálagawi.]  
if he mone, found immediately fut it he spend

که ده پیسې پیدا کړې، سمدستی به یې ولگوي.  
'if he finds some money, he will spend it immediately.'

[ka asad ráshi, zə ba ye wágorəm.] که اسد راشي، زه به یې وگورم.  
if Asad come I fut him see 'if Asad comes, I will see him.'

[ka asad rághay, zə ba ye wágorəm.] که اسد راغي، زه به یې وگورم.  
if Asad came I fut him see 'if Asad comes, I will see him.'

[ka zə bāgh wákhlām de asad plār ba khoshāla shi.]  
if I orchard buy of Asad father fut pleased is

که زه باغ واخلم، د اسد پلار به خوشحاله شي.  
'if I buy the orchard, Asad's father will be pleased.'



[ka mā bāgh wākhista, de asad plār ba khoshāla shi.]

if I orchard bought of Asad father fut pleased is

که ما باغ واخسته، د اسد پلار به خوشحاله شی.

'If I buy the orchard, Asad's father will be pleased.'

[ka sabā ta hawā xá wi, melé ta ba lār shu.]

if tomorrow weather good is picnic to fut we go

که سبا ته هوا ښه وی، مېلې ته به لار شو.

'If the weather is good tomorrow, we will go on a picnic.'

[ka sabā ta hawā xá wa, melé ta ba lār shu.]

if tomorrow weather good was picnic to fut we go

که سبا ته هوا ښه وه، مېلې ته به لار شو.

'If the weather is 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] ګ clauses and particular verb tenses. Such constructions comprise a clause starting with 'if' [ka] ګ, which describes a counter-to-fact situation, and a following clause that describes the result. The tenses of both the 'if' [ka] ګ clause and the result clause are expressed with various combinations of the imperfective participle and other tense markers.



**Present unreal conditionals.** If the [ka] که 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] وی.) Some examples of such clauses are:

[ka mo dúmra ɟer kār ná larəlay...]  
if we so much work not have      که مو دومره ډېر کار نه لری  
'If we didn't have so much work...'

[ka amán aw laylá kor ta rátlálay...]  
if Aman and Layla house to came      که امان او لایلا کور ته راتللی  
'If Aman and Layla came to the house...'

[ka tarisā paxtaná way.. ]  
if Theresa Pashtana were      که تریسا پښتانه وی  
'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] به plus the verb [way] وی. Some examples:

[ka mo dumra ɟer kār ná larəlay, wos kor ta tláú.]  
if we so much work not have now home to we-were-going  
که مو دومره ډېر کار نه لری اوس کور ته تللو.  
'If we didn't have so much work, we would go home now.'

[ka amán aw laylá kor ta rátlálay pásé mo akhístə.]  
if Aman and Layla house to come lamb we were-buying  
که امان او لایلا کور ته راتللی پسه مو اخسته.  
'If Aman and Layla came to the house, we would buy a lamb.'

[ka tarisā paxtānā way wos ba wādé way.]  
if Theresa Pashtana were now fut married was  
که تریسا پښتانه وی اوس به واده وی.  
'If Theresa were a Pashtana, she would be married by now.'

Present unreal condition, result in the past. If the result clause is in the past, its verb construction consists of the particle [ba] به, the imperfective participle, and *be* [way] وی. The participle agrees with the subject/object; [way] وی does not.

[ka mung dúmra ɟer kār ná larəlay, tɛra haftə ba xār ta tɪlɪ way.]

if we so much work not have last week fut city to gone been

که مونږ دومره ډېر کار نه لرلی تېره هفته به ښار ته تللی وی.

'If we didn't have so much work, we would have gone to the city last week.'

[ka amān aw laylā har wakht kor ta rātlɪlay kilf ba mo warkəre way.]

if Aman and Layla every time house to come key fut we would have given

که امان او لایلا هر وخت کور ته راتللی کیلی به مو ورکړې وی.

'If Aman and Layla often came to the house, we would have given them a key.'

[ka tarisā paxtānā way mor aw plār ba ye ɟer pakhwā meɟə ta warkəre way.]

if Theresa Pashtana were mother and father fut her very long-time husband to given been

که تریسا پښتانه وی مور او پلار به یې ډېر پخوا مېړه

ته ورکړې وی.

'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] وی. The participle agrees with the subject/object as usual, but the [way] وی 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 mā dúmra ɟer kār ná way larəlay...]

if I so much work neg be have

که ما دومره ډېر کار نه وی لرلی

'If I hadn't had so much work...'



[ka mung dumra ɖer kār né way taralay ...]  
if we so much work *neg be* have

که مونږ دومره ډېر کار نه وی لری  
'If we hadn't had so much work...'

[ka amān aw laylā kor ta rāghāli way...]  
if Aman and Layla house to came *be*

که امان او لیلیا کور ته راغلی وی  
'If Aman and Layla had come to the house...'

If the verb in the 'if' [ka] ګ clause is *be* (i.e., if it is parallel to English 'had been') there is no participle; the verb is just [way] وی. The distinction between present and past unreal condition therefore doesn't exist in Pashto when the verb in the clause is 'if' [ka] ګ :

[ka sultān mahmūd paxtūn way...]  
if Sultan Mahmud Pashtun *be*

که سلطان محمود پښتون 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 ɖer kār né way taralay wos ba dumra stáray né wam.]  
if I so much work *neg be* had now *fut* so tired *neg* I-was

که مې دومره ډېر کار نه وی لری اوس به دومره ستړی نه وم.  
'If I hadn't had so much work, I wouldn't be so tired now.'

[ka zə parūn nārōgha né way nən sīnf ta tlālam.]  
if I yesterday sick *neg be* today class to I-went

که زه پرون ناروغه نه وی نن صنف ته تللم.  
'If I hadn't been sick yesterday, I would go to class today.'



[ka shorawyāno pə afghānistān yerghal nə way kəray pə hewād ke ba wos ɟer  
if Soviets to Afghanistan invasion not be done in country in fut now many

maktabúna way.]

schools be

که شورویانو په افغانستان یرغل نه وی کړی په هېواد کې به  
اوس ډېر مکتبونه وی.

'If the Soviets had not invaded Afghanistan, there would be many schools  
in the country now.'

[ka tā wéle way kenāstólām.]

if you asked be I-was-sitting

که تا وپلی وی کشېناستم.

'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] به, the imperfective participle, and *be* [way] وی. The participle agrees with the subject/object, but the [way] وی is invariable.

[ka mā dúmra ɟer kār nə way larəlay mór ba me lidále way.]

if I so much work neg be have mother fut I see be

که ما دومره ډېر کار نه وی لرلی مور به مې لیدلې وی.

'If I hadn't had so much work, I would have visited my mother.'

[ka zə pərun nārogha nə way sinf ta ba táləlay way.]

if I yesterday sick neg be class to fut going been

که زه پرون ناروغه نه وی صنف ته به تللی وی.

'If I hadn't been sick yesterday, I would have gone to class.'

[ka tā wéle way kenastále ba way.] که تا وپلی وی کشېناستلې به وی.

if you asked been sittingF fut be

'If you had asked, I would have sat down.' (female speaker)



[ka sultan mahmud paxtún way paxtanó ta ba ye ɖer kār kəɾay way]  
if Sultan Mahmud Pashtun be Pashtuns to fut he much work do be

که سلطان محمود پښتون وی پښتنو ته به یې ډېر  
کار کړی وی.

'If Sultan Mahmud had been a Pashtun, he would have worked hard for the  
Pashtuns.'

[ka shorawyāno pə afghānistān yerghal né way kəɾay no dākhlí jang ba né way  
if Soviets to Afghanistan invasion neg be do then civil war fut neg be

pex səway.]  
happened

که شورویانو په افغانستان یرغل نه وی کړی نو داخلي  
جنگ به نه وی پېښ شوی.

'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 moɖár wākhlú no xār ta zér zər tíláy su.]  
if we car buy then city to often go can

که مونږ موټر واخلو، نو ښار ته ژر ژر تللی شو.  
'If we buy a car, we can go to the city a lot.'

[ka mo moɖár laráláy, no xār ta zér zər tíláy swu.]  
if we car had then city to often go could

که مو موټر لرلی، نو ښار ته ژر ژر تللی شوو.  
'If we had a car, we could go to the city a lot.'



[ka mo moʃar akhístay way no zér zər ba xār ta tílay swu.]

if we car bought be often fut city to go could

که مو موټر اخستی وی نو ژر ژر به ښار ته تللی 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'.

[asád kor ta bowélay swam.]

Asad home to could take, *imp*

اسد کور ته بوولی 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:

[asád kor ta bótlay swam.]

Asad home to could take, *perf*

اسد کور ته بوتلی شوم.

'Asad could take me home (and did).'

Another example:

[asad ɖoɖəy khwaɾélay swa.]

Asad food eat (imp) be

اسد دودی خورلی شوه.

'Asad could eat the food' (maybe he did, maybe he didn't)

[asad ɖoɖəy wákhwaɾalay swa.]

Asad food eat (perf) be

اسد دودی وخورلی 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

(with 'when', 'until', etc.), causal clauses (with 'because', 'since', etc.), purpose clauses (with 'for the purpose of' [lə para che], etc.). He distinguishes [dzəka] خكه as 'therefore' from [dzəka che] چه خكه 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 [dzəka che] چه خكه 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 88
  - 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 [əy] 42
  - symbol for [əy] 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
- Caroe, Sir Daf 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



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 178
- Dialect differences  
consonants 28  
pronunciation of possessives 154  
pronunciation of [wayú] ویل 202  
pronunciation of کھری 95  
spelling system 39, 42  
vowels 28
- Dropping of past tense suffix [-əi-] -J-  
94, 98, 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] با and present imperfective tense 130
- with [ba] با 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, D. N. 10, 28, 29, 64, 74,  
88, 121, 152, 164, 190,  
198, 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] چہ 199  
definition 199  
English infinitive parallels  
203, 211  
reported speech 202
- Noun clauses as complements 204
- Noun comparison 162

**Noun phrases**

- functions in sentences 170
- modifiers 170
- order of elements 170
- order of modifiers 171

**Nouns**

- abbreviations used 47
- as objects 62
- 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 61
- other classifications 64
- regularization of forms 59
- uses of direct forms 62
- uses of oblique forms 62
- 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' [de] دي 148
- with 'should' [bāyād] بايد 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 148, 222, 223

**Particles**

- internal ordering 175
- order in sentences 173

**Pashto**

- academies and standardization 8



- 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
- Pashtunwali 3
- Passive construction 144
- Past expressions
  - past imperfective examples 137
  - past perfective examples 138
  - with the past imperfective 136
  - with the past perfective 138
- Past imperfective stem
  - summary of uses 150
- Past perfective stem
  - summary of uses 150
- Pathans 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 irregular verbs 114
  - [a] to [ã] 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] ə, 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
- Present 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 68  
strong 68  
strong pronoun forms, chart 69  
use of strong pronouns 176  
weak pronoun internal ordering 175  
weak pronoun placement in sentences 68, 173  
weak pronouns 65  
weak pronouns dropped 66, 67, 182  
weak pronouns, chart 65  
weak pronouns, direct forms 67  
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
- Samandar de Badrasho 214**
- Shafeev, D. A. 10, 64, 74, 88, 121, 151, 164, 190, 198, 224**
- Square brackets, use of 4**
- Stress**  
in Adj 2 76, 77  
in affixes 26  
in borrowings 25  
in demonstrative and strong pronouns 71  
in doubly irregular verbs 114  
in M3 nouns 52  
in sentences 26  
in weak pronouns 68  
in words 24  
representation 11
- Subject and object deletion 166**
- Superlative expressions 163**
- Syllables**  
of doubly irregular verbs 114  
structure 19
- Time clauses 209**  
examples 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**
- Ulfat 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 108, 109, 111, 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
- participle 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 128
- 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 184
- Verbs, 'impersonal transitive' 188
- Vocatives
  - adjectives 85
  - nouns 63
- Vowels 16
  - diphthongs 18
  - technical description 17
- Word order in questions 168
- [-áI-] -I- past tense marker 94
- [aw] او 'and' 191
- [che] چه 'that' 206, 210, 215
- [chéra] چهره 'where?' 169
- [dzaka] خكه 'because/therefore' 212
- [həm ... həm] هم ... هم 'both ... and' 191, 194
- [kaw-I] كو (كول) transitive auxiliary 97
- [ka] كه 'if' 216, 217, 219
- [keg-] كهډل (كهډل) intransitive auxiliary 95
- [kho] خو 'but' 191, 196
- [khpəl] خپل (possessive) 73
- [kum] كوم 'which?' 169
- [nə ... nə] نه ... نه 'neither ... nor' 191, 194
- [sta] شته 'there is' 93
- [tər tso che] تر خو چه 'until' 209
- [tsok] خوك 'who?, whoever' 72, 169
- [tsəŋga tse] څنگه چه 'as soon as' 209
- [tsə] څه 'what?, something' 72, 168
- [way] وي in counterfactuals 220
- [wi] وي (3rd person form of *be*) 93
- [wá] و perfective marker 99
- [yā ... yā] يا ... يا 'either - or' 194
- [yā] يا 'or' 191, 194

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